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

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITORS and MANAGING DIRECTOR respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER. Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

The Editors are responsible for unsigned articles only. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS, if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editors cannot be responsible in case of loss. All Advertisements for insertion in the following issue must be received not later than Monday morning.

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WHAT WE THINK.

To Arms!

Christmas Day will be saddened for all members of the Freedom League by thoughts of the brave and loyal com-rades who are undergoing the horrors of "political" imprisonment in this year of grace. Words are poor media whereby to express either their sufferings or our indignation. We must make our actions speak instead. Herbert Gladstone, of infamous memory, will not be in the next Cabinet, and we must see to it that not one of his thrice dishonoured colleagues is there either, if it be humanly possible for us to prevent it.

Fo arms, Freedom Leaguers! The thought of our tortured prisoners of war should sharpen our swords for the fight. There must be no quarter for the men who have instigated and sanctioned this relapse into savagery and barbarism. * *

A Minotaur Government.

What, I wonder, would be thought of a private in-What, I wonder, would be mought of a private in-dividual who, to avenge the loss of sixpence, prosecuted a private enemy after an interval of four months, know-ing that imprisonment would involve starvation and torture?" asks Mr. H. N. Brailsford in this week's *Nation.* "Yet a young girl—Miss Clarkson—was sen-tenced at Liverpool a week ago, to two weeks in the second "wide for breaking windows valued officially at six division for breaking windows, valued officially at six-pence, during her imprisonment in the heat of August in a punishment cell. For four months the Home Office cherished its project of revenge, and at last, as the prose-cution avowed, by express instructions from that quarter, the charge was pressed home."

Words cannot characterise such vindictiveness as this. And the men who are guilty of it appeal to the country for support as the apostles of liberty and democracy !

> * * +

The "Protected" Sex.

We recommend the following instance to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's notice as a glowing example of the pro-

CHARMING CHRISTMAS CIFTS FROM THE LAVENDER FARM. The Chalet Lavender Preparations. Distilled from the finest English blooms. All the fragmance and purity of the flower retained. **PERFUME**. A perfect scent, fragmant and lasting, 1s. 9d, and 2s. 6d **SOAP**. Finest quality, delicately scented. In dainty boxes, each containing tables z 3d tablers, 28. 3d. BATH SALTS, Delightful and exhilarating. In gilt lever air-tight tins, 18. 3d SHAMPOO POWDERS. These impart a delicate verfume to the hair.

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tected, sheltered life that he so ardently believes most women lead. He would deny them the protection of the vote, he says, because they are sufficiently protected already; they are the fairy princesses of life, and on no account must they be allowed to soil the radiance of their wings in the murky, dirty atmosphere of political life. A man who can retain beliefs like this in the face of facts such as the following might make an excellent poet or novelist, but his peculiar gifts and graces would be quite wasted in the Cabinet. "She works as a scrubber at the infirmary all day, and after arriving home at 8 p.m. she does washing until one or two o'clock in the morning to keep her family," said a Kingston school attendance officer, when a woman was summoned for not sending her children to school regularly.

The Decay of Chivalry.

Apropos of the above, Lord Cromer's remarks in the Manchester Guardian take on a new inferest and signifi-cance. "Finally," says the noble lord, "it is no longer possible to doubt that the obliteration of the line between man and woman will tend to weaken the deference now shown by the physically stronger to the physically weaker shown by the physically stronger to the physically weaker sex." One is inclined to wonder whether the physically weaker sex—as proved by its ability to work from six-teen to seventeen hours a day—would not be willing to renounce a little deference in return for a little human consideration, decent hours of work, and a living wage? Besides, how much deference is paid by gentlemen like the noble Lord, or anyone else, to a woman who earns her bread and the bread for her children by scrubbing and washing? If she were doing well-paid work, under fairly healthy and comfortable conditions, philanthropic poli-ticians, actuated by the highest and most humanitarian principles, and concerned solely with the welfare of the woman and her children, would be putting forward most strenuous efforts to prevent her working at all. But then there are no male voters clamouring for the monopoly of the scrubbing and washing tasks of the physically weaker sex !

Why Should We Be Beggars?

* * *

"Why should we be beggars." "Why should we be beggars with the ballot in our hand?" pertinently runs the *Daily News* land song. But this noble sentiment is only meant to apply to men —naturally. The proper attitude for women is a begging one, as the above sapient Liberal organ points out unconsciously when it recommends as a particularly effective poster for the general election that of "a women of the working-class with a half-starved child by her aide a pleading. 'Don't tax our bread.'"

her side pleading, 'Don't tax our bread.'" We recommend this poster ourselves as an excellent object lesson of the attitude imposed upon women by the Government that is now pleading with Liberal women to M. H. be firm and loyal.



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THE VOTE

THE MORAL BASIS OF ENFRANCHISEMENT.

One of the most singular features of the controversy concerning the enfranchisement of women is the per-sistent avoidance of anything like the first principles of political science. In view of the length of the struggle and the need to present constantly fresh aspects to the weary imagination, one must admit that the ingenuity of our opponents in evading a consideration of deeper lying principles is not inconsiderable. I leave it to psychologists to determine how it is that the majority of men-voters can discuss the claim of women-suffrage for hours without ever reflecting on the moral base of their own enfranchisement. The average man-voter is not a paragon of logic. But that the leaders of the opposing movement so rarely glance at the basic prinle of the whole question is a point worth considering.

Whether politics is not more of an art than a science in real life is arguable, yet we flatter ourselves that we have a science of politics. Since more than 2,000 years ago, when mature, democratic political forms were adopted in Greece, some of our leading thinkers have occupied themselves with political theory, and endeavoured to establish the lines of just and effective political life. Naturally, the question of enfranchise ment was one of the first to confront them, and we have the conclusions of a score of great moralists, ancient and modern, on the just base and limitations of the franchise. As our philosophic and calm-nerved opponents have singularly neglected to bring those conclusions to bear on the issue, it is left to us of the "hysterical" school to search the political writings of these great and impartial thinkers in search of a principle by which the issue may be decided in the dry light of philosophy.

The first to reflect on the fundamental and just principles of political life, and to be faced with such problems as confront us to-day, were the Greeks. Their two greatest thinkers bent the full force of their genius to the problem, and have left imperishable discussions -Aristotle in his "Politics" and Plato in his

The fifth book of Plato's "Republic" is one of the greatest and most advanced feminist documents of all time. It tears to shreds, two thousand years in advance, the phrases that are muttered to-day about the natural weakness and incapacities of woman. Those of us who have any training in biology know now what such phrases are worth. The elasticity and adaptableness of the living being is the great truth that science forces on us. There is no "inherent nature"; that forbids us to look for new capacities in an These things were not known 2,000 years organism. but with a robust and impatient common sense Plato sweeps aside all talk of woman's natural inferiority as disdainfully as a modern biologist ought to do. His ideal commonwealth is to make no distinction of sex. Women are to occupy whatever offices men do, not only political but even military, so stout is his conviction that they can do whatever man can do. The women of Athens were-from long political repression, as he clearly sees-comparatively more backward than the women of England to-day, yet this greatest writer of the old world emphatically asserted that they merely needed education and use of power to take their place with men in public life.

Plato's pupil and successor, Aristotle, did not explicitly face the woman-question, though we have many indications that it was warmly discussed in Athens at that remote date. His teaching is, perhaps, the more valuable from its cold and absolute impartiality. Theoretically he does not like democratic government.

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but he sees that the people must be admitted to control their expert rulers, and he seeks the basis on which the extent of the franchise shall be settled. He concludes that only the poorest citizens can be excluded, and that solely on account of the danger arising from their lack of culture. In other words, competency is the only qualification tion, incompetency the only disqualification, recognised by this greatest of political moralists.

In the decline of Greek political life the eternal problem was transferred to Rome. Dr. Emil Reich has contended that imperial decline has been the invariable price of woman's admission to politics, but I will not discuss that point here, as I have a little work appearing shortly in which, after surveying the whole course of political history (as it affects woman), I expose the thin fallacy of historians like Dr. Reich. It is enough to point out here that Greece declined without one particle of political power passing to its repressed women. Egypt had declined precisely when the great freedom and prestige of its women was curtailed. Rome in turn declined without any communication of power to its women.

There cannot be the least doubt that the women of Rome would have settled the issue long ago if the Republic had lasted. Their freedom and prestige were growing every century. Hundreds of years before the Christian era they held public meetings in the "Parliament Square " of Rome, and coerced the Legislature. Later their legal and social position was completely transformed, and, if the citizens had retained control of the political system, it is clear that they would have won enfranchisement. But Rome disfranchised citizens by setting up an Empire and gradually decayed, and a long, dark night settled again over the aspiring

I pass by the stirring feminism of the Renaissance, on account of its transitory character, and the premature discussion of the issue in the great French Revolu tion. It will be enough to see what principle of enfranchisement has been found by the excellent political moralists we have had in England in the course of the nineteenth century. They are the more instructive, as they are laying down the moral bases of just and effective political life in face of our own English system. In other words, they are telling us why men rightly have the vote. How do the principles on which they justify man's vote apply to the claim of women? Let me first briefly notice a few of their formula

Mr. Walter Bagehot is the typical British political philosopher, the kind of oracle to whom our Spectators and Athenaums and Saturday Reviews would offer respectful incense. "Moral principle" is the decisive test of the right of enfranchisement, he impressively says. On this basis every active member of the com-munity obviously has a right, but Mr. Bagehot discovers, with some justice, that there are qualifying principles. In the end, he concludes that "a man has a right to so much political power as he can exercise without impeding any other who would more fitly exer-cise political power." The curious wording must be understood in the light of Mr. Bagehot's concern for the rights of property or culture, but the principle is When we decide the question of enfranchisement on "moral principle," all competent persons are to be admitted to it.

I take next Professor Sidgwick, whose contribution is novel and interesting. That any individual has inherent rights he flatly denies. The "rights of man" is a transcendental principle, with no solid ground. The supreme thing to be consulted is the good of the co munity, and the sphere of enfranchisement must be

WOMEN ARE ADVISED

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CRAVEN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

determined on that ground alone. Now, it is obvious, he says, that the laws will have more chance of being observed if they have the "active consent" of those to whom they apply, and therefore all in the community who are competent to use it should have the vote. In one place he suggests that the poor should have an opporunity of proving their competence in public examination. You feel at once that the logic of the case is forcing Professor Sidgwick to espouse woman-suffrage, until you are suddenly arrested by his final conclusion that "every sane, self-supporting adult " is to have the vote. I am not concerned here about the delicate issue that might be raised in regard to many wealthy male voters by the qualification "self-supporting," but one sees at once that t disfranchises the vast bulk of married women. Why? One regrets to find that Professor Sidgwick is impressed by that poor bogey "dissension in the family." Australia and the Western American States have settled that. What is of value in Professor Sidgwick's work is his re-assertion, from an entirely new point of view, of the principle that competency is the moral basis of enfranchise-

In passing let me notice an idea of Mr. George Jacob Holvoake's, which was widely discussed in the sixties. A consistent believer in competency as the only basis, he professed that public examinations should be held periodically to settle a claim to the vote, and to these examinations women would be as freely admitted as men. The idea is excellent and the spirit admirable; but it was generally felt that our electorate, if not our House of Commons, was in danger of perishing if every voter had to pass an examination in constitutional history and political economy.

Later writers have added nothing material to the discussion. In Professor Ritchie, as in his predecessor of 2,000 years ago, the only basis of enfranchisement is competence. Incompetence is the only ground on which one has a right to exclude any active member of the community from the electorate.

In spite, therefore, of idiosyncrasies of expression and technical reserves, we find an agreement among our political moralists as to the just basis of the franchise. It is not sex, for even Professor Sidgwick admits unmarried women, and only excludes married on the ground of a concern that long experience has completely falsified. It is not taxation. Indeed, it is a singular truth that while men speak so glibly of their paying taxes as the sacred ground of their right to vote, no single political moralist gives the slightest countenance to such an idea. Taxation was a rough test of competency (giving a presumption of education) in days when education was so restricted. It was never in itself a ground of enfranchisement. The sole ground that our great and impartial thinkers agree upon is competency, and it completely demolishes the sex-barrier that we have set up. If the opponents of women-suffrage would study a little more of that calm political wisdom, of which they so strangely claim the monopoly, they would find that their fallacious efforts have been discredited long ago.

JOSEPH MCCABE.

THE MINERVA PUBLISHING COMPANY (Ltd.)

Mrs. How Martyn presided at the first statutory meeting of shareholders of the Minerva Publishing Co., held at Essex Hall, Essex-street, W.C., on Tuesday, Dec. 14. There was a large attendance, and the report having been adopted the meeting was thrown open for dis-cussion. The Vote, the first enterprise of the company, was the main topic, and some excellent suggestions for its improvement and the increase of its circulation were put forward. Mrs. Hicks pointed out that owing to the methods employed by the Press in reporting suffrage matters, the W.F.L. felt the necessity for a journal which would interpret them correctly, and that it devolved upon every member of the League to see that the paper received every possible encouragement. Dr. Macpherson

Miss Hicks suggested that there should be a column of notes dealing with other suffrage societies, and Miss Benett thought that a column of Press cuttings concerning suffrage with comments on them were needed. It was also remarked that the list of branch notes was not long enough. Miss Marie Lawson (managing-director) pointed out that before enlarging the paper they would need greater support from the advertisers, and also that all branch notes received in time were inserted free of charge each week. The directors specially asked for the cooperation of readers in all parts of the country in the collection of interesting suffrage news, particularly during the coming election. Miss Waldron remarked that customers should impress on the firms that advertised that their custom came through THE VOTE. It was suggested that-shareholders should endeavour to get more subscribers for the shares of the company, and also to induce them to pay the entire sum (5s. a share) on allotment. Other speakers were Mrs. Holmes (editor of THE VOTE), Miss Baenziger, and Mrs. Sproson. The criticism on the whole might be summed up in Dr. Macpherson's words, "THE VOTE has begun splendidly.

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suggested that a copy of the paper should be shown from the platform at every League meeting, and also urged the great importance of street selling. Another suggestion was that copies of the paper should be left about in restaurants. Mrs. Duval observed that each member should take six copies to dispose of. Miss Chandler thought that members should supply the public libraries in their districts with copies.

"WHAT HAPPENS IN HOLLOWAY."

Holloway Prison, December, 1909.

Here is the barred window, the locked and iron door, the plank bed : all the symbols of imprisonment, the broad arrow, the hateful dress. All is hideous and without colour. All is cold, dull, and cheerless, excepting where, as if with apology, the bed-covering shows the tints of red and of green, colours of autumn. The stone floor of the cell strikes coldly through the

coarse shoes, but the hot air from the pipes beats dully upon the aching head. There is no fresh air-all is deadness. In the corridors keys jangle interminably, and purposeless footsteps are heard all day. Even the light enters the barred window as though tired of itself.

The door is flung open, and the twice daily horror is about to begin. The prisoner is forced into position, and her hands are held to prevent resistance! A long tube is pushed down behind her throat. The helpless woman coughs, chokes, and struggles for breath, the eyes dilate. At last the tube is in position, the doctor nods complacently; a pause, and then it is withdrawn.

Another cell is entered, and here the woman offers some resistance. She is strapped down, tubes are forced through the already wounded nostrils. The blood drips slowly upon her neck. She screams in agony. The next victim, hearing it, shudders, but remains calm. And the doctors, having done that for which they are paid, pass

By ONE WHO IS UNDERGOING FORCIBLE FEEDING.



THE VOTE.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

MISS BESSIE HATTON (Hon. Sec. Women Writers' Suffrage League), By ETHEL HILL.

Miss Bessie Hatton is the daughter of Mr. Joseph to women. One night Miss Hatton was at the Dramatic She is one of the most indefatigable workers for the enfranchisement of women, and is exceedingly lavish in the gift of her time, gratefully acknowledged by the many committees to which she belongs. Miss Hatton is dis-tinguished in many ways. She is the creator of charming prose poems-delightful fairy stories with their happy atmosphere of Hope, Youth, Dreams, and Love ever in the major key. Her fairy play "The Village of Youth" the critics found full of "graceful fancies" and " fine imagery.

To the Women's Freedom League's "Yuletide Festishe contributed a little play entitled "Before Sun-

tion, a marriage in which the material rather than the spiritual side was uppermost. Then the, at that time considered, " immodest '' arrival of the "blue-stocking '' friend, friend, the "first Suffragist," in a hansom cab-the woman fired with divine discontent, broader views, a wider horizon, the dreams of a fuller, freer life, in which a woman would not be afraid to speak or dream of the love that has no roots in worldly advantage, but deep down in the soul. Miss Hatton never drives in Suffrage with a sledge hammer. She prefers to make its pre sence felt for the general guide to future good very much in the manner of the unseen but ever present "Tinker Bell" in "Peter Pan

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There are, besides, two special gifts peculiarly suitable to a public person-age in which Miss Hatton excels. She is a splendid organiser and pre-emi-nently tactful. Tact can-

a distinguished man and woman not otherwise wanting in imagination. For the sympathy to enter into another's feelings ought surely to be potent among writers whose faculty is, as it were, the analysis of character and its relation to the common events of the day.

A short time ago THE VOTE, writing of the matinée given at the Scala Theatre by the Actresses' Franchise League and the Women Writers' Suffrage League, gracefully referred to them as "two Leagues which have helped all other societies, lovers of peace and lovers of war, without questioning whether the prayer came from Suffragist or Suffragette." Miss Hatton's account of the formation of the Women Writers' Suffrage League is very interesting. It was thought that a society headed by the names

of some of the cleverest women writers of the day might form another good reason for the granting of the Suffrage valour's task."

Hatton, the eminent author, playwright, and journalist. Debaters, where she heard Miss Cicely Hamilton speak on the Suffrage. She was immensely struck with her earnestness, and the power she exercised over the small audience, which was composed largely of "Indifferents." The next day she wrote to Miss Hamilton and said how much she had enjoyed her speech. She received prompt reply, in which was expressed the desire to found a Women Writers' Suffrage League, "if only someone would undertake the secretaryship. This wish was immediately fulfilled by Miss Hatton,

The attitude of the Women Writers' Suffrage League is broad-mindedness, very largely due to the personality of its secretary, who very rightly thinks that a society rise," that suggested the Early Victorian girl's life, as small and cramped as her waist—marriage her one salva-

free and fair-minded, that it should have nothing cramped or Early Victorian in its outlook. She thinks that the "Writers" have attracted many outsiders. She maintains that many women who would not belong to any other league have joined them (let hope in no Pecksniffian spirit)-the fact that it is a neutral League appealed to them. It was founded on generous basis-to help all other Suffrage Leagues to the best of its ability, whether Militant or Con. stitutional. It purposes to hold frequent receptions, where many well-known literary men and women will speak. It publishes and sells literature by famous writers on the cause. Many of the members have written plays dealing with the movement which are being played all over the country, and Miss Hatton hopes soon that branches will be founded in some of the important provincial towns. It seems as if the really

not be too highly appreciated. It is the sweet oil that makes the wheels of life run smoothly. Yet it is the lack of it that has so often marred the life work of many the wife of the distinguished painter who designed for the Women Writers' League the fine cartoon "Justice, is an enthusiastic supporter of the women's cause. She used to read portions of John Stuart Mill's "Subjection of Women" to her, and they were one in their admira-tion of the great man's work. Miss Hatton is one with all the real thinkers on the subject. She finds no strong argument against the Suffrage, and no weakness in its defence.

The real enemies of the Suffrage, in her opinion, are the lazy rich, bridge-playing, fashionable set. For Miss Hatton believes in work for the work's sake and its spiritual benefit. She would say with Virgil: For each one is fixed the span of days : short is the term of life for all, and none may retrieve it. But by great deeds to annex new realms of glory, this is

Next Week: Mr. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

GOSSIP.

"And they made a noise like crickets, A chattering wise and sweet.

W. B. YEATS.

Signs of the Times.

In founding a memorial for the furthering of medical research in all its branches, to his brother the late Mr. Alfred Beit, it is Mr. Otto Beit's intention that £250 a year, for three years, is to be granted to the graduate of any approved University within the British Empire, man or woman, who is elected to one of the Beit Memorial Fellowships. This clear explanation that women who are equally eligible shall have an equal chance for this great prize is especially gratifying. The great old hospitals still close their doors to the woman medical student, and she is coming but slowly into her own. The prejudice in medicine is still strong, and wherever women are grudgingly employed an effort is made-not always successfully-to pay them less for their services than to a man of equal standing. And the great plums of the professions have hitherto been kept for male mastication. But the tide is turning slowly but surely. Hats off to Mr. Otto Beit!

The Irish "Premier."

A deputation of Irishwomen, most of them of University standing, and supported by some of the finest young bloods of the Irish party, waited on Mr. John Redmond for the purpose of laying before him their case, as chair-man of the party, and asking him to make women's suffrage a party question. This Mr. Redmond declared he was unable to do, because the Irish party was the most democratic party that had ever existed, and he had no authority to order it to vote one way or another; but he did promise that he would throw no obstacle in the way of any member of the party who would raise the question at one of their meetings, and if, having been fully and freely discussed, a majority should give a decision making it a party question, the minority would cheerfully accept the decision of the majority. In the course of his speech Mr. Redmond made some curious statements. He acknowledged that he regarded the ladies who were imprisoned as political prisoners, and entitled to be treated as such; but he went on to describe the militants' tactics as " extreme and foolish," and to prophesy that "the result of what has happened is that in the coming Parliament you won't get women's suffrage." This is rather curious wisdom from the chairman of a party and the representative of a country which has obtained everything it has ever got by what is technically known as "putting the fear of the Lord in the hearts of the enemy." Probably Mr. Redmond said it with his tongue in his cheek, and a wink at the reporters; or perhaps he was afraid that militant tactics might be commenced, as Mr. Kettle, M.P., hinted "on the hall-door of the first Home Rule Premier in Ireland." If militant tactics become necessary, it will be found that the spirit of Gran-u-aile watches over her daughters and the Shan van vocht is not sleeping in her corner.

Happy Christmas

In one of "Time's Laughing-Stocks," the inimitable Thomas Hardy says :---

> ' The clock belled midnight, and ere long One shouted ' Now 'tis Christmas morn : Here's to our women, old and young And to John Barleycorn.'

Yes! to our women, old and young, who have fought with is, suffered for us, dreamed for us, and worked with us. May the slippered fireside, the tender turkey, and the flaming plum pudding bring them dreams of success in the New Year. And to John Barleycorn, whether he be friend or foe, may it bring increase in comprehension and a new chivalry to the women of the country.

EZRA TWINKLE.





THE VOTE.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

THE VOTE.

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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909

ANTI-GOVERNMENT OR ANTI-LIBERAL?

No one who has followed the progress of the militant suffrage agitation during the past four years could doubt that the members of the Liberal Cabinet would have to be opposed at the coming General Election. On this policy all Suffragettes are united. The members of the retiring Cabinet have proved themselves the bitter enemies of women: they have employed the methods of evasion and coercion and of political trickery against the movement for votes for women; they have disgraced their party and dragged the good name of Britain in the gutter before the eyes of the civilised world. Whatever the result of the appeal to the country, the presence of these men in the next House of Commons would be a menace to the women of the nation and a stain upon the record of the men. It is imperative that this danger should be avoided. Every man who has shared the responsibility for the prostitution of justice under which women have suffered, for the prison enormities perpetrated upon them, and for the practical abolition of old-time constitutional rights-every colleague of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Gladstone-should be kept out of the Parliament if it is humanly possible

But to those who look the situation full in the face it does not seem that this policy alone fulfils all that is required of us. While we are opposing the proven foe by whom we have been subjected to four years of oppression, the Conservative brother in enmity is slipping into power to follow the same evil course. This must not be. The purification of the Cabinet ranks of one party is of little certain use to us unless we are sure that this party will be returned to power. It is a policy that still leaves us at the mercy of political accidents. We must aim to gain, whatever the result of the appeal to the country. We must run no risks. Hence the attack upon the Liberal Cabinet cannot stand alone. It must be strengthened by a recognition of the danger which arises for us in the return of the enemy who is a potential Cabinet Minister in the Conversative ranks. He, too, must be opposed. While the question must be forced upon the rank and file members of every party and upon the electors in as many constituencies as possible, the forces of militant suffrage must be concentrated upon the opponents of Cabinet rank in both parties. Here we find the real enemy. These men are the potential makers of Govern-Purify their ranks, and our cause must be ments. advanced

Our General Election policy should satisfy certain given tests : it should be a policy of opposition so as to be in conformity with our attitude of militant protest; it should not infringe our policy of party independence; it should preserve the integrity of the movement and of its members; and it should be in accord with the principles which underlie our anti-Government policy when a Government is in power. The first and second tests are at once seen to be satisfied by the policy here outlined. It is clear that our attitude is one of protest, and that it elimiates any possibility of a charge of party bias being made against us. So much is clear at the first glance. At the second we see that the Women's Freedom League policy has another great recommendation-it provides a concrete example of what is meant by an anti-Government movement as compared with an anti-party one. When there is no Government in power we do not attack the party that is the old Government or the party that is seeking to be the new one, but we attack the men who are opposed to us among those who are the makers of Governments. We attack the known enemy of Cabinet rank. If his party is returned he will be able to deny us justice. Then, whatever his party, he must be converted or removed.

I emphasise the grave need for the preservation of our political independence. No policy that sacrifices this can be sound. Party independence for women is based not on mere temporary or expediency grounds, but deep upon the firmest political foundations and upon the deeper basis of human integrity. It is for our human independence that we fight. It is by our political independence that we shall win. We must not commit ourselves, even to gain a temporary advantage-though I deny that we should gain anything in this case-we must not commit ourselves to any policy that endangers our political independence. It is the firm earth under our feet. It is the sun of selfrespect in which we nerve ourselves and grow strong.

When an appeal is made to the country the Government can no longer be said to be in power. It does not matter whether the appeal to the electors is forced or free. It does not matter whether the actual reins of office are technically handed over before or after the election contests are fought. It does not matter if they are not handed over at all. Once the issue is placed in the hands of the electors it is in their hands. Neither party is in power; both parties are struggling for it. The issue being in the hands of the electors, the power of law-making is suspended. The electors themselves are the governors, and they are making choice of their instruments. They can give the suspended power of government into the hands of either party according to their will.

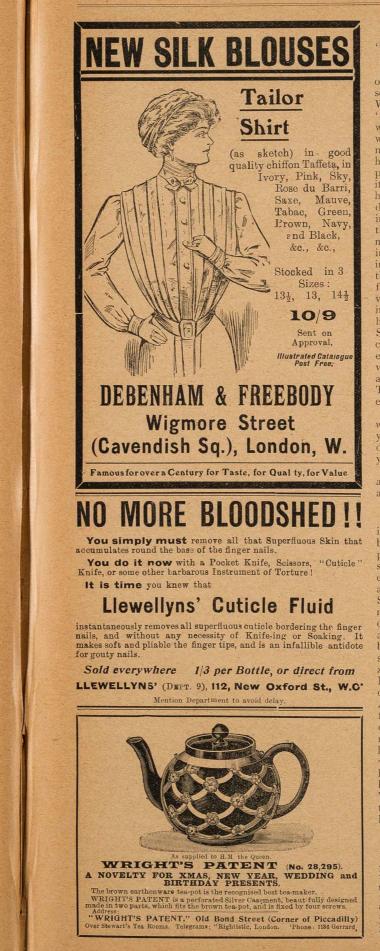
These words declare mere truisms. But they must be declared and emphasised, for there are signs that the facts they enunciate are being forgotten. The principles underlying our anti-Government policy cannot be carried out by an attack upon the Liberals at this juncture. Neither a retiring Government nor an aspirant Government is a Government in power. The making of the Government is in the hands of the electors. Again, then, I repeat that where there is no Government in power we must turn to those who form Governments. Whatever their party, the men of Cabinet rank must be attacked if they are known enemies. The essence of the anti-Government policy is the recognition of the fact that the Cabinet members are the law-makers, while the rank and file men merely count. Purify the Cabinet ranks of the

enemy and we must be nearer our goal. We Suffragettes are not moved by outside criticism. We have fixed our goal, grasped firmly our convictions, and we go steadily on. But amongst ourselves we must be ever ready to consider the changes wrought by circumstances and conditions. We must not crystallise. Our policy and our methods must not be allowed to become matters of habit. Habit is the last weakness the Suffragette can afford. It is the first sign of decadence and Let us beware of it. death.

We have kept the Liberal out while the Liberal Government was in power. It would be easy to confine ourselves to the same cry now. But is it wise or sound? Have we anything to gain by letting the Conservatives go into power unpledged? If we succeed in keeping the Liberals out, will the opposing party be converted by this means, will they acknowledge their conversion, and will they pay us for our labours with a Women's Suffrage measure There are grave doubts on these points. The Conservative Party leader has issued an election address in which women are not even mentioned. Several of his chief henchmen are declared opponents of votes for women. We have no security that they will do anything but follow the Liberal example. We cannot commit ourselves to them even by omission. The known enemy in their ranks must be opposed. The retiring Government of cowards can be attacked-must be attacked-but those who have declared themselves against us during the last four years have endorsed and approved the Liberal oppression.

Let us hold no commerce with the enemy. Let us hold fast to the urgency of our need for the vote. Because the Liberals deserve our opposition, let us not give the Conservatives an opportunity for deserving it also. We cannot afford to wait their pleasure. We must win now. And we shall have brought the day of victory nearer if we loyally carry out the policy that the Freedom League has embarked upon.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.



THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

THE VOTE.

of the latter's defection from the Fabian ranks, he spoke somewhat thusly: "There never was such a chap as Wells, and I hope there never will be such a chap.' "Ann Veronica" we can only speak in some-what similar terms. There never was such a woman as Ann Veronica, and we hope there never will be such a woman. Mr. Wells describes his book as "A modern love story," but after a careful perusal, the kindest thing that can be said of it is that t is not modern. The only prototype to Mr. Wells heroine is to be found in the figure that Lady Cardigan draws, in her unsavoury memoirs, of the Early Victorian ngénue of the so-called " upper classes." Ann Veronica is the type of woman that appeals to the nastiest kind of man-to the species that delights in ejecting Suffragists in an objectionable manner from Cabinet Ministers' meetings. She is in revolt at home, defies her father, accepts theatres and a loan from a married stockbroker, whose face she smacks when he, not unnaturally, takes the usual view of her actions, and finally, when at "a loose end" in London, having taken up biology, fallen in love with her teacher (who also happens to be married), she joins the Suffrage movement. The feelings which lead her to this course are those which have led, we are told, women to enter convents and take up religious work. But wounded vanity and baulked passions are not good preparations for any great work, and this Ann Veronica presently finds. The mood she was in when she plumps for Suffrage is expressed in her remark :---

In a "scrum" outside Palace Yard she gets arrested, and while in prison she indulges in a little bad language and a good deal of bad verse, of which "A man can manage without hair, A man scores always, everywhere,

is a fair sample. The natural result of rebellion inspired by such ideas is that the young woman comes out of prison, submits for a time at home, and-we are glad to say-leaves the Suffrage movement. If such a woman ever existed, she would have been asked to take herself and her enthusiasms elsewhere by any of the existing Suffrage societies that we are acquainted with. Her next movements are what might be expected of Mr. Wells' creation. She becomes engaged to a tame man home, is dissatisfied, and suggests to the married biologist that they should bolt. He very naturally con-sents, and the events of a lurid "honeymoon" in Switzerland are described in Mr. Wells' most "stark "manner. But Mr. Wells has his eye on those suburbs which he has caricatured in "Tono-Bungay." The last chapter finds Ann Veronica and her biologist married, the latter fambus, and A. V.'s father and aunt coming to dinner with them. But our quarrel with him is not his belated appeal to respectability; it is that he never once gives us a glimpse of the real modern woman. The ghost of the draggle-tailed ingénue that has been shown up by Lady Cardigan appears again, with her amatory tendencies and her lax morality, and Mr Wells, who has had plenty of opportunities of seeing the modern woman at her best, ought to be ashamed of himself not to know the difference.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK..

By H. G. Wells. (T. Fisher ANN VERONICA." Unwin. 6s. When G. B. S. fell foul of H. G. Wells at the time

'I suppose all life is an affair of chances. But woman's life is all chance. It's artificially chance. Find your man, that's the rule. All the rest is humbug and delicacy. He's the handle of life for you. He will let you live if it pleases him.

Miss Marie Lawson, managing-director of the Minerva Pub-lishing Co., Ltd., and member of the National Executive of the W.F.L., refused to pay income tax this year, on the principle that "Taxation without Representation is Tyranny." A distraint for the amount was made by bailiffs at her private residence, and the jewellery so seized will be sold to-morrow (Friday), the 4th, at. 11 o'clock sharp, at the Sale Rooms, 45 and 47, Parker Street, Kingsway, W.C., when it is hoped that members of the W.F.L. will be present to protest against the proceedings.

E. T.

"SUFFRAGITIS," THE NEW DISEASE.

In these days of scientific investigation, there are few ailments of the body or mind for which a cure has not been found, or, at least, alleviation made possible. The newest recruit to the list of diseases which have, however, so far baffled the ingenuity of the best minds in the medical profession is "Suffragitis.

The diagnosis of this distressing affection is comparatively easy, nor can it be said that its histology is obscure. Some authorities think that it may be closely allied to neurasthenia, as some of the symptoms observed in this disease are also common to Suffragitis, notably fits of depression alternated by moments of intense excitement, insomnia, shallowness.

of respiration, a peculiar bilious pallor, and attacks of violent trembling.

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The disease seems to be infectious, and to attack persons holding prominent positions; in fact, it appears to have been con fined, so far, to British Cabinet Ministers and those closely connected with Parliamentary affairs. We regret to learn that several eminent members of the Liberal Ministry are at the present moment almost incapacitated for carrying on the important business of the country by reason of more or less severe attacks of Suffragitis. Many public engagements which they intended to fulfil have had to be cancelled, and much sympathy has been expressed, not only for the electors, who have thus been deprived of opportunities of listening to the brilliant discourses of these gentlemen on the fundamental basis of Liberalism -i.e., that "taxation without representation is tyranny," but also for the victims themselves, many of whom are said to be giv-ing their friends the greatest anxiety.

In case any of our readers have relatives who are Cabinet Ministers, and who are desirous of adopting home treatment or "first aid" for the sufferers until the doctor comes, it may be as well to

give the initial symptoms of this epidemic. Curiously enough, there seems to be a peculiar idiosyn-

crasy about its onslaught. Just as some persons faint or exhibit other signs of distress at the sight of blood, the victim of Suffragitis turns pale and is seized with an attack of tremor at the mere appearance or even veiled suggestion of a riding-whip. This strange symptom is frequently followed by high fever, and is accompanied by what the laity, who are naturally uninformed, might falsely and unsympathetically describe as an exhibition of cowardice, since the trembling invalid shows an almost ungovernable desire for protection-not, of course, in the absurd sense of Tariff Reform, but for the close and friendly association of men of burly build or of Achilleslike proportions, such as are only to be found in that respectable and respectful body, the Police Force. A statement should have appeared.

sprinkling of detectives thrown in gives an added sense of ecurity to the unfortunate victim.

No one with a logical mind could, of course, accuse suce men as Mr. Gaspwith, Mr. Gulpstone, and Mr. Goid Lorge of cowardice. Forceful measures to reduce revolt, stomach-pumps, the firehose, and similar noble weapons of administering justice, within the seclusion of prison walls, the generous throwing of responsibility upon medical advisers for these acts (which are, of course, intended to reclaim and not to punish)-all these are simply traits of a courageous desire to meet force with force. Nor does the mere slinking out of buildings by back gates and side ways evidence the slightest want of physical or moral courage on the part of these gentlemen. These nervous avoidances of the

public eye are merely neurasthenic symptoms which invariably company bad attacks of Suffragitis, and should be treated with sympathy instead of condemnation.

The treatment for this disease has, so far, been unsuccessful. We venture to say that it has not been sufficiently drastic. We think that if the methods suggested by an eminent medical authority of our ac quaintance were put into practice the disease would soon be stamped out.

Suffragitis, being - SO nearly allied in its symptoms and effects to neurasthenia a modified Weir-Mitchell treatment is advised. As everyone knows, the Weir-Mitchell treatment demands isolation of the patient as an indispensable condition to success. The patient must be taken away from his home, and deprived of all communication, personal or written, from his family. Forced feeding is another therapeutic measure which gives good results, and it has been suggested that the stomach-tube would be a valuable aid to the dietetic treatment. Shower-baths are also advisable, and these may be administered per fire-hose or otherwise, as decided by the attendants in charge

Suffragitis is spreading so rapidly through the Cabinet ranks at the present time that unless dealt with promptly and efficiently we may have to deplore the loss to public service of some of our most able politicians.

LOUISA THOMSON-PRICE.

Apologies.

To Mrs. Layton, whose kind services at the organ, as those of Frau Gabler at the piano, on the occasion of the Yuletide Festival, did not receive their due acknowedgement in last week's report.

To Miss Marie Léon, 30, Regent-street, S.W., the copyright of whose photographs of Mrs. Despard, Miss Cicely Hamilton, and Miss Edith Craig, was by error, in our last issue, attributed to Miss Sime Seruya. Miss Marie Léon holds the sole copyright of these photographs, and we regret that by a misapprehension such a mis-

OTHER SUFFRAGE NEWS.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

Men's League for Woman's Suffrage. **Men's League for woman's Suffrage.** In view of the General Election there is great activity in all quarters. Prospective candidates in all constituencies are being canvassed by the League with the intention of finding out their views. Printed forms are being sent asking the following currents.

- (1) Whether they are in favour of Woman's Suffrage, and whether they will vote for such a measure in the event of its being introduced by the Government or a private member.
 (2) Whether they will make Woman's Suffrage one of the points in their platform speeches.
 (3) Whether they will do their utmost in the House to further

the movement. **The Actresses' Franchise League.** The actresses and their friends in the Suffrage Movement met in delightful conclave on Friday last at the Criterion to cele-brate the first birthday of the Actresses' League. Celebrated people were to be seen on every side animatedly discussing tea, ackes, and the General Election. Miss Adeline Bourne, Miss Edith Craig, Miss Bessie Hatton, Miss Winifred Mayo, and Miss Sime Seruya were the hostesses. A speech of congratulation and thanks for the help so generously profiered by the League to the other societies was given by Mrs. Despard in her happiest a new system of propaganda by means of plays, that was so successful that everybody was trying to steal the plays or imitate them in some way. Amongst others who were present were Miss Beatrice Harraden, Mrs. Theodore Wright, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Mrs. I. Zangwill. **Church League for Woman's Suffrage.**

Church League for Woman's Suffrage.

On Saturday, December 11th, the Rev. C. Hinscliff, in conjunc-on with Miss Margesson, held a very successful meeting at tion with Miss Margesson, held a very successful meeting at Margate. Several ladies generously offered a holiday to over-tired London workers. After Christmas Mr. Hinscliff will visit Bristol and Bath, where great interest in the League is being shown. Mrs. Hylton Dale, 6o, Onslow Gardens, who has under-taken to organise branches in London, S.W., held an "At Home" on Tuesday. Mrs. Maurice Bell, The Vicarage, Regent's Park, will organise for London, N.W.

The International Club.

The International Club. The newest Suffrage development is an International Club, which is domiciled at 66, Russell Square, and which has already goo members. On the evening of the 15th inst. the handsome, well-furnished rooms were filled with all sorts and descriptions of men (the word denotes women, too), who were received by Mrs. Despard, President of the Women's Freedom League. Mr. Robert Cholmondeley and a few representative ladies spoke, and a lady gave two recitations, one a charming allegory in verse by Laurence Housman. by Laurence Housman.

THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS. United States.

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Weights of the second state of the State States of the second state Germany.

The general meeting of the German Suffrage Association, which has recently been held at Munich, was only the third in its history. The reason of this is that, till the repeal of the Old Associations Law a national Suffrage Association could not exist. The movement in Germany, though compara-tively new, is full of activity, and at their recent gatherings among plans adopted for future work were simultaneous pro-paganda meetings throughout the whole of Germany in con-junction with an attack on the new taxes which foll with each ction with an attack on the new taxes, which fall with special

junction with an attack on the new taxes, which fall with special weight on women. In the Zeitschrift für Frauenstimmrecht for December there is a long article dealing with the treatment of women political prisoners in England, in which the writer says: "Shame on a Liberal Government which allows political prisoners to be treated as common malefactors! "Where are the women of all the civilised lands, who should be protesting against the shameful proceedings of the English authorities?"



TYPES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS. (Dedicated to the A.S.S.)

No. 4. THE MAN WHO THINKS "WOMEN ARE ANGELS AND THAT THEY SHOULD NOT SOIL THEIR WINGS "

THE VOTE.





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VOTES

FOR

WOMEN

FREE.

Hon. Org. Sec.

President

Hon. Treas.

Hon. Sec.

work.

3 p.m.

THE VOTE.

REPORTS FROM THE PROVINCES.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE. Liverpool-Headquarters: 25, Canning Street.

Manchester-Organiser's Address:

Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Organisers : Miss Broadhurst, M.A. Miss Farquharson, M.A. Miss Manning, B.A.

Welsh Campaign.—The Western Mail had the following ac-count of our meeting last Tuesday :—"A Suffragette meeting, distinguished by pusillanimous tranquillity, was held on Tues-day night at the Royal Hotel, Cardiff, under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League. Councillor C. H. Vivian pre-sided over a large attendance. Dr. Robert Smith proposed a resolution to the effect that the Parliamentary vote should be granted to duly availing the mean and calling upon attendance. pranted to duly qualified women, and calling upon prospective Parliamentary candidates to include Women's Suffrage in their election addresses. The doctor, in an eloquent address, pleaded that the countries that produced a Boadicea and a Joan of Aro ould still inspire warriors with devoted enthusiasm and splen

that the contribution of the product of bounded and a point of plan-could still inspire warriors with devoted enthusiasm and splen-did patriotism." I seconded the resolution, which, when put to the meeting, was carried unanimously. The chairman and Dr. Smith are mem-bers of the Cardiff Council, and have great influence in political and social circles. Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., the Liberal can-didate for Cardiff, has included Women's Suffrage in his elec-tion address, and puts forward his views in all his speeches. Our meeting in Swansea'on Friday night, when we had the assistance of Mrs. Fagan and Mrs. Sproson, was a great suc-cess, particularly from a political point of view. The announce-ment that the "pet lamb of Wales" is to be fought by the Women's Freedom League at Carnaroon in the General Election drew forth loud cheets. But the statement which we made at the women's meeting at Llanelly on Thursday night regarding Mr. Lloyd George's visit to Swansea next Tuesday has caused the Press much anxiety. Mr. Lloyd George has ignored the request from the Swansea Branch that he shall meet them in deputation, so an adequate protest is necessary. What form it will take is the cause of uneasiness to the Press.

deputation, so an adequate protest is necessary. What form it will take is the cause of uneasiness to the Press. Our new South Glamorgan Branch met us yesterday in con-ference, and already shows much political acumen and enter-prise. I shall need volunteers and monetary help for our Carnarvon campaign. We cannot put up a good fight against the Chancellor of the Exchequer without substantial funds. Send them at once, as we are making preliminary arrangements once, as we are making preliminary arran to I. Robert Street.

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M. E. MANNING.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Head Offices : 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW. Hon. Treasurer : Mrs. Julia Wood. Office Secretary : Miss Kirby. Organisers : Miss Anna Munro, Miss OLIVE ROBERTSON. Telegrams : "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone : 495 Douglas

The £1,000 Fund.—The Treasurer of the Scottish Council has received the following letter and the guinea therein mentioned, and thinks that the letter will prove interesting to members, and perhaps inspire others to "do likewise."

"Moorepark, Cardross, "December 11th, 1909.

"DEAR MRS. FULTON,—As the proper place for women is the home, and as I am a lukewarm politician, and cannot make up my mind to side with the Budget and Lloyd George, or Balfour and Tariff Reform, I am compelled to excuse myself from at-tending the meeting in the Geilston Hall on Thursday, Decem-

ber 16th. "And as I do not wish to fail in any good work, I will send the guinea which I should have subscribed to the Cardross Blanch to the Glasgow Branch of the Women's Freedom League, whose first principle is to be non-party, that thereby I may help to win the vote for women, and be able the sooner, without impropriety and interference in what is no concern of mine, to join your Women's Unionist Association. "The winea cose with this root to Clearer Barentine the

"The guinea goes with this post to Glasgow. Regretting that I cannot think it right to countenance your effort in the mean-time, but still with a neighbourly desire that you may have a good meeting,—Believe me, always, your friend, F. MURRAY.

Paisley .- Miss Murray and Miss Munro held indoor aud outdoor meetings, assisted by Miss Brown and local members. One local gentleman asked if it would help us if he moved a vote of no confidence in any candidate who did not put woman

Uddingston.—A local literary society invited the League to put our case before the people. It was the first time a militant Suffragette had visited the village. At the close of Miss Munro's address not only did all who took part in the discussion believe in the principle of Votes for Women, but everyone admitted that militant action was necessary. A. M.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Last Meeting in 1909 and First Meeting in 1910.

The Women's Freedom League held the first Votes Women meeting of the year 1909 in Parliament Square, and we are arranging to hold the last of this year and the first of next year outside Holloway Prison honour of our brave comrades Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans. All our efforts to induce the Government to recognise the political nature of their offences and to place them in the first division have failed, but that very failure must make us increase our efforts in other direct tions, and not one of us should lose a single opportunity of bringing their cases before the public and the Press. Meetings must be held, letters to the papers must be written, money must be collected to show that even at this festive season we have time and energy to spare to do all our power to make the sacrifice which Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans are making of the utmost value to the cause

They will then have suffered five weeks' imprisonment as criminals, while Miss Neilans has also undergone forcible feeding, and they will appreciate very deeply that our first thoughts in the New Year should be of sympathy with them, and that we should take that opportunity of renewing our determination to work for Women's Freedom more enthusiastically than ever during the com-

Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans are each entitled to receive a visit this week, and accounts of these interviews will be published next week.

Will all those who are willing to help to make this meeting a success please send word to the office?

Propaganda by Leaflets.—" The General Election Manifesto," "Is Political Agitation a Crime?" "Mrs. Despard's Letter to the Women of Great Britain," "Why the Lords threw out the Budget," "The Reasons Why" are all ready. Send for copies, enclosing a small sum for postage. Have them distributed, re-printed, and scattered as widely as possible from now till the end of the General Election.

by the League.

THE VOTE.

Mrs. Fagan, who was in the chair, made it quite clear how fortunate it is for the League to have Mrs. Billington-Greig back, and fit for a certain amount of active work at this very critical time. An appeal for further contributions towards the £5,000 required for immediate work was responded to by Miss Seruya offering \pounds_1 a week during the election if twenty-four other people would do the same. In a short time twenty-one offers were received, and only three are required to complete the number to enable the treasurer to accept Miss Seruya's generous offer.

The National Executive Committee has made some alterations in the internal working arrangements of the League in order to facilitate the more expeditious dealing with the business details, which have increased so enormously during the last few months. The work has been further departmentalised, an Honorary Organiser being placed in charge of each department as the responsible head, and all communications for that department should be addressed to her. SPEAKERS for W.F.L. and other Meetings-MRS. HICKS. PRESS NOTICES AND LETTERS-MRS. NEVINSON. LITERATURE DEPARTMENT-MISS HICKS. THE VOTE "-STREET SALES-MRS. SNOW

Christmas-tree.—The oft. tree which was used at the Vuletide Festival is now on sale—cheap. It was well fixed into a good zinc-lined tub, and may be had complete Particulars from Miss Seruya at W.F.L. Offices. Illustrated souvenirs of the Festival may be had from the Office for $3\frac{1}{2}d$., post free.

FUTURE EVENTS IN THE PROVINCES. Thurs., Dec. 30th Manchester, 9, Albert Square : Workers' Meeting, 8 p.m. General Election Meetings at all the special centres

IN LONDON.

Thurs., Dec. 30th Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street, W. : Mrs. Toyne, 8 p.m Fri., Dec. 31st.... 11.45 p.m., Outside Holloway Prison. Thurs. Jan. 6th Caxton Hall, Westminster : Mrs. Despard, 3 p.m. Sat., Jan. 8th... 1, Robert Street, Adelphi : National Executive

General Election Meetings in Tower Hamlets, Battersea, Dulwich. IN SCOTLAND.

Tues.



the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on account of its greater size and more convenient situation. The "At Homes" will be held every Thursday at Among the many noted speakers who have promised to help us are :--Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig, Dr. Saleeby, Miss Margaret McMillan, Mr. Cecil Chap-man, the Venerable Archdeacon Escreet, Mr. Bart

Kennedy, Mr. J. Cameron Grant, and many others. A special feature of the "At Homes" during the General Election will be up-to-date campaign reports.

We expect very large attendances of members and friends, and will be glad to receive suggestions to make these weekly meetings a still more powerful help to the League

Remember January 6th, Mrs. Despard.

with the names of the organisers in charge. Volunteers are required in all these places, and all who can help please write at once to Mrs. Billington-Greig, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow, giving dates for which they are free. Organiser in Charge
 Battersea
 Mr. John Burns
 Organiser in Cha

 Dulwich (Camberwell) Mr. A. Bonar Law
 Mrs. Hicks
 Mrs. Moore

 Poplar
 Mr. Sydney Buxton
 Mrs. Sidley

 Cleveland
 Mr. H. Samuel
 Miss Farqui

 Dewsbury
 Mr. W. Runciman
 Miss Farqui
 Miss Farquharson Northumberland Sir E. Grey (Berwick) Liverpool (Walton) Worcestershire, E. Mr. F. E. Sun. Mr. Austen Chamberlain Miss Schofield Dundee

Offices : 1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

DARE TO BE well-being of the community.

....

....

OBJECTS-To secure for Women the Par.

liamentary Vote as it is or may be

granted to men; to use the power thus

obtained to establish equality of rights

and opportunities between the sexes,

and to promote the social and industrial

... ...

Telegrams-"TACTICS, LONDON," Telephone-15143 Central.

Colours-GREEN, WHITE AND GOLD.

THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Work has already begun in several of the constituencies.

Mrs. Hicks, assisted by Mrs. Duval and Miss Under-

wood, has been busy in Battersea, while Miss Sidley has

started in Tower Hamlets, and has plenty of work for

hundreds of volunteers. Every member who can possibly manage it should give all her time to General Election

by the League $\pounds 5,000$ will be required. Those who can-not send large donations should send to the Hon.

Treasurer for collecting-cards, and in this way everyone can do her share towards raising the necessary £5,000. Below is given a preliminary list of the constituencies,

To carry out the splendid campaign mapped out

Mrs. C. DESPARD

MISS S. BENETT

Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN

... Mrs. T. BILLINGTON-GREIG

East Fife Haddington Carnarvon Glamorgan (Mid.) Monmouth (N.) Mr. H. H. Asquith Miss Munro Mr. R. B. Haldane Mr. D. Lloyd George Miss Matters Monmouth (N.) Mr. R. McKenna Montgomery Boroughs Mr. J. D. Rees Miss Bremner Miss Hicks

"AT HOMES," The syllabus for the "At Homes" in the New Year

is now in the hands of the printer, and when published

will prove of exceptional interest. We are going back to

MURIEL MATTERS

"AT HOME" AT PORTMAN ROOMS.

The last "At Home" for the present at the Portman Rooms was held last Wednesday. The speaker was Mrs. Billington-Greig, who explained in detail the policy of the League in the General Election. She ended a masterly exposition of the political situation and the part which women ought to play in the forthcoming struggle by an appeal for voluntary workers to come forward to take part in one of the twenty special campaigns planned

TO MEMBERS.

Thurs., Jan. 13th "At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Sat., Jan. 29th Conference, Caxton Hall. Mon., Jan. 31st National Executive Committee, 1, Robert Feb. 1st Release of Miss Neilans, Holloway Prison.

Dec. 27th Suffrage Festival, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow. Dec. 28th Suffrage Festival, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow.



ARMY & NAVY CLEANING AND GENERAL INDUSTRIES CO., LTD. They Do Them Well.

Address: 54a, WILMINGTON STREET, WILMINGTON SQUARE, W.C. Telephone Holborn 2276.

BRANCH NOTES.

Glasgow Central.—On Wednesday, the 15th inst., the Central ranch held its meeting for the first time in the Suffrage Centre, 2, Sauchiehall Street. Branch 302, Sa They

302, Sauchiehall Street. They feel that they have made a distinct change for the better, and that their work as a branch should receive a decided impetus from its association with the Suffrage Centre. In fact, fourteen new members have already been added to their number since the opening of the shop. The meeting was very well attended, and there were many new faces in the audience. The sale of literature was larger than it has been all session. Mr. Sclanders, who was the speaker, took George Bernard Shaw's play "Major Barbara" as his subject, and spoke to a most appreciative audience.

most appreciative audience. **Govan**.—Govan Branch held a highly successful concert and meeting in White Street Congregational Church Hall on Thurs-day, December 16th, Miss Olive Robertson in the chair. The artistes who so kindly assisted with music, &c., were greatly appreciated by an enthusiastic audience, especially the sketch dances beautifully performed by the young family of one of our members (Mrs. Malcolm), and several encores were given. Miss Eunice Murray gave an address in her usual brilliant style, adding a touch of seriousness which harmonised exceedingly with laughter and fun. Altogether a very pleasant evening was spent, and the meeting

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Drawing room Meeting.—Mrs. Fagan took the chair at a very uccessful drawing-room meeting held on Tuesday, December 14th, by kind invitation of Mrs. Jopling Rowe, at her house, 7, Pembroke Gardens, Kensington, and Mrs. Sproson was the peaker succession by kind

Many of the facts regarding the Suffrage forcibly brought forward by Mrs. Fagan were evidently quite unknown to most of the audience, who were deeply interested in all she said, and who also followed Mrs. Sproson's speech with the closest at-tention. At the end of the meeting over a pound's worth of litera-ture was sold.

Special Notice.—The office will be closed on Thursday after-noon, December 23rd, and will re-open on Thursday morning, December 30th.

Stewards' Corps.—A new Corps of Stewards is to be formed to deal with all public meetings and "At Homes," and every member who is willing to assist is urged to send in her name to the honorary London organiser. A special meeting will then be called to determine the organi-sation and elect officers. Much more attention will in future be given to the matter of stewarding, and the function of stewarding will be made more interesting and useful.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

We appeal for special donations in honour of our twoprisoners, as the thoughts of every member of the W.F.L. must turn with affection and sympathy to our comrades who are to spend their Christmas in prison, and the most practical form our sympathy can take is to contribute to the funds. We should like to be able to spend Christmas with them in Holloway, but as we cannot do this, I think we shall gladly deny ourselves some enjoyment in order to do what we know would please them—that is, help the funds of the League, that our many-sided work may go steadily forward. S. BENETT.

CASH RECEIVED, DEC. 6th-17th.

	4		~		
£ s.	d.	Ceels I ada	to	s.	d.
Amount previously	-	Cook, Lady IC White, Mrs. R. L.,	000	0	0
acknowledged4,417 18 Saunders, Miss M. I. 0 10	50	Stone Cot Hall	I	0	0
Central Branch 3 0	0	"A Friend"	2	0	
Drysdale, Dr. and		Edinburgh Branch "W.F.L. Stall"	2	0	0
Mrs. 2 12 Drysdale, Mrs 1 0 Drysdale, Miss Eva 0 10 Matters per Miss M	6	"W.F.L. Stall"			
Drysdale, Mrs 1 o	0	(Borrmann Wells,			
Drysdale, Miss Eva o 10	0	Mrs.) Luffman, Miss B Hackney Branch	3	4	- 0'
Matters, per Miss M. (South Wales		Luffman, Miss B	0	3	0
(South Wales		Hackney Branch	2	го	0
Campaign) :		Nevitt-Bennett, Mrs.			
Davies, Esq, A.,		Е	2	0	0
ios.; collections,		Cunningham, Mrs.	1.3	K. T	
£2 8s. 10d.; lec-		Moncrieff, Nita Duckett, Miss C. A. Railton, Mrs.	5		0
ture fee, £1 1s 3 19 Manning, per Miss : Fitzsimons, Miss	10	Duckett Miss C A	0	02	6
Fitzsimons Miss		Railton Mrs	3	0	0
M. It collect		Sale, Cheshire Branch	J	5	0
tions, 14s 1 14	0	Sherwood, Miss A.	I	0	0
M., £1; collec- tions, 14s 1 14 Benett, Miss S 30 0	0	Sherwood, Miss E. J. Marshall, Miss J. M.	I	0	0
Clapperton, Miss J.		Marshall, Miss J. M.	2	0	0
Hume 1 0	0	Smith, Mrs. F. E Howard-Swan, Mrs.	0	5	0
Clapperton, Miss J. Hume 1 o Central Telegraph		Howard-Swan, Mrs.	0	5	O.
Office, per Miss		Reynolds, Miss Lilla	0	1	0
	0	Ulica, Mme	0	13	0
Hickman, Miss M 0 10	6	Ulica, Mme. "G. C. S." Anonymous, Albert	I	0	0
Stebbing, Miss K o 2	6	Hall		-	
Mick Miss A	0 11	Anonymous, Albert	1	0	0
Bean 0 5 Hickman, Miss M. 0 10 Stebbing, Miss K. 0 2 Napier, Mrs. 5 0 Mick, Miss A. 0 5 Sadd-Brown, Mrs. 0 5 Rid Mrs. 0 5	0	Hall	I	0	0
	0	Fraser, Miss	I	5	0
Young Miss, M o I Tillard, per Miss I. :	0	Grimwood Miss F	0	I	0
Tillard, per Miss I. :		Snow, per Mrs. (collections)			
Gibbs, Mrs., 1s.; Gregson, Miss, 1s.; Crook, Miss, 1s.; Priestman, Miss K., 1s.; Little, Mrs., 1s.; Bathelar, Mrs.		(collections)	5	0	0
Gregson, Miss,		Mocatta, Miss A Tite, Miss C. V Huntsman, Miss M.	I	0	0
1s.; Crook, Miss,		Tite, Miss C. V.		12	6
is.; Priestman,		Huntsman, Miss M.	0	3	0
MISS K., IS.;			0	I	0
Batchelor, Mrs.,		Colne per Mrs			
is.; Bradford,		Workers' Meeting, Colne, per Mrs. C. Despard	0	5	0.
collections,		Margate Meeting, per		0	· In-
£4 125. 8d.;		Mrs. C. Despard Zangwill, Esq., I	0	10	6.
Bradtord tickets		Zangwill, Esq., I	2	2	0
£9 38. 2d 14 I	IO	Hornsey Meeting, per			
Goldsmid, Miss M. C. o 2	6	Miss Thompson	0	2	6
Hicks, M.A., Miss A. 5 o	0	Kincaid, Mrs "In Memory of	I	1	0
Ao 3s. 2d		In Memory of			
Branch 2 0	0	Gulielma Kitch-		-	1
Society	0	ing " Nevinson, Mrs., lec-	I	0	0
Caldicot Branch 2 8	6	ture fee	0	IO	6
awson, Miss 0 5	0	Branches, Affilia-		10	1
Iow, Esq., John I I	0	tions fees	0	10	0
Moger, Miss M. E 2 0	0	Tickets			
Leith, Miss Ada o 1	6	Collections	36	6	7
Robinson - Guppy,	1221	Programmes	16	18	6
Mrs o 1	6	Sundries	6	17	10
doore, Mrs. L. J 1'o	0	Christmas-tree, per			8 24
Moore, Mrs. L. J I o Faylor, Miss N I o Barclay, Miss F o I	0	Miss S. Serúya	2	19	0
Sarclay, Miss F O I	0	and the second second	07	0	TO
Haughton, Miss A o 1 pswich Branch 2.10	0	£ 5,7	1	9	10
ponton Dranon 2.10	Q	and the second sec			Call Mary

All communications for the W.F.L. pages to be sent to Press Secretary, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., not 1 than first post on Saturday morning. later

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