

THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE).

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ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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EDITORIAL.

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WHAT WE THINK.

The Indifferent Voter.

THE man-in-the-street, for whose sake all this turmoil was presumably made, is tired of it all. His interest in the results of other constituencies than his own is not great, and judging from the number of electors who voted this year compared with last year there are many men who leave it to their neighbours to keep the flag, whatever it may be, flying. At Dewsbury four thousand voters refrained from polling, and in other constituencies there were large numbers of men who were equally slack in recording their views. The great principles which are explained as being likely to bring the millennium or to recall the hungry forties—according to the platform from which the speaker spoke—have left a vast mass of the electorate cold, and there has yet to be found a new cry which will stir them from their lethargy. Beside this mass of men with votes who "let things occur" and will not put themselves to the trouble of going to the ballot box, is a vast crowd of women whose knowledge of the great issues is in many cases as keen, if not keener, than that of the electorate as at present constituted, yet who by virtue of their sex stand by unwillingly silent.

The Master of Elibank last week declared that the Liberals had obtained a "very comfortable majority." We doubt if Mr. Asquith would echo this dictum. "Comfortable" is the last thing that the majority provided by the uncertain temper of the coalition could be called. Many moderate men have "refrained" at this election from recording an opinion either way; and the rescuing of a few rocky seats from Unionists with the loss of several of their own strongholds can only be regarded as a bad blow for the Liberals. When the House sits again Mr. Asquith will have his work cut out trying to make his "comfortable" majority a workable majority. He will find it, as is plain to everyone, only the most temporary of weapons, and when he makes this discovery will be the moment that we have been waiting for.

Representative Women.

A side-light on the strides towards equal recognition that have been made by women—at least since 1768—was evidenced at the dinner given to representative women last week by the Editor of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," to celebrate the part taken by women in the production of that great national work. In the first edition, under the heading "Woman," was "Woman—the female of Man: see Home." In the present edition

she is found under every heading; and the fact that women were allowed a hand in the making of this great book, meant that their achievements would not be lightly passed over, as has been the case in the past. Many of the soundest and most reliable articles in the new work have come from women's pens, and the women who took part at the great dinner given at the Savoy included—besides our beloved president, Mrs. Despard—Mrs. Lewis, the discoverer of the Sinaitic Palimpsest, the most ancient known manuscript of the four gospels in Syriac—Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the only woman member of the Institute of Electrical Engineers, the principals of Newnham, Girton and Somerville Colleges, and women famous in art, in literature, and in philanthropy. The head of the women's staff of the Encyclopædia, who was also the first woman to be employed by the Bank of England, told how some members of the Bank staff came to her in those early days to make her feel at home, and talked gently to her of polyanthuses.

That great and splendid gathering was one of the signs of progress helping to pile Ossa or Pelion for those who would stand in the path of progress.

Women and the Elections.

The number of women who take an interest in politics—partly owing to the spread of Suffrage propaganda, and partly owing to the fact that economic pressure has forced them into industrial competition—has been evidenced in various ways, more particularly by the large number of women to be found at all the political meetings of any importance, and by the zest with which they have studied party literature. All these ladies are not Suffragists; many of them are independently seeking for truth and, like Mr. Belloc and his ilk, ploughing a lonely furrow in so doing. But they do not find it easy to obtain enlightenment, as was shown by the action of a lady who was *not* a Suffragist, at Cleethorpes, who wished to hear Mr. Haldane's remarks and went to the hall at which he was speaking for that purpose. Orders had been issued to the stewards that no females were to be admitted, and the lady was hustled out and pushed into the street on requesting admittance. The only excuse the steward could offer, when she took an action against him for assault, was that her "persistence seemed to confirm the suspicion that she was a Suffragette." The steward—as the lady was proved *not* to be a Suffragette—had to pay costs of the action and give an abject apology. Comment is needless.

American Shirtwaist Makers.

The American shirtwaist makers, encouraged by the result of their last strike, are now planning another if certain demands which they are making for a new agreement affecting 30,000 employees in this trade are not acceded to. Great meetings are being held in the Cooper Union Hall, and speeches were made by the leading spirits in the last strike.

While we cannot but deplore the acute suffering which the workers endure during a strike, it is nevertheless a proof of the organised strength of women that these strikes are now by no means uncommon. That there are plenty of grievances unredressed wherever women are employed is evident from the continual prosecutions for breaches of the Factory Acts which go on all over the country, the victims being almost always women. Only the other day, in an English town an employer was fined for keeping two girls "overtime," from 4.30 in the morning until 7 at night.

PROPAGANDA.

Canvassing Campaign.

We have received several hundred names of women of progressive thought, and we invite further lists immediately. Every woman reading this must know, or know of others, who take a broad and generous view of life, who desire to see the sex enfranchised and able to perform the duties and to enjoy the privileges of citizens. Many names can be crowded on a post-card, and every woman, whether in London or the provinces, whose name reaches us will be approached either personally or by letter and invited to enrol in the army of the workers for freedom.

For canvassers, too, there is plenty of work, and volunteers are asked to apply for lists of calls in their own neighbourhood. This is work which all can do for the Cause which, despite everything, is still the most splendid to-day, and the most fraught with good for to-morrow.

Christmas Propaganda.

It is hoped that everywhere our friends foregather this week and next they will remember "Votes for Women." If we would win the suffrage we must "live" suffrage. We must feel that the Cause is so good, and the justice of it so positive, that we shall secure the support of every fair-minded individual who thinks about it. Therefore, we must get everyone to think about it, and the standard must be kept raised on high so that all the world can see. As an instance of how the flag is kept flying, Mrs. Harvey's delightful account in another column of a meeting in Montreux will be read with interest.

Branch Activities.

Miss Munro is this week visiting some of the branches in the Eastern Counties, and later on will be glad to assist other centres. Miss Sidley, having returned from a most successful mission in Wales, will also be willing to speak at special meetings or demonstrations. Early notice should be given so that dates can be arranged.

South-West London Centre.

Work in this centre is progressing well. We are particularly anxious to receive Wandsworth and Tooting names, as we want to start branches there.

Miss Madge Turner reports: "We opened our shop at 316, Battersea Park Road on Tuesday, and from now on will be glad to have the help of any member who can spare a few hours for the work in South London. We want to hold regular open-air meetings, as well as to make a systematic canvass of the women municipal voters. Speakers and canvassers are wanted, while those who do not care to do either can help in looking after the shop and doing any clerical work in connection with the canvass. We have two large windows, one for literature and the other for showing our stock of goods to be sold for the benefit of the League. From the experience of the last few days we find that inexpensive articles sell well. Enthusiastic supporters of the League—here is your chance! Send us every kind of gift for sale, and please let it be plainly and inexpensively marked as to price. Dressed dolls, provided they are not highly priced, will sell well.

For our offices we want floor-covering, rugs, &c., and chairs. Will any member give us a bucket and a water-can?

The local anti-Suffragist is a very disheartening person. At open-air meetings one is wearied by his constant appeals to the speaker to go home and wash things, and yet on Tuesday, when I was engaged in the womanly occupation of cleaning windows he waxed exceeding wroth because I was doing some poor man out of a job. Verily there is no pleasing him."

New Suffrage Song.

Through the enthusiastic efforts of Mrs. Cope a thousand copies of the new Suffrage song, "The Awakening," words by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, music

by Teresa del Riego, have been placed at the disposal of the League. On January 6, 1911, the Actresses' Franchise League will launch this song at their "At Home" at the Criterion Restaurant at 3 p.m. Invitation cards may be obtained from this office or from the A.F.L.

New Year's Eve Party.

This will be held on Saturday week at the London Headquarters, and it is hoped that many London members will attend. Mrs. Despard will speak in the course of the evening, and there will be entertainments and games, &c. Further particulars are given elsewhere.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

"AT HOME" AT CAXTON HALL.

There was a large gathering at the W.F.L. "At Home," on Thursday last. Mrs. How Martyn, who was in the chair, described the recent elections as a neck-to-neck race, so closely run that the women can say to Mr. Asquith that the men are unable to help him to make up his mind, and the opportunity is waiting for him to let the women do this for him.

Mrs. Sproson (N.E.C.) dealt with the possibilities of the moment. The results of the elections were unsatisfactory to everybody, and the leading men of both parties were forced into a position in which they would have to take a stand on some new reform. The Liberals saw as a result of the election that their power was limited and that they are as much dependent on the Irish vote as before. It was her opinion that Mr. Asquith had only got guarantees from the King conditionally on his having strong support from the country. Owing to the result of the elections there was every possibility that electoral reform would displace the House of Lords question and become one of the greatest possibilities in the Liberal programme. This was one of the occasions when the women's strength would be tried, and when everyone must stand shoulder to shoulder. They had to face the possible danger of an attempt to bring in male adult suffrage. In the situation in which they stood at present the danger of giving up or standing still now would mean that the position of women in the future in their claim for equal citizenship would be infinitely worse than it is at the present moment. They were at a time of crisis when they must rally and sacrifice everything in the interests of the woman of the future.

Mrs. Despard, in the course of her address, described the enthusiastic meeting which the Freedom League had had in Newtown in the largest hall in the place, while Mr. Lloyd George had to satisfy himself with a smaller hall, which was anything but full. Of the enthusiasm of the country everywhere and of the change since the last election, she had a good deal to say. She added: "I have a hope the New Year will bring us our first victory; if there is any slacking now it will mean a pulling back of the whole cause. The great thing is to be united within, no matter what is being said without."

SPECIAL NEW YEAR NUMBER OF "THE VOTE."

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AND

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WHY MEN PROTEST.

A public meeting, under the auspices of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, was held at the Caxton Hall last Friday evening, to explain why men protested at Cabinet Ministers' meetings.

MR. FRANK RUTTER, who presided, read a letter from the Right Rev. Bishop Mathew expressing his extreme regret that at the last moment he found it impossible to attend. "As you know," he wrote, "my sympathies are entirely with your movement, and I wish you all possible success in your courageous and chivalrous efforts on behalf of the enfranchisement of women."

Mr. Rutter continuing, said he believed, with Bishop Mathew, it was only lack of understanding that kept the manhood of the country from rallying in greater numbers to the women's cause. Men generally did not understand the urgency of this question, they did not understand the tactics of the militant societies. If the members of the Men's Political Union had been able effectively to serve the cause, it was because they had been privileged to have a better understanding of these matters. They realised that in this fight for women's liberty, men could only be an auxiliary force. They did not presume to give advice on the direction of the campaign, or flatter themselves that they knew better than the women how victory might best be attained. The Men's Political Union believed it could best serve the cause by doing those things which at the present moment women were unable to do. Of those things the two most important were (1) To vote against the Government that denied justice to women, and (2) To voice the just grievances of women at so-called public meetings from which women were excluded. The members of the M.P.U. conceived it their duty to vote at elections for whatever candidate had the best chance of beating the official nominee of the Liberal party. They did not believe in the policy of running suffrage candidates, or in voting for fancy candidates whose prospects of success were slender. They believed that by voicing the grievances of women at minister meetings they brought home to members of the Cabinet that some men as well as women were indignant with their unjust and autocratic actions, and they also had the satisfaction of knowing that by their protests they roused local opinion to a knowledge of the fact that Woman Suffrage was a dominant question of the day.

Mr. Duval's Experiences.

MR. VICTOR DUVAL denied that any disturbance of public meetings was caused or intended by members of the Union. The disturbances were caused by the frenzy of the stewards and a section of the audience, and by the ministers themselves, who shirked answering questions of Woman's Suffrage. The men had begun like the women by asking their questions at question time, but found their questions were unanswered, even when ministers had pledged themselves to answer questions. Mr. Lloyd George, a notorious offender, had repeatedly broken his pledged word in this respect. Finding from experience that they could put no reliance on the promise of the minister to answer questions at the end of a meeting, Suffragists felt themselves entitled to put their questions at any opening given by a minister in the course of his speech. It was admitted by Liberal newspapers that Suffragist interjections were generally apt and relevant, yet these interjectors were immediately set upon by stewards and ejected often with unnecessary and brutal violence, while men who made far less relevant interruptions on other subjects were allowed to keep their seats. Mr. Duval gave instances of this from his own experience at various meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers. He admitted that other protests had been more sensational, at Limehouse for example, where a man had climbed a pillar and floated out a purple, white, and green flag. This had been done to break down the conspiracy of silence on the part of the Conservative and Liberal Press, who united in suppressing the voicing of women's grievances legitimately made at Ministers' meetings. Again, there were cases, as at Rochester

last year, when men had spent nights on roofs of halls in order to force Cabinet Ministers to hear Suffragist arguments and facts. These incidents were due to the fact that the Liberal party, not content with getting pledges not to interrupt from women, demanded an identical pledge from those who asked for tickets for these meetings. Ministers might break their pledged word; but Suffragists, whether men or women, never did, consequently they abstained from accepting or buying tickets with this pledge, and made their own arrangements for ensuring that Ministers should not escape hearing the voice of the Suffragist. At Rochester and elsewhere Suffragists had every opportunity of inflicting serious bodily injuries on stewards who sought to dislodge them, but they had invariably refrained because their quarrel was not with the stewards, but with the Cabinet which denied justice to women, and flouted the will of the House of Commons, which in two successive parliaments had declared itself by overwhelming majorities to be in favour of the enfranchisement of women.

WELSH CAMPAIGN.

Montgomery Boroughs—Suffragette Victory.

Our work here has been most successful all through, culminating on Friday in the defeat of the Government candidate by fifty-four votes.

Our great meeting on Monday in the Public Hall, Newtown, was the most magnificent gathering ever witnessed in the town. Twenty minutes before it was time to begin the meeting every seat was taken, and there was not even standing room in the hall; people were being turned away in large numbers. This, in spite of the fact that the idol of Carnarvon—Mr. Lloyd George—was speaking in the Victoria Hall only a few yards away at the same time. Our appearance on the platform was a signal for a tremendous outburst of cheering. Mrs. Cleaves was in the chair, and was supported by Mrs. Despard, Miss Clark, Mrs. Frances Lewis, representing the Aberdovey Branch of the Women's Freedom League, Mrs. Busch, of Welshpool, and myself. Needless to say, after our recent triumph in Newtown, the speeches were punctuated by loud applause. At the close of Mrs. Despard's address the audience showed its delight by five minutes of clapping, stamping and cheering. Miss Clark's appeal for a sign of appreciation to Mrs. Despard for coming all the way from Norwich and giving such an inspiring address, met with three hearty cheers. When we left the hall we found over a thousand enthusiastic supporters waiting to escort us to Miss Clark's house. This demonstration was entirely friendly, there was not a hostile voice.

The Contrast.—We have it on the authority of many—both Conservatives and Liberals—who were present at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting, that the hall was not full, though it is a smaller one than the public hall; that there was only one real round of applause, and that the Chancellor came from the building into an empty street. Perhaps this was how the Newtown men showed their strong disapprobation of the way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer pleads on behalf of "Liberalism" in a Welsh chapel. He is reported to have said: "It would be better that a man's right arm should be paralysed than that he should vote for Mr. Ormsby-Gore"—Conservative candidate for Denbigh Boroughs and member of the Conciliation Committee. Certainly when Mr. Lloyd George left the town the following day his escort consisted of his wife, two or three men, and a number of detectives and police. He can scarcely claim to have captured Newtown by his eloquence.

Our open-air meetings have been most successful, in spite of another week of steady downpour. Men and women have stood through heavy rain to hear our case put clearly before them.

On polling day the Liberals here went about with anxious or angry faces—according to their dispositions. When we took up our stand at one of the polling booths, the Liberals showed the falsity of their protestations of freedom by telling us we had no right in the county at all! Soon we shall hear that, because we do not support the Government, we have no right to live. They laid their hands upon us and tried to fight us out of the street, and would undoubtedly have treated us very roughly had not the police, who have been most kind to us all through the campaign, come to our rescue and enabled us to stand our ground.

The result of the poll, which reached Newtown about one o'clock on Saturday, was greater than anyone had expected. Both parties expected to win, but neither anticipated a majority over twenty. When the news came that the Government was defeated by fifty-four votes, the Conservatives were most enthusiastic in their rejoicings. But their delight was as nothing to that of the Suffragettes. Both parties acknowledged the share we have played in the Election, the Liberals by black looks and ugly words, the Conservatives by handshakes and word of mouth.

Another battle has been fought, another victory won. Will the enemy surrender?—MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

LUCY STONE: AN AMERICAN PIONEER.

We in the Suffrage movement have sometimes been accused of forgetting the women who did the early hard work, and who bore the flag of feminism aloft in days when it took a far greater amount of physical and moral courage to demand justice for women than it does to-day. But the fact that our movement is always demanding so much and so incessantly from our activities is the reason that though we are continually mindful of the women who did the pioneer work, we have not always time to hark back and make them known to others. Of these early feminists there were none more fearless and more unselfish than the American Lucy Stone, some details of whose life we are permitted to publish by courtesy of *The Woman's Journal*, Boston, which was founded by her efforts.

Born August 13, 1818, on a farm near West Brookfield, Mass., she grew up strong and hardy. The night before she was born her mother milked eight cows, and when told of the sex of her baby, cried: "Oh dear, I'm sorry it's a girl—a woman's life is so hard." Early in her life Lucy Stone became indignant at the way she saw women treated by their husbands and by the laws, and reading in the Bible: "Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee," the angry little girl brooded over the possibility that someone might have translated the Bible wrong, and she determined to go to college and learn Greek and Hebrew.

Her father was astounded at her request. Money for college must be found for boys—but girls! "Is the child crazy?" he asked, when he curtly and finally refused her. But the refusal did not daunt the little girl, and she resolved to make the money for herself. She picked berries and chestnuts in the woods near the farm, and sold them to buy books. Then, when she was able, she taught district schools for a pittance, and saved, studying and teaching alternately. The thoroughness with which she did her work caused her to be in great request, and once she was engaged to take a winter school which had been broken up by the big boys throwing their master head foremost into a snowdrift, and for controlling these turbulent spirits she was, owing to her sex, paid only a fraction of the salary given to the unsuccessful male teacher.

It was not until she was twenty-five that she had saved enough money to take her to Oberlin, the only college in the country that admitted women. She crossed Lake Erie from Buffalo to Cleveland, sleeping on deck on a pile of grain sacks, among horses and freight, as she could not afford to pay for a cabin. At Oberlin she earned her way by teaching in the preparatory department of the college, and by doing housework in the ladies' boarding hall at 3 cents (1½d.) an hour. A school was started in the town (which was strongly anti-slavery) for the fugitive slaves who had found their way there, and Lucy Stone was asked to take charge of it; but the sex-prejudice was strong even in the coloured men, fresh from slavery and oppression, and they felt it beneath even their poor

dignity to be taught by a woman. And it was only when it was explained to them that being taught by a woman was preferable to being left in ignorance that they agreed to learn from her.

When she finally graduated in 1847, as she was a strong abolitionist, she was engaged to lecture by the Anti-Slavery Society. About the same time she gave her first lecture on woman's rights, and, the subject being that nearest her heart, she was constantly introducing it into her anti-slavery lectures. This was pointed out to her, and she said: "I know it; but I could not help it. I was a woman before I was an abolitionist, and I must speak for the women." She finally arranged to speak for anti-slavery on certain days, and for women's rights—on her own initiative—on the others.

Breaking ground by speaking of the wrongs done to women, and the serf-like position in which they were placed at a time when no such thing as a Suffrage organisation had any existence, was a herculean task.

She stood for a long time absolutely isolated, ploughing a lonely furrow.

"She had no co-operation," says her daughter, "and no backing, and started out absolutely alone. So far as she knew there were only a few persons in the whole country who had any sympathy with the idea of equal rights. She put up the posters for her own meetings with a little package of tacks and a stone picked up from the street. Sometimes the boys followed her, hooting and preparing to tear the posters down. Then she would stop and call the boys about her, and hold a preliminary meeting in the street, until she had won them all over and persuaded them to let her posters alone. Once a hymn-book was thrown, striking her on the neck so violently that she was almost stunned. On another occasion in winter a pane of glass was removed from the window behind the speaker's stand, a hose was put through, and she was

suddenly deluged with ice-cold water while she was speaking. She put on her shawl, and continued her lecture. Pepper was burned, spitballs were thrown, and all sorts of things done to break up the meetings, but generally without success.

"She travelled over a large part of the United States. In most of the towns where she lectured, no woman had ever spoken in public before, and curiosity attracted immense audiences. The speaker was a great surprise to them. The general idea of a woman's rights advocate, on the part of those who had never seen one, was of a tall, gaunt, angular woman, with aggressive manners, a masculine air and a strident voice, scolding at the men. Instead, they found a tiny woman, with quiet, unassuming manners, a winning presence, and the sweetest voice ever possessed by a public speaker. This voice became celebrated. It was so musical and delicious that persons who had once heard her lecture, hearing her utter a few words years afterwards, on a railroad car or in a stage-coach, where it was too dark to recognise faces, would at once exclaim unhesitatingly, 'That is Lucy Stone!'"



LUCY STONE.

THE DEATH OF THE ETERNAL FEMININE.

"Ring out the old-fashioned woman, ring in the new." Such, says *The New York Evening World*, is the text of a remarkable article written by M. Jean Finot in a recent number of his magazine, *La Revue*.

"The life struggle demands equality. In the interests of both sexes woman's new exactions must be satisfied," M. Finot declares, and then perhaps to reconcile man to his surrender he paints in alluring colours a picture of the new woman.

First, he tells us that even the beauties of Titian, Holbein and Reynolds show the vague timidity, the instinctive humility which characterised the servile woman of the Middle Ages.

"There is an expression of humility in every line of her body, of the mute supplication of a weak creature pleading to be protected and caressed."

Then he describes the woman of to-day:—

"The majesty of the new woman strikes us even in the faces of the Anti-Suffragists. There is no submission in her eyes, for she has banished it from her brain. She is no longer the docile puppet of a capricious master. Her languishing walk has become energetic. She has the frank and proud look of a conqueror or of a being destined to conquer."

This evolution of woman was inevitable, the French sociologist believes. Contrary to the declaration of the Bible, he asserts that man came from woman, not woman from man, citing Mr. Lester F. Ward's "Pure Sociology" to prove that "Woman had children before the male element existed."

Deceit Born of Fear.

M. Finot does not believe in the permanence of sex characteristics. He thinks they have resulted from the different habits and lives of men and women. "Nature knows nothing of these barriers built by our imagination," he says.

Like all weak and oppressed beings, woman in former times had recourse to lying and deceit.

"Her catlike grace seemed to synthesize the mystery of her soul and the ordering of her life. Poets who idealised woman did not cease to see in her the strength of lying and treachery. The laws of masculine honour were unknown to her. Her deceit was the thorn upon the rose."

But we have changed all that, and M. Finot, wiser than many of his kind, acknowledges it.

"Ceasing to be a slave, woman has lost—and continues to lose—the essential stigma, the cowardice of lying."

Improvement of a Sex.

"Under the influence of the chosen women who work and think, the feminine standard is rising everywhere. To-day woman would rather be considered 'an honest man' than a perverse goddess."

M. Finot pays a deserved tribute to the honesty and ability of women in the professions, and believes that the future depends "on this noble rivalry between the sexes. Misoneism, or the horror of the new, is of all ages. Man experiences it everywhere, and always before the transformation of beings and of things."

But he need not worry, is M. Finot's triumphant conclusion. For "woman will always preserve those seductive qualities necessary to the triumph of love and the preservation of the race."

Actresses' Franchise League, Adelphi-terrace House, 2, Robert-street, Strand, W.C.

The annual Birthday Party, arranged by the Committee of the Actresses' Franchise League at the Criterion on Friday, December 16, was a great success, and the delightful singing of Miss Grace Kemp Gee, Miss Rosa Leo, Madame Bertha, and Miss Marjorie Moore, and Miss Esther Palliser was greatly enjoyed. Miss May Mukle charmed everyone with her playing on the cello, and Miss Eva Moore brought a most enjoyable afternoon to a close by reciting "Father's Soft Spot." Mrs. Bertwee made a most interesting little speech on our aims and objects, while Miss May Whitty was hostess for the committee.

Her sincerity, her simplicity, and her natural gift of oratory everywhere made converts to her cause, and the knowledge of the basis on which the demand for equal rights for women was being made was disseminated by this brave young woman at the cost of meeting charges of unwomanliness in speaking in public at all in those early, narrow days. The fact that she was an abolitionist, and that freedom was to her an ideal and a sacred thing, to which every human being was born with an equal right, made her, though modest and retiring by nature, a public apostle of feminism. It had been her intention never to marry, but Henry J. Blackwell, a prominent abolitionist, and a strong supporter of woman's rights, heard her speak, and at a meeting in the State House in Boston, promised to make her work his work, and persuaded her that together they could do more than she could achieve alone.

Her marriage was noteworthy for the fact that the pastor, a personal friend, and a believer in equal rights, was not only willing, but glad to omit the word "obey," and also because, acting on advice from eminent lawyers who told her that there was no law requiring a wife to take her husband's name, she determined, with her husband's full approval, to keep her own name, continuing to be called by it during nearly forty years of happy and affectionate married life. "She regarded the loss of a wife's name at marriage as the symbol of her loss of individuality." At the time of their marriage they issued a joint protest against the inequalities of the law which gave the husband the control of his wife's property, person and children. This protest, which was widely published in the papers, gave rise to much discussion, and helped to get the laws amended.

Whenever a Suffrage amendment was being submitted to popular vote, there Mrs. Stone and her husband were to be found organising campaigns and lecturing. Together they were instrumental in securing many improvements in the laws, and did an immense amount of propaganda work right through the States for equal rights for men and women. Taxation without representation was one of the wrongs she frequently protested against. A few years after her marriage, while they were living in Orange, N.J., Mrs. Stone let her goods be seized, and sold for taxes (one of the articles seized was the baby's cradle), and wrote a protest against taxation without representation, with her baby on her knee.

In 1866 she helped to organise the American Equal Rights Association, which was formed to work for both negroes and women, and she was chairman of its executive committee. In 1869, with William Lloyd Garrison, George William Curtis, Colonel Higginson, Mrs. Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Mary A. Livermore and others, she organised the American Woman Suffrage Association, the most important Suffrage organisation in America, and was chairman of its executive committee for nearly twenty years.

Her highest praise, until the year of her death in 1893, was that "she always craved, not the post of prominence, but the post of work."

What Americans owe to her—both white women and coloured folk—only the future can tell. Like many of our own pathfinders, she lived to see the fruition of the least part of her sowing; like them, she could only guess at what the tree of liberty would be like when it would be full-grown. MARY O. KENNEDY.

"SUFFRAGETTES ANNEXE MEETING OF ANTI'S," is the heading of a par. in a New York paper, which says:—"The announced Anti-Suffrage open parliament or mass meeting at the Metropolitan Temple, Seventh-avenue and Fourteenth-street, New York, turned out to be wholly and entirely a meeting in favour of Suffrage. Not a single speaker advocated the Anti's cause, but several spoke against it. Mr. James Stacey presided, and Mrs. Howe, leader of the Twenty-fifth Assembly District for the League for Political Equality of Women, poked fun at the Anti's. 'They belong to the protected class, and are afraid to come out in the rain,' she said, 'to-day. 'We Suffragists are not!'"

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 148, Holborn Bars.
Secretary—Miss M. E. RIDLER.

Directors—Mrs. C. DESPARD, Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.,
Miss MARIE LAWSON, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1910.

THE WAY OUT.

Less than a year ago the General Election of January showed the British-made electorate sitting upon the fence. Neither of the great historic parties were given a clear mandate from the people. It was a case of almost equally balanced regard, and a decisive vote of confidence in neither. During eleven months Liberal administration, depending now upon the Irish or Labour vote and now taking refuge in a time-killing agreement with the Conservatives, continued to hold office. Then came an appeal to the constituencies. But the faults and virtues of the Liberal ministry appear to have balanced each other in the eyes of the electors, and the opposing party has won no greater measure of confidence. The result of this second appeal is another deadlock. Except for the money spent, the energy expended, the trade disorganised, and the time wasted, the position is unchanged. The command of the men-electors to the politicians is "As you were!"

It is obvious to the most superficial observer that the best interests of the country are not served by such a condition in the House of Commons. The legislative machine is unwieldy and slow-moving enough in normal circumstances, but under these abnormal circumstances it does not offer to move at all. The people may be wise who, like Spencer, measure progress by the fewness rather than by the number of legislative enactments, but when all the reforming influences of a nation are turned into the political arena, no legislation is equivalent to no reform.

Already many suggestions are being made by those who realise the implication of this *impasse*. Speedy and, in the party view, remunerative devices have been put forward in some of the party prints, and have been discussed with much ingenuity. But most of the schemes err in placing party advantage as the first object to be served, while others are almost certain to be ineffective, and others again are undesirable or far-fetched.

The Liberal papers seem to adhere almost unanimously to some policy of bringing about a new distribution of the existing electorate. To them the problem is one of the arrangement of forces already in being. They seem to base their present policy upon the assumption that the Government should stick to the power it has in order to use it to make such a legislative change as shall transfer many votes from its opponent's credit to its own. But it is clear that this policy has already been tried, and that it has failed. We can safely assume that every device likely to ensure success, which the circumstances left available to the Government, has been employed for this election now ended. Yet it has left things just where they were. Surely the same forces which made it incapable of success in 1910 will produce a like result in 1911? The Liberal party cannot under existing conditions carry through so great a legislative change in any department as would move a preponderating number of existing votes from the Unionist side to their own.

It must also be kept in mind that further repetitions of this general election method of appeal will considerably affect the feelings of the electorate. The disturbance of constantly recurring elections does not commend itself to a large part of the community, and an early resignation or dissolution would bring the discontent strongly into evidence. For the Liberal ministry it is certainly a case of between the devil and the deep sea.

The Conservative leader showed his party's appreciation of the dangers of the position by his advocacy

of the Referendum. The problem stated from this side may be summed up in the form: The present party and parliamentary system having broken down, let us find a supplementary device by which things can be set going again. It is clear that there was more in the minds of the Unionist leaders when they decided to adopt the Referendum than the issue between the Two Houses of Parliament. They recognised that if the Lords were in a parlous state so were the parties. The Referendum is put forward in the hope that it will open a way out of both kinds of Parliamentary deadlock.

To women there is something wanting in both the policies. It appears to them to be premature to advocate the application of a new registration device like the Referendum before the present electoral system has been fully applied. There are some sections of the people who are entitled to register their opinions upon national issues who have not been consulted. If they had been it is possible that the present deadlock might have been avoided. When democracy has been fully applied—and has failed—upon present parliamentary lines, a new experiment in another form would be justifiable. But until the women of the country have been given their chance of disturbing the troublesome balance of parties, they can scarcely be expected to look with favour upon a new experiment for amplifying the democratic powers of men.

In the direction of a new electorate alone can a clear way out of the difficulty be found. A new and untried electorate of a million women would probably turn the scale in quite a number of constituencies. They would inevitably break up the present stagnation. They would bring new blood and new issues into the fight.

If the Liberal Ministry has not the power to carry big measures on its own strength in other departments this must also apply to the franchise department of national affairs. But this is no difficulty. There is a franchise measure, a conciliatory and practical Bill, already approved by the House, will serve at once to meet the demand for justice to women and to satisfy the national need for a new electorate. Both policy and justice should counsel the ministry to see this measure through the House of Commons. There is no difficulty in the way of its clear passage if the ministry so decrees. Pressure, wisely employed, should suffice to bring this course to the front as a good, desirable, and sound line of advance. In a House of Commons formed as is this one the Ministry and the Opposition must both be ready for compromise. This Women's Bill is a Bill of compromise which might have been specially designed for the occasion. Let it be passed, and that speedily. All Suffragist effort should be concentrated upon this immediate solution. TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

WOMEN IN INDIA.

In the course of an article, "The Curzon-Cromer Combine," in the current number of *The Englishwoman*, Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, who is one of the greatest authorities on India and the Indian woman, has something to say:—

But Lord Curzon's assertion that the "granting of the suffrage to women would become a source of danger in India" needs a word of comment first. Now—I speak on this point also with diffidence, but with some experience—I think he is wrong. I think he is obsessed by the Englishman's conventional or "harem" view of woman's position in the East. He seems to forget that the worship of the Female is by far the most popular cult in India, and that for one prayer put up to a god there are five thousand to a goddess. He also ignores—if, indeed, he ever grasped, since few Indian officials do—the enormous influence which women wield in the present unrest. The Feminist movement is intimately associated with all the aspirations of Young India. Nor is this to be wondered at; the Tantrik cult—the religion, that is, of fifty millions in Bengal alone—teaches that "the whole world is embodied in the Woman." The late Queen Victoria's rule did not, therefore, seem to the Hindu population anything in the least unnatural. To the Mohammedans it may have been different; but since this worship of the woman underlies the belief of some four-fifths of the inhabitants of India, it is foolish to graft the opinions of one Mohammedan *rissildar* on to those of four Hindu *gurus*, and put the lot into an anti-suffrage pigeonhole!

New Fête Blouse



NEW FETE BLOUSE (as sketch), an entirely new idea, in best quality nixon, with wide ribbon of contrasting colour underneath, round the figure and over the shoulders, finished with black ribbon veivet, and lace vest and collar. In black, white, and all shades.

21/9

Debenham & Freebody,

Wigmore Street (Cavendish Square), London, W.

BRANCH NOTES.

NATIONAL OFFICES, LONDON.—1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

West Hampstead.—23, Pandora-road.

I have formed a group of the W.F.L. in West Hampstead, preparatory to forming a branch later. Will members of the W.F.L. and sympathisers in or near West Hampstead note that meetings are being held every Wednesday at 8.30 p.m. at 23, Pandora-road, West End-lane, at which their attendance is earnestly requested.—JEANNETTE VAN RAALTE, Hon. Secretary.

Northern Heights.—Miss MITCHELL, Merok, Great North-road.

On December 14 Mrs. Sproson very kindly spoke at our usual fortnightly meeting. Although the meeting had been well chalked in Highgate, and invitation cards sent out, the attendance was small, owing no doubt to the bad weather. Those who were present, however, felt well rewarded, for Mrs. Sproson gave us an address which was very inspiring to those of her audience who had been working during the Election, and who were feeling depressed at the attitude of elected and electors to our question. Literature and VOTES were sold and a collection taken.—A. M.

Croydon.—Mrs. TERRY, 9, Morland-avenue.

Until after the New Year, no more meetings will be held, as many members will be away and otherwise engaged during Christmas time. We shall hope to commence work with renewed vigour early in January.—E. TERRY, Hon. Secretary.

Hackney.—Mrs. Mustard, 49, Moresby-road, Upper Clapton, N.E.

A very successful Suffrage Social and Whist Drive was given by Miss Le Croisette at her flat on December 14, the tickets being sold at 1s. each. The social part of the programme terminated at 8.30 p.m., with refreshments, when Mrs. Mustard spoke on Suffrage in her usual impressive manner. The profits amounted to 10s., and a considerable quantity of literature was sold.

Stamford Hill.—Mrs. A. CUNNINGHAM, 114, Holmleigh-road.

Owing to the rainy weather we have held no open-air meetings this week. But Miss Ethel Fennings, organiser for THE VOTE, has kindly promised to attend the "At Home" on January 3 to explain her methods of sale. In addition to this, she is good enough to devote the first week in January to our branch, and will address three open-air meetings (weather permitting) on Monday, January 2, Wednesday the 4th, and Friday the 6th, at 8 p.m., at West Hackney Church, Oldhill-street, and Amhurst Park respectively.

OTHER LONDON BRANCHES.

Acton.—Miss HENWOOD, 153, St. Albans-avenue, Chiswick.
Battersea.—Mrs. DUVAL, 37, Park-road, St. John's-hill, S.W.
Central.—Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing.
Clapham.—Miss F. UNDERWOOD, 31, Rush-hill-road, Lavender-hill.

Dulwich.—Mrs. MOORE, 86, Melbourne-grove, East Dulwich.
Finchley.—Mrs. MITCHELL, "Saltburn," Mountfield-road, Church End.

Herne Hill.—Miss SPENCER, 32, Geneva-road, Brixton.

Highbury.—Miss ARKLEY, 10, Highbury-hill, N.

Harrow.—Mrs. HUNTSMAN, "Rions," Northwick-park-road, North-road, Highgate.

Peckham.—Mrs. PICKERING, 23, Albert-road.

Southall.—Miss CUNNINGHAM, "Oakdene," Hayes.

Tottenham.—Miss M. SIMS, 3, Elmhurst-road.

Willesden.—Miss BENNETT, 15, Creighton-road, Kilburn.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND BRANCHES.

Eastbourne.—Mrs. DILKS, 39, Milton-road.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—Mrs. CRAWLEY, 4, St. Paul's-road, Southsea.

Hon. Organiser—Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

West Sussex.—Miss CUMMIN, Eastbourne Vicarage, Midhurst.

Brighton and Hove.

Hon. Secretaries.—Brighton: Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Bucking-

ham-place. Hove: Miss HARE, 8, San Remo.

On Friday a very pleasant and well-attended "At Home" was held at Miss Giraud's studio in Hove. Mrs. Francis presided, Mrs. Fenwick Miller kindly spoke, Mme. Brunel recited in her inimitable way, and Miss Hare gave an eye-witness account of the last deputation.

The Jumble Sale on Monday was a great success, all the things being cleared away within three hours, and the proceeds came to £7! For this thanks are due to all those who supplied goods, as well as to those who assisted at the sale.

The Tax-Resistance Meeting, at which Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Kington Parkes will speak, has been arranged for January 20. Further particulars will be given later.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser:

Miss MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Liverpool.—Mrs. EVANS, 49, Kimberley-drive, Crosby.

Manchester Central.—Miss HORDERN, 36, Preston-road, Levenshulme.

Urmston.—Miss M. HUDSON, "Oaklands," Flixton.

Sale.—The Sale Branch Committee met on Wednesday this week, and the treasurer presented the accounts for the Sale shop. All expenses had been cleared and a considerable profit made. It was decided to send a donation of £5 to headquarters. The question of a committee room or small office was discussed, and the secretary instructed to advertise in the local paper for a room for this purpose. Arrangements were made for a whist drive in January, and a series of fortnightly lectures on subjects of peculiar interest to women, the syllabus to be announced later.

Eccles.—The Eccles Branch held a debate in the Co-operative Hall on Wednesday, December 14, when Mr. Allen impersonated an "Anti," Miss Heyes speaking for "Votes for Women." A good meeting was held. The organiser has on sale Russian toffee for Christmas parties, 1s. 6d. a lb., or in packets 6d., 4d., and 2d.; and China tea, 1s. 10d. per lb. All profits to go to the district funds. Please buy.—M. E. MANNING.

The feature of the week has been Wednesday's debate in the Co-operative Hall, Eccles, on the objects of the W.F.L. Miss Heyes made a new venture as chairman, and Mr. Allen proved the height of his devotion to the cause by appearing as opponent to the resolution moved and debated by Miss Janet Heyes. After warm discussion the room voted solidly for the resolution, and three people gave in their names as probable members. We shall repeat the experiment.

Warm Christmas greetings have gone from the branch to meet Mr. Ward, our associate, on his way to South America. As chairman, speaker, and general help we shall miss him very much. What woman will volunteer to take his place?

Taking a new lease of life for the New Year, we begin with a new set of officers:—Secretary, Miss Kipps, 16, Fitzwarren-street, Seedley; treasurer, Miss Janet Heyes, Newholme, Hazlehurst, Worsley; literary secretary, Miss Wilkinson, 16, Fitzwarren-street, Seedley. Their first programme is for January, a money-making one. Friday, January 15, Whist Drive in Moreton; Saturday, January 23, Jumble Sale in Eccles. The Christmas holidays will prove an excellent opportunity for begging or otherwise obtaining possession of things for the sale or stall for members' work, which we hope to run in the same room.—JANET HEYES.

Chester.—13, Abbey-square.

We have had the unexpected pleasure of a visit from Miss Munro, who addressed a large open-air meeting in the Market-square. We could not chalk the pavements until two hours before the meeting owing to rain, but at the appointed hour quite a number of people had collected. It was quite the most orderly and attentive audience we have had here, and judging from many appreciative remarks Miss Munro won great popularity. The opportunity thus afforded to the members of the branch, who met her earlier in the evening, of getting in touch with headquarters is certainly helpful, especially to those of us on whom the responsibility of organising rests.—E. WOODALL.

OTHER PROVINCIAL BRANCHES.
Cheltenham.—Mrs. EARENGEY, 3, Wellington-square.
Marlow.—Miss HAYES, "Drifts," Marlow.
Potteries.—Mrs. PEDLEY, 18, Bower-street, Hanley, Staffs.
Sheffield.—Miss LEONARD, 32, Dover-road.
Wellingborough.—Mrs. ENGLAND SMITH, "Newstead," Hatton-park.
 Miss V. SHARMAN, Ivy Lodge.
Wolverhampton.—Mrs. CRESWELL, 25, Rugby-street.
York.—Mrs. ROBINSON, 30, Ratcliffe-street.
Middlesbrough.—Miss MAHONY, 27, Waterloo-road.
South Shields.—Mrs. MILLER, "The Poplars," Langholme-road, East Boldon.
Sunderland.—Miss CLARK, 3, Havelock-terrace.
West Hartlepool.—Miss J. H. LEIGHTON, 16, Clifton-street, Hartlepool.
Hadleigh.—Miss MATTHEWS, 21, Fir Tree-terrace.
Ipswich.—Miss ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road.
Norwich.—Miss M. JEWSON, Tower House, Bracondale.
Swansea.—Mrs. CLEEVES.
South Glamorgan.—Mrs. WOOLF, Royal Hotel, Cardiff.
Caldicot.—Miss L. CORBEN, Ivy Lodge.
Barry.—Miss M. RATHBONE, 7, Oxford-street.

IRELAND.

Bangor, Down.—Miss McMASTER, "Arbutus," Farnham-road

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 502, SAUCHIEHALL STREET.
 Suffrage Centre Managers: MISS R. McARTHUR.
 Hon. Secretary: MISS B. S. SEMPLE.
 Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.
Edinburgh.
 Hon. Secretary: Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place.
 Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street.
 Hon. Shop Secretary: Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent.

Branch meetings have been resumed, and on Wednesday there was a good attendance to hear Miss Moffatt's interesting paper on "The Superwoman." Miss Moffatt criticised the ideas of Bernard Shaw, Nietzsche, and Walt Whitman on the subject, drawing special attention to Whitman's fine ideals. General discussion followed.

It was announced that Mrs. Wilson and her daughters had very kindly arranged to give a Whist Drive and Dance in aid of the funds of the branch on Friday, January 13. It will be held in the Café Vegetaria, and tickets, price 2s. 6d. each, are on sale at the Shop.

Mrs. Thomson thanks all who have responded to her appeal for goods suitable for the shop at Christmas-time. A very attractive window has been arranged, and those in search of presents should keep it in mind.—HELEN McLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

Dundee.

The usual fortnightly meeting was held on Thursday last. A statement of the election expenses was given by Miss Elsie Clunas. The accounts amounted to over £30. Subscriptions, which will fully cover the expenditure, have been received by the Treasurer from friends interested. As the Liberal vote has been reduced by nearly 3,000, and many of the people have now got an inkling of what the Conciliation Bill really means, the branch members think that the money has been well spent.

In order to refute Mr. Churchill's parrot-like assertion that the Conciliation Bill will give an unfair advantage to the property vote, the W.F.L. members, along with the N.S.W.S. and the W.S.P.U., have begun a canvass of the municipal voters of Dundee, in order to find out the real percentage of women workers, so that to the statistics already obtained will be added those of Mr. Churchill's own constituency.—J. A. SMART, 34, Rankine-street, Dundee.

Money Received, per	£	s.	d.	Miss McGregor	£	s.	d.
Miss Anna Munro				Miss R. R. McGilchrist	1	0	0
Dundee Branch	7	0	0	Gilchrist			
Edinburgh Branch	5	0	0	Mrs. Despard	3	12	0
Anonymous, per Miss				Miss Dunee Murray	0	15	0
Buntin, Glasgow	5	0	0	Miss Daisy Anderson	0	2	0
Collected by Miss Buntin	1	1	6	Miss Jolly	0	10	0
Miss Janie Allan	5	0	0	Miss Anna Munro	0	6	4
Miss Sarah Bennett	1	0	0	Collected	5	11	6

We direct the attention of our members to a public meeting of the Central London Branch of the W.F.L. at the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand (next door to the Bodega), January 3, at 8 o'clock. Miss Marie Lawson will be in the chair, Miss Cicely Hamilton will be the speaker, and Miss Edith Craig the hostess.

New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

The Christmas Sale on December 6, which Miss Eva Moore opened in a charming speech, proved a great success.

The committee are glad to be able to announce that they have secured the services of Miss Helen Ogston as their organiser. Members and friends in London and country, who would like to arrange meetings for Miss Ogston, or who could assist her to arrange meetings in their district, are asked to communicate with the hon. secretaries without delay, as the plan of work for the New Year will shortly be drawn up.

MISS ETHEL FENNINGS, "THE VOTE" ORGANISER.



Miss E. Fennings.

The appointment of Miss Ethel Fennings, who with her sister may be counted amongst the most successful sellers of THE VOTE, as VOTE Organiser, is a very excellent thing for our paper. Miss Fennings has spent a good deal of time recently testing pitches, and she has found some excellent new "points" for selling THE VOTE.

As a successful seller, Miss Fennings was asked the secret of her success.

"Determination," she said. "If you make up your mind to sell, you will do it. It is no use starting out with a bundle of papers with the doleful thought that you're going to sell nothing. Much better start out with the intention of returning without a copy unsold."

"You always carry THE VOTE bag and poster?"
 "When it's not too windy I take the poster, and I find the bag a great help. It makes one look business-like, and attracts attention with its inscription. When you find people looking at it, it is always easy to ask them to buy. I begin selling on leaving the house, and don't wait until I have reached the pitch I have in view, and I make a point of never losing an opportunity of selling when I reach the spot I have chosen."

"The best way to sell? Well, you must keep on calling out 'THE VOTE! One penny!' Look pleasant, take no notice of rudeness, never start an altercation with anyone, but be courteous to those—and they are not a few—who are likely to become interested in what you are doing and why you are doing it. THE VOTE is easy to sell, and we find, my sister and I, that having made a pitch, we have regular customers come to look for us each week, who would be very disappointed if we were not at our posts."

"Where is the best place to sell?"
 "In one's own neighbourhood," said Miss Fennings. "People know you there. They know you are in earnest, and they will buy readily from you. In our neighbourhood there are many 'Anti's', but we have been able, in spite of this, to sell seven or eight dozen a week. At some of our meetings we have sold nearly three dozen, which from a casual crowd is very good."

"You don't mind selling in the street?"

"It's not the pleasantest kind of work; but once you have asked your first passer-by it comes quite easy; and, after all, militants ought to be prepared to do work of this kind, whether they like it or not. It's fighting prejudice—and they are out to fight. Another way of selling the paper is to take it everywhere one goes; never to be without a couple of copies, shopping, visiting, sight-seeing, and to be on the alert for the eye of curiosity directed towards it. Odd copies can be sold in this way, and the seed sown."

"Your new pitch?"

"I have found some very good new pitches, and shall be delighted if members who can spare an hour will communicate with me."

Receipts Competition.

The first prize (10s. or two fully paid-up shares in the Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd.) is awarded to Mrs. De Vismes for largest amount spent.

The second (6s. 6d., or one year's subscription to THE VOTE) to Mrs. Thomson-Price, 42, Parkhill-road, Hampstead, for largest number of receipts sent in.

Amongst the receipts sent in were several for very large amounts. One of our members spent £10 at one time with one advertiser alone; and another, whose receipts totalled £14 10s., had two for over £5 spent at one time with one advertiser amongst hers. We keep these receipts in the office, and shall be pleased to show them at any time to any doubting advertiser.

"THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN."

Under the above title, one of the most significant articles that have been written for some time on the women of the working classes appears in *The Nineteenth Century*. Its significance consists in the fact that it is written by a woman who knows what she is talking about, and who is not afraid to draw conclusions from what she sees—conclusions which read a little grimly in view of the flabby philanthropy and impertinent interference which is at the back of much that is usually written concerning the married working woman. For those who may not have an opportunity of reading this excellent article we append some excerpts, but we advise all our readers who can do so to get it and read the whole. Miss Anna Martin, the writer, says in the beginning: "It is reported that the leaders of the Anti-Suffrage League have determined, in their forthcoming campaign, to appeal mainly to that dread of universal enfranchisement which undoubtedly exists among large sections of English society." The ordinary citizen, she says, is afraid of the ultimate enfranchisement of the married working woman, believing her to be a creature of limited intelligence and capacity, "who neither has, nor ought to have, any desires outside her own four walls." She goes on to give her experiences from her connection with a Lodge which she calls No. 39 in the S.E. district of London, to which married working women came. The meetings held for the women were for pleasure and recreation. The women were not preached to on their duty as wives and mothers, but "admiration was openly expressed for the gallant way in which they faced their difficult lives, and the speakers, so far from inculcating contentment and resignation, held strong views as to the intolerable burden imposed on working women by the blind forces of society."

It has become the fashion for politicians and reformers to lay much of the blame of their own failures and of their own social mismanagement on the shoulders of a voiceless and voteless class. Platform and Press constantly declare, and, therefore the ordinary citizen believes, that the average wife of the average working man can neither sew, cook, nor wash, manage her children, nurse her baby, nor keep her husband from the public-house. Why, then, complicate Government by introducing into the body politic these ignorant and unsatisfactory creatures? It is, of course, easier for Mr. John Burns to declare he is ready to schedule the "comforter" as a dangerous implement than honestly to face the causes which prevent the mothers from bringing up their infants in accordance with the latest medical theory. It is also easier for the middle-class house-keeper to dilate on the dirt and want of management she observes in mean streets than to consider exactly how she would herself conduct domestic life in these localities. It is easier to attack the problem of infant mortality by founding Babies' Institutes, and by endeavouring to screw up to a still higher level the self-sacrifice and devotion of the normal working-class woman, than to incur the wrath of vested interests by insisting on healthy conditions for mothers and infants alike. It is easier to pass bye-laws limiting or prohibiting the employment of children of school age than to take measures which would make their tiny earnings of less importance to the family.

The exclusion of any class from having a voice in the affairs of the community has inevitably a cramping and limiting effect. But they are quick to learn. Among the poorer families especially, the mental superiority of the wife to the husband is very marked. The ceaseless fight which these women wage in defence of their homes against all the forces of the industrial system develops in them an alertness and an adaptability to which the men, deadened by laborious and uninspiring toil, can lay no claim. The wives are, indeed, without the smattering of newspaper information which their husbands exchange as political wisdom in the public-houses, but they have a fund of common-sense, an intimate knowledge of the workings of male human nature, and an instinctive righteousness of attitude which make them invaluable raw electoral material.

Of course, the home-makers of the mean streets are not to be judged by middle-class standards. Theoretically, most people acknowledge the evolutionary nature of manners and morals; practically, they fail to see that a code which works well enough in the household of a prosperous professional man would often prove disastrous in the household of a dock labourer. Take, for instance, the question of order and cleanliness. Not to have beds made till 8 o'clock in the evening would reasonably be considered to show bad management in the case of a rich woman; to have them made earlier would sometimes show lack of organising power in the case of a poor one. "How do you manage about the housework if you are out all day?"

Mrs. T., a member of No. 39, was recently asked. Her reply was entered at the time on the Lodge notes, and was as follows:—"I rise at 4.45, sweep the place a bit and get my husband his breakfast. He must be off before six. Then I wake and wash the children, give them each a slice of bread and butter and the remains of the tea, and leave out the oats and sugar for Harry to prepare for the rest later on. (Harry is ten years old.) Then I open up the beds and take the baby to Mrs. T. My own work begins at 7 a.m. At 8.30 the firm sends us round a mug of tea, and I eat the bread and butter I have brought with me. I used to come home in the dinner-hour, but my feet are now so bad that I get a halfpenny cup of coffee in a shop and eat the rest of what I have brought. At 4.30 I have another cup of tea, and get home a little before 7 p.m. I do the hearth up, get my husband his supper, and make the beds. Then I get out the mending and am usually in bed by 11. On Saturday I leave work at noon so as to take the washing to the baths."

Mrs. T.'s husband is in regular work, but owing to a maimed hand earns only 17s. 6d. a week. She herself works during the season in a jam factory, and leads the awful life she described for months at a time. True, her beds are not made and her hearth is not tidied till late in the evening, but one does not exactly see what other and better arrangements of her household affairs a whole college of domestic economy lecturers could devise.

Another "painful example" may be quoted from the notes, of a house in which one constantly finds dirty teacups on the breakfast table, and mother and daughter with dishevelled hair and untidy blouses, at 11 o'clock in the morning.

The S.'s were an exceptionally happy little family till the father, owing to changes in the management of his firm, lost his work. "I've been married thirty-three years," said Mrs. S., her commonplace face illuminated by the light of high resolve, "and I've never once been short of my money. I'd be ashamed if I couldn't keep a roof over father's head now. I was up button-holing at 4 o'clock this morning, and I'm proud of it." Though the man was in a good club, the situation so preyed on his mind that he went insane, tried to commit suicide, and was only saved by the magnificent courage of the crippled daughter. He has now been for over two years in the Cane Hill Asylum, and mother and daughter are working their fingers to the bone to pay the rent and to keep the home together against his return. Once in three months they painfully scrape the pence together for one of them to visit the asylum, and nothing so brought home to the mind the awful poverty in which mother and daughter were living, as the discovery by a visitor that Mrs. S., in order not to go empty-handed, saved up the common little biscuits handed round with the tea at No. 39. The work, like much other home-work, has to be in the hands of the middle-man before 1 o'clock, and the women would hardly render their desperate struggle easier by taking time before that hour for their domestic affairs. Broken sleep with a cross baby, delicate health on the part of the mother, are also common causes of late hours in the morning. The woman gets the older children off to school, and then goes back to bed for a little rest, but the reticent English poor do not vouchsafe any explanation of their untidy rooms to casual visitors. That is kept for those they know and trust.

But nothing is so astonishing as the prevalence of the belief that the wives are bad managers and housekeepers. A moment's reflection will show that, if this were true, the families could not live at all. Any analysis of the incomes makes manifest that, when the wives have paid rent, coal, gas, soap, insurance, and have set aside a small sum for tiny incidental expenses and for the renewal of boots and clothes, they seldom have left more than from 10s. to 14s. to provide food for two adults and three or four children. The husband, of course, costs more than his proportional share; luckily, the men insist on being well fed, or incapacity through illness would be even more common among the wage-earners than it is at present.

It is clear that women who keep their families on such incomes have not much to learn in the way of food management. Their main energies are concentrated upon securing the greatest quantity of food for the small sums they can afford, and it is not surprising that they develop an almost superhuman skill. The aim of their lives is to put on the table some kind of hot dinner every day. To this they are urged by the public opinion of their families, who do not easily forgive failures in what they consider the mother's primary duty, even though it may be for her a veritable making of bricks without straw. This is especially the case if there are grown-up sons at home; that the latter are out of work does not seem to make much difference to the demand. "Well, I can't see them want," is the natural reply of the mother when expostulated with on the reckless sacrifice of her own health and comfort. Women often get into the hands of the moneylenders simply because they do not dare to face the household with nothing but bread and butter on the table.

Enlarging on the working woman as a housekeeper, Miss Martin quotes from the books of the Lodge:—

Mrs. A. said: "I had a great stroke of luck last week. I sent Patsy for a shilling's-worth of meat on Saturday night, and the butcher gave him a piece of skirt, a big veal cutlet, and some pieces. Out of the veal and pieces I made a pie which did for

Sunday's dinner and supper, and Jack's dinner on Monday. Then I cooked the skirt with haricot beans, potatoes and flour (probably she meant a suet pudding), and that did us two days. So I reckon the six of us got three hot dinners apiece for 1s. 9d., besides the supper and Jack's dinner." (Jack is a grown-up son.)

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB.

The International Women's Franchise Club was founded at the end of 1909 to provide a meeting-place where Suffragists of all shades of opinion, without distinction of sex, nationality, party or religion could meet in social intercourse.

The club has met with a cordial reception from Suffragists of all countries, and although it has existed barely a year its membership exceeds 800 and contains representatives of seven nationalities.

The club, which has entirely outgrown its original premises, has acquired a new club house at No. 9, Grafton-street, London, W., which is now being altered, and will, it is hoped, when completed, be found in every way suitable for its purpose.

The new house will be open for the use of members before Christmas, but the formal opening will not take place until January of next year.

It is intended to hold frequent lectures and receptions, at which there will be opportunities of hearing the leaders of the Suffrage movement in other countries, and of welcoming workers in the cause from other lands. Literature of all kinds bearing upon the Suffrage movement will be obtainable at the club, and it is intended shortly to form a Suffrage Library and Information Bureau.

The subscription has been fixed at one guinea per annum, with an entrance fee of one guinea on and after January 1, 1911. A reduced subscription of 10s. 6d. may be paid by members resident abroad. Foreign or colonial members may pay a subscription of 5s. for a period not exceeding two months.

The club has been formed as a company limited by guarantee, and the condition of membership is that no member incurs any liability beyond the subscription and entrance fee, and a sum not exceeding £1 in the event of the winding up of the club during the time that he or she is a member, or within one year afterwards.

All information may be had of the Secretary.—MISS GRAY HILL, 75, Victoria-street, London, S.W.

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** In this column we publish, as far as space permits, the views of our readers on any subject of interest to members without favour and without prejudice. Only matter coming within the scope of the law of libel will be barred. Letters intended for publication must be written on one side of the paper only, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer. It must be clearly understood, however, that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions so expressed.

Professor Dicey's Opinion of Women.

Dear Madam,—In reading THE VOTE of December 10, I was much interested to see Professor Dicey's name mentioned as a writer in favour of the Anti-Suffrage. I have been for years in trouble about my marriage settlement, which states that at my death the whole of the fortune of myself and my mother shall go to an unscrupulous, foreign husband, whom I shall never live with again. In turning over some old boxes containing papers, bills, &c., of years ago, I came across the lawyer's bill for the marriage settlement; the whole of the settlement is apparently founded upon the advice of Professor Dicey. It is now quite plain to me why it should all be in favour with the husband and all against myself. I suppose the Anti-Suffragists do not think women are fit even to possess their own money.

VERA ANTONIARDI.

Buckingham Palace Hotel, London, S.W.
December 11.

** [If Professor Dicey cares to answer the above letter, we shall be pleased to print his reply.—ED.]

RUSSIAN LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

Dear Madam,—The Moscow branch of the "Russian League for Women's Rights" asks me to express to you how deeply we, your Russian sisters, feel for you, at this moment especially, when your most just claims are going to be submitted before the English Parliament. We want you to know how we admire your courage and energy in your fight for women's rights and justice. Your cause is our cause as well. Your victory shall help the women all over the world in their struggle for liberty. May the right cause triumph at once!

Very sincerely yours,
ZENEIDE MIROVITCH.

PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES WHO HAVE MENTIONED WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE IN THEIR ELECTION ADDRESSES (Concluded from Last Week.)

MR. W. C. ANDERSON (Lab.), W. Wolverhampton.
MR. WILLIE DYSON (Un.), Norwich.
MR. A. P. HEDGES (Lib.), Tonbridge.
MR. J. D. HOPE (Lib.), W. Fife.
MR. GEOFFREY HOWARD (Lib.), N. Cumberland.
MR. W. HUDSON (Lab.), Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Lib.), Cokermonth.
MR. W. R. LESTER (Lib.), Mid-Norfolk.
MR. W. S. B. McLAREN (Lib.), Crewe.
*MR. G. E. MARKHAM (Un.), Bishop Auckland.
MR. E. R. MITCHELL, M.A., LL.B. (Lib.), Buteshire.
*MR. J. A. MORRISON (Un.), E. Nottingham.
MR. A. NEAL (Lib.), Hallam (Sheffield).
MR. W. ORMSBY GORE (Un.), Denbigh Boroughs.
COLONEL IVOR PHILIPPS (Lib.), Southampton.
MR. R. REISS (Lib.), Chichester.
MR. T. F. RICHARDS (Lab.), E. Northants.
THE HON. CHAS. RUSSELL (Lib.), South Salford.

* Women whose names are on the Municipal Register should have the Parliamentary Vote.

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THE CHIVALROUS MAN.

BY LOUISA THOMSON-PRICE.

What is chivalry? One has to study the history of feudal times to discover its original meaning, for it is evidently a word which lends itself to many interpretations, and its definitions appear to vary with custom, country and climate.

The general idea concerning chivalry, of course, is that although, as a characteristic, it may be viewed from many standpoints, it embodies something fine and heroic—a protective, courtly, magnanimous spirit, peculiarly belonging to the male species, and exercised chiefly for the benefit of women and all who are weak and helpless. It is supposed to have taken its birth in the eleventh century, and was originally a military institution, carrying with it the dignity of knighthood. Gibbon gives the following description of a successful candidate for the honour of knighthood under the institution of chivalry: "He was created a knight in the name of God, of St. George and of St. Michael, the Archangel. He swore to accomplish the duties of his profession, and education, example, and the public opinion were the inviolable guardians of his oath. As the champion of God and the ladies, he devoted himself to speak the truth, to maintain the right, to protect the distressed, to practise courtesy—a virtue less familiar to the infidels—to despise the allurements of ease and safety, and to vindicate, in every perilous adventure, the honour of his character."

Freeman, in his "Norman Conquest," says (Vol. V., p. 482): "The spirit of chivalry implies the arbitrary choice of one or two virtues to be practised in such an exaggerated degree as to become vices, while the ordinary laws of right and wrong are forgotten," and Hallam, in his "Middle Ages" (Vol. III., p. 398), speaking of chivalric times, says: "Although at no period were women held in greater outward respect by men, it is probable that at no period did more license in the association of the sexes prevail, and it is a strange comment on the manners of the times that the single word 'gallantry' should have grown to signify both bravery and illicit love." Hallam's opinion was based on the most careful investigation of the feudal period.

One learns a good deal of the position of women in the age of chivalry from some of the ancient romances and poems, many of which are still preserved. It seems to have been the general view that the business of the "chivalrous" man consisted chiefly in fighting and performing heroic actions, and that his natural reward was to be accorded the love of the opposite sex which was offered to him, and not sought. The ancient idea of the protection of women was based on the fact that they were regarded as the property of men. In "Womankind in Western Europe" one learns that any attempt on the part of woman to usurp a position which did not belong to her was met by a spirit which seems to have been the opposite of courteous. In the romance of *Raoul de Cambrai*, Raoul's mother, Alais, tries to dissuade her son from undertaking an unjust war; he insults his mother for her interference, and curses the man who takes counsel of a woman. "Go you into your chambers to take your own ease; drink a draught to fatten your paunches, and occupy yourselves with thoughts of eating and drinking, for it is no business of yours to interfere in anything else." In the romance of *Renaud de Montauban*, the proud Duke Beuve, when his duchess tries to turn him from hostility, uses language to her much the same as that of Raoul of Cambrai to his mother, Alais. "Lady," said the Duke, "go, and seek shade there in your chambers, and dress you well; go in there and give advice to your maids; think of twisting silk—that is your business. My business is with a sword of steel, to strike and fust against a knight. Ill-luck fall on the beard of a noble baron who goes to seek counsel in a lady's chamber."

In spite of the vows of chivalry, the persons of women seem to have been very insufficiently protected, for ladies even of the highest rank, we are told, in "Womankind in Western Europe," were exposed to dangers of

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all kinds. The romance of *Hervis de Metz*, one of the great cycle of romances of the family of Lorraine, illustrates this very effectively. The Princess Beatrix, daughter of the Emperor of Constantinople, was in her garden, with no other companion but her "damoiselles" (little dames), who were making chaplets of flowers, when ten squires, passing by on horseback, seized her and carried her away. When they were beyond any fear of pursuit, they quarrelled as to which should have first possession of their prey, and finished by agreeing to keep her uninjured, and seek an opportunity of selling her for a slave, for their common benefit, and accordingly they determined to carry her to the fair, which was held at Paris after Christmas. On their way, at Lagni-sur-Marne, they met with the "damoiseil" (little lord) Hervi, who took a liking to the princess, and bought her. They were subsequently married, and Beatrix became the mother of the great hero of this cycle of romance, Garin le Loherain.

(To be continued.)

CHRISTMAS HINTS FOR "VOTE" SALES.

Christmas is here, but THE VOTE need not be forgotten; it can occupy a prominent position, like the mistletoe, so dear to many. It can be placed in the hall and in every room so that it attracts the eye. Left open at an interesting article, someone is sure to take it up and read it. The season of goodwill towards men should soften the hearts even of the most confirmed anti-Suffragists, and many a seed may be sown which will bear fruit hereafter. This display of our paper will also help to get promises from friends and acquaintances to take it in regularly, and many new subscribers can easily be won during the holidays.

For the most ardent spirits, I would suggest that Bank Holiday will give a fine opportunity for advertising and selling THE VOTE outside well-known pleasure resorts.

ETHEL FENNINGS, Vote Organiser.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Sat., Dec. 31.**—1, Robert-street, New Year's Eve Party, 9 p.m. Games, entertainments, refreshments. 11.45 p.m., speech by Mrs. Despard. Tickets: Members, 6d.; friends, 1s. Hostess, Mrs. How Martyn.
- Wed., Jan. 4.**—Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand. Central London Branch. 7 p.m., members' meeting. 8 p.m., public meeting. *Speakers*: Miss Cicely Hamilton. *Chair*: Miss Marie Lawson. *Hostesses*: Miss Benett and Miss Edith Craig.
- Fri., Jan. 6.**—1, Robert-street. National Executive Committee, 2 p.m.
Caxton Hall, 8 p.m. Special members' meeting, as arranged at previous meeting on December 15.
- Sat. Jan. 7.**—1, Robert-street, 11 a.m., National Executive Committee.
- Thurs., Jan. 12.**—Caxton Hall. "At Home," 3 p.m. Mrs. Despard.
- Sat., Jan. 28.**—Caxton Hall. Annual Conference of Branches.

[The Office, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, will be closed from Thursday evening until Wednesday morning, December 28.]

CHESTER.

- Mon., Jan. 9.**—Branch meeting at 22, Bridge-street-row, 8 p.m. *Chair*: Miss A. Dunn Yorker. *Speaker*: Miss Winifred Davies.

SCOTLAND.

- EDINBURGH.**
- Tues., Jan. 10.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 4 p.m.
- Wed., Jan. 11.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 7.30 p.m. *Speaker*: Mrs. Finlayson Gould.
- GLASGOW.**
- Fri., Jan. 6.**—Glasgow Branch meeting, Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall-street, 8 p.m.
- Sat., Jan. 14.**—"At Home," in Suffrage Centre, 7.30 p.m. *Speakers*: Mrs. Billington-Greig and Mrs. Joseph Dobbie.

SUFFRAGE IN SWITZERLAND.

One of our members, who is wintering in Montreux, writes as follows:—

"Here beginneth the first account of the first Women's Freedom League meeting held in Montreux, for the voice of the Suffragette has been heard even in this pleasure-loving, to-pleasure-devoted place. And not before enlightenment was needed; for our invitation was refused, seriously, because rotten eggs would be thrown! (N.B. The lady came and saw for herself that there was nothing worse 'going' than cups of tea—in the right direction!) May all false ideas concerning our 'doings' be as easily disproved!

"The chair was taken by Miss Fitz-Herbert. With a funny little speech she introduced Mrs. Marion Holmes as a specimen of the dreadful, unsexed hooligan, who neglects her baby's bottle and her husband's buttons, who knocks off the helmet of every policeman she sees, and pines to stand in the prisoner's dock!

"Mrs. Holmes, whose subject was 'Votes for Women,' spoke, as usual, clearly and convincingly upon the A.B.C. of the matter. In reply to the stale objection that, given to married women, the vote would bring discord into the family, Mrs. Holmes very aptly replied that if a man and woman want to quarrel they won't wait for the vote! If a meeting of 4,000 persons is considered a huge success where Suffragists are reckoned by the thousand, what is the success of a small meeting—no, I'm not going to enlighten your curiosity as to the exact number—where not one exists, save the speaker, the lady in the chair, and the very humble member of the League who lent her room? I leave you to supply the answer.

"A little literature was sold, and we hope it may lead to further and larger sales. The seed has been sown, may we reap an abundant harvest!"

THE Church League has entered upon the second year of its existence with more than a thousand members, and fourteen branches have been established in various parts of the country. The Rev. C. Baumgarten, Vicar of St. George's, Bloomsbury, has kindly lent the church and vestry for the following services and meetings during January:—January 2, a meeting of the Central Branch, at 4.30 p.m. January 6, the Epiphany, a quiet day. January 30, the annual meeting of the General Council, 2.30 p.m., to be followed by a service. Arrangements are being made for a reception on the evening of January 30 in order that delegates from the country may have an opportunity of meeting the London members. Particulars as to this will be announced, as soon as possible. During the time of the General Election the League held no meetings save those of a devotional character, and services took place at St. Mark's, Regent's-park (preacher, the Rev. Maurice F. Bell), and at the Royal Chapel of the Savoy (preacher, the Rev. Hugh B. Chapman). Members of the League also attended an early celebration at St. Paul's.

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