

THE VOTE

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

VOL. II.—No. 52.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

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The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs, or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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WHAT WE THINK.

Business.

As a result of the Trafalgar Square demonstration, a portion of the daily Press has taken it upon themselves to announce that we "mean business." We do. The recent strike of the railway employees in France bears some resemblance to the dead lock which will ensue if our very reasonable demands are not met. Progress owes something to those whose labour it has disorganised or turned to other channels. Progress may mean many things. It may mean betterment of social conditions or changes in governments; it may mean the advantage of the few at the expense of the many; it may mean such drastic alterations in the conditions of industry as science, combined with capital, has been able to effect. But, whatever it means for different generations or even different decades, it means one thing for the workers—that those who are instrumental in causing change must pay the price; and the labour of women, because of its cheapness, has been called out of the home to mind machinery and sometimes to displace the men whom originally the machinery displaced. These women are now seeking the same weapon of defence that the man has had. Cavour, the wisest and wariest statesman that travelled through the most difficult years of the nineteenth century, had as his watchword "Revolution through Evolution." Those who pay no heed to evolution will learn it through revolution. Progress or evolution or science—the word matters little—has disorganised the work of the home; it has decided that many things that were done by the individual singly and by hand shall be done by machinery, watched over by the individual in groups. Nearly six million women in England earn their own living, and have been driven out of their homes by machinery to compete with it and with men. They are ill-paid; they see no hope of proper conditions until they have the power of the ballot. Only recently industrial women have learned that by resistance they can beat the capitalist at his own game, but the game is a slow one for those who are poor and unenfranchised. The French railway men, secure in manhood suffrage, have just held up the Continent, and won; English women taxpayers are now about to organise their strike, and to hold up the Government, and wring from them, through the power of the pocket, all they demand. Yes! We mean business, and details of our scheme will be found in Mrs. Billington-Greig's clear and convincing leader.

Suffrage in Portugal.

In an interview with the *Daily Mail* correspondent at Lisbon, Senhor Braga, speaking as to the future, says that

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the new Government will be handed over to a popularly-elected Assembly, the vote for which will be by universal suffrage. "I see," he added, "no reason why women should not vote, being proprietors and interested, as well as men, in the nation's well-being." Under such good auguries does the new Republic begin. There is a rumour that the ex-King is to join the British Army. If he does, we wonder, will the anti-suffragist accept the fact that the power to fight is not necessarily the test of the British soldier.

Criticising the Kaiser.

The annual conference, at Heidelberg, of the League of Association of German Women took exception to the "divinely-appointed" Kaiser's admonitions to them to devote themselves to "the quiet work of the home" rather than to the "attainment of supposed rights." Professing pain and regret, patriotism, and unselfishness, this League, whose membership runs into many thousands, adopted a resolution, in the course of which it pointed out that "in the modern conditions of life, which drive 9,500,000 women into the struggle for a living outside the home, it is absolutely necessary to go beyond the bounds of domestic duty. We regret, therefore, most deeply that our efforts to fit women better than heretofore for modern conditions of life have, by this Imperial criticism, been brought into discredit among the unthinking and the unreasonable." In our contemporary the *Sunday Times* recently attention was drawn to the fact that during the last twelve years in Germany, while the employment of men had increased 20 per cent., the employment of women had increased 57 per cent. The number of wage-earning women in Germany is larger than in any other European country, and a third of the economic labour of the Empire is carried on by them. Until lately German women were forbidden to attend or hold political meetings, and by stretching the law women's industrial meetings were also prevented. But now things are better, and since 1890 women's unions have gone ahead, and, if the Imperial one ceased from hysteria and megalomania, he would realise that no mean part of the economic greatness of that vast and formidable Empire over which he rules is due to the German women whom industrial conditions have driven out of their homes.

Women Doctors in India.

There is a proposal to establish a new Government service for lady doctors in India, and it is not unlikely that Lord Morley may countenance a Women's Indian Medical Service, to be entered by open competitive examination, for which a pension, after a certain number of years, will be ensured. We have grown very suspicious of every scheme in which the Government acts as the woman's employer; we know that the male Government is obsessed by the male attitude towards women's labour—professional and otherwise—and we know that as authorised and official sweating is the rule in every Government employment of women, sex, and sex alone, determines the rate of wages or salary. And the idea that women are cheap is deep-rooted. Knowing this, we would urge upon those who see great possibilities for the future of medical women in this scheme to urge that those medical women who are likely to take office under the Government shall be paid at exactly the same rates and with the same increments and pension as medical men taking foreign or colonial Government appointments. It is high time that in the professions at least the rule of equal pay for equal work should be adopted.

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Future Plans.

A very full programme of work has to be carried out during the next three or four weeks, and we appeal for voluntary workers to come forward with offers of help for both indoor and outdoor work.

Suffrage Week.

In addition to the fixtures announced last week, we have to announce that W.F.L. has decided to take part in the Suffrage Week, November 7th-12th, which is being organised by the N.U.W.S.S. All suffrage societies, with one exception, are joining in this, and meetings will be held in various halls in London every afternoon and evening during that week. The W.F.L. meeting will take place on Monday evening, November 7th, at Caxton Hall. The work of this week—the one before the opening of Parliament—will culminate in a united mass meeting, in the Royal Albert Hall, on Saturday, November 12th, at which Mrs. Despard will speak. Full details of the meeting will be issued within the next few days. Much depends upon the success of these meetings. Let every member realise this, and be ready to do her part to bring it about.

Members' Meeting.

The next members' meeting will be held on Friday, October 21st, at the office, at 7.30 p.m., when Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Snow will be present. It is hoped that the attendance will be good, as this meeting will have to be omitted the next week, owing to the meeting at Queen's Hall.

W.F.L. Day.

As on this day we celebrate the first birthday of THE VOTE, it is proposed to have special street sales throughout the day. Will VOTE sellers please note this, and send in their names as soon as possible, saying what time during the day they can devote to this? Application for tickets (price 1s.) for the evening meeting in small Queen's Hall, at 7.30, should be made at once. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Miss Lawson, Mrs. Chapin, and Miss Alison Neilans will speak.

Florence Nightingale Meeting.

Mrs. Denibas, of 34, Elgin Crescent, Ladbroke Grove, W., has very kindly given the use of her drawing-room for a meeting in honour of Florence Nightingale, to be held on Wednesday, November 2nd, at 3.30 p.m. Lantern slides illustrating the life and work of Florence Nightingale will be shown, and the speakers will include Mrs. How Martyn, Miss Hare, and Surgeon-General G. J. H. Evatt, C.B., M.D., R.A.M.C. Early application for cards of invitation should be made to the office.

Special Conference.

On Saturday, October 29th, the special conference will be held at Caxton Hall. Delegates only are allowed to speak and vote, but all members are urged to be present.

Other Events.

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY, October 21st and 22nd.—SUFFRAGE FAIR, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Kensington (between Edwardes Square and Pembroke Square). Tickets 6d. each.

THURSDAY, November 3rd.—FIRST "AT HOME," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Sproson will speak.

SUNDAY, November 6th.—SHELLEY LECTURE, Small Queen's Hall. Mrs. Despard. Vocal recital by Miss Marta Cunningham. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

Reception.

On Sunday afternoon, October 30th, a reception to conference delegates will be held. This will give delegates an opportunity of becoming acquainted with one another and with the work as it is being carried on in various parts of the country.

MRS. DESPARD AND "THE VOTE" SELLERS.

A short time ago Mrs. Despard, with one of those happy inspirations which are so characteristic of her, decided to entertain THE VOTE sellers to tea. There was a delightful gathering at the Gardenia Restaurant last Wednesday of friends and workers, who met to rejoice in one hard-won engagement in a long campaign, and to encourage and help one another to go forward with fresh enthusiasm.

THE VOTE sellers presented Mrs. Despard with a beautiful bouquet, and for some time there was a clatter of teacups, with an accompanying buzz of conversation, broken now and again by merry peals of laughter, as we recounted our various experiences. Then, in her happiest vein, Mrs. Despard spoke of the splendid business capacity of Miss Marie Lawson, which has made THE VOTE so successful. After saying how grateful she felt for all the hard work already done, she appealed for even more hearty co-operation to increase the circulation. She said that sometimes she went into the office and found Miss Jenkins looking very anxious because so few VOTE sellers had been in, and she hoped from now on there would be many more members going to the office for copies of THE VOTE to sell.

To Mrs. Powell, who stands first on the list of sellers, having sold 2610 copies since March 14th, Mrs. Despard presented a warm scarf, with the hope that it would keep her from catching cold when selling in bad weather, and she referred to the fact that on the previous evening Mrs. Powell had been turned away from one of the theatre doors on account of the presence of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Balfour. She added that this was the sort of thing we had learned not to mind in the least, although, of course, some people who still think a woman ought to be exquisitely sensitive, and feel such things very much, and shrink into her shell, and be protected, might think it very sad and very unwomanly. But women are learning that the work they are doing is for a great cause, for woman and for womanhood, and we know that womanhood is one, and what hurts one woman hurts the whole of womanhood, and that, therefore, what we are doing is womanly in the highest degree.

The next on the list of sellers were the Misses Fennings, who since March 14th have sold 1984 copies from the office, in addition to another 1040 from local newsagents. Next came Mme. Kubler. Mrs. Powell, in a moving little speech, confessed that she had felt the cold weather last winter when selling THE VOTE, but said that she would go forward with more courage, knowing that what we are doing in selling THE VOTE and in winning the vote is for humanity. Miss Ethel Fennings made a strong appeal to those who realise what an inspiration Mrs. Despard is to us all in the Freedom League to pass on her inspiration by means of THE VOTE. She suggested never going out without carrying a copy or without wearing the badge. Mrs. How Martyn said she did not think we could insist too strongly on the importance of little things, and selling THE VOTE was the most important of these. She was ashamed to say that not even every member of the League takes a copy, and she thought at least we should each take one copy and sell one copy, for even amongst our "anti" friends there must be one who would spare a penny a week, if only for the sake of our friendship.

Attention was called to the fact that it was desired to increase the size of THE VOTE, and that this would be done as soon as increased circulation permitted. It was very dreary outside, but, as we trudged homeward, it was with fresh determination that THE VOTE, which means so much to women, shall find its way into many more homes, and inspire many more to join in the fight for women's freedom.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S "IMMORTAL" SPEECH.

On Monday night, at the City Temple, Mr. Lloyd George made what the Rev. R. J. Campbell described as an "immortal speech." Amongst the preliminary telegrams read by Mr. Campbell was one from a Suffragist stating that unless the chairman promised that Mr. Lloyd George would make a statement concerning women's suffrage he would be asked a question at the beginning of his speech. As the chairman made no promise on behalf of Mr. Lloyd George, but satisfied himself by pointing out that it was not a political meeting, the inevitable happened. A lady arose in the gallery and began a question. Pandemonium ensued. Some Liberal Christians in her vicinity struck her on the mouth and roughly handled her, until Mr. Campbell exercised the privileges of the chair, and insisted upon order, and Mr. Lloyd George announced his intention of answering the question at the close of his speech. And then the Chancellor began an address in which he attacked problems of destitution under the existing system, and armed with Mr. Seebohm Rowntree's study of poverty in York, and Mr. Chamberlain's declaration that vested interests are not to be considered in comparison with the community at large, he proceeded to state his case. It was a curious thing that every illustration he made of the country's condition of poverty had a woman in it, poor and old and hungry, and every illustration he gave of idle riches had a man in it, young and strong and profligate, or a landlord with more property than he could count in sixty days. He said: "Although for the best part of my life I lived among the people I never realised until I came to administer the Old Age Pensions Act the appalling mass of respectable, industrious, independent, proud poverty that existed among us—cases within a few hundred yards of this magnificent building, where poor women, old and worn, after honest, industrious lives, extending over seventy years, were still working away through the live-long day, starting early, resting late, to earn a wretched pittance, which just saved them from starvation, but never lifted them above privation, earning 6s. and 7s. a week by needlework on the garments of those who, in an hour of frivolity, will spend more than those poor people could earn in three years of toil."

Much of this needlework, which makes the Chancellor's tender heart bleed to think of, is done on the nether garments of men, and these women work under conditions made by men and for male sweaters and male capitalists, and they have no power to say that they shall at least be placed above the bread-line of want.

The Chancellor spoke of the death duties, of armaments, and of land waste, and he stated that, were the burden of the great preparations for human slaughter removed, Great Britain could afford to pay every member of the wage-earning class an additional 4s. a week. We wonder if this did happen would a single wage-earning woman see her 4s. if she was still unrecognised as a citizen. Tears were wrung from him at the thought of the profligate extravagance which threw away miles of land upon stags and pheasants and partridges. "The country," said the Chancellor, "has too large a free list," and having dissected land tenure and put a halo round Form IV., he turned to ask, "What is to be done? The remedy," he said, "must be a bold one. Our efforts hitherto have been too timid, too nervous, achieving no great aim. The time has come for a thorough overhauling of our national and Imperial conditions. I believe the masses of the people are ready for great things; nay, they are expecting them. My counsel to the people would be this—let them enlarge the purpose of their politics, and, having done so, let them adhere to that purpose with unswerving resolve through all difficulties and discouragements until their redemption is accomplished."

When his speech was at an end, and the storm of applause had subsided, from the gallery came the voice with its searching query, and again the Liberal Christians tried to silence it; but the voice of the woman (the "female," as the Daily Press called her, using what it considered its most opprobrious term) would not be denied. She asked: "Don't you think that the poverty and degradation that you have told us of proves that men have somewhat mismanaged the government of the country, and that they would be well advised to ask the aid of a million of women in seeking a solution of those problems?"

Mr. Lloyd George's reply was to burke the question. He said: "The question put to me, was really rather good, and if I may say so rather witty. On the whole I think the lady has rather scored. She asked me whether what I say about poverty and degradation was not a proof that men on the whole had rather mismanaged things. Well, I think they have, and I will tell her more. I think that we would do well to call in the assistance of the ladies to put things right; and if I had the chance of either bringing in or supporting or influencing in any way the passing of a Bill which would enable the vast majority of the women of the working classes who are suffering all this poverty to have a voice in determining it, well, I would settle it tomorrow. Of course, I know perfectly well what they have in hand. I do not like this Bill. I should not be honest if I voted for a Bill which I do not like. They and I do not agree about this; but I shall always vote for a Bill which will enfranchise the women who in the majority are suffering most of the penalties of this infamous system which I think is a disgrace to Christian civilisation."

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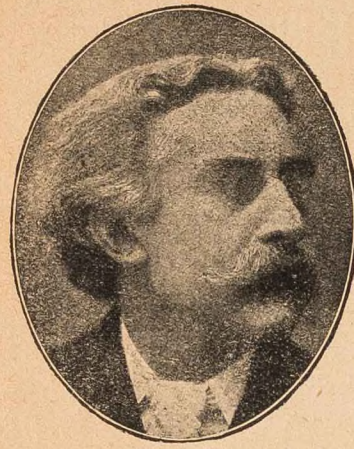
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So the Chancellor evaded the answer. He has it in his power to help the women whom he professes to pity, but he will not do it. He knows and he acknowledges that the evils of this country are man-made—that the sweater, whether he grinds the woman home-worker or the factory hand, is a man; that the capitalists who make their vast profits from anemic, toil-worn women are men; that those who keep vast tracks of land for pleasure are men. And he says that the time has come for a thorough overhauling of our national conditions. We would remind Mr. Lloyd George that no thorough overhauling of national conditions can be done while even the meanest measure of representation is denied the women.

A story told in the course of his speech by Sir John Bann we recommend to those who think with the Chancellor. It was of a husband grown suddenly affectionate towards his wife. "I wish I was an octopus, Mary," he said, "that I might clasp you with a hundred arms." "You silly fool," she said; "why don't you use the two you've got?" If Mr. Lloyd George really wished us well he would take advantage of the two arms he has got—of the Bill which has been accepted by the majority of a House whose majority is as democratic as Mr. Lloyd George. He says, "Let the people enlarge the purpose of their politics." Words are cheap; we want deeds. M. O. K.

MR. E. H. PICKERSGILL, M.P., ON THE BILL.

SPEECH AT TRAFALGAR SQUARE, SATURDAY, OCT. 8.



MR. E. H. PICKERSGILL, M.P.
(Bethnal Green.)

I should like to give a simple illustration of the disadvantages from which women suffer owing to the fact that they are not enfranchised. It may not be known to all of you that there is what is known as a "Prison Board," which has an absolute and direct control of your prisons. This board consists of four persons, and not one of the four is a woman! But, you will say, this is absolutely unjust and unreasonable, and it only needs public attention to be drawn to it for the matter to receive immediate redress. My answer is this: For twenty-five years (your chairman said I had represented Bethnal Green since 1906, but I was returned for Bethnal Green in 1885) I have been trying to obtain the appointment of *one* woman on the Prison Board, but without effect, and at the present day the whole control of our prisons is in the hands of men. Mark this. If women were enfranchised this gross injustice would not survive six months.

I want to call your attention to the gross inconsistency of those who oppose Woman's Suffrage. I was present at the debate on the Bill which is now before the House of Commons, and I heard the opponents of this Bill praise to the skies the great capabilities and the valuable work done by women in local government, in administration of the Poor Law, in the care of our children. They gave most glowing tribute to the invaluable work which women are doing, and yet these very women are entirely excluded from power with regard to these very subjects. If they are so useful in the administration of these laws, would they not do as useful work in promoting the actual legislation?

Comparisons.

Now, I come to the matter which calls us here to-day—the Conciliation Bill. I deny absolutely that this Bill is anti-democratic. It would bring in those who are the local government electors, and out of every five of the newly-enfranchised body four would belong to the working classes. Mr. Lloyd George has said: I want a great democratic measure, and therefore I won't look at this Bill. Now, listen to me a moment. Is that the line of procedure he has taken with regard to his own Bill? It is an open secret that the supporters of his Budget were not satisfied with it. It did not go far enough, but, because of this, did they stay in their tents and refuse to support it? You know they did not. We Liberals all went and voted for the Budget, although we felt that it was only a first step towards what we wanted. This policy, I may add, is the policy which from time immemorial has been applied to Liberal Bills. We never do get all we desire, but we take what we can get and ask for more. We Liberals are never satisfied, for to be satisfied would be to cease to be a Liberal. If this principle of getting what you can is good in general, it applies with two-fold force to the great question of enfranchisement. There are not many old men here, but some of you may remember the Household Enfranchisement Act of 1867. This Act only enfranchised a mere fraction of the labouring classes, and yet it has been most beneficial in promoting the interests of labour. So it is with this Bill. It only enfranchises a fraction of what it ought to do, but through it the interests of women would be immeasurably helped, and, moreover, it would be a first step towards the fuller enfranchisement of women. Why do we who are so keen about passing this Conciliation Bill—or rather why do most of them give the monopoly of their attention to Mr. Lloyd George? Why not give some of it to Mr. Winston Churchill? (Your chairman says you do. I am glad to hear it.) I very much distrust this sudden zeal of Mr. Winston Churchill for a really democratic Bill which we cannot get, and which he knows we cannot get. I remember that barely five years ago Winston Churchill was denouncing Liberalism and its works with a bitterness that has never been surpassed except by his own father.

I am an old Liberal, and one of the old school, and I am here because I feel that the present Liberal Government is playing a humbugging game. Mr. Lloyd George said: "We are engaged in a great constitutional struggle"—[I have no doubt he meant the House of Lords]—"and," he said, "you women want to drive us into another constitutional struggle before the first is settled." There would be very much more force in that argument if the Liberal Government had pursued the line of action which Mr. Asquith laid down in December last against the House of Lords. But you know the Liberal Government did *not* follow the lines laid down on the subject at the Albert Hall,

upon which I asked for and secured the vote of the democratic electors in Bethnal Green. Instead, the Government has called that miserable "Conference," which, as has been said, like a wounded snake drags its slow length along, and instead of being engaged in a great constitutional struggle, I say that the political platform to-day is disengaged. How can those professing Liberals like Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, how can they now have the face to break their pledges—at any rate, the understanding and the impression which they gave at the last election? How can they face us and say, "We will not look at this Bill because it is undemocratic and does not go far enough"?

I can only say in conclusion how glad I am, as an old Liberal, to take part in this meeting and to support these ladies who are making so reasonable a demand. I cannot say if it will be satisfied in this present Parliament, but the demand is so just and so reasonable, so abounding in the elements of Liberalism, that it must before long be fulfilled.

MISS EVA GORE-BOOTH ON WOMEN'S WAGES.

SPEECH AT TRAFALGAR SQUARE, SATURDAY, OCT. 8.

In moving the resolution, Miss Eva Gore Booth said:—



MISS EVA GORE-BOOTH.

You have been told by Mr. Pickersgill what is the present turn of affairs. I would like to add that the members of the Government have said they cannot support this Bill because it is not a democratic Bill. They are not prepared to give us a whole loaf, and therefore they will not give us any at all. Now last year a broad Bill was brought forward (Adult Suffrage), and the Liberal Government, with only one exception, voted against it, so we cannot believe them when they say they want a democratic Bill. They had the offer of one, and they refused it. People have said that in saying the wages of women are so low we have greatly exaggerated. Some people say the average woman's wage is 7s. 6d. a week, others put it at 12s. A lady went to a meeting in Manchester, and was speaking against Women's Suffrage. She said: "Women say they have a grievance and that the average woman's wage is 7s. 6d. a week; but," she said, "they are wrong; it is 12s.;" and a man in the audience asked her how *she* would like to live on 12s. a week. I wonder how she answered the question in her own mind? That, however, is the highest estimate, and I do not think it is a correct one. In the strike at Cradley Heath the women chain-makers were earning 14d. an hour, and as a result of the strike it was decided they should have 24d. an hour; but 14d. was what they had been earning. I could tell you of all the little trades like tailoring, shirt-making, box-making, and many other obscure trades where women are earning nine or ten shillings a week. I think people have got to see there is something wrong about the present conditions of woman's labour. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald said yesterday that the employment of women was the great labour problem of the present time; and he said the economic unit was the family. Now, many people seem to think that if one individual in the family is earning a wage, it doesn't much matter about the others; but they forget there are five million women who have to go out and earn their living, and they have to live on the result of their labour. I wonder what their brothers and other male relations would say if they said, "We are not responsible wage-earners; you must keep us."

Printing and Cotton.

These conditions do not only affect women themselves, because women will starve and suffer privations if they have not a sufficiency. They suffer themselves, but the men also suffer. You will find over and over again the complaint from working-men that women are undercutting the men and bringing wages down for everyone, and consequently many men try to turn women out of their work and give it to men. In Edinburgh there was a strike recently among the compositors, and the chief thing they struck for was the total elimination of woman labour. There are far more women than men in the trade in Edinburgh; they have as much right to earn their living as the men, but of course their wages are less. Why is this? The men won't let them join their union; they won't let them learn the trade properly or be apprenticed to it, and of course without this it is impossible for the women to get trade union wages. Women are

human beings, and have a right to live as well as the men. Besides, it is too late now to try to keep women out of the labour market. For instance, you have all read of the crisis in the cotton industry in Lancashire; the papers have been full of it, and you will notice they always talk of the *men's* proposals, the *men's* representatives, and the masters' representatives. Now, this is curious when you remember that there are 21,000 women employed in the cotton industry and only 8,000 men, so that really there are far more women concerned than men, and yet people argue that women should not vote because they are not concerned with industrial questions. Some people will say that the vote will not help, but that trade unions will; but you have to remember that the modern trade union is practically powerless. In the case of a big industrial dispute it is the Board of Trade that interferes, and the settlement of trade disputes have become a national affair: to-day, all labour questions have become political questions. The whole of our industrial world is full of laws and restrictions and regulations that interfere with industry and trade, and at present one great section of workers (the women) have nothing whatever to do with making or regulating the laws which govern their labour, and that is why women are much worse paid than are men.

It has recently been decided to employ girl messengers instead of boys, because it has been found they are quicker and more trustworthy; but in spite of this they are to be paid 1s. a week less than the boys were for exactly the same work. Unfortunately, right through the Government this is the case: the women and girls are paid less than the men and boys for the same work. And of course the Government leads the way because it is the largest employer of labour in the country. Private employers follow, and you find all over the country that more money is paid to a man than to a woman for the same work. (Interruption: "Women can't keep their husbands.") Unfortunately, husbands often can't or don't keep their wives. Women when they marry think they are going to stop work, and that they are going to stay at home; but about a year after you find them working again for some reason: either the husband is out of work or is ill, or in some cases he won't work, and the woman finds there is nothing between her and the workhouse but labour.

Women and the Laws.

Why should women have to fight against laws that would turn her out of her trade because the members of the House of Commons think that trade is not good for them? There are thousands of women who in this respect are at the mercy of those men who know nothing about their conditions.

Now we know quite well that the Government won't move of

its own accord; you have to bring pressure to bear on it and to drive it. I appeal to you to make the Government feel that there are people in this country who think that the condition of the working woman matters. Show them that the country can never be at its best while the condition of the workers is in such a miserable state. The condition of the women is the weakness of labour in this country, and it will continue to be so until you put them in a position in which they are in touch with the power of the country.

THE PAGEANT AT SUNDERLAND.

An unqualified success! This was the verdict pronounced by the Press and public on the Pageant of Famous Women, as produced by Miss Edith Craig and Miss Cicely Hamilton. More than 2000 people were present, and, as one looked upon this vast crowd, one could not help being struck with the look of anticipation and pleasure as each item on the programme was gone through. Whatever may have been their views on the question of women's suffrage, there could be no mistaking the fact that they were deeply moved as, one by one, the local ladies passed in review before them, impersonating the various characters—warriors, rulers, artists, heroines, learned and saintly women of present and bygone days.

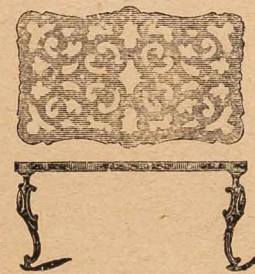
A wave of genuine enthusiasm pervaded the whole audience, and, so far as one could see, the work done by these noble women seemed as fresh in the minds of the people as though their gallant deeds and noble lives were of yesterday. Miss C. Hamilton's Waxworks preceded the Pageant, and were highly entertaining, instructive, and amusing; and, lastly, the splendidly able speech of Mrs. Despard on "Dare To Be Free" found an echo in our hearts. Many are looking forward to hearing Mrs. Despard during her visit to us in November. Several new members have been added. This is a unique method of propaganda. Our heartfelt thanks are due to all who helped to make the Pageant so successful; to our gentlemen friends we are specially grateful, and also to the splendid organisation. L. T. MAIL, Organiser.

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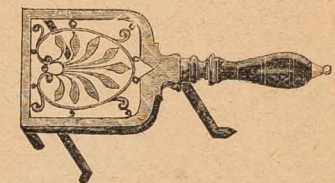
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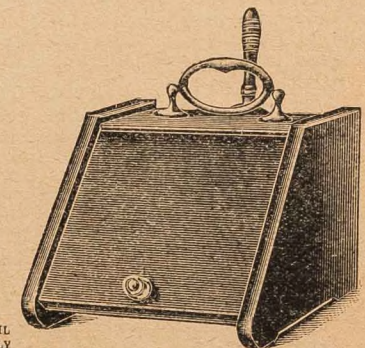
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THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, OCTOBER 22, 1910.

WHY PAY TAXES?

The employment of tax-resistance as a method of protest against disenfranchisement appears to be due, in the first instance, to Miss Charlotte Babb, whose goods were distrained upon in the early days of the suffrage agitation thirteen times because she refused to pay Imperial taxes. Following her heroic persistence, there was a series of isolated resistances to taxation by unrepresented women, of whom the best known are Miss Henrietta Müller and the Misses Priestman, of Bristol, who resisted taxation about 1885, and Mrs. Montefiore, whose final resistance in 1906 gave occasion for the famous six weeks' siege of her house at Hammersmith. There were other individual instances as well as these, but the Women's Freedom League in 1907 made the first organised attempt to run a definite tax-resistance campaign. Instead of isolated instances we have now got a steadily-increasing body of yearly resisters, and the action of these women has been made use of to drive home to the public the concrete injustice of taxation without representation.

Last year a Tax-Resistance League came into existence, confining itself to the development of this one line of protest. This year, as a sign of further growth, the sister militant society has decided to adopt the tax-resistance policy as a means of bringing additional pressure upon the Government. These signs of the progress of this very practical anti-Government action are good to see; but just at this moment they are particularly to be welcomed, for the National Executive of the League has just decided to adopt and develop a further line of tax-resistance, in which we hope all the societies approving this general policy will concur.

So far, the strength of the tax-resistance movement has rested with the women who were spinsters or widows; but the new line of action will make the married women a more effective agent of protest. The most that can be done by the widow and spinster is to enter her protest, and thus delay the passing of her money into the Treasury. Except in the case of Mrs. Despard—which is exceptional—no widow or spinster has successfully withheld the contribution demanded of her by the State; but with married women this is possible. She is enabled by the state of our present law not only to enter her protest, but actually to withhold her moneys, and so to deplete the Treasury coffers.

There are many anomalies with regard to married women upon our Statute Book, and a large number of them are due to the basic wrong done by our Common Law assumption that a married woman is the subject and property of her husband, having no independent existence apart from him. In spite of the Married Woman's Property Acts this assumption is still acted upon to-day, old laws that ought to have been rendered null and void by the passing of the Acts, which gave the married woman the control of her own property still remaining on the Statute Book, are being applied by the authorities. The Income Tax Commissioners provide a case in point. This legal inconsistency places the woman at a disadvantage, sometimes the man, but if it is dealt with in the right way in this case of Income Tax the Government itself can be made to bear the burden.

It is our duty as suffragists to take advantage of every opportunity which may offer. Even when the initial cause of the opportunity is an insulting denial of the woman's independence, we must still employ it. We must make this very insult to us a means of attack upon the Government which denies us liberty. We must turn the ridiculous survivals of coverture into weapons of enfranchisement. The existing law so stands that married women can escape the payment of Imperial taxes. Then let them take advantage of the law. Let them organise a depletion of the

Treasury. Let them go tax free until women are enfranchised. This is the new tax-resistance policy which we have adopted, and which we mean to spread throughout the land.

Let us examine the position. The standard of Income Tax law is the Finance Act of 1842, upon which all our present Inland Revenue procedure is based. Section 45 of this Act deals with the position of married women, and declares that the income of a married woman living with her husband shall be deemed the income of the husband, and the same shall be charged in the name of the husband, and not in her name or of her trustee. So stands the law for the protection of the wife. The Income Tax authorities cannot legally apply to a married woman for the payment of any Imperial tax; they cannot cite her for non-payment, they cannot levy distraint upon her. She is not liable to Income Tax in any form whatsoever while living with her husband.

The husband is legally liable for the taxes levied upon his wife's income, whether earned or unearned, and generally, with her co-operation, he has been able to satisfy the Income Tax authorities as to the extent of that income, and to hand over to the same body the taxes with which she provided him in respect of the claim made upon her through him. The authorities have been, as the man in the street would say, having it both ways. They have refused to recognise or deal with the woman, and yet they have insisted upon her husband acting as their agent in levying taxes upon her; but all the time since 1872 they and the husband have been acting illegally. The Married Woman's Property Act took from the husband the old *jus mariti* by means of which he became possessor of all his wife's goods and properties; it took away also his old right of administration of his wife's property, and deprived him of any legal right to control, inquire into, or interfere with, his wife's economic affairs. Therefore, every time a husband, acting with the compulsion of the law behind him, compelled his wife to reveal the extent and nature of her income he was breaking a bigger law and a more recent law than the one which he was obeying. The husband has no legal right of inquiry, no legal power of control, over the income of his wife. He cannot be forced to do what is illegal. He can make no return for his wife. He cannot be assessed for payment of taxes on an income that he cannot declare.

The plan of campaign is unfolded, and it is only necessary to indicate the details of procedure. These are simple. When the demand for a statement of the wife's income is made for the Government by the husband, the wife must refuse to supply any information, and must refer her husband to the Married Woman's Property Act (England, 1872; Scotland, 1877). This refusal and reference the husband will convey to the Revenue officials. In all probability the form will be returned once or twice, and, finally, a form will be sent direct to the wife. She will return this, calling the attention of the senders to the fact that she is a married woman living with her husband, and referring them to the Income Tax Act of 1842, section 45. If both husband and wife stick firmly to their guns, the authorities would seem to be able to do nothing.

The law allows everyone who pays Income Tax to claim redress for any undue and illegal levy made during the last three years. Therefore, a married woman's payment during the last three years can be reclaimed, if she can prove that they were paid by herself or deducted from her personal income. This course should be followed wherever moneys are paid out by trustees and agents, or deducted from interest on investments. By this means not only this year's taxes, but a portion of previous years', can be withdrawn from the Treasury. The cumulative effect of this additional development of the tax-resistance campaign and the new impetus given to the old lines of resistance should go some considerable distance towards convincing the Chancellor of the Exchequer that women are preferable as allies and peaceful enfranchised citizens than as an army of sharpshooters interfering constantly with the smooth conduct of his financial army.

This is our plan. Why pay taxes? Married women, respond!
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BRANCH NOTES.

LONDON BRANCHES COUNCIL.—I, Robert Street Adelphi.

Battersea Branch.—Mrs. Duval, 37, Park Rd., Wandsworth, S.W. On Tuesday, October 11th, Mrs. Hyde addressed a meeting at Mossbury Road, Mrs. Duval in the chair. Although it rained during the meeting, we had a good audience, and made two new members. On Friday, October 14th, at Windsor Road, we nearly came into collision with the Liberal party about our pitch. Decision of the umpire, the police sergeant, was in our favour, as we arrived first. Good meeting, and a strong Liberal breeze, with many stormy questions. Nothing so useful as opposition. The Secretary was the speaker, and Mrs. Reader took the chair. On Sunday, October 16th, on Clapham Common, Mrs. Reader opened the meeting, followed by Mrs. Tanner, who soon collected a large crowd by a well-reasoned speech. Mrs. Duval brought up the rear. Our two dozen papers sold like hot cakes, and we were told THE VOTE was improving every week. Our collection paid for the van.—E. D. D.

Croydon.—Mrs. Terry, 9, Morland Avenue. On Friday, at South Norwood Clock, Mrs. Tanner answered Lord Cromer's objections in a clear and convincing manner, and evidently converted the "Antis" present, as at question time they were all dumb. We met at Morland Road on Saturday, when Miss Fenning's spoke for nearly two hours to a large crowd. Questions came chiefly from two men, who were exceedingly dense and unwilling to learn. Mrs. Pyart took the chair. THE VOTE was sold, and a collection taken at both meetings. On the 27th inst. Mrs. Billington-Grieg is coming to Pembroke Hall, and it is hoped that all members will do their best to get a full hall.—E. M. F.

Crystal Palace and Anerley District.—Miss Fenning's, 149, Croydon Road.

On Monday, at the Tram Terminus, one of the largest crowds we have had listened to Mrs. Duval's forcible denunciation of the sweating and social evils. Her plain speaking irritated a man who objected to hearing the truth, and his remarks showed the nature of the only opposition we get now. Miss Fenning's also spoke, and the numerous questions were answered by both speakers. THE VOTE sold well, and a collection was taken.—E. M. F.

Hackney.—Miss Gutteridge, 17, Dunsmore Road, Stamford Hill.

A very successful meeting was held in Victoria Park on Sunday afternoon last, when Miss Norris addressed a gathering of about 600 people. Our regular opponents were present, but

their questions were answered with ease by the speaker, whose democratic mental attitude appealed with particular force to the majority of those present. Mrs. How Martyn will be the speaker next Sunday, when it is hoped a large number of members will attend.—L. P.

North Hackney.—114, Holmleigh Road, Stamford Hill.

Owing to the wet weather, only one open-air meeting has been held this week—that at the corner of Amburst Park, Miss Norris and Mr. John Simpson being the speakers. The large crowd was very attentive, and several copies of THE VOTE and Mr. Brailsford's pamphlet upon the Conciliation Bill were disposed of. One or two open-air meetings will take place in the neighbourhood of West Hackney and Stoke Newington before the close of the month.—A. CUNNINGHAM.

Hornsey.—Miss Syms, 8, Church Lane.

On Monday, the 10th, a more lively meeting than usual was held at Hornsey Fire Station. The Anti-Suffrage lady again paid us a visit, and so our collection went up considerably. Mr. Yaldwyn gave a very stirring address, assisted by Miss Gibson as chairman. Mr. Yaldwyn was very much interrupted by the inane remarks from the "Anti," and he twice threatened to get off the chair. He appealed to the men and women to rally to save the nation; the "Anti" told us she was there to save the Empire. He dealt with the Conciliation Bill, and showed how working women needed the Vote. The "Anti" said they did not need the Vote. She is splendid for drawing a crowd and collection.—M. S. S.

Finchley.—Mrs. Mitchell, Saltburn, Mountfield Road, Church End.

OPEN AIR MEETINGS.—On Saturday last, October 15th, we held our usual open-air meeting in Church End at the horse trough, nearly opposite the Station. Mrs. Toyne was our only speaker, but she was quite competent to take the meeting alone and answer any questions. Mrs. Toyne dealt with the history of the Suffrage movement, and explained the meaning of democracy as being applied to the male sex only. The Conciliation Bill was explained, and we had a very good meeting and an attentive audience of about 200 people. We took a small collection, and sold about two dozen VOTES. We were pleased to see some of our old friends from North Finchley, who had come to hear Mrs. Toyne.—F. R. TINKLER.

Acton.—Miss Henwood, 153, St. Alban's Avenue, Chiswick, W.

A social gathering was held by the Branch at Churchfield Hall on October 11th, but unfortunately the weather decided to contribute an item, and the rain descended in floods. However, nearly forty people arrived to enjoy a most impressive speech from Miss Neilans, and the beautiful singing of Miss Farquharson. Mr. Yaldwyn took the chair, and afterwards secured some members for the Men's League. On the 13th we suffered almost equally, and Mr. Simpson was forced to cut short his speech at our open-air meeting, owing to the bitter wind and rain being more than the unconverted could be expected to bear.—E. G. WOOD.

OTHER LONDON BRANCHES.

CENTRAL.—Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote Avenue, Ealing.

CLAPHAM.—Miss F. UNDERWOOD, 31, Rushmill Road, Lavender Hill.

DULWICH.—Mrs. MOORE, 86, Melbourne Grove, East Dulwich.

HAMPSTEAD.—Miss LUCAS, 21, Gayton Road, Hampstead.

HARROW.—Mrs. HUNTSMAN, Rions, Northwick Park Road.

HERNE HILL.—Miss SPENCER, 32, Geneva Road, Brixton.

HIGHBURY.—Miss ARKLEY, 10, Highbury Hill, N.

NORTHERN HEIGHTS.—Miss MITCHELL, Metok, Great North Road, Highgate.

PECKHAM.—Mrs. PICKERING, 23, Albert Road, Peckham, S.E.

SOUTHALL.—Mrs. FIELDEN, Lynton, Dormers Wells Lane, Southall.

TOTTENHAM.—Miss M. SIMS, 3, Elmhurst Road, Bruce Grove, Tottenham.

WILLESDEN.—Miss BENNETT, 15, Creighton Road, Kilburn.

MANCHESTER DISTRICT.—Hon. Organiser, Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Branches: Manchester Central, Eccles, Urmston, Sale. The Sale Branch is busy this week preparing for the opening of the Shop (No. 21, Northenden Road) and sale of work on October 26th. To members of other branches this week will be a period of comparative rest and an excellent opportunity for finishing the articles each one must try to supply on that occasion. Every item of Mrs. Despard's visit must be a success, and those whose duties prevent them from speaking or attending many meetings will welcome this opportunity of working for the Cause. Then send in your goods to Mrs. Geiler, "Thornlea," Wardle Road, Sale, who will welcome any saleable article. On the evening of Wednesday, October 26th, Mrs. Despard will speak at the Gaskell Hall, Plymouth Grove, Longsight. The chair will be taken at 8 p.m. by Miss Manning. On Wednesday, on the occasion of Sir George Pollard's visit to Worsley, Miss Heyes raised the question of Votes for Women, with the result that the member for the Eccles Division has promised to receive the representatives of the W.F.L. on October 27th. Below are given a few Press comments on the demonstration on October 8th. I regret that Mr. Kukley's name was accidentally omitted from the list of Men's League speakers last week.

AN ANSWER TO MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.—Mrs. Annot Robinson, who spoke from the Women Workers' platform, argued that women were 'too cheap' at home and in the labour market. Mr. Winston Churchill had shed crocodile tears in the

House of Commons over the mothers of the race. Opposing the Conciliation Bill, he had put his hand upon his heart and with trembling voice had pointed out that the Bill would not enfranchise the mothers of the nation, whilst it would enfranchise the outcasts of society. Mr. Churchill had spoken a great deal of cant; he was a past master in the art of tickling the ears of the multitude. But that was the most cynical, wicked piece of hypocrisy of which any statesman of Great Britain had been guilty. The best step that could be taken to raise the position of women in society was to allow them some share of political power."—*The Manchester Guardian*.

A RESOLUTION CARRIED BY HUGE MAJORITIES.—"Some thousands of people were present; the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League attracted the greatest crowds, but there were large audiences at both the Education and Women Workers' platforms. A resolution supporting the Conciliation Bill and demanding facilities was carried at each platform by huge majorities: the dissentients at the whole demonstration being about a score in number."—*Manchester Courier*.—M. E. MANNING.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE DISTRICT.—

Hon. Organiser, Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.
Branches:—CHESTER.—Miss WOODALL, 13, Abbey Square.
ECCLES.—Miss J. HEYES, Newholme, Hazlehurst, Worsley, Manchester.
LIVERPOOL.—Mrs. EVANS, 49, Kimberley Grove, Great Crosby.

Waterloo.—49, Kimberley Drive, Great Crosby.

On Tuesday, October 25th, our President will speak at the Olive Hall, Waterloo, and all who want tickets should apply quickly to the Branch Secretary in order to avoid disappointment. Meanwhile, help in bill distribution is urgently needed. Already the work of advertising has begun. On Thursday, October 13th, Miss Manning spoke at a branch meeting and urged members to put all their enthusiasm for the cause into the work they undertook this autumn. At the end of the meeting two volunteers came forward offering to distribute 1,000 bills apiece.

On Friday a meeting was held in the Council Schools, Linacre Lane, Bootle, when Miss Manning and Miss Janet Heyes were the speakers, Mrs. Evans taking the chair. A unanimous resolution in support of the Conciliation Bill was passed, and a good collection taken.

During the dinner hour Miss Manning and Mrs. Fenton held a short meeting outside Johnson's dye works. Many of the girls promised to come again in the evening, and owing to this, and to the careful distribution of bills, the schoolroom was filled with an earnest and sympathetic audience, although the Waterloo Branch had only had two days in which to make all arrangements.—M. E. MANNING.

Chester.—13, Abbey Square.

On Saturday, October 8th, Cestrians had the privilege of hearing Miss Murray at a meeting in the Market Square. Though the crowd was not so large as on previous occasions, keen interest was shown, a quantity of VOTES sold, and a fair collection taken. A resolution was put by Miss M. Townsend, seconded by Miss Murray, and carried. Our efforts are now being concentrated on rousing people, especially Anti-Suffragists, to come and hear Mrs. Despard on the 24th.—T. E. WOODALL, Hon. Sec.

GOSPORT AND PORTSMOUTH DISTRICT.—

Mrs. Crawley, 4, St. Paul's Road, Southsea.
Hon. Organiser—Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire Avenue, Southsea.

The fates were kind to us on Monday, October 10th, and gave us the last fine evening of the week for our meeting on the Town Hall Square. It was an exceptionally good meeting, the speaker occupying the platform for an hour and a half. The fortnightly members' meeting was held on Thursday evening at Gosport, for which Mrs. Turner kindly lent her room. Plans were discussed for raising funds for winter propaganda work. Subscriptions would be gratefully received by our treasurer, Mrs. Tremain, 49, Whitworth Road, Gosport. THE VOTE may always be obtained at Mrs. Crawley's, 4, St. Paul's Road, Southsea.—S. WHETTON.

EAST ANGLIA.—Hon. Organiser, Miss Andrews, 160, Norwich Road, Ipswich.

Branches:—HADLEIGH.—Miss A. M. MATTHEW, 21, Fir Tree Terrace.
IPSWICH.—Miss ANDREWS.

NORWICH.—Miss M. JEWSON, Tower House, Bracondale. Last Tuesday, through the enterprise of Mrs. Tippett, we started a Women's Freedom League barrow. Many friends had sent goods for sale, and our first trial was very successful. It is a splendid means of advertising our Pageant. People on the whole were very friendly, and many stopped for conversation or to look at our barrow, which was very attractive in its coat of green, white, and gold. At our weekly meeting on Wednesday evening Mrs. Stansfield gave a very interesting address on the life work of Mary Wollstonecraft. Mrs. Pratt, who presided, urged all present to take fresh courage from the lecture and to use that fresh life to help make the Pageant a success. A resolution was passed calling upon the Ipswich Town Council to petition Parliament in favour of the Concilia-

tion Bill. Mr. Silvester Horne, one of our borough members, has consented to receive a deputation from Ipswich societies on the subject of Women's Suffrage.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

OTHER PROVINCIAL BRANCHES.

MANCHESTER CENTRAL.—Miss HORDERN, 36, Preston Road, Levenshulme.
SALE.—Miss GEILER, Wardle Road, Sale, Cheshire.

URMSTON.—Miss M. HUDSON, Oaklands, Flixton, near Manchester.

NORTH-EASTERN DISTRICT.—*Hon. Organiser*, Mrs. SCHOFIELD COATES, Roman Road, Middlesbrough.

Branches:—MIDDLESBROUGH.—Miss L. MAHONEY, 27, Waterloo Road.

SUNDERLAND.—Miss CLARK, 3, Havelock Terrace.

SOUTH SHIELDS.—Mrs. MILLER, The Poplars, Langholme Road, East Boldon.

WEST HARTLEPOOL.—Miss J. H. LEIGHTON, 16, Clifton Street, Hartlepool.

BRIGHTON.—Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham Place.
HOVE.—Miss HARE, 8, San Remo.

EASTBOURNE.—Mrs. DILKS, 39, Milton Road.
WEST SUSSEX.—Miss V. CUMMIN, Easebourne Vicarage, Midhurst.

CHELTENHAM.—Mrs. HOW EARENGEY, B.A., 3, Wellington Square.

MARLOW.—Miss HAYES, Drift, Great Marlow, Bucks.
POTTERIES.—Mrs. PEDLEY, 18, Bower Street, Hanley, Staffs.

SHEFFIELD.—Miss LEONARD, 32, Dover Road.
W. LINGBOROUGH.—Mrs. ENGLAND SMITH, Newstead, Hatton Park; Miss V. SHARMAN, Ivy Lodge.

WOLVERHAMPTON.—Mrs. CRESSWELL, 25, Rugby Street.
YORK.—Mrs. ROBINSON, 39, Ratcliffe Street.

WALES AND MONMOUTH.—*Hon. Organiser*, Mrs. CLEEVEES, Chez Nous, Sketty, S.O., Glamorgan.

Branches:—SWANSEA.—Mrs. CLEEVEES, Sketty.
SOUTH GLAMORGAN.—Mrs. WOOLF, Royal Hotel, Cardiff.

BARRY.—Miss M. RATHBONE, 7, Oxford Street.
CALDICOT.—Miss L. CORBEN, Ivy Lodge, Caldicot, Newport, Mon.

IRELAND

BANGOR.—Miss McMASTER, B.A., Arbutus, Farnham Road, Bangor, Co. Down.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow Office: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.
Office Secretary: Miss McARTHUR.
Hon. Treasurer: Miss BUNTEN.

Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.
Edinburgh.—Shop and headquarters, 33, Forrest Road.
Hon. Secretary, Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleugh Place, Edinburgh. Hon. Treasurer, Miss M. A. WOOD.

There was an excellent attendance of members and friends at the Suffrage Shop on Wednesday evening, when Miss Nannie Brown read her most interesting paper on "A Walk from Edinburgh to London." This walk was undertaken last year by Miss Brown and her sister, and at its conclusion they took part in the picketing of the House of Commons. The paper was fascinating alike in its descriptions of scenery, of places of interest, and of the many quaint and amusing incidents that occurred by the way; and we were particularly glad to hear that all along the route interest and sympathy in the Suffrage movement were evinced, in the course of discussions with all sorts and conditions of people. Miss Sara Munro presided, and at the close of the meeting obtained the names of further volunteers for visiting. A good collection was taken. The Tuesday "At Home" was an informal one. Except when a speaker is advertised, these "At Homes" will for the present be of that nature.

A second very successful "Suffrage Party" was held in the Shop on Wednesday, when Miss Annie Catto, M.A., entertained a number of friends to tea. An address was delivered by Miss Sara Munro, and much interest was aroused. This variation of the drawing-room meeting is strongly recommended to other members, as it brings to the Shop many who could not easily be got at otherwise.

Open-air meetings are now being held in connection with Mr. Brailsford's visit on the 24th inst., and Mrs. Despard's on November 9th. A good meeting at Castle Terrace was addressed by Miss Jack on Saturday evening, Miss McLachlan in the chair. THE VOTE is being sold and bills distributed outside public meetings and elsewhere by a faithful band of workers, which should be augmented in numbers. Miss Thomson, Mrs. Crabbe, Miss Cameron, and Miss Eva Jolly deserve special credit for this work.

Remember, remember, the 5th of November!—the Cake and Apron Sale!—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Ass't. Sec.

SCOTLAND.

DUNDEE.—Miss CLUNAS, 1, Blackness Crescent.
DUNFERMLINE.—Miss J. McCALLUM, 72, Brucefield Avenue.

GLASGOW.—Miss McARTHUR, Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

KILMARNOCK.—Mrs. COWAN, 39, Boyd Street.
PERTH.—Mrs. STERLING, 5, Atholl Crescent.

KIRKINTILLOCH.—Miss MCINTYRE, Woodhead Avenue, Kirkintilloch.

SCATTERED MEMBERS.—Miss E. MURRAY, Moore Park, Cardross, Dumbarton.

WOMAN'S FREEDOM.

By CONSTANCE ARMFIELD (CONSTANCE SMEDLEY).



CONSTANCE SMEDLEY-ARMFIELD.

Why are not women satisfied to look after home and family without clamouring for political power?

Possibly because many women are waking to the fact that a nation is, after all, made up of the homes and families women are supposed to look after; and every possible problem of national government directly affects the homes and families of the nation's citizens. "Physical science and social science (and common sense) are making such important contribu-

tions to the subject of the rearing of children and to the subject of the maintenance of wholesome and beautiful living conditions, and to the subject of the use of leisure, that, while the home woman has lost almost all of the productive industries which she once controlled, she has simultaneously gained a whole new field of labour. Consumption has ceased to be merely passive and has become active. It has ceased to be mere absorption and has become choice. And the active choosing of the products of the world (both spiritual and material) in connection with her children, her house, and her spare time, has developed for the home woman into a task so broad, and so difficult, as to require serious study!" says a writer in the September number of *Everybody's Magazine*.

But as women begin to study such conditions they find the power of laws. The purity of food, the cost of living, the price of labour, the systems of education, the opportunities for wage-earning, all these things come into a woman's immediate sphere of responsibilities. Moreover, if she has a home, it is obvious that her home must be located somewhere, and that the surrounding conditions greatly determine the desirability of that location. Ill-kept streets, rough neighbours, drunkenness, ugly, dirty buildings, chimneys belching forth foul smoke, have no small influence on the welfare of the home which is her responsibility. Facilities for locomotion, for libraries, picture galleries, good concerts, high-toned theatres and concert halls, are all immediately connected with the welfare of the group of folk she serves. Wherever she turns, she touches on some social problem, and all these problems of the community are regulated by law.

Is it unreasonable, then, for her to feel a deep sense of responsibility with regard to the framing of the laws which govern the social system of which home and family make up an integral part? CONSTANCE ARMFIELD.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

THE CONCILIATION BILL: AN EXPLANATION AND DEFENCE. By H. N. Brailsford, Hon. Secretary, Conciliation Committee. (W.F.L. Literature Department, 1d.)

At this very opportune moment this capital little book makes its appearance, and briefly and clearly states the case for the Bill. Every objection is answered—both of friend and foe, and even of those anomalous beings who, professing friendship, stand ready to hurt and to hinder.

Speaking of the municipal franchise, which is the basis of the Bill, Mr. Brailsford says: "Since 1868 women have enjoyed the Vote for municipal purposes. The terms on which they possess it have never been a subject of party controversy. Neither party has ever brought in a Bill to reform it. Throughout these forty-two years, though Liberals have once altered, and repeatedly sought to alter, the Parliamentary franchise, the municipal franchise has remained untouched and uncriticised." Having dealt with the impossibilities of plural voting under the Bill, under the heading "The Status of the Married Woman" he points out how a large number of married women could

have the Vote under the Bill, and under the heading "Faggot Voting" he deals with Mr. Churchill's cases and the amendment which meets them. The aim of the Bill, Mr. Brailsford reiterates, as he and all of us have done from many platforms, is "to remove the insulting disqualification of sex." Dealing with some of Mr. Lloyd George's irrelevancies at Bodnant and his reflection on the voting deserts and capacity of the single woman as compared with the married woman, he says: "Poor they may be—most women are relatively poor in a world where women's labour is systematically underpaid—but they at least are their own mistresses, and the votes they gave would be determined by their own experience of life. Those women who have had to struggle alone and to think for themselves are the class to whom one would naturally look to represent the distinctive woman's point of view on all social and industrial questions." He further points out how different is the state of their representation from that of the normally happy married woman, whose interests may be supposed to be identical with her husband's. "Men doctors, for example, or men printers (as the recent strike suggests) would not use their votes to remedy any grievance of women doctors or women printers which legislation might touch. Their attitude towards the women of their own occupation is, speaking generally, one of antagonism and jealousy."

Of the "Future of the Bill," "Nothing," says Mr. Brailsford, "stands in its way save the veto of the Cabinet. . . . No material obstacle stands in its way. This is an idle session—a period of truce. Not one of the pending party controversies can be touched. No elector, however anxious he may be to see Home Rule, or Welsh Disestablishment, or Education, or Licensing dealt with could complain if time which cannot be used to further his own questions were given to the women. . . . A unique opportunity has presented itself which may not for a generation recur. A week will suffice for the further stages of the Bill. . . . If the moment be lost, men indeed may return to their party questions, but women will be left to meditate on the still unsolved problem of how best a voteless class may impress the handful of men who control the time of the House."

It remains for us to help our destinies and Mr. Brailsford, and to see that the moment is not lost.

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the franchise.

35.—Questions relating to motherhood and the intimate concerns of women cannot be successfully legislated upon by men, however humane their intentions. The nation, as a whole, in the persons of its future citizens, is exposed to the gravest dangers when one sex legislates on sex matters for the other.

A Bill is at present being introduced to prevent the attendance of women in child-birth of wholly unskilled assistants; only skilled assistance is to be called in at this time. But the Bill, drafted by men, is framed in such a way that the poor woman is deterred from calling in the skilled medical man by the fact that she is liable for very heavy payments, which women of her status are unable to meet. "And in what spirit was the Bill dis-

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cussed? Mrs. Webb tells us that one gentleman desired the help to be given under conditions as galling as possible, in order that women might be deterred from sending for it. . . . The woman concerned is to face death . . . and at that supreme hour of pain she is to be deterred from asking all that human aid can bring!—*The Common Cause*, September 8th.

**NEW PUBLISHING ARRANGEMENTS.
IMPORTANT NOTICE.**

The Directors of "THE VOTE" have the pleasure to announce that on and after October 26th "THE VOTE" will be published weekly by

**Messrs. W. Speaight & Sons,
98 & 99, Fetter Lane, London, E.C.,**

who will take over the entire management of the Publishing Department.

ALL ORDERS and REMITTANCES for "THE VOTE," with the exception of those of the LONDON Branches of the Women's Freedom League and private subscribers, should be addressed in future to Messrs. Speaight and Sons, at the above address. Telephone, Central 820.

The LONDON Branches will continue to obtain their copies through the Headquarters of the League—1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

The Editorial and Advertisement Departments and all other business will be conducted, as heretofore, at the registered offices of the company—

148, Holborn Bars, London, E.C.

The publishing of a speciality paper like "THE VOTE" is a serious business, and to maintain a progressive growth requires the attention of an expert staff. The arrangement just concluded will provide for this, and as it will, at the same time, permit of closer attention being given to the Advertisement Department and to the development of the General Printing Department, the Directors confidently expect that it will have the desired effect of extending sales, reducing expenses, and increasing efficiency.

FARROW'S BANK FOR WOMEN.

Those women who have known the comforts of a cheque-book would be very reluctant to return to the old annoyances of paying gold and notes, and of having to go to the post-office for a money-order every time they desired to send money through the post. Owing to the half-contemptuous attitude of the ordinary man towards his women and their money matters, the ordinary woman who does not handle large sums is accustomed to regard a cheque-book with fear and awe. But at the Woman's Bank, managed by a woman and staffed by women bank clerks, the fear can be overcome, and the great advantages of a banking account easily realised.

Current accounts can be opened from £5 upwards, provided satisfactory references are supplied, and interest is paid on current accounts at the rate of 2½ per cent., provided a minimum balance of £10 is maintained. There are very few banks which allow interest on current accounts standing at under £100; and this, combined with the small sum with which an account can be opened, is one of the great advantages of Farrow's Bank.

A deposit account can be opened with any sum from one shilling upwards, and interest is given at 3 per cent. subject to one week's notice of withdrawal, and 5 per cent. at six months' notice.

The Thrift Department of the bank is a notable one, and Farrow's are pioneers of the system. Home Savings Banks, i.e., small steel safes and wooden money-boxes, are issued to the public, a 5s. deposit being required for the one and 3d. for the other; the deposit is returned when the boxes are given up and the account closed. Interest is paid on thrift savings at the rate of 5 per cent. per annum on deposits up to £10, separate accounts being kept in thrift bank-books, and the money is withdrawable at seven days' notice.

The advantages of a woman's bank, run by women, are obvious, and the strange thing is that the idea has never been utilised before. The advantage to the banker comes in the large number of depositors which accrue from fixing the opening of an account at a small sum, and to the women from the convenience of a cheque-book and the knowledge that she can trace all her expenditure, and accuse herself when necessary of extravagance by looking at the block of her cheque-book. The returned cheques act also as receipts where the latter may have been mislaid or lost.

In reply to a question as to whether women found any difficulty in acting in the capacity of bank clerks, the manager of the bank, Miss May Bateman, said: "There seems no reason why women who are naturally good accountants, conscientious, and accurate in their work should not meet men on equal terms in the new field of work which Mr. Farrow has opened out. All the work of our bank is transacted by women, and an advisory committee, drawn from the wives and daughters of the directors of the bank, has been appointed."

The First Scottish Woman "B.D."

On October 12th Miss Frances H. Melville was capped Bachelor of Divinity of the University of St. Andrews, and was the first woman in Scotland to receive this degree. Miss Melville has been Warden of University Hall, St. Andrews, and last year, when the post of Warden of Queen Margaret's College and of the women students of Glasgow University was instituted, she was appointed the first Warden, with 600 women students as her special charge. She is a distinguished graduate, having won M.A. with first-class honours in mental and moral science, and was one of the little band of women students who attended the first classes open to women in Edinburgh University. It is not necessary to state that she is a strong supporter of women's suffrage. She was one of the initiators of the Scottish Women Graduates' lawsuit, in which they claimed that under the present law they had the right to vote for their University Member of Parliament, and she was one of the five graduates in whose name the lawsuit was conducted. She is one of the founders and a member of the Executive of the Scottish University Women's Suffrage Union, a society which already has among its officials the first woman M.A., the first woman B.Sc., and the first woman LL.B. of the Scottish Universities.

A BOOK THAT EVERY WOMAN OUGHT TO READ

WOMAN AND MARRIAGE.

A HANDBOOK.

By **MARGARET STEPHENS**

With a Preface by Dr. MARY SCHARLIEB, and an Introduction by Mrs. BARNETT.

Crown 8vo, cloth, 3s. 6d. net. (Inland Postage, 4d.)

In the making of a mother, in the evolution and—since human motherhood does not end with birth and babyhood—in the further development of a child, there are more possibilities than are dreamed of in the philosophy of most of us. Yet there is an ever-increasing number of women who are interested in themselves, who are awakened to the necessity for knowledge on those common and wonderful things of life which can be made so fair or so foul, according to the power of the maker. It is this knowledge, properly gathered and applied, which brings the blessing of healthy life to oneself and to others. The direct purpose of this book of counsel is to explain very simply something of the structure and the use of parenthood, and to show the possibilities which arise from it—in short, to help women—and men too—in the understanding of themselves. It endeavours to increase intelligence on the subject of child life by letting a clear light shine on those everyday matters of birth and life which are so often furtively wrapped in a mysterious and wholly distorting gloom.

ON SALE AT ALL BOOKSELLERS.

T. FISHER UNWIN, 1, ADELPHI TERRACE, LONDON.

WOMEN AT LONDON UNIVERSITY.

In the new University Calendar issued by London University for 1910-1911 there are certain passages in the pages devoted to the history of the University which are worthy of note. In cold facts our detractors and those who regard us as mentally inferior to all men may find the refutation of sweeping assertions. The successes of women at London University are typical of their success in every intellectual opening that has been grudgingly accorded to them.

The Calendar says:—"In June, 1879, at the first Matriculation examination opened to women, sixty-eight entered and fifty-one passed, of whom eleven were placed in the Honours Division. It must be remembered that the average age of the women was rather higher than that of the men, and that at first only a few women who had either unusual ambition or had enjoyed exceptional advantages were tempted to become candidates for University examinations. The proportion of successful women at the next Matriculation examination was 68.4 per cent., and as time has gone on the percentage of passes has continuously approached that of the men. If the results up to 1909 be taken, we find there were 103,870 entries of male candidates, of whom 51,053 passed, and 29,701 entries of women candidates, of whom 14,662 passed, i.e., 49.2 per cent. and 49.4 per cent. respectively, giving a small difference in favour of women candidates.

"Their success, however, has not been confined to the Matriculation examinations. In the examinations for degrees and also in post-graduate work women have shown themselves capable of competing successfully with men on even terms, and, by the uniformly good results obtained by them, have fully justified the action of the University in throwing open its examinations and in granting Degrees to them."

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANTI-GOVERNMENT AT WALTHAMSTOW.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

MADAM,—In pursuance of the anti-Government policy decided on by the League, we are offering opposition to Sir John Simon, K.C., M.P., at Walthamstow.

Committee rooms have been secured, and there is every prospect of our being able to do good and useful work.

Walthamstow is an enormous constituency, and, as it is essential that our campaign should be on the most extensive lines possible, I should esteem it a favour if you would print this appeal for workers.

We urgently need speakers, chalkers, canvassers, and bill-distributors, and I shall be extremely grateful for any offers of help which may reach me at 40, Museum Street.

—Yours faithfully,
JOHN SIMPSON,
Parliamentary Organiser, Men's League for Women's Suffrage,
1, Priestwood Mansions, Archway Road, London, N.

HIGH PEAK CONSTITUENCY.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

DEAR MADAM,—I think it may be interesting to your readers to hear of an effort that is being made in the above constituency with singular success. I have been staying with a member of the local franchise society of this county, when the thought occurred to her that a great chance of practical help to further our cause was missed by not directly appealing to our men. She immediately started a series of small gatherings (some in farmhouses) for Liberal electors only. In every instance these meetings were attended with great success. We simply stated why we women wanted the vote. As this is a stronghold of Liberalism, we appealed to our men to help us. Most of them had not the slightest idea how much this great reform was needed. By inviting discussion, we were able before the meetings were over to get them to sign the following postcards, which will be duly forwarded to Mr. Asquith:—

"Dear Sir,—I respectfully submit to your notice the fact that, unless the cause for women's enfranchisement is included in the Liberal programme, I must seriously reconsider my vote at the next election.

—, Liberal."

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If this plan could be carried out in other Liberal constituencies, would it not force the Prime Minister (who "resents militant methods") to realise he is in face of a "greater demand for the enfranchisement of women than he can possibly ignore"?—Yours truly,

E. KATHARINE TODD.

The Eaves, Chapel-en-le-Frith, Derbyshire.
October 5th.

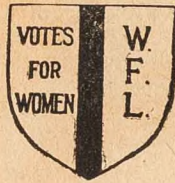
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The Suffrage Fair to be held on Friday and Saturday at the Suffrage Atelier, 1, Pembroke Cottages, South Kensington, will be quite covered in, so even if the weather should prove disastrous the Fair may yet be a great success. Mrs. Despard will speak on Friday afternoon at three o'clock. Tickets (6d. each) can be obtained at W.F.L. offices. All the Suffrage societies are helping, and some lovely things will be on sale at very moderate prices.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Thurs., Oct. 20.—Acton Market Place, 8 p.m. Miss Weir and Mrs. Whish. Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Lyndhurst Girls' Club, Kentish Town, 8 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson. 1, Robert Street. London Branches Council.
- Fri., Oct. 21.—South Norwood Clock, 7.30 Members' Meeting, 1, Robert Street, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Snow. Amhurst Park, 8 p.m. Mr. A. Fenner Brockway. Suffrage Fair, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Kensington.
- Fri., Oct. 21.—Winders Road, 8 p.m. Miss Bennett and Mrs. Duval.
- Sat., Oct. 22.—Finchley, opposite Church End Station, 7.30 p.m. Miss Guttridge. Thornton Heath Clock, 7.30 p.m. Miss Hillsworth. Suffrage Fair, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Kensington. Tickets 6d. each, from W.F.L. Office. Drawing Room Meeting at Miss Neligan's, 5, Sydenham Road, Croydon, at 3 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Despard. Chairman, the Rev. H. E. Olivier, M.A.
- Sun., Oct. 23.—Regent's Park, 11.45 a.m. Mrs. Cunningham. Victoria Park, 3 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc. Clapham Common, 3 p.m. Mr. Cyril Yaldwyn.
- Mon., Oct. 24.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Mr. C. Yaldwyn. 1, Robert Street, 7 p.m. Central Branch Meeting. Crystal Palace Tram Terminus, 7.30 p.m. Hampstead, The Library, Prince Arthur Road, 8.15. Branch Meeting.
- Tues., Oct. 25.—Manor Road, Stoke Newington, 8 p.m. Taybridge Road, 7.30 p.m. Miss Fennings. Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Mr. C. Yaldwyn.
- Wed., Oct. 26.—Old Hill Street, Clapton, 8 p.m.
- Thurs., Oct. 27.—Acton Market Place, 8 p.m. Miss Norris. Pembroke Hall, Croydon, 8 p.m. Mrs. Billington-Greig and Miss Manning, B.A.
- Fri., Oct. 28.—W.F.L. Day, Queen's Hall, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig. Tickets 1s. South Norwood Clock, 7.30 p.m. Miss Gibbs.
- Sat., Oct. 29.—Morland Road, East Croydon, 7.30 p.m. Special Conference, Caxton Hall, 10 a.m.—6 p.m. Finchley, opposite Church End Station, 7.30 p.m. Miss Hicks, M.A.
- Sun., Oct. 30.—Reception to Delegates, 1, Robert Street, 3.30 Regent's Park, 11.45 a.m. Mrs. Fagan. Victoria Park, 3 p.m.
- Mon., Oct. 31.—1, Robert Street, National Executive Committee, 11 a.m.
- Tues., Nov. 1.—119 Cazenove Road, Clapton, 4.30 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn.
- Wed., Nov. 2.—34, Elgin Crescent, Ladbroke Grove, 3.30 p.m. Meeting in honour of Florence Nightingale. Mrs. How Martyn, Miss Hare, and Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., M.D., R.A.M.C.
- Thurs., Nov. 3.—Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. First "At Home." Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Sproson.
- Fri., Nov. 4.—1, Robert Street, Members' Meeting, 7.30 p.m.
- Sun., Nov. 6.—Small Queen's Hall, 7.30 p.m. Lecture on Shelley. Mrs. Despard.
- Mon., Nov. 7.—Caxton Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard.
- Nov. 7 to 12.—Suffrage Mission Week.
- Sat., Nov. 12.—Royal Albert Hall. United Mass Meeting.

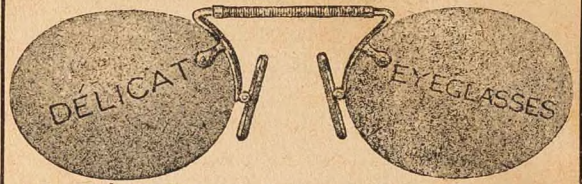
PROVINCES.

- IPSWICH
Thurs., Oct. 20.—Public Hall Pageant. Mrs. Despard.
- CHESTER
Assembly Hall, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss Heyes, H. F. Brown, Esq., LL.B.
- MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.
Wed., Oct. 26.—Opening of the W.F.L. Shop, 21, Northenden Road, Sale, by Mrs. Despard, 3.30 p.m. Gaskell Hall, Plymouth Grove, Longsight, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Miss Manning, B.A.
- LIVERPOOL—WATERLOO.
Tues., Oct. 25.—Olive Hall (near Waterloo Station), 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Miss Janet Heyes.
- PORTSMOUTH.
Mon., Oct. 24.—Town Hall Square, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Whetton.

SCOTLAND.

- EDINBURGH.
Fri., Oct. 21.—Open-Air Meetings, 7.30 p.m., Leopold Place and London Street.
- Mon., Oct. 24.—Oddfellows' Hall, Forrest Road, 8 p.m. Joint Meeting of Suffrage Societies. Mr. Brailsford and Miss Lees.
- Tues., Oct. 25.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest Road, 4 p.m. "At Home."
- Wed., Oct. 26.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest Road, 8 p.m. "The Infant Mortality Report, 1910." Miss Chrystal MacMillan, M.A., B.Sc.

WHY WEAR HEAVY EYEGLASSES?



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OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage.—President: The Bishop of Lincoln.

Thanks to the energy of Mrs. Hastings Snow, the local secretary, the meeting at Hove on October 11th was very successful (chairman, the Rev. V. A. Boyle, Vicar of Portslade; speakers, Mrs. Nevinson and the Rev. C. Hinscliff). Mrs. Cooper, the Grammar School, Lichfield, has lent her drawing-room for a meeting on October 20th, when Miss F. M. Canning will speak. A few tickets are still left for the "At Home" at Steinway Hall on October 26th—speaker, Miss Olive Christian Malvery—but early application for seats is necessary to prevent disappointment. On November 11th a meeting, to be preceded by a Devotional Service, will be held in support of the Conciliation Bill; times and places for these, with other details, will be announced next week. On November 12th the C.L.W.S. joins the other Suffrage Societies in the Great Demonstration at the Albert Hall. Names are coming in for the Procession to Westminster Abbey on November 14th, but more are needed, and sympathisers who are not members of the C.L.W.S. are cordially invited to walk with the League to the Abbey.—REV. C. HINSCLIFF, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, London, N.W.

OUTDOOR MEETINGS.

Mrs. Kineton Parkes, Secretary of the Women's Tax Resistance League, held a very large gathering last Sunday morning at Regent's Park at twelve o'clock. A part of her long and interesting speech was taken up in pointing out to the audience how we women could obstruct the Government by refusing to pay the Imperial taxes. She was listened to with deep attention, and many questions were asked. Mrs. Hyde, in the absence of Mr. Simpson, addressed the meeting, when she attempted to put the mind at ease of "the man in the street" as to "When you get the vote, will you want to sit in Parliament?" She referred them to the instances of Miss Kate Barnard, who lately obtained a majority of 35,350 male voters of Oklahoma, the American State, who put her up as Head of the States Commission of Curators and Corrections, and pointed out to them there could be no "idea or hope of the women of England ever sitting in Parliament unless the male voters desired to put them there." We secured one new member. A man in the crowd addressed the meeting a few moments, and departed with the words, "Go on ladies, these gentlemen forget they ever had a mother; you'll win." Mrs. Raoul de Vismes, who has recovered from her indisposition, took the chair.

Hon. Meetings Secretary Central Branch.

Central Branch Meetings.

As there was not time to do more than vote on nominations to N.E.C. and instruct delegates on the resolutions in the 1st and 2nd sessions, another meeting must be held at 7 p.m. next Monday, 24th, to instruct delegates in the resolutions of Session 3. It is to be hoped there will be a large attendance.—E. G. T.

Last week the Dunoon and Hamilton Town Councils petitioned the Government to give facilities for the passage of the Conciliation Bill into law. Dundee Town Council and its Trade Council also petitioned the Government that the Bill should have immediate facilities.

NO VOTE, NO TAX.—"It was mentioned on Saturday at the Suffragist demonstration in Alexandra Park, Manchester, that many of the lady Suffragists have refused to fill up their income tax forms, or to answer the urgent notices posted to them in consequence. This plan is to be carried out all over the country as a protest against taxation without representation."—*Manchester Evening Chronicle.*