

# THE VOTE

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

VOL. V. No. 122.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1912.

ONE PENNY.

## NOTICE.

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Published by W. SPEAIGHT & SONS, 98 & 99, Fetter Lane, E.C.

## EDITORIAL.

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## OUR POINT OF VIEW.

### Sir Edward Grey—to Men.

Important events have happened during the past week with regard to Woman Suffrage. At the Albert Hall the Labour Party pledged determined opposition to an Electoral Reform Bill which did not include women; in the House of Lords, His Majesty King George V. read his speech on the opening of Parliament: there was no mention of "My women subjects," neither was there any mention of a Manhood Bill; the words dealing with the Reform proposals were studiously and significantly vague. Sir Edward Grey, speaking last Saturday evening to the Manchester Liberal Federation in the historic Free Trade Hall, ignored Suffrage completely until the close of the meeting, when he kept his promise to answer some questions. His advice—to men—on such matters as Foreign Affairs, the coal strike, Irish Home Rule, would have been interesting if he had seen its application to women. An interchange of journalists pledged to assuage not to annoy would be excellent in time of tension between countries; the avoidance of irritation was imperative in the coal crisis, strong language on the part of Irish Nationalists was nothing serious; it must be balanced by remembering the history of English Government of Ireland. "Give them responsibility for their own affairs!" Excellent advice, but it applied only to men.

### Sir Edward Grey—to Women.

When he fairly faced the woman's question, Sir Edward showed a lamentable lack of political and historical knowledge, for he repeated the worn-out statement—a poor shelter for Cabinet Ministers—that a divided Government could not be expected to bring in a Bill including women. Sir Edward is no doubt absorbed in Foreign Affairs, not to mention his new honour—the Garter—but this ignorance of history is surprising in a statesman of his reputation. A course of reading as to how great statesmen in the past—Peel, Wellington, Palmerston, Disraeli and Gladstone—have boldly taken responsibility in carrying out the wish of the majority in spite of divided Cabinets, would be beneficial not only for Sir Edward but to Mr. Asquith and the rest of the Cabinet. This is not the first time that Franchise

Reform has had to be dealt with, nor the first time that there have been divided counsels; but the minority has given way to the expressed will of the House of Commons; it must do so again. On two points Sir Edward spoke with some effect: he opposed a Referendum of men on Woman Suffrage, and declared that it was not the intention of the Government to relegate the Reform Bill to a hopeless place in the Session.

### Imitating Russia.

The trial of Miss Malecka, claimed as a British subject by British law and Russian by Russian law, took place on February 13 in open Court, and was the first political case to be thus tried since Warsaw enjoyed the blessing of Russian Courts of Law! The pressure brought to bear by the British Government undoubtedly secured this concession; the case was also watched by the British Vice-Consul. The trial was adjourned, owing to the absence of two important witnesses for the defence, and Miss Malecka released on bail, probably until May. So far, so good. But why do not the British authorities pay more attention to what goes on in their own jails? We are ready to cry out about Russia's treatment of prisoners, but the torture suffered by William Ball in a London prison, driving him to certificated insanity, is a disgrace to the Home Office. In almost apologetic terms a swindler is informed that he will have the advantage of facilities for carrying on his business during twelve months' imprisonment; William Ball was denied the Churchill concessions for prisoners not guilty of moral turpitude. He had not been convicted of great frauds, only of the crime of striking a blow for the women and failing to respect the sanctity of the Home Office windows. A serious and terrible case; yet the House of Commons could raise a laugh over the torture of five and a-half weeks of forcible feeding.

### "Open Contempt for the Women's Claim."

Further secessions of women Liberals from the Mid-Oxfordshire Association are reported since last week, and we welcome the strong stand taken by the seceders against those Liberals who put party before principle. The open contempt for the woman's claim, says Mrs. Petersen, of Wadham College, in writing to *The Standard*, "is typical of Liberal action elsewhere, and cannot fail to arouse in Suffragists the bitter suspicion that the Liberalism of the Liberal Party stops short wherever—for party purposes—it ceases to pay." This continued revolt of Liberal women is significant; Mr. Asquith will do well to [make honourable peace with the women by recognising the justice of their demand for enfranchisement and treading in the steps of great statesmen who bowed to the inevitable.

### How to Convert the Unconverted.

The Anti-Suffrage demonstration is to be a happy family party; none who are without the family will be admitted; they will rejoice together, but what will be the result in converts? The new way to convert is to keep the unconverted far from the sound of the truth! Truly the weighty array of titles and representatives of ancient dignity to be gathered on the platform must be credited with remarkable wisdom in devising this hopeful method of propaganda.



## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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### AT HEADQUARTERS.

**National Executive Committee.**—A meeting of the National Executive Committee was held at 1, Robert-street last Friday and Saturday. Miss Andrews was voted to the chair, the other members present being Mrs. Despard, Miss Tite, Miss Husband, Miss Neilans, Miss Munro, Mrs. Vulliamy, Mrs. Drysdale, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Fisher, Miss A. M. Clark, and the Secretary. The Committee greatly regretted the absence of Mrs. How Martyn, Mrs. Coates Hansen, and Mrs. Sproson, due in each case to illness. Much business was transacted and various sub-committees appointed to deal with different branches of the League's activities. The Committee decided that in the near future, probably in April, we are to hold a demonstration in Trafalgar-square. It will take place on a Saturday afternoon, and the date will be given in next week's VOTE. The Committee desires that this demonstration shall be the biggest one yet held in the Square by the Women's Freedom League. Branch secretaries will be communicated with at an early date to send their banners with as many representatives as possible to take part in the demonstration. In May we are to hold a big political meeting at the Caxton Hall, particulars of which will be given in later numbers of THE VOTE.

**Imprisonment for Tax Resistance.**—Early in its session the Committee received the news from Miss Nina Boyle that Miss Bunten, the hon. treasurer of our Glasgow Branch, had refused to pay her fine for non-payment of taxes, and had been sentenced to ten days' imprisonment. A telegram was despatched offering the Committee's heartiest congratulations to Miss Bunten, and urging her to press for first division treatment. Very satisfactory reports were given by Miss Munro of recent work in the North-Eastern district, and by Miss A. M. Clark in Montgomery Boroughs. Miss Andrews is taking a meeting at Cardiff this week, and hopes to visit our Branch secretaries in South Wales.

**Future Meetings in London.**—We hope our many members and friends will make certain of attending the meeting next Tuesday evening at the "Gardenia" Restaurant, when Mr. Henlé will open a discussion on "Some Considerations arising out of Adult Suffrage." Adult Suffrage is now being widely discussed, and any one in the audience will be cordially invited to express his or her views on this subject. The chair will be taken at 8 o'clock. The following afternoon, 3.30 to 5.30, Wednesday, February 28, we are to have a special "At Home" at Caxton Hall, when we shall have the pleasure of listening to speeches from Mrs. Pember Reeves and Miss Nina Boyle. Tea will be served at 3.30, recitals will be given by Miss Jean Crocker, English-concertina solos by Miss Christine Hawkes, and the chair will be taken by Miss C. V. Tite. Notices of other fixtures will be found in the list of Forthcoming Events.

**Freedom League Fair.**—The Committee decided that it would be wiser to postpone the Fair until the first week in November, which will give longer time to work for its success. We shall be glad to hear from time to time what our friends are doing for the Fair, so that we may better judge of the support on which we may confidently rely. We hope to carry through the arrangements on a large scale, so that we shall be grateful for the utmost help that each of our members and friends can give. F. A. UNDERWOOD.

## POLITICAL AND MILITANT WORK.

St. Rollox, Glasgow, By-Election.

Candidates: T. MCKINNON WOOD (Liberal), F. A. MACQUISTON (Conservative). Liberal majority last Election, 1,917.

The Women's Freedom League will take an active part in the by-election in the St. Rollox Division of Glasgow, which has been occasioned by the appointment of Mr. McKinnon Wood to the Secretaryship for Scotland. A strong Branch of the League has headquarters in Glasgow, and Miss Nina Boyle is already at work in the district. The following questions have been addressed to the candidates:—

1. Will you mention Women's Suffrage in your Election address?
2. Will you, if elected, vote for the Conciliation Bill through all its stages?
3. Will you vote for a Women's Suffrage amendment to the proposed Reform Bill?
4. If the wide amendments do not receive a majority, will you support an amendment on the lines of the Conciliation Bill?
5. Will you vote against the third reading of the proposed Reform Bill if it does not include some measure of Women's Suffrage?

The League considers it cannot be too strongly pointed out that the responsibility of delaying or trifling with Woman Suffrage now rests entirely upon the private Member of Parliament, and therefore it is of the utmost importance that all elected candidates should be good suffragists. The policy of the Freedom League will be to oppose whichever candidate is unsatisfactory in his replies, or, if both prove satisfactory, to run a purely propaganda campaign. A shop has been taken in the heart of the division, and funds are needed for the necessary expenses. Fuller details will be given next week. All workers in the district should put themselves in touch with Miss Boyle at the Centre.

### Tax-Resistance in Scotland.

Miss Bunten was fined £1, with £2 costs, in the Court House at Glasgow, on Friday, February 16, and made a brief but excellent speech, defining her position. As a fully qualified Parliamentary voter, she is not allowed to vote because she is a woman; therefore she resisted taxation. Miss Bunten refused to pay, and was sentenced to ten days' imprisonment, to take effect in ten days' time if the fine is not paid. The thanks of the League are due to our plucky colleague who dislikes publicity more than having to go to prison.

### POSTERS AND PEOPLE.

#### An Impression by a Parader.

We started from the Office armed with a bundle of bills for distribution, and fenced in with sandwich-boards displaying, in big, black type, the arresting words, "Justice or Jail?" and "M.P.'s, Remember Your Pledges!" It was the day of the opening of Parliament and the streets were crowded with all sorts and conditions of men and women. The bills disappeared like magic, and—how different from past days!—we were met on all sides with friendly greetings. A few disgruntled "Antis" expressed disapproval, but we could afford to smile at them, for was not this the beginning of the Session which is to bring us our heart's desire?

Even the judges whom we met on their return to the Law Courts gave us friendly smiles, and Mr. Lloyd George amicably waved his hat to us as though he wished us to sink past differences. We hoped he was able to read the posters, and digest their significant inscriptions. But it wasn't all enjoyment. Some hungry-looking men hoped we would get the vote soon and help the workless and starving; and perhaps it is because we mean and want to do that, that we can set off "poster parading" with light hearts, and face what fate may bring us cheerfully and without fear.—B. M.

Mrs. POWELL, our veteran VOTE seller, standing at the corner of Downing-street between two policemen, holding up a copy of THE VOTE, got a special smile and acknowledgment from Queen Mary. "She has seen something that pleases her! It's your VOTE, right enough!" said the policeman.

### "VOTE" RALLIES.

VOTE sellers will start from 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, on Friday, February 23, and Wednesday, February 28, for the Albert Hall at six o'clock prompt. Will those who can help kindly send in their names to Mrs. Fisher, at THE VOTE Office? Tea 5.30 p.m. each day.

## MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND SUFFRAGE.

### FROM THE KING'S SPEECH.

The reference to Electoral Reform was as follows:—  
Proposals will be brought forward for the amendment of the law with respect to the franchise and the registration of electors.

### THE PRIME MINISTER ON "THE VEXED QUESTION."

After giving his views to a Trades Union deputation which waited on him on February 15 in his private room at the House of Commons on the wisdom of sweeping away existing franchise restrictions and limitations, the Prime Minister said: "I will not go into the question which was touched on—and I am glad to say only touched on—the vexed question of sex. I dare say we shall hear very much about that before we are much older than we are now. I will just leave that where it is."

### Meetings at Westminster.

The Liberal Women's Suffrage Committee, of which Mr. Dickinson is chairman and Mr. Whitehouse secretary, met on February 15 to discuss the prospects of Women's Suffrage this session. It was felt that it ought to be the aim of the Committee to see that everything possible is done to strengthen the position of a suffrage measure this Session. The following resolution was carried: "That this meeting urges the members of the Committee to ballot for a Women's Suffrage Bill to-morrow, and pledges itself to do its utmost during the Session to secure the enfranchisement of women on a broad and democratic basis, either by means of a private Bill or by an amendment to the Government Reform Bill."

Unionist supporters of Women's Suffrage also met on the same day in answer to a requisition signed by Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Ormsby-Gore, and others, and decided to resist widening amendments to the Conciliation Bill. About thirty pledged themselves to vote for the Conciliation Bill.

### Result of Ballot.

The third place in the ballot was won for the Conciliation Bill by Mr. Agg-Gardner. There are five Fridays available for private Members before Easter, and this Bill will probably be considered on second reading on March 22.

The following Members of Parliament have promised to back the Conciliation Bill:—

Rt. Hon. Thomas Burt.  
Ellis Griffith.  
J. A. Murray McDonald.  
Walter McLaren.  
Sir Joseph Walton.  
Lord R. Cecil.

E. A. Goulding.  
Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.  
W. Mitchell-Thomson.  
Philip Snowden.  
Sir T. Grattan Esmonde.

The Bill will be in the charge of Mr. Agg-Gardner, Conservative Member for Cheltenham. First elected to the House in 1874, he voted in support of Mr. Forsyth's Bill in 1875, and has consistently supported Woman Suffrage since. He considers the backing of the Bill to be strong, and it is understood that its basis will be the same as that of last year.

### SIR EDWARD GREY'S DECLARATION.

In replying to a vote of thanks after his speech in Manchester on February 17, Sir Edward Grey fulfilled a promise he had made to answer some questions on woman suffrage. He read out the questions and gave his replies as follows:—

Question: "Considering the strenuous agitation of the last seven years in favour of votes for women, the success of which is shown in the big majority in the House of Commons, why is the Reform Bill for men only when there has been no agitation for votes for men?"

Answer: "I am going to give three answers to that. First, when the Reform Bill is introduced it will be introduced for men only, because the Government is divided in opinion on the subject of women suffrage. My second answer is that until I have seen the provisions of the Bill I am unable to make any statement about it. Thirdly, I do not regard it as a Reform Bill for men only, because if introduced as such it will be introduced under the express condition that the House of Commons shall be entitled to turn it from a Reform Bill for men into a Reform Bill for men and women too, if the House of Commons is of that opinion."

Question: "What is the Government's attitude on the Referendum? Will the Government resist any attempt to add a referendum clause to the Bill just as they would resist any attempt to add a referendum clause to a Home Rule Bill?"

Answer: "I cannot say what the Government as a Government will do on that point. Personally, I do not think it would be fair to submit the question of votes for women to a referendum of men, and I would oppose such a proposal." (Cheers.)

Question: "At what period of the Session would the question of woman suffrage be raised?"

Answer: "I do not yet know."

Question: "Is it true, as alleged, that the Franchise proposals would be relegated to a place in the Session where they would stand little or no chance of escaping the massacre of the innocents?"

Answer: "That is certainly not the intention of the Government. . . . It would be quite unfair, and in any case the promise which the Government gave regarding the Conciliation Bill holds good." (Applause.)

### "NO REFERENDUM."

The Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation has unanimously passed the following resolution:—  
"That this committee disapproves of the suggestion that the question of women's suffrage should be submitted to a referendum. The committee consider that such a course would not be in accordance with the pledges of the Prime Minister, would be an unjust method of ascertaining the opinion of the country on a question affecting women, and would make a change in the Constitution which would be dangerous to the cause of Liberal reform."

### THE FIRST SCOTCH TAX RESISTER.

Miss Janet Legate Bunten, hon. treasurer of the Glasgow Branch, W.F.L., was charged on February 16, in the small debtors' court, before Justices of the Peace Martin and Cameron, with keeping a dog without a licence. She made a spirited defence, saying, "Whatever custom may be enforced, I claim I am not in equity liable to taxation. I protest against the unjust, illegal, and unconstitutional taxation of unrepresented women," and quoted from Statute 25 of Edward I, set forth in Mrs. C. C. Stopes' valuable little book, "The Sphere of Man in the Constitution." After consultation, £1 fine and 10s. costs was adjudged a punishment befitting the crime, ten days' imprisonment in default. Miss Bunten announced her intention of not paying, and was given ten days' grace in which to alter her mind. Her arrest will fall due on the date of the St. Rollox by-election. The full penalty is £5 or thirty days.

The element of comedy was supplied by the fact that Justice of the Peace Mr. William Martin, is a Suffragist, and has taken the chair at a local meeting. Also by the alarm created at the arrival of the W.S.P.U. dray and reinforcements. The court was twenty minutes late in taking its seat, and it was freely rumoured that the reason of the delay was that more police were sent for to be in attendance before the proceedings began! There certainly was an unusual number present for so insignificant a court. A meeting was held outside the court, at which Miss Boyle spoke. The police not only allowed the demonstration, but were interested listeners. Meetings were held by Miss Boyle during the lunch hour in the Royal Exchange-square and the next afternoon in Partick.

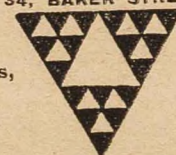
LONDON SOCIETY OF THE  
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## THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

### Asking for Trouble.

The King's Speech was a masterpiece of non-committal statements. Phrases that might mean anything—or nothing—were put into his Majesty's mouth by his sapient Ministers. The much talked-of Reform Bill figured as "Proposals for the amendment of the law with respect to the franchise and the registration of electors." A statement so vague may mean anything the Government may choose it shall mean, from a plunge for Manhood Suffrage to a simple Plural Voting Bill. The one point about the King's Speech, however, that most concerns us is not what *was* in it, but what was *not* in it! "My women subjects" were not mentioned. Other sections of the community that have given signs of discontent were admonished or promised attention. But one of the most serious causes of unrest and rebellion and lawlessness—the deep discontent of women—was ignored. This looks like a direct challenge from the Government to us to give them further proofs of its existence and reality.

### A Fight to a Finish.

However, in spite of this omission, we, and the Government, and the country, know that votes for women is the dominant question in politics now. It is the one issue on which the Cabinet may split or resign. It is the one issue on which they may have to face dissolution, caused by the defeat of one of their own Bills. We know our power, and all Members of Parliament know it too. They realise that the fight has to be fought to a finish this year, that there is no evading the question any longer.

### Our Luck in the Ballot.

Indeed that certainty will be forced upon them within a very few days. The question of Women's Suffrage will crop up at once. One of the signs of the "damage" the militants have done to the Cause is the fact that fifty, instead of half-a-dozen, Members eagerly balloted on Friday last for a place for a Suffrage Bill. Even with the smaller number our luck in gaining a good position has become proverbial. It surprised no one therefore to learn on Saturday that Mr. Agg-Gardner, a Unionist who had won the third place, intended to adopt the Conciliation Bill, which was introduced by Sir George Kemp last year, and passed its second reading on May 5 by a majority of 167.

It is possible, however, that there will be "wigs on the green" even before the introduction of the Conciliation Bill. We are informed that the Opposition are going to move an amendment to the Address to the Throne, dealing with the whole question of the proposed alteration of the franchise law, so that we may have further light on the subject in a few days.

The first place in the ballot has fallen to Mr. Harold Baker, who has selected the Plural Voting Bill, and as this will to some extent cover the same ground as the Government's proposed Electoral Reform Bill, there is not the faintest doubt that our demand will be heard of in this connection too, and will thus dominate the situation from the very beginning of the Session.

### A Suggested Way of Escape for Ministers.

Of course speculation is busy as to the course events will take. The Opposition claim that the Government have utilised the luck of the ballot for their own purposes, and that the early introduction of a Plural Voting Bill—even by a private Member—will provide a very good excuse for the abandonment or postponement of the Reform Bill; and that members of the Cabinet will thus be able to escape from the imbroglio into which they plunged themselves by undertaking to appear on antagonistic platforms.

### A Damaged Chance.

Should this plan be adopted we should be thrown back solely on the chances of the Conciliation Bill—chances which have been very considerably damaged by Mr. Lloyd George. We should want to know promptly and decisively what his attitude would be to

the Bill he so cheerfully described as "torpedoed" should this procedure be followed. The Conciliation Bill was only accepted after much heart-searching by the various Suffrage Societies for tactical reasons. Having had the compromise split by the Government's unasked-for Manhood Suffrage proposals, they are not likely to regard it now as anything but a totally unsatisfactory measure, that meets neither their demands nor their needs.

### No Shirking!

We are fighting, and we intend to go on fighting, for our full rights, neither more nor less. We are not asking for special treatment for women, nor for special privileges; but neither do we intend to submit to special injustices nor disabilities! The method of dealing with the question of votes for men must be applied to the question of votes for women. The responsibility of the granting of an extension of the franchise has always been shouldered by the Government of the day. A Government that shirks the responsibility of introducing legislation presents a pitiable spectacle. The present Government really cannot afford to add to its unenviable record in that respect!

### Private Prejudices versus Public Duty.

Why the private prejudices and contemptible obstinacy of Mr. Asquith and his "Anti" following should be allowed to override the public duty of the Cabinet is difficult to understand—except on the assumption that the minority and the majority are playing into each other's hands. To contend that it is impossible for the Prime Minister to allow a measure of which he disapproves to be introduced by his Cabinet, or to claim that fear of a party split is good and sufficient reason for their refusal to act at the bidding of a great and widespread demand, is an insult to our intelligence. Mr. Asquith is not put into office to support the Bills he personally prefers, but to obey the will of the electors as expressed by their representatives, and pass the Bills of which they approve. The present House of Commons has expressed its convictions on this subject twice already, and if the Government were in earnest in their desire to see this verdict carried out, they would adopt the only sure method of securing success by introducing a Woman's Suffrage Clause into the Reform Bill on their own responsibility.

### The Pledge of Labour.

The Labour Party, at its great meeting in the Albert Hall, pledged itself up to the hilt to do its utmost to secure votes for women on the same terms as men. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, when asked whether he was prepared to turn the Government out on this issue, replied with an uncompromising, emphatic "Certainly!" This pledge is the most valuable asset we possess—outside our own invincible determination not to be tricked or put off any longer.

Other Members as well as the Labour Members have pledged themselves to vote against the Government's Bill on the third reading if women are not included on some basis or other. If they are true to their pledges the defeat of the Government is assured if all the suffrage amendments are lost, and a dissolution must follow. The life of the Government then *can* be made dependent on the passing of a Woman's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill; it only remains for the Labour Party and the other Members who have promised to take this course to bring this fact firmly and unmistakably before the Cabinet. When they realise they are risking their own continuance in office by insisting on Woman's Suffrage being left to a "go-as-you-please" amendment, perhaps they will see the wisdom and advisability of introducing the principle into the Bill themselves, and supporting it with all the force of the Coalition.

MARION HOLMES.

READERS will be glad to know that Mrs. Annie Besant is to give a series of five lectures on "The Path to Initiation," on Sunday mornings in March, at 11.30 a.m., at the Queen's Hall. For particulars see p. ii. of cover.

## GREAT MEETING OF THE LABOUR PARTY. UNQUALIFIED DEMAND FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

The great demonstration in favour of equal suffrage, organised by the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society, which took place at the Albert Hall on February 13, will rank as historic. It resulted in a definite declaration of determined opposition to a Manhood Suffrage Bill, and when a voice from the gallery cried, "Will you turn the Government out if women are not included?" Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, Chairman of the Labour Party, who presided, replied, "Certainly!" The gathering was historic because for the first time a powerful political party was associated with Woman Suffrage, and the decision of the Labour Party in their recent annual conference at Birmingham was emphatically reiterated. The chairman was supported by the leading men and women of the party, and the enthusiasm shown throughout the evening culminated in the passing of the resolution by a huge majority.

In the course of his speech from the chair, Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said:

"The anti-woman suffragists want their women to be mere servants to their conveniences and their appetites. We want our women to be our companions, our helpers. We do not merely want them to canvass for us when we are candidates. We want them to be in this position: that candidates must appeal to their intelligence, otherwise those candidates cannot be returned to represent any constituency. Consequently, so far as the Labour Party is concerned, it will strive might and main, and will leave no stone unturned to give women the vote on precisely the same terms as men. It was fashionable," he added, "to jeer at the intelligence of the working man's wife, but her intelligence was as conspicuous as that of the finely dressed West-end lady. The woman who had to bring up a family upon the niggardly wage that a workman could bring home, could contribute to the experience of the State an intelligence and a personal experience far richer than the lady who as soon as she had a baby handed it over to the tender care of a nurse, and then bundled it off to a boarding-school. The working man's wife, with her experience of joy and sorrow, of woe and hope, of hardship and gladness, was precisely the woman whom the State should consult in solving its problems." With regard to the referendum he said: "I am one of those people who are in the happy position of being able to say that I have always opposed the referendum on principle. I know there is no member of the Labour Party who will not fight strenuously against any and every attempt to introduce the referendum clause in the Suffrage Bill. The referendum is one of those gaudy toys that are offered to distract the attention of the democracy when the democracy takes its coat off to do real solid work. In a huge country like this," he continued, "with masses of voters from John o' Groats to Land's End, one could not possibly devise any kind of machinery which would enable the masses of the electors to give a real pronouncement on a big and complicated measure. A majority of the people might be in favour of women's suffrage as a principle, as a simple issue, but when a Bill was drafted, a little clause got into it which a little body of men and women did not like, and another clause which another body did not like, and they would vote against it. The House of Commons must accept the responsibility for this Bill. The party has made its position perfectly clear. You can depend upon it that the Labour Party, supported by the elements outside, will use every particle of influence it may possess to see to it that the Bill which is introduced will leave the House of Commons an Adult Suffrage Bill."

The resolution, moved by Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., was as follows:

That this meeting of men and women, believing that the widest and simplest suffrage, affording to every person legal means for redress of grievances, is the safest base for the democratic State, insists that a drastic reform of the franchise, to include the complete removal of all the complications and absurdities of the present methods of registration, is long overdue, and that the time has come for the grant to every adult man and woman of the right to vote for all governing bodies, both central and local. It assures the Government that no measure of manhood suffrage will be acceptable to the organised forces of Labour throughout the kingdom, and demands a genuine measure of adult suffrage, conferring full rights of citizenship on all men and women.

In the course of his speech he declared his intention of voting against any Bill which did not secure votes for women as well as men. Everything would be justified if the expectations raised by the votes of the House in the past were betrayed. But that betrayal would not take place. The Labour Party put its power

behind the question; it had carried its point on other questions, in spite of the opposition of powerful members of the Government, and could do so again.

The resolution was seconded by Mrs. Despard, who expressed the thanks of all Suffragists for the splendid stand made by the Labour Party on the question of Woman Suffrage. She said she had long been dreaming of the co-operation of the great spiritual forces behind the Labour Movement and the Woman Movement; no power could withstand the union of these forces. The woman's claim was said to be unnatural; she insisted that it was most natural. The sacred model of the family was the model for the nation. Her narration of the facts of the Farnham case aroused cries of "Shame! Shame!" to which she replied that such things could not be altered until men and women stood side by side. Women demanded the right to serve and the reward—more service.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., said that the militant fighting women had good reason to be proud of the position their question occupied. It was literally threatening the life of the Government. Politics and reforms resolved themselves into a question of pressure: the Labour Party would support the women in their demands and insist on equality. It was a greater question than electoral reform; it was economic freedom.

Miss Mary MacArthur, speaking with fervour and force, gave distressing cases of sweated women workers. She did not believe that the citizenship of women would result in a revolution, but declared that the woman's point of view, brought into politics, would make for improved social and industrial conditions. Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., gave a characteristic speech in which a serious purpose underlay the humour. He spoke of the heroism of the wives of working men, and, in answering the charge that women would make a mess of politics, said, "They cannot make a worse mess than men have done!" Miss Millicent Murby's speech emphasised the representative and world-wide character of the woman's movement uniting all classes, and showed how it had been demonstrated in the great processions. Mr. W. C. Anderson, the last speaker, laid stress on the justice of the woman's demand, and said: "Social questions are not men's questions, nor women's questions. They are human questions. They will never be properly solved until both points of view are brought to bear upon men," adding that courage would bring victory.

### SUFFRAGE WAR SONG.

All who in the garret bare  
Breathe the foul and fetid air,  
Perishing in dumb despair,  
Welcome Votes for Women!

All who toil both day and night,  
Working hard by candle light,  
Hail with rapturous delight  
Votes for Working Women.

All who see upon the street  
Once innocent, now wanton feet,  
E'en the babe trained to deceit,  
Work for Votes for Women.

All to whom our Land is dear,  
All who for the future fear,  
All who would the hopeless cheer,  
Vote for Votes for Women.

—LESLIE PEVERIL.

### IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE FEDERATION.

#### DEPUTATION TO MR. BIRRELL.

Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, received at the Irish Office, on February 20, a deputation from the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation. The spokesmen—Dr. Mary Strangman, Town Councillor of Waterford, and Mrs. James Duncan, of Dublin—urged the inclusion of women in the Irish Home Rule Bill.



## THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Secretary—Miss H. HOLMAN.

Directors—Mrs. DESPARD, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. M. H. FISHER, Mrs. COATES HANSEN, Miss C. ANDREWS, Mrs. E. SPROSON, Miss F. A. UNDERWOOD.

SATURDAY, February 24, 1912.

### ROCKS AHEAD!

Those of us who have been accustomed to go down to the sea in ships will recall amongst their experiences their slow approach to certain coasts. The sea will be still save for a little shimmer here and there upon its surface; the low line of land is seen in the near distance, yet the ship seems to be moving at a snail's pace. On inquiry we hear that soundings are being taken. We know then that the position is critical. Beneath the quiet sea-surface there are rocks and shoals which, if care and skill [are] not exercised, may ruin our ship; to some of us, the figures of the sailor, without haste and without rest, dealing out the line, and the helmsman acting on the knowledge conveyed by his numbers, are momentous, as figures of fate. Out of the ocean with its great spaces we have come safely. The compass has been our guide; storms have battered us, but we are not yet at home.

This mental picture may serve to illustrate the political situation to-day as it affects Woman's Suffrage. There is hope. The shore we seek to reach looms dimly out of the mists of uncertainty. Not a dreamland as some would make us believe! On the contrary, we can point to many indications of the fact that it is real and solid. Speaking generally, our question is more alive and persistent than it has ever been before. Some forms of opposition have died down altogether, so that where once we were met with scorn, we now find sympathy. But there are other and clearer signs than this. Mainly through our means, attention has been drawn to the unsatisfactory nature of the Franchise Laws; and, while so far as certain Members of the Cabinet and a section of the public are concerned the grievance is treated as a male grievance, there can be no doubt that a large body of that opinion which actually governs the Press of the country is against this unjust estimate.

It may come to be seen hereafter that Mr. Asquith's answer to the deputation of Adult Suffragists that his promise of franchise reform would affect men only has done real service to our Cause. Since then, it will be noticed, papers of every shade of political party have found themselves forced, when discussing the nature and effect of the promised reform, to mention Woman Suffrage. This is certainly a proof of the push of public opinion.

The King's Speech is another indication. Artfully, and therefore vaguely worded, it may be made to mean anything from the inclusion of all men and women in an Adult Bill to a small measure abolishing the plural voter. It is true that while the discontent of various sections of the King's male subjects is noticed, and while, for them, measures of redress are promised, no least allusion is made to the righteous discontent of the women of the country. One of the chief tasks of the Women's Freedom League during the next few months must be to keep this discontent, with the deep reasons which underlie it, continually before the public. Another hopeful sign is the division between Members of the Cabinet on this subject.

But the most hopeful sign of all to those who can look beyond the immediate present is the campaign set on foot by the united forces of Labour for political equality, finely inaugurated at the Albert Hall on February 13. That great meeting was not only a triumphant success, it was also a far-reaching prophecy. Labour representation, as it must be admitted by all, has brought a new force into politics. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald has summed this up in some remarkable words, which form part of a paper in *The Hibbert Journal* of January, entitled

"Citizenship of the Working Man": "The Labour party has brought moral consciousness right into the heart of the political arena as a judge." That Labour should join its forces to ours points to this: that woman is felt by that young, but great Party, to possess the moral consciousness, through whose compelling power mighty changes are wrought. Woman and Labour standing together will make the final appeal, "Ought these things to be?"

These being the hopeful signs we shall be asked: What hinders? Why do we not move swiftly forward?

Alas! there are rocks ahead. Like the ship nearing port, we must move cautiously lest, in sight of land, we founder. Again we have been favoured by the ballot. The Conciliation Bill has won a place and its Second Reading is certain. Mr. Asquith promised facilities for its full discussion; but since then the Men's Franchise Reform Bill, which altogether changes our attitude towards the Conciliation Bill, has been promised. Possibly no time will be found either in this or in an autumn Session for the Franchise Reform Bill. And when it is brought forward many contending forces will break themselves against it. Should a Private Member's amendment including women be introduced, those who desire the whole Government Bill to pass may fear to imperil its chances by voting for an amendment that would displease many. The uncertainties are evident, and yet even some of those who profess to be our friends propose to hold over the Conciliation Bill until it can be introduced with perhaps wider amendments into the Men's Franchise Bill. This is a dangerous rock; when the soundings point its way we must be upon our guard. Another is Referendum, which we hope has died a natural death, not because it is intrinsically unsound, but because it would be grossly unfair to apply it first and as an untried experiment to Woman's Suffrage.

In some of the fairest regions of the earth's surface men and women are living perpetually in the presence of unseen forces which may at any moment sweep them away. The years pass; generations come and go; houses are built; gardens and forests are planted, and the people forget. Yet all the time these unseen forces are gathering themselves together, and in one fell moment the horror descends. The earth trembles "like a drunken man"; the houses fall; streams of liquid fire flow over the fruitful fields; some of the people escape, but many perish, and when life is taken up again by the survivors they will for a time shape it differently.

From the spiritual and moral point of view we are as those who dwell in these fair regions. Our feet are on the crust which covers titanic forces. Now and then from the depths comes a despairing or threatening cry and Society is aroused and one here and one there is frightened or ashamed. Stories, for instance, such as those of Daisy Lord and Daisy Turner by some mere chance attract public attention, but they are soon forgotten, while of the thousands who dwell in the darkness only a few know anything at all. Yet through these, if we persist in our indifference, the whole of Society will be wrecked.

In the ancient Book we are told of souls of those who have been slain under the altar: "And they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, holy and true, dost Thou not judge and avenge our blood?" If the voices of those who have seen the danger are continually denied, the judgment that follows on persistent wrong-doing will descend upon our country.

Therefore, while exercising all vigilance, let us abate no jot of energy. Let us remember that if knowledge brings power it brings also responsibility. It is the task of the new woman to show what rocks and shoals lie beneath the softly-smiling sea of social conventions. A difficult path? Yes, undoubtedly; but the heroes and the martyrs, the Christs and the prophets, have trodden it. To feel, to learn, to know, to act, to dare, that is the tragic procession upon which we have entered. There can be no drawing back. C. DESPARD.

## WOMAN'S SPHERE—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

BY MRS. DONALD SHAW.

The fact is that women at the present date are still suffering from the effects of the late Georgian and early Victorian periods, when the status of women sank to its lowest ebb. I often wonder when I listen to women regretting the rapid advance of women towards emancipation, and yearning for a return to the days when girls were kept under lock and key, first by their parents and later by their husbands, and women's horizon was bounded by the four walls of their homes, whether they really realise the exact conditions which they are desirous of recalling.

The end of the eighteenth and early part of the nineteenth centuries were the grossest, coarsest and most immoral periods in the whole of our history. Drunkenness was an aristocratic and manly vice, and marital fidelity on the husband's part was distinctly uncommon and looked upon as unnecessary and unnatural. For a woman to own a good appetite was for her to be unfeminine; to be healthy was to be coarse; to pine for fresh air and exercise was unladylike; while for a woman to excel in any of the arts was distinctly displeasing to man, who wanted to keep them all to himself with her as an admiring and non-critical audience. To be sunburnt or freckled was a crime, and the height of every girl's ambition was to own a pink and white complexion, a waist of seventeen inches and a husband.

Under such conditions it is hardly surprising if the female brain became atrophied for want of exercise, and had it not been for a few spirits more restless and enterprising than the rest we should probably at the present day be sunk in the same stupor of illusionary ideals.

We come then by a natural process of reasoning to the woman of the future. It is obvious to everyone that we are at present passing through a great period of evolution, one of those transitional stages which sweep over the world at intervals and tend to reorganise its social, moral, and religious conditions, and from this transitional flood there will be evolved a type of woman altogether different from those hitherto familiar to us; a forerunner of this type may be found to-day amongst some of the women who are leaders of the advanced movement. One has only to compare the girls and young women of to-day with what their grandmothers must have been at the same stage of their existence to realise how the world has changed during the last half century. Mentally and physically, woman is a different being from what she was then. Her scope has widened, her interests and occupations have extended, education is free for her, and professions are opening their doors for her to enter. Marriage is ceasing to be the be all and end all, the one method of emancipation from the narrow restrictions of home life, restrictions that must prove irksome to all but the conventionally minded and those lacking in self-reliance. Every day the position of women is altering and improving, and their value as important units in the nation is being more generally and widely acknowledged.

As for the threadbare and futile argument that women who take up professions outside their homes are thereby likely to become unwilling to fulfil the duties of wives and mothers, I think we as women can refute that without much difficulty. The idea is an utter fallacy—nothing, in fact, but a "party cry" worked up by the Anti-feminists to oppose the progress of women.

Women will always be wives and mothers primarily and for choice. Nature designed us and fitted us to fulfil these duties, and what Nature makes man or woman cannot counteract or change. No matter what profession or occupation a woman may take up, no matter how wide her scope may extend, she will always be a wife and a mother first—by nature, by choice, and by inclination. But—and this is the point that really sticks in the throats of our male opponents—the woman of the future will be wife and mother simply and solely because she wishes to become so,

and not because she is economically dependent upon man. And it is women who will select the men who will be their husbands and the fathers of their children, and, being economically free, they will be enabled to make this selection with care and deliberation, rationally and intelligently.

And it is certain that when that time comes—and come it most undoubtedly will—that woman, being of a higher and more advanced type than she has been in the past, will demand that the man she chooses for her mate shall be of a higher and more advanced type than are the majority of men of to-day. Otherwise, evolution for the first time in the history of the world will lose its bearings. Woman's sphere will always be primarily the home, but that home also will be a different sort of home from the one we have been accustomed to, just as the home of 1912 is a different one from that of 1812. The great work of women will always lie in producing and bringing up and training the children of the nation, but to accomplish this satisfactorily and intelligently she must have a direct and forcible and practical influence and voice in all matters, in all laws, and in all conditions which affect the housing and the education and the feeding of the children. It is that we may obtain this voice, and materially alter for the better some of the conditions and laws prevailing in this country, which are detrimental and disastrous in their effects upon the health and education and morality of the women and children, that we are asking for the Vote, and we fully realise that with the winning of the Vote that our work will have only just begun.

### HOW MEN PROTECT WOMEN.

#### More Child Victims.

At Bedford Assizes a schoolmaster of thirty years' service was sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment for a series of indecent assaults on eleven little girls.

#### Coroner's Ignorance.

"It is incredible," said the coroner at an inquest at Lambeth on February 15 on a three months old baby, the mother of which earned only 8s. 6d. a week. Mrs. Clara Palmer, of Lollard-street, Lambeth, stated that when the baby was six weeks old she had to return to work. She was a machine "layer-on."

The Coroner: How many days a week do you work?—Six. How many hours?—From eight in the morning till seven, for 1s. 5d. a day. The Coroner: I cannot believe it. That is not 2d. an hour. Why do you go to work? The woman explained that her husband had only just started work as a restaurant porter. Dr. Freyberger stated that death was due to inflammation of the lungs. The child appeared to have been very well cared for. The coroner said he had no idea such low wages were paid to women for such work. It was dreadful to hear that a mother had to work such hours up to so short a time before the birth of her child, and that so soon afterwards she had to go back at such a miserable wage. Verdict: Death from natural causes.

#### Salutary Sentences.

Salutary sentences were recently inflicted on men guilty of dastardly cruelty. The young man, who decoyed a little girl from home at Staines and left her to die of exposure in a field, was sentenced to twelve years' penal servitude. A twelve years' sentence was passed at Lincoln Assizes on Samuel Leaning, a Grimsby skipper. The judge reproved the jury for finding that Leaning had only inflicted "grievous bodily harm" in his attempt to murder Catherine Paterson, aged seventeen, with whom he lived. She was stripped, burnt, and otherwise maltreated, then thrown out in a yard, where she was found unconscious some hours later. The defence was "in drink." These sentences show that the steady agitation kept up by Suffrage societies is not without its effect.

Miss S. GERTRUDE FORD, the well-known writer and poet, writes: "What disgraceful cases of injustice are in THE VOTE this week! I hope to use several of them in my column."



### "KING'S SPEECH" MEETING.

Organised by the London Branches Council, the Women's Freedom League held its "King's Speech" meeting at the Caxton Hall on Thursday evening, February 15, the day after the opening of Parliament. There was an excellent attendance of members and friends, and Mrs. Marion Holmes once again proved herself an able and appealing chairman. The speakers were Mrs. Zangwill, Mrs. Despard, Miss Alison Neilans, and Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P.; Mr. Walter MacLaren, M.P., found at the last moment that it was possible for him to attend. The significance of the meeting was focused in the resolution, which ran thus:

This meeting expresses deep indignation that the Government has not ratified in the King's Speech Mr. Asquith's pledge to give facilities for effectively proceeding with Woman Suffrage this Session, and reaffirms the demand of the Women's Freedom League that votes for women shall be given on equal terms with men. It calls upon the members of the House of Commons to insist, by every means in their power, that Woman Suffrage shall receive immediate attention, and to record their vote against a Franchise Bill which does not include women; and it welcomes the determination of the Labour Party to wreck any such Reform Bill.

In proposing the resolution, Miss Neilans declared that, judging from the Speech, it might be imagined that women did not exist; yet, though the problems of the day were pressing more and more upon women, no mention was made of them. With regard to suffrage, the Conciliation Bill was in being, while of the promised Electoral Reform Bill nothing was known. The Government, in a most callous fashion, had shifted the responsibility on to the House of Commons; every Member must recognise that responsibility; the undoubted mandate for Woman Suffrage was seven second readings and increasing majorities in the House of Commons. The Labour Party had given an emphatic pledge to oppose a Government Bill which did not include women. There could be no retreat on the part of the Government without open dishonour. The League was still militant, and, if within the next few weeks the Prime Minister failed to keep his pledges, new methods of militancy would be used. The woman's demand was for political equality; nothing less would satisfy them, and the agitation would continue until it had been achieved.

Mrs. Zangwill, quiet, yet forceful, as is her wont, supported the resolution, and maintained that every legislative measure mentioned in the King's Speech affected women. With regard to estimates and taxation, she said that women were tired of having their money spent by servants whom they had no voice in engaging nor power in dismissing. To devise a Home Rule

Bill for Ireland without considering the Irish women was to sharpen one half of a pair of scissors and leave the other blunt. The principle underlying both Home Rule and Woman Suffrage was that the Irish and the women claimed that they could do their own business better than other people. In dealing with social and industrial reform, she thought Members of Parliament were "henpecked" by having to settle about fireguards and other matters concerning children, and wondered they did not revolt. Still, she took it as a good omen that Manhood Suffrage was not in the King's Speech; it was the fear of the women which had kept it out; so the women collectively had governed the Government, ruled the rulers. When peace with honour became impossible, the Freedom League would not choose dishonour. Women were not carrying on a mere agitation; it was a holy war, a woman's crusade, fighting for religion in the noblest sense—freedom, justice, purity. An ancient motto was *Dieu et mon droit*; the women's motto was *God and the right*.

Mr. Chancellor dealt with the political situation from the point of view of the Liberal Member, and declared his enthusiastic support of the Conciliation Bill, or the best amendment that could be passed to the Reform Bill. The need of the moment was to retain old friends and make new ones, and the only danger was any action which could alienate friends or furnish excuses for opposition to the Cause inside the House. An Irish Member had told him that Home Rule must not be jeopardised for the sake of the women. He spoke of the work of the Joint Committee in arousing interest in neglected districts and using every ounce of force in directing public opinion.

"I think women no less than men are his Majesty's subjects, yet their great and 'most glorious' discontent is not mentioned, nor are they allowed to stand beside their brothers in the service of no mean nation," said Mrs. Despard. During the debate on the Address, she observed, the women's friends in Parliament, whether Tory or Liberal, would be tested and their worth revealed. The Labour Party had declared for equal rights, and that pledge, she thought, had put fear into the hearts of the Government. Every move must be carefully watched, and if the women were tricked again there would be renewed militancy, militancy which would strike a deeper note. Equal terms with men is the women's demand; without the help of the women it is impossible to build up better conditions of life.

Mr. MacLaren spoke as a fighter for Woman Suffrage for forty years, and said that he owed his enthusiasm to the teaching of his mother. He told the audience that in the ballot for private Members' Bills, which had just taken place in the House, fifty Members had balloted for Woman Suffrage—formerly twelve was about the limit. Equal terms he regarded as abstract justice, but he did not think that Parliament would pass a measure enfranchising more women than men; a less broad, but yet democratic basis, he expected, would succeed. In a brief reply, Mrs. Despard declared that women had never wavered in their demand for equal terms; they had accepted the Conciliation Bill as a temporary compromise, but the introduction of Manhood Suffrage had entirely changed the situation. She considered that with better conditions of life the unequal numbers of men and women would be redressed. The resolution was passed unanimously amid great enthusiasm, and an appeal from the Chair for financial help met with a gratifying response.

### THE HARD-UP SOCIAL.

Judging by the enthusiasm which was evident throughout the evening, the Hard-Up Social on February 17, at the Gardenia Restaurant, must be counted a great success. Mrs. Despard received the guests at 6.30 p.m., and from that time onward there was variety enough in the entertainments to suit everybody. The two plays produced by the Actresses' Franchise League were well attended and well received. *Explanations*, by Mrs. Thomson-Price and Mrs. Holmes, was given before supper, and its clever suffrage hits aroused keen appreciation. Miss Sydney Keith made an excellent anti-suffragist convert, who soon showed signs of repentance; her suffragist and anti-suffragist nieces were played by Miss Aithna Gover and Miss Victoria Addison; Mr. Lancelot Lowder, as Captain Woodhead, the Anti-Suffragist Vice-President, who finds it convenient to evade the meeting and enjoy Miss Victoria's charms, scored a distinct success, and the part of Jack Bolton, the nephew from Australia, who thinks there are no women—except one—to compare with the Australians who have the vote, was taken by Mr. Wilton Ross. The declaration that "Suffragists never die," and answered by "Suffragists never say die!" was warmly applauded. The *Englishwoman's Home*, by Mr. Archibald Sennett, gave a picture of a hard-worked woman trying to keep a home over the heads of her children and her drunken, lazy husband; but the advent of a suffragist visitor brings a new hope to the woman and a rare surprise to the man. The part of the harassed mother was excellently played by Miss Edith Anton-Lang. An interesting musical programme was arranged, and the Morris dancing of Miss Gould's troupe was much admired. Another important and exciting feature of the evening was the supper to which guests brought contributions. Anxiety as to whether there was sufficient to go round was soon allayed, and the novelty of the idea proved quite diverting. After supper, Mrs. Despard made a brief speech, and expressed appreciation of the efforts made by Mrs. Van Raalte and her helpers in securing so notable a success, and attracting so large a gathering of guests.

### OUR TREASURY.

#### NATIONAL FUND.

(Branch and District Funds not Included.)

Amount previously acknowledged, October, 1907, to December, 1911, £14,208 13s. 7d.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Amount previously acknowledged	375 16 0	Per Miss Woolf	0 5 0
Miss J. L. Bunten	5 0 0	Mrs. Beatrice Gilbert	0 5 0
Miss C. Tite (collected)	6 0 0	Per Miss Greenhow	0 1 0
Mrs. Taylor Brown (collected)	1 10 0	"Sympathiser, A"	0 1 0
Mrs. J. S. Brown	1 1 0	Per Miss J. L. Bunten:	
Mrs. Vulliamy (travelling expenses refunded)	1 8 7	Glasgow Branch (Mrs. Despard's Meeting)	0 10 0
Mrs. Fisher (travelling expenses refunded)	0 9 10	Special Levies:	
Miss A. Holmes	0 10 0	Edinburgh Branch	1 16 0
Miss Mary Anderson	1 1 0	Portsmouth and Gosport Branch	0 8 2
Miss Barrow (enlarging a portrait in black and white)	1 17 0	Two Clapham Branch Members	0 10 0
Sheffield Branch	1 10 0	Harrow Branch	1 0 0
Mrs. Meeson Coates	1 0 0	Miss A. Munro	0 6 0
Mrs. E. Richmond	0 10 6	Mrs. Tritton	0 5 0
Miss M. I. Saunders	0 10 0	Miss M. Turner	0 8 0
Miss Danti	0 9 0	"Weekly Shillings"	0 10 0
Miss Beadon	0 2 6	"Kensington Member, A"	0 10 0
Miss K. Berkeley Smith	0 2 0	Miss Cameron	0 4 0
Miss W. Doe	0 1 0	Miss C. E. John	0 6 0
Miss G. Standing	0 1 0	For Office Expenses Fund:	
Miss Thirza Humphreys	0 1 0	Clapham Branch:	
Mrs. Bobby	0 2 6	Miss M. E. Thomas	1 0 0
Mrs. Langridge	0 5 0	Miss F. A. Underwood	1 0 0
Miss J. Clunas	0 3 0	Miss O'Halloran	0 10 0
Miss J. Calder	0 1 0	Mrs. A. Lambert	0 0 6
Miss Mabel Campion	0 1 0	Miss Mary Anderson	1 1 0
Mrs. Hyde (money earned)	0 1 0	Miss E. Murray	0 1 0
Mrs. Clarkson Swann (money earned)	0 1 0	Political and Militant Dept.:	
Miss E. M. Matthews	0 1 0	Per Miss Neilans	0 1 0
Miss James	0 1 0	Miss I. Reynolds	0 1 0
Mrs. A. Lambert	0 1 0	Delegates' Expenses:	
Mrs. Nicholson	0 2 0	Anerley Branch	0 13 11
Miss L. E. Scott	0 1 0	Croydon Branch	0 9 11
Wilson Kilburn, Esq.	0 1 0	Scattered Members	0 15 11
Mrs. de Morgan	0 1 0	Tottenham Branch	0 14 11
Mrs. Dunford	0 1 0	Portsmouth and Gosport Branch	0 6 5
Miss Georgina Phipps	0 2 6	Hackney Branch	0 15 2
Mrs. Deal	0 1 0	Acton Branch	0 14 11
Miss MacLennan	0 2 0	West Hampstead Branch	0 14 9
Miss F. Griffiths	0 2 0	Collections and Sales:	
Miss Sprentall	0 1 0	London	1 19 3
Miss M. Sprentall	0 1 0	C. T. O.	0 7 6
Mrs. Nethercot	0 1 0	Total	£418 19 9
Per Miss King	0 7 6		

Cheques to be made payable to the Women's Freedom League, and crossed "London and South Western Bank, Ltd." Owing to a clerical error the total of the National Fund was wrongly stated in the last Treasury list.

### BRANCH NOTES.

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

LONDON AND SUBURBS.—Anerley and Crystal Palace District.—Miss J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

A most successful Branch meeting was held at "The Hermitage" last Monday, when Miss Nina Boyle kindly came down to speak to us on THE VOTE and other matters. In response to her appeal one of our members has promised to sell at a pitch in town every Friday afternoon. The Branch has agreed to take three dozen copies of THE VOTE every week definitely from Headquarters, in addition to which practically all our members subscribe to local newspapers. Five have offered to take an extra copy each every week, and our VOTE Captain (Miss Muriel Fennings) since this meeting has obtained several new subscribers, and new members are joining us. Miss Ethel Fennings is taking part in a debate on Woman's Suffrage, at the Men's Adult School, Woodside, on Wednesday, March 6, at 8 p.m., and it is hoped all our members will go and take friends.

Croydon.—Office: 32A, The Arcade, High-street; Hon. Secretary: Mrs. TERRY, 9, Morland-avenue, Croydon.

Will members please make a point of bringing friends to the "At Home," next Friday, 23rd inst., when Mrs. W. H. Nevins will be the speaker? Last Friday we had the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Baillie, a local member of the N.U.W.S.S., who gave a delightful account of the "Women of the Renaissance." She dwelt especially on the women of Italy, referring briefly to the noble women of Spain, and our own country of that period. A discussion followed, which emphasised the changed type, not only of woman, but also of man to-day.

Finchley.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. TINKLER, 3, Stanley-road, East Finchley. Treasurer: Miss HEWORTH, Rastrick, Nether-street, North Finchley. On Wednesday, February 14, we held our annual Branch meet-

ing, at which our delegate, Mrs. Carrington, reported on the Conference and our treasurer on the year's work. Among our new members whom we were pleased to welcome, one is undertaking the responsibility of the sale of THE VOTE in Finchley. She will be glad to have the help of all other members. Will they please communicate with me, and also co-operate with me in sending in newspaper cuttings dealing with cases of women in Courts of Justice?

Mid-London.—Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing.

At our annual business meeting on the 12th, the following officials and members of the Branch Committee were elected: President, Miss Cicely Hamilton; hon. sec., Mrs. Tritton; hon. treas. and asst. sec., Miss Emily Hunt; hon. literature sec., Miss Edith Craig; committee—Miss F. Arnold, Miss Hillsworth, Mrs. Hyde, Mrs. Macpherson, Mrs. Nourse. Mrs. Nourse was

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electd chairman for the ensuing quarter. It would be much more satisfactory if a greater number of members were present at business meetings. Will those members whose subscriptions are due pay them as soon as possible to Miss Hunt?

**Peckham.**—Hon. Sec. : Mrs. J. PROCKERING, 23, Albert-road. The representative of *The South London Press* called on us, thanks to our local Press captain, and was given an interview, which will duly appear. Our grateful thanks to the Countess of Warwick and Mrs. How Martyn for generous donations. We have unanimously resolved to pay capitation fee of 1s. per head per annum to Head Office. Next meeting Thursday, February 29, at 8 p.m. House-to-house distribution of bills re Mrs. Despard's meeting, March 5, proceeding. More members wanted.

**Tottenham.**—Hon. Sec. : Miss F. EGGETT, 30, Lausanne-road, Hornsey.

A meeting was held at Walmington House, High-road, Tottenham, on Thursday February 8, at 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Tanner spoke to a very interested audience on "Woman's Fight Against Ignorance and Prejudice"; we are much indebted to her for her able and encouraging address. Members are reminded of the jumble sale at the end of the month, and asked to send contributions as soon as possible to 91, Mount Pleasant-road. The third of a most successful series of whist drives was held at Mrs. Harbord's, 91, Mount Pleasant-road, on January 20, and the result was most satisfactory to our Branch treasurer. A Branch meeting will be held at 91, Mount Pleasant-road on Thursday, February 29, at 7.30 p.m.

F. L. EGGETT, Hon. Sec.

**SOUTH OF ENGLAND.—Brighton and Hove.**—Hon. Secretary : Miss HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

A very enjoyable evening was spent by members and their friends at Mme. Brunel's recital from women poets. Miss Hare introduced the League to non-members, after which Mme. Brunel captivated us all. A good collection was taken. The next meeting will be held at 19, Norfolk-terrace, on Wednesday, February 28, at 3.30 p.m., when Mrs. Nevinson will speak on "The Political Crisis." Mrs. Francis will preside. All members and friends are welcome.

**Portsmouth and Gosport.**—Hon. Secretary : Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

A members' meeting will be held on Tuesday, February 27, at 7 p.m., at 6, Clarence-view. After the business has been transacted, Mrs. Whetton will open a discussion on "Biscuits." Please bring friends. The café chantant has been fixed for March 20. Will members please send in promises for goods for the stall?

**WALES AND MONMOUTH.—Swansea.**—Hon. Organising Secretary : Mrs. KNIGHT, 23, Walter-road. Hon. Corresponding Secretary : Miss PHIPPS, B.A., 5, Grosvenor-road.

A business meeting was held at Dynevor-place. Miss Edith Williams, a new member, kindly undertook to send to Headquarters regularly Press cuttings showing the difference between sentences passed in the local police-court on men and women. Mrs. Ross, our delegate, then gave us her "Impressions on the Conference" in a very interesting manner. This was followed by a reading from Evelyn Sharp's "Rebel Women." Miss Salmon has the lending library in working order. Books may be borrowed on Tuesdays from 5 to 6.30, or on Thursdays from 6 to 7.15. Members must see to it that Miss Salmon has not had her trouble in vain. The next Branch meeting will be on Wednesday, February 28, at Dynevor-place, when Miss Holmes will give an address on "Women and Social Reform." She will give facts to refute the assertion of the Antis that we care about nothing but votes.

**SCOTLAND.—Glasgow.**—Suffrage Centre : 302, Sauchiehall-street. Hon. Treasurer : Miss J. L. BUNTEN. Hon. Secretary : Miss MINA STEVEN.

The "At Home" on Saturday was a big success. Our thanks are due to Miss McColl for acting as hostess, to Miss Bone, Miss Irving, Mr. Stocks and Mr. Gunn for the entertainment they gave us. Mrs. Wilson, as a keen Churchwoman, opened our eyes as to how affairs were sometimes managed within the Church; Miss Boyle spoke of the present political situation. Perhaps the most gratifying result of the "At Home" was the unusually large number of volunteers for by-election work. We are sure this was the outcome not only of the speeches of Mrs. Wilson and Miss Boyle, but of Miss Bunten's protest in resisting taxation. Many of us are not in a position to resist taxes, but everyone can give time, energy, or money as a substitute. Donations for by-election expenses will be thankfully received. On Saturday afternoon a very successful open-air meeting, addressed by Miss Boyle, was held in Partick. Remember the annual business meeting on March 7.

**Edinburgh.**—Suffrage Centre : 33, Forrest-road; Hon. Secretary : Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place; Hon. Treasurer : Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street; Hon. Shop Secretary : Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent.

A well-attended "At Home" was held on Wednesday evening. Bailie Macpherson, of Perth, who was to have spoken, was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present. A short address was given by Miss Sara Munro, and a most interesting report of the conference was given by Miss A. B. Jack. A whist drive in aid of the funds is being arranged by Miss

Stirton and Miss McLachlan, and will be held in the Shop on Friday, February 23. Tickets are 1s. 3d. each, and we hope for a good attendance. The "Hard-Up Social" will take place on March 29, and an attractive programme is being arranged.  
HELEN MCLACHLAN, Asst. Sec.

#### THE NORTH-EASTERN CAMPAIGN.

Mrs. Revel, hon. secretary of the South Shields Branch, writes : In order to advertise Miss Munro's visit we held an "American Fair," in the Victoria Hall on January 31.

On Monday, February 12, Miss Munro arrived, and at once opened our campaign with an open-air meeting in the market place, where, in spite of bad weather, a large and most appreciative audience gathered. Tuesday, February 13, we held a united Suffrage meeting in the Congregational Hall. In the unavoidable absence of the Right Hon. W. Runciman, M.P., Miss Munro took the chair, and also the hearts of the large audience. Miss I. O. Ford gave a most interesting address on "Woman and Sweated Labour." Miss Gordon proposed, and Councillor Vine seconded, votes of thanks to speaker and chairman. Our thanks are due to the suffrage choir, who, under the able leadership of Madame Bellas, contributed Suffrage songs and marches during the evening. The resolution protesting against the introduction of a Reform Bill unless women are included was carried unanimously. Wednesday, February 14, we held a debate in the Lecture Hall of the Liberal Club, before a crowded audience. Mrs. Schofield, of Washington, spoke for the resolution : "That this meeting urges upon H.M. Government the necessity for granting the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men." Mr. Morton opposed the resolution. Miss Munro made a most convincing speech in seconding, as also Mrs. Schofield and our member, Miss A. Thompson, L.L.A. The resolution was carried with only six dissentients. At the drawing-room meeting at Hepscoot-ter, on Thursday afternoon, Miss Munro spoke with unusual earnestness on Olive Schreiner's "Dreams." At an "At Home" for members, at Hepscoot-terrace, to meet Miss Munro, future Branch activities and plans for extending the work of the League on Tyneside were discussed, and thus a short—though most successful—campaign was brought to a close. At all meetings, THE VOTE and literature have sold well. The secretary had the pleasure of interviewing Mr. Russell Rea, the local Member. Mr. Rea, who is an adult Suffragist, would not in any way commit himself with regard to the Reform Bill, but said he would vote for Conciliation Bill if married women are included.

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## FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L. LONDON AND SUBURBS.



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**Thurs., Feb. 22.**—KENSINGTON BRANCH SPEAKERS' CLASS, 6, Argyll-road, Kensington, 8 p.m. Open to all W.F.L. members. HERNE HILL BRANCH SEWING MEETING, 4, Nursery-villas, Underhill-road, East Dulwich, 3.30.

**Fri., Feb. 23.**—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson. PECKHAM DEBATE, Miss Anson v. Mr. Neumann, Collier's Hall (Small), 8 p.m.

**Tues., Feb. 27.**—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mr. F. T. H. Henlé on "Some Considerations Arising out of Adult Suffrage." P. and M. GROUP MEETING, 6 p.m. WEST HAMPTSTEAD BRANCH MEETING, 23, Pandora-road, 8.30 p.m.

**Wed., Feb. 28.**—"AT HOME," Caxton Hall, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Pember Reeves and Miss Boyle. Chair: Miss Tite. HACKNEY BRANCH MEETING, 8 p.m.

**Thurs., Feb. 29.**—LECTURE ROOM, Public Library, Lavender Hill, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle and Miss Andrews. TOTENHAM BRANCH MEETING, 7.30 p.m., 91 Mount Pleasant-road. PECKHAM GROUP MEETING, 8 p.m., 23, Albert-road.

**Fri., March 1.**—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30 p.m. Miss Pennings. N.E.C., 2.30 p.m. KENSINGTON BRANCH MEETING, for Branch members only, 53, Drayton-gardens, S.W., 8 p.m.

**Sat., March 2.**—Last of series of Cafés Chantants (postponed from February 24), Caxton Hall, 7 p.m. Whist and games. Tickets, 1s. 6d. (no extras), from Mrs. Fisher, 1, Robert-street. N.E.C., 10.30 a.m.

**Sun., March 3.**—ADULT SCHOOL, Hackney, Mrs. Mustard on "Josephine Butler," 9 a.m.

**Tues., March 5.**—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle on "How Men Protect Women." PUBLIC MEETING at Laverick's Dairy, 97A, Rye-lane, Peckham. Mrs. Despard, 8 p.m.

**Wed., March 6.**—DEBATE, Miss Boyle v. Mr. Maconachie, Leyton Liberal Club, 49, Grange Park-road, Leyton, 8.30 p.m. DEBATE on Women's Suffrage between Miss Ethel Fenning, W.F.L., and Miss Mabel Smith, N.L.O.W.S., Men's Adult School, Woodside, 8 p.m.

**Fri., March 8.**—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30. Mrs. Fowler, Shone.

**Sat., March 9.**—HACKNEY BATHS, 7.30 p.m. Mr. Mustard on "Need for Business Women in Municipal Affairs." Chair: Alderman Tom Hosgood.

**Tues., March 12.**—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson on "Women and the Church."

**Wed., March 13.**—"AT HOME," Caxton Hall, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Tippett and Miss Andrews.

**Fri., March 15.**—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Tanner.

**Mon., March 18.**—HACKNEY BRANCH "AT HOME," Hackney Baths, 7 p.m. Miss Rawlings, "Life and Work of George Eliot."

**Tues., March 19.**—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mr. George Tanner on "The Paris Commune of 1871."

**Fri., March 22.**—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30. Mrs. Bessie Drysdale.

**Sun., Mar. 24.**—Miss Andrews at Kingston Humanitarian Society on "The Woman's Movement: A Benefit to Humanity," 7.30 p.m.

Lobbying at the House of Commons, Mon., Tues., Wed., Thurs., 2.45-11 p.m.; Fri., 12-5 p.m.

### PROVINCES.

**Ipswich.**

**Fri., March 22.**—PUBLIC MEETING, Public Hall, Ipswich, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss M. E. Royden, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.

**Liverpool.**

**Thurs., March 7.**—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 51, Grey-road, Walton. Mrs. Despard.

**Fri., March 8.**—PUBLIC MEETING, Waterloo Town Hall. Mrs. Despard.

**Middlesbrough.**

**Sun., Feb. 25.**—JEWISH LITERARY CIRCLE, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Schofield Coates, "The Significance of Women."

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**Mon., Feb. 26.**—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, Corporation Hotel, 3.30 p.m. Miss Munro. FREE TRADE HALL, 8 p.m.

**Tues., Feb. 27.**—WILSTROP HOUSE, 3.30 p.m. Miss Munro. PRIMITIVE METHODIST HALL, Baker-street, 8 p.m. Miss Munro.

**Sunderland.**

**Thurs., Feb. 22.**—DEBATE on "Women's Suffrage." Miss Anna Munro v. Wm. Priestly, Esq. Chair: Rev. Mr. Aldrige. St. Peter's Hall, Green-street, 7.30 p.m.

**Fri., Feb. 23.**—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 34, Peel-street, 3 till 6 p.m. Open-air Meeting at 8, Miss Munro.

**Thurs., Feb. 22.**—Portsmouth and Gosport.—Whist Drive at 17, Rochester-road, 7.30.

**Mon., Feb. 26.**—Middlesbrough DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, Corporation Hotel, 3 p.m.

**Tues., Feb. 27.**—Portsmouth BRANCH MEETING, 7 p.m., 6, Clarence-view.

**Wed., Feb. 28.**—Brighton.—Mrs. Nevinson.

**Tues., March 5.**—Gt. Yarmouth.—Mrs. Nevinson.

### WALES.

**Swansea.**

**Tues., Feb. 27.**—MOND BUILDINGS (Violet League). Miss Phipps, B.A.: "Woman, 1812 to 1912," 8 p.m.

**Wed., Feb. 28.**—DYNEVOR PLACE. Miss Holmes, B.A.: "Woman and Social Reform," 8 p.m.

**Wed., March 13.**—DYNEVOR-PLACE, 8 p.m., "Parliamentary Procedure," by Miss Salmon.

### SCOTLAND.

**Dundee.**

**Thurs., Feb. 22.**—GILFILLAN HALL, 8 p.m. R. Blackwood, Esq., "Women in Scottish Song." Admission 3d.

**Thurs., March 7.**—GILFILLAN HALL, 8 p.m. Parish Councillor, Miss A. P. Grant, "Municipal Lodging Houses for Women."

**Edinburgh.**

**Fri., Feb. 23.**—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 33, Forrest-road, Whist Drive, 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 3d.

**Wed., Feb. 28.**—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 33, Forrest-road, 8 p.m., Parish Councillor Miss Lees, "The Position of Woman, Past and Present."

**Glasgow.**

**Thurs., March 7.**—ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING.

**Thurs., March 14.**—CONCERT given by Miss Mary Dixon's Choir. Tickets 1s. and 6d.

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