

# THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—No. 12.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 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 Sin of Omission.

In the light of the history of the last four years the most remarkable feature of the speeches of the great party leaders at the present moment is a sin of omission. Since the grudging and evasive utterance dragged from Mr. Asquith at the Albert Hall there has been utter silence on the question of Votes for Women. It becomes daily clearer that the policy of postponing the day of our victory is the last hope of both parties. The first rule of modern masculine statesmanship seems to be never to yield until you must, and then to yield the minimum.

### 'Humorous Politics.'

A contemporary describes the prevailing habit of resorting to physical force as a "humorous" form of politics. The fine sense of humour required to discover its expression in affairs like those of Carrickmacross and Hammer-smith must be a wonderful possession. An utter lack of such a sense is perhaps responsible for our opinion that the assaults upon two women canvassers in London and the mob attack upon Suffragettes in Bromsgrove are evidence rather of savagery than of wit. But woman has no sense of humour!

### For Plain Men—Only.

Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking at Dundee, declared that "the plain man's whole political status depends upon his vote." Plain women were not admitted to this meeting, but they attended a later one and asked a pertinent question about the effect of the vote upon their status. The wisdom and consistency of this oracle found expression in the following stammering ineptitudes:—"I think that women . . . can bring their influence to bear . . . on every man. I think that the majority of women . . . manage to fix it out . . . somehow or other. There are women . . . who find themselves at a loose end . . . and I would like to . . . to meet their case. But I do not think our system less democratic . . . because women are not enfranchised." It is a pity that principle forbids us to seek the enslavement of others, for the only way to reach Mr. Winston Churchill's intelligence would be to leave him "to fix it out somehow or other" when finding himself "at a loose end" in a world of woman's making.

### Facing-Both-Ways.

It is pleasant to know that the Antis, who are compiling a list of Parliamentary candidates opposed to Votes for Women, will not have a very arduous task. The list as at present issued from Caxton House gives the anti-suffrage candidates who were not members of the late Parlia-

ment as thirteen! Among the stalwarts who make up this unlucky number is one who is in favour of Women's Suffrage but will not vote for it. This poor man's plight in seeking safety between the devil and the deep sea explains the silence and indefiniteness of the great number of the candidates; they are afraid to commit themselves. We must congratulate the Antis upon the wisdom they have displayed in the classification of Mr. Candidate Facing-Both-Ways. But do they recognise the significance of the phenomenon? Why is the candidate afraid to declare himself an opponent of our claim?

### The Open Way.

The coming of a better day is indicated by the presence of seventeen women as candidates at the examinations of the Royal College of Surgeons and the Royal College of Physicians which are now being held. After the fifteen years of effort which have been required to open the door, it is good to see that immediate advantage is to be taken of the victory.

### Even after Death.

Many people cry out for wealth, and others do not know how to dispose of it. There are not many women among this latter class, but there are some, as the Press has proved during the last few days. The daily papers of the last seven days have recorded nine instances of women who have died leaving substantial sums to vague and ineffectual charities, many of which are administered upon a one-sexed basis. This is lamentable, especially in face of our sparsely-filled war chest. Every suffragist and every suffragette should take immediate steps to secure that the Women's Freedom League shall inherit under her will. Whether we are of large or of small fortune the Cause has a call upon us—even after death.

### More Evidence of Incapacity.

Two further instances of woman's incapacity have been provided for us during the last few days. A woman explorer, Miss Agnes Deans Cameron, has returned from a six months' journey into the Far North, where she has discovered two new races of Eskimos and gathered much valuable new geographical and biological data. In addition to this, a woman ruler, the Nawab Sultan Jahan, has been created Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India because of her capable and friendly rule of the State of Bhopal. The Nawab is the direct descendant of three generations of Indian Begums who have ruled in their own right. This kind of fact will continually arise to challenge our capacity to use a vote.

### The Prevention of Suffrage "Crimes."

There is some agitation in Scotland because the Prevention of Crimes Act is not being applied north of the Border. The controversy makes interesting reading. The chief point urged by those who approve Mr. Gladstone's measure appears to be that the indeterminate sentence will reform the habitual criminal, and this object is indeed laudable. But to those who, like the Suffragettes, have seen the inside of our prisons grave doubts of such a result occur. An indeterminate sentence to be served in Holloway would drive one mad—or to suicide. Our whole prison system needs complete revision before an indeterminate sentence can be anything but a monstrous aggression. It is necessary for us to say this now, and to say it emphatically, for it appears to need only three convictions to make the "habitual" criminal of the lawyers. What length of a detention would the authorities be likely to consider sufficient to reform a Suffragette? We must watch this new Act, which offers a new method of dealing with political opponents.



## SUBMISSION AND THE VIRTUES.

By H. F. Rubinstein.

It was a special privilege for me to attend the quinquennial sitting of the Moralities' Parliament, held in Arcadia a short time back. Nor would I have succeeded in gaining admission—for Mortals are rigorously excluded—but for the friendly aid of Enterprise (Member for the Twentieth Century), who, for some reason or other, has taken a great fancy to me, and assisted me on various occasions. To him I am indebted for an uncommonly interesting evening, of which I will here recount a few details.

\* \* \* \* \*

Strength was in the chair, and a well-meaning fellow he seemed on the whole, though his ruling was sometimes foolish and unjust. On his right hand sat the Vices and on his left the Virtues. The Vices have been in power since the world began, but I heard rumours passed along the Opposition benches of a coming General Election which would send the Virtues back with a thumping majority; only, like all rumours, they were rather vague and indefinite. On the front bench of the Vices sat Brutality and Injustice and Narrow-mindedness and Cant, and they leered horribly, as though proud of their position. And Hypocrisy sat by them, only often he would disappear for a while, and turn up presently among the Virtues, whence they would eject him with anger and disgust. And Coarseness and Calumny sat laughing at each other's jokes. So loudly did they laugh that they were frequently called to order by the Chair, when they would subside for a minute—but for a minute only. And to look at them was evil.

But the Virtues were fair, and to look at them was as a healing balm after great pain. And some were draped in colours. There was Dignity in purple, and Purity in white, and Hope in green, and Glory in gold. And they held each other's hands and smiled patiently. And round about were Justice and Liberty and Courage, and they smiled, too, though, I thought, somewhat wistfully. And Humour sat by to cheer them with his wit, and I noticed that, whenever he made a particularly good joke Coarseness, on the other side, would spring up and snarl and try to cap it with a better, and the Vices would applaud him loudly, though he never succeeded. But, alone among the Virtues, Submission sat apart, and she was sad and wept silently, and she was pale and thin and small. And presently the Chairman announced the meeting open, and instantly she sprang up and cried in a loud, shrill voice:

"O Strength, I pray you hear my complaint, for I have been shamefully treated. Am I not one of the oldest of the Virtues? And have I not kept the spirit of true Womanhood alive throughout the ages? Yet there is a vile conspiracy among my fellow-Virtues to destroy my power, and to cast me out from among the sons—I mean the daughters—of Man! They no longer show to me due respect, neither do they consult with me as aforetime. I pray you reason with them that they take me back into their midst, for a Virtue should not stand alone, but should work in unison with the other Virtues; nor is it pleasant to abide in solitude."

And the Virtues were silent. Only from the benches of the Vices arose loud cheers and shouts of approbation. But Strength quieted them, and said in the pleasing tones of Authority, "We have heard your complaint, O Submission, and will duly give judgment thereon. But first must we hearken to the words of others. Let someone second your protest, or attempt to justify this strange conduct, or say what he please thereon."

And the Virtues were silent, and smiled as before. And Dignity and Purity and Hope and Glory clasped

each other's hands the tighter, for clearly they were the offenders. And Justice and Liberty came yet closer, as though to defend them. Yet no one of them rose to speak. And Strength grew impatient.

"Verily," he said, "it is hard on Submission to find herself without a friend. Yet surely there is at least one who will stand up for her and support her protest. Is not Chivalry here to-night?" and he cast his eyes round the Assembly.

"I will support her protest," cried a voice, and all eyes were riveted on the spot whence it arose. Yet it came not from Chivalry, for he was hiding behind the others, but from Brutality, and he stood out in a fine heroic pose, with one hand upon his chest and the other uplifted. And a gasp of astonishment went up from the assembled members, and some—whose manners had evidently been neglected—began to titter.

"O," said Brutality, piously, "I am indeed shocked and disgusted! To think that the good and sweet Submission should be so neglected! For I love her, even though I be but a humble Vice. Has she not taught the women of the world to love and honour and obey and cook? How beautiful! How noble! Shame to ye that seek to undo her work and to cast her out! My indignation knows no bounds. I—ahem—I have great pleasure in seconding her protest." And he sat down.

And Submission was much affected, and buried her head in her arms. And the Virtues took their pocket-handkerchiefs from their mouths—for they had not wished to seem rude—and looked at her. And one cried indiscreetly, "O my, she's blushing!" And they put their pocket-handkerchiefs once more to their mouths.

And up sprang Injustice, and spoke as follows: "I agree *in toto* with my eloquent friend Brutality. I, too, honour and respect Submission. To my mind she is the fairest of the Virtues, though that isn't saying much. I am scandalised at the shameful conduct of Honourable Members opposite, and I trust our worthy Chairman will severely reprimand them."

And Strength, when he had sufficiently recovered from his astonishment, looked once more at the Virtues, and said, "Before I deliver judgment, does anyone else wish to speak on the subject?"

And he waited awhile, and Cant sprang to his feet. "Mr. Chairman," he began, in a hesitating manner, "unaccustomed as I am to public speaking—"

"Stop," cried Strength, and he brought his fist down with a bang, "I have heard enough. The case is clear and needs no Solomon to judge it. Submission has fallen out with the Virtues and fallen in with the Vices. Maybe the Virtues have left her behind, for thus it happens sometimes also among Mortals. This, then, is my decision. Let her sever connection with the Virtues and join instead the Vices. What say you to it, Submission?"

And Submission looked up and blushed. "You are wise," she said, "and I am well content. For Brutality is sweet, and Injustice is delicious, and Cant is a dear!" And she arose and crossed to the other side of the House. And the incident was closed.

\* \* \* \* \*

I look forward with interest to their next Parliament, for strange things are in the air, and a General Election seems imminent.

### Street-Selling.

We want street-sellers for THE VOTE. Voluntary workers, who can only give a few hours, will be welcomed, but we are anxious to get people who will take regular pitches and work them regularly. For all further particulars apply immediately to Mrs. Snow, offices of THE VOTE, 148, Holborn Bars.

### WOMEN VERSUS THE BUDGET.

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### THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

Members who can give time should write at once to Mrs. Billington-Greig, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow, stating time 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 subscriptions now!

#### In Carnarvon Boroughs.

Contrary to all warnings, we still survive, and have no fear for the future. Splendid meetings have been held during the week, many converts have been made, and votes turned for a certainty. The local Press continues to express its surprise in this way:—"They had large audiences, who listened quietly. There was no disturbance!" &c. Three meetings have we held in Carnarvon. A large audience greeted us under the Reformer's Tree at Bangor on Wednesday, and the *Observer* gave a very flattering notice of the proceedings. Pwllheli has not an enviable reputation over election meetings, but ours must have been the exception, for on Thursday they gave us more than a good hearing—a good collection into the bargain. In the Market Square they stood for nearly two hours, many of them missing their lunch. A greater compliment to us, on the part of men, could not be paid. At Conway yesterday we had a great conquest. It followed our declaration made from a wooden stump on the quay that "Suffragettes feared nothing on earth." A wonderful response came from the crowd, and they allowed us to tell them the truth, which at this point was very unpalatable, without interruption. We are full of hope for the success of our campaign.—MURIEL MATTERS.

#### In Sheffield.

Our Election Campaign is now in full swing. This week we have been attending the meetings of anti-suffrage candidates, of which there are two in Sheffield, in a body, demanding answers to our questions, and receiving much sympathy and support from the audiences. On Thursday night at one of these meetings enthusiastic cheers were given for "Votes for Women." We have also had outdoor meetings in these same constituencies, which have proved eminently satisfactory. Next week our great event is Mrs. Despard's meeting, which we hope to make a great success. We have other meetings arranged in various parts of the town, and are canvassing the whole of the constituencies with our election leaflets.—S. B.

#### North Monmouthshire.

Suffragettes are objects of the deepest interest in Pontypool just now. The difficulties in the way of any work at first seemed insurmountable. We had to fight for the possession of the only vacant shop in the town; open-air meetings were impossible owing to the narrowness of the roads. Slowly but surely we have won our way, and now the Urban Council have granted us the use of part of the Cattle Market for meetings. And we are in possession of the shop for our Committee Room. In Blaenavon, Pontnewynydd, and Abergavenny we have held street-corner meetings, receiving a courteous hearing, and selling a great many pamphlets and badges—especially badges. On Friday last we had a meeting at Lion Square, Blaenavon, counter to Mr. McKenna's in the Workman's Institute. The square was crowded with quiet, orderly, thoughtful men and women, the usual group of children in the foreground. Very great sympathy and interest were shown for Miss Neilans' lonely fight in Holloway, continual requests being made for post cards of the "girl that's in prison." On Saturday an attempt was made to hold a meeting in the Cattle Market here.

Mrs. Hyde and I went to the grounds through a drizzling rain, to find that our platform and light had not turned up. As a small crowd had come with us, in spite of the rain, I scrambled up on the wall, with a friendly man's assistance, and turned to face a sudden terrific squall. I could only see my audience as a blurred, darker patch below me. For about twenty minutes I addressed them in the rain and the dark—this in the heart of McKenna's stronghold! The men of North Monmouthshire are splendid in their instinctive love of fair play and their courtesy and kindness, even when they do not agree with us.—E. BREMNER.

#### In Cleveland Division.

The campaign in Cleveland has commenced in real earnest. The W.F.L. is opposing the election of Mr. Herbert Samuel, who became a member of the Cabinet in June, 1909. Not only has he been a member of the Government which has refused to enfranchise women, but he is an opponent of Women's Suffrage. In the villages, where people are blinded by party feeling and intolerance, we have experienced organised opposition, consisting chiefly of youths and children engaged to sing, to shout, and to use instruments of torture for the ear, and to throw eggs, fruit, and fish as rotten as the arguments our opponents had not the courage to advance. In other places we have had excellent meetings, and have found numerous friends.

A large area has already been covered, but as yet we are handicapped through the scarcity of workers. Mr. and Mrs. Vulliamy, of Cambridge, have arrived, and are working excellently—speaking, canvassing, advertising, and delivering bills. Still, the division is so big that we shall need many more helpers in order to visit all the places where voters are to be found.

The Press has printed our manifesto and reported all our meetings so far, so that our participation in the election is generally known. Mrs. Despard's visit on the 13th (Saltburn) and 14th (Loftus) is anticipated with pleasure.—ALICE SCHOFIELD

#### In Dulwich.

During the past week we have held open-air meetings daily—sometimes as many as five in one day—submitted questions at candidates' meetings, chalked the pavement, and distributed leaflets. Upon the occasion of Mr. John Burns's visit to Dulwich Baths on Friday last we sought admission, but were debarred, as "known Suffragettes," from entering the lecture hall. With backs to the wall, we made our stand in the entrance lobby, but some time previous to John Burns's arrival an order was given to "turn out" all women from this position. We naturally resented the interference, and stood our ground, and, in consequence, were savagely hustled to the door, where I was flung out. Mrs. Moore received very brutal handling, both her back and arm being badly strained. The matter is being taken up by sympathisers in Dulwich, and the publicity given to the outrage certainly advertises our cause, and fosters the spirit of militancy among the women.—A.S.

#### In Poplar.

The fight here grows more exciting every day. Meetings are being held in halls and in streets by all parties, but the Suffragettes get, as usual, the largest crowds. Magnificent meetings have been held round the docks and in various parts of the Isle of Dogs—in places where a police inspector tells us he does not like to go alone on a dark night. Our Town Hall meeting on Tuesday last, when Mrs. Despard and Mr. Manson spoke, was a very great success. The hall was crowded to the doors, and some hundreds were turned away. We hope for a similar turn out this Tuesday, when Mrs. Sproson and Mr. Clayton will speak.

Literature is going well. It is no uncommon thing now to find at the close of a meeting quite a number of people come up to say, "Give me one of everything you have," which shows the interest taken in the question of Votes for Women.

More workers—especially speakers—are wanted.—MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

(Continued on page 142.)



## OLIVE SCHREINER.

(An Impression.) By ETHEL HILL.

I wonder if the words "The Story of An African Farm" have the same grip upon others that they always have upon me! No story has moved me more with its strange passion and its pathos. I once asked the author to state why she believed the emancipation of women would be a great moral good, and she replied: "Because I believe freedom to be of great moral benefit to humanity, and have never been able to see how the possession of the paternal or maternal sex function touched its importance."

No more passionate lover of justice ever lived than this woman of genius, whom I do not hesitate to term one of the great women of the world, great in intellect and great in heart. And perhaps it is in Lyndall, that wonderful, elemental woman, in the "Story of an African Farm," that one seems to understand all that she feels and thinks about the Woman Question. It is to the pathetic figure of Waldo, the brow-beaten peasant with the soul of a poet, that she unburdens herself.

We all enter the world little plastic beings, with so much natural force, perhaps, but for the rest—blank; the world tells us what we are to be, and shapes us by the ends it sets before us. To you it says: *Work*; and to us it says: *Scem*.

Mark you, we have always this advantage over you—we can at any time step into ease and competence, where you must labour patiently for it. A little weeping, a little wheedling, a little self-degradation, a little careful use of our advantages, and then some man will say: "Come, be my wife." With good looks and youth, marriage is easy to attain. There are men enough; but a woman who has sold herself, even for a ring and a new name, need hold her skirt aside for no creature in the street. They both earn their bread in one way.

Marriage for love is the beautifullest external symbol of the union of souls; marriage without it is the uncleanliest traffic that defiles the world. And they tell us we have men's chivalrous attention! When we ask to become lawyers, law-makers, anything but ill-paid drudges, they say: "No; but you have men's chivalrous attention. Now, think of that, and be satisfied. What would you do without it?"

The bees are very attentive to the flowers till their honey is done, and then they fly over them. I don't know if the flowers feel grateful to the bees; they are great fools if they do.

Then they say: "If the women had the liberty they ask for, they will be found in positions for which they are not fitted." If two men climb one ladder, did you ever see the weakest anywhere but at the foot? The surest sign of fitness is success. The weakest never wins but where there is handicapping. Nature, left to herself, will as beautifully apportion a man's work to his capaci-

ties as long ages ago she graduated the colours on the bird's breast. If we are not fit, you give us to no purpose the right to labour; the work will fall out of our hands into those that are wiser.

They say women have one great and noble work left them, and they do it ill. That is true; they do it execrably. It is the work that demands the broadest culture, and they have not even the narrowest. The lawyer may see no deeper than his law books, and the chemist see no further than the windows of his laboratory, and they may do their work well. But the woman who does woman's work needs a many-sided, multiform culture; the heights and depths of human life must not be beyond the reach of her wisdom; she must have knowledge of men and things in many states, a wide catholicity of sympathy, the strength that springs from knowledge, and the magnanimity which springs from strength. *We bear*

the world, and *we* make it. The souls of little children are marvellously delicate and tender things, and keep for ever the shadow that first falls on them, and that is the mother's, or at best a woman's. There was never a great man who had not a great mother—it is hardly an exaggeration. The first six years of our life make us; all that is added later is veneer; and yet some say, "If a woman can cook a dinner, or dress herself well, she has culture enough."

A great soul draws and is drawn with a more fierce intensity than a small one. By every inch we grow in intellectual height, our love strikes down its roots deeper, and spreads out its arms wider. It is for love's sake, yet more than for any other, that we look for that new time. Then when that time comes, when love is no more bought and sold, when it is not a means of making bread, when each woman's life is filled with earnest, independent labour, then love will come to her—a sudden strange sweetness breaking in upon her earnest work; not sought for, but found.

They bring weighty arguments against us when we ask for the perfect freedom of woman, but when you come to the objections they are like pumpkin devils with candles inside—hollow, and can't bite. They say that women do not wish for the sphere and freedom we ask for them, and would not use it.

If the bird *does* like its cage, and *does* like its sugar, and will not leave it, why keep the door so very carefully shut? Why not open it, only a little? Do they know there is many a bird will not break its wings against the bars, but would fly if the doors were open?

Do you not think this remark of Lyndall's peculiarly pathetic:

"This one thought stands, never goes—If I might but be one of those born in the future; then, perhaps, to be born a woman will not be to be born branded."



OLIVE SCHREINER.  
(Photo by E. Peters, Cape Town).

**Next Week: TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.**

By Mrs. MARION HOLMES.

## THE STORY OF THE TEDDY BEAR.

About thirty years ago there was a poor crippled girl named Margarete Steiff, who began to make soft-stuffed toys for her numerous little friends at the little town of Giengen-on-Brenz. Somehow or other people seemed to like her self-made toys. Her fame as a toy-maker spread from one town to the other, and she, with all the innate cleverness of a business woman, was not blind to the possibilities. Unable to satisfy the demand for her toys by her own hands, help was hired.

The foreign buyer, ever watchful for something new in toys, soon found his way to the quiet little town of Giengen-on-Brenz, and the result was the demand for the "Steiff" toys grew at a tremendous pace. One building after the other was erected to house the business which "Gretle Steiff," as her fellow-citizens familiarly used to call her, had established. Where once a single little lady was making toys for the children in Giengen-on-Brenz, there are hundreds of people now busy to supply the children of the world with the toys, which have often been imitated—equalled, never!

With characteristic regard for the welfare and happiness of these employes, the German girl had constructed a remarkable manufacturing structure, built with glass walls and placed close to the green hills. From within these German maids and boys could view the distant hills, and feel the woodland breezes while at their work—work which they loved, and, consequently, play. The Teddy bear was only one of the toys which made Margarete famous, for her entire collection seemed to express those sentiments which are irresistible.

During her entire life the good woman maintained the policy of inspecting personally every toy which went out of her factory, placing on each of them a small button if the article was perfect. Encouraging, complimenting, uplifting, she was a veritable angel to those with whom she came in contact in doing their wonder work.

### CAXTON HALL.

The first "At Home" of this year was held at Caxton Hall on Thursday last, and the chairman, Mrs. How Martyn, welcomed a large number of old friends and new guests.

Mrs. Bexfield and Miss Edith Craig were the hostesses. Mrs. Despard, our President, who was feeling far from well, spoke on the "Hope and Promise of the Women's Freedom League." Her magnificent address was listened to with deep admiration and appreciation. Visions of what this and future years held in store for the womanhood of the world were made mentally clear to us, and with hope renewed we all determined to take a big step forward in the work this year. Mrs. Borrmann Wells was prevented by illness from being present at the meeting, but Tennessee Lady Cook spoke warmly in support of what Mrs. Despard had said. Lady Cook also emphasised the need for a radical change, both in public opinion and the laws which regulate our present false standards of morality. In conclusion she quoted some words of the late Marquis of Salisbury, which she suggested should be employed as a peroration by all speakers on behalf of the woman's cause during the General Election: "I ask you to struggle. I ask you in all vicissitudes to maintain hope and resolution. I ask you to swear that you will win. I ask this of you not only because I know that unnumbered calamities and terrible degradations will be the penalty if you fail in this great ordeal, but also because I want you to relieve the fame of England from black and irreparable disgrace." Promises amounting to £15 were received, and a good collection taken.

It would very greatly help the organisers of the "At Homes" if our own members would arrive soon after 2.45, in order to help entertain the new guests who are anxious to hear about the work of our League.

In consequence of the election the entrance to the Caxton Hall on January 20th will be by the new entrance in Palmer Street, next door to the exit from the District Railway.

**WILLIAM  
OWEN,**  
WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

## THIS WEEK

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## THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, JANUARY 15, 1910.

### THE COST OF SUBJECTION.

We who are rebels against the political serfdom of women have long counted the cost which must be paid by the nation that permits it. We have counted the cost, and pointed the finger of warning. We have thrust hard facts in the face of the world. But the great mass of the people have passed by unthinking in the midst of the losses we explained, and unmoved by the claims we urged. They have cloaked themselves with customs and crowned themselves with pretences, themselves deceived and deceiving others.

Because of this apathy of the masses and of the boycott of interested politicians the independent militant movement was instituted. A new torch had to be lighted in the world. A new life had to be awakened. A new force of revolt had to be brought into action before the barriers of habit and boycott would go down and the people would begin to understand. The clamant protest against betrayal, the determined rebellion against wrong, the staunch new stand for independence—these things awakened the new life, and brought the new light into the darkness.

Now, for some four years the people have been listening. Slowly, it seems to us, who are afire with our need, but really with great rapidity, they are awakening to keen interest and support. They are beginning not only to sympathise with our words, but to realise the meaning of our deeds, and to catch glimpses of the force that drives us into action. They are grasping the graver issues that depend upon the struggle. Men are being given serious pause by the new knowledge of the cost the nation is paying for the subjection of its women. And women themselves, by the pressure of the knowledge, are being urged surely into the fighting line.

Those who looked at the position of women five years ago, and found it good, see now the hollowness of the sham of gold with which the sham is gilded. Under the flowers of fiction they find the sordid truth. Under the gracious customs of gallantry they find the cloven hoof of a deadly tyranny. They are set astare by their discoveries. They utter prayers for their lost years in which, knowing not, they sinned and, being blinded, they stumbled. But now they see ever-present items of the price the nation pays. Here they find one entry, there another. This is the measure of the first cost and that of the second. A great total of loss becomes for them the great argument against the subjection of women.

The total includes loss of every kind. There is the loss of freedom and development to women themselves, with the mental and physical delicacy and the dwarfing of capacities which accompanies it. There is the direct and deliberate repression by law and custom, with the narrowness it produces and the littleness it exalts. The thwarted desires of aspiring youth are turned to a bitterness that poisons, or buried in the living woman, who becomes the grave of her own possibilities. The material hardness of life is emphasised by the unfair competition between men and women and by the poverty and pain and sordid barter which burden the women and cast their shadow upon the future of the race.

As women pay, so the nation pays through the women. But it pays in wider ways; in the ways of our wide humanity. The nation pays by losing the abilities of women. It pays by shutting out their wisdom and experience from the national service, and being poorer thereby. It pays in the coin of a one-sexed system, which is less than human, and from which a diseased social body and a baleful immorality take their rise. It pays in the friction and antagonism which is generated between men and women, robbing humanity of strength and sweetness

and the nation of their joint service. It pays by the development of servility on the one side, and the passing of this servility to the children of both sexes. It pays by the development of brutality on the other side, which is handed to the race as a like inheritance. Always the nation pays, because its people are divided, because they are mistreated, misgoverned, and mistaught. Always it must pay while half of its people are sold to tyranny and half to captivity.

At a time like the present, when grave national issues are at stake, the loss to the nation from the subjection of women becomes more emphatic and conspicuous. The national welfare depends upon the decision, and one-half of the nation is excluded from sharing in it. This fact, once driven home, would open the eyes of the dead. Questions of greater interest to women than those to be decided at this juncture could not well be imagined. They bristle with matters that are of vital interest to women as workers, to women as mothers, to women as citizens, to women as human beings. Much of good could be contributed to the national controversy by the women of the country, but they have perforce to be silent. They lose the right of voicing their knowledge and desires; the nation loses the advantage of their wisdom and experience.

Because these losses are great they may appear too vague and too indefinite to appeal to the masses of men. Great things often do. But there are manifestations of national loss which must appeal to all. If they cannot measure the great potentialities of a whole sex, they can realise the advantage of transferring a visible force into another direction and of putting an end to a source of active waste. Power and energy and strength and money are being poured out freely into the movement for the political emancipation of women. Great voluntary gifts are flung generously into the treasury of gold and service upon which the responsible leaders of the movement draw. The gifts women are bestowing to achieve freedom are worthy. They are gifts of earnestness, of the passionate love of freedom, of capacity, of energy, of staunch, sturdy independence. Such gifts as these would be a force of regeneration in the world if they were transferred to the general national account. This is a loss that everyone can see and measure and accept.

There is another price that the nation is paying in the waste of health and strength and the shattering of youthful vigour among its most promising women. The nation that delays justice to women when they are convinced of its urgent need is wilfully throwing away the best blood of its women, and their best brain, and their most precious dower of youth and enthusiasm. It is robbing itself both in the present and in the future. It is casting away gifts of true gold.

The most unimaginative will realise that the nation is paying another price. It is paying in material ways for the continued coercion of consciously rebel women. It is paying in the disturbance of public business, in the overstrain of public officials, and in the prostitution of national machinery by the authorities, who are anxious for suppression of the clamour and unrest, but not willing to remove the root cause. The nation is paying in hard cash. It is paying out of the national purse. Already the imprisonment of Suffragette protesters has cost the State several thousands of pounds. The protection of Westminster alone cannot have cost the nation less in police charge than fifty thousand pounds. The cost of other special meeting protests, demonstrations, processions, and sieges in the provinces and other parts of London will add another fifty to the police costs at Westminster. In all probability the militant agitation in four years must have cost the nation a hundred thousand pounds. This is a loss the least imaginative can measure, and wish to avoid.

The nation that coerces its women must pay the price. It must pay it in a thousand ways that we cannot measure. It must pay it in certain measurable ways. It can never avoid the payment. It can never escape it. Only the removal of the ban of subjection will balance the account by putting an end to it.

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.*

### 2. THE FACT THAT WOMEN DO NOT FORM PART OF THE FIGHTING LINE IS NO REASON WHY WOMEN SHOULD NOT VOTE.

The choice of who shall form the fighting line is at present determined solely by men. If the power to defend the country in time of war were to be the final test for the exercise of the franchise, then such men as are annually "turned down" at Sandhurst or refused in hundreds daily at the recruiting centres for physical unfitness, should be *ipso facto* disfranchised. Curiously enough, this is not the case; instead, we have the anomaly of the soldier being refused a vote while the physically unfit are allowed it.

The argument that women shall not have the vote because they have not physical force equally with men is one of the most absurd that has ever been brought forward. The physical force of voters has never been tested at any polling booth, and if it were the resulting number of women who would find themselves electors would probably surprise the so-called stronger sex. The dirty work of the community, scrubbing floors, &c., which calls for the exertion of a considerable amount of physical force, is at present done by women, who are badly paid for doing it. In some of the worst quarters of London women continually come to the rescue of the police—as the police news shows—and by their physical force prevent the escape of sturdy malefactors. If physical force were a test of fitness to be represented in Parliament—as it is not—it would cause the disenfranchisement of a large number of intellectual men, who at present do valuable work for the community, and at the same time lead to the enfranchisement of a large number of men and women who might or might not be of use to the State. Women are, however, quite content with the present test for electors, if the sex bar were removed, and merely ask that where they qualify equally with men they shall have the power to vote.

Any test of strength whatever which would qualify a sufficient number of men would be one under which many young and vigorous women could get a vote; and if I personally did not have one, my disfranchisement would be shared by the halt, the lame, the aged, and the sick of the male sex, besides all the whipper-snappers who now triumphantly lord it over us. If to this physical test an intellectual one were added, women would get even a larger proportion of votes. It is, however, a matter of common knowledge that masculine legislation, in its wisdom, has not imposed a physical force test as a qualification for voting for members of Parliament, but only the qualification of owning property or possessing a house. If, therefore, a woman owns or occupies a house, she possesses the one qualification which by law entitles a person to vote.

After all, it is a very small proportion of the men of this country . . . who serve in the Army or Navy; and these, not being householders, are precisely those who do not have the elective franchise. In its wisdom the law declares that it is not the soldier who is to have the vote—it is the peaceful citizen who hires the soldier. Women are among these peaceful citizens, and when we pay our rates and taxes we do as much in defence of the country as ninety-nine men out of every hundred who are on the register. And, in addition to this, we perform another service to the State—we bear and bring up all the soldiers. This is a work more painful and physically exhausting than any performed by men; it is also a work entirely unpaid for in money. The soldier is rewarded not only with money, but also with honour; the mother receives neither.

LADY MCLAREN.

"But Mrs. Humphry Ward has found an argument. . . . It is that if women had votes they would have Power without Responsibility for action. . . . It would seem that Mrs. Humphry Ward can only refer to War. . . . Mrs. Ward reminds me of the little girl who cried out: 'Oh, mother, there are a million cats in the garden.' 'Oh, my child,' said the mother, 'you mustn't exaggerate.' 'Well, there are six cats.' 'No, no; where do you see six cats?' 'Well, there is a cat.' There is only one cat—War. But if there is a war, women have to pay the war taxes. And if they do not go to war themselves, they have to see their sons go, which is worse. The joke about Mrs. Ward's great discovery is that the soldiers and sailors who do fight have no vote!"

ISRAEL ZANGWILL.



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## CHILDREN AND THE SUFFRAGE.

Every year sees the male legislator legislating to undo some of the evil results of his own previous legislation. Every year sees Bills of a remedial nature occupying a greater prominence in the records of each session, and the child, whose very helplessness, humanitarians tell us, ought to be his best shield, has been the subject of some of the most drastic of recent changes in the law. But after all has been said and done, the father, whom statistics—and the police court news—prove to be the least humane of the two parents, still remains the sole guardian of all children born in marriage. "All powers," says Lady McLaren, "reside in him. He alone has power over the child; he alone fixes its education, its religion, its profession." In the current number of *The Christian Commonwealth*—a magnificent number devoted to the child, with articles by specialists on every phase of the child question—there are several suggestions from important sources that in Women's Suffrage lies the solution of the problem. Under the heading, "What Reforms are most needed for the Children," Joseph Clayton says:

Votes for Women means greater respect for motherhood, and, in response, the better the mother the better the child. Therefore, women's enfranchisement seems to me the reform that promises in every way a better life for the children of the nation. As long as women are denied the responsibility and standing of citizens the children are bound to suffer in a thousand stupid ways at the hands of the State.

Mrs. Despard has a long and well-reasoned article on "How the Political Emancipation of Women Would Affect the Child," in the course of which she says:

Woman is still unrepresented, and upon her the burden of economic subjection weighs much more heavily than it does upon men. The girl-worker, forced to enter on her hard, ill-paid industrial life while she is still a child in years, suffers physically to an extent neither known nor understood by those who, in the House of Commons, are tinkering with such terrible questions as infantile mortality. We women know that the crying need of society to-day is a healthy, strong, well-developed motherhood. And I believe that, when the voice of women is heard with power in the land, measures whereby the girl-worker can be protected from the greed of the labour-exploiter will presently be forced upon our legislators. The probable result will be later and wiser marriages; healthier, less worn-out mothers; while children will have a better start in life.

The ordinary and monotonous appeal of the male scoffer to the Suffragette, "Go home and mind the baby," is one that she is only too anxious to answer; but the baby must be minded in the House as well as the home, and there, so far at least, the man has done the minding—and done it badly.

E. T.

At Leominster, Sir James Rankin, Unionist candidate, remarked in the course of his speech that—

His experience had been so pleasant that he was quite prepared to give his vote in favour of the enfranchisement of properly qualified women. (Cheers.) He would never vote for women going into Parliament. It was quite out of their sphere, and no sensible woman would wish to do it.—*Hereford Times*.

## FORCIBLE FEEDING.

In the current number of the *British Medical Journal* Sir Victor Horsley has a strong letter on the subject of mis-statements by the prison medical authorities in the matter of forcible feeding. He says that, so far from cases of forcible feeding being "not infrequent," as Dr. Donkin, who was not under oath at the time, stated, an officer who had had an extensive experience in Wormwood Scrubbs, could only recall one case—that of a "powerful foreigner," where the stomach or nasal tube had been used. The following are some extracts from Sir Victor Horsley's letter:—

Some, however, may not be aware that a disgraceful attempt is being made by the Home Office, from the Home Secretary down to Dr. Donkin, to put the responsibility of this repulsive treatment of political prisoners on to the shoulders of the medical profession. It is useless for Dr. Donkin to repeat the attempts he has been making in the *Times* to maintain this position, for, as you indicate, the whole status of the Home Office was clearly and frankly related by the Under Secretary, Mr. Masterman, in the House of Commons, and is recorded in *Hansard* (q.v.).

Dr. Donkin's suggestion that the responsibility of forcibly feeding suffragettes by the nasal method rests on the medical officers of prisons is as incorrect as the judge's suggestion (in his question to me) that the doctor did it to "save the prisoner's life"!

As may be seen by reading between the lines of Dr. Donkin's letter, this treatment of his political opponents was ordered by the Home Secretary and no one else, though we understand from Mr. Masterman's statement in the House that Mr. Gladstone's action received the concurrence of the Prison Commissioners, one of whom is Dr. Donkin. In his final sentence he alleges that his junior colleagues, the prison officers, whom he amiably holds up to the public as the ingenious executioners of this practice, "always act, in the not very infrequent cases of forcible feeding, without any reference to superior authorities, and merely record the event in their journals." This, coming from one who admits he was present in court during the trial, *Leigh v. the Home Secretary* and others, is a deliberate distortion of the facts as bearing on the issue, namely, the forcible nasal feeding of suffragettes.

That the local prison officials were in constant direct reference to the Home Office was also sworn to by the governor of the prison, as well as admitted by Mr. Masterman last September. Dr. Donkin, unfortunately, is not the first medical official who has disloyally helped to thrust on his profession, and on its work, the odium which happens to follow an act of a responsible Minister. The following resolution, passed by the Humanitarian League (Criminal Law and Prisons Committee) has been sent to the Right Hon. Herbert Gladstone, M.P.:

That this Committee desire to record their deep regret that the Home Secretary should have given his sanction to the abominable practice of forcibly feeding prisoners by artificial means, and, while recognising the difficulty in which the prison authorities are placed by the refusal of suffragists to take food, express their opinion that it would be more humane to avow this difficulty, and to allow short sentence prisoners who have suffered such severe punishment as that involved in a long fast to go free.

"To forbid suffrage to women tends to stereotype mediocrity in them, in the same way that it tended to destroy development in Jews, Roman Catholics, and others who were formerly disfranchised."—*The Individualist*.



## TYPES OF ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS.

(Dedicated to the A.S.S.)

No. 7.—THE MAN WHO THINKS THAT "WOMEN HAVE NO RIGHT TO VOTE BECAUSE THEY CAN'T DEFEND THEIR COUNTRY"

## SCOTTISH NOTES.

Head Offices: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.  
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DUNDEE.—In Dundee we have been waiting for Miss Schofield to organise the work, but apparently her services have been required elsewhere, and things are being conducted here in the usual way that voluntary effort is. Miss Bunten and Mrs. Sanderson have rendered invaluable service this week. Mrs. Sanderson held an open-air meeting outside the hall where Mr. Churchill was speaking, and the audience listened most appreciatively. Miss Clunas interrogated Mr. Churchill on the question of the suffrage. It will be interesting to readers to know that Mr. Churchill's latest dictum is that a man gets a vote "because he is a man." Mrs. Sanderson and Miss Bunten held a meeting in Princes Street Hall on Thursday night, which was well attended by both men and women. We expect a big turn-out next week to hear Mrs. Billington-Greig and Miss E. Murray on Thursday night, and also at the "At Home" in Mather's Hotel on Friday afternoon. A cake and candy sale will be held on Saturday, 15th inst., at which Mrs. Murray will speak. Mr. Alexander Wilkie, M.P. (Labour), is the only candidate who has espoused the Woman's Cause out and out. Mr. Seymour Lloyd, Conservative candidate, is not sure where the demand would stop, and views with horror the domination of the female sex. Mr. Glass, Unionist candidate, believes in Women Suffrage to a certain extent. Mr. E. Scrymgeour, Prohibitionist candidate, is a supporter of the movement. As to Mr. Churchill, he did not even answer the secretary's questions.

WESTERN BRANCH.—The two candidates for the Partick Division of Lanarkshire, and also the candidates for West Renfrewshire, have been written to and questioned as to their opinions and intentions with regard to Woman's Suffrage. Unsatisfactory replies have been received from them all, and now meetings are being attended in various parts of their constituencies and the candidates publicly questioned. A shop has been procured in Partick for election purposes.

GLASGOW.—The replies from candidates are coming in slowly but steadily, and so far we have only had one in the negative. We hope it may be the only one. We intend next week to publish a list of those in favour. Our faithful band of questioners have been doing good work, and have been much cheered by finding how much sympathy they have from the electors. Our thanks are due to those who have sent in contributions for the Glasgow Election Fund. May we remind those who have not yet done so that "she gives twice who gives quickly," and ask them to send contributions to Miss Kirby, 302, Sauchiehall Street. We are printing our own Election Leaflets, and also Mrs. Billington-Greig's Appeal to the Electors, which appeared in last week's *VOTE*. We should be glad to supply these leaflets at 6d. a hundred to friends who will distribute them.

## 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.—A meeting was held at our Club House on Thursday, January 6th, when Mrs. Henry Tippet gave a very interesting address on various phases of the question of Women's Suffrage. Mrs. Bastian, of Hadleigh, was in the chair.

We are sending round an Election Manifesto to all the electors of Ipswich, and are asking them not to vote for the candidates who refuse justice to women.

Our local paper reports that "elaborate precautions will be taken to protect Mr. Asquith from the Suffragettes when he comes to Ipswich next Tuesday." In spite of this, we hope to let him know that he must grant justice to women.

C. E. ANDREWS.

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## GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN

(Continued from page 135.)

## In Liverpool.

In reply to my inquiries as to whether they were in favour of granting "Votes for Women," Mr. F. Joseph (Liberal) has replied that he is, and is including it in his Election address, and Mr. Jellicoe (Ind. Liberal) says "Your cause is my cause." Mr. F. E. Smith's attitude is well known, but he has not thought fit to answer my letter. We are hard at work, and are meeting with much sympathy of a rough-and-ready nature. Our meetings each evening at St. Domingo Pit (the heart of the Conservative stronghold) are huge, and very enthusiastic.

On Monday Miss Matters is coming; the middle of the week we hope to see Mrs. Sanderson; and on Saturday and Sunday Mrs. Despard will be with us. Our thanks are due to the Rev. H. Youlden, Mr. Martin, and Mr. Frimstone, who have all kindly spoken at our meetings. Each day we shall visit Ogden's Tobacco Works, Crawford's Biscuit Works, &c., in the dinner hour. But if this division is to be worked to its utmost capacity, I must have much more help, and money.—N. M. SMITH.

## In East Fife.

Our first meeting was at Cupar Market, Miss Scrymgeour presiding. Miss Jack and I were listened to with great attention, and then a severe and lively heckling followed. The meeting over, we walked to Pillessie, 4½ miles away, to hold an evening meeting. The schoolmaster presided. A fair crowd gathered, but in the black darkness, illuminated by a solitary borrowed lantern, the audience was invisible to the speakers, who addressed them from the top of some stairs. At the close several men who refused to turn their vote promised to apply the necessary pressure by questions when Mr. Asquith comes to address them.

Wednesday found us in Auchtermuchty and Strathmiglo, places famous in Scottish history for its people's fight for Freedom. In Auchtermuchty the bellman could not be found, so, nothing daunted, Miss Jack and Miss Thomson "cried" their meeting through the town themselves. Miss Thomson introduced Miss Jack, who made a splendid impression in a very eloquent and instructive speech. In Strathmiglo Miss Scrymgeour and I received a very different reception. The youth of the village had determined that we should not be heard, so at meeting time appeared with a concertina to assist their voices. Miss Scrymgeour made a very plucky effort to make herself heard over the babble. By the time she had finished it had considerably lessened. Long ere the close of the meeting we had conquered.

Freuchie, a little village with an unenviable reputation for rowdiness, was visited by Miss Jack and Miss Thomson. A splendid meeting was held, although a few days previously a suffrage meeting was broken up.

Misses Jack, Scrymgeour, and Thomson have now left, and other workers are urgently needed.—ANNE MUNRO.

## In Montgomery Boroughs.

Suffragettes are still a novelty in Montgomery Boroughs, and on our arrival at Newtown we found no one with sufficient courage to take us in, until a local Suffragist, Miss Minnie Clark, most kindly took pity on us, and took us home with her. Our first meeting lasted for five minutes, and ended in a rush. The town is largely Liberal, and Mr. Rees' youthful supporters showed their ardour later in the day by breaking our windows. These tactics, however, aroused considerable resentment among all fair-minded people, and there was a strong feeling in favour of giving us a hearing; so we got a splendid meeting before leaving the town. We are now in Welshpool (address: 5, Cobden Street), and held an open-air meeting last night "unprecedented in the annals of the town," according to a local resident. We have meetings arranged for the Town Hall in Newtown, Welshpool, and Montgomery, for the 13th, 14th, and 18th, and shall have the help of Miss Matters for the first two. Welshpool will be our headquarters from now, and we hope to open a shop here for the last week of the Elec-

tion. Colonel Pryce Jones, the Conservative candidate, has given us a promise to insert in his Election address, "I am in favour of the extension of the franchise to women, and have more than once voted in its favour in the House of Commons." Both men and women are keen politicians in these parts, and party feeling runs very high. The local Press has given a considerable amount of space to our campaign.—AMY M. HICKS.

## In Manchester.

The Election campaign goes on apace. Twenty-seven meetings have been held during the week, both indoor and outdoor, ending with a gathering of between ten or twelve hundred in the Salford Central Mission Hall on Saturday night, when, after speeches by our President, Mrs. Despard, Miss Hayes, Miss Neal, and myself, a resolution of protest against Mr. Belloc's attitude towards women's suffrage was passed by an overwhelming majority.

We are making a deep impression in Salford, and those who received us with bags of flour and showers of mud on our first appearance now welcome the Suffragettes with applause. Miss Hayes has done splendid work, and is everywhere winning the hearts of the Lancashire audiences. We are indebted also to Miss Neal and to Mrs. Parkes, of Leek, for their valuable assistance during the last week's campaign. The Misses Hordern and Miss Doughty have been holding women's meetings inside the shop in the afternoon and evening. These meetings are well attended, and are doing much good work. Workers are wanted for polling day, January 15th, when there must be a Suffragette at every polling booth to remind the electors that it is their duty to "keep Belloc out."—M. E. MANNING.

## OPPOSITION CAMPAIGNS.

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

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.

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

DUNDEE.—52, King Street.

EAST FIFE.—W.F.L. Shop, Ladybank.

EAST WORCESTERSHIRE.—Wyer's Works, Alcester Street, Redditch.

LIVERPOOL (Walton).—205, Rice Lane.

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

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

## OTHER SPECIAL CENTRES.

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.

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.

## SUFFRAGE SHEARINGS.

## The Press and the Cause.

The interest taken in the suffrage by the Press all over the country is one of the most hopeful signs of the continued health and the increasing vigour of our cause. The questions put to candidates and their answers to them are given a praiseworthy prominence in most of the London and all the provincial papers, and in the New Year reviews of political doings of the dead year the part played by the suffragists and suffragettes—whether the particular organ favoured them or not—was seldom passed over.

## The Election Outlook.

The following is a particularly significant excerpt from the leader paragraphs in a very influential journal:—

It seems to be becoming a custom at elections for the candidate to declare his policy in print when the fight is about half over. Scanty as the results are, it may be said that a surprisingly large number of Liberal addresses contain some mention of the suffrage, although these allusions are often vague and guarded. It seems likely that the educative work that has been going on has really had some effect in convincing the rank and file of Liberal candidates that the question is one which they cannot afford to ignore. The few Tory addresses which have come in ignore the suffrage entirely, except in one or two instances, and those instances occur in constituencies where there is a very close race between Liberal and Conservative, and where, consequently (one fears), the Tory candidate has approved of women's suffrage in his address as a measure of precaution. The Labour candidates one and all subscribe to the declared policy of the Labour party—adult suffrage. In all the constituencies committees are being formed to obtain signatures to the great petition which will go up to the new Parliament. *Certainly in one way the women could have no better election to fight in than this. There can be hardly a constituency now which has not heard the agitation against the Lords as an irresponsible and unrepresentative Chamber turned round to the tyranny of a House of Commons which, from the women's point of view, is equally irresponsible and unrepresentative.*

The Manchester Guardian.

## An Elderly Hooligan.

At Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at Reading two Suffragists who attempted to bring their cause before the ex-Chancellor and the voters were, as usual, tackled by stewards. An old "gentleman" took advantage of one of these ladies being in his vicinity whilst in the custody of a steward to demonstrate his chivalry towards the protected sex. The following cutting describes the incident:—

One of the Suffragists, the first who had appeared, was held for a moment close to the platform. A man sitting immediately above leant down and hit her once or twice on the top of her head-dress with his hat. He was quite an old man, very bald, and wearing a black silk skull cap, but he was the most excited individual in the audience, and the stewards had some difficulty in protecting the woman from the senile fury of his onslaught.—Daily Telegraph.

## Out of their own Mouths.

The correspondence of anti-Suffragists when they have the hardihood to venture into print affords one of the best arguments in favour of the vote that the most ardent Suffragist could possibly desire. The modern man, and, as far as we can judge, the mediæval man—and probably, if we only knew it, the paleolithic man—objected to woman once she appeared as his competitor either for the rewards of knowledge or of commercial acumen. Why a lady co-electress should not—if she has the same qualifications to exercise the Parliamentary vote as he has, and if she happens to hold an opposite view on politics, neutralise the vote of a man—we fail to see. The distorted view of life taken by "antis" is one of their most valuable characteristics, for it supplies us with arguments. The following is a salient extract from a long letter by an "anti":—

Modern manhood, even of the best and worthiest type, does and must resent the growth of the blue stocking and the trade rival. A man may refuse to call in a lady doctor, or to play football against fifteen girls, or to confide his business secrets to a lady typewriter, but he must go to the poll if there is an election, and his lady co-electress is as likely as not to neutralise his vote. This is one, and one only, of the many reasons for regarding political equality between the sexes as essentially different from equality in education, sport, and business.—Dublin Express.

## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

## FORTHCOMING EVENTS

## LONDON.

Thurs., Jan. 13th	Caxton Hall, Westminster: "At Home," 3 p.m. Dr. Marian Thornett and Dr. Saleeby
Fri., Jan. 14th	Battersea Public Library: Mrs. Holmes, 7.30 p.m.
Sat., Jan. 15th	Battersea Public Library: Mrs. Sproson, 7.30 p.m.
Thurs., Jan. 20th	Caxton Hall, 3-6 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. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig.
Thurs., Feb. 24th	Release of Mrs. Chapin, Holloway Prison, 8 a.m.
General Election Meetings Daily in Poplar, Dulwich, and Battersea.	

## DARE TO BE FREE.

Jan. 14th.—Cleveland, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 14th.—Loftus, Oddfellows' Hall, Mrs. Despard, 7.30 p.m.
Jan. 14th.—Catshill, Mrs. Sanderson, Mrs. Fagan, and Mrs. Beith, at 7 p.m.
Jan. 15th.—Liverpool, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 15th.—Redditch, Mrs. Sanderson, Mr. Yaldwyn, Mrs. Manson (Hodges Hall), at 8 p.m.
Jan. 17th.—East Worcestershire, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 17th.—Moseley (Birmingham), Mrs. Despard, Mr. Yaldwyn, Mrs. Manson, at 8 p.m.
Jan. 18th.—East Worcestershire, Mrs. Despard.
Jan. 18th.—Redditch, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Beith, Mrs. Fagan (Hodges Hall), at 8 p.m.
Jan. 20th.—Bromsgrove, Mrs. Fagan, Mrs. Beith, Mr. Yaldwyn, Miss Law (Assembly Rooms), at 7 p.m.
Jan. 22nd.—Moseley (Birmingham), Mrs. Monson, Mr. Kennedy, at 8 p.m.

## THE PROVINCES.

Jan. 14th.—Cleveland, Mrs. Despard.	
Jan. 14th.—Loftus, Oddfellows' Hall, Mrs. Despard, 7.30 p.m.	
Jan. 14th.—Catshill, Mrs. Sanderson, Mrs. Fagan, and Mrs. Beith, at 7 p.m.	
Jan. 15th.—Liverpool, Mrs. Despard.	
Jan. 15th.—Redditch, Mrs. Sanderson, Mr. Yaldwyn, Mrs. Manson (Hodges Hall), at 8 p.m.	
Jan. 17th.—East Worcestershire, Mrs. Despard.	
Jan. 17th.—Moseley (Birmingham), Mrs. Despard, Mr. Yaldwyn, Mrs. Manson, at 8 p.m.	
Jan. 18th.—East Worcestershire, Mrs. Despard.	
Jan. 18th.—Redditch, Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Beith, Mrs. Fagan (Hodges Hall), at 8 p.m.	
Jan. 20th.—Bromsgrove, Mrs. Fagan, Mrs. Beith, Mr. Yaldwyn, Miss Law (Assembly Rooms), at 7 p.m.	
Jan. 22nd.—Moseley (Birmingham), Mrs. Monson, Mr. Kennedy, at 8 p.m.	
Meetings Daily at Redditch and Bromsgrove Works 1 to 2, and Redditch and Bromsgrove Markets at 7 p.m. Indoor meetings at Redditch for women only, Committee Rooms, at 3 p.m. and 8 p.m.	
General Election Meetings Daily at all the Special Centres.	

## SCOTLAND.

Fri., Jan. 14th Dundee Branch "At Home" to Mrs. Billington-Greig.

General Election Meetings Daily at all the Special Centres.

## WALES.

Jan. 14th.—Town Hall, Welshpool, Miss Matters, Miss Hicks, Miss Nelson, 8 p.m.

Jan. 18th.—Town Hall, Montgomery, Miss Hicks, Miss Nelson, 7 p.m.

General Election Meetings Daily in Carnarvon, Montgomery, Mid-Glamorgan, and North Monmouth.

## "Acta" Corsets.

The "Acta" corsets, highly commended by many medical men and also by fashion experts, are advertised largely just now. There is no pressure on any vital organ, while the corset will reduce any figure from three to five inches. There are many persons whose figures in the prime of life show a tendency to expand, and these corsets preserve all the signs of elegance. The corset is as simple in design as it is effective. An elastic web is attached to an ingenious arrangement of running laces inside a reducing strap, which expands or relaxes in accordance with the amount of opening required at either side of the figure, so that with one movement the band is adjusted to support the figure and to regulate the opening desired at each side of the corset. It always remains flat and imparts to the figure the fashionable silhouette. By this clever device the rucking of the corset proper is obviated, and, as will be remembered, this rucking or folding of the material has been a serious drawback to all of the so-called reducing corsets we have seen before. With the present style of close-fitting dress these corsets are not only a luxury but a necessity. They are most comfortable and delightful to wear, and are really economical.



## THE VALUE OF PROMISES.

By J. Y. KENNEDY.

A few days ago I had a talk about the coming election and its prospects with a Suffragette friend of mine, who was selling the papers of her society on the kerb near Charing Cross. Our talk naturally drifted to the value of promises made by Parliamentary candidates. She roundly declared that, so far as Women's Suffrage is concerned, they are valueless, and expressed the opinion that, even if put in writing, most candidates would, if it suited their purpose, evade or wriggle out of them.

This reminded me of a conversation that I had on the same subject some weeks ago. I was lunching at a restaurant in the City when the man next me, with whom I had been discussing the question, made the remark: "Women have no right to exact promises from candidates, and, when they do, they have no right to expect Members of Parliament to keep them." Upon my expressing surprise at this, and pointing out that a promise is usually considered a sacred thing, he laughingly replied, "Not by politicians, and not in such circumstances."

Both before and since I have heard the value of political promises called in question, but never so bluntly as by my Suffragette friend, or with such cynical indifference as by my restaurant acquaintance. I should like to think that such views as theirs have no justification; and yet, when I consider the history of the Women's Suffrage movement, I am bound to admit that, although they may be exaggerated, they are unpleasantly like the truth. Men who make promises lightly, or under pressure, are seldom eager to fulfil them, and too often take advantage of any excuse to evade them. Sometimes promises cannot be fulfilled: circumstances render it impossible, and those who make them rejoice accordingly. The truth of this is exemplified both in the action of the House of Commons and in the non-fulfilment of Mr. Asquith's famous promise.

At the last General Election a majority of nearly two-thirds of the Members returned to Parliament were pledged to support Women's Suffrage. Everyone knows what happened:—Mr. Dickinson's Bill was talked out; Mr. Stanger's Bill was shelved. The Government was, no doubt, chiefly to blame for this; but, with few exceptions, the supporters of Women's Suffrage in the House of Commons showed neither resentment nor disappointment. Some were indifferent; others, it is darkly hinted, secretly rejoiced. Be that as it may, no further action was taken to give effect by legislation to the demand for Women's Suffrage.

Perhaps Mr. Asquith's promise had something to do with this. When Mr. Asquith stated to a deputation of Members of the House of Commons that, before the end of the late Parliament, the Government would bring in a Reform Bill, and that, if a resolution of a sufficiently democratic nature, in favour of Women's Suffrage, were passed by the House of Commons, it would be adopted into the Bill, there were Liberals who hailed this as a message of hope to women. They persuaded themselves, and tried to persuade others, that Mr. Asquith had laid the women of the country under a great debt of gratitude, and professed to think that agitation for the enfranchisement of women ought forthwith to cease. The Suffrage societies thought otherwise. They attached no value to the promise, and continued to agitate. For this they were called foolish, vindictive, and unreasonable. Frequently at Suffrage meetings have I had these adjectives hurled at me, accompanied by such questions as, "In the face of Mr. Asquith's promise, why do you go on agitating?" or "You have got Mr. Asquith's promise—what more do you want?"

The course of events has vindicated the prescience of the Suffragists. Parliament has been dissolved without the promised Reform Bill having been introduced. All that women have got to comfort them is a renewal of Mr. Asquith's promise. What is it worth? It is claimed for it that it has this value—that it is an official recognition of Women's Suffrage as one of the great questions before the country—that it makes it, for the first time, a direct issue at a General Election. Beyond this it has

no value. Indeed, it is more calculated to defeat than to advance the cause of Women's Suffrage; for, while it will tend to pacify some Suffragist supporters of the Government, and probably cause them to relax their efforts, the proposed Bill, should it ever be introduced, will unite in strenuous opposition those Conservative supporters of Women's Suffrage who are opposed to any lowering of the franchise qualification, and Anti-Suffragists of all political parties. The promise is worse than useless: it is deceptive and dangerous.

At the General Election promises will, no doubt, be dealt out as lavishly as heretofore. Candidates are always influenced by the exigencies of their position. Some, in order to obtain votes, will be induced to give pledges that they would fain hope they will not be called upon to redeem. Others, with the same laudable object, will, even if opposed to Women's Suffrage, dangle Mr. Asquith's promise before the eyes of unsophisticated voters.

The moral is plain. No matter what promises may be made, agitation must be kept up—agitation continuous, persistent, and determined.

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### MISS NEILANS' RELEASE.

Members of the League and their friends will have an opportunity of showing their appreciation of the courage and endurance which has been shown by Miss Neilans by being present at the reception which has been arranged in her honour at Caxton Hall on February 1st.

The tickets are now on sale, price 1s. each. During the reception tea and coffee will be served, and there will be music or recitations. Speeches will begin at 8 p.m., and in addition to Miss Neilans Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig will speak.

Will you take tickets on sale or return? Please apply at once to the Ticket Secretary, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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### OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

#### A New Society for Woman's Suffrage

Still they come! If the formation of a new society for Woman's Suffrage every few months during the past four years is an evidence that the cause is dying, then, indeed, the Antis must have reason for rejoicing. A very large number of members and ex-members of the London Society for Women's Suffrage, evidently feeling strongly that the time has come for more energetic action, met on Tuesday, the 5th inst., by invitation of Mrs. Carl Hentschel, at 15, Chancery Lane. The following resolution was moved by Mrs. Bull, seconded by Mr. Cecil Chapman, and carried unanimously: "That a society of men and women be formed, on constitutional lines, with election policy against the Government for the time being, until the removal of sex disability is adopted as a Government measure." Mrs. Cecil Chapman, who was in the chair, invited suggestions for a name for the society, and it was arranged to decide this point at the next meeting. Over £70 was promised by those present towards the treasurer's fund.

#### Irish Women's Franchise League.

The League is an independent Irish organisation, unconnected with any English Suffrage Society, and consists of Irish women of all shades of political opinion, who are pledged not to support any Parliamentary candidate who is opposed to the extension of the franchise to women. The main issues before the country in the General Election affect women equally with men, whether they deal with the House of Lords, Tariff, or Home Rule.—K. Shannon, Antient Concert Buildings, Dublin.

#### The Actresses' Franchise League.

During the Election there have been no meetings, but the League is arranging for a debate in the Grand Hall of the Criterion on Friday, February 4th, on the subject of Woman's Suffrage, when it is hoped that prominent members of the Anti-Suffrage League and our own will discuss the question.—Adeline Bourne, Hon. Sec., 19, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W.

#### N.W.S.P.U.

Election work is still the order of the day. In every town, small and large, members of the N.W.S.P.U. are working for two objects: first, to keep the Liberals out, and secondly, to educate the people on this great question. From all quarters come promises from men to cast their votes against the Government, and the election of 1910 will be remembered as the one in which women played so great a part.

A poster designed by Dr. MacPherson for electioneering purposes, and bearing the words (displayed) "Women Not Voting: Elections Invalid," can be had post free at 6d. each from the Offices of THE VOTE, 148, Holborn Bars.