

THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—No. 8.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1909.

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.

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WHAT WE THINK.

More Backward Steps.

One of the signs that Mr. Churchill and other members of the Liberal party take to be indicative of the retrograde character of the women's suffrage movement is the importance that is attached to the General Election Policies of the various societies. Never before has the Press published statements such as appeared in all the leading dailies of last week. "Suffragists and the Election—Declarations of Policy"—and then comes quite a formidable array of paragraphs. The National Union, the Women's Freedom League, the Women's Social and Political Union, the Unionist Women's Franchise Association, all their projected lines of action given in detail.

And scattered up and down the Liberal Press are pathetic appeals to the Liberal women to stand firm in this great crisis, to be true to the party that, as one writer in the *Cambridge Independent Press* puts it, "has shown itself so desirous of the true welfare of the people, that it cannot persist in disregarding the claims of women. It would be a grand spectacle to see the Suffragists laying aside their own ends for the moment and throwing all their vast influence and resource into the Liberal campaign." It would be a spectacle, indeed!

* * *

What Will be Done by the Women.

The N.U.W.S.S. has resolved that its affiliated societies shall support those candidates only who put woman suffrage in their election addresses. Special efforts will also be made to secure large voters' petitions. After the General Election the petitions will be sent to London, where they will be on view before being presented. This is a kindly provision on the part of the N.U.W.S.S. So much mystery is attached as a rule to the fate of petitions in the House of Commons that the testimony of eye witnesses—after they have disappeared—will prove valuable and interesting.

Our own policy is fully outlined in our present issue. We abandoned that of support of so-called friends when we started out on a fighting career. We adhere to that principle now, having seen nothing in the performances of our so-called friends to induce us to change our ideas on the subject.

The W.S.P.U. will fight the Government, and reiterate the by-election cry of "Keep the Liberal out!"

The Unionist Women's Association will actively support official candidates when they are in favour of the principle of women's suffrage.

The "Quick-Change" of the Cabinet Ministers.

There is a difference between the Cabinet Minister safely ensconced in office and the same man seeking votes—more particularly with regard to his views on the importance and use of women in politics. Women—more particularly Liberal women—are valuable at election times. Perhaps it is this consideration that accounts for Mr. Churchill's and Mr. Lloyd George's change of attitude and sentiment.

Mr. Churchill, who rated them soundly a few weeks ago, protested at Southport against the treatment of the interruptors on the roof, and said he would be glad to listen to them. And in the *Daily Sketch* lately appeared a picture of Mr. Lloyd George, with, on either hand, a Suffragist who had accompanied him all the way to the meeting. They were not arrested though, as he admitted they had spoken to him at his own request. Truly times have changed.

* * *

Our Old Enemy.

The bland, stolid impertinence of Mr. Asquith's "pronouncement" at the Albert Hall on Friday night would be merely ludicrous if it did not mean a continuance of the Liberal policy of violent suppression. But with the groans in our ears of those who are being tortured because they would not let their cause be crushed we see but little humour in it. The cause "shall be no worse off" under a new Liberal Government—a promise easy to fulfil! At a time when Liberalism goes to the country with such a stain on its shield as it has never carried before this man has the colossal effrontery to bid us be of good cheer—the stain shall grow no greater! He speaks the truth, for the stain has covered the shield. Among real and whole-hearted lovers of justice, to whom the elementary rights of the people mean more than the most stirring questions of economic and constitutional theory, the further existence in office of this man and his supporters is an intolerable thing. It will be war to the knife between us and the present Cabinet at the General Election, and let posterity judge which was the aggressor and the oppressor.

* * *

The Measure of our Strength.

"The strength of a movement is estimated by the forces brought against it," said Mrs. Billington-Greig on Saturday last at the Albert Hall. The Government has certainly brought out all its heaviest artillery to defeat a movement that, according to many of its members, is "marching backward" to extinction with such extraordinary celerity. Bludgeons have been used to defeat "pin-pricks"; savage sentences of imprisonment to extinguish the fervour of a "handful of hysterical girls." But the forces arrayed against us will have to learn that they cannot eat their cake and have it. Either their measures are justified by the danger and strength of our agitation, or they have brought out their heavy guns against foes who are too insignificant to be taken seriously. And one is left to wonder what weapon they can use in the "good time coming" against the rebels. Perhaps, for a change, they will try the sword of "Justice."



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YULETIDE FESTIVAL.

"The Albert Hall is not the home of lost causes" was one of many memorable things said by Mr. Israel Zangwill on Saturday last, and those who had worked to make the great Festival in that mammoth hall a success felt, as they watched the crowd of young and old that came and went all day long, and as they listened to the message of the speeches and felt the magic thrill of the Pageant, that their labour had had its reward, and that their cause was stronger than ever, and had struggled out of its shackles and shadows into freedom and light. But not once in the pleasure of the day and the pride of the gathering were the women forgotten who were suffering in prison, nor were the men forgotten who had put them there. And because they had pleasure and strength given them, the visitors to the Festival paid in good current coin that the treasury might be replenished and the fight fought cheek by jowl with the enemy during the coming election. Tennessee Lady Cook's splendid gift, Mrs. Billington-Greig's logical plan of campaign, Mrs. Despard's electric eloquence, Mr. Zangwill's great confidence, the good-will of everyone, and the presence of many laughter-making children made the day full of gracious memories to help through the arduous month that lies in front of us. Mrs. Billington-Greig's call for workers must not be overlooked.



MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG.
Photo by Brinkley, Glasgow.

Decorations and Stalls.

Across the organ was flung the challenge in the colours of the league, "Dare to be free," and the handsome banners of the Women's Freedom League, of the Men's League, of the Actresses' Franchise League, and of the branches found a place on the platform, while the prisoners' bannerets and Suffrage texts decorated the great circle of the hall. In the gallery the decorative arrangements were simple, Empire wreaths and festoons of green chiffon helping to emphasise the treasures of the stalls. The Christmas Cracker Stall, managed by the London Branches Council (Mrs. Fisher), was full of seasonable gifts, and there was rapid sale for leadless glaze china; the Literature Stall (Miss Hicks, Mrs. Temple, and Miss Gill) had the Freedom League literature and Christmas cards for sale; THE VOTE Stall (Mrs. Hinscliff) was selling our Christmas number, back numbers, and the charming VOTE blotter; "The Colours" (Miss West and Miss Leyson) had blouses and dainty goods in our colours, green, gold, and white, and acceptable gifts of many kinds were on sale at the Hampstead Branch (Mrs. Russell and Miss Gill); Cheltenham (Mrs. Earengly and Miss Bould); Caldicot Branch (Miss Freda Wanton); Northern Heights (Miss Ada Mitchell and Miss Clayton); Woking Branch (Miss Edith Pocock and Miss Haslett); Hackney Branch (Dr. Wilks and Mrs. Holmes); Ipswich Branch (Mrs. Andrews and Dr. Knight); Edinburgh Branch (Mrs. Bell and Miss Jack); W.F.L. Branch (Mrs. Duveen and Miss Bosley); Manchester Branch (Miss Manning); and Abertawe Branch (Mrs. Seyles and Miss Neale). Miss Sime Seruya's Christmas-tree, with its gifts and "brights," was well patronised by the youngsters. The Ladies' Orchestra (Conductor, Miss E. Cattel, A.L.C.M.) provided pleasant music in the gallery.

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The Suffrage Atelier.

Seven sections were taken over by the Suffrage Atelier (Miss Willis), who called their imposing display "The Athene Gallery." It was one of the most important exhibits, and to the artists who gave unlimited thought and trouble to its success no small credit is due. Metal work was shown by Miss Hall and Mrs. Palotta, tapestry by Miss Turk, statues and plaster casts by Mrs. Shaw, Miss Courthauld, and Mrs. Emmanuel, black-and-white work by Laurence Housman, engraved by his sister, Clemence Housman, and sketches by Walter Crane, Mrs. Jopling Rowe, Miss Joseph, and Mrs. Furnival. Posters of every kind were exhibited, those by Miss Copey and Miss Isobel Pocock (winner of prize) being especially good. A beautiful new banner, embroidered by Mrs. Gosling and mounted and designed by Miss Burton, was presented to Mrs. Despard for the W.F.L. during the evening, and occupied a place on the platform. In the decorated box competition, judged by Mr. Walter Crane, the prize went to the Woking Branch; Swansea and Northern Heights being highly commended.

Afternoon Meeting.

At three o'clock, in the arena, Mrs. Despard (president) and Mrs. Billington-Greig received the members and their friends, and at 3.30 the afternoon's meeting began, with Tennessee Lady Cook in the chair. Lady Cook observed that hitherto women had had to bear all the sins that had been done, and the coming struggle would be a fight between virtue and vice. Mrs. Despard, whose rising was greeted with enthusiasm, told how, in her recent wanderings in the provinces, in Scotland, and in Ireland, she had found the women everywhere awake. The present meeting was emblematic of the new spirit which said, "We will not have our sisters oppressed." They were at the beginning of a short, strenuous campaign to bring their hopes to a successful issue.

Mr. Zangwill's Speech.

Prolonged applause greeted Mr. Zangwill when he rose to speak. His remarks were full of humour and wisdom. Ladies did not go to public-houses, he said; Cabinet Ministers rarely took refuge there, and therefore Suffragists were unacquainted with what went on in those haunts of beer and jingoism. A Sir Oracle in corduroys held forth on politics, when the door swung open and a woman's face peered in charged with the memory of another broken promise. So with the Liberal Party. At the most dramatic moment in English history, and in words worthy of the people's heroes, the Liberal defied the aristocrat. But into the arena a woman rushed to tug at the hero's coat and say, "Heroism begins at home." Every noble sentiment he uttered she repeated against him. His words were boomerangs and his heroism became a farce. Mr. Asquith, whose insolence kept the Women's Freedom League three months waiting outside Westminster, was a truly comic champion of this freedom of the people against the Lords. He urged that no true liberty was possible in England until power was taken from the Lords; but he (Mr. Zangwill) would say until power was given to the ladies. Why was the Government afraid to give them this power? Because they feared that they might be ousted by an increased Conservative vote. And these sordid calculations took the place of statesmanship. But if he were a high old Tory he would be far more afraid of an increase in democracy. If the Liberals put votes for women on their programme they would have the women behind them to see that their new possession suffered nothing from the Lords. Mr. Asquith had said they had no mandate from the people for women's suffrage, but both he and Lord Morley had acknowledged

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that they had no mandate for old age pensions, and Lord Morley had said that the lack of a mandate did not preclude them from carrying any measure consonant with the principles they professed. Mr. Asquith had not used his opportunity. He had told his audience in that hall the night before that the ladies of the Liberal Federation had asked him that women's suffrage should be used no worse in this Parliament than it had in the last, and he had consented. (Laughter.) These Uriah Heeps in petticoats! These daughters of the sucking dove! For if Mr. Asquith were to keep his promise it would mean another delay of four or five years. And they (the Suffragists) were determined, whether Mr. Asquith or Mr. Balfour were returned to power, to force the enfranchisement of women in the next Parliament with or without a mandate. Anti-Suffrage was a survival which had once had a basis of truth; it was an idyll of domesticity—a poetry that too often forgot the prose facts. For woman no longer remained in her home; the industrial development took her from her hearth to spin by steam. The economic changes had brought about the demand for female suffrage. Evolution was causing this forward movement; every milestone had less figures as it marked the way "to Westminster." But every day was their friend, and against the anti-Suffragists fought the stars in their courses. Like travellers through a tropical heat, the Suffragists saw the white gleam of the tents in view; each mile took from their weariness. "Only a little further; let us push on, let us push on." (Cheers and prolonged applause.)

The Collection.

Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett then made a brilliant and stirring speech, in which she quoted Mr. Winston Churchill's recent enunciation "If we are united nothing can withstand us." For their General Election campaign they were asking for £5,000, and she appealed to those present that afternoon to supply £1,000 of this. The response was immediate and most generous. Miss Sime Seruya gave £50, Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett herself gave a ring value £50, and various sums of from £20 to £1 were called out from different parts of the building from friends and from new and old branches. Tennessee Lady Cook rose again while the general collection was being taken, and, after a stirring indictment of the present moral disabilities of women, handed Mrs. Despard a cheque for £1,000. The magnitude of the gift, which Mrs. Despard accepted, saying, "For the nation, for women we take this gift," came as a splendid surprise to the meeting, and was received with considerable enthusiasm.

The Theatre.

For the many who wished to see the fare provided by the theatre the accommodation was all too small, and "The Pot and the Kettle," "Press Cuttings," "How the Vote was Won," and "Before Sunrise" (Bessie Hutton's new play) had crowded houses. The great success of this side of the Festival was entirely due to the able management of the Actresses' Franchise League, who proved, as they always do, a tower of strength.

The Evening Meeting.

Mrs. How Martyn was in the chair at the evening meeting, for which the hall was thronged; she read messages of encouragement and hope from Suffrage Associations in America, New Zealand, Victoria, and Australia, and from amongst others Eden Phillpotts, Dr. Saleeby, Surgeon-General Evatt, Dr. Josiah Oldfield, Dr. Thekla Hultin, the Finnish woman M.P., Mr. Maarten Maartens, Mr. Keightley Snowden, and Mr. Holloway.

Mrs. Despard observed that it was her pleasing and delightful duty, in the name of the Women's Freedom League, to welcome back most heartily their friend and year-long worker Mrs. Billington-Greig, who had been seriously missed by the League. She went on to say that they were longing for the contest to be over, not that they wished to shirk it, but because they were the Freedom League, and wanted to achieve emancipation for women. She wished to say one little word for those dear friends who were suffering for their gallantry and to those who did not approve of the act at Bermondsey. She reminded

them that they found it sometimes necessary to break the civil law, but never the divine law. Of their League, she would say that they stood for freedom and democracy, and every member of this League had her own voice in its policy and management. She did not want the women of England to rush an undisciplined mob into politics as some of the men had done. Therefore in their movement they were educating themselves in the forms of democracy. To those who had helped in making the Festival a success she said that their loyalty and love were emblematic of the future.

Mrs. Billington-Greig, who was loudly cheered on rising to speak, said: "I thank you very cordially for the welcome you have accorded to me upon my return amongst you. I thank you for it, because I know it is a joint expression of the kindly greetings I have been receiving throughout the whole course of the day; and I thank you for it because I know it expresses the kindly sense of union in the fight which each of us feels for each other that is sharing the brunt of to-day's battle. We are on the eve of a great struggle; we are at this present moment facing another of the occasions on which men have made, and will again make, an arrogant assumption of the right to govern the women of the country, who are outraged and insulted by the very fact that an election takes place over their heads. A similar crisis four years ago awakened the women to active protest and militant action, and set on foot the great militant movement which is to-day in mid-career. I say 'in mid-career' deliberately and with full intention. I say this is the last election at which women shall not vote. I don't care what the fate of the election is to be, I don't care which party is returned to power, if we keep our faith in our methods the next Government will yield. Four years ago—less a very few days—I stood at the edge of this organ and asked Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman what he was going to do for the women of the country. Last night the serried lines of police, the detectives, the sentinels at the door kept out not two women, but how many thousands, think you, who would have been there enforcing their claim if they had dared waste their powder and shot on a mere meeting when the Election is at hand.

"The strength of the movement is typified by the strength of the forces brought to bear against it. Our strength to-day is the strength of our conviction, the strength of our earnestness, the strength of our determination to win. The four years have passed with ever-increasing enthusiasm, ever-increasing willingness for sacrifice, ever-increasing evolution and growth."

Mrs. Billington-Greig then dealt fully with the General Election policy of the Women's Freedom League, as determined in conference six months ago, explaining the methods by which it would be applied. These important matters are dealt with by Mrs. Billington-Greig in another part of the paper, and will receive further attention from week to week.

In conclusion, Mrs. Billington-Greig appealed not only for money, but for workers. They would need, she said, at least 200 people who were ready to leave their homes from January 2 until the end of the month. And she added that what was done now during the month of January may mean as much as a year of hard labour later on.

(Continued on page 89.)

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MR. ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

By ETHEL HILL.

The Women's Suffrage cause is very happy to have such a defender as Mr. Israel Zangwill. He is witty, ironic, brilliant. He brings to the question the broad, strong grasp, and the many-sidedness one expects from a man of his high artistic attainments. He has searched in vain for one single argument against Women's Suffrage.

"How is it," he inquires, "that with three successive Prime Ministers in favour of a reform whose righteousness was demonstrated by John Stuart Mill fifty years ago, Mr. Asquith remains so antediluvian? Fortunately, even in his Cabinet are several Liberals—the very Home Secretary who treats the Suffragettes as criminals for drawing attention to their demand—have actually signed a declaration in favour of it. Mr. Lloyd George is likewise on the list of signatories, which further includes most of the greatest names in English thought. The intellect of England goes almost solid for Women's Suffrage."

Mr. Zangwill admits it is true that there is still a certain opposition in the country to female suffrage, but how faint, how half-hearted, compared with that ancient opposition to woman's higher education or to her wider sphere of work! It is the last sullen struggle to keep her exclusively a domestic animal. But the gibes and sneers are a mere feeble echo from the past. The fact is that woman's battle is practically won. To-day, when woman has done so brilliantly in medicine, in mathematics, in science, when a woman has made the most interesting discovery of our day—radium—the stale old flouts and jeers go off like mouldy Christmas crackers. The vote will be the legitimate reward of woman's proved capacity in almost every sphere of work.

Mr. Zangwill does not consider that to have an opinion upon politics is incompatible with the strictest domesticity. He phrases it very neatly. "There is nothing essentially womanly in being ignorant and careless of the affairs of one's country." In his opinion a woman studying politics—studying, that is, the best measures for the health of the State—is only attending, in a larger spirit, to her home and her children.

To go back to the old ideals of woman's place in the world it would be necessary to make a counter-revolution, like the old Turks. Take women from their manual labour, from their government employments, from their municipal positions, drive them out of Girton and Newnham, forbid them to work in hospitals and to exhibit in picture galleries—in fact, to put back the movement of evolution and the march of civilisation. But if this cannot be done, then, affirms Mr. Zangwill, it is not right to deny our noble professional women the dignity of a vote, nor our sweated factory women its protection.

The women who oppose the enfranchisement of their

sex find no kind word from Mr. Zangwill, nothing but pity intermingled with fine scorn. To him they are—poor things! "If you want to see the weakness of the 'anti-suffragettes,'" he says, "you have only to imagine one of them going to prison for her ideal. The thing cannot be imagined; she has no ideal, no living fire flowing in her veins, nothing but a barren negative, nothing but a sluggish satisfaction in old superstitions. That is the saddest feature of a state of slavery; the slaves actually come to prefer their condition. It is well known that when the American slaves were emancipated, many petitioned their masters to be kept on as before—just as these women are petitioning now."

Mr. Zangwill would remind the "Anti-Suffragettes" that there are ladies in China who are content to have their toes crippled, and ladies in Turkey who are satisfied with a quarter of a husband. But this would not justify these Chinese and Turkish ladies in keeping back their sisters who had evolved higher ideals—who wanted a natural foot or a whole husband apiece. Besides, the vote is not compulsory. The anti-suffragette has full liberty to stop at home, knitting or reading a lady's paper.

Mr. Zangwill has noticed, however, that the anti-suffrage lady is a very paradoxical personage. He remembers the political associations, such as the Liberal Federation and the Primrose League, to which they attach themselves, playing illegitimately with politics, yet shrinking from the legitimate influence of the vote. They remind him—"unkindest cut of all"—of those ladies who get their alcohol surreptitiously from grocers' shops, but would be horrified to deal with a wine merchant.

He does not forget to mention the ladies who want the suffrage, but

object to the present methods as unwomanly. He finds that the martyrdom of the pioneers consists in that very thing, that they are forcedly unwomanly. "In politics," he asserts, "only force counts." In his opinion the strength of the movement lies in the fact that its roots go deep into our national soil, and draw their sustenance and vitality from all those myriads of obscure underground working women, women who are *not* womanly and *not* domestic. Women who must leave their homes and their babes to become machines in a world of machinery. "No vote," he says, "can make *them* so unwomanly as not having a vote has made them. Greater than the sex difference is the human oneness. The labours of so many brave and brilliant women for over half a century, culminating in the splendid spurt in our own day, are about to receive the guerdon of victory, and from England the spirit of sex equality will spread all the world over, and England will once again recover her place as the Mother of Liberty."



Israel Zangwill

Next Week: Miss BESSIE HATTON,

Hon. Secretary, the Women Writers' Suffrage League.

YULETIDE FESTIVAL.

(Continued from page 87.)



Copyright Sime Seruya. [Photo Marie Léon, Regent-street.
MRS. DESPARD AS ST. HILDA

The Pageant of Women.

There has never been anything like this Pageant, which brought the day to a fitting close. It sang in one's blood with its colour harmonies and the sonorous sound of its message. Justice (Miss Edythe Olive), in a glory of gold against a sombre background of green, hears the case of the shackled Woman (Mary Webb) against Prejudice (Nigel Playfair), and as witnesses for the plaintiff come a glittering array of the flower of womanhood in the past and the present. Prejudice will have it women have no wit nor learning, and crowding in to give him the lie come Hypatia, St. Teresa, De Scudery, De Stael, Georges Sand, Madame Curie, girl grads. in cap and gown, and a host of others. He denies that holiness or philanthropy is theirs, and St. Hilda, Elizabeth of Hungary, with many others, confront him. They have no art, he says, and straight appear to Woman's answering voice Rosa Bonheur (Edith Craig), Nance Oldfield (Ellen Terry), who does her talking for herself and flouts the boaster, Sappho, Kauffman, and a long line of artistes. They cannot rule, he says, so Elizabeth, Zenobia, Victoria, Catherine of Russia, and women who have queened it in many lands come to give evidence against him. "'Tis man that laps his soul in mail," he cries, and in the distance is heard the hurrying ring of mail-clad warriors, and Joan of Arc, Boadicea, the Rane of Jhansi, Mary Ann Talbot, with a swift army of brave women, come to laugh at him. Woman turns to him for a new challenge, but Prejudice has fled. "Goddess, he is gone!" she cries to Justice, and the Goddess answers, "I judge thee worthy to attain thy freedom." Then Woman, with the noble lines "Free Woman to Free Man," surrounded by the glittering array of women that she has called from the land of shadows, faces the dawn of liberty that is breaking. With misty eyes and with new courage the women in the hall watched that great Pageant. All honour to the authors, Cicely Hamilton and Edith Craig, to delightful Ellen Terry, to the 'Actresses' Franchise League, who lent of their best and fairest for this glittering propaganda, and last, but not least—nay, most of all—to the wonderful Woman (Mary Webb), whose beautiful voice, raised in sorrow or anger or pleading, seemed like the spirit of womanhood crying through the ages. Many a song has that old hall heard, many an audience has it gathered into its dusky benches, but never a song and never an audience like that which drank new life and new hope from the last message of Saturday night.

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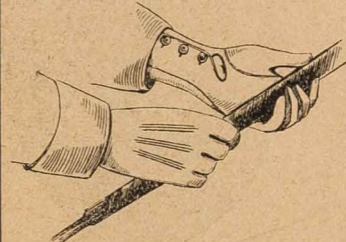
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THURSDAY, DECEMBER 16, 1909.

THE LEAGUE AND THE ELECTION.

During more than forty years we have asked for Votes for Women. A majority of members of the House of Commons has been pledged to support our demand for twenty-five years. Prominent party leaders and other men of note in politics have declared themselves as supporters. Yet year by year the Women's Suffrage Bill has been introduced into the House of Commons only to be destroyed. The treachery, the indifference, and the political trickery of our pretended friends have caused these repeated defeats much more than the opposition of our known enemies. And meanwhile these very men have begged for the work of women canvassers and speakers whenever they have had to appeal to the constituencies.

At the last General Election we determined upon more vigorous measures. We determined to put an end to this period of uncomplaining patience on one side and of contemptuous betrayal on the other. We determined that the nation should know what was going on, that we would make our cry heard from end to end of the land, so that

the double dealing of the politician should no longer go on unchecked. We made up our minds to rouse the women of the country to their position, and to make them resent the insult put upon them. We made up our minds to appeal to the men electors, who are more powerful than members of the House of Commons and more powerful than Cabinets or Governments. We said, "We demand a just right. We stand in deadly need of it. The private member has betrayed or ignored us. We will appeal to the heart and imagination of the people. Through them the Government will be made to act."

After the people the Government is the real power in politics. The private member has very little power, and is restricted by rules and regulations. The Ministry, the Cabinet, decide all questions of legislation, the Bills to be introduced, the measures to be postponed, the amendments to be accepted. The simple private member is a counter only. He does what he is told. The party leaders hold the power.

Hence the Women's Freedom League has attacked, not individual candidates, but the Government. It has said at every bye-election: "Vote against the nominee of the Government. For the Government has power to pass our Bill, to give us the Vote, and will not use that power." When there is a Government in power we are an anti-Government body. We have worked against the Liberal Government, not because it was Liberal, but because it was in power. It had the power to give women the Vote, and refused to do so.

But at a General Election there is no Government in power. There are parties fighting for possession of power, but no one in possession of it. Hence we cannot attack what does not exist. But there is a retiring Government, and a possible Cabinet of the opposing party. The leaders still exist, though they do not hold the reins of

office. The retiring Cabinet has had the opportunity of doing justice to women and has refused it. Not only so, but the refusal has been accompanied by cowardice and brutality. *We have therefore decided to oppose members of the retiring Cabinet.* They are declared enemies of the women's cause.

But the result of the fight may place the Conservative party in power. There are certain strong anti-Suffragists among those who would be members of a Conservative Ministry. To attack the Liberal foe merely would therefore be bad policy, and would leave us at the mercy of the Conservative enemy for another Parliament.

Therefore our second line of opposition is to be concentrated upon those Conservative or Unionist opponents who are likely to be members of the next Conservative Cabinet.

In all other constituencies our policy will be one of active protest against any Government being elected over the heads of women without their consent. Women have to pay taxes, to suffer from bad trade, to obey the many doubtful laws placed upon the statute book. The dangers to which the country is subject are their dangers and the need for reform and redress is theirs even more than their brothers'. Then it is only just that they should be consulted in the election of a Government which holds their lives in its hands.

We protest, therefore, against the election of any Government WITHOUT the consent of the women of the country.

With these three lines of policy a complete whole is made, and the whole country is covered. In applying this scheme we shall preserve and proclaim our political

independence. We shall vindicate our inherent human right to fight for our own liberties. We shall do good work for our cause whatever the issue of the struggle. We shall concentrate our particular attack upon proved and admitted enemies, and throughout the rest of the country the question of our right to a share in government will be emphasised by vigorous propaganda and protest. In this way every possible line of advantage will be followed, and the basis of victory will be laid for us in the new Parliament.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG,



MISS CICELY HAMILTON
AS CHRISTIAN DAVIS.
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MISS EDITH CRAIG
AS ROSA BONHEUR.
[Photos Marie Léon, Regent Street.

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GOSSIP.

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

W. B. YEATS.

Language.

In one of their descriptive and clamorous leaders the *Daily Telegraph* "young" lions stood on their hind-quarters at the fluency of Mr. Asquith, and observed that "the very Spirit of Vocabulary is his attendant minister, and every synonym in the language is at his instant command." This comes as a revelation to the women of the county, who had begun to think the right honourable gentleman's language was limited to the iteration of "What I have said I have said!"

A Daniel.

The filibuster Chancellor of the Exchequer had some really touching and tearful post-prandial things to say at the National Liberal Club a short time ago: "Every grain of freedom is more precious than radium, and the nation that throws it away is the most wanton of prodigals." With the slight alteration of "sex" for "nation" the utterance of fighting David would be worth remembering.

Wesleyan Women.

It is significant to notice, as a sign of the times, that the Wesleyan Committee on Law has at present before it the subject of women-preachers, and the question whether the legislation of 1803 should be revised or repealed. This legislation, while it allowed preaching to women, expressed the opinion that in general women who had "an extraordinary call to preach" should address their own sex, and only special preaching circuits should be allowed them. The consideration of the removal of these restrictions is in its own way a step forward, and it is a further proof, if such were needed, that the religious portion of the community is seriously awakening to the fact that since the world began the soul of a woman is as precious as the soul of a man, and the words of the holy woman as precious as the words of the holy man. If the sexes are on a level spiritually, and there is no divine mandate to deny it, it surely must follow, "as the night the day," that politically and socially they must also be equal.

Whist!

Sir James Crichton-Browne, at a dinner given recently by the Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards, observed that in a pack of cards from Hindustan, reputed to be 1,000 years old, the kings were found mounted on elephants and the queens on tigers. "That seemed to suggest," he remarked, "that even in those remote days people were more or less acquainted with some phase of the militant Suffragist" (Laughter). The point of the gentle joke concerning the suffrage is not particularly obvious, but we may discover in the mounts adopted by the different sexes a symbol of their traditional characteristics—the man, pachydermatous himself, mounted on the back of the slow-moving, lumbering elephant, whilst the woman outpaces him on the swift, fierce, quick-witted tiger. Man, too, the inventor of card games has seen to it that the kings take the queens, but in the game that is about to be played at the General Election he will be taught that zoological truth is otherwise, and the queen on her mount can beat the king on his, even though he, after the traditional manner, endeavours to place himself on a lofty palanquin of safety. For in this hand at least tigers are trumps.

EZRA TWINKLE.

Next week we shall publish a splendid article by Joseph M'Cabe, entitled "The Moral Basis of Enfranchisement."

HOW TO PUT OUR POLICY INTO PRACTICE.

There is no doubt that one of the hardest struggles of the woman's movement lies immediately ahead. Every member of the League, every man and woman that believes in the righteousness and justice of the women's claim must be up and doing during the next six weeks. Sleeping hours must be curtailed, recreation found in slogging away at some aspect or another of "Votes for Women." Husbands must be informed that for the time being they must either take on the housekeeping themselves or get an "anti" to do it for them, for wives who believe in the cause must be out in the highways and byways. Insistent lovers, brothers, fathers, must forgo their claims to their women-folk's time and attention. We want to plant our workers in such numbers about the country that not a single constituency escapes their activities. Amid all the manufactured clamour between supporters of the so-called "People's" Budget and Tariff Reform, amid the shouts of rival politicians "Codlin's the friend, not Short," must be heard, loud and clear and insistent, the women's demand for justice. This must be the last General Election in this country at which women do not vote. To ensure this every nerve must be strained *now*. Help given to-day will outweigh a hundred times efforts put forward six months hence.

Every Franchise Society—and their name is legion—has thought out its own special method of keeping our question to the front. The Women's Freedom League—after a conference called to consider this subject—decided to adopt the following lines of action, for the reasons given below:—

1. To oppose the members of the retiring Cabinet.
2. To oppose prominent anti-Suffragists likely to be in the next Unionist Cabinet.
3. To conduct throughout the rest of the country a general campaign of protest against any Government being elected without the consent of women.
4. Under no circumstances to support any Parliamentary candidate or party.

1. Why we Oppose the Retiring Cabinet.

Because these men have had the power to give women the vote, and have refused to use it.

Because their refusal has been accompanied by cowardice and brutality.

Because nearly 500 women have suffered imprisonment at their hands.

Because if returned again to power they would continue to betray and oppress the women of the country.

2. Why we Oppose Anti-Suffragists likely to be in the Next Unionist Cabinet.

Because these men have declared themselves against votes for women.

Because if returned to power they would oppose the introduction of a Government Women's Suffrage Bill.

Because they would probably continue the policy of repression by which the Liberal Government has disgraced itself.

Because all enemies of Cabinet rank must be converted or driven out of Parliament.

3. Why we Protest Against the Election of any Government.

Because men have no right to elect any Government over the heads of women.

Because every issue before the country is an issue for women as well as men.

Because the dangers of the country are the dangers of women as well as men.

Because the fate, money, and interest of women should not be controlled by any Government which they have not elected and cannot remove.

Because it is an act of scandalous injustice to ignore the wishes of the women when a new Government is being elected.

The following methods of putting this principle of general protest into practice are suggested to branches and members of the League:—

All candidates for Parliament should be interviewed or written to, and their intentions in regard to Women's Suffrage obtained *in writing over their own signatures*. Please forward these replies to the hon. secretary, W.F.L. Candidates should be asked to put their views on Women's Suffrage in their election addresses, and copies of these addresses should be forwarded to the hon. secretary.

If both candidates are in favour of Women's Suffrage then carry on a militant propaganda campaign to protest in every possible way against any Government being elected without the consent of women.

Attend political meetings to question the candidates *at question time*. Also get men sympathisers to do this.

If women are excluded from the meetings, hold protest meetings as near as possible.

Reprint the General Election Address of the Women's Freedom League, and arrange for one to be left at every voter's house in your division.

Hold as many open-air and indoor meetings as possible.

On polling day arrange for attendance at every polling booth all day if possible. Women taxpayers should take their schedules of taxes and should say to the voters: "I also pay taxes, don't you think I ought to vote?" If a well-known "anti" is a candidate then say: "Keep . . . out; he is an enemy of women's freedom." If the candidates support women's suffrage say: "Votes for Women," "No member of Parliament ought to be elected without the consent of women," and similar home truths.

Have reprinted and distribute to the voters at the polling booths the Women's Freedom League General Election leaflet "To Voters."



OH! WHAT A SURPRISE!

Little Jack Horner sat in a corner,
Eating Election pie.
He put in his thumb, and pulled out a plum,
But 'twas not what he wanted—oh my!

Supply the Press with articles, letters, and interviews with prominent local people, whose support will secure notice in the Press before, during, and after the election.

Make it clear to the general public that there is no party feeling involved, and no greater animus against the Liberal than against the Tory when out of power.

Get names of members willing to do special danger duty at the General Election, and send these to Mrs. Billington-Greig as soon as possible.

On all possible occasions wear the colours of the League (green, gold, and white) and display them at all meetings.

For advice in all cases of special difficulty write to—MRS. BILLINGTON-GREIG, Women's Freedom League, 302, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

For copies of instructions and leaflets write to—MRS. HOW MARTYN, Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

For reports of the progress of the campaign read THE VOTE regularly and sedulously.

BRADFORD ENTHUSIASM.

The meeting held in the Central Hall, Bradford, proved very successful, in spite of the fact that Mr. R. J. Campbell did not keep his engagement. Nearly nine pounds' worth of tickets had been sold, and the audience showed that a strong spirit of enthusiasm and appreciation prevailed. We heard on all sides, afterwards, expressions of sympathy and admiration for our speakers. Mrs. How Martyn explained how it was that Mr. Campbell was not present, and cries of "Shame!" concluded the reading of his letter. Mrs. Despard, who threw herself heart and soul into her speech, began by announcing how grieved she was that a mis-report in the *Daily News* of something she had said should have induced Mr. Campbell to take up this attitude. She told the audience with the full force of her convincing spirit why she believed the Suffrage to be the most important thing for women at the present time, and proved how utterly useless it is for us to be interested in the feeding of school children or any other much-needed reform until we have the only weapon which is recognised in the political world.

Mrs. Amy Sanderson gave a delightful speech, as usual. She covered so many points that it is impossible to mention them all here. At the end of the speeches questions were asked and satisfactorily dealt with by Mrs. How Martyn. One gentleman was particularly impressed with the leniency of the sentences passed upon women Suffragists compared with those passed upon the ordinary male offender. One instance alone, however, quoted by Mrs. How Martyn was enough to convince the audience that women are not the only favoured persons in the eyes of the law. It was an instance of a Bradford Councillor who was guilty of a criminal offence on his servant girl, aged fifteen, for which offence he was sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment in the first division. On Wednesday Mrs. Alfred Unna gave an "At Home" at the Midland Hotel, to which a number of sympathetic people came to listen to the Women's Freedom League speakers once more. Members were made, and a branch will, I hope, soon be formed. Our most grateful thanks are due to Mrs. Alfred Unna, who helped both personally and financially to make the meeting a success, and also to many other local friends who helped in various ways.

The following is a copy of the letter sent by the Rev. R. J. Campbell to the organisers of the Bradford meeting:

"In view of the policy of the Women's Freedom League in regard to the forthcoming General Election, as enunciated yesterday by my friend Mrs. Despard, I am constrained, though with much regret, to cancel my engagement to speak at Bradford. I feel that in the present critical condition of national affairs I cannot countenance any action which even threatens to divide the Progressive forces. Hence, while retaining to the full my sympathy with the efforts of women to gain the rights of citizenship, I must dissociate myself from the tactical policy thus officially declared."

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C	One Guinea Hamper—1 Turkey (or a Joint of Beef), 1 Ham, 1lb. Sausages, 1 Bottle Port, 1 Bottle Sherry.
D	One Guinea Hamper—1 Turkey (or a Joint of Beef), 1 Ham, 1lb. Sausages, 2lb. Jar Mince-meat, 2lb. Plum Pudding, 1 box figs.
E	Two Guinea Hamper—1 Turkey (or a Joint of Beef), 1 Ham, 2lbs. Sausages, 4lb. Plum Pudding, 2 Bottles Port, 2 Bottles Sherry, 2lbs. Mince-meat, 2lbs. Tea.
F	Two Guinea Hamper—1 Turkey (or a Joint of Beef), 1 Ham (or Half a Stilton), 2lbs. Sausages, 4lb. Plum Pudding, 2lbs. Mince-meat, 3 lbs. Xmas Cake, 2lbs. Muscatels, 1lb. Almonds, 1 Box Figs, 1 Box Elvas Plums, 2lbs. Tea.

WOMAN.

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A FREEDOM LEAGUE WEDDING.

St. Luke's Church was the scene of an interesting wedding on Monday last, when Miss Ruby Tyzard, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Tyzard, of Clapham Common, was married to Dr. Apple-yard, of Devonshire. The bride, who wore the colours of the Women's Freedom League, was given away by her father. The League was well represented at the wedding reception, the members of the Battersea Branch wishing the happy couple God-speed. The wedded pair will spend the first part of their honeymoon in lovely Devonshire.

Miss Mocatta writes to say that she has a delightful little furnished cottage at Reigate, which she would be happy to lend to any members of the W.F.L. requiring a holiday just now. There is accommodation for four people, and coals and light would be provided free. Letters should be sent to Miss Mocatta, 108, Iverna Street, W.

* * *

A pamphlet containing a short account of the picketing of the House of Commons, the Bermondsey protest, a summary of the subsequent Criminal Court proceedings, and a *verbatim* report of Miss Neillans' speech to the jury is now on sale. Price 1d. Order from the Literature Department, Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street. By post 1½d.

"AT THE GATES."

Being a Twentieth-Century Episode.

By A. CHAPIN.
(Abridged for THE VOTE.)

DRAMATIS PERSONÆ.

The Suffragette (a charming girl). | A Sympathiser.
Two Police-officers. | A Seamstress.
A Drunken Man.

SCENE I.

The iron fence and post by exit gate of the House of Commons. Police stationed as usual. The SUFFRAGETTE is standing by her post, wearing her colours. Her bag, mackintosh, and umbrella are hanging on railings, a larger bag is on the ground by gate. She holds her petition and a bundle of handbills and literature.

The police show signs of animation when they stroll in her direction. She occasionally bows, as if to someone in the passing carriages.

FIRST OFFICER: Tired yet, Miss? You've had a cold time of it to-night.

SUFFRAGETTE: Yes, it is cold, but I am not tired.

[A male sympathiser enters as officer strolls away.]

SYMPATHISER: Aren't you ready for a cup of coffee? You must need something warm, standing is chilly work.

[Voice of passer-by, mockingly]: "Votes for Women." I don't think.

SUFFRAGETTE [sweetly]: No, you look as if you didn't. [Voices of small boys]: Yah, yah, Suffragette.

SUFFRAGETTE: Did you ever read the book of Esther? SYMPATHISER [taken aback]: Yes, I believe so; at school, or somewhere.

FIRST OFFICER [Strolls up]: I never read it.

SUFFRAGETTE: There is in it a poor young queen. And when she has a request to make of the king she puts on her best rig out and stands where he can see her. If he is in a good temper he holds out his sceptre, she touches it, and then she can go ahead and talk. If, on the other hand, the king is in a bad temper, he doesn't hold out the sceptre, and—whisk—"off with her head. So much for a 'queen.'" I feel like that poor Jewish girl. Here I stand. Absolute sees me (bad temper)—"Away with her." Police-court offence—obstruction. Forty shillings, or seven days. After the seven days, here I am again. Absolute passes (better temper)—"Stand there if you like, but don't be silly; don't worry me." Ahasuerus was a gentleman. He did hold out his sceptre.

SYMPATHISER: I'll get you some coffee. [Exit hastily.] [Suffragette sighs and shivers slightly.] Lapse of Two Hours.

SCENE II.

Suffragette still at her post. Enter a poor seamstress, one who knows what sweated labour means, and whose poor, disfigured face tells of man's chivalry toward the weak.

SEAMSTRESS: I'm with you, Miss, but I ain't no account.

SUFFRAGETTE: Oh, don't say that.

SEAMSTRESS: I know. I'm poor and worn out. Like-wise knocked out by a beauty I married. Made me a nice object, didn't he?

SUFFRAGETTE: Didn't he get sent to prison for it?

SEAMSTRESS: Lor' bless you, no. Prison?—not he. Magistrate told him not to do it again, and let him off with a fine. Of course, he did do it again—only worse, and that's why I'm such a pretty thing to look at. [Laughs dearly.]

SUFFRAGETTE: What sort of work do you do?

SEAMSTRESS: Blouse making. Work all day long to make enough to keep soul and body together. Not always enough for that. It's no great cop, I can tell you. I'm no worse off than lots of other women. There are hundreds just keeping alive, that's all. That's why I'm so keen for your sort. We can't fight fair now, but get the vote for us and it will turn us from no-account creatures to beings with the same rights as the men.

SUFFRAGETTE: That is what I believe. That is what nerves one to go ahead. The certainty that one is fighting on God's side is everything.

SEAMSTRESS: Don't you give way or be discouraged. We depend on you. Good night. [Goes slowly away.]

[Second officer drifts up.]

SECOND OFFICER: A new friend, Miss?

SUFFRAGETTE: Yes, a new friend.

[A drunken man appears.]

MAN: "Votes for Women," is it? I think not; oh, I think not.

SUFFRAGETTE: I've heard something like that remark before.

MAN: What I want to know is: Why do you grind us down? Look at me. Can I get work? No. Why? You have taken it. I know what I am talking about. I am a clever man, I am. I know what keeps you going. [In a husky whisper.] Inquire at the Carlton Club. You are paid to stand here. One guinea a night is what you get, and here am I with empty pockets, while yours are filled with Tory gold. I am a man, too—you are not a man—

SUFFRAGETTE [Desperately, half to herself]: Thank God for that.

MAN: Can you walk across Westminster Bridge at five o'clock in the morning?

SUFFRAGETTE [to Officer, who is regarding man with strong disfavour]: I daresay I could if I put my whole mind to it.

MAN: Go home and wash shirts. My old missus can wash shirts.

SUFFRAGETTE: Then I wish she would wash yours. Do go away.

MAN: I know my place—

SECOND OFFICER: Come now, that will do. Move on!

MAN: Move on, is it? I am a voter, I am. My old missus is better looking than you are.

[Exit.]

SUFFRAGETTE: I wonder which party he belongs to?

SECOND OFFICER: The one that gives him the most beer. Aren't you getting weary of it all?

SUFFRAGETTE: Standing in the pillory is never pleasant. The one thing that makes me strong to endure is because I believe that I am working for the advancement of humanity.

SECOND OFFICER: You'll be in Parliament some day.

SUFFRAGETTE: As at present constituted I shouldn't care for it.

[Drunken man again, with pathos.]

MAN: Can you cross Westminster Bridge at five in the morning? [He staggers away.]

[Day dawns coldly as the lamp goes out.]

CURTAIN.

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The £1,000 Fund.—The Hon. Treasurer of the Scottish Council of the W.F.L. appeals to Scottish readers of THE VOTE for contributions to the £1,000 Fund.

The Scottish Council is anxious to be self-supporting, and so relieve the Central Organisation in London of burdens which it has, up till now, had to bear on behalf of Scotland at times of more than usual activity, such as bye-elections.

Also the demands upon the resources of the Scottish Council are steadily increasing with the marked and rapid development of the League in Scotland.

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Dr. Margaret Young	1	0	0	Anna Munro	0	10	0
Miss Anna Munro	0	5	0				
Mrs. Moore	0	4	0				

Further subscriptions will be gratefully received and duly acknowledged by the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Julia Wood, W.F.L., 302, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

Glasgow Suffrage Centre.—On Monday the Glasgow Branches gave Mrs. Billington-Greig a hearty "welcome back to work" in the Suffrage Centre.

In spite of dense fog without, within everyone was bright and gay. A large gathering was presided over by Miss Eunice Murray. Mrs. Julia Wood, in presenting Mrs. Billington-Greig with a purse of sovereigns, in a delightful little speech voiced the feeling of those present when she said that "until Mrs. Billington-Greig was laid aside by illness we did not fully appreciate her, and it was to show our delight at her recovery that this subscription list was opened, and because of the great number of subscriptions which had been received it was decided instead of purchasing any ornament to give her the money thus collected, and allow her to do what she pleased with it." Miss Anna Munro presented her with a bouquet of flowers in the colours.

Mrs. Billington-Greig, after thanking the members for their gift, delivered a fighting speech, and urged the members to prepare for the General Election. Miss Muriel Blakstone played pianoforte solos during the evening.

It is proposed to have a special show of artists' work every Wednesday afternoon, and the "At Homes" in future are to be held every Saturday afternoon, when there will be speeches and music.

On Monday and Tuesday, December 27th and 28th, there is to be a special Christmas Festival, and members are urged to bring their friends to it. There will be speeches and music, tea, &c.

Members are reminded that we are anxious to take orders for all kinds of goods, both fancy and otherwise, and we hope we shall be kept busy. All orders will receive immediate attention. We shall keep a large stock of sweets, books, fancy goods, &c.

Our Birthday Book is now on the market and makes a splendid Christmas present. It is beautifully bound in green, gold, and white vellum, and has photographs and quotations from Mrs.

Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Mrs. How Martyn, besides many other well-known Suffragists. All who have seen it are delighted, and wonder how we can manage to sell it for a shilling (postage 3d.). The quotations are most appropriate, and we hope that members all over the country will procure a copy, as we are sure they will find it a source of inspiration to them.

Edinburgh Central.—Leith was greatly excited on Saturday, December 4th, over Sir Edward Grey's meeting, from which women were excluded unless they gave—in addition to the now usual pledge not to create a disturbance—a *reference!* Several of our members were present, of course outside the meeting, with THE VOTE and other literature. Although we were kept "moving on" by the large force of police, we sold out THE VOTE, and found a great deal of sympathy among men and women alike. The following Monday we were again in Leith, this time to support Miss A. B. Jack, our secretary, who was speaking for the negative in a debate "That it would be better for women to fight for adult suffrage instead of an extension of the present franchise." Miss Jack, in a fighting speech, amid great enthusiasm, assured the men that they would never get their franchise changed until they took the women with them. An excellent account of the debate was given in the *Leith Burghs Post*, which also published an admirable letter from a "Leith Elector" on the "riot" at Sir Edward Grey's meeting.

The *Edinburgh Evening News* devoted a long space to our Annual Social Meeting, particularly noting the prevailing enthusiastic atmosphere and the loud applause that punctuated the speeches. Mrs. J. Bell was in the chair, and Mrs. J. Dobbie moved a resolution protesting against the Government's action in refusing to treat the Suffragist prisoners as political offenders, and calling on them to stop the brutal practice of forcible feeding. Mrs. Dobbie went on to explain the true facts of the Bermondsey incident and to compare the sentence on Miss Hudson with that on a man arrested in another part of the town for breaking windows and behaving in a disorderly manner. The resolution was passed unanimously.

The *News* continues: "In the course of the evening a sketch entitled 'The Trial of the Suffragettes' was performed by members of the League. Though rather anticipating events, the sketch proved most amusing, and was capably presented. A scene from 'Cranford' was also performed with much acceptance."

The somewhat unusual programme, with its contrasts of past, present, and future, was very much enjoyed by the audience. We are greatly indebted to Mrs. Dobbie, who spoke on very short notice. The heartiest thanks of the Branch are also due to the friends who so delightfully presented the quaint old ladies of "Cranford," to those who composed and acted with such spirit the mock trial of the Suffragettes, and to the artist members who arranged the beautiful tableau of the future, the lady and gentleman who took part in it, and the reciter who spoke with such effect the lines from "The Princess" beginning:—

"The woman's sphere is man's: they rise or fall Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free."

On this high note a most successful evening ended.

Dundee.—A branch meeting was held last Tuesday. It was intimated that the Jumble Sale had realised £9 14s. An empty shop has been taken for two months (December and January) for propaganda work. Literature will be sold, "At Homes" are to be held weekly, and it is expected new members will be added. We hope this shop will be a centre for active work during the election. J. A. SMART.

FUTURE EVENTS IN SCOTLAND.

Sat., Dec. 18th Jumble Sale, Buccleuch Halls, W. Crosscauseway: 2 p.m.

Tues., Dec. 21st Cafe Vegetaria, Symposium: "Historical and Constitutional Aspects of Women Suffrage."

Wed., Dec. 22nd Show of Work, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow.
Mon., Dec. 27th Suffrage Festival, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow.
Tues., Dec. 28th Suffrage Festival, Suffrage Centre, Glasgow.

PORTMAN ROOMS "AT HOMES."

Mrs. Holmes and Madame Aino Malmberg were the chief speakers at last week's "At Home" in the Portman Rooms, the former dealing with the present political crisis and Madame Malmberg with the unrest in Finland. Miss Benett was in the chair. The "At Home" to-day is the last in the old year. After Christmas we leave the Portman Rooms and return to our old haunt, the Caxton Hall, which is bound up with the history of the Freedom League. A very strong programme of speakers has been arranged for next sessions, particulars of which will be published in next week's VOTE.

SPECIAL NOTICES.

THE GENERAL ELECTION.

Now that the Albert Hall Festival is over, we have to turn our thoughts towards the serious political work of the forthcoming General Election. If we are to make "Votes for Women" the dominant cry, rising clear above

the noise of party politics, we must have at least three hundred workers in the thick of the fight. We want speakers, literature sellers, handbill distributors, canvassers, clerical workers; there are Conservative and Liberal meetings to be attended and candidates to be questioned *at question time*; there are the thousand and one things inseparable from an election which demand time and energy. All willing to help should send in their names as soon as possible to Mrs. Billington-Greig at the "Suffrage Centre," 302, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

And in addition to workers we need a well-filled war-chest. £5,000 is absolutely necessary for carrying out the policy that has been planned. A most generous response was made to this appeal on Saturday, when £1,500 was subscribed in a few minutes at the Albert Hall, including a beautiful diamond ring from Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett. Our special thanks are due to Lady Cook for her splendid donation of £1,000. Surely this example should inspire all who are on the side of justice, wealthy and poor alike, to give all they can at this crisis. Subscriptions should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, W.F.L. Offices, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

ANNUAL CONFERENCE.

The Annual Conference of the W.F.L. has been definitely fixed for Saturday, January 29th, in the Caxton Hall. At the conference the National Executive Committee and the office-bearers will be elected for the forthcoming year, the resolutions sent up from the branches will be voted upon, and the general policy of the League determined for the next twelve months.

YULETIDE FESTIVAL SOUVENIR.

A number of these illustrated souvenirs may be had by members at the reduced price of 3d., post free; by non-members 6d., post free. Contains photographs of Lady Cook, G. Bernard Shaw, Israel Zangwill, Cicely Hamilton, Edith Craig, Alice Chapin, Ellen Terry, and the President and officers of the League, some of which cannot be obtained elsewhere.

CATERING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

If those who bought tickets for tea at the Yuletide Festival and were unable to obtain it will kindly return their tickets to 1, Robert Street, their money will be refunded. The W.F.L. wishes it to be known that the catering on Saturday was in the hands of the Albert Hall authorities, who refused to allow the W.F.L. to take over that department.

LOST AT THE ALBERT HALL.

A reward is offered for the return of a long fur stole, lost from the dressing-room behind the platform at the Albert Hall last Saturday. Will the finder kindly return it to the W.F.L. Offices, 1, Robert Street?

FUTURE EVENTS IN LONDON.

Thurs., Dec. 30th Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street, W. : Mrs. Toyne, 8 p.m.
Sat., Jan. 8th 1, Robert Street: N.E.C. Meeting.
Sat., Jan. 29th Annual Conference, Caxton Hall.

BRANCH NOTES.

Finchley.—We have had a very interesting meeting at Stephen's Memorial Hall, North Finchley, and Mrs. Despard received a warm and enthusiastic welcome. She told us of her own experience at election times, when both Liberals and Tories were so pleasant and complimentary to all the women who worked for them, although directly the election was over they all agreed that the subject of politics was too great for any woman to understand.

The Rev. Hugh Chapman, of the Savoy Chapel Royal, made a most interesting and amusing speech. He mentioned that he was a fairly new convert, so the Suffrage Leagues are fortunate in having gained such a brilliant champion. In conclusion, he said that there was a law higher than the one which women had broken, and that this higher law taught men not to tyrannise and women not to cringe.

When the meeting was over the "Branch" was left in a flutter of enthusiasm and self-importance, combined with an iron resolve to do things.

E. M. B.

Tunbridge Wells.—"That the Parliamentary franchise be granted to women on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men" formed the subject for debate at the Literary and Social Union of Mount Pleasant Church last Tuesday evening. Miss Peacock, who opened the debate in a very able speech, referred to many of the friends of the movement, among them Mrs. Josephine Butler, from whose autobiography she read short inspiring extracts. The opponent's arguments were based on the statements: A woman rules by her heart; Woman is mentally man's inferior. This, perhaps, accounts for the fact, otherwise strange, that no women spoke against the resolution. If the Anti-Suffragette were present, she was at least canny enough to see that, if she appeared capable of comprehending the intricate logic of the Antis, she would be disproving the truth of these expressed sentiments of theirs. Presumably she very properly allowed men to represent her, for all the women who spoke spoke strongly in favour of the resolution, and they were supported by a man who, because he was a solicitor, was afterwards referred to as one who ought to know better. The voting at the end was as one who ought to know better. D. DE J. L.

The Manchester Branch meeting on Thursday really took the form of an exhibition of work designed for the Yuletide Fair. Some beautiful work and useful articles were given by the many friends of the Branch as well as by members, and the hope was expressed that by the sale a substantial sum would be added to the funds of the Branch.

After the goods had been marked and packed the business meeting was held, and arrangements were made for the sale of THE VOTE, the distribution of bills for the next "At Home," and also for the questioning of local Parliamentary candidates at their meetings and of impressing on them the importance of putting Woman Suffrage in their election addresses.

We are very grateful to our members for the way in which they undertook this duty. For many of them it is the first active work undertaken, and it is pleasant to find how fully they realise the importance of it in view of the coming election campaign. M. I. NEAL, President and Press Secretary.

Wolverhampton.—The monthly meeting of the Branch was held on Monday, December 6th, and the resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans in the second division was passed unanimously. It was decided to send a report of the meeting to the local Press. It was also decided that members of the Branch living in the different Parliamentary divisions of the borough should send letters signed by as many men as possible to the different Parliamentary candidates urging them to include women's enfranchisement in their election addresses. A. CRESSWELL, Hon. Sec.

Potteries Branch.—An evening "At Home" was held at Mrs. Massey's, Fenton, on Thursday, December 9th, and was most successful. Mrs. Massey took the chair. Mrs. Lawton gave a most excellent address, and was supported by Mrs. Beardmore and Mrs. Gough. A fair amount of literature was sold. There were also promises of new members. E. PEDLEY.

Sheffield.—On Saturday afternoon, December 4th, a great privilege was ours. Miss Cicely Hamilton came down from London to address a drawing-room meeting held under the auspices of the Branch at Miss Dorothy Elliot's, Firs Hill. There were between fifty and sixty people present, and, of whatever shade of opinion, they were one and all charmed and delighted by Miss Hamilton's inspiring and witty speech. Even Anti-Suffragists owned to enjoyment, which speaks volumes for the distinguished authoress's eloquence.

Mrs. Whetton, president of the Branch, made a most effective speech, as did also Miss Barnett in the chair. Much literature was sold, including THE VOTE, and a good collection taken.

The following Monday evening the last "Discussion" before Christmas took place at the Temperance Hall. The subject was "Married Women as Teachers." Mrs. Taylor opened the discussion, and an interesting debate ensued. D. ELLIOT.

Eastbourne.—Weekly branch meetings are being held regularly, and those who attend have quite caught the right spirit of the movement. At last week's meeting the General Election policy and the agenda for the Annual Conference were the subjects discussed. A resolution protesting against the imprisonment of Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans was passed unanimously.

Ipswich.—Last Thursday we opened our Club House in Ipswich. Our room was closely filled with members and friends, who listened with great interest to Mrs. Despard. Miss Hicks took the chair, and Mr. Greig, of the Cambridge University League for Women's Suffrage, appealed to the men sympathisers present. A good collection was taken and literature sold. In the evening a public meeting was held, when Miss Hicks again presided and Mrs. Despard gave a most eloquent address. Mr. Greig also spoke. Resolutions were passed protesting against the placing of Mrs. Chapin and Miss Neilans in the second division, and calling upon the Government to enfranchise duly-qualified women without delay.

Last Thursday there was a good attendance at our Club-house, when Mr. John Booth, Parliamentary correspondent for the *East Anglian Daily Times*, lectured on "Women and Parliament." Miss Andrews was in the chair. At the end of the lecture there was a good discussion, which turned chiefly on the militant tactics. C. E. ANDREWS.

FUTURE EVENTS IN THE PROVINCES.

Thurs., Dec. 16th St. George's Hall, Liverpool, Tableaux.
Cardiff: H. Baillie Weaver, Esq., Miss Muriel Mätters, 8 p.m.

THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—No. 9.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1909.

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.

The Editors are responsible for unsigned articles only. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editors cannot be responsible in case of loss.

All Advertisements for insertion in the following issue must be received not later than Monday morning.

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"THE VOTE" may be obtained through all Newspapers and at the Bookstalls of Messrs. W. H. Smith & Sons.

WHAT WE THINK.

To Arms!

Christmas Day will be saddened for all members of the Freedom League by thoughts of the brave and loyal comrades who are undergoing the horrors of "political" imprisonment in this year of grace. Words are poor media whereby to express either their sufferings or our indignation. We must make our actions speak instead. Herbert Gladstone, of infamous memory, will not be in the next Cabinet, and we must see to it that not one of his thrice dishonoured colleagues is there either, if it be humanly possible for us to prevent it.

To arms, Freedom Leaguers! The thought of our tortured prisoners of war should sharpen our swords for the fight. There must be no quarter for the men who have instigated and sanctioned this relapse into savagery and barbarism.

* * *

A Minotaur Government.

"What, I wonder, would be thought of a private individual who, to avenge the loss of sixpence, prosecuted a private enemy after an interval of four months, knowing that imprisonment would involve starvation and torture?" asks Mr. H. N. Brailsford in this week's *Nation*. "Yet a young girl—Miss Clarkson—was sentenced at Liverpool a week ago, to two weeks in the second division for breaking windows, valued officially at sixpence, during her imprisonment in the heat of August in a punishment cell. For four months the Home Office cherished its project of revenge, and at last, as the prosecution avowed, by express instructions from that quarter, the charge was pressed home."

Words cannot characterise such vindictiveness as this. And the men who are guilty of it, appeal to the country for support as the apostles of liberty and democracy!

* * *

The "Protected" Sex.

We recommend the following instance to Mr. Austen Chamberlain's notice as a glowing example of the pro-

TECTED, sheltered life that he so ardently believes most women lead. He would deny them the protection of the vote, he says, because they are sufficiently protected already; they are the fairy princesses of life, and on no account must they be allowed to soil the radiance of their wings in the murky, dirty atmosphere of political life. A man who can retain beliefs like this in the face of facts such as the following might make an excellent poet or novelist, but his peculiar gifts and graces would be quite wasted in the Cabinet. "She works as a scrubber at the infirmary all day, and after arriving home at 8 p.m. she does washing until one or two o'clock in the morning to keep her family," said a Kingston school attendance officer, when a woman was summoned for not sending her children to school regularly.

* * *

The Decay of Chivalry.

Apocryphal of the above, Lord Cromer's remarks in the *Manchester Guardian* take on a new interest and significance. "Finally," says the noble lord, "it is no longer possible to doubt that the obliteration of the line between man and woman will tend to weaken the deference now shown by the physically stronger to the physically weaker sex." One is inclined to wonder whether the physically weaker sex—as proved by its ability to work from sixteen to seventeen hours a day—would not be willing to renounce a little deference in return for a little human consideration, decent hours of work, and a living wage? Besides, how much deference is paid by gentlemen like the noble Lord, or anyone else, to a woman who earns her bread and the bread for her children by scrubbing and washing? If she were doing well-paid work, under fairly healthy and comfortable conditions, philanthropic politicians, actuated by the highest and most humanitarian principles, and concerned solely with the welfare of the woman and her children, would be putting forward most strenuous efforts to prevent her working at all. But then there are no male voters clamouring for the monopoly of the scrubbing and washing tasks of the physically weaker sex!

* * *

Why Should We Be Beggars?

"Why should we be beggars with the ballot in our hand?" pertinently runs the *Daily News* land song. But this noble sentiment is only meant to apply to men—naturally. The proper attitude for women is a begging one, as the above sapient Liberal organ points out unconsciously when it recommends as a particularly effective poster for the general election that of "a women of the working-class with a half-starved child by her side pleading, 'Don't tax our bread.'"

We recommend this poster ourselves as an excellent object lesson of the attitude imposed upon women by the Government that is now pleading with Liberal women to be firm and loyal. M. H.

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The Chalet Lavender Preparations. Distilled from the finest English blooms. All the fragrance and purity of the flower retained.
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