

THE VOTE

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

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ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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EDITORIAL.

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.

Exceeding His Duty.

Within the past week we have had some very interesting examples as to how the male Government overrides laws when consumed by personal vanity. If Mr. Churchill had been directly responsible to the women of this country as he is to its men, he would not have dared to condemn two men to be burned to death, who had not been tried for any crime, and who were, according to the law of England, innocent until such time as they should be proved guilty. For there can be no denying that Mr. Churchill's orders to the Fire Brigade practically amounted to this sentence. Mr. Churchill's position no more entitled him to be judge and jury in one than Mr. Haldane's gives him power to place himself at the head of the British Forces; Mr. Runciman's to permit him to teach or medically inspect the school children of the country; Mr. McKenna's to take personal command of a fleet of battleships, or Mr. Asquith's to allow him to be crowned in person at the forthcoming ceremonial. That a change in the present system of government, a system which gives opportunities for such outbreaks of megalomania as the Home Secretary has recently been suffering from, is badly needed, is becoming daily more and more apparent.

Genius and Gender.

It is unfortunate for the male scientists of France that genius knows no gender. As things are at present they are the laughing-stock of the world, and will remain so unless they have the moral courage to use the discretion to act as they think fit, which is theirs as an individual Academy. The resolution of the five Academies which form the Institute of France recalls the fact that an immutable tradition exists against the election of women and suggests that it would be "wise" to respect this tradition. If the Academy of Science reject Madame Curie's candidature their reputation for wisdom will be merely local, for there are not many scientists who could without shame repudiate the claim of the greatest scientist of the century—on a mere question of sex—to fellowship in an Academy none of whose members have any particular claims to lasting fame. Madame Curie probably laughs at the mean

efforts of little men to go against nature and her bestowal of her gifts; but those who are jealous of the prestige of the Academy are determined that Madame Curie's candidature shall form a precedent. Let us hope they will succeed. Curiously enough, one reason put forward for maintaining the *status quo* was that in other countries learned societies did not admit women. Unfortunately England offers some precedents in this direction. The Royal Geographical Society and the Geological Society both refuse to admit women.

British Shopping.

There could hardly be a more significant commentary on the almost uniformly hostile attitude of *The Daily Express* towards the Suffrage movement than the fact of their having originated, through the articles of that gifted woman, Mary Mortimer Maxwell, the idea of an "all-British week," during which the shopping done by women will be restricted to the purchase of British goods alone. In an interview with the representative of the Bradford Dyers' Union, which this illogical daily sees fit to publish, the dyers' mouthpiece is reported as saying, "The women are, of course, most to blame that so much business is done in foreign materials, but they sin through ignorance, or perhaps indifference. If their patriotism can be aroused all will go well." This ignorance—for it cannot be called indifference—of the great mass of British women as to where what they buy comes from is due to the fact they are not supposed or encouraged to take an interest in such public matters as the yearly imports and exports and the details of home and foreign trade. The woman is persistently treated as the non-citizen; those portions of the papers labelled for her reading, lest by chance she might become interested in public affairs, consist of the most utter drivel on trivialities supposed to be suited to the female intelligence. Now those who have British goods to sell have suddenly awakened to the fact that the English-woman who is not encouraged to understand the home and foreign markets, is not buying from them. This fact ought to be a lesson to such persons as have the interests of England at heart. As long as women are kept out of direct contact with the public affairs of the country, and are concentrated on trivialities, they cannot be expected to know how far their purchases of particular commodities will affect the commercial prosperity of their country.

Women in Turkey.

Those who prefer the harem woman will be very much disappointed that, following on the Young Turk movement, there is a widespread desire amongst the Young Turkish women to be educated and to get a wider outlook on life. The American College for Women, which has been of enormous advantage to Bulgarian, Armenian and Greek women, is now allowed to take Turkish women as pupils. "The custom of seclusion and segregation of women which is universal in Turkey," says *The Manchester Guardian*, "has left Turkish women as a class entirely destitute of the opportunities of education, which are now almost equally the right of women as of men in other countries." A bursary is about to be started to pay for the education of a Turkish woman who will undertake to give five years after she completes her college training to teach her fellows. The awakening is spreading to the uttermost corners of the earth, and the great quickening of the forces of female progress of recent years should give the retrograde "furiously to think."

PROPAGANDA.

The Vote this Year!

If all those who desire to see women enfranchised will put forth a big effort during the next few months our Bill may be carried into law before the year is out, that is, in the view of those most competent to judge, and it involves a direct and urgent responsibility on us all. The responsibility, though shared, is none the less insistent and is none the less individual. Therefore let us all try harder than ever before. The most potent ally in a political agitation is public opinion, and to secure that on our side we must do more proselytising. We must carry the propaganda of the Cause far and wide. We all believe that our chief foe is ignorance of the right, and that we can overcome.

King's Speech Meetings.

On February 6 Parliament will receive the King's Speech and proceed to consider it. On that day the Suffragists of the Freedom League will also have heard the King's Speech and learned the Government's decision as to its policy towards the rightful claims of women for enfranchisement. While the Commons consider their reply to the King's Speech, we shall meet to consider our reply to the Commons. Wherever we have a branch, meetings are to be held from February 6 onwards, and the most pressing duty of every member of the League just now is to work up public interest and to secure public support for these gatherings. Further and fuller details will be given next week.

London "At Homes."

These recommence at Caxton Hall on Thursday, the 12th inst., when Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn and Mrs. Francis will speak. We hope there will be a large attendance of members and friends at this "At Home." These meetings mean more than a pleasant afternoon; they help us all in our work for the Cause, and help to sustain and to renew enthusiasm all round.

Popular Concerts.

It is proposed to organise a series of concerts, for the double purpose of helping, indirectly, propaganda and of increasing the funds for local work. Will every member willing either to organise a concert or assist in one communicate with Headquarters?

South-West London Propaganda Centre.

Miss Turner, who is in charge at 316, Battersea Park-road, is appealing for more helpers for assistance in the shop and for local canvassing work. The canvassing so far conducted has been most successful, as over 80 per cent. of the women have declared in favour of the Suffrage. This canvass in a typical London district will, when completed, give a strong refutation alike to the assertions of the "Antis" and to the objections of our quasi friends. Anyone who can spare an hour or two a day will be most cordially welcomed.

Delegates' Reception.

In connection with the Annual Conference at the end of this month a special public reception will be given to the delegates, London and provincial, on Sunday, the 29th inst., at Queen's Hall, at 3 p.m. Reserved tickets, at 1s. each, can be obtained on application.

At this Reception the new official song of the W.F.L., "The Awakening," by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, set to music by Teresa del Riego, will be sung.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

POLITICAL AND MILITANT.

The Committee sent a letter to every member of the new Parliament, asking him to ballot for a Woman Suffrage Bill, but in addition to this, every Suffragist who has any influence with an M.P. should beg for a promise to ballot either for a Bill or for a Resolution.

Those Branches which have not yet approached their local Councils to ask them to pass a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill should do so without delay, quoting the example of Dublin, Glasgow, Manchester, Huddersfield, and other important places where the resolution has been carried.

Arrangements have now been made for visiting nearly

all the Branches in connection with the opening of Parliament. Miss Sidley has gone to Scotland, Miss Neilans to the North Eastern district, Miss Munro to East Anglia, while Mrs. Cleaves and Miss Manning are visiting the Branches in their respective districts of Wales, and Lancashire and Cheshire.

I am still waiting to hear from a few Branch Secretaries. Remember that we want the help of every member in our political and militant work.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

OUR TREASURY.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Amount previously acknowledged	4879 0 0	Office Fund (continued)	
Miss McGilchrist Gilchrist	20 0 0	Mr. Vulliamy	5 0 0
Miss J. Bunten	10 0 0	Mrs. Thomson Price	0 6 6
A Christmas Gift from Mrs. Despard	5 0 0	Miss Anderson	1 1 0
A Christmas Gift from Miss I. V. Yeoman	5 0 0	Miss K. O'Halloran	0 10 0
Miss M. Turner (sale of chain and cross)	1 0 0	For General Election Fund:	
Mrs. A. Mayne (India)	5 17 4	Mrs. Stebbing	0 2 0
Miss M. I. Saunders	0 10 0	Mrs. Harding Andrews	0 4 9
Miss M. FitzHerbert	1 17 0	For Battersea Shop:	
Mrs. J. S. Brown	1 1 0	Mrs. Sproson	0 2 0
Mrs. Despard (Lecture fee)	1 1 0	Miss M. Turner	0 15 0
Mrs. A. Jacob	0 10 0	Miss A. Mitchell	0 5 0
Mrs. Mustard	0 10 0	Per Miss Corben (collecting-boxes):	
Miss E. M. Evans	0 3 4	Miss Elms	0 1 4
Mrs. Gugenheim	0 10 0	Miss George	0 15 0
Miss K. R. Moffat	0 2 0	Miss Squibbs	0 2 1
Miss M. Smith	0 6 0	Miss Jenkins	0 2 11
Miss Goodyer	0 5 0	Mrs. Price	0 1 2
Miss A. B. Spencer	0 3 0	Mrs. Rust	0 4 1
Miss C. E. Lawson	0 5 0	Mrs. Corben	1 1 7
Miss K. Hammer-schmidt	0 5 0	Mrs. Butcher	0 2 6
Mrs. M. E. Barry	0 0 6	Mrs. Jenkins	0 0 9
Mrs. C. E. Todd	0 5 0	Miss Corben	2 8 7
Mrs. Symms	0 2 0	Per Miss K. Moffat:	
Miss Paget	0 10 0	Miss S. Ray	0 2 6
Miss V. Hammond	0 2 0	Per Miss A. Munro:	
Miss A. Palmer	0 1 0	Mrs. Francis	0 10 0
Apportion Fees:		Miss Syms	0 1 0
Clapham Branch	0 5 0	Chester Branch	0 1 4
Glasgow Branch	1 15 0	Per Miss Manning (Lancaster and Cheshire District):	
Southall and Hayes Branch	0 5 0	Mrs. Jones	0 0 9
Hackney Branch	0 10 0	Miss Manning	0 3 9
Sheffield Branch	0 10 0	Expenses refunded:	1 5 0
Battersea Branch	0 5 0	Per Mrs. Cranstoun:	
Highbury Branch	0 5 0	Miss S. Parrott	0 2 6
Miss Ibbotson (sale of sweets)	0 6 6	Miss Lena Blake	0 2 6
Brighton and Hove Branch	2 10 0	Miss Lily Blake	0 2 6
For Office Expenses Fund:		Mrs. Cranstoun	0 2 6
Mrs. Vulliamy	5 0 0	Per Mrs. Bremner:	
		Mrs. Turnbull	0 10 0
		Collections and Sales:	
		London	11 4 9
			£4,973 13 0

NEW WELSH BRANCH, ABERDOVEY, NORTH WALES.

A new branch of the Women's Freedom League has been formed in Aberdovey, North Wales. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the famous novelist who contributed to our New Year number of THE VOTE, is the President; Miss Lewis, Vice-President; and Miss Buddyg Pugh, secretary. A committee was appointed to further the work of the League. The branch promises to be a most enthusiastic nucleus for spreading our beliefs of justice and equality. Indeed, it is already considering ways and means of a summer campaign that shall touch all the towns and villages within a radius of thirty miles.

MARY McLEOD CLEEVES, Hon. Organiser for Wales.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

"The Awakening."

Suffragists are urged to do their best to popularise "The Awakening," our new Suffrage National Anthem. The music is composed by Teresa del Riego, and is a fine swinging march time in key of G major, and quite easy to play.

It is not often that both the words and music of a song are equally good. In this case the former are by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and that speaks for itself, and have appeared already in THE VOTE. The song is sold for 1s. 6d. at the Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert-street-

THE MARRIED WORKING WOMAN.

From the second of Mrs. Anna Martin's excellent articles on "The Married Working Woman," appearing in *The Nineteenth Century*, the following extracts are taken:—

Man-made Laws in the Working.

"Probably few people realise into what intolerable positions the unrepresented working-class mother is being constantly driven by the lawgivers of the country. Take, for instance, a common experience of a "Notice B" Committee. For the benefit of the uninitiated, it may be explained that, in order to reduce to a minimum summonses for keeping children out of school, parents are first called before a committee of managers, assisted by certain officials, and given an opportunity of defending or of explaining the non-attendance. It is frequently the case that a woman sets forth that she has two children, aged respectively somewhere about three years and eighteen months; that the one three years old suffers from some ailment which involves constant attendance at the hospital, and that she cannot carry both the invalid and the baby. What is she to do? If she keeps an elder child at home to mind the infant, she is breaking the law. Nominally her husband is fined; practically it is she who will have to provide the money by selling, pawning, or starving. If she leaves the baby alone in the house, and it gets the matches, falls out of bed, or in any way fatally injures itself, the mother is hauled up before the magistrate, and, at the very least, is held up to public obloquy as an unnatural wretch. If she refuses to take the child to the hospital—the only means she can afford of obtaining medical treatment and advice—she renders herself liable under the Children's Act of 1908 to prosecution for cruelty and neglect.

There are variations, of course, in the precise circumstances, but the central fact of them all is the same; the woman is ordered by the law to perform the impossible, and punished if she fails. Another example may be given. Not long ago a mother came before a committee and asked leave to keep her daughter from school one half-day in the week while she herself did the family washing. She explained that she lived in workmen's flats and that the washing had to be done on the roof. Her baby was a lively boy of twenty months, and she could not take him into such a dangerous place, nor dared she leave him alone in her room. A lady on this occasion was chairman, and deeply sympathised, but felt bound to refuse the application. Half the mothers in the district were, some time or other, in a like predicament, and the education of the little girls could not be sacrificed to exigencies which were none of their making. Legally, indeed, she had no power to decide otherwise. As the woman left the room she exclaimed, with concentrated wrath, "Well, Miss, I only hope you will have five children of your own and the washing to do yourself!"

The theory doubtless is that the father is the responsible party, and that failure to make proper arrangements for his family is visited on him. The responsibility of the father, however, among large sections of the population, is a mere legal fiction, and the administrators of the Education Act seldom allude to it. Still, as it is the officials' business to insist on the children going to school, they have devised a fiction of their own. They assume that there is among the poor an endless supply of neighbours endowed with the loftiest altruism who, without a fraction of pay, are always ready to neglect their own concerns in order to attend to a mother who is lying ill in bed, carry a baby to the hospital, or take charge of two or three troublesome children. To the everlasting credit of human nature this assumption materialises in fact oftener than anyone could expect, but the injustice is glaring. What right has the Government of the country, in order to save the trouble and expense of making proper arrangements, to extort unpaid services from the poorest of the poor by exploiting the pity which one downtrodden and harassed woman feels for another?

Mr. John Burns' Limitation.

The proposal, however, which strikes most terror to the hearts of the working women of the district is the threatened further limitation, shadowed forth by Mr. John Burns, of the married women's permission to work. They do not realise the political danger of such a prohibition, which would inflict a serious disability on their class and come perilously near repealing, as far as they are concerned, the Married Women's Property Act, but they know from their own life experience the wholesale ruin that would result, under the present industrial system, from the passing of such a law. There is scarcely a woman belonging to No. 39 but has kept her home together and saved her family by her almost incredible exertions during some prolonged disability of her husband. It is not that the women want to leave their homes. It may be different in the North of England, but in the district round No. 39 the hours are far too long and the pay far too small to tempt the mothers away from their children. They know too well how the latter suffer from their absence. Nevertheless, the women are appalled at the idea of their liberty of action in this matter being forcibly taken from them. To do this and to leave untouched the causes which drive them into the labour market seems to them about as wise a proceeding as trying to cure a broken leg by removing the splints. The breadwinner may be incapacitated by illness, or he may lose his work through bad seasons, the shifting of his trade, or the introduction of a new machine; or he may be a drunkard, or a loafer, or simply incompetent. In each case the proper course is to deal appro-

priately and efficiently with the man, not to pile disqualifications on his unfortunate wife.

It is, of course, contended that the loafer, and possibly the drunkard, would be driven to earn if his wife could not work. There is probably some truth in this, but to inflict a general disability on a whole class in order to meet the case of a small section of that class is surely a marvellous and unintelligent law-making. Unfortunately, much of the legislation affecting women is of this character, and a moment's digression to illustrate this farther may perhaps be pardoned. Some time ago a sensational journalist thrilled the nation by drawing terrific pictures of dishevelled women sitting whole mornings in public-houses, while their infants crawled over the floor and picked up phthisis germs. The Children's Bill followed, forbidding babies to be taken into drinking bars. The members of No. 39 have no bowels of mercy where a bad mother is concerned; they would cheerfully consign her to the deepest dungeon for the rest of her days, but they think it unfair that the liberty of all should be curtailed because those who undertake to manage affairs are too stupid or too weak to deal with the guilty parties. Some of the women described how this clause in the Bill would affect them personally. Mrs. P. is a plucky little woman who is gradually reclaiming a drunken husband whom everybody else thought hopeless. She said: "If I have his dinner ready punctually at half-past twelve and his glass of beer on the table, I can get him safe back to work for the afternoon. But if I can't go for the beer because of the baby in my arms, he will have to go himself, and won't leave till he is fuddled."

The Minimum Wage.

Small as is the knowledge of politics or of economics possessed by the working-class wife and mother, she has studied life in a hard school, and knows quite well where her own shoe pinches. What she wants is the general introduction of a system already existing in the case of 2,000,000 of English manual workers and of the whole Civil Service, and the adoption of which would only mean the extension of a principle already proved to give satisfactory results. Had the working women of England votes, politicians would find themselves irresistibly driven into gradually extending the rule of the living or minimum wage till it covered the whole field of industry, and there is little doubt that this solution of the social problem is not only ethically just, but economically sound.

Were this living wage secured to the worker, and the measure fortified by State insurance against unemployment, and by the establishment of fair-rent courts to prevent the increased income from disappearing into the coffers of the landlord, the present costly and clumsy machinery for school feeding, with its inevitable openings for abuses, could be abolished; neither the married woman nor the immature youth would be driven into the labour market, and there would be a clean sweep of all the evils accruing from the employment of these classes of workers; the drunkard and the loafer could be detected and dealt with, the school age could be raised without the risk of half-starving the families affected; mothers could afford to subscribe to co-operative school dispensaries; the ill-health of the workers and of their children, which is responsible for one-half of the huge total expenditure under the Poor Law, would be greatly diminished; and the condition of the woman of the mean streets would cease to wring the hearts of all who realise it.

It is urged that certain trades would disappear were the employers bound by law to pay adequate wages. This may or may not be true, but no one would argue that a parcels delivery company, for instance, should be enabled to throw part of the cost of the stabling of its horses on the general public because it could not otherwise pay a dividend.

To do for the great body of workers what the trade unions have done for their members means alarming and antagonising numerous and powerful interests, and while women are politically helpless a reforming Government could obtain no counterbalancing support. In the meantime, to try and achieve something of the desired ultimate result, at the cost of harrying and harassing a voteless and voiceless class, is apparently a temptation that neither Tory nor Liberal, Labour man nor Socialist, can withstand.

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THE SPIRIT OF THE MOVEMENT.

MISS CICELY HAMILTON'S SPEECH AT THE BIJOU THEATRE ON JAN. 3.

Miss Marie Lawson, who was in the chair at the public meeting of the Central London Branch (see page 143), in introducing Miss Cicely Hamilton, the speaker of the evening, to a large audience, in which there were many strangers, said in the course of her address:—

I am very glad that the Central London Branch is able to meet together so early in the New Year, for this is surely a time for good resolutions, for us to use as well as we can whatever power there is in us, to ensure that the election which has just been concluded shall be the last in which women shall be excluded from the rights of citizenship. I think we ought all of us to make up our minds at this beginning of the year, to do something definite to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage, and to do it persistently during 1911. None of us should say, "We would do otherwise if conditions were different," because I do not think there are any conditions under which a woman, with a certain amount of determination, cannot make herself worth while in the Suffrage Movement to-day.

Miss Hamilton, on rising to speak, was received with loud applause. She said: Madam Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: Miss Lawson has already informed you that this is the time to make good resolutions, and I think I had better explain perhaps that this meeting is one good resolution of the Central London Branch, which has made up its mind to do its best in the coming year, by regular meetings, and by such other expedients as are open to it, to impress the meaning of the Suffrage movement, and the necessity of working for it, upon this enormous country which is called London. It is a vast and heartbreaking place to work upon, and, while I am about it, I, a Londoner born and a Londoner for choice, should like to make a remark or two upon London, in which I shall have the pleasure of differing from a remark made not

very long ago by the president of the Women's Freedom League. She told us that London after all was not very large, and that we must not think too much of ourselves. London is not like other places. It is a vast country, we have an enormous number of possibilities here. A number of people who cannot get on in any other place come to hide their faces in London. But there are also the people who come to get on in London. You do not find any people who have brains to sell trying to sell them in Dundee, Aberystwyth, or Connemara. The intention of the Central London Branch is to advance all they can in this city the work of the Women's Freedom League. This will not only be a meeting-place for members of our own League; we want others to come with us, people who do not always see eye to eye with us in every respect, but people who are agreed upon the principle of Women's Suffrage, and we hope to a certain extent they will help towards the work of unity among Suffragists. I hope that we all of us do work for it. I never met a Suffragist who did not want to work with others, but sometimes it seems to me that we go a little the wrong

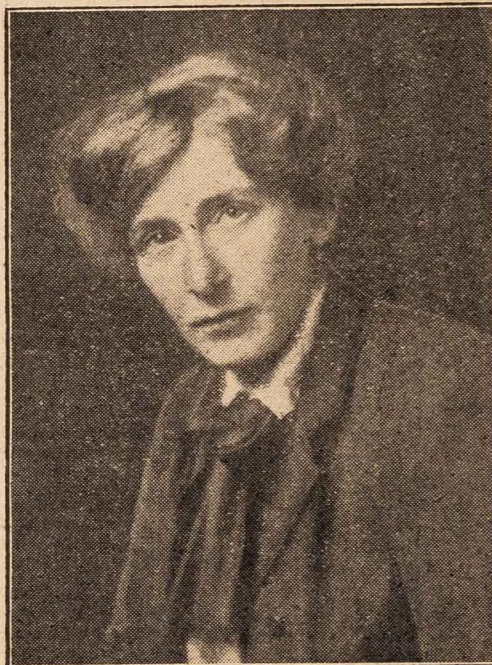
way to work to understand each other. I think we all of us ought to realise that one of the big causes that lie behind the Suffrage movement is the new consciousness in woman that she is free to think for herself. It is enormously easy to agree with people who think alike, who all follow one lead, but it is not easy to agree with people who think for themselves in different ways. Yet variety means progress, and we should never get on without it. We must learn to encourage in other people, and learn to tolerate in other people—in other women especially, because they are not used to the process—the thinking for themselves. Think of the years, of the generations, that women have been told they must not think! What wonder that they make some mistakes when they begin to use the rusty instrument! We have taken our views from what men have told us they were to be. It is only within the last generation that we have found we have a

brain and a mind, and begun to stumble slowly forward, and to bring a new view to bear upon things as they are, and not only upon things as they ought to be. I have said before now that I think it is an enormous privilege to live at this time, and to be a woman, not only because we are advancing in so many material and political ways, but because we have, even the oldest of us, felt a touch of the spirit which is in the youth of the world. We see things with a view which is entirely different from that which our brothers had; they saw them as their fathers saw them, but we see things very differently from the way our mothers saw them.

It is a grand thing to find out things in the material sense, but it seems to me that we are doing a much finer thing. It sometimes seems to me that when once women have felt their feet, and are able to look round clearly and say what they think, the women who write

or paint will have an enormous pull for a generation or two over the men who write or paint, for the men will have only the old ideas to work on, but they will every one of them be new to us.

The Suffrage movement is simply a symptom of that desire to think, of that capacity for owning the world, for using our own brains, which has come to women, and therefore it is very certain that in every movement in which women are concerned, we shall have a certain amount of variation, which, as I say, is a hopeful sign. We know that in the Suffrage movement there is a wide difference between those who believe in absolutely law-abiding work, and those who think that at times breaches of the law are justified. Well, there is an enormous lot to be said on both sides, of course, but one thing we should bear in mind is that we should each allow tolerance to the other; and, may I just say this: What is the use of tolerance which gives way at the first pull upon it? It is like chivalry, which always seems to me to do that. So long as you fold your hands and smile when your husband comes in, it is all right; but the moment the chivalry is put to the



(By courtesy of Lena Connell, 50, Grove End Road, N.W.)

MISS CICELY HAMILTON.

test, bang it goes. And the chivalry which we have got to use to one another—one kind of chivalry—is no use if it will not stand the test. I am not one of those people who believe in what is sometimes impressed upon us, and the militants should be loyal to the non-militants, and the non-militants to the militants; the right of freedom of speech is worth everything.

Not very long ago, a woman who has been very well known as a writer for many years, a woman who did an enormous amount of very bold spadework before most of us ever thought of entering the Suffrage movement, wrote a letter after one of the demonstrations to the London Press. It was not an abusive letter, it was a temperate, strongly-felt expression of views which were very strongly held. I saw it myself in the paper. I knew her slightly, and I thought she had every right to say what she thought. This letter was sent to me by a great many Suffragists (one lady sent it from a Cunard liner, lest I should not have seen it), imploring that I would answer it, imploring me to write to the papers and say something really nasty back. I wrote exactly the same letter to everyone who had written to me: "I wish you to understand that I consider that that woman has earned the right to say exactly what she thinks. If she thought anything was doing harm to the Cause, she had a perfect right to say it. That is my view of the case." I hope it is also yours. I think that a letter like that, which is not written in any angry spirit, but in reason, judgment, or sorrow, should have been published by any Suffrage paper, and given consideration.

We have got to allow for the difference of opinion, and to encourage it. No battle was ever yet won by charging straight at one particular portion of the enemy's forces. You have got to hit all along the line. You have got to realise that one of the most valuable forces among the women is that growing brain-power and that willingness for tolerance among the members. The curse of womanhood hitherto has been that it has had no opinions of its own. Oh, for heaven's sake encourage people to have opinions! It has been the curse of womanhood that hitherto she has been a child, with a child's considerations and a child's outlook on life, that she has taken everything ready-made from the man who was—yes, who was—good to her; but now has come the time when she has got to make the man who is good to her understand that the world is just as much hers as it was his. There is no reason why he should have less, but she must have more of it. It is one of the most hopeful signs in the Suffrage movement, perhaps, the divisions that there are amongst us. Because there are divisions there need not necessarily be quarrels. I do not know that we all want to think the same and do the same: I can imagine nothing more painfully dull. It is only the Anti-Suffragists, I think, who are all of one mind, and that is only because they just stand in the way. Their text is that "men are men, and women are women." You cannot have two opinions about that. But as soon as you come to a vital truth, then every man and every woman has to see it in a different way. We each have good in us, and we use and do our best with it. You find that one woman is by nature a law-abiding woman—which it is a very good thing to be—she will think it is a very wrong thing to go out into the street, and to so much as obstruct a policeman in his duty. We must respect that. You will find the woman who looks to a law which is higher than man-made law. She may perhaps do something which seems ridiculous and small. She is obeying a heaven-made law rather than an earth-made law. Surely you must respect that, however much mistaken you may think it to be? They each have hold of one side of a truth, and so long as they see it as a truth, each of them is doing absolutely right, and neither of them has any right to despise that side which is not open to themselves, and which is only open to the other.

Perhaps it may seem to you that I am making a very great fuss about small differences of opinion, but my interest in the Suffrage movement, and I find that

other women's interest in it, is in the things that lie underneath, of which the Suffrage movement and the cry for votes is just a manifestation and a symptom. I should not trouble to speak about votes, if it were not that I think that the women of this country, and, I hope, the women of other countries, are being swept by a wave of desire to make things better in the world. I believe the women's movement is one of those movements which occur every now and then in the history of the world, as if people suddenly revolted from the materialism with which perhaps they had been contented for generations, and as if they had been stirred by a wave of what I call the Spirit, and they have tried to get a little nearer to what they felt things ought to be. Such a wave swept the world at the time of the French Revolution. It was a failure, but it stirred men's minds. When the Puritans tried to rule England and to bring the Kingdom of God upon earth, as they understood it, they made mistakes, they got themselves laughed at, they dropped back, but their country was never quite the same as it was before: things were never the same, they had gone forward. It was the same thing in the Crusades, when men left their homes in the hope of achieving a higher life, to do what seems to us a small and ridiculous thing nowadays perhaps, but in which was the same spirit which seems to make material things not to matter very much.

The women's movement is one of those which stir the face of the waters. They may seem to have very little result, they may seem to have very little connection, but, sooner or later, these things have a material result. The spirit moves first, and the body follows. Very often the result is entirely inadequate to the hopes that stirred it up, but there has to be that spirit, or nothing happens—nothing that is real and true; things happen, but not facts, not the real thing.

There must be that spirit, if the women's movement is the real thing. If there is only to be a feeling of "we are just as you are," it won't come. The cry for the vote is a symptom of the bigger thing, of the blind consciousness of the woman that she has a brain of her own, of the desire, even if it is a blind desire, to do something to justify her place in the world. It is just because I believe in that, that I believe in what we call the Woman's Suffrage movement.

SELLING "THE VOTE."

Stamford Hill has begun the New Year well with an open-air meeting on the 2nd, when, in spite of damp and cold, a good-sized crowd assembled outside West Hackney Church, and in response to my appeal from the box a good many copies of THE VOTE were sold.

This seems a most promising corner, and I hope many in the neighbourhood will volunteer to help Mrs. Cunningham. On Tuesday I addressed about forty people at Mrs. Barrow's, and several promised to help. Wednesday and Friday I canvassed sympathisers and others, and was successful in selling one or more copies of THE VOTE in every case, and also obtained two regular subscribers, while others promised to consider the matter. A meeting had been arranged for Wednesday evening, but owing to pouring rain it was postponed. THE VOTE is also going to be sold once or twice a week in the street, and volunteers are needed in order that all the work may not fall on the few. With such a splendid secretary as Mrs. Cunningham we feel sure that THE VOTE will have a prosperous career, and we hope this account will encourage other branches to do the same. I would like to recommend canvassing to those who cannot undertake street-selling—either take certain roads or get a list of likely people from friends, and call on each one. A good many copies will be sold and regular subscribers obtained.

There are many other little ways of helping, and I shall be so glad to hear from any, even those who can only give the smallest amount of time. Will sympathisers in Balham please write to me soon?—ETHEL FENNINGS, "Vote" Organiser.

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 148, Holborn Bars.
 Secretary—Miss M. F. RIDLER.
 Directors—Mrs. C. DESPARD, Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.,
 Miss MARIE LAWSON, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE.
 SATURDAY, JANUARY 14, 1911.

THE COMING CAMPAIGN.

What has the immediate future to bring? Is there to be any campaign at all? Have the representatives of the British electorate who will meet before the first month in 1911 has run its course, or rather have those whom they will place in power—made up their minds that the present unnatural strife between the Government and the people shall come to an end?

These are the questions which a host of women and many men are asking. It is impossible to answer them, and if the old axiom that it is always the unexpected which happens has any basis in truth, it would be idle to make the attempt. But a forecast of what the future may bring, with preparedness for all events such as can be only reached by careful consideration, will be wise.

How then does the Government stand?

Mr. Asquith has a majority composed of heterogeneous elements. This is precisely what happened last January. But, in one particular, his position is worse than it was then. The members of the coalition majority of 1910 were united on Mr. Lloyd George's Budget, united also in their determination that the Lords should not in any way interfere with Money Bills. After the Budget came the Veto, and this has been the war cry of the late Elections. Unquestionably a majority has been obtained. No less certain is it that on certain important points the majority are divided. While some desire that a short Bill dealing only with finance, removing the control of money finally and for ever from the Upper House, shall be passed immediately, others, and probably the bulk of the majority, are sent to the House of Commons pledged to a much more drastic measure.

Let us suppose that after prolonged discussion such a Parliament Bill passes the House of Commons, and is sent up to the House of Lords. Again there will be delay. I think both Houses will desire to have the June Coronation ceremony over before they come to close quarters. This would seem to point to another Conference and another barren session, during which necessary business and non-contentious measures will be the order of the day. Afterwards, possibly, obstinacy on the part of the Peers and another dissolution, unless Mr. Asquith considers himself strong enough to press for guarantees. In any case the probability is that until the Coronation is over there will be little contentious business. This would give Mr. Asquith an opportunity of which, if he is wise, he will take advantage. He must see—and indeed it must be evident to all—that since the January elections, our Cause has gained strength in the country and in the House of Commons.

A recognition in the King's Speech of the just dissatisfaction of his women subjects and an understanding by his responsible advisers to consider their claim to citizenship would, I think, strengthen Mr. Asquith's own position during the contentious season that is bound to follow the Coronation. In such case, while our propagandum should be carried on more vigorously than ever, while, covering the whole country with our missionaries, we should force on every member pledged to the support of our Bill a sense of his own personal obligation towards the women of the country, we should refrain from anything in the nature of militant protest. This is one forecast. We hope it may prove the correct one. But we must be prepared for all eventualities. Let us suppose that legislation intimately affecting the interests and the destiny of the women of the country being foreshadowed in the King's Speech, their demand to a voice in the election of national representatives is ignored—what then?

I answer protest unceasing—protest passive, active, persistent.

While we hope for the best, we are ready for the worst. Some may think that during these months of silence and apparent quiescence in the Women's Freedom League nothing has been done. That would be a great mistake. There has been no month, no week during the past year when we have not been spreading our gospel of Woman's human independence, when we have not been increasing our numbers, kindling the divine fire of enthusiasm and adding to our resources. Ever since the sudden dissolution of Parliament last year made it sadly apparent to us that once more the destinies of the country were to depend upon an exclusively male electorate, we have been carefully preparing our plans for the coming Campaign. This naturally is neither the time nor the place for the publication of those plans. We wait, not without hope, even with confidence, in the triumph of good sense over prejudice in the councils of the Government. C. DESPARD.

MARRIED WOMEN AND TAX RESISTANCE.

From a leaflet issued by the Women's Tax Resistance League, and costing 2d., we take the following extracts:

"The position of married women in relation to the direct annual taxes, such as Super Tax, Income Tax, Property Tax, and Inhabited House Duty, is a very simple one, and easily grasped. No married woman is liable for any of these taxes. It is illegal to demand payment from her, to enforce or attempt to enforce payment, or even to ask her to furnish particulars of her property or income. This total exemption of the married woman from taxability arises out of the ancient and now nearly obsolete law of coverture, which holds that a husband and wife are 'one,' and the husband is that 'one.' Therefore the Income Tax Act, which was passed in 1842, but still holds good, stipulates that no married woman shall be held liable for taxes. Section 45 of that Act reads thus:—'Provided always, that the profits of any married woman living with her husband shall be deemed to be the profits of the husband, and the same shall be charged in the name of the husband, and not in her name, nor of her trustee.'

"The above clause has never been repealed, and still governs the case of the Super Tax, the Income Tax, the Property Tax, and the Inhabited House Duty.

"The ruling powers delight in asserting and maintaining the 'disabilities' of the married woman. They decline to recognise her as a parental unit. They deny her the privilege of being a mayor or a municipal councillor, and insist that even if the single woman is given the Parliamentary vote, the married woman must not be allowed to participate in the privilege. In short, they believe in the law of coverture when it suits themselves. But women are now too wide awake to allow the game of 'having it both ways' to be longer played on them. They know better than to continue to submit to a policy which may be summed up as, Heads I win—tails you lose.

"Married women in receipt of incomes can testify, from their own experience, as to whether the law in regard to their non-taxability is obeyed, or whether it is openly and flagrantly defied. It appears that large numbers of married women are paying taxes regularly, without making the slightest protest against the illegal procedure of which they are the victims. This is probably due to their ignorance of their legal status (or rather, lack of status) just as many of them are unaware that they are not the legal 'parents' of their children.

"When pressed on the subject of married women and taxes, the Somerset House and Treasury officials will not, in fact dare not, deny that their methods are illegal. If asked to show their authority for imposing taxes on married women, they cultivate a stony silence. All the chicanery of the 'Circumlocution Office' is brought into play, and anyone who likes can repeat the experience of Arthur Clennam in 'Little Dorrit,' by writing a few letters, or making a call at Somerset House, where 'knowing nothing' has been brought to a fine art. Officialdom finds itself incapable of understanding the simplest question, when the question happens to be one to which it can find no answer, and which is asked by a woman.

"Many married women, including leading actresses, doctors, titled women, business women, and various others having property, businesses, investments, &c., or being in receipt of salaries, have succeeded in demonstrating their non-taxability, and thereby involved the Revenue in a total loss of the tax illegally charged on them."

REMEMBER OUR QUARTERLY RECEIPTS COMPETITION.
 —Collect and keep your receipts for goods bought from our advertisers. As we go to press one of our members has already sent in £14 worth of receipts for our March competition. The present competition concludes March 18, and the results will be announced March 25.

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BRANCH NOTES.

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

Herne Hill and Norwood.—32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W.
 On Thursday, January 5, a members' meeting was held at 28, Carson-road, West Dulwich, to discuss the Conference agenda, and to elect our delegate. Dr. Alice Vickery was elected to represent our branch at the Conference in January.

As there were so many resolutions and nominations on the agenda, the discussion of some of them was postponed until a future meeting. Our treasurer, Mrs. McLaren, resigned recently; Miss Lucie Jenks had been nominated for the office, and, having signified her willingness to undertake it, she was unanimously elected.

On Tuesday afternoon, January 17, a drawing-room meeting will be held at 161, Croxted-road, Dulwich, when Mrs. How Martyn will speak and Dr. Vickery will take the chair. The meeting will be held from 3 to 5 p.m., and we hope as many members as possible will attend and bring friends.—BARBARA SPENCER, Hon. Secretary.

Crystal Palace and Anerley.—149, Croydon-road, Anerley.
 Don't forget to come to the Suffrage Offices, 42, Anerley-road, on Friday at 8.30 p.m., when Miss Fennings and Mr. Victor Duval are speaking. Admission free, a few reserved seats, at 6d., may be obtained from Miss Fennings.

West Hampstead Group.—Mrs. VAN RAALTE, 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead.

On Wednesday, January 4, a meeting was held at the above address. The secretary reported the sale of nineteen votes, and the addition of two new members. The group now numbers seven. Discussion took place as to the desirability of holding a public meeting in the neighbourhood. It was decided that inquiries should be made as to prices of local halls. Mrs. Pring (treasurer) undertook to do this.

These group meetings are being held at 8.30 p.m. every Wednesday evening at 23, Pandora-road, West-End-lane, where visitors, Freedom League members, or otherwise, will be heartily welcomed.—J. O. K.

Stamford-hill.—Mrs. A. CUNNINGHAM, 114, Holmleigh-road.
 The "At Home" on Tuesday, January 3, held by kind invitation of Mrs. Barrow at 30, Linthorpe-road, was quite a success, nearly fifty ladies being present. Mrs. Griffiths kindly presided, and Miss Hicks, M.A., gave a very interesting account of the impressions she had formed while working in two constituencies at the recent General Election. In consequence of Miss

Ethel Fenning's remarks and persuasiveness two dozen copies of THE VOTE were sold and a fairly good collection taken. Miss Searle, 180, High-road, Clapton, is good enough to be responsible, in future, for the Literature Department, and Miss Brodie, 11, Martaban-road, Stoke Newington, will kindly act as our local "Vote secretary."

At the business meeting that followed tea and coffee, plans for the Spring Session were discussed, and it was decided to hold, every month, one afternoon and one evening "At Home," with three open-air meetings weekly, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday evenings at 7.30 p.m. in West Hackney Church, Oldhill-street, Amhurst Park, respectively, provided that at 7 p.m. it neither rains nor snows. The names of ladies kindly acting as supporters and Vote sellers at these meetings will be duly announced.

This month a Whist Drive and Dance are to be substituted for the evening "At Home," but owing to the Conference, Wednesday, February 1, is the earliest date that can be fixed. Single tickets are to be 3s. 6d., double ones 6s., and if each member will undertake to bring seven guests, thus making with herself one set, dancing enthusiasts and the young people may anticipate a quite unusually gay evening.

Central London.—Mrs. Tritton, 1, Northcote Avenue, Ealing.
 We held a most successful public meeting in the Bijou Theatre on January 3. It was full to overflowing, which was to be expected with Miss Cicely Hamilton as speaker. Miss Marie Lawson made a very able and interesting chairman, while our friends were welcomed by Miss Edith Craig in her usual charming manner. We were very pleased to see Mrs. Despard among the audience.

Our most grateful thanks are due to Miss Craig and Miss Seruya for all they have done, financially and otherwise, to start this series of public meetings, also to Miss Tucker for the decorations, and Miss Dorothy Spencer and her assistants for their efficient stewarding.

The collection amounted to £1 18s., quite an unusual amount of literature was sold, and ten new members joined our branch. A report of the speeches appears on page 140.

These meetings will be held in the Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand, every alternate Tuesday until Easter, and we hope to maintain the same high standard of speakers.

At the next one on January 17 at 8 p.m., Miss Muriel Matters will speak. Our Branch President, Miss Benett, will take the chair, while Miss Olive Terry will act as hostess; also Mrs. Cope has kindly consented to sing "The Awakening," the new Suffrage song by Ella Wheeler Wilcox, set to music by Miss Teresa del Riego. Will any members willing to act as stewards at this and subsequent meetings send in their names to Miss Dorothy Spencer?

A branch members' meeting will, at 7 p.m. precede the public one, and Miss Ethel Fennings will make an appeal for Vote sellers.

As acting Treasurer I should like to acknowledge a kind anonymous gift of 10s. sent to us through Mrs. Hyde.

Should there be any branch members who have paid no subscription for 1910 I must ask them kindly to do so without further delay.—E. G. T.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—61, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.
 This week has seen a renewal of our activities in Portsmouth. Miss Munro paid us a visit from January 3 to 6, and very good use was made of her time. Two members' meetings were held, and in spite of the cold weather we held two large open-air meetings on the Town Hall Square on Wednesday and Thursday evenings. The latter was especially good, a huge crowd standing nearly two hours, listening and questioning Miss Munro, which was a great compliment to her, considering it was a very cold night. We have begun the New Year by starting a pitch for selling THE VOTE in King's-road, Southsea, on Saturday afternoon. I shall be pleased to hear from anyone who will volunteer to help.—S. WHEATTON.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser: MISS MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

A definite system of visiting, of which the results have been most encouraging, has been carried out this week amongst members and sympathisers of the Urnston and Eccles Branches. In Sale, also, Miss Geiler and Miss Manning spent an afternoon visiting, and secured three new subscribers to THE VOTE.

The Sale Branch met on Thursday, when resolutions for Conference were discussed.

Again I would appeal to members not to forget the Eccles Jumble Sale on January 21. Contributions may be sent to Miss Janet Hayes, Newholme, Hazlehurst, Worsley, or a cart will call on receipt of a postcard.

The Whist Drive in Burgon's Room, Monton, on January 13 (Friday next), promises to be a great success, but with 120 tickets to be sold there is still a possibility of work for the members.

I have already received some orders for tea and toffee in response to my appeal, also some contributions to the District Fund, but I should like more.—M. E. MANNING.

Ipswich.—160, Norwich-road.
 We started the New Year with two parties, one for children and one for members and friends. Both were very successful owing to the splendid arrangements made by Mrs. Hossack. We have had an interesting correspondence in our local paper, The East Anglian Daily Times, with the Anti-Suffragists. The

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old arguments have been adduced and answered, and now we are inviting them to a debate. We are having a Jumble Sale at the end of January, and shall be glad of articles for sale; the barrow also wants replenishing. Miss Munro will be with us the week beginning January 16. —CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET. Suffrage Centre Managers: **MISS R. McARTHUR.** Hon. Secretary: **MISS E. S. SEMPLE.** Hon. Treasurer: **MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.** Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas. **Glasgow.** The usual monthly meeting of the Glasgow Branch was held in the Suffrage Centre on Thursday, January 5, at 8 p.m. The resolutions, &c., for Conference were considered and voted on by the members, and two delegates were appointed to attend Conference, Miss J. L. Buntten and Miss M. Steven. Will members please note that Glasgow Branch meets in Suffrage Centre on first Thursday of each month at 8 p.m. —K. McARTHUR. A Whist Drive in aid of the funds will be held in Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall-street, on Wednesday, January 25, from 7.30 till 11 p.m. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. each. Tickets may be had from Conveners of District Committees or at Suffrage Centre. *** The addresses of the League branches and branch secretaries will in future be inserted once a month.

MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The increased activities of the League have necessitated a removal from the old address in Museum-street, W.C., to new and larger offices at 159, St. Stephen's House, Westminster, S.W., opposite Westminster-bridge. Will members or friends please note the change of address? Mr. Joseph Clayton has become Hon. Organising Secretary, Mr. J. M. Mitchell remaining Hon. Secretary. The League has been further strengthened by the recent addition of Sir William Chance, Bart., Mr. Reginald H. Pott and Mr. G. Warre Cornish to the Executive Committee.

MEMBERS OF NEW PARLIAMENT WHO VOTED FOR OUR BILL.

Nat. Abraham, W.	Dublin Harbour	L. Helme, N. W.	Lancaster
Lab. Abraham, Right Hon. W.	Rhondda	Lab. Henderson, A.	Barnard Castle
L. Alden, Percy	Tottenham	L. Henderson, J. M.	W. Aberdeenshire
L. Anderson, A., K.C.	N. Ayrshire	L. Higham, J. S.	Sowerby
L. Armitage, R.	Leeds Central	U. Hillier, Dr. A.	Hitchin
U. Ashley, W. W.	Blackpool	Lab. Hodge, J.	Gorton
L. Baker, J. A.	E. Finsbury	U. Hope, H.	Bute
U. Balfour, Right Hon. A. J.	City of London	L. Horne, C. Silvester	Ipswich
L. Balfour, R.	Partick	N. Hudson, W.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
U. Baring, Captain Hon. G.	Winchester	L. Hughes, S. L.	Stockport
L. Barlow, Sir J. E.	Frome	U. Hume Williams, W. E., K.C.	Bassetlaw
Lab. Barnes, G. N.	Blackfriars	U. Hunter, Sir C. R.	Bath
L. Barton, A. W.	Oldham	L. Illingworth, P. H.	Shipley
U. Benn, I. H.	Greenwich	L. Isaacs, Sir R.	Reading
L. Bentham, G. J.	Gainsborough	Lab. Johnson, W.	Nuneaton
L. Bethell, Sir J.	Romford	L. Jones, Edgar	Merthyr Tydvil
U. Bird, A. F.	W. Wolverhampton	L. Jones, Haydn	Merionethshire
L. Birrell, Right Hon. A.	N. Bristol	L. Jones, Sir D. B., K.C.	Swansea District
L. Black, A. W.	N. Bedfordshire	Lab. Jowett, F. W.	W. Bradford
Nat. Boland, J. P.	S. Kerry	Nat. Joyce, M.	Limerick
L. Bottomley, H. W.	S. Hackney	Nat. Keating, M.	S. Kilkenny
Lab. Bowerman, C. W.	Deptford	L. Kemp, Sir G.	Manchester, N.W.
U. Boyle, W. L.	Mid-Norfolk	L. King, J.	N. Somerset
U. Boyton, J.	E. Marylebone	U. Knight, Captain E.	Kidderminster
U. Bridgman, W. C.	Oswestry	Nat. Law, H. A.	Donegal
L. Brigg, Sir J.	Keighley	U. Lawson, Hon. H.	Mile-end
U. Bull, Sir W. J.	Hammersmith	L. Leach, C.	Colne Valley
U. Burgoyne, A.	N. Kensington	L. Lewis, J. H.	Flintshire
L. Burns, Right Hon. J.	Battersea	U. Lewisham, Viscount	W. Bromwich
L. Burt, Right Hon. T.	Morpeth	L. Lough, Right Hon. T.	W. Islington
L. Buxton, Noel	N. Norfolk	L. Low, Sir F., K.C.	Norwich
L. Buxton, Right Hon. S.	Poplar	Nat. Lynch, A.	W. Clara
L. Byles, W. P.	N. Salford	U. Lyttelton, Right Hon. A.	St. George's, Han-
L. Cameron, R.	Houghton-le-Spring		over-square
U. Carlile, E. H.	St. Albans	L. McCallum, J.	Paisley
L. Carr Gomm, H. W.	Rotherhithe	L. McCurdy, C. A.	Northampton
U. Cave, G., K.C.	Kingston	L. Macdonald, J. A.	Falkirk Burghs
L. Cawley, Sir F.	Prestwich	Lab. Macdonald, J. K.	Leicester
U. Cecil, Lord H.	Oxford University	Nat. McKean, J.	S. Monaghan
L. Chancellor, H. G.	Haggerston	L. McLaren, F.	Spalding
U. Clive, Capt. P. A.]	Ross (Hereford)	L. McLaren, W. S. B.	Crew
L. Clough, W.	Skipton	L. Macnamara, Dr.	N. Camberwell
Lab. Clynes, J. R.	N.E. Manchester	Nat. MacNeill, J. S., K.C.	S. Donegal
L. Collins, G. P.	Greenock	U. Mallaby-Deeley, H. C.	Harrow
L. Collins, S.	Kennington	L. Markham, A. B.	Mansfield
U. Cooper, R. A.	Walsall	L. Marks, G. C.	Launceston
L. Corbett, A. Cameron	Tradeston	Nat. Meagher, M.	N. Kilkenny
U. Craig, N., K.C.	Isle of Thanet	Nat. Meehan, F. E.	N. Leitrim
L. Crawshaw-Williams, E.	Leicester	L. Menzies, Sir W.	S. Lanark
L. Davies, Ellis W.	Eifion	L. Middlebrook, W.	S. Leeds
L. Davies, Sir W. H.	S. Bristol	L. Mond, S. A.	Swansea
L. Dawes, J. A.	Walworth	L. Montagu, Hon. E. S.	W. Cambridgeshire
L. Denman, Hon. R. D.	Carlisle	L. Morgan, G. Hay	Turo
N. Devlin, J.	W. Belfast	U. Morrison-Bell, Major C.	Honiton
L. Dickinson, W. H.	N. St. Pancras	U. Morrison, Captain J. A.	E. Nottingham
Lab. Duncan, C.	Barrow-in-Furness	L. Munro, R.	Wick Burghs
Lab. Edwards, E.	Hanley	L. Murray, Captain Hon. A. C.	Kincardineshire
L. Elverston, H.	Gateshead	Nat. Nannetti, J. P.	Dublin, College Green
L. Eslemont, G. B.	S. Aberdeen	U. Newdigate-Newdegate, F. A.	Tamworth
L. Falconer, J.	Forfarshire	U. Newton, H. K.	Harwich
U. Fell, A.	Gt. Yarmouth	L. Nicholson, C. N.	Doncaster
L. Fenwick, C.	Wansbeck	U. Nicholson, W. G.	Petersfield
L. Ferens, T. R.	E. Hull	U. Nield, H.	Ealing
U. Fitzroy, Hon. E. A.	S. Northants	L. Nuttall, H.	Stretford
U. Fletcher, J. S.	Hampstead	L. Ogden, F.	Pudsey
U. Forster, H. W.	Sevenoaks	Lab. O'Grady, J.	E. Leeds
L. France, G.	Morley	Nat. O'Malley, W.	Connemara
L. Furness, S.	Hartlepool	U. Orde-Powlett, Hon. W. G.	Richmond (Yorks)
U. Gastrell, Major W. H.	N. Lambeth	U. Ormsby-Gore, Hon. W.	Denbigh District
L. Gelder, Sir W. A.	Brigg (Lincs.)	U. Paget, A. H.	Cambridge
Lab. Gill, A. H.	Bolton	L. Palmer, G.	Jarrow
L. Glanville, H. J.	Bermondsey	Lab. Parker, J.	Halifax
U. Goldman, C. S.	Penryn & Falmouth	L. Pearson, Hon. W. H. M.	Eye
U. Goldsmith, F.	Stowmarket	U. Peel, Captain R. F.	Woodbridge
U. Greene, R.	N. Hackney	U. Peto, B. E.	Devizes
L. Greig, Colonel J. W.	W. Renfrewshire	L. Pickersgill, E. H.	S.W. Bethnal-green]
L. Grey, Right Hon. Sir E.	Berwick	Lab. Pointer, J.	Attercliffe
L. Gulland, J. W.	Dumfries Burghs	L. Pollard, Sir G. H.	Lanes., Eccles
N. Gwynn, S.	Galway City	U. Pollock, E. M., K.C.	Warwick and Leam-
L. Haldane, Right Hon. R. B.	Haddingtonshire		ington
U. Hall, D. B.	Isle of Wight	L. Ponsonby, A.	Stirling Burghs
U. Hall, E. M., K.C.	East Toxteth	L. Price, C. E.	Central Edinburgh
U. Hamersley, A. St. G.	Woodstock	L. Radford, G. H.	E. Islington
Lab. Hancock, J. G.	Mid-Derbyshire	L. Raffan, P. W.	Leigh
L. Harcourt, R. V.	Montrose Burghs	L. Rainy, A. R.	Kilmarnock Burghs
Lab. Hardie, J. Keir	Merthyr Tydvil	U. Rankin, Sir J.	Leominster
L. Harvey, A. G. C.	Rochdale	U. Ratcliff, Major R. F.	Burton
L. Harvey, T. E.	W. Leeds	U. Rawson, Colonel R. H.	Reigate
Lab. Harvey, W. E.	N.E. Derby	L. Rea, W. R.	Scarborough
L. Harwood, G.	Bolton	Nat. Redmond, W.	Clare, East
L. Haslam, L.	Monmouth District	U. Remnant, J. F.	Holborn
L. Haworth, A. A.	S. Manchester	L. Rendall, A.	Thornbury
L. Hayward, E.	S.E. Durham	L. Roberts, C.	Lincoln
N. Hazleton, R.	N. Galway and N. Louth	Lab. Roberts, G. H.	Norwich
		U. Roberts, S.	Eccleall

L. Roberts, Sir J. H.	W. Denbigh
L. Robertson, J. M.	Tyneside
L. Robertson, Sir G.	Central Bradford
L. Robinson, S.	Brecknockshire
L. Roch, W. F.	Pembrokeshire
L. Roe, Sir T.	Derby
L. Rowntree, A.	York
L. Runciman, Right Hon. W.	Dewsbury
U. Rutherford, W. W.	Liverpool (W. Derby)
U. Salter, A. C., K.C.	N. Hants
L. Samuel, J.	Stockton
U. Sanders, R. A.	Bridgewater
U. Sanderson, L., K.C.	Appleby
U. Sandys, G. J.	Wells
U. Sassoon, Sir E.	Hythe
N. Scanlan, T.	N. Sligo
L. Schwann, Sir C. E.	N. Manchester
L. Sherwell, A. J.	Huddersfield
L. Shortt, E., K.C.	Newcastle-on-Tyne
L. Simon, Sir J. A., K.C.	Walthamstow
L. Smith, H. B. Lees	Northampton
Lab. Snowden, P.	Blackburn
L. Spicer, Sir A.	Hackney, Central
U. Stanier, B.	Shrops., Newport
U. Staveley-Hill, H.	Kingswinford
U. Strauss, A.	Paddington, North
L. Summers, J. W.	Flint District
L. Sutherland, J. E.	Elgin Burghs
Lab. Sutton, J. E.	E. Manchester
Lab. Taylor, J. W.	Chester-le-Street
L. Taylor, T. C.	Lancs. (Radcliffe)
U. Terrell, G.	Chippenhams
U. Terrell, H., K.C.	Gloucester
Lab. Thomas, J. H.	Derby
U. Thompson, R.	N. Belfast
L. Thorne, G. R.	E. Wolverhampton
L. Toulmin, G.	Bury (Lancs.)
L. Trevelyan, C. P.	Elland
L. Ure, Right Hon. A., K.C.	Linlithgowshire
U. Walrond, Hon. W. L. C.	Tiverton
Lab. Walsh, S.	Lancs. (Ince)
L. Walters, J. Tudor	Sheffield (Brightside)
L. Walton, Sir J.	Yorks (Barnsley)
Lab. Wardle, G. J.	Stockport
L. Wason, Right Hon. E.	Clackmannan and Kinross
L. Watt, H. A.	Glasgow (College)
L. Wedgwood, J. C.	Newcastle-under-Lyne
U. White, Major D.	Southport
N. White, Patrick	N. Meath
L. White, Sir G.	N.W. Norfolk
L. White, Sir Luke	Buckrose
L. Whitehouse, J. H.	Mid Lanark
L. Whittaker, Right Hon. Sir T. P.	Spen Valley
L. Whyte, A. F.	Perth
L. Wiles, T.	S. Islington
Lab. Williams, J.	Glam. (Gower)
L. Williams, P.	Middlesbrough
Lab. Wilson, W. T.	Westhoughton
U. Wood, J.	Stalybridge
L. Wood, T. McKinnon	St. Rollox
U. Wortley, Right Hon. C. B.	Sheffield (Hallam)
U. Wyndham, Right Hon. G.	Dover
U. Yerburgh, R.	Chester
L. Yoxall, Sir J. H.	W. Nottingham
U. Rolleston, Sir J.	E. Herts (one of the tellers)

Mrs. DESPARD will take the chair at a meeting in the Caxton Hall, Tuesday, January 24, at 7.45 p.m., when Mr. Bipin Chandra Pal will deliver a lecture on "The Woman's Place in India," being one of a course of "Truth About India" lectures.

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

The Legion of Honour and Women.

MADAM,—May I offer a correction of the paragraph in your issue of December 31 re the bestowal of the Legion of Honour on Mme. Pauline Kergomard and Mme. Fustado Heine? The first woman to receive that distinction was Rosa Bonheur, the renowned artist, and she really received it from a woman. The Empress Eugénie had long wished her to have it, but it had not been given. In 1859, at the time of the war in Italy, the Empress was named Regent during the absence of the Emperor with the Army in the campaign against Austria, and she immediately used her power to give honour where she had long felt it was due, and had Rosa Bonheur nominated to the Legion of Honour.—Yours faithfully, A. GOFF.

Is the "Cat" Justifiable?

MADAM,—I endorse the remarks of Mr. Gugenheim in the last issue of THE VOTE. Your editorial note to Mr. Hudson's suggestion gave me—and possibly other readers—the impression that you approved of what he wrote—in any case, complete absence of dissent from his views, regarding the use of the "cat," was very misleading. I would also point out that Mr. Gugenheim's letter does not suggest, as you seem to think, that he wished to "do away with punishment altogether." His view was that "a movement demanding equality between the sexes should work for the abolition rather than for the retention of inhumane punishment for men or for women." This is a very different thing from suggesting abolishing all punitive measures.

One of our objects in desiring the Parliamentary Vote is that it may then be in the power of women to help in modifying laws which most of us feel are degrading and demoralising to men and women alike. I believe I am right in saying that a great number of women Suffragists are opposed to the adoption of brutalising methods of dealing with criminals. The age of vindictive and inhumane punishments—and no reasonable person can deny that the "cat" is one of them—is slowly disappearing, and Suffragists ought to do all in their power to hasten its end.—Yours truly, R. DUBÉ.

[No expression of editorial opinion as to the retention of the "cat" or its abolition can appear in these columns. Our individual correspondents can express their views on the subject, but in doing so they only speak as individual Suffragists. It is no part of the programme of any Suffrage society to go definitely into questions of this kind and to express opinions as to whether the "cat" should or should not be retained. Mrs. Dubé is probably quite right in saying that "a great number of Suffragists are opposed to the adoption of brutalising methods of dealing with criminals"; but if she had followed a recent correspondence in *The Daily Telegraph* she would have seen that many persons, of whose humanitarian sympathies or of whose reasonableness there can be no question, do not regard it as brutalising, but as a strong deterrent. As there are probably many Suffragists who may think the same we made no comment of any kind on the use of this method of punishment. Any statement of definite abolition as part of a society's programme can only come from an association like the Humanitarian League. Mrs. Dubé and Mr. Gugenheim must remember that on such matters there may be a difference of opinion amongst Suffragists, and those who regard

these punishments as neither vindictive nor unreasonable have a perfect right to their opinions, as Mrs. Dubé and Mr. Gugenheim have to theirs. As to our interpretation of Mr. Gugenheim's letter, if it differed from Mrs. Dubé's, it was merely in the interpretation of the words "inhumane punishment," which, according to the standpoint of the reader, may mean any or every kind of punishment.—ED. THE VOTE.]

Mr. Clayton's Article.

MADAM,—Re an article in this week's (December 31) copy of THE VOTE, by Joseph Clayton, "New Year Utterances," will you be good enough to tell me if the matter printed there has actually been contained in letters received from Cabinet Ministers? In discussion I am told "the article is smart and clever, but such things are filled in, and could not possibly have been said or written by the Ministers mentioned; they would not so far give themselves away." Will you be good enough to let me know either through the paper or in any other form? Are there such letters to be seen?—Yours truly, CLARA E. WALKER.

[Our correspondent will be pleased to know that the letters in "New Year Utterances" were only Mr. Clayton's little joke. It is a compliment to his successful adoption of the style and mannerisms of the Cabinet that several other readers, as well as Mrs. Walker, were taken in. Their minds will be at rest when they learn that the members of the Government read the letters they might have written if they lived in the Palace of Truth, for the first time, when copies of THE VOTE were sent to them.—ED. THE VOTE.]

A Practical Suggestion.

MADAM,—I am one of those members of the Women's Freedom League who is, unfortunately, unable to help the cause by speaking at public meetings, selling THE VOTE in the street, or doing clerical or propaganda work. I have a family, and my purse is not a very extensive one. My family has, however, to be fed and clothed, and generally made comfortable. Out of these very wants I have found a way of helping the W.F.L. Every week I carefully read the advertisements in THE VOTE. I buy all my coals from an advertiser in our paper, and it is only fair to say that I get excellent value for my money. Our groceries and meat are supplied from the well-known stores whose price-lists so frequently appear among your advertisements. Some of my children's frocks and most of my own garments are made by an artistic and original dressmaker who has, no doubt, found THE VOTE an excellent advertising medium. We get our windows cleaned by a VOTE advertiser, and my husband now always smokes THE VOTE cigarettes and recommends them to his friends. This, I think you will agree, is a practical way of supporting our cause. May I express the hope that others who, like myself, cannot give personal service will do what they can to support the Appeal signed by our President and her co-directors which appears on the second page of the cover of our organ?—Yours faithfully, A HOUSEWIFE.

THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON, speaking at the annual dinner of the Farringdon Ward Club, addressed the ladies present as "citizenesses," and declared his hope that the day was not far distant when ladies would take a greater share in government and affairs, adding: "If that ideal were achieved it would make for a better, purer and more humane government than we now have."

MESSRS. ARDING AND HOBBS, Clapham Junction, have issued a splendid sale catalogue called "The Little Book of Big Bargains," in connection with their sale, which commences Thursday, January 12, and concludes Saturday, January 28. Astonishing bargains are to be obtained in all departments of this vast emporium. Household requisites, from carpets to table napkins, are being cleared regardless of their original cost, and coats and skirts and all kinds of wearing apparel are much reduced. This sale is one not to be missed.

AT MESSRS. F. MEDHURST, LTD., High-street, Bromley, Kent, excellent opportunities for securing bargains are being offered. Well-tailored coats at much reduced prices, and furs marked at summer figures, are amongst the chances for bargain hunters. House furnishings of every description are much reduced, and there are many attractive lines in curtains.

COFFIN NAILS.
BY THE TURKISH BATH MAN.



Don't run away with the belief that because I head this column "Coffin Nails" I am going to turn the column into a charnel house. Not a bit of it. I am simply going to tell you a little plain truth.

Every little illness is a nail driven into your coffin. That is true enough at all events. If you can avoid having many little illnesses, fewer nails go into the coffin, and the little wooden box will not be completed so quickly.

Now, there is an old friend of mine, who on and off is often in my show-rooms. He is an erect, bright-eyed, white-haired old gentleman, who can be as cheerful as a cricket at the age of seventy. He was converted to a belief in hygiene and the regular use of the home Turkish Bath many years ago. He found it helped him to keep fit in many ways, and like many another user of the Gem Turkish Bath, tried to entuse

his relations and friends with the same teaching. "They used to laugh at me," he said the other day. "They used to say I was killing myself." He smiled at the thought, and then his fine old face grew grave. "And yet most of them are dead now—the kindly people who laughed."

My old friend was quite right. There is no jest about the merits of Turkish Bathing. I say it in simple seriousness; I have been associated with the Turkish Gem Bath for ten years now, and I have no doubt about its merit—I know by the light of experience gained by myself, my family, and from a widening circle of friends. Out of that experience I know certain facts. I know that old age is simply wear and tear. That the body, more prone to decay, is not so quickly cleansed and built up by the blood. The eliminating organs do not act so easily or so surely—they leave the blood clogged by impurities. I know that these impurities manifest themselves in disease symptoms, such as gout, rheumatism, lumbago—diseases which stiffen the joints and harden the blood vessels, and in the end, by throwing an extra burden on the system, cause general decay of the functions.

I know that if this wear and tear can be reduced, if the strain on the system can be minimised, if the functions are helped rather than overworked, old age is robbed of half its terrors. The illnesses that add coffin nails one by one are few and far between, and life is prolonged beyond the allotted span.

I know Turkish Bathing will keep the blood pure, the limbs supple, the brain clear, and exert a rejuvenating influence over the whole body. I know you can always tell a Turkish bather at sight, even when youth is left behind, by his fresh, clean coloured skin, his bright eyes, and the obvious signs he shows of mental activity and alertness. I know that a perfectly clean, healthy body means a perfectly sound mind, looking ever on the cheerful side and avoiding the worry that kills. And I say that this is *what you should know*.

Note the ageing effect of a simple cold, a touch of bronchitis or asthma, or recurring attacks of rheumatism. Ask yourself one question—Are such effects worth avoiding?

Also ask yourself, if the Gem Turkish Bath helped you to avoid these ageing influences, is it not worth while? And then, don't study me or take my word, or believe my business story. Try my bath and see. I am not wholly disinterested—I have this bath to sell. But if I offer you a fair trial at no cost to yourself—you have everything to gain and nothing to lose.

I am willing to send a 30s. Cabinet on receipt of a ten-day post-dated money order, and if for any reason, after using the Cabinet as often as you like, you are dissatisfied, you can return the Cabinet within that time, and have your money refunded. If you are not in a position to avail yourself of this offer, I am prepared to go still further. Send me a postal order for ten shillings and your word that you will pay five monthly payments of 4s. 6d. each, and I will at once send you a 30s. Cabinet. I don't ask for securities or references; I will take your word for it, and trust you. You will note that in accepting payments in this way I cannot afford a free trial, and I charge you 32s. 6d. for the Cabinet; but it is worth every penny of it, and it only repays me for any extra cost of bookkeeping, use of capital, &c.

If you are not yet convinced, let me send you my booklet, "Perfect Health." A postcard addressed to the B Gem Supplies Co., Ltd., 22, Pear Tree Street, Goswell Road, London, E.C., will bring it by return.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Thurs., Jan. 12.**—Caxton Hall. "At Home," 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30 Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Francis. Chair: Mrs. How Martyn. Hampstead, 8.15 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn. Hackney, 7.30. Miss Munro.
- Fri., Jan. 13.**—8.30 p.m., at Suffrage Offices, 42, Anerley-road. *Speakers:* Miss Ethel Fennings and Mr. Victor Duval. *Speaker:* Amhurst-park, 7.30 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Guttridge. *Supporter:* Mrs. Southall.
- Tues., Jan. 17.**—161, Croxted-road, West Dulwich, 3 p.m. *Speaker:* Mrs. How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc. *Chair:* Dr. Alice Vickery. Bijou Theatre, 3, Bedford-street, Strand. A public meeting, organised by the Central London Branch. *Speaker:* Miss Muriel Matters. *Chair:* Miss Benett. *Hostess:* Miss Olive Terry. "The Awakening" being sung by Mrs. Cope. A branch members' business meeting will precede this at 7 p.m.
- Wed., Jan. 18.**—Croydon, 3 p.m. Miss Tite.
- Thurs., Jan. 19.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30 p.m., Mrs. H. W. Nevinson, Sir John Cockburn.
- Fri., Jan. 27.**—1, Robert-street, National Executive Committee.
- Sat., Jan. 28.**—Caxton Hall. Annual Conference of Branches.
- Sun., Jan. 29.**—Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Reception to delegates.
- Tues., Jan. 31.**—Parliament opens.
- Mon., Feb. 6.**—King's Speech.
- SUNDERLAND.**
- Thurs., Jan. 12.**—Miss Neilans.
- SOUTH SHIELDS.**
- Sat., Jan. 14.**—Miss Neilans.
- IPSWICH.**
- Mon., Jan. 16.**—7.30 p.m. Miss Anna Munro.
- BASINGSTOKE.**
- Tues., Jan. 17.**—8 p.m. Mrs. Betham.
- LOWESTOFT.**
- Thurs., Jan. 19.**—L.W.S.S., Royal Hotel, 3 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn. *Chair:* Dr. Mary Bell.
- SITTINGBOURNE.**
- Fri., Jan. 20.**—Miss Fennings.
- BRIGHTON.**
- Fri., Jan. 20.**—Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Francis.
- CHELTENHAM.**
- Mon., Jan. 23.**—Town Hall, Cheltenham, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans, Mrs. Despard.
- GLASGOW.**
- SCOTLAND.**
- Thur., Jan. 12.**—Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall-street. Glasgow Council, special meeting, 6.30 p.m. Miss Sidley.
- Sat., Jan. 14.**—"At Home," 7.30 p.m. *Hostesses:* Mrs. Beatson, Miss Glen. *Speakers:* Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Joseph Dobbie.
- Fri., Jan. 20.**—Alexandra-parade, Primitive Methodist Church. *Speaker:* Miss Shennan.
- Sat., Jan. 21.**—Scottish Council Meeting, 3 p.m. All W.F.L. members are invited to hear the discussion, and to meet the delegates from the other branches.
- EDINBURGH.**
- Fri., Jan. 13.**—Café Vegetaria, 3, Nicolson-street. Suffrage Dance and Whist Drive, 8 p.m. Tickets, 2s. 6d. each.
- Wed., Jan. 18.**—Suffrage Shop, 8 p.m. "The Party System of Government." Miss J. M. Marshall.

NEW YEAR'S NUMBER.

There are still some copies of this number, with the fine portrait of Mrs. Despard, which is well worth framing. We feel sure many will be glad to avail themselves of this opportunity. Please apply soon to 1, Robert-street.

The Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant was crowded on Friday, on the occasion of the monthly meeting of the Actresses' Franchise League. Miss Eva Moore took the chair with her usual charm, and after a brief speech introduced the speakers. Sir Thomas Barclay, Member of the last Parliament, and also member of the Conciliation Committee for Woman's Suffrage, in an enthusiastic speech mentioned that it was useless to refer votes for Women to the country because it was not a party question, and at present all the voting was according to party. Miss Ab Adam said that the Home Secretary approved of militant action when he was on the comfortable side of the cannon.

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