

THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—NO. 11.

SATURDAY, JANUARY, 8, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITORS and MANAGING DIRECTOR respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER.

Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

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.

The Male "People."

Truths are sometimes hidden and they are sometimes patent to every eye. But the truths that women are declaring to men in this General Election simply glare upon the world like a million candle-power arc lamp. The most patently blazing truth of the moment is the hollow mockery on both sides of the party appeal to the "people"—with women excluded.

General Election Hysteria.

Those who win their way into Parliament by the votes of men electors are constantly given credit for more than average capacity in the production of highly-flavoured fiction. The present crisis is providing us with many apposite examples. Posters and speeches and printed sheets vie with each other in the exaggerations of political intoxication. It would be funny if it were not so sordid and selfish. But the level-headed reasonableness of the male half of the British race and its steady adherence to accurate fact will, of course, only be questioned by excited women.

Campaigning Extraordinary.

The Battersea "outrage" has a very suspicious appearance, especially when taken in conjunction with other advertising and sympathy-provoking dodges in which Mr. John Burns has already indulged. No Suffragette is guilty of the stupid deed about which the Battersea Liberals profess to be inflamed. There is one certain proof of this. No Suffragette ever ran away from her deed—we leave that to the Liberals. When proofs that an attack really occurred are publicly exhibited we shall believe it, but we shall never believe that it was committed by a Suffragette. Such a meaningless deed would come very much more suitably from a poor mad soul—or from a Liberal.

Suppressio Veri."

It is a great pity for the good name of Liberalism that the Liberal Press should descend to the suppression of truth in regard to the career of Mr. Herbert Gladstone at

the Home Office. During the last week articles and speeches have been devoted to fulsome and flattering accounts of his successful efforts as a prison reformer. Not a word is uttered or written about the brutal and callous treatment of Suffragettes, for which posterity will remember and blush for him. The feelings of Mr. Gladstone when he reads these praises, clamant with their conscious suppressions, are certainly not to be envied. And even at this moment women are being forcibly fed in Holloway!

Evading the Pledge.

The commonest characteristic of Parliamentary candidates is the evasion of women's questions. This practice provides the latest example of the honourable traditions and usages of our masculinised public life. Every one of the old devices of the man eager for Westminster, and some new ones, are being employed to leave Votes for Women an indefinite issue. The purpose of this policy is understood on both sides—it provides the last avenue for betrayal without encountering the dangers of honest opposition. But we understand it too—and mean to defeat it.

Centres of Retrogression!

If one may judge by the present candidates for University seats our centres of learning are very much more retrogressive than the average Parliamentary constituency. The latest utterance of a University candidate is that of Sir Robert Finlay, who is seeking the suffrages of the graduates of Aberdeen and Edinburgh Universities. He declares that he deeply regrets the exclusion of women graduates from the franchise, but that he cannot do otherwise than oppose any measure that would enfranchise them, as any such measure would undoubtedly lead to wider extensions including less highly-qualified women. This is the kind of reasoning we are slowly being driven to connect with the British Universities. A candidate for a University, where ethics, philosophy, and logic are supposed to reach the flower of their growth, and where the principles which underlie our Constitution are expounded, might conceivably be expected by women to base his public utterances upon deep and sound foundations. But women are admittedly exacting. Men know that there is a great gulf fixed between the lecture-room and public life.

Hope for Montgomery Burghs.

Mr. J. D. Rees, the member for Montgomery Burghs, who made himself infamous by talking out the Women's Bill in 1906, has been found out by the local working men. At a recent meeting of the Labour forces in the division it was resolved that all Labour men should be advised to vote against him because of his bad record. One of the chief points in the indictment brought against him was his cowardly trickery in connection with the Votes for Women measure. We bow our thanks to the Montgomery working men. Our organisers are now amongst them, and we have good hopes of turning Mr. Rees' majority of 93 into a minority of 900. Who is ready to help with service or money?

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THE VALUE OF FORCE.

By JOSIAH OLDFIELD, M.A., D.C.L., M.R.C.P.S.E.

A machine in motion is more competent to effect its object than a machine at rest. This is a truism which needs no argument to prove. The machine in motion is valuable largely because of the force that is in it. The machine at rest, valuable equally though it may be to fulfil the object of its construction, is valueless without a motive power of force within it.

There are many forms of force, all of which have their function. This is an age in which the cruder forms are being replaced by subtler ones. The power of human arms and the thews and sinews which built the pyramids and erected the Coliseum at Rome are being replaced by the powers that are obtained from water and air and heat.

Wind and steam and gravitation are being yoked into the service of man, and are enabling him to do greater things than ever could have been accomplished before. But still new forces are being utilised, subtler and more powerful forces used for destruction, of which the engines of war are examples, and forces of construction, of which the electric powers and the etheric waves and the indestructible atoms in motion are but types of something still greater to be discovered.

Still further, and subtler still, come the mystic powers of mind over matter, and those strange powers which have been developed in the east rather than in the west, and which to-day are only beginning to be pioneered into.

How far, then, will force be of use in the great movement which is being developed to enable women to take their position as councillors of the nation.

For years and still longer years women have patiently waited. Here and there they have asked; when their request has been denied them they have again quietly waited; most of them have been content to wait even though they chafed under the recognition that what they asked for was right, and that the refusal was given because they were physically weaker than those from whom they asked.

Constant waiting with the mind set upon a fixed object always produces sooner or later the second phase of force—that is the mental force of endurance of pain, the willingness to suffer—and patience passed from the quiescent into the dynamic state—the state from which martyrs are made.

The history of the early Church points to exactly the same process. There were those who suffered in silence, and then later those into whom greater force had been imparted, and who intruded themselves into the arena of death, and became martyrs of voluntary choice.

But the Church did not progress wholly by means of the patience of her members or of the sufferings of her members. The time came that those were converted who wielded the sword, and then—on behalf of the gospel of peace—the bloodiest wars were fought, and armed power converted countries as it marched through them.

We can hardly conceive of the Western Church having made the progress it did had it not been that it utilised the armed forces of kings, and what is true of Christianity is perhaps equally true of the religion of Islam.

We in England to-day are apt to forget the enormous power of the Mohammedan religion in the world to-day, the enthusiasm of its followers, the capacity of its teachers, the devotion of its adherents, and the immense majesty of its effect upon the human race in certain ways. And this is largely due to its utilisation of the grosser powers of force which were the best it knew at the time it fought.

The fighting Christian laid down great laws of chivalry,

and it would be well to-day if the oath of the knight were as well kept in this age of peace as it was in the age of war.

In the same way Mohammedanism took the untrained forces of Nature—rude, barbarous, and brutal—and transformed them and trained them and utilised them to a higher end.

What has all this to do with the Women's Movement of to-day?

It teaches me, at any rate, this, that the time is coming, if it has not yet come, when women will not be satisfied and should not be satisfied with patience and suffering only.

Whatever may be said about the power of peace, it is none the less true that the English race has more affection for the muscular Christian and for the curate who converts a bully by knocking him out in three rounds than for the effeminate priest to whom ceremonial and millinery appeals so much.

To an observant world the Boers would never have been the brothers of the English race that they are now had they not fought so fair and square, and proved that they, too, knew the power that lies in force.

The Indian race asks with greater right for membership of the Empire, and asks in vain, because it is lacking in that stamina which is built up from living hardily and from bravely handling forces which bring death to those who handle them wrongly.

The Women's Movement will, in my opinion, gain nothing by puerile playing with petty forces. When force is grasped it must be utilised in a grand and forceful manner; it must command awe and not merely curiosity; it must provoke respect and not merely ridicule.

The sound of the armed camp cannot be imitated by fifth of November fireworks.

There is the force of patience which can wait. There is the force of suffering which can endure and can win by pity. There is the force of power, intellectual or physical, which can compel attention and respect, and there is the force which can produce fear and which can obtain what it demands from that part of the human race which is always willing to manifest cowardice in the presence of danger.

The Women's Movement has the same right to use force which the best men have used, but not the right to imitate the dynamitar or the footpad. And since great movements have been won by the right use of a right force by the greatest of men, so, too, may women follow in the same footsteps by using the greatest forces in a grand and noble manner to attain that which is admittedly just and right.

AT HASLEMERE.

There was a large attendance at a meeting held at Haslemere at which Mrs. Ennis Richmond presided and speeches were made by Mr. Kenneth Richmond, Mr. Kennedy, of the Men's League, and Miss Poyonien, a Finnish schoolmistress. Mr. Richmond said that the Government had deliberately persecuted women, and subjected them to brutalities, some of which he dared not put into words before that audience. It had been said that women need not suffer those things unless they chose. That was one of the strongest arguments in their favour. All real reformers suffered for their cause, and they suffered deliberately and with their eyes open. People might condemn the things those women were doing, but what they had done was nothing compared to what they had suffered. The speaker referred to the record of Parliament on this question since 1876, and said that as every right and reasonable way had been blocked something else had to be done.

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THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

The need for the carrying on of a special campaign in each of the constituencies on the list below is known to all our members, but this cannot be done effectively without special gifts both of personal service and of money. Those who cannot give large donations can have collecting cards from the Hon. Treasurer and so help to raise the necessary £5,000.

Members who can give time should write at once to Mrs. Billington-Greig, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow, stating times when free. There is also plenty of work at the offices for all volunteers.

Two hundred workers needed. Volunteer at once. £5,000 needed. Give your subscription now!

In Wales.

In response to the letters sent out to candidates asking for their views on Women's Suffrage, the following have sent favourable answers:—Captain Fossett Roberts (Conservative), Aberystwyth; Mervyn Peel, Esq. (Conservative), Carmarthen; Llewellyn Williams, Esq., M.P. (Liberal), Carmarthen Boroughs; Lord Ninian Stuart (Conservative), Cardiff; D. A. Thomas, Esq., M.P. (Liberal), Cardiff; W. Brace, Esq., M.P. (Labour), South Glamorgan; Lewis Morgan, Esq. (Conservative), South Glamorgan; and H. C. Vincent, Esq. (Conservative), Carnarvon Boroughs. We are starting at once, and anticipate an interesting campaign. The committee rooms which Miss Tillard has secured at 21, High Street, Carnarvon, will be opened on Monday next, when we shall be reinforced by Miss Upfill and Miss Lloyd. The latter name should be of great assistance. If someone rejoicing in the name of George would volunteer the association would be complete. We are grateful for the subscriptions already received, but we need more. Workers also are sorely needed, for we have a large area to cover—Bangor, Conway, Criccieth, Pwllheli, and other places. Polling day is not till January 22nd, so there is still time for volunteers. REMEMBER, WE ARE FIGHTING AGAINST THE CHANCELLOR OF THE EXCHEQUER! We must have workers and money.
 MURIEL MATTERS.

At Liverpool.

As far as Liverpool is concerned, the Women's Freedom League have decided to concentrate their energies on the Walton Division. Here we have a powerful foe in Mr. F. E. Smith, and we must strain every nerve to keep him out. It is the largest division in Liverpool, with nearly 15,000 voters, and the work to be done is gigantic. I make an urgent appeal to all sympathisers and members within reach to help. There is work for all. The Women's Freedom League must be made a powerful, living force in the division, and this cannot be done without a good staff of workers. Will any friends lend conveyances? I want anything that I can get, from a motor to a greengrocer's cart! Will anyone willing to help in any way kindly communicate with me at once?
 NELLIE M. SMITH.

In Dulwich.

Our shop at 33, Lordship Lane is open daily for meetings and sale of literature. In accordance with the second line of action in our General Election policy, opposition is being offered to our Conservative opponent, who is likely to be a member of the next Conservative Cabinet. At a meeting held in Penge, when Mr. Bonar Law was asked if he was in favour of Woman's Suffrage, he replied that he had always in theory been in favour of the franchise

for women. He had never seen any logical grounds for refusing it, but he was bound to say that on account of the action of a section of the Suffragettes he thought the matter was not within the range of practical politics now, and he could not object if any Government to which he belonged refused to bring in a Bill. While Mr. Bonar Law has no mention of Women's Suffrage in his election address, the Liberal candidate (Mr. Evan Cotton) has this significant passage: "I am a whole-hearted supporter of the policy of the Liberal Government as outlined by Mr. Asquith in his speech at the Albert Hall on December 10th, and if you should favour me with your confidence I shall use my best endeavours to assist the Liberal Government in carrying that policy into effect." Indoor and outdoor meetings are being held daily, also vigorous questioning of candidates at all meetings.
 M. MOORE.

In Manchester.

In Manchester unsatisfactory replies have been received from Mr. Hilaire Belloc (Liberal, South Salford), Mr. Arthur Colefax (Conservative, South-West Manchester), and Mr. Ian Malcolm (Conservative, North Salford), and a scouting campaign of propaganda and protest will therefore be carried on throughout these constituencies. As, however, Mr. Belloc's attitude is most uncompromising, committee rooms have been taken in South Salford, and the greater part of the work will be done in that district. The shop looks very bright and pretty with its window dressed in the colours and displaying large election posters, whilst there is room inside for a good display of pictures and even for small women's meetings.

Members and sympathisers are asked to call at No. 250, Chapel Street, opposite the Salford Town Hall (five minutes' car ride from Deansgate), and offer their services until and on polling day, Saturday, January 15th. Many of our most earnest workers, who are giving their holidays to the Cause, return to school duties on the 10th, and it is therefore between the 10th and 15th that helpers are most needed.

Everyone can share in the duties of shopkeeping, distributing leaflets, and generally making things easy and comfortable for the speakers, who have to bear the brunt of the campaign.

This week £5 has been received from Miss Fitzsimons for General Election purposes. Miss Manning has promised £5 if eleven others will give a similar sum. We need therefore ten other offers before the League can claim this promise.
 M. E. MANNING.

In Poplar.

The first street meetings of the Poplar fight were held by the Women's Freedom League on Saturday afternoon and evening. Although this part of the world has received very little attention hitherto from Suffragettes, our first meetings were models of interest, sympathy, and good behaviour. The people in Poplar seem to understand that rebellion is a duty to us, for when, in the course of one of the speeches, it was said that those who submit quietly to tyranny deserve tyranny and that only those who rebel against tyranny deserve freedom there was a chorus of "Hear, hear" and "Yes, that's true."

In spite of our good beginning we shall need to strain every nerve till January 18th, polling day, for Poplar is one of those few places which have always returned a Liberal member of Parliament.

Our shop, 144, East India Dock Road, is in a very good position, but it needs a keeper. Miss Henderson and I are the only regular workers: there must be a third, so that the shop may be kept open from 9.30 a.m. to 10 or 10.30 p.m. every day. Who will volunteer to take charge of the most attractive shop in Poplar? Workers who can give a few hours daily or weekly should please communicate with me as soon as possible, telling me what times they can devote to this campaign, so that arrangements may be made to utilise their service to the best advantage. Speakers, bill distributors, chalkers, literature sellers, stewards, shopkeepers, all are needed and will find work to do. Open-air meetings are being held daily in the streets leading off East India Dock Road and High Street.
 MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY, Organiser.

(Continued on page 130.)

MRS. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

By ETHEL HILL.

Mrs. Zangwill is a very picturesque speaker. Her words seem to come direct from her heart so impregnated are they with deep feeling. One is struck with the colour and grace of her imagery, and the wit and wisdom of her phrases. She is no near-sighted enthusiast, but a woman who looks clearly into the future and to the certain hope she sees there. She does not jump to the conclusion that woman suffrage spells "Earthly Paradise." "No," she says, "those who fear the boredom of perfection may reassure themselves. Looked at from the standpoint of days woman suffrage will make no difference. The vote is, after all, only the means, not the end. It is opportunity."

Woman, she asserts, is a moral force which, at present, cannot freely exert itself. The comparatively high level of feminine morality is well known. Criminal statistics show us that the proportion of criminals among women is considerably lower than among men. In the poorer classes no one can fail to have observed the different standard of unselfishness belonging to the mother and the father. But anyone who doubts the moral bent of women has only to attend first a male political meeting and then a woman suffrage meeting. Every male writer since Fielding and Richardson has commented on the superior morality of women.

Mrs. Zangwill, however, does not want to go as far as the male writer. She does not want to make any comparison between the morality of the two sexes. Both sexes are good and both are bad, only some forms of goodness are easier to men and some to women. But women being monsters and men angels would be the sole justification for denying all political power in the State to one sex and allocating it to the other. The opponents' argument is that although women are a moral force, this moral force must be confined to the service of the home. They say that it is impossible to combine the duty to the family with the duty to the State. But if this argument be true, does it not equally apply to men? Men also are interested in their children. The man's time is occupied in supporting the family, just as the woman's time is occupied in serving it. If a woman cannot be a citizen at the same time as she is a wife and mother, a man cannot be a citizen at the same time as he is a husband and father. The franchise must be limited to bachelors.

Mrs. Zangwill rightly thinks that everyone realises how absurd this would be. Indeed, instead of its being felt that a man cannot be a good citizen if he is a good husband and father, it is rather felt that a man cannot be a good citizen unless he is a good husband and father. The "living water" has with men always had a double outlet. It has been employed both in the service of the State and the service of the home; it is only woman's power for

righteousness that has been limited to one opening. It is not fully utilised. Mrs. Zangwill is an economical person. She cannot stand by and see this waste.

Mrs. Zangwill perceives that even the direct service in the home cannot be properly discharged without the suffrage. A mother's work does not only lie in the household details, but in the laws that govern these details. Every Bill touching children that is passed while women have no vote is a shirking of the mother's duties, an evasion of her responsibilities, a betrayal of the little lives entrusted to her care. But she goes a little further. Inasmuch as the children of to-day will be the men and women of to-morrow, every Act has to do with children. Even immediately every Act has to do with children, every Act has to do with women.

The line of improvement Mrs. Zangwill seems to think will be mainly moral when women have won their battle.

It will raise the position of men. It will enable many women to live purer lives. The moral altitude of women means men also on a loftier social height. The enfranchisement of women will also, in her opinion, be a step on the road to peace. Not that she thinks enfranchising Englishwomen will immediately reduce us to a half-power standard; the blue-water, or the blue-funk school can reassure itself. She is only referring to the time when the women in all civilised countries will have the vote.

The nations, as we know, are frenziedly bidding against each other for the commodity called safety. They do not obtain its possession by doing so; they merely run up the price. They run it up until the path to safety becomes the short cut to ruin. You remember the history books tell us that at the Battle of Agincourt the armour of the knights was so heavy that the faintest slip resulted in disaster. It is

the same with the nation's armour. We are fainting under its weight. If our defences are so oppressive as to kill us, it is little use their being impenetrable. Death is the same whether it comes in a centrifugal or centripetal fashion. She thinks when women have the vote they will realise this. They will realise that if every nation would agree to halve or to hundredth its army and navy estimates, the actual position would remain exactly the same. Universal woman suffrage will be an automatic striking off of the noughts at the end of each nation's armament bill.

Unless we are lying when we speak of the blessedness of the peacemakers, unless it is a solemn mockery when we say that in Christ's kingdom "they shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks," then we must welcome a measure that will bring nearer this millennium that will strengthen the peacemakers, "the Children of God."



MRS. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.
[Photo by Speaight, 157, New Bond-street, W.]

Next Week: OLIVE SCHREINER.

Author of "The Story of an African Farm."

GOSSIP.

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

W. B. YEATS.

A Concession.

It is with no little pleasure we note that the Royal College of Surgeons has decided to make some alterations in the regulations for the admission of women students to the College museum in order that they may have the same opportunity for the purpose of study as men. The puzzle is why they were ever excluded. It is safe to say that concessions of this kind would hardly be made even now if public attention and public interest were not constantly and consistently directed to the women's movement for equality in civil as well as political affairs.

A Woman's Question.

It is extremely interesting to follow the party election news just now and to notice the sudden importance of "the ladies." Women, we are told, would not have any time to vote if they paid proper attention to their homes. It does not follow that they would not have any time to canvass for votes, though the time taken in canvassing would appear to be considerably greater than that required to record a vote. At the present moment there are many foolish women speaking and working for brothers, husbands, and party leaders. Viscountess Galway, addressing a large meeting at Scarborough in favour of her son's candidature, remarked that many people thought that Tariff Reform was of interest to men rather than women. She assured them that there was no greater mistake, because it was the lady of the house who had to think about the price of bread and butter and the thousand and one things they all used in their daily lives. Her remarks were received with cheers by a Tariff Reform audience because they were what they wanted to hear. If put forward by a Suffragist they would have gone without reporting, and yet no better argument for the right of women to vote could be found. The whole economy of the State, whether one's views are those of Cobden or of Chamberlain, is a woman's question as much as, if not more than, it is a man's. Perhaps the education provided for politicians, voters, and others during the forthcoming General Election may drive this home.

Under Man-made Law.

From the columns of the police news in the daily papers the case of the married working woman, helpless and hopeless, continually rises and points its moral to the healthy, well-fed politicians with healthy, well-fed wives who speak of women as "the protected sex." On last Monday a young married woman named Amy Naulds, aged twenty-two, was charged at Canning Town with attempting to commit suicide on Christmas Eve. On the upper side of the lock entrance of the Victoria Docks near midnight a barge-searcher heard the splash of her fall and threw her a lifebelt, which she refused to clutch. And why? When she was forcibly rescued the poor wretch gave as her excuse for her act that she was tired of life. Her husband did no work and she had to go out and earn the money to keep them both. But even this did not satisfy him, and his habit was to take the money she had earned and get drunk on it. Coming back when the public-houses were closed he would amuse himself by abusing her and knocking her about. When the police went to make enquiries at the house they found him in a drunken stupor. From such a destiny the waters of the lock offered her her only release; and the man who rescued her—the irony of it!—was rewarded from the poor-box. Under kinder laws poor Naulds, a girl in years, might hope to be saved from having to endure such home conditions. Under the present legislation the drunken beast who has driven her to this terrible fate escapes scot-free, and can go on beating her and robbing her until some night she finds her way again to the water and escapes the kindly rescuer. The law that allows such things to be must be changed, and this can only be done when women have a voice in choosing the law-makers.

EZRA TWINKLE.

WILLIAM OWEN,

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 8, 1910.

THE GREAT CONSPIRACY.

The cycle of 1909 is completed, and a new year is upon us—the year 1910. It is opened in storm and stress. It is opened in the midst of the clamour of rival politicians, who tell us that it brings a time of crisis in the affairs of the nation. This is the usual story at a General Election, and like most politicians' stories, it is rarely true. But on this occasion we meet with an exception—the story is true, true in a way of which the politician would fain remain silent, true in a way that he does his best to hide.

We have made the dead year memorable by our deeds. We wish to make the new year more memorable. We have one great boon to ask of it, and only one—our political liberty. We hope that the veiled months of 1910 hold in their hands, hidden, but none the less sure, the victory for which we seek and suffer. The politician knows of our hope. He cannot hide from himself the signs of coming victory that mark the path. He knows that there is little hope for any further evasion, but he clings to the little hope there is and seeks to hide the truth from the world. He cherishes the fond hope that what cannot be avoided may perhaps be seriously postponed.

There can be no shadow of doubt but that the two great political parties have entered into a conspiracy, overt or covert, to mislead the electors and thus postpone Votes for Women. No public statement is required to prove this—though public statements have not been wanting—the parties must be judged by the attitudes of their leaders. This issue—the right of woman to share in the government of the country—is the most vital, the most urgent, of all living issues. This the politician knows as well as we do. He knows that if he admits our right to the vote he must in face of present conditions admit the urgent need—nay, the necessity—for immediate settlement. From the danger of this logical position he recoils. He will not commit himself. The only possible conclusion—the conclusion which our agitation has made inevitable—would drag from him the admission that women are entitled to be first enfranchised before any other issue involved in this election can be justly dealt with.

At one time the politician's promise to women meant nothing. Promises were cheap in those days, lightly given, easily obtained. But now a promise is a bond. It will have to be kept to the letter. It cannot be ignored or evaded. And the politician is correspondingly afraid of it, and he seeks every means of escape from its definite obligations. He will give vague words still if he is publicly challenged. He will refuse to tie himself down. He will take refuge in generalities and silence. He will shield himself behind a conveniently blind and deaf chairman. He will say that his convictions are well known. Anything but tie himself by a definite pledge to do a definite thing.

The rank and file politician is not acting in this way purely on his own initiative. The phenomenon of indefiniteness and evasion is too common just now for that. The last gathering of the forces for postponing Votes for Women is plainly organised. It has been dictated by a common recognition of the coming change and a common desire to escape it. Neither party wants to pay the price of enfranchising women if it can be avoided. Yet both parties desire to reap the benefit of it if it must come. An indefiniteness which can be translated into opposition or support as occasion demands is therefore the *via media*—the way of safety. It only remains for each side to ensure that the other party will not expose the game—and this has been ensured.

The party conferences have been held—not those of elected delegates from the scattered associations who meet yearly to pass more or less futile resolutions, but those of the string-pullers in either camp. Definite instructions have been sent out. And one order issued has been: "Do not commit yourself on the question of Women's Suffrage, either for or against, if you can possibly avoid it. We want to have a free hand." This has been done in private. And in public the leaders on either side have sounded the same call. They have issued the order to their supporters to turn a blind eye on the whole woman's movement. Each of them has carried his desire to check our progress and to prevent our success to the furthest possible point. It is plainly seen from the public utterances of both that, metaphorically speaking, they will yield only at the point of the sword.

The head of the Liberal Government has been driven grudgingly to admit that the issue is a relevant one. He willingly would, but he dare not, ignore the only live movement of this century. Instead of its rightful priority of all measures our claim is given a doubtfully indefinite position far behind all those that are embodied in his programme. Mr. Asquith now repeats his valueless "concession" of last year. The problematical possibility protected by a garrison of shuffling "ifs" is graciously trotted out again. This is the least the Liberal leader can do—and live, and he does this little evasively and grudgingly, in the typical Asquithian manner.

The leader of the Conservatives, acknowledged as a Woman Suffragist for forty years—when there was no danger of his support being practically tested—has now taken refuge in utter silence. He, too, refuses to commit his party or to commit himself. He, too, gives the grudging minimum exacted by our efforts and by our strength—a non-committal nothing—which remains nothing or becomes everything. For while ignoring us in word and giving us no pledge or promise, Mr. Balfour wisely leaves the way open for a politic declaration of support when it becomes imperatively necessary. His silence does not commit him for or against. It leaves him free to sell us if he can and to yield to us if he must.

From these facts we draw one conclusion—that our vigorous questioning campaign is going to be one of the most important parts of our work during the General Election. We have before us the task of breaking through the line of this conspiracy. We have before us the task of making every candidate declare himself in a definite way. Every candidate must be questioned at every meeting. Courteously and firmly he must be made to repeat his declaration whenever he speaks if he is a professed friend. If he is an enemy he must be harried, heckled, and exposed every time he addresses the electors. The indefinite man—and every second candidate will be found to seek refuge in indefiniteness—must be driven by the process of exhaustion to show his intentions. This series of questions must be submitted publicly to the candidate at meeting after meeting until, from the series of replies, he is seen to be committed to a definite position. Then this position must be made clear to the electors.

Every branch is not lucky enough to have a special campaign at its door. But every branch, and every individual member lives in a division and has other divisions close at hand. There are political meetings every night. There are candidates to question every night. Every member of the Women's Freedom League who is not engaged in fighting a special enemy of Cabinet rank should pledge herself to question six candidates every week from now until the election is over.

This work is easy enough for every member. It is simple and effective and educative, as well as politically important. It cannot be overdone. Get every member and friend, man and woman, to share in it. Combine it with the sale of THE VOTE and the distribution of election literature. Hold protest and explanatory meetings outside the halls after the questioning if this is possible. But first and last and always drive the question home and tie the candidate to a definite position. In this way can the great conspiracy be circumvented.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

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.

I. TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION IS TYRANNY.

If sex is not regarded as a bar to the payment of taxes, sex ought not to be regarded as a bar to the exercise of such privileges as accrue from the payment of taxes.

Taxation without representation when it touches the earnings of the woman worker, as the income-tax does, is peculiarly intolerable. Indirect taxation, inasmuch as it is silent and insidious, reaching at the woman in her household affairs and in the necessities of her daily life, is iniquitous; but direct taxation, in the form of income-tax, is more, it is impudent. By means of it the woman worker who by her own exertions, her own industry, and her own ambition has succeeded, in spite of male competition and the fact that in almost every walk of life a woman is paid less than a man, in earning above £160 is taxed equally with her male competitor without being allotted the political exchange value of the tax—the acknowledged receipt—a vote. From the very fact that in every trade and profession women are underpaid, the tax is really at a higher rate in the case of a woman than of a man. For her income has been taxed by her employer on account of her sex before she has received it, and it is taxed again by the State regardless of this fact after it has reached her. Such taxation without representation is one of the worst forms of tyranny. It is open and impudent robbery.

"The reasons why women desire the Parliamentary franchise are many. Perhaps the most important of these is the fact that the laws made by men for women never have been just in any country or at any time; and, notwithstanding some legislative improvements in recent years, there are in existence to-day many laws both oppressive and unfair to women. Hardly an Act passes but has some direct or reflex action upon the lives of women which men are never very quick to see."

LADY MCLAREN.

"If no one could vote for a Member of Parliament who was not fit to be a candidate, the government would be a narrow oligarchy indeed. To have a voice in choosing those by whom one is to be governed is a means of self-protection due to everyone, though he were to remain for ever excluded from the function of governing."

JOHN STUART MILL.

"If they (the women) are refused it (the vote), the nation will no doubt be formally, and in the light of day, committing itself, through its judicial tribunal to the dangerous doctrine that representation need not go along with taxation."

The Times, November 3rd, 1868.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The Editor of THE VOTE wishes to thank numerous friends for kind wishes for the success of the paper in the New Year, and more especially for promises of help in sales.

"GENERAL" ELECTION.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

DEAR MADAM,—On the principle of the splendid protest made at Mrs. Billington-Greig's instance by the Women's Freedom League during the Bermondsey election, for the heroic carrying out of which these brave women, Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans, are being tortured in Holloway Gaol, I suggest that with a view to the more widespread education of the people on this cruelly urgent question of justice for women, suffrage societies and individual suffragists should exhibit, or cause to be exhibited throughout their respective districts, posters bearing the words:

"WOMEN NOT VOTING:

ELECTIONS INVALID."

I am, yours faithfully,

A. D. MACPHERSON.

New Year, 1910.

Stock-Taking Sale Now On.

Tailor Shirt



(as sketch) in good quality chiffon Taffeta, in Ivory, Pink, Sky, Rose du Barri, Saxe, Mauve, Tabac, Green, Brown, Navy, and Black, &c., &c.

Stocked in 3 Sizes: 13½, 13, 14½

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Famous for over a Century for Taste, for Quality, for Value.

NO MORE BLOODSHED!!

You simply must remove all that Superfluous Skin that accumulates round the base of the finger nails.

You do it now with a Pocket Knife, Scissors, "Cuticle" Knife, or some other barbarous Instrument of Torture!

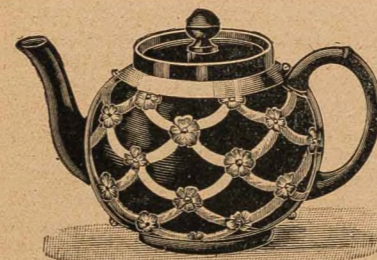
It is time you knew that

Llewellyns' Cuticle Fluid

Instantaneously removes all superfluous cuticle bordering the finger-nails, and without any necessity of Knife-ing or Soaking. It makes soft and pliable the finger tips, and is an infallible antidote for gouty nails.

Sold everywhere, 1/3 per Bottle, or direct from LLEWELLYNS' (DEPT. 9), 112, New Oxford St., W.C.

Mention Department to avoid delay.



As supplied to H.M. the Queen.
WRIGHT'S PATENT (No. 28,295).
 A NOVELTY FOR NEW YEAR, WEDDING and BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

The brown earthenware tea-pot is the recognised best tea-maker. WRIGHT'S PATENT is a perforated Silver Casement, beautifully designed, made in two parts, which fits the brown tea-pot, and is fixed by four screws.
 Address: "WRIGHT'S PATENT," Old Bond Street (Corner of Piccadilly).
 Over Stewart's Tea Rooms. Telegrams: "Rightistic, London." Phone: 1135 Gerrard.

SEEING THE NEW YEAR IN.

Outside Holloway Prison, its grey walls borrowing a certain dignity from the cold moon, we saw the Old Year out and the New Year in. From many quarters of London we came, some of us drawn from cheerful firesides and some of us from cheerless ones, and we gathered together at the chill hour when one day breaks company with the next. We came not because night-wandering when the streets are damp and the wind is cold is either healthy or attractive, but because within these walls are imprisoned two of us—two women, one young and one in middle life—who represent all that our movement means. Behind that ill-looking pile they, too, were watching the New Year in, one with the feelings of youth to a new twelve-month, hoping much from it; the other with the experience of a longer life, perhaps dreading it a little and praying from it a great deal. To give heart to them, to let them know that not for a day, an hour, a moment were they forgotten, we came north on Friday night, and held our meetings under the shadow of Holloway.

The pavements had been chalked to tell of our coming. Early in the evening Miss Muriel Matters held the first meeting, and made a stirring speech explaining the reasons of our warfare and the manner of men on whom we made war. Then when it was nearing midnight we met again near Caledonian Road, bringing with us the prisoners' banners, and marched in what order we could to Holloway, where from a platform consisting of a cart at rest some of us and some of the Men's League spoke to the crowd which had collected. Mrs. Hyde likened the men and women workers of the country to a great army going to war for the necessities of life. In war it was not usual to supply one half the soldiers with weapons and let the others win as best they could. Yet this was the strange tactics of the Government, who gave the great weapon of enfranchisement to men, but denied it to the women.

Mr. Manson, of the Men's League, speaking as a former Liberal, said that they had recently been celebrating the centenary of the great Liberal statesman Gladstone, under whose ægis the English Government had helped Italy, Greece, Bulgaria, and every other country whose liberty was in danger. But these lovers of liberty forgot that in their own country the majority of the nation was not free, since to the men alone had the fruit of liberty, the vote, been given. The two women who were in prison near them that night were perhaps more than other women peaceful and law-abiding, but loving liberty were forced to take militant action to secure it for all women. That his words made a profound impression was evident from the quietness of the crowd whilst he spoke, and the willingness with which a loud cheer for Alison Neilans and Mrs. Chapin was raised. And having sung "Auld Lang Syne" we went our several ways homeward.

We had nothing to pledge the New Year with save the wine of Life and Hope; but with all our hearts we drank from the invisible cup asking from 1910 all that 1909 has denied us.

E. T.



TYPES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

(Dedicated to the A.S.S.)

No. 6.—THE LADY WHO THINKS THAT "TEARS AND SMILES AND PRETTY WILES" ARE BETTER WEAPONS THAN VOTES."

every Women's Suffrage society, constitutional or militant, throughout the country." She further remarks that "the experience of the past shows that when legislation for the enfranchisement of both men and women is proposed the claims of the women are apt to be dropped and the men alone enfranchised."

Of the Suffragettes, as distinguished from the Suffragists, she says of the militant tactics that it is her firm conviction that more people have been drawn into the movement by them than have been driven out;

"Moreover, an immense advantage has been given to the 'Suffragettes' by the ill-advised action of the authorities—and this advantage may very possibly become yet greater. If a woman, after being forcibly fed, were to die either in prison or shortly after being discharged an outburst of popular feeling would almost certainly follow, which might well be strong enough to sweep away any possible Liberal majority at the approaching election."

The other articles in this admirably edited magazine cover a wide field of economic and social interest to women.

REVIEW.

THE ENGLISHWOMAN. IS. net (Grant Richards).

Miss Clementina Black contributes to the New Year number of *The Englishwoman* an article entitled "The Year's Progress in the Woman's Suffrage Movement," in which she draws up mentally a balance-sheet of profit and loss to the account of "the cause." On the credit side she, writing as a "constitutional Suffragist," places the interest attracted by the meeting in London of the International Women's Suffrage Congress and the lantern procession and Pageant of Women's Trades. "On the credit side, too, of the account," she says—

"must also be set down the activity of the Anti-Suffrage League. Personally, I am sometimes inclined to doubt whether any propaganda carried on by convinced defenders of Women's Suffrage brings over so many adherents as does the adverse propaganda of our professed opponents. It has helped immensely in breaking up the great mass of the indifferent. Some of these, already mildly inclined towards the suffrage, have been transformed by indignation into warm supporters, while others, mildly averse, who could not have been drawn to a Suffrage meeting, have gone willingly to Anti-Suffrage meetings and, listening attentively to the arguments there offered to them, have seen their singular hollowness, proceeded to think out the matter for themselves, and eventually joined a Suffrage society. The extreme violence and rudeness of speech, also, which a few leading members of the Anti-Suffrage League have permitted themselves repeatedly to employ in public alienate on every occasion a certain proportion of their hearers, and some of the number come over, by way of protest, into our own camp."

The formation of the People's Suffrage Federation she regards as one of the most disastrous events of the year from the point of view of Woman's Suffrage. "The fate of Mr. Howard's Bill," she says, "which obtained only a majority of 35, as against one of 179 obtained by Mr. Stanger's so-called limited Bill in the previous year, confirmed in a singularly emphatic manner the opinion of the National Union—an opinion, it may be noted, which is that of

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Head Offices: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. JULIA WOOD.

Office Secretary: MISS KIRBY.

Organisers: MISS ANNA MUNRO, MISS OLIVE ROBERTSON.

Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

GLASGOW.—The Suffrage Festival on Monday and Tuesday was very successful. All visitors were charmed with our new premises, and many gave in their names as members. On Monday afternoon Mrs. Wilson announced that she had pleasure in intimating that a cheque for £50 had been received for election work in Scotland, and urged all to send in their contributions at once. All money intended for Glasgow and district should be so marked and sent to Miss Kirby (all money not so marked being used for the campaigns in the Cabinet Ministers' districts). Members are again requested to do all they can that something effective may be done in Glasgow. Already our members have been questioning the candidates, and in some cases it has been reported in the papers they have had very good receptions on the whole, the audience as a rule being very friendly in their attitude towards them. We are evidently gaining ground with the general public, and if only all our members would work with the same energy and enthusiasm we should soon convert those candidates who are at present against us.

DUNDEE BRANCH.—This past week no meeting was held, but the shop has been continuously open in the evenings. The Men's League for Women Suffrage had an open meeting on Tuesday, 28th inst., when Mr. Brand gave a paper on "Should Women be Enfranchised?" The paper was affirmative, and so were the audience, and no "anti" arose to disturb the harmony of the proceedings. The speaker was cordially thanked for his address. The Chairman outlined the policy of the Men's League which they are to pursue the next two weeks.

J. A. SMART.

SPRINGBURN.—The Springburn Branch held their second meeting on Thursday, 23rd ult., in the Reid Hall. Miss Olive Robertson gave a very interesting address, which was much appreciated by all. We formally appointed Mrs. Johnstone, Ruskin Square, Bishopbriggs, as our Literature Secretary, and we feel sure that this branch will be a very successful one.

CECILIA OSWALD BOUSIE, Hon. Sec.

BRANCH NOTES.

** In future all "Branch Notes" should be sent here to the Office of THE VOTE, 148, Holborn Bars, addressed to the Editor, arriving not later than first post Monday morning. They are inserted free of charge.

Ipswich.—We are opening an active campaign in Ipswich during the General Election to protest against such an election taking place without women having a voice in it. Our headquarters are at 13, Friars Street, and we shall be glad of all the help possible. Volunteers for selling THE VOTE and taking round the Election Leaflets are needed at once.

C. E. ANDREWS.

Willesden and Maida Vale.—Many social and business meetings have been held during the past quarter in Maida Vale, Willesden Green, and Kensal Rise. Arrangements are being made for a central committee room during the General Election in the Paddington constituency. As halls of any kind are few and far between, the committee would be pleased to hear from anyone willing to lend a room occasionally for branch meetings, either in the afternoon or evening. Miss Bessie Hatton has kindly volunteered for January, and is lending her flat on Monday, January 10th, at 8 p.m.

THE MOTHER.

"I am the pillars of the house—
The keystone of the arch am I.
Take me away, and roof and wall
Would fall to ruin utterly."

KATHARINE TYNAN in *The Englishwoman*.

Spiers & Pond's
STORES
QUEEN VICTORIA ST.
LONDON, E. C.

GREAT WINTER SALE
From January 3rd to 15th inclusive.
250 PARCELS OF REAL WITNEY BLANKETS

All White
Blankets with
Blue
Headings.

WEAR
GUARANTEED.

Sale Price,
20/-
complete.
Carriage Paid in the
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Comprising:—2 Large Blankets, fine make, light and warm; size about 86 in. by 74 in.; weight, per pair, 9½ lb. 2 Single Bed Blankets of similar quality; size about 75 in. by 54 in.; weight, per pair, 5 lb. 1 Small Single Bed Blanket, reliable quality; size about 70 in. by 45 in.; weight 2 lb. Complete Sale Catalogue sent free on request. Please mention THE VOTE when writing.

WOMAN.

Teeth may not make a woman, but they go a long way towards it. It gives you the right appearance. We are in business to make woman equal as far as their teeth are concerned. Good or poor teeth can make or mar your appearance. Favour us with a visit; we can fit you with any shape or colour of teeth you desire.

Sets of Teeth £1, £2, £3, £5.
Single Teeth 2/6, 5/-, 7/6 each.

Extractions free for those ordering teeth.
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The old established firm in Strand since 1870.
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Manufacturers of Artificial Teeth,
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By the
**ARMY & NAVY CLEANING AND GENERAL
INDUSTRIES CO., LTD.**
They Do Them Well.

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

"It seems a strange anomaly that 215,300 women have been enrolled by the various political organisations to canvass and bring voters to the poll, and yet that they should not be considered capable of recording their judgments by means of the Parliamentary vote."—*Conservative Women's Franchise Review*.

GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 123.)

In East Fife.

The shop in Ladybank is again open as the centre for our campaign against Mr. Asquith. Much interest is evinced, and many visitors come in to pay tribute to the work done and the splendid speeches delivered during the year from many of our Scottish and English workers. Meetings are being held in the surrounding villages, but in Ladybank, Leven, and the larger villages we are working up our opening demonstrations next week. Wherever we go good audiences await us, and nearly everyone we come in contact with wishes us success. But to really accomplish our object, to strike home the hardest blow to our enemy, we want more workers and more money, so that on January 25th Mr. Asquith is at the bottom of the poll.

ANNA MUNRO.

OPPOSITION CAMPAIGNS.

	Organiser in Charge	
Battersea	Mr. John Burns	Mrs. Hicks
Poplar	Mr. Sydney Buxton	Miss Sidley
Cleveland	Mr. H. Samuel	Miss Leyson
Liverpool (Walton)	Mr. F. E. Smith	Miss N. Smith
Worcestershire, East	Mr. Austen Chamberlain	Mrs. Manson (at Redditch)
Dundee	Mr. Winston Churchill	Miss Schofield
East Fife	Mr. H. H. Asquith	Miss Munro
Carnarvon	Mr. D. Lloyd George	Miss Matters
Glamorgan (Mid.)	Sir S. Evans	Mrs. Cleeves
Monmouth (North)	Mr. R. McKenna	Miss Bremner
Montgomery Boroughs	Mr. J. D. Rees	Miss Hicks

Helpers are urgently needed at all the centres.
BATTERSEA.—Committee Room, Newland Terrace, 169, Queen's Road (Lavender Hill tramcar from Charing Cross). Shop, 395, Battersea Park Road (Clapham Junction tramcar from Charing Cross).

CARNARVON.—Committee Rooms, 21, High Street.

DUNDEE.—52, King Street.

EAST FIFE.—W.F.L. Shop, Ladybank.

EAST WORCESTERSHIRE.—Wyres Works, Alchester Street, Redditch.

POPLAR.—Committee Rooms, 144, East India Dock Road.

WALTON (Liverpool).—205, Rice Lane.

OTHER SPECIAL CENTRES.

CLEVELAND.—5, Victoria Terrace, Coatham Road, Redcar.

DULWICH (Camberwell).—33, Lordship Lane. Mrs. Margaret Moore.

GLASGOW.—302, Sauchiehall Street. Miss Edith Kirby.

HACKNEY.—4, Clarence Road, Lower Clapton Road.

LONDON.—Head Office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi. Mrs. Borrmann Wells.

MANCHESTER.—Miss Manning, 259, Chapel Street, Salford.

MONMOUTH (Pontypool).—The Arcade, Osborne Road.

All workers in these districts should get into immediate touch with the organisers in charge and offer their services for meetings, questioning, clerical and Press work, selling and distributing literature, collecting, chalking, &c.

EVERY MEMBER NEEDED. VOLUNTEER AT ONCE. Every penny needed. Collect or subscribe your share to the funds.

QUESTIONS FOR CANDIDATES.

1. Are you a supporter of women's claim to the Parliamentary vote on the same terms as it is, or may be, given to men?
2. If you do not support an equal franchise, on what terms do you support votes for women?
3. Will you put votes for women in your election address?
4. Will you mention votes for women in your election speeches?
5. Will you pledge yourself, if elected, to vote for any measure of women's suffrage introduced in the House of Commons, irrespective of party convenience?
6. If you will not support any measure, for what

measure of women's suffrage will you pledge yourself to vote?

7. If women's suffrage is not in the King's Speech, will you pledge yourself to move, second, or support an amendment to the Address?

8. Will you pledge yourself to withdraw your support from the Government if your party is returned to power unless it pledges itself to give votes to women before the second session of the new Parliament?

9. Will you pledge yourself to oppose any further extensions of the franchise to men unless women are included in them?

Add to these also questions based on the present position, on the professed appeal to the "people," on the unrepresentative nature of the House of Commons, on the duty of consulting women about the Budget, Tariff Reform, Poor Law reform, &c. The questioning campaign has already been opened in about one hundred constituencies. It must be kept up and reinforced. Every member can do this work. It is her duty to do it now.

CASH RECEIVED, DEC. 18th—31st.

Amount previously acknowledged		£ s. d.	Schofield, per Miss:—		£ s. d.
5,707	9	10	Casper, Mrs., 2s.		
0	10	0	Coates, Hansen,		
0	5	0	Mrs., 2s. 6d.; Clark,		
5	0	0	Miss, 16s.; Malony,		
			Miss L., 12s. 6d.;		
2	10	0	Coates, Esq., C.,		
0	5	0	8s.; collections, etc.,		
2	0	0	£16 13s. 4d.	18	14
0	3	2	Manning, per Miss:—		
			Dodge, Mr. T. £1;		
			collections, ... 2 17 10	3	17
			South Manchester		
			Branch	5	4
			McCallum, Mr. and		
			Mrs.	2	10
			Irish Women's Franchise		
			League (Mrs. Despard's lecture		
			fee)	2	2
			How Martyn, Mr. and		
			Mrs.	2	0
			How, Miss L.	3	0
			Winterne, Mrs. A.	1	10
			Meeson Coates, Mrs.	0	5
			Billington Greig, per		
			Stall	3	0
			Mrs.—Allan, Miss,		
			£50; Jacobs, Mrs. 8s.	50	8
			Woking Branch	2	7
			Hampstead Branch	2	10
			Spencer, Miss B.	0	10
			Literature Dept.	3	15
			Benet, Miss S.	1	7
			Anonymous	2	0
			Bromley Branch	2	0
			Kenyon, Mrs. M.	0	2
			Lawrence, Miss M.	0	10
			Tickets	48	3
			Collections, Sundry	0	10
			Refreshments (Albert		
			Hall)	34	13
			Branch Affiliation		
			Fees, etc.	0	10
			Sundries (goods sold,		
			etc.)	4	14
			Programmes	0	4
			Total	£6,054	11
				11	0

Mrs. Borrmann Wells calls attention to the fact that the clear profit on sale of tickets for Albert Hall (exclusive of theatre), after defraying all expenses, was £85.

"AND SO SAY ALL OF US."

"The year 1909 ends at a moment of intense hope and expectation. The long years of steady preparation, the sharp and painful shock of rebellion, the tremendous vivification of the desire for liberty and responsibility among women, the swelling of the ranks of Suffragists to numbers never reached before, the thousands of meetings, the tens of thousands of pounds lavished on the work have brought us to a point where we see fruition, and we wish from our hearts that it might be attained without anything occurring which can turn the fruit to dead sea apples."—*The Common Cause.*

SUFFRAGE SHEARINGS.

Advice.

In a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on 28th Dec., "E. L." wrote:—"I confess I think the women's claim to be accorded the vote a reasonable and a just one. The important point to consider is from what party they are likely to get it."

That "the women" have a friend in Mr. Balfour was shown as far back as 1893, when (on the 3rd of June) he wrote: "I have always been in favour of conferring the vote upon women householders, and have more than once given my vote and spoken in the House of Commons in support of that view." Should not, therefore, the claimants, "militant" and others, exert their immense influence at the coming election in the endeavour to send the Conservatives to Westminster with a good working majority? As long as sixteen years ago Mr. Balfour proclaimed his readiness to give the half-loaf, which is proverbially "better than no bread." When he is again in power,—as he probably will be in January-February—the ladies may reasonably ask him to "go one better" and give them the other half. "Galant homme" that he is, he would at least listen sympathetically to their plaint, more especially if the indomitable "lady of the cheque" were to address him as she addressed the thousands at the Albert Hall on the 11th of the month!—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

A "Gentleman's" Billingsgate.

Mr. Carl Henschel suggested that Mr. Balfour might be permitted to give a pledge "on behalf of his party to introduce a Bill for the enfranchisement of women." The suggestion drew the following mild and temperate remonstrance from Mr. Alfred E. T. Watson, a member of the Junior Carlton Club, who finds an excuse for vulgarities, venom, virulence, and feebleness on the part of the Liberals if they can only keep the women from obtaining enfranchisement. The italics are ours.

The vulgarities of Mr. Lloyd George, the venom and virulence of Mr. Winston Churchill, the feebleness of those members of the Ministry who were supposed to be moderate men, have, there is happily good reason to believe, utterly disgusted the country. The one thing to be said in favour of the Government is that it has behaved with a certain amount of courage in declining to be influenced by the hooliganism of the women whose patronage Mr. Henschel seeks.—*The Daily Mail.*

A "Canny" Politician.

The Master of Elibank, Liberal candidate for Mid Lothian, addressing his constituents, said that he would keep an open mind on women's franchise.

At Davidson's Mains, in reply to a question as to his views on the women's suffrage question, the speaker referred to the position of the Prime Minister on the subject. Personally he thought that, logically, it was a very difficult question to reply to. He was inclined to see that the women had the suffrage. (Applause.) The position he was going to take up was that, as there was to be a free vote on a free occasion in the House of Commons, he should wait and see the nature of the amendment to be moved. He would abide by the vote he then cast.—*Edinburgh Evening Dispatch.*

Anomalies of the Register.

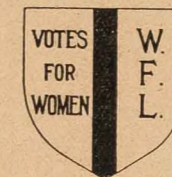
The italics in the following are ours:—

The question whether women whose names have inadvertently been placed on the register of Parliamentary voters will be allowed to vote is likely, in the course of the next few weeks, to provoke a good deal of controversy. One lady whose name accidentally appears on the register for Norwich has already declared her intention of voting, but it would seem, from a statement made to-day by Mr. W. Hayes, that the point is a moot one. Mr. Hayes, who is acting returning officer for the city at all elections, and returning officer for Southwark, where there are three divisions, said: "Although a woman's name may appear by mistake upon a Parliamentary register, in my opinion the mere fact of her name appearing there does not justify the presiding officer at the station in giving her a voting paper. It is no doubt true that the register is conclusive in cases where a man's name is on by mistake, but which ought not to be, owing to insufficient qualification. Again, a case might arise where the name had been struck off by the revising barrister, but by a clerical error it had been put on the register. In such a case as that the register would be conclusive, and the man would be entitled to vote. In the case of women, however, there is an inherent incapacity to vote at all, and under no circumstances could she be qualified. The register, therefore, in the case of a woman is not conclusive."—*Liverpool Daily Courier.*

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

Thurs., Jan. 6th	Caxton Hall, Westminster:	Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn, 3 p.m.
Thurs., Jan. 6th	Battersea Public Library:	Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Hicks, 7.30 p.m.
Fri., Jan. 7th	Battersea Town Hall:	Miss Benett and Miss Roff, 7.30 p.m.
Sat., Jan. 8th	1, Robert Street, Adelphi:	National Executive Committee.
Sat., Jan. 8th	Battersea Public Library:	Mrs. Despard, 7.30 p.m.
Sun., Jan. 9th	Clapham Common:	Miss Nevinson and Miss Underwood, 3.30 p.m.
Mon., Jan. 10th	15, Sandringham Court, Maida Vale, W.:	Meeting, 8 p.m.
Mon., Jan. 10th	Latchmere Public Baths, Battersea:	Mrs. How Martyn, 7.30 p.m.
Tues., Jan. 11th	Poplar Town Hall:	Joseph Clayton, Mrs. Sproson, and Miss Sidley, 8 p.m.
Wed., Jan. 12th	Battersea Public Library:	Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Sproson, 3.30 p.m.
Wed., Jan. 12th	Gospel Hall, Upper Park Road, Hampstead:	Mrs. H. W. Nevinson; Chairman, Mr. Thorpe, 8 p.m.
Thurs., Jan. 13th	Caxton Hall, Westminster:	"At Home," 3 p.m.
Fri., Jan. 14th	Poplar:	Mrs. Nevinson, Miss Sidley, 8 p.m.
Fri., Jan. 14th	Battersea Public Library:	Mrs. Holmes, 7.30 p.m.
Sat., Jan. 15th	Battersea Public Library:	Mrs. Sproson, 7.30 p.m.
Sat., Jan. 29th	Caxton Hall:	Annual Conference.
Sun., Jan. 30th	Small Queen's Hall:	3 p.m.
Mon., Jan. 31st	National Executive Committee, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi.	
Tues., Feb. 1st	Release of Miss Neilans, Holloway Prison:	8 a.m.
Tues., Feb. 1st	Caxton Hall:	Reception to Miss Neilans, Tickets 1s.
Thurs., Feb. 24th	Release of Mrs. Chapin, Holloway Prison:	8 a.m.

General Election Meetings Daily in Poplar, Dulwich, and Battersea.

THE PROVINCES.

Jan. 9th.	Manchester, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 10th.	Manchester, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 11th.	Eastwood, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 12th.	Sheffield, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 13th.	Cleveland, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 14th.	Cleveland, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 15th.	Liverpool, Mrs. Despard.

General Election Meetings Daily at all the Special Centres.

SCOTLAND.

Tues., Jan. 11th	Café Vegetaria, Edinburgh, "At Home."
Fri., Jan. 14th	Dundee Branch "At Home" to Mrs. Billington-Greig.

General Election Meetings Daily at all the Special Centres.

WALES.

Jan. 12th.	Wicklow Hall, Bangor, Miss Muriel Matters, 8 p.m.
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General Election Meetings Daily in Carnarvon, Montgomery, Mid-Glamorgan, and North Monmouth.

AT HOMES.

The opening "At Home" is being held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, January 6th, and it is hoped that there will be a very large attendance. Mrs. Despard has promised to speak on the "Hope and Promise of the Women's Freedom League," and everyone who cares for the Cause will be anxious to hear our President's New Year message.

On Thursday, January 13th, we shall have addresses by Dr. Thornett on "Women" and by Dr. C. W. Saleeby on "Motherhood and the Vote," and the meeting is sure to be crowded, both speakers being so well known and popular. Members are urged to bring their friends, and special invitation cards will be sent for distribution if desired.

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

The Church League for Woman Suffrage.

The first general meeting will be held on Tuesday, January 11th, at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, at 8 p.m. The chief business upon the agenda is the passing of the constitution and rules, and arrangements for regular meetings, "at homes," and conferences. Suffragists who intend to join the League are asked to be present at the meeting. The first conference will be on "Co-education in relation to Women's Suffrage," the subject to be introduced by Mrs. Ennis Richmond, of West Heath School, Hampstead. Meetings are now being arranged in Hendon, N.W., and Roehampton Vale, Surrey.—Hon. Organiser, Rev. C. Hinscliff, 11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park, N.W.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The only purely Suffragist candidate at the General Election is a member of the League, Mr. A. K. Bulley, who is opposing Mr. Lewis Harcourt in Rossendale (North-East Lancs.). He is supported by the Lancashire and Cheshire Women's Textile Association. His first meeting was held at Bacup on December 21st, when he was supported by Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell. About fifteen other members of the League are contesting seats. The joint honorary treasurer, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, in his address to the Haggerston electors, has put his views on Women's Suffrage very emphatically. The chief work during the past week has been the receiving and classifying of replies from parliamentary candidates. So far some two hundred and fifty replies have reached the League, and it is at least satisfactory to find that a considerable number of candidates have given a prominent place in their addresses to Women's Suffrage. Whereas in 1906 candidates undoubtedly mentioned Women's Suffrage as a non-controversial makeweight, they are now doing so with the definite knowledge that electors expect a pronouncement on the subject. They are also giving the cause a free advertisement, which is valuable in these days of financial strain. The chief event in the future is the Queen's Hall Demonstration on February 22nd. Among the speakers will probably be the Earl of Lytton and Mr. George Elliott, K.C., Unionist candidate for South Bedfordshire. The League has prepared an election leaflet (3s. per 1,000), and also a card warning canvassers that it is useless to call till their parties have put Women's Suffrage on their programmes. These cards (which can be used as postcards or fastened on doors) are obtainable at five a rd., or 100 for 1s. 3d.—40, Museum Street.

Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society.

The following resolution was carried unanimously in committee at the Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society on December 4th, and approved at a public meeting of the society on December 16th:—"The Committee of the Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society, in view of the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the attitude of both political parties on the question of Women's Suffrage, and recognising that any pledge given by a private member is of no value, have unanimously resolved to give no further aid to their respective organisations until such time as the leaders of their respective parties shall have given a public pledge to further the enfranchisement of women as demanded by the Suffrage societies. They recommend all party women who are Suffragists to support them in this attitude."—Proposed Miss Flear (Liberal), seconded Miss Roe (Conservative). As the committee includes several ardent workers in both Conservative and Liberal ranks, the withdrawal of these ladies from active work is having the desired effect of causing much heart-searching in their respective party organisations. Although not binding on the members, the resolution has been enthusiastically accepted as an election policy by the majority of the members of the Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society.—Hon. Secretary, Cicely L. Block.

N.W.S.P.U.

All over the country committee rooms have been taken, and dozens of street meetings are held daily, while several times during the week indoor meetings are held in large halls, and are invariably crowded. House-to-house canvassing has also been very encouraging. Active militant action, however, still continues. One event of the past week which has filled everyone with horror is the treatment of two women prisoners at Liverpool. They had been arrested for a protest in connection with Mr. Asquith's visit, and while still under remand, and therefore technically innocent, they were treated with the utmost brutality—pummelled by wardresses, handcuffed, frog-marched, and forcibly fed, and on Monday of last week they received sentences respectively of one month and three months' hard labour. Among more important forthcoming meetings are those in Battersea on January 10th, when Miss Pankhurst will speak, and the same date at Manchester, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Miss Pankhurst is also holding a meeting at Kensal Rise on the 11th and at Notting Hill Gate on the 12th, while Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak at Nottingham on the 11th, at Bradford on the 12th, and at Liverpool on the 13th.

Suffrage Atelier.

Until the General Election is over the Suffrage Atelier has decided to concentrate its attention on designing and printing

pictorial work (posters, cartoons, etc.), and to discontinue the meetings and demonstrations connected with its other work. The cartoon club meetings will be held, as usual, at Edwardes Square, on Wednesday afternoons, at 2.45. Any alterations will be notified.—Suffrage Atelier Studio, 1, Pembroke Cottages, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.

THE SUFFRAGE IN OTHER LANDS.**Denmark.**

These matters seem to be advancing hopefully. The Radical Cabinet which is now in power is favourable to the cause of Women's Suffrage, though, strange as it seems to those who only understand the English constitution, this party has not a majority in the House. In November a deputation of Suffragists was received by the Prime Minister and the Minister of the Interior. They desired to express the gratitude of the women of Denmark for the grant of the municipal suffrage and eligibility, and to ask that the franchise for parliamentary elections should also be granted them. Both Ministers expressed their personal sympathy, but pointed out the difficulties that must be overcome before women's suffrage could be carried. There must be an amendment to the fundamental franchise law carried in both Houses. Even then it would not become law till Parliament had been dissolved and the electors had an opportunity by their votes to show whether or not they approved of the innovation. If the amendment then passed unchanged through the new Parliament it would become law.

The matter is further complicated by the question of redistribution, owing to the considerable growth of some of the constituencies. Everything points to some revision of the Constitution, and in this revision the question of women's suffrage must be considered. A Bill to this effect has now been introduced, and has passed the first reading. The interesting feature of the discussion on this occasion was the large measure of agreement among members of different parties. The Radical, Mr. Rode, said that the participation of women in government would be as profitable for the community as it was just. The Social Democrat, Mr. Borgbjerg, said that his party demanded universal, equal, and direct suffrage for all adult men and women. A Liberal and a Moderate Liberal spoke in favour. The Conservatives alone were divided. One speaker from this party, Mr. Hamwerin, thought the majority on his side would be in favour, though they would have liked a little more experience of the effect of the municipal franchise before conferring the Parliamentary. Mr. Wolff, another speaker from this party, thought the question should be delegated to the distant future, though he insisted that he himself was not unfavourable.

Evidently interesting developments may be expected before long, and those of our friends who have leisure for anything outside our own immediate struggle should keep their attention fixed on Denmark.

France.

On December 12th the Union for Women's Suffrage held a very successful meeting under the auspices of its President, Mme. Schmahl. Not only was the hall crowded, but by an audience composed of so many various elements as to show that interest in the question is no longer confined to one small class. Men were present as well as women, and there were both University women and servants among the listeners. The chief speaker was M. Charles Hébert, a lawyer of the Court of Appeal, whose enthusiasm and eloquence won the sympathies of the whole audience. The question of the municipal vote was introduced by Mme. Misme, Secretary of the Union, and a unanimous vote was passed in favour of petitioning M. Buisson to report as soon as possible on the Loi Dussaussoy, already mentioned in these columns. Letters of sympathy were read from many Parliamentary friends, and it looks as though events in France were moving quickly and in the right direction.

"THE WOMAN VOTER."

From Melbourne we have received a copy of this new paper, described as "The Monthly Letter of the Women's Political Association," which has a peculiar interest, in that it is the organ of *women who have votes*. In it the women are urged to vote on non-party lines for the candidate who shows the most genuine public spirit, and is most favourable to the women's platform, of which the following are four of the fifteen planks:—

1. Equal Federal Marriage and Divorce Law.
2. Equal Parental Rights over Children.
3. Equal Rights in the Disposition of Property after Death.
4. Equal Pay for Equal Work.

The Brighton women were the first women in Victoria to use the State Vote, and it is interesting to notice that of the women voters on the register 83.87 per cent. voted, as against 64.50 per cent. of the men. It is an excellent answer to the usual accusation of apathy on the part of possible women voters.