

THE VOTE

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

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ONE PENNY.

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EDITORIAL.

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WHAT WE THINK.

Wanted—Direct Answers.

To be in office without being in power is not a pleasant position for any Government, and it probably has not a sweetening effect on the members of the Cabinet. Still one expects a more gracious tone in reply to questioning on a subject of supreme importance than was adopted by Mr. Haldane to the man who, at the annual dinner of the Palmerston Club, Oxford, asked for a direct answer to his question, "What was going to be done with the Women's Conciliation Bill? The Minister for War replied that there were many questions to which hundreds and thousands of persons in this country wanted direct answers—"Well, they would not get them." A ministry does not hold office long on replies of this kind, and the electorate occasionally resolves itself back into its component parts, and individually clamours for and insists upon answers to its direct questions. In this instance an elector inquired concerning the potential electorate on a matter which that great dull organ of dull opinion, *The Times*, has been galvanised into describing as "perhaps the most urgent from a political point of view," and his question was airily dismissed. The country, including both men and women, are paying these men large sums of money for doing the country's political business, and they expect that they will report progress; they do not expect from a public servant an answer which in a housemaid would be considered pert.

Public opinion is hardening in favour of the Bill (the anxiety of Lord Cromer is proof of this if any were needed). The Town Councils of Manchester, of Dublin, of Glasgow, of Dundee and fourteen other Scottish burghs have petitioned Parliament that the Bill be given facilities this session. The Welsh Liberal women have gone on strike. Hardly a great speech is made which does not bear on the question. The Labour members are, if rumour and the recent utterances of Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Ramsay Macdonald can be trusted, likely to give it stronger backing in the new session. The Irish members have it at heart, partly from conviction and partly because militant

methods have been taken up by the Irishwomen's Franchise League. A Government in office and not in power cannot afford to give pert answers to a question which public men and public bodies regard as of supreme importance, which the majority of its own party has declared to be both just and pressing, and which has now become a vital one with its own auxiliaries.

The "Typical" Voter.

There has been some plain speaking about the typical male voter recently. *The Morning Post*, in a melancholy article, says:—"The fact is, disguise is impossible, that after three weeks of the most strenuous out-of-door campaigning and house-to-house canvassing, the working men of Walthamstow do in the mass still look for a conveyance—which nowadays means a motor-car as the price of their vote." And furthermore, in the course of a libel action heard last week and arising out of Mr. Chiozza Money's election for North Paddington, one of the witnesses, Arthur Strange, who happened to be undergoing a term of penal servitude, declared that he did not know the difference between a municipal and a general election. Mr. Justice Darling, who, with a special jury, was hearing the case, remarked, "Many people who do haven't got a vote." Some very interesting sidelights on the male view of election probity were shown up in the course of the trial, and the witness we have mentioned was thus described in his summing up by Sir Charles Darling:—

Strange was a typical voter; he knew nothing of either Mr. Money or Mr. Strauss; he knew nothing of Toryism or of Liberalism; he did not know the difference between Free Trade and Tariff Reform; but he had got a vote. (Laughter.) This was the class of person to whom a vote was given. *There were a number of persons to whom a vote was not given, and it was not surprising that they should make a noise when they found persons like this who had the right to vote for representatives to make the laws of Old England.*

No, it is not at all surprising. A million honest, God-fearing, rate-paying women are badly needed to leaven the electoral lump.

Revelations.

So much is written and read of the care which the male Government and male electorate take of the female portion of the population that the Report of the National Vigilance Association, recently published, will make strange reading for some anti-suffragists. The Manchester and Northern Counties Branch notes as a deplorable feature that the year's work included about thirty cases involving the overlookers or employers at places of business, some of whom had to be taken into the police court. So besides being infamously sweated when economic conditions force her into the labour market, the woman worker has to face male brutality of the worst kind. A great number of cases of this nature are never brought to light owing to the fear of the loss of her miserable pittance by the wronged girl or woman. And this kind of abuse will never be effectually stamped out until the woman has such a civic position that the fear of immediate hurt to himself will prevent a certain type of male beast from molesting her when she is engaged in the honourable task of earning her own living.

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PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

The Next Act.

On November 15th the curtain rises at Westminster. Are we to see "Vice vanquished and Virtue victorious"? or is it to be a Third Act working up to the grand finale? Is it to be mere talk, or will the play take a sudden turn into tragedy? We shall soon see. One thing is certain, the audience has increased in number during the interval, and the interest is more intense.

Propaganda.

To those who prophesied a permanent slackening in the Suffrage agitation as a consequence of the reaction following the political excitement before and after the General Election, the present position of affairs must come as a surprise. The truce has perhaps served to shake out the faint-hearted, but, as the movement has arisen out of economic conditions, which change only to become more acute, one solution alone is possible—success to the Cause. Therefore, no far-sighted person could ever doubt that the agitation would grow, and that the obstacles which ill-will, prejudice and ignorance throw in its way might enrage, but could never stop it. Thus it is that we find in every corner of the country enthusiasm rising and new converts coming in.

Helpers Wanted.

Let there be no mistake, however. Although we can chronicle a great increase in Suffrage enthusiasm and interest, helpers are wanted everywhere. The more there are the more are needed, and no woman can afford to evade her duty while others work. Our responsibilities do not lessen, they increase. Everyone must ask herself every day, "What can I do for the Cause?" The answer will not be hard to find, for there are so many things. First of all, Help your Local Branch, and then talk Suffrage, write Suffrage, live Suffrage. If your friends and associates are not sympathisers and active workers try to persuade them to come in. Why should we not form a "Corps of Suffrage Missionaries"? The ideals of the Movement are high enough—freedom (in the highest, noblest and best of senses), equality of opportunity, fair-play, justice all round, help for the weak and the oppressed, and the destruction of special privilege.

The Suffrage Week.

Now is the time for service, for we are in the midst of a tremendous effort to show as never before the strength of the Suffrage Movement. When these lines appear many of the meetings announced last week will have been held, but let no one forget the

MASS MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL

on Saturday, November 12th, at 7.30 p.m. The speakers will include: Mrs. Despard, Mrs. E. F. Swanwick, M.A., the Earl of Lytton, Archdeacon Escreet, Mr. C. S. Goldman, M.P., and Mr. H. N. Brailsford.

This joint meeting represents the combined effort of nearly all the principal Suffrage Societies, and it must be a memorable one. Let us of the W.F.L. show that we stand side by side with our sisters in the fight, and that no differences of opinion as to methods or means shall stand between us. Union is strength, and our duty in the Movement is not to exaggerate points of difference, but to cultivate points of agreement. Therefore we hope for a record attendance on Saturday.

Tickets can be obtained at our Offices, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, and will be sent post free.

London "At Homes."

Our inaugural "At Home" last Thursday was crowded, and we hope that all those who enjoyed it will be with us every Thursday. On the 10th we are to have addresses by Mrs. H. W. Nevinson and Mrs. Kineton Parkes. Mrs. Vulliamy will be in the chair. On the following Thursday our speakers will be Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn, and Mrs. Billington-Greig.

London Members' Meeting.

In view of the Suffrage Week there will be no Members' Meeting at Headquarters on Friday, the 11th inst.

Lectures.

We are glad that at the present juncture Miss Muriel Matters is back from Australia to strengthen the fighting line. She will be willing to speak in London or the Provinces.

Literature.

Everyone interested in our propaganda work is urged to spread the "written word of the gospel." Mrs. Eileen Mitchell, our Hon. Literature Secretary, has many excellent pamphlets and leaflets which should be read, discussed and passed on. B. BORRMANN WELLS.

MRS. DESPARD'S LECTURE ON SHELLEY.

A quarter of a century ago Shelley was the cult of society leaders; later, he became the idol of members of students' associations, and twenty years ago he was the inspiration of the youth of mutual improvement associations. One wonders what has happened to those rebels of days gone by, and can only surmise that they, too, have been engulfed in the prevailing spirit of commercialism.

After the cold, dreary streets of London, Queen's Hall was a welcome relief last Sunday night, with its brilliant decorations and banners. Miss Marta Cunningham gave a charming vocal recital; and those present will not easily forget her rendering of "The World that Once Was a Garden." Mrs. Despard on her appearance was welcomed with quite a storm of applause. For more than an hour she held her audience spellbound by her wonderful lecture on Percy Shelley, whom she described as one of the greatest poets and prophets of last century, relating her first introduction to Shelley's works, the impression made on her when quite a girl by the reading of his "Revolt of Islam," and how this poet became the inspiration of her youth. Briefly the lecturer dwelt upon the times in which Shelley lived, the struggles of the industrial classes, which were illustrated in the rising in Derby and the Peterloo Massacre, and the poet's passionate indignation at the injustice and oppression under which the masses suffered. She went on to relate the Greek legend of "Prometheus Bound," and referred to the lost play of Æschylus, in which the mighty soul of Prometheus was supposed to have been conquered. Then came her description of Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound." She told the story of this god who, for sweet pity, for pure love of mankind, suffered unutterable anguish, and yet through all the sordidness, beyond pain and his own doubts, believed in the triumph of his unconquerable soul. In summing up the lecturer read a lesson into present times. The giant labour had been bound down for ages; he was becoming restless, and would break his bonds. Women, too, had been chained to rocks of convention and custom, but were now demanding freedom. But the future held the charm for Mrs. Despard. She foretold the rise of a new womanhood, when women would be frank, beautiful and kind, when they would be free and help to break the bonds of their brothers, when their children would inherit a world of gladness and joy. To our President, Shelley was more than a cult, more than an idol or hero; his teachings were part of the great religion of humanity.

** We regret that by error we stated last week that Messrs. Duval and Jacobs were the first men to be imprisoned for our cause. The pioneers were Mr. Simmons in 1906 and Mr. Croft in 1907.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND THE WORKING WOMAN.

The first At Home of the season was well attended, and there were many new faces amongst the audience. Mrs. How Martyn was in the chair and Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Sproson were the speakers. In her introductory remarks Mrs. How Martyn said that Mr. Brailsford had told them that when Parliament opens, whilst strong pressure would be brought within the House to make Mr. Asquith grant the two days necessary for the third reading of the Bill, that it rested with the suffrage societies outside to supply him with sufficient evidence of public opinion to make him move. During Suffrage Week they could prove to him the forces behind the movement.

Mrs. Sproson's speech, from the working woman's point of view, was a ringing answer to Mr. Lloyd George's insincerities.

Mr. Lloyd George and the Working Woman.

Mrs. Sproson, speaking as a working woman, took as her subject "Mr. Lloyd George and the Working Woman." At Bodnant she said Mr. Lloyd George had urged them to ask for a broader measure, hoping that they would ask for an impossible one. He took it upon himself to call the Bill "undemocratic," and to pose as the defender of working women. But he held no brief for the working woman, and no organisation of working women had authorised him to speak for them. He was only using the working woman as a stalking horse. They did not wish to be put off, and they were willing that this Bill should go through at once. The women workers knew that whenever a question of the Labour market arose that the men were not competent to deal with the women's interests. They saw this in the case of the Birmingham brass workers and in that of the Edinburgh compositors. In the former the men were anxious to oust the women on the grounds that it was a poisonous and dangerous trade. But this anxiety became less keen when they realised that boys and Jews—the only persons who would accept the women's rates of wages—might prove dangerous to them if a strike arose and could be called out to supplant the men. But in the case of the compositors, where the women were earning a better wage, the men secured a decision that in the future they would have the entire monopoly of this trade. Where women earned miserable wages for doing unpleasant work, as in the case of the Cradley Heath chainmakers, there was no competition to oust them. In all industrial conditions the men's interests and only the men's were considered. This was typical also of the political attitude towards women.

No Support from the Labour Party.

The women found no support from the Labour Party, and she was prepared to deny that the Labour Party did its duty to women. They had made no effort to see that the women got their rights under the Unemployment Act. If the women had votes the Labour Party would very quickly have pointed out the women's grievances. As it was, they were robbed of their rights, and only for the efforts made by the women, and the strong stand taken by Mrs. Despard, the three work-rooms for unemployed women would have been closed down. Mr. John Burns made every effort to close them on the ground that they displaced work in another direction. This was true, since the Poplar Board of Guardians gave these women a contract that had been formerly given elsewhere. But in spite of this the fact remained that because Mr. John Burns was not competent to administer the fund in such a way that these things could not be prevented, was surely no reason why the women should be deprived of their rights.

A Significant Comparison.

Having dealt with the change in the attitude towards working women in the matter of Adult Suffrage, Mrs. Sproson went on to say the position of the married working women was at stake. If this attitude of forcing them out of every avenue of labour were persisted in the women would be driven to depend exclusively on

the men as wives or daughters. But their (the working women's) duties to their daughters were to see that they stood securely on their own feet, and that they were not driven to depend exclusively on men. Compare the changed position of the working women of to-day with that of two or three centuries ago. Two hundred years ago a woman with a babe at her breast could travel, secure of shelter and unmolested from John o' Groat's to Land's End. Last winter on a bitter night a poor woman crept into a pig-stye for shelter for herself and her baby of three months old—she was not within reach of a tramp's ward. Found sleeping there she was arrested and imprisoned. When such things could happen it became necessary for the working woman to settle her own affairs for herself. No party could represent the women's interest as well as they could do it themselves. The women were in a dangerous position. To-day there was every possibility of laws being introduced by well-meaning politicians dealing with women and children. But they (the women) took their stand on this—that they denied the right of the men to interfere whether for good or evil in affairs that concerned women without the women's consent. There was needed a co-operation between men and women of all that was best of both of them in the interests of the State. Working women were the greatest domestic economists, and they would bring this principle into the State. They would help to obtain the greatest good of the greatest number at the smallest cost. She had often said to thousands of working men that if they took into their own hands the spending of their own wages they would never have reached the standard of living they had reached to-day. The greatest economy in material and in human life would be secured when women came into their own. (Great applause.)

Mrs. Despard made a powerful speech, taking as her text, "Watchman, What of the Night?" and dealt with the difficulties of the present political situation.

WELSH CAMPAIGN.

Revolt of Welsh Liberal Women.

Wales is progressing. At Cardiff last Thursday delegates from the Liberal Associations of Wales met in Conference to decide what they would do if the Government failed to give a satisfactory reply to the application which the Conciliation Committee will make this autumn for facilities for the Suffrage Bill, and it was decided, five only voting against, "That this Conference recommends all Liberal women to confine themselves to Suffrage work until the vote be won; and in pursuit of this object suggest that they shall support only those Liberal Members who voted for the Bill, and shall refrain from opposing members of other parties who voted for it." We were in great evidence with our postcards and VOTE sellers—the latter soon sold out, and we were able to come into the evening meeting and hear Lord Lytton's, Mr. Ellis Griffiths's (K.C., M.P.), and Mr. Brailsford's splendid speeches.

At Cardiff University.

Last week a debate was held at Cardiff University amongst the students and members. I had the honour of being asked to take part in it. The motion was: "That the present discontent of women is unreasonable inasmuch as they already enjoy paramount power." After a very interesting and exciting debate, the motion was defeated by a big majority amidst such cheering as students only can give.

Many Meetings.

Miss Sidley and Miss Cleaves visited Carmarthen on Monday and held a splendid meeting in the Square. Another meeting was held at Llanelly on Wednesday, the I.L.P. members giving us great help. At Aberaman and Aberdare we have had two of our best meetings. Most of our audience was composed of the coal-strikers and their women folk, who showed both sympathy and interest. Hundreds of postcards were signed at each meeting, and VOTES and literature sold.

MARY McLEOD CLEEVES.

MISS EMILIA CIMINO-FOLIERO.

When Miss Cimino-Foliero was arrested in one of the early attempts to present a petition to the Prime Minister a certain amount of surprise was expressed in outside quarters that an Italian should so far interest herself in English affairs. But though of foreign parentage, Miss Cimino-Foliero, who is a staunch member of the Women's Freedom League, is a British subject, and as such protested against the action of the Government. Her parentage marks her out as one who would be intolerant of injustice.

Feminism is the tradition on the female side of her family, and political courage on the male side. Her grandmother, Cecilia de Luna, was the daughter of a Spanish Ambassador at Naples, and married a Neapolitan. Whilst living at Naples she wrote on the education of women as "a means of promoting the happiness of humanity." Her writing was much in advance of Italian thought of the time, and was crowned in 1826 by the French Academy.

This was in the time when locomotion was difficult, and

Donna Cecilia Foliero de Luna drove in her berlin from Naples to Paris for the ceremony, accompanied by her little daughter Aurelia, who was then twelve years of age. She was received at Paris by Lamartine, who was the great literary figure at the time. This daughter married G. T. Cimino, one of the ablest literary men of his day and a prominent Garibaldian, who was exiled in 1848 from Italy, and in 1859 from Paris (where Emilia was born), after the affair of the Orsini bombs, and also because he had written "Les Conjurés"—a novel with political intent—to which the French Government took exception. Flying from Paris, the family took refuge in London, where there was much sympathy for Italian exiles. There the wife of the poet-carbonaro met the leading spirits of the day, and was much influenced by John Stuart Mill and Harriet Martineau, both of whom were her personal friends.

When in 1870 Italy was united, and the exiles were allowed to return, Signora Cimino brought back to Italy with her the most advanced ideas in Europe on the condition of women into a country where women were regarded merely as drudges—as the makers of men, but not their equals. By means of her political influence, she endeavoured to introduce a divorce law into Italy which would give women the right to protest legally against marital infidelity, but though Zanardelli, the Liberal Prime Minister of the day, gave it his support, the time was not yet ripe for it, and the full strength of the Papal party was used against an innovation which, while it would improve the lot of women, would have been not unlikely to weaken the power of the Church. But though her attempts to improve the legal position of women failed, she was more successful in introducing reforms in women's education, beginning with the most down-trodden, the peasants.

"My mother wanted to improve the position of the peasant woman—she wanted to see her treated as a woman and not as a porter," Miss Cimino-Foliero said

to the Editor of THE VOTE in the course of a conversation on the Italian woman of yesterday, and to-day, and perhaps to-morrow, and held in the garden of Miss Cimino-Foliero's house overlooking the Lago Maggiore. "All the heavy work in Italy—the weight-carrying, the laborious tasks—is given to women; and in founding the first agrarian school (La Cesena) for young female orphans, she made a beginning which has been followed up since by others. Queen Margherita gave her an old palazzo to start her experiment, and there she had the girls taught on practical, womanly lines. One thing she would not allow, and that was that they should do sewing for shops. This, she considered, led to sweating, and was just as bad, if not worse, than the heavy portage and agricultural work that was the lot of the ordinary peasant woman. On Harriet Martineau's "My Farm of Three Acres" she founded her scheme. But the Italian thought of the day was all against feminism—against the women who revolted themselves and taught

others to revolt; and my mother had to face a considerable amount of criticism in everything she undertook, and particularly for her audacity in starting a woman's paper, *La Cornelia*, which brought much ridicule upon her."

"The Italian woman of that day was far behind the Italian woman of to-day?"

"Not so very far behind, for, though we have in Italy at the present time a strong suffrage movement, the 'weeping housekeeper'—the typical woman of my mother's time—is not infrequent. The woman was supposed to put up with any treatment, whether good or bad, that her husband exposed her to; and whatever her feelings were, she must not publicly call attention to his vices. She must be *desolata* within doors. To-day a somewhat similar idea prevails. There are far more men to be seen in the streets of the cities and the towns than women. Italian men regard not only

the town, but the women as their property, and, consequently, they consider themselves privileged to stare at any woman under thirty who walks abroad; their own women they keep at home. The woman of the middle classes in Italy is the instrument of a man's pleasure. Her object in life is to bear him children—boys by preference—and yield to him in every way—have no interests in life save his; to adorn herself in economical fashion for his pleasure, and to render him daily a careful account of every centesimo she spends."

"You think that the vote will raise Italian women out of their physical servitude? We are not considering, of course, the woman of noble family, who is allowed a certain development in all countries."

"I do. To regard themselves as free, women must have the vote. Even the education for which the more enlightened amongst our mothers and grandmothers fought brings us a very little way; and that is why I voiced my convictions by going to prison when in England a couple of years ago. From her birth the woman in every country in which she has not the



MISS EMILIA CIMINO-FOLIERO.

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the franchise.

37.—Owing to the pernicious doctrine of coverture, those British women who fifty or sixty years ago married foreigners have *ipso facto* forfeited their old age pensions, whilst alien women married to Englishmen are eligible for these grants.

The old law of coverture does not allow the wife as the chattel of her husband to have any civic existence or to be responsible for her own tongue or her own trespass. How cruelly the law of coverture works is known by British women who fifty or sixty years ago married foreigners and so have forfeited their old age pensions, whilst alien women married to Englishmen can claim rights denied to daughters of the soil. No wonder women are revolting against laws and customs so illogical, unjust and out of date.—Margaret Wynne Nevinson, in *The Manchester Guardian*, November 1.

THE MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

The fact that only twelve women were candidates for municipal office has been commented upon as remarkable in view of the great increase in the general support being given to the women's movement. Besides the obvious answer that under the present law no married woman can be enrolled on the burgesses' roll by virtue of a residential qualification—and consequently a large number of otherwise eligible women are prevented from standing for election—there is the reason put forward by a speaker recently at the Woman's Institute. She declared that women candidates often receive little support from the various political committees which were active at municipal elections. "Women have no vote in parliamentary elections, and hence political organisations were not very enthusiastic in supporting them in preference to men."

The results of the elections, however, were by no means disappointing, and the following women candidates have been returned:—Bacon, *Miss Morgan (Ind.) (chosen Mayor); High Wycombe, *Miss Dove (Ind.), unopposed; Liverpool, *Miss Eleanor Rathbone (Ind.); Oxford, *Miss Merivale (C.); Reading, *Miss Edith Sutton (Ind.), unopposed; Tynemouth, Miss Barnett (Ind.); Worthing, Mrs. Chapman (Ind.). The Councillors who have been re-elected are denoted by an asterisk. Last year, of eight women candidates, only two were successful. Mrs. C. E. Lees, of Oldham, has been asked to stand as Mayor of that town. Three years ago she was admitted to the freedom of the borough, and was the first person to receive that honour.

The Season's Flowers.

All readers of THE VOTE should certainly make a call and acquaint themselves with the beauty and variety of the floral display at "Charles Wood and Son," 23, High-street, Marylebone, where a splendid collection of cut flowers and plants of all kinds is always to be found. The prices are most moderate, and goods are carefully delivered to all parts. Decorations for Receptions, &c., receive special attention, whilst your gardens can be planted and cared for in the most approved styles. All orders are carried out under the personal direction of Mr. Harold Wood, with whom an interview can always be obtained.

Ring him up, 2324 Padd: and make an appointment. Regalia.

Will those members who borrowed regalias to wear during their work in Walthamstow and forgot to return them please send them *at once* to 1, Robert-street, Adelphi? It is impossible to thank those who worked so hard and so well in the campaign, but in spite of Sir John Simon's increased majority the knowledge of the work done will be the best thanks they could have.

franchise is regarded as an inferior being, and she, in her turn, regards her daughters as inferior to her sons. This inferiority dogs her through life. Even an able woman who knows she is the inferior of no man cannot escape the sense of sex servitude that is in the air she breathes. We have got to make women proud to bear girl-children, and to make fathers also proud of their girls, and not, as is the prevalent idea here, ready almost to murder a woman who bears him a family of daughters, and to regard it as a personal affront to him."

"What led you to take part in the movement in England?"

"For two reasons: first, I am a British subject, and taxed as such; and, secondly, I have had to earn my living from the age of fourteen, and I know what the position of a woman who earns her own living is. I have to pay taxes on my income—that part of it which is drawn from English securities—as if it was unearned, whereas it is the result of my own exertions. When I was arrested I had just arrived in England from Rome, and was at a meeting at Caxton Hall from which deputations were being sent to the House. But the cordon of police around Westminster was so arranged that each detachment was broken up and scattered through the crowd and refused passage. I knew Westminster well, as, when living in England, I had a flat near there, and I offered to lead a detachment by side ways to the House. I did so, and reached Palace Yard in safety, and there, before I had time to say a word, I was arrested with my petition in my hand and sent to Holloway."

"And then your views are entirely militant?"

"I think the militants are magnificent. They have the courage to appear ridiculous, and everything in a woman's upbringing makes ridicule the weapon she fears most. When the vote comes, it will be through them."

"And your own work?"

But of her own work Miss Cimino-Foliero will say little—perhaps because her life has been crowded with incidents. Born into the thick of politics, the daughter of a carbonaro—a Garibaldian—whose life was forfeit in his own country, she spent the first twenty years of her early life lecturing on Italian subjects in the foremost women's schools in England, and then, having provided herself with enough to live on for the rest of her life, she took up art, studied at the Slade School under Fred Brown, and came to Paris. From there she went to Spain, armed with an order for impressions from Velasquez—the great works which Spain so jealously guards. Whistler saw some of these, and gave her great encouragement, so that she returned again to Madrid. From there she went to Turkey and Greece, painting in Constantinople, working in the market-place of Yeni Keuy without a dragoman—an unheard-of thing for a woman. She painted also in Greece and in the wild part of old Castile. In Avila a strange adventure befell her, which is typical of her determination to complete anything to which she has set her hand. She had found a fine view of the old grey city, and was at work on a large canvas perched amongst the rocks when, coming down the mountain, appeared two "barded" men on horseback. They came to warn her that they were bringing a hundred bulls for the *correda*, and that if she remained for a moment longer her life would be in danger. She calmly announced her intention of not moving until she had finished what she was painting. So the two armoured men had no choice but to mount guard whilst she finished her sketch. She has exhibited in Paris (in the salon of the Société Nationale des Beaux Arts), in New York, in Rome, and in London. Her best known pictures are "The Hunchback," "The Little Musician," and "The Boy with the Doll." Though essentially a colourist, she has strength in everything she does, and hates with a deadly hatred the pretty-pretty and the petty both in life and in art. Of such stuff are the best Suffragists made.

MARY O. KENNEDY.

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 148, Holborn Bars.
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SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1910.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

Within a week the Houses of Parliament will be open, and political forces will become active again. This short sitting of the Commons will be a critical and important one for women, and in final preparation for it we must examine the position and determine upon our line of action.

The statements of Cabinet Ministers made during the last few weeks practically commit the Suffragist section of the Cabinet to the support of an early settlement of the Suffrage question. It is clear from the separate utterances of Mr. Runciman, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Haldane, that the inevitability of the reform demanded, and its urgency, are alike impressed upon some Ministerial minds. The two facts which appear in all their utterances are, first, that time cannot be granted for the Conciliation Bill during the autumn; but second, that it must be granted "next year." They state that the sole reason for the postponement of the settlement from this autumn until next spring is a reason of time, that necessary Governmental and formal business will carry the House up to Christmas, and that there will be no time left for facilities for our measure. Having stated these facts, they give more or less definite pledges of support for a final settlement during 1911. By these utterances they have created a new position which we must face without delay. It is our duty to state plainly whether or not we are prepared to consider the possibility of a postponement. It is necessary that we should say what we require in the way of securities before we agree to embark upon the dangerous policy of waiting beyond this Session.

It is sometimes necessary to open the door to dangers. It has been found necessary by the Conciliation Committee, which has at last reluctantly decided to open the title of its Bill so that amendments of all kinds will be eligible. This means that a great part of the work done privately by the Conciliation Committee will have to be done again publicly. It means, further, that instead of two days being required for the Committee and Report stages of the Bill, the moving of amendment after amendment may occupy a full fortnight. Every Anti-Suffragist in the House will endeavour to block progress by drafting and moving amendments, and there will be no limit but that set by the Speaker to the time that can be occupied by the Committee stage. Every day of this time will be full of dangers. The compromise on which our present solid support depends will be smashed up, and reformed and smashed up again perhaps half-a-dozen times during the proceedings. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill are practically responsible for this condition. They opened the campaign of misrepresentation which made the alteration of the title necessary. And that alteration of title does not only pave the way with dangers for the Bill itself, it makes a demand upon Parliamentary time which renders it almost certain that facilities cannot be granted this year. In asking for them we make a claim for a half of the Session, and this in all probability can only be secured by a prolongation over Christmas. Personally, we have no objection to the House of Commons sitting over Christmas in order to pass our Bill; we think that we are entitled to much more than that; but holidays loom large in the politicians' minds, and neither the House of Commons nor the House of Lords are likely to put a Woman Suffrage Bill before their vacation. The fact remains, therefore, that the chances of passing the Conciliation Bill this autumn are seriously reduced, because of the time which the Committee Stage will occupy.

We are none the less determined to exhaust every effort to secure the Bill before the year is out; but we must face the alternative. We must decide whether we will accept a compromise or return to militancy. We must be guided in our decision by considerations as to which course will secure earlier enfranchisement. We are militant Suffragists, but our militancy is a means to an end, and we have every reason to desire an end to militancy, if such is honourably possible. We have waited a long time for the Parliamentary machinery to be got into action, but we must be prepared to wait a little longer if the wonderful progress achieved by conciliatory efforts can be carried by this means to a triumphal close.

The fruits of the efforts of Mr. Brailsford's Committee may be lost by the action of the Government, but we must see to it that they are not lost through any premature action of ours. To endanger all because of temporary delay would be worse than folly. On this we are all agreed. The Women's Freedom League has decided that a clear two weeks of Parliamentary time must pass before we can hope to know the intentions of the Government. This period will be little enough for the work within the House which our friends still have to do.

When the Government finally declares itself we shall have to face one of three positions: we may be met with a decided refusal of facilities now or hereafter; we may be given facilities during the autumn session; or we may be asked to accept a promise for next year. In the first event there can be no question as to what our policy will be, nor yet in the second. The third event, which the speeches of the Prime Minister and his colleagues seem to point to as likely to be adopted, has not yet been prepared for, and requires consideration and decision.

On what conditions, if on any, can a Government promise for next year be regarded as satisfactory? The answer is obvious. It must be a promise that makes a settlement practically certain. With this only can we be content. In the first place, such a promise can be of no value to us unless the Government that makes it is certain to be in power when its fulfilment is due. Otherwise we might be tricked not only out of immediate enfranchisement, but also into a false position at the General Election. In the second place the promise must be for the spring of 1911 unmistakably. We cannot wait. In the third place, the Bill promised must be the Conciliation Bill, or a Bill that is equally likely to pass both Houses of Parliament. Some members of the Government have shown themselves capable of promoting an unwieldy and impossible Bill in order to shelve the woman's claim without incurring danger, but this must not be. On all these points we must be secure; and if we are secure on them there is only one course open to us. If the pledge is public and definite, and made in good faith, we must accept it, and hold back from militancy until the House, reopened in February, has had a chance of making the settlement. This seems to be the only conclusion.

It would be most foolish and unwise to revive militant tactics while negotiations are pending between the Government and the Conciliation Committee. We must give them a clear two weeks for this work. But it would be even more to be condemned if, after obtaining a definite and honest pledge from the authorities, we were to destroy all the fruits of our own earlier effort and our recent forbearance by premature action. We must be prepared to stand and wait for a few months longer if the essential securities are forthcoming. So much is due to our friends, to our volunteers, and to the Suffrage cause.

This, then, is our policy. We ask for the Conciliation Bill this session. If we are met with refusal we shall take action. But we are prepared to accept an honourable compromise which will secure a settlement with only a few months' delay. If this is really offered to us, and our position is secure, we will accept it. But if facilities or a clear pledge are not forthcoming, then it must be war.

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BRANCH NOTES.

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

Stamford-hill.—Mrs. Cunningham, 114, Holmleigh-road, N.

On Tuesday, November 1, a well-attended drawing-room meeting was held at 119, Cazenove-road (by kind permission of Mrs. Hooper), to inaugurate the Stamford-hill Branch of the W.F.L. Mrs. Thomson, a local lady, was in the chair; Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc., A.R.C.S., gave an earnest and admirable address; Mrs. Wheatley, also a local lady, following and enforcing some of Mrs. How Martyn's remarks by some very happy illustrations. The selection of a President was left open, Dr. Elizabeth Wilks being elected Vice-President. Mrs. Thomson has kindly undertaken the onerous task of treasurer (*pro tem.*), and Mrs. Cunningham will act as secretary. Encouraged by the manifest sympathy for the cause of Women's Suffrage, and the number of members enrolled, a meeting is being arranged for November 18 at Northfield College, South Hill (by kind permission of Miss James). Tea and coffee at 7.30 p.m.; addresses, interspersed with vocal and instrumental solos at 8 p.m. It is hoped that ladies unable to be present at afternoon meetings will take this opportunity of supporting the women's desire for Parliamentary representation.—ADA CUNNINGHAM.

Central London Branch.—Mrs. Tritton, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing.

The fortnightly members' meetings will in future, as you saw in last week's VOTE, be held (unless otherwise notified in this paper) on the first and third Tuesdays. Our next meeting will be on November 15, at 7 p.m., at 1, Robert-street. Those who were unable to attend on Mondays will, we hope, put in a regular appearance now the day has been changed for their convenience. The delegates will give their report of the Special Conference, and members will be asked to suggest subjects and speakers for December's meetings.—E. G. T.

Croydon.—Mrs. Terry, 9, Morland-avenue.

Although the weather was very cold, and in one case extremely foggy, it found us at our post as usual. As might be expected, the audience was small but interested, and our only helper (Miss Muriel Fennings) succeeded in selling 21 and 18 copies of THE VOTE on the two evenings. Mrs. Tanner and Miss Fennings were the speakers at South Norwood, and Miss Fennings and Mr. E. Duval at Thornton Heath Clock. There were several questions at both meetings. Next Friday, November 11, we hold our

last meeting at South Norwood, and we specially ask all members and friends to rally round and to advertise it well beforehand.

November 14 the organiser, Miss M. Turner, starts work in Croydon. All members are invited to meet Miss M. Turner at 9, Morland-avenue on Monday, November 14, from 3 to 5 o'clock, and from 7 to 9 p.m. Members are asked to prepare for the next Jumble Sale.—E. TERRY, Hon. Secretary.

Crystal Palace and Anerley.—Miss Fennings, 149, Croydon-road.

Monday, November 14, will be the last meeting we shall hold at the Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, this year, so we ask all friends and sympathisers to make it well known, and to try and get us an extra big audience. We shall be glad to hear from any willing to help in any way. On October 31 Miss Fennings was the speaker. Thirty-one copies of THE VOTE were sold, also Mr. Brailsford's pamphlet and a collection taken.

Battersea.—Mrs. Duval, 37, Park-road, Wandsworth, S.W.

On Friday, November 4, a meeting was held at Winders-road, Mrs. Reader in the chair. Dr. Macpherson followed with an earnest speech, condemning the Government for withholding the rights of citizenship from Englishwomen who were obliged to bear the same burden of taxation as the men. Sunday, November 6, we met on Clapham-common under dreary conditions, damp under foot and cold. The speaker, Mrs. Tanner, argued well, and was supported by Mr. Duval, but their united efforts only produced a poor meeting. Our secretary was fortunate in selling some literature and a dozen copies of THE VOTE. Our Clapham-common meetings are finished for the season.—E. D. D.

Hayes and Southall.—M. Cunningham, Oakdene, Hayes End.

The members here, realising that the time for meetings is now over, are canvassing the Urban Council for the resolution next Monday, when it is hoped there will be a majority. That accomplished, personal interviews with the 66 women Municipal voters will be taken, and our supporters numbered and, if possible, enrolled.

Uxbridge Council will be weighed in the balance and, it is hoped, found satisfactory.—M. C.

Northern Heights.—Miss Mitchell, Merok, Great North-road, Highgate, N.

This branch has started fortnightly meetings for members and friends at Spears Memorial Hall, Highgate-hill. The first took place on October 19, when a social gathering was held and Mrs. How Martyn spoke. She dealt with the growth of the movement and the need of militant methods. Votes and literature were sold and a good collection taken. On November 2 Miss Constance Tite spoke on "Women's Work in China." The attendance was not as good as at the first meeting, and it is hoped that all those who were present at either of these will come on November 16, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Betham will lecture on "Jane Eyre and Its Relation to the Woman Question."—A. M.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W.

On Monday, October 31, a meeting was held at 18, Thurlow-hill, when Mrs. Toyne read an interesting and instructive paper on "The Disabilities of Mothers as Workers." The principal object of the various questions dealt with in the paper was to show that the economic independence of women is not incompatible with healthy, happy motherhood, and that paid work in factories or business does not necessarily unfit women for maternity, any more than the arduous and laborious work that they are expected to undertake in the home. A discussion followed.

On Wednesday, November 16, a drawing-room meeting will be held at 28, Carson-road, West Dulwich, from 3 to 5 p.m., when Mrs. How Martyn will speak. We hope all members will attend this meeting, if possible, and bring friends.—BARBARA SPENCER.

OTHER LONDON BRANCHES.

ACTON.—Miss HENWOOD, 153, St. Alban's-avenue, Chiswick.
CLAPHAM.—Miss F. UNDERWOOD, 31, Rush Hill-road, Lavender Hill.

DULWICH.—Mrs. MOORE, 86, Melbourne-grove, East Dulwich.
FINCHLEY.—Mrs. MITCHELL, Saltburn, Mountfield-road, Church End.

HACKNEY.—Miss GUTTRIDGE, 17, Dunsmore-road, Stamford Hill.

HAMPSTEAD.—Miss LUCAS, 21, Gayton-road.
HARROW.—Mrs. HUNTSMAN, Rions, Northwick Park-road.

HERNE HILL.—Miss SPENCER, 32, Geneva-road, Brixton.
HIGHBURY.—Miss ARKLEY, 10, Highbury-hill, N.

PECKHAM.—Mrs. PICKERING, 23, Albert-road.
TOTTENHAM.—Miss M. SIMS, 3, Elmhurst-road.

WILLESDEN.—Miss BENNETT, 15, Creighton-road, Kilburn.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND BRANCHES.

BRIGHTON.—Mrs. FRANCIS, 51, Buckingham-place.
EASTBOURNE.—Mrs. DILKS, 39, Milton-road.

HOVE.—Miss HARE, 8, San Remo.
WEST SUSSEX.—Miss CUMMIN, Easebourne Vicarage, Midhurst.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—S. Whetton, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

Last Wednesday evening, November 2, at a united meeting organised by the Portsmouth N.U.W.S.S., the Freedom League was represented on the platform by Mrs. Crawley, Mrs. Tremain, and myself.

The next members' meeting will be held on Thursday afternoon, November 10, at 3 p.m., at 6, Clarence-view.

A whist drive is being organised for Wednesday, November 16,

at 7.30 p.m., for which Miss Mottershall has kindly lent a room at St. Austell's, Green-road. The tickets are 1s. each, and as the number is limited to sixty, members or friends wishing to come should apply at once at the above address. The tickets are selling well, and it promises to be a great success. Proceeds to go to Propaganda Fund.

THE VOTE can always be obtained at 4, St. Paul's-road, Southsea.—S. WRETTON.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE DISTRICT.—Hon. Organiser, Miss Manning, B.A. Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

SALE.—Miss GEILER, "Thornlea," Wardle-road.
LIVERPOOL.—Mrs. EVANS, 49, Kimberley Drive, Crosby.
URMSTON.—Miss M. HUDSON, Oaklands, Flixton.

Branches: Manchester Central, Eccles, Urmston, Sale.

Sale.—Shop and temporary office: 21 Northenden-road.

Four meetings have been held in the shop this week. On Tuesday it was found necessary to postpone the concert arranged by Miss Hines until the 22nd inst. A splendid programme has been secured, Miss Mary Agnew, Miss Booth, Miss Frost, and other well-known professionals having promised their services. Tickets, 1s. each, may be had at the shop.

Instead of the concert Miss Manning held an informal meeting, taking Laurence Housman's "Woman This and Woman That" as the text of her remarks. A good discussion followed, Mrs. Pearson and other members taking part.

On Wednesday Miss Geiler was "At Home" in the sitting-room over the shop, and in spite of heavy rain a good audience gathered to hear Mrs. Annot Robinson's suggestive address on "Motherhood and the State."

The same evening a branch meeting was held, at which Miss Manning gave her report of the Conference.

On Thursday the novel idea of a Mothers' and Babies' "At Home" was adopted. At 3 o'clock our guests began to arrive, some of them in perambulators. An exceptionally pleasant informal meeting followed, at which Mrs. Gothard and Mrs. Manning explained the objects and work of the Suffragettes. The experiment was so successful that we intend to repeat it next Thursday, when Miss Geiler will be the hostess.

Friday saw another meeting in the shop. Unfortunately, Miss Neal was absent through illness, but Mrs. Gothard, Mrs. and Miss Manning stepped into the breach. After three short speeches questions were allowed and put by an Anti-Suffragist in the audience. At the end of the meeting three new members joined the League.

Future dates which Sale and other members should keep open are: Friday, November 11, when Miss Heyes will be the speaker; Wednesday, November 16, when a reunion of all the branches will take place in the shop, the entertainment being provided by Eccles and Sale members; Monday, November 21, when a lantern lecture on Florence Nightingale will be given by Miss Manning; and Tuesday, November 22, which is reserved for the concert and final meeting of the month's campaign.

More shopkeepers are wanted; at present this duty falls on two or three. Members who can spare an hour or two during any part of the week should enter their names on the time-sheet provided in the shop.

Manchester Central Branch.

The Manchester Branch held a most successful Whist Drive on Thursday, November 3. Not only was a pleasant evening passed, and a large number of VOTES sold, but a substantial sum gained for the Treasury.

Eccles.

Following the deputation to Sir George Pollard a letter from Miss Heyes appeared in the Eccles and Swinton papers, urging the local branches of Women's Liberal Federation to follow the example of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union, and bring pressure to bear on Sir George Pollard in the same way.

Urmston.

All the members of the League in Manchester will be sorry to hear that owing to an accident Miss Muriel Huckon is prevented from doing any active work for the League for a time. We unite in wishing our Urmston Secretary a very speedy recovery.—M. E. MANNING.

EAST ANGLIA.—Hon. Organiser, Miss Andrews, 160, Norwich-road, Ipswich.

Last Wednesday our weekly meeting was devoted to impromptu speeches. Mrs. Hutley presided. Our members are certainly much improving in the power of expressing themselves well.

On Thursday afternoon we held a branch meeting, at which Miss Andrews gave an account of the Special W.F.L. Conference. One of our borough members, Mr. Silvester Home, M.P., received last Friday evening a joint deputation from the Ipswich Branches of the W.F.L. and W.S.P.U., the Ipswich and County Women's Suffrage Society, and two other societies. He consented to sign the memorial to Mr. Asquith, asking him to grant facilities for our Bill to be considered by a Committee of the Whole House. Mr. Home was cordially thanked both for this and for his support in the past.

The Barrow wants replenishing; many thanks to those friends who have sent goods for sale. We hope others will follow their example.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

OTHER PROVINCIAL BRANCHES.

CHELLENHAM.—Mrs. EARENGEY, 3, Wellington-square.
MARLOW.—Miss HAYES, "Drift," Marlow.
POTTERIES.—Mrs. PEDLEY, 18, Bower-street, Hanley, Staffs.
SHEFFIELD.—Miss LEONARD, 32, Dover-road.
WELLINGBOROUGH.—Mrs. ENGLAND SMITH, Newstead, Hatton Park. Miss V. SHARMAN, Ivy Lodge.
WOLVERHAMPTON.—Mrs. CRESSWELL, 25, Rugby-street.
YORK.—Mrs. ROBINSON, 30, Ratcliffe-street.
SWANSEA.—Mrs. CLEEVE, Chez Nous, Skelky.
SOUTH GLAMORGAN.—Mrs. WOOLF, Royal Hotel, Cardiff.
CALDICOT.—Miss L. CORBEN, Ivy Lodge.
BARRY.—Miss M. RATHBONE, 7, Oxford-street.
MIDDLESBROUGH.—Miss MAHONEY, 27, Waterloo-road.
SOUTH SHIELDS.—Mrs. MILLER, The Poplars, Langholme-road, East Boldon.

SUNDERLAND.—Miss CLARK, 3, Havelock-terrace.
WEST HARTLEPOOL.—Miss J. H. LEIGHTON, 16, Clifton-street, Hartlepool.

HADLEIGH.—Miss MATTHEWS, 21, Fir Tree-terrace.

NORWICH.—Miss M. JEWSON, Tower House, Bracondale.

IRELAND.

BANGOR, DOWN.—Miss McMASTER, Arbutus, Farnham-road.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.

Office Secretary: MISS McARTHUR.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS BUNTON.

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

A jumble sale was held on Saturday, November 5, by the Govanhill District Committee in aid of the funds of the Glasgow Branch of the W.F.L. There were many contributions sent in, and the day being specially fine there was a large number of purchasers. Goods sold very quickly, and by 6 o'clock everything was cleared out.

The total drawings amount to over £24. The committee beg to thank all members and personal friends who so loyally supported the jumble sale by sending articles, and also heartily thank all those who assisted so ably at the sale.—ERRA S. STEWART, Hon. District Convener.

It is hoped that all members and friends will be present at the Athenæum on Friday evening, November 11, at 8 p.m., to hear Mrs. Despard and Miss Neilans, Mrs. Billington-Greig in the chair. Tickets (price 1s. and 6d.) may be had at Suffrage Centre, 302, Sauchiehall-street, or at door of the Athenæum on Friday.

Edinburgh.

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.

November is a very full month on our syllabus, and its activities have made a very promising start. Miss A. B. Jack, one of our Conference delegates, spoke at the Tuesday afternoon "At Home," and imparted to us some of the renewed enthusiasm and devotion to the League with which her visit to London had inspired her. On Wednesday evening the shop was entirely filled by an audience which listened with the keenest appreciation to the splendid address delivered by the Rev. William Main. Among other good things Mr. Main said that Anti-Suffrage logic denies votes to wives because they have husbands, and to spinsters because they ought to have them, but have not!

On Saturday morning Miss Jack took part in a deputation to Mr. Lyell, M.P. for South Edinburgh. He declared that he would only be convinced if a plebiscite of women were taken in favour of Enfranchisement. Other members advertised the sale and Mrs. Despard's meeting through the principal streets in a trap kindly lent by Dr. Grace Cadell. During the afternoon there was not a dull moment, and the crowded shop, with banners and decorations in the colours on the walls, gipsy tents in the corners, dainty tea-tables, and attractively laid-out windows and stalls, presented an animated scene. A delightful comment was that made by a working girl who had come in. "A'm no' a Suffragette, mind ye," she said, while allowing me to pin a badge on her coat, "but a like them, ye ken. They aye seem tae be laughin'!" Over £16 was realised. Thanks are due to many willing helpers.

Notwithstanding this busy afternoon the Castle-terrace open-air meeting was held in the evening as usual, and our indefatigable secretary, Miss Jack, spoke on the morning's deputation, the Bill, and Mrs. Despard's approaching visit. Miss Lauder again presided, and THE VOTE and pamphlets on the Bill sold well.

Every member with any time to spare is asked to come to the shop in the afternoons to help with the scheme by which, under Mrs. Finlayson Gould's energetic guidance, we mean to advertise to the public of Edinburgh our demand for the passing of the Conciliation Bill.—HELEN McLAIDLAN.

SCOTLAND.

DUNDEE.—Miss CLUNAS, 1, Blackness-crescent.
DUNFERMLINE.—Miss J. McCALLUM, 72, Brucefield-avenue.
KILMARNOCK.—Mrs. COWAN, 39, Boyd-street.
KIRKINTILLOCH.—Miss McINTYRE, Woodhead-avenue.
PERTH.—Mrs. STIRLING, 5, Atholl-crescent.
SCATTERED MEMBERS.—Miss E. MURRAY, Moore Park, Cardross, Dumbarton.

RECENT SUFFRAGE UTTERANCES.

Mr. Shackleton, M.P.:—Wanted a bit more patience.

Speaking at Wheatley-lane, near Nelson, on Saturday night, Mr. D. J. Shackleton, M.P., said:—

He trusted that the encouraging remarks made by Mr. Birrell might be taken as an indication of the intentions of the Government on the question of women's suffrage. Mr. Birrell said that whilst he could not hold out any hope that the present year would see the enfranchisement of women, the time must be given next year, and it was no use putting the matter off any longer. He (Mr. Shackleton) hoped that the women folk would have a bit more patience. The absence of militant tactics during the last nine or ten months had had more effect in bringing friends to their side in the House of Commons than their previous actions, and if they did not get a favourable answer this year he believed that it was the intention of those in the Government that a real and honest opportunity should be given for a Women's Bill.

Sir Horace Plunkett:—"To save the community."

Speaking at Alexandra College, Dublin, Sir Horace Plunkett—though the subject of the afternoon was "The Board of Works"—introduced the topic of the hour into his speech.

He did not know whether a certain radical reform in their institutions was imminent, which made it more important for institutions like Alexandra College to take an interest in politics. He personally had lived for ten years of his life where women were on an equality with men in the matter of government, and although this was not a subject with which he dealt, he had a strong leaning towards woman suffrage for the simple reason that women seemed possessed of a housekeeperly instinct which was not possessed by men, and which he thought was needed to save the community from national disaster and national extravagance. (Applause.)

Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P.:—Puerile to oppose the Bill.

Mr. D. A. Thomas, M.P., wrote to the Conference of Liberal Women at Cardiff expressing the hope:—

That the conference would be able to induce the Government to give the Conciliation Bill the facilities necessary, adding that the Bill was to his mind a Liberal measure, and seeing that 80 per cent. of those whom it would enfranchise belonged to the poorer classes it was puerile for any Liberal to oppose it on the ground that it was not sufficiently democratic.

Mrs. H. W. Nevinson:—Lord Cromer's knowledge of Law.

In the course of a letter to *The Manchester Guardian*, Mrs. H. W. Nevinson says in reference to one of Lord Cromer's airy and inaccurate statements:—

Lord Cromer was surely wrong in his statement that married women need not support their husbands. Every day all over the country wretched wives are dragged before magistrates and Poor-law guardians to show cause why they should not maintain husbands who frequently through lust and drink have brought themselves to lunatic asylums and workhouse infirmaries. Only to-day we read that at the South-Western Police Court an elderly woman was summoned by the Guardians of Wandsworth Union to show cause why she should not contribute to the support of her husband in the workhouse. She let lodgings, and had saved money, but the husband, though quite able to earn his living, was lazy. The magistrate sympathetically agreed that it would be an injustice that the husband should live on his wife's savings, but said that in law the Guardians were entitled to an order, and fixed the amount at 2s. 6d. monthly.

Mrs. Billington-Greig:—The Radical Intervention.

In the course of a brilliant article in the current number of *The Fortnightly*, Mrs. Billington-Greig has some sharp things to say about the intervention of the two younger Radical Ministers against the Bill.

In spite of the fact that the Home Secretary is a comparatively recent convert to the Suffrage cause, his right-about-face was unexpected. At the General Election of 1906 Mr. Churchill met the suffragist query by ringing the changes upon, "Madam, I will not be hen-pecked." During the two years which elapsed before the North-West Manchester By-Election occurred, Mr. Churchill has grown older, and he made ample verbal amends, describing the Suffrage question as "the most important," and giving a strong affirmative to the query, "Are you in favour of votes for women, and will you do all you can in influence the Cabinet in that direction?" During the General Election campaign in Dundee in January of this year the Home Secretary replied to a question addressed to him by a member of the Women's Freedom League by saying that he did not think that married women needed the suffrage, as he found from his own experience that they were able to secure all they desired by influence. "But," he stated, "there are some women who find themselves at a loose end, and I would like to meet their case." From a politician of a mature mind this statement would justify the assumption that the Conciliation Women Suffrage Bill—which would enfranchise a preponderance of

widows and spinsters, "women who find themselves at a loose end," and have no man to influence—was specially drafted to meet the Home Secretary's views. At any rate, this was the accepted opinion. The Liberal women looked upon Mr. Churchill as a certain supporter of the measure. By a strange series of misunderstandings, both the Chairman and the Honorary Secretary of the Conciliation Committee, Lord Lytton and Mr. H. N. Brailsford, were led to hold a similar belief, which was rudely shattered at the eleventh hour.

"I can understand," said Mr. Churchill in the House on July 12th, "the man who says, 'I am for votes for women,' and the man who says, 'I am against votes for women' but what is to be said for a man who says that he is in favour of votes for women, but not for wives and mothers, unless they are faggot votes? The basic principle of this Bill is to deny votes to mothers and wives—that is to say, to deny votes to those who on the whole are the best of their sex. . . . I do not think that these proposals will commend themselves to the thinking men of this country." So that the Bill stands condemned by Mr. Churchill because, in his opinion, it satisfies the very conditions laid down by himself in his own constituency as recently as January of this year!

But the real strength of the attack of both Ministers lay in the charge of outside dictation to the House, and upon this they both seized with determination. The Chancellor of the Exchequer played the chief part in working up this attack. His statement that the Bill has been forced upon the House in a form incapable of amendment by an outside Committee of women rests upon a misapprehension of the facts that is almost absurd. Every newspaper in the country, and one would have thought every Member of the House, was aware of the fact that the Conciliation Committee consists exclusively of Members of the Commons, with the exception of its Chairman and Honorary Secretary.

Grand Matinee, Aldwych Theatre

WILL BE GIVEN BY

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE & THE WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE,

On Friday, November 18, at 2.30.

A New Play by George Paston, "The Pageant of Great Women," and a New Play by Cicely Hamilton.

CERTIE MILLER,
LENA ASHWELL,
CERTRUDE KINGSTON,
EVELYN D'ALROY,

EVIE GREENE,
LILY BRAYTON,
LILLAH MCCARTHY,
EVA MOORE,

and Mrs. Despard, Lady Constance Lytton,
and Miss Stirling.

Tickets may be obtained at ordinary theatre prices from the Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Adelphi-terrace House, from the Women Writers' Suffrage League, the other Suffrage Societies, and from the Aldwych Theatre.

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WOMEN AT WORK.—No. V. MISS MARIE ROCHFORD.

In February of this year Miss Marie Rochford arranged to share studios with Mrs. Puckle and brought her practical training in millinery and her wonderful gift of colour to help to make the fortunes of a little firm which is on the way to become a very big one. At the "Ideal Home" at Olympia last April Miss Rochford had an exhibit of pretty and wearable hats, which even now many people remember and come to the studio at 34, Baker-street, to inquire about.

"Lightness, absence of weight, and extreme simplicity are the chief characteristics of the hats I make," said Miss Rochford to THE VOTE representative, and indicating a delightful *coupé* model made of mole velvet circled with some exquisite plume and lined with pale blue. While seasonable in appearance, its weight was almost imperceptible.

In reply to a question as to where she had received her training, Miss Rochford replied: "I was for many years with a French model firm who did only the most skilled work, and where I held a very responsible position and had many opportunities of acquiring a thorough knowledge of millinery in all its branches and of buying materials—one of the most important sides of a practical business. I was also with several very exclusive firms in the West-end, so that I think I can say I do know my work. Of course, if one goes to a very expensive firm one can always buy hats like these, but I do not think it is possible to buy hand-made hats of such extreme lightness at any ordinary milliner's. I am lucky in having secured the services of a staff of exceptionally clever girls who carry out these ideas.

"The usual millinery hat that is sold by many firms—and indeed some first-rate ones—is top-heavy, and while it may look well, is by no means a joy to the wearer. I make the smart, light hat and charge very moderately for it. I don't, of course, pretend to offer hats at ridiculous 'bargain' prices, for wherever you find anything cheaper than it ought to be you may be certain someone is losing, and that someone is often the workroom hand. My workers are all girls of education and experience, and they are paid accordingly."

The hats, nearly all of them orders, which were being prepared for sending away—it was Saturday at closing time—had something about them which the ordinary "shop" hat turned out in thousands always lacks. Each one had been made to suit the individuality of some client, to accentuate her beauties and lessen her failings, and for that reason no two were alike. There were large hats of the wide-leafed variety in velvet and felt, some of them trimmed with tiny silk flowers made in the workroom. There were useful morning toques priced at less than £1, with something indescribably chic about them that made their plainness very desirable, and there were a number of smart, dressy hats.

Being invited to go into the workroom, the mystery of the hats' lightness was solved. The artistic lady who helps Miss Rochford was making a *sparterie* shape, which had been blocked on wire and from which the wire had been removed. The shape was to be covered in blue velvet and trimmed with tiny silk flowers, also in process of manufacture, and the good quality of the materials used and the pleasant conditions under which they were made into headgear was evident.

Miss Marie Rochford has plenty of enterprise, and her resolve to pay well for good work, and at the same time to give the customer goods which she would find it impossible to get at the same cost elsewhere, is worth encouraging. And, moreover, she is an exceedingly keen Suffragist and a member of the W.F.L. Mrs. Despard has often expressed her great pride in the number of women workers who are members of our League. She knows, as we are learning to know, that the enterprising business woman, who brings the best principles of the movement into her daily work, is the greatest asset the movement has.

DR. ELIZABETH WILKS gave £5 to the W.F.L. expenses at Walthamstow Bye-Election.

Turkish Bath Talks.



This is the time of the year when I grow insistent about the merits of Turkish Bathing in general, and my Gem Turkish Bath Cabinet in particular. Last year, instead of making ponderous, stilted, and bombastic statements about my Turkish Bath Cabinet, I decided to talk frankly to every reader—just as I would talk to him if he came to my showroom, or if we met socially.

I have a speciality to sell which has sheer merit—downright honest merit—in it for all who want to husband their health. I want everyone to know this, and so adopt a plain, straightforward method of telling my business story.

I am an advertiser and I have something to sell. You are the best judge of the value of what I have to sell. If you buy, I make a profit. But in making that profit I maintain that I sell something that you ought not to be without.

There are some men, and women too, who read an advertisement and say: "The usual story; it is my money he wants." And that is true of every advertiser. Granted that I want your money, what you have to consider is—whether I am prepared to give you real value for your cash when you spend it.

This is what I have to sell—the Gem Turkish Bath Cabinet. It is a portable, foldable Turkish Bath for use in the home, complete in itself, always ready for use, and including the necessary heating apparatus.

It is made of a durable antiseptic material in my own little factory in London. It takes up little or no room. It lasts a lifetime. It can be made ready in a minute in any room in your house. It gives all the benefits to be derived from the public Turkish Bath.

A Turkish Bath in the ordinary way costs 2s. 6d. or 3s. 6d. for one bath—and small gratuities are expected. One Turkish Bath a week at 2s. 6d. per time would cost you £8 10s. a year. My Gem Cabinet costs 30s., and you can take as many Turkish Baths as you like for years. The only extra cost is a matter of pence for spirit to feed the heating apparatus.

The Turkish Bath is a necessity if perfect health is to be maintained; it is also a cure for much ill-health. Health depends on a free action of the pores of the skin—which means that every one of hundreds of thousands of pores must do its work of eliminating the poisons which are cast into the blood by the wear and tear of the tissue of the body—the building and rebuilding process which is always going on. Without Turkish Bathing these pores become clogged with the poisons exhaled by the skin, with the grease of soap, with dust and dirt. A Turkish Bath keeps the pores open.

Much ill-health is due to poisons in the system—in the blood. Rheumatism, Sciatica, Lumbago, Gout, are all symptoms of uric-acid poisoning. Headache, Neuralgia, Nervousness, and all the kindred symptoms of nervous trouble are due to a poisoned life-stream. Susceptibility to cold and influenza is due to a lowering of the tone of the system. The tired feeling which comes to many, exhaustion, sleeplessness, and all the minor troubles which are expressed by the phrase "under par" are due to the simple fact that the blood is flagging and impure.

Now, Turkish Bathing keeps the blood pure. In the cure of all the above diseases it helps Nature to take the first step; it is a step that must be taken before people can be well. There is no doubt that Turkish Bathing will keep you well, if you are well—will you help to get better, if you are ill. It is not a matter of what I say because I want your money. It is so! It is a fact that everyone knows who has studied the circulation of the blood.

When you use the Gem Turkish Bath, what happens is this: You get home tired. Perhaps there is a twinge of the old enemy—rheumatism. Your muscles ache. You are bodily weary. You sit in the Cabinet for half an hour. The warmth speedily acts on your skin. You begin to perspire gradually. As the temperature rises you perspire freely. A few minutes of free perspiration works a wonder. You open the Turkish Bath, wash in tepid water, complete with a cold sponge—and you will be a new man or woman! You will feel better, brighter, stronger—refreshed as if you had risen from a dreamless slumber.

Don't bother about whether I want your money. You can have the Bath, and can test every word of the statement on your own system. If you say that the Bath is not worth the money to you—does not do what say it will do—send the Bath back.

These are my terms. The Bath costs 30s. You can pay in one sum in cash on my guarantee that the Gem Bath will do what I say it does, and if it does not, and you say so within ten days, I return your 30s. You can make an initial payment of 10s., and pay me five monthly instalments of 4s. 6d. By this method of easy payment I do not give a free trial, and the Bath costs you 32s. 6d., but it is worth every penny of it. I cannot make you a fairer offer. I am a trader, and want a profit on what I sell. But if you test the thing itself and think it unsatisfactory, I will refund your money. The winter season approaches, and you need this Bath. It is going to be a comfort to you—a source of protection, a watch-dog against disease. Don't shelve the matter, but at least let me send you my 100 pp. Booklet, post free.

Money orders and cheques should be made payable to my company, The B Gem Supplies Company, Limited, 22, Peartree-street, Goswell-road (near Gas Office), London, E.C.

THE TURKISH BATH MAN.

SUFFRAGE WEEK. OPENING MEETING—SPEECHES BY MR. GRANVILLE BARKER AND SIR ALFRED TURNER.

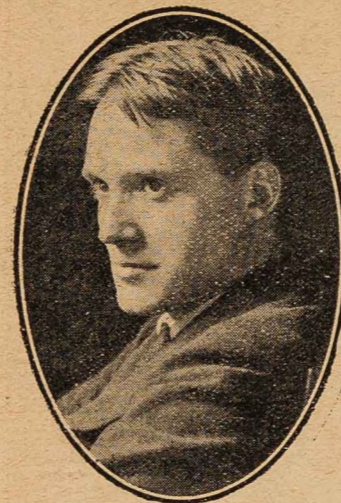


Photo: Ernest H. Mills, Hampstead.
Mr. Granville Barker.

our President, Mrs. Despard, who chaired, and of our fellow-members, Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and Miss Muriel Matters, were splendidly reasonable, practical and courageous. There was—it was unavoidable—a certain amount of anxiety as to the probable necessity for strong measures again in the near future—Mrs. Cobden Sanderson voiced it when she said she never made an engagement without the proviso that she might be in prison when the date arrived—and the cards signed for danger duty were handed in by a number of our own members at the close of the meeting.

Before calling upon Sir Alfred Turner to move the resolution, Mrs. Despard remarked that the occasion was one of peculiar importance and peculiar significance. At this very critical time it was necessary to show politicians, statesmen, and party people that they were absolutely in earnest—that they meant to have this great matter of theirs attended to before England was much older. This meeting was unique. Once there was only one suffrage society, and that society was largely represented there that night. Now there were many, but they had all come together for Suffrage Week, with one aim and object which they were bound to attain, and to attain very quickly.

Major-General Sir Alfred Turner: The Evolution of Reform.

In moving the resolution calling upon the Government to grant facilities this Session, Sir Alfred Turner said that it was a great pleasure and a great privilege to assist, once more, at a meeting of the W.F.L., which had played such a stalwart part in forcing this question into the front rank. The solution of it had been before the country for forty-three years. In 1867 that great champion of freedom, liberty and justice, John Stuart Mill, had introduced his Franchise Bill before the House of Commons. The part relating to women had, since then, to traverse along a weary way to solution. But every great reform in which was involved a principle of freedom and mercy had been delayed. The reform of the Penal Laws and the Emancipation of Catholics were cases in point.

Every far-reaching reform had four stages: (1) When its germ grew in the brain of some moral enthusiast who was consequently regarded as a fool or a faddist; (2) when the idea begins to spread amongst a few, but was still regarded as untenable by reactionaries; (3) when it was so strong and so near realisation that those who were antagonistic to it were getting seriously alarmed; (4) when it had reached its ethical maturity, and the dream came true. As in the case of the Penal Code and the reforms relating to the Jews and the Catholics, people wondered why such an act of justice was so long delayed; but before long the aspirations of the women will be accomplished and their measure, no longer a mere idea, will have become law. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Granville Barker: "Before the Fun Begins."

In the course of his speech Mr. Granville Barker said the time had now come when there was no longer anything new

to be said concerning Suffrage, and there were no more converts to be made. The proof of the Suffrage pudding—or, rather, he would say as a delicate compliment to Mr. Lloyd George, the leek—would be in the eating. The present political situation was dependent on the Conference, which was laying a match which led up to a powder magazine. There might be powder inside, and there might not. If there was, then good-bye to the Suffrage Bill for some time, and therefore it was necessary to get something, however little, done before the fun began. There was only one Bill which had any chance of passing into law, and that Bill was the Conciliation Bill. Many people disliked the Bill, but it would be an odd Conciliation Bill which no one disliked. It was the duty of those who had stood aloof for the past year to come out now and impress on the House of Commons that this Bill must go through. For that purpose he had come on that platform. Personally he would have liked a far more democratic Bill, but rather than none he would be prepared to accept one which would enfranchise only women over six feet high, over sixty, or only those christened Amelia Jane, rather than have none at all. (Laughter.) But as a matter of policy it behoved them to move slowly with their objectors. Mr. George and Mr. Churchill had shown themselves not lacking in courage, for it would have been easy for them to vote for the Bill—there was a certain amount of popularity to be gained by so doing. Behind their objections loomed a large sense of political exigencies. In their own interests they were penny wise and pound foolish. They were speculating on how the women's vote would be given; in 1868 the same speculation went on with regard to the agricultural labourer; it was thought he would vote Liberal, but he didn't, he voted Conservative. For his own part he hoped the women would all vote Socialist—(laughter); but even if they voted on the most reactionary Liberal lines, he would wish to see them enfranchised ultimately for his own advantage. Not like Mr. Arthur Balfour, because he thought that the majority wanted it; but because he thought the vote should be given to them, whether they wanted it or not, for the good of the State.

"Change in the Art of Governing."

The art of government was changing under their eyes. Formerly the art of government meant making war and preparing for it. They were still under the shadow of war, but they were beginning to discover that the strength of a nation does not lie in the bravery of a handful of young men, but in the health and high purpose of all its citizens, and in the art so to strengthen the souls of its people that it would concern itself with the weak and ailing. But how were they to succeed in these things if they had not the woman-brain of the country to help them? They were dropping the harsh and so-called "manly" methods of government. They saw Winston Churchill very honourably endeavouring to humanise punishment. But how could they expect to get on with the work if the woman-brain was not utilised? It was a great disadvantage, in a way, that this matter could not be made a party question, for there was no great business done in the House save on party lines; but it was, again, an advantage, for no party politician could damn it for his own ends. All those who were supporting the Bill imagined they belonged to the party of progress. But it was evident that it had become impossible to go on with moderate government without the consent of the women. They must, during this Suffrage Week, impress on the Government, the House of Commons, that they must get it through. This was the moment when a non-party measure had a chance.

CORRESPONDENCE.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

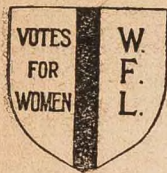
MADAM,—The members may be interested to know that in closing our Australian tour the goldfields of West Australia were visited. Representatives of the various women's and men's political and other associations met me on the Kalgoorlie Station and took me to a welcome breakfast, where interesting addresses were given. The Mayor and Corporation of Boulder City gave me a civic reception which was of great interest to all the goldfields people, as it was the first occasion on which "the distinguished visitor" was a woman. One wished it had been possible for some of our anti friends to have seen such a sight clairvoyantly. The women who spoke at this reception of the "city fathers" surpassed the men speakers, and were fine examples of public-spirited women. We had large meetings of political and ethical value in Kalgoorlie and Boulder City. At our farewell meeting on return to Perth, a sympathetic address was submitted, and all present were most enthusiastic.

We finished our campaign on board the ss. *Runic* before reaching the shores of England, and a lively meeting was held in the saloon on Wednesday, October 19. Both Miss Tillard and I are delighted to be in the fighting ranks once more.—Yours, &c.,

MURIEL MATTERS.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

- Sat., Nov. 12.**—ROYAL ALBERT HALL UNITED MASS MEETING, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Mr. Brailsford, Archdeacon Escreet, Mr. C. S. Goldman, M.P., Earl of Lytton, Sir Alfred Mond, Bart., M.P., Miss Reddish, Mrs. E. F. Swanwick, M.A. Tickets at W.F.L. Office, 6d. to 5s.
- Mon., Nov. 14.**—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Mrs. Franklin, and Miss Fennings.
- Mon., Nov. 14.**—1, Robert-street, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Billington-Greig on "Lobbying." Men and women invited.
- Tues., Nov. 15.**—1, Robert-street, 2 p.m. Lobbyers meet. Mrs. Billington-Greig.
- Tues., Nov. 15.**—1, Robert-street. Central London Branch Members' Meeting, 7 p.m.
- Wed., Nov. 16.**—Dr. Alice Vickery's, 28, Carson-road, West Dulwich, 3 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn, A.R.C.S., B.Sc. Spears Memorial Hall, Highgate Hill (close Archway Tavern), 8 p.m. Mrs. Betham. Admission free. St. Austell's, Green-road. Whist Drive, 7.30 p.m. Tickets, 1s.
- Thurs., Nov. 17.**—Caxton Hall "At Home," 3 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. How Martyn.
- Thurs., Nov. 17.**—1, Robert-street, {6.45 p.m. London Branches Council.
- Fri., Nov. 18.**—1, Robert-street. Members' Meeting, 7.30. Miss Tite and Mrs. Billington-Greig.
- Fri., Nov. 18.**—Stamford-hill, 8 p.m. Mrs. How Martyn.
- Sat., Nov. 19.**—683, High-road, Tottenham. Whist Drive, tickets 1s. 6d. and 2s. 6d.

GLASGOW.

SCOTLAND.

- Fri., Nov. 11.**—Athenæum, 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Despard and Miss Neilans. Chair: Mrs. Billington-Greig.
- Sat., Nov. 12.**—Bo'ness, Market-square, 6 p.m. Misses Murray and Semple.
- EDINBURGH.**
- Frid., Nov. 11.**—Heriot-Watt College, 8.15 p.m. Joint Debate, "Adult Suffrage v. Sex Equality." Leader for W.F.L., Miss H. McLachlan, M.A.; secretary, Mrs. Morison.
- Sat., Nov. 12.**—Castle Terrace, 7.30 p.m. Open-air meeting.
- Tues., Nov. 15.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road, 4 p.m. "At Home."
- Wed., Nov. 16.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. Branch meeting, 8 p.m. Report of Special Conference, Miss A. B. Jack.

PROVINCES.

MANCHESTER DISTRICT.

- Thurs., Nov. 10.**—The Suffrage Shop, 21, Northenden-road, Sale. Mothers' and Babies' "At Home," 3 p.m.
- Frid., Nov. 11.**—The Suffrage Shop, 21, Northenden-road, Sale. Public Meeting. Speaker: Miss Heyes, 8 p.m.
- Wed., Nov. 16.**—The Suffrage Shop, 21, Northenden-road, Sale. Social Evening and Reunion of Manchester Branches, 8 p.m.

WALES.

- Thurs., Nov. 10.**—Danygraig, Swansea, 8 p.m. Miss Phipps, B.A. Merthyr, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Cleaves, Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- Frid., Nov. 11.**—Rhymney, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Cleaves, Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- Sat., Nov. 12.**—Mountain Ash, 7 p.m. Mrs. Cleaves, Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- Tues., Nov. 15.**—Haverfordwest.

⚠ No good Suffragist should miss the Actresses' and Writers' Suffrage Matinee on Friday, November 18, at the Aldwych Theatre. The largest number of well-known actresses who have yet appeared at a Suffrage matinee will take part, and two new plays, *The Home-Coming*, by Cecily Hamilton, and *Stuffing*, by George Paston, will be presented.

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