

THE VOTE

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

VOL. II.—No. 38.

SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.
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EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs, or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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WHAT WE THINK.

The Second Reading Carried.

Carried by a majority of 109! The prophecies that thirty, or at most fifty, would be all that we could muster above the enemies' number have proved false. The Bill has been committed to a Committee of the whole House by a majority of 145. But though this is a set-back, yet there is no reason why pressure could not be brought to bear in the right quarter that that committee shall sit soon. Mr. Asquith has still some rungs of his ladder from which to climb down, and another step will not harm him. Our majority gives us the right to this concession.

The effort "to substitute the will of the Cabinet for the will of the House" has not succeeded, in spite of the eloquence of the most serious opposition against which a Women's Bill has even contended. The Bill has passed in a tumult of cheers, its expected majority slightly diminished by the removal of its unfaithful friends and strengthened by the accession of goodwill which has come to it from unexpected quarters. Mr. Haldane, in a speech worthy of the Cause and of Mr. Haldane—a strange blend of reason, of erudition, of sympathy, and of humour—a speech to treasure up after the battle, the speech of a wise War Minister who knew the value of peace, said: "The time will come when people will look back on the state of things in which we draw a distinction between men and women with as much amazement as on the period when slavery was a recognised institution believed to lie at the very foundation of the State's well-being." Of the glowing words many friends on both sides of the House spoke for us we have kept our own record, and of the deeds of the Great Rat—the Home Secretary—and his ilk we have also kept a record. To the coarseness of Mr. Belloc's attack it would take a man of his own kidney to reply, and there is no such man, we are thankful to say, amongst our friends. The true lover of Liberty is always willing to share Liberty, and the man who has no wish to see others free has, as Mr. Housman says, not love of Liberty, but lust of it.

The Triumph of Physical Force.

We have heard a great deal of physical strength as the ultimate test in politics. We have heard that women, because they are supposed to be the physical inferiors of men, are unfit to vote. And we have heard from the Press, which has inculcated these same doctrines, howls of execration last week over the result of the Johnson-Jeffries fight. If physical force is the ultimate test, if the black

race can evolve the "finest human fighting-machine the world has ever seen" (we quote the *Daily Telegraph* description of the negro), then once for all the black race has proved its supremacy, and no white man should attempt to dispute it. But never in the history of the world has such a universal howl from every discovered continent arisen over any feat of physical prowess as when the finest human fighting-machine smashed up Jeffries. Europe, America, and Australia refused—and rightly—to acknowledge that physical prowess was a possible ground of superiority, and the three continents united in their utter repudiation of the claims of physical force. We say, and we say it without hesitation, that every man and every woman, whether Suffragist or Anti-Suffragist, who viewed the victory of brute force with disgust is, wittingly or unwittingly, a supporter of our cause. The day for the triumph of physical strength, whether guided by science or instinct, whether housed in the muscles of a negro or in those of a white man, is long past, and the era of true equality of the citizen who plays his part in the State has come. During the last General Election white women standing outside some of the booths, saw negroes entering to record their vote—the negro who now represents dominant strength. If there was any truth in the physical force fallacy, every white man ought to be disenfranchised and only permitted to stand and watch wistfully the grinning black recording his electoral view.

Honouring Great Women.

In conferring the honorary degrees of M.A. on Miss Horniman and Miss Dendy at the capping at Manchester University last week, the University did honour to itself. The words of the ladies' sponsor, in introducing them to the Vice-Chancellor, were significant. He said that Miss Dendy's work had earned for the North of England the rare distinction of leading the way to what is nothing less than a solid advance in civilisation. When it is remembered that she, in a long investigation, examined 70,000 cases of defective intelligence scattered through the schools in the country, and succeeded in inducing the Manchester education authority to establish four separate schools for these children (whom she receives when dismissed at the age of sixteen, into her farm and home at Sandlebridge for their permanent care and to teach them useful occupations), this praise is not exaggerated. Permanent homes for the mentally afflicted are badly wanted in other places besides Manchester.

Miss Horniman's name is well known to theatre-lovers, owing to her successful experiments at the Gaiety in Manchester and at the Abbey Theatre in Dublin. Caring nothing for the "long run" or financial success, she steadily endeavoured to uplift the theatre and the theatre-goer by producing plays which reflected real or ideal life, and were reflections of temperament rather than of manners. "The most potent living patron of the drama" was her sponsor's introduction, and it could not be bettered.

Flower-pitches.

The usual dispute as to whether the flower ladies at Piccadilly and Oxford Circus shall, or shall not, sell their flowers at their usual pitches is again agitating the busybodies. Should these ladies be dispossessed, it is only fair that they should be compensated for their loss of custom; but it is equally unlikely either that they will be dispossessed, or compensated if they are.

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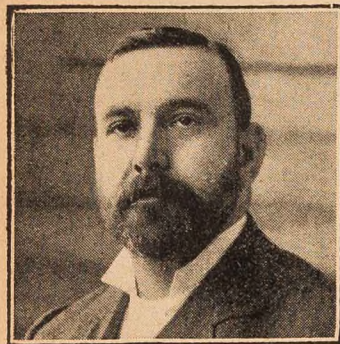
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FOR AND AGAINST.



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MR. SHACKLETON, M.P., CLITHEROE.

The confusion of parties was the best description of the great debate. Cross-voting and cross currents were typical of the hour. The victory was won by a majority of 109 (209 for, 190 against), the Government tellers counting.

Mr. SHACKLETON (Lab., Clitheroe), who moved the second reading of the Bill, is described by the *Morning Post* as a burly Lancastrian. "A more masculine champion of the Women Suffragists' Cause could not have been chosen. His speech was as virile as his appearance."

Points from the principal different speeches for and against were as follows:—

Mr. SHACKLETON, moving the second reading, explained the Bill's provisions. "Its first justification was on the ground of taxation. The Bill did not propose to enfranchise all women who were taxpayers, but it put women on an equality with men in regard to that principle. . . . There was no better justification for women demanding these electoral rights than the flippant way in which some of the witnesses before the Divorce Commission had referred to the sacredness of the rights of home life. The only point the House had to consider was that the Bill was not an undemocratic one. How it would affect parties was not the point. As to their fitness to have the Vote, the development in the work undertaken by women during the last twenty years was a sufficient answer."

Sir JOHN ROLLESTON (U., Hertford), seconding:— "It was a reproach that while they opened their arms to the admission of aliens who were mostly the off-scourings of Europe they should withhold the franchise from millions of the industrial population who were producers of wealth—the rights which they claimed." (Cheers.)

Mr. F. E. SMITH (U., Liverpool, Walton), opposing:— "The whole objection of those women who did not want the Vote was that they did not wish to be governed by other women. . . . Every Liberal who believed in democracy was bound to oppose the Bill. It was said that women had a right to the Vote. No one, however, had an abstract right of that kind. The theory that there was such a right was as dead as Rousseau. . . . It was true that women received lower wages than men, but the causes were partly physical and partly economical. They were asked to take a step for which there was no model nor example in any first-class country in the world. . . . An adult white woman differs far more from a white man than a negress or pigmy woman from an equivalent male. The education and mental disposition of a white or Asiatic woman reeks of sex."

Mr. ANNAN BRYCE (Inverness Burghs), seconding amendment:— "So far as capacity for exercising the Vote was concerned, he frankly admitted he considered the average woman superior to the average man. . . . In Parliament, however, they were continually breathing an atmosphere of compromise. Again, the intervention of women in politics would tend to the extinction of their ideals."

Mr. HALDANE (Secretary for War), supporting Bill:— "If you look at the whole history of this question you will see that there has been a steady growth in the position which women have taken. . . . There had been a vast change in the historical development of women not only in this but in other countries. . . . In the time of Tiberius a Roman citizen would have retorted with arguments even more powerful than those used by the hon. and learned member against the effect of enfranchising the great masses of Rome at that time. It would have been said that Roman civilisation was in peril. And so it has been in the history of the emancipation of woman. . . . The position of women with regard to wages is not as good as the position of men, and I cannot get it out of my mind that that is to some extent due to the fact that women cannot associate themselves with the force and advantage which come from political power. (Hear, hear.) . . . Some years ago I used to bring in a Bill for the removal of the legal disabilities of women, but I never believed that they would become warriors or Commanders-in-Chief, nor do I believe that men will take to nursing babies. (Laughter.) Such things will arrange themselves naturally, and that is why I am not moved by the argument that women will form the majority of voters if adult Suffrage arrives."

Mr. LONG (U., Strand), opposing:— "I do not believe that women have suffered by the non-possession of the Vote. On the contrary, their position has improved more rapidly and thoroughly than the position of men during

recent years. . . . I do not attach much importance to petitions. I think I am the only Minister against whom a petition, signed by many thousands of people, was presented, praying that I might be removed from office. That was when I was at the Board of Agriculture and was occupied with the muzzling of dogs, and the petition, I may observe, was almost exclusively got up by women."

Mr. LYTTLETON (U., St. George's, Hanover Square), supporting:—

"Any man would be an ass who rejected the special skill and knowledge of women as to the education of young children, the adaptation of houses as proper homes for the people, questions of public health, factory legislation in regard to the hours of women's labour. The State has not rejected their counsels or influence in those matters."

Mr. BELLOC (L., South Salford), opposing:—

"Under this Bill they would let in spinsters, every woman who had quarrelled with her husband and was keeping a separate establishment, and every woman who was living her own life, whatever that might be, and they would have a large class of the other sex, of whom there were many thousands in every large town, to whom without the slightest doubt no civic influence should be given."

Lord HUGH CECIL (U., Oxford University), supporting:—

"A sex is not a class. The characteristic of sex was that its members were essentially interested in the other sex. That was the idea. (Laughter.) Therefore he believed that the Bill would make no great change in our political life, whether it enfranchised a million or more. As to the physical force argument, he could find a good many women who were able to knock him down. (Laughter.) Surely the hon. and learned member for the Walton Division (Mr. F. E. Smith) would not, therefore, disfranchise him, and give his vote to the woman—(Laughter)—because if that were pushed to its logical conclusion Mr. Eugen Sandow would become a plural voter on a large scale." (Renewed laughter.)

Mr. KEIR-HARDIE (Lab., Merthyr Tydvil), supporting:—

"It was estimated that the women taxpayers of this country paid £25,000,000 yearly in the form of taxes, and, therefore, their demand to be allowed a say in the levying and the spending of those taxes should not be lightly passed over. . . . The great majority of women who now possessed the municipal franchise, and who would get the Parliamentary vote under this Bill, were working women, and, therefore, it was absurd to contend that the Bill was undemocratic. In these days, when women were compelled to labour in the factory and at the mine head, the less talk there was of chivalry the better. Women did not want chivalric treatment, as though they were half angels and half idiots. They demanded equality."

Mr. WALTER McLAREN, supporting:—

"The speeches of our opponents are speeches of panic. . . . The State would be the gainer if these women had the Vote, and if, in consequence, they had what must follow—namely, access in the fullest degree to all positions in our public life. But he believed the grievance was largely imaginary, and women did not suffer any disabilities in legislation. The Statute-book made them a privileged class. As to reforms affecting women, had they not been carried, not voluntarily and cordially, but as sops to the Woman Suffrage agitation? He was not asking for Woman Suffrage because a large number of women wanted it, but because he believed it would be the greatest reform we had ever had. It would bring into our political life a force valuable beyond words."

Mr. WINSTON CHURCHILL (Home Secretary) opposed the Bill, though previously pledged to Suffrage.

Mr. BALFOUR made a fine academic speech supporting the Bill. Mr. LLOYD GEORGE voted against the Bill because it did not go far enough. Mr. HUGH LAW (Nat.) spoke in favour of it from the Irish benches; and Mr. PHILIP SNOWDEN, who never for one moment lost faith in the Bill's chances of fortune, summed up in a splendid appeal for justice to the women of the country which reached the heart of the House and helped to win our godly majority.

Another division was taken as to whether the Bill would go to a Grand Committee or to a Committee of the whole House. For the latter 320 voted, and for the former 175, the majority for a Committee of the whole House being 145.

At Swansea.

On Sunday, at the Star Theatre, Swansea, a large public meeting was held, for which Miss Dillwyn ably chaired, and at which Miss Munro spoke. Resolutions were passed calling upon Lloyd George and the local Members to support our Bill.

Procession Carriages.

Will all members and friends who have not yet paid for their carriages or seats in carriages kindly forward their moneys at once? The carriages formed an effective part of the procession. We are desirous of covering all expenses without recourse to Central funds, so contributions towards cost are urgently required.

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RIGHT TO VOTE MEETING IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

On Sunday afternoon a Right to Vote meeting was held by the Freedom League in Trafalgar Square, and a very large crowd assembled and listened attentively at the various platforms. The resolution was passed with only a couple of male dissentients, and the crowd appeared to be in thorough sympathy with the efforts of the Conciliation Committee. THE VOTE was sold in large numbers from the platforms after the speeches and also by sellers amongst the crowd.

The speakers were: No. 1 platform, Mrs. How Martyn (chair), Miss Casey, of Chicago, and Miss Alison Neilans; No. 2 platform, Mrs. Holmes (chair), the Countess Russell, and Miss A. M. Hicks, M.A.; No. 3 platform, Mrs. Borrmann Wells (chair), Mrs. Nevinson, and Miss Sidley.

Mrs. How Martyn's Opening Speech.



MRS. HOW MARTYN.

Friends, this meeting is being held under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League. We are holding it for the special purpose of enlisting the sympathies of the general public in favour of votes for women. We have a very special occasion for doing it at the present moment, because the opportunity to carry the Bill to enfranchise women through the

House of Commons is more favourable than it ever was before. This will not be done, however, without a great deal of work and a great deal of agitation. You know probably as well as I do how very difficult it is to get a Bill through Parliament. We know only too well that if certain M.P.s can find any excuse for neglecting their duty they will do so. What we want to do at the present moment is to make our agitation so big and so insistent that we shall not be hoaxed again by the House of Commons. The Bill before Parliament now is one that has been drafted in order to meet every possible objection that can be reasonably, or unreasonably, brought against the enfranchisement of women. The Bill will enfranchise those women who have already shown their capacity and their capabilities in local government—the women who have already exercised the municipal vote with satisfaction to themselves and with very great benefit to the community. I do not believe amongst reasonable men there would be found one who would wish to take away from women the municipal franchise. This Bill will give to those women the wider privilege of the Parliamentary

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Franchise. Some may think that it will be enfranchising a particular class of women, but let me assure you that the women who at present exercise the municipal franchise are drawn from every class of society, and from that point of view we maintain that this Bill deserves the support of all who believe in democratic government. We hear to-day a great deal about democracy, but I cannot understand how people can use that word with regard to this country when at the present time our democracy, such as it is, is such a one-sided affair and such a mere travesty of representative government. We want to make that government really and truly representative; we want to make it representative, not only of the men of this country and of the interests of men, but also of the women of the country and of women's interests.

I know that we are told by the anti-Suffragists that we are trying to grasp something which will be of no use to us when we get it. They tell us that we have already as much influence as it is desirable that women should have. Well, my friends, some of us don't like that kind of influence. We much prefer to vote openly at the ballot box rather than to spend our time and influence in trying to persuade three or four men to vote as we would have them vote. It is utter nonsense for anyone to say at the present time that women's interests are properly represented in Parliament. They are not represented properly, and never will be represented properly, until women have a voice in the choosing of members of Parliament.

Now, while the Bill which is at present before Parliament will enfranchise the women who already vote municipally, it will cut out women lodgers, women property owners, and the University women, but these women have already agreed that it is better that they should pass this Bill than that no Bill should get through Parliament. We know that Liberals, Labour men, and Conservatives have united in favour of this Bill as they will never unite over any other Bill likely to be brought forward. We maintain that this Bill is not a matter of contentious legislation. We know that there are differences on this question, as there are on every other question, and we know that those differences exist in the House of Commons just as they exist outside; but what we say is this: Those differences do not follow party lines. When Mr. Asquith speaks of a Bill as "contentious," he means such a Bill as is supported entirely by Liberals and opposed entirely by Conservatives, or vice versa. The Women's Franchise Bill is not of that nature. It is a Bill which receives support from every party in the House, and that is the Bill which we ask you to support this afternoon by carrying the resolution.

Countess Russell's Views.



COUNTESS RUSSELL.

Lady Russell, in the course of her speech, said: In previous debates on this question we have had many beautiful speeches. We have had the promoter of the Bill coming forward as though his mortal life depended on its passing, but the result has always been the same. I attended a meeting here yesterday held by another Society, and a man in the

crowd came up to me—I suppose he thought I looked intelligent—and said: "I'm an Australian and I don't understand this business at all. Will you tell me why it is they don't give the Vote to women who have the property qualification?" I was ashamed to tell that man the reason, for there is only one reason; there is only one crime against us—we are women! The reason why we are accepting a small slice of bread instead of the loaf we are asking for is because it is doing away with the sex disqualification. What do you suppose strangers coming over to this country must think

to find that women here are not alone refused the Vote, but that Englishmen, who have been praised all the world over for their chivalry, their common sense, and their love of fair play, should stand by and see such treatment as the women of this nation have been subjected to during the last four years because of their agitation for the Parliamentary franchise? Another thing I noticed here yesterday was a band of sandwichmen parading the Square, advertising a meeting, and the boards they were carrying bore the words: "Women don't want the Vote." Well, if they (the Antis) don't want it, that is no reason why they should seek to deny it to us. Why show this dog-in-the-manger attitude and say, "You are not going to have it, because we don't want it?" Some of them called upon Mr. Asquith recently. "Dear Mr. Asquith," they said, "don't give us the Vote." These women—there were duchesses, and countesses, and baronesses amongst them—don't want it, and why? Because they are very well off in life themselves. They have not got to go out into the world to fight for their daily bread, and so they shut their eyes to the necessities of other women around them. Why have the politicians been so angry with the Suffragettes? It is because we are fighting on the side of women—and particularly on behalf of working women. We know what their lives are, and it is absolutely necessary for women to have the Vote in order to help them to better occupations and to better wages. If you go to the Anti-Suffragist meeting they are sure to tell you that we want to soil our dainty fingers in the mire of politics. These women who talk like this are the women who do the dirty work for men at election times. They will tell you "Women cannot fight." Can't we? We may have to. In Mr. Asquith words: "Live," and "Wait and see." Another thing they say is this: "We would have no more war if women had the Vote. Women would want peace, and then what would happen to our fine and splendid Dreadnoughts? What would we do with our great and powerful Navy?" Well, we women see a little farther on. We can see what the slower-moving male mind has not yet seen, and that is, that sooner or later there must be peace. If there is one war under modern conditions, there will never be another, for then we would see what aeroplanes can do in the destruction of life and property. It would not be war; it would be massacre, and we must not be blamed if we see a little farther than the men do in this respect. We may not be able to pull out plums when we dip our fingers into the political pie, but we can dip and get what we can. The type of man who has kept us out of our proper place in politics is the type of man who has fought against woman's progress from the beginning, who opposed her right to education, who fought against her entry into the medical profession. Yesterday, at the meeting held here, I heard a man (looking most viciously at a speaker) say, "If you want petticoat government, we don't." Just think of the foolishness of that man in talking of petticoat government with the admission of a million women voters; and the pity, with such men, is that their mothers and aunts, when they began life under petticoat government, didn't spank them into a proper respect for women.

Miss Hicks' Speech.

Mrs. Holmes, ladies, and gentlemen,—As Lady Russell said, there were sandwichmen walking round this Square yesterday bearing placards: "Women don't want the Vote." One of the sandwichmen gave me a handbill which commenced with the intimation that "A large number of women are demanding the Parliamentary Vote," so even our friends the enemy realise that there is a large demand, and, of course, we all know that is so. One point I would like to put very strongly. We want to make you men especially realise the truth in this matter. What seems to me the fundamental thing in this whole agitation is the fact that we women do not intend any longer to be outlawed in our own country, in this England of ours which is supposed to be free and to lead the way for the whole world. Here you have your women governed by laws which they have no share in making, whether they are good laws or bad. Women are not content, and will not be content, with that position any longer. We are told that government in this

country rests with the people who have the choosing of the men who make the laws. The sovereignty does not rest with the people, but with only half of the people—the male half.

We are speaking to-day under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League, and I have sometimes seen people smile at the bare idea of the existence of a Women's Freedom League in this free country. They say, "You have all the privileges. Why, if you want to cross the road the policeman kindly holds up his hand to secure you a safe crossing. The police protect your lives and your property. What absurd talk is this of slavery?" A great writer of the seventeenth century gave as the definition of slavery, "The government of the governed without their consent." That is the kind of "slavery" we have in this country to-day so far as the women are concerned. It is of no use to say that a considerable number of women do not want their freedom and even ask that it shall not be given to them; there have always been a large number of people opposed to having privileges conferred upon them. There were the American slaves, who were very happy as they were, some of them; they had kind masters and they did not want their freedom, with its added responsibility, but that was not taken into account considering the justice of the reform and the number there were in favour of it. In China the old Dowager Empress was anxious to do away with the custom of binding the feet of the infant girls, and tried to do away with it, but 80,000 Chinese women petitioned the Empress against this reform, which was for their own good.

But when you have a big demand for equality, as we have to-day, from any class that is in subjection, you are bound to consider that demand, and especially in a country like ours. We value our representative Government, and we have valued it ever since the day of Simon de Montfort, when we had our first Parliament. If you believe in the system that the best kind of government is one in which every section of the community has a fair share you cannot get away from the demand, and you cannot refuse the demand of a large class who are asking to be included. It seems to me there are only two possible reasons that could in any way justify a refusal. The first is if women were entirely outside of politics; if in fact, as some people seem to imagine, politics were merely an amusing game at which men played while women were darning perennial stockings. As things are—and during the last fifty years it has become more and more true—politics enter very closely into the lives of women. This domestic legislation which we have may be good or it may be bad, but we cannot say that politics do not affect women. It is not only in the home, but outside the home—in the factory and in the workshop—and in any profession in which they may engage that politics affect them. It is perfectly absurd to say that politics have nothing to do with women when they affect every man, woman, and child in this country. That is one reason which might justify the exclusion of women. There is only one other, and that is if it were true that we would be doing actual harm to the community by granting the Vote to women, then we might be justified in withholding it. The exact opposite, however, is the truth. We are wasting good material that we might be using. We are trying to do things with one eye when we might be using two. We have to realise that women's occupations are coming more and more under public control. The care of the children, the aged, the sick, and the needy. These things, you have always told us, are particularly women's work. Only on Friday last my mother had an appeal for assistance from a certain hospital. We looked over the papers giving information concerning this hospital, and the thing which struck us immediately was that there was not a single woman either on the governing body or in any other capacity having control over its affairs. You know how particularly the affairs of a hospital are matters for women to deal with. It is common knowledge that hospitals are not economical in their methods. Can we wonder at it when the hospitals of London admit no women on their governing boards? But until the State recognises and gives to woman her proper position and opportunities we can hardly expect otherwise.

PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

"Next Step" Demonstration.

Before this appears the fate of the Bill on its second reading will have been decided, and it will then be necessary to arrange important and imposing demonstrations in every centre in support of the policy of the League, as necessitated by events, and made public later. Every District Organiser, every Organiser, every Branch Secretary is asked to make the necessary preliminary arrangements, and in particular to secure local speakers and helpers for a special effort. Wherever possible headquarters will be glad to help, but it is hoped that local organisations will rely on themselves to a large extent. At all costs we must demonstrate. The Suffrage question is now before the people, and no better opportunity can be found to spread the general propaganda of the League in London.

One of the principal demonstrations will be in TRAFALGAR SQUARE on July 24th, full particulars of which will be given next week.

Caravan.

On Thursday, 14th inst., at 7 p.m., the Van starts from the High Road, Edgware. Mrs. Despard will address the send-off meeting, and members are urged to make a special effort to attend. Miss Sidley will be in charge, and it will be difficult to find a more splendid crusader to carry through the land the fight for the new ideals of womanhood.

Garden Parties, Fetes.

Towards the end of next week all the members of the N.E.C. will be in town, and this will be an exceptional opportunity to arrange meetings of all kinds to hear particulars of the great activity and the success of the work in the provinces. Early notification should be made by the London Branches.

Anti-Suffrage Meeting.

On Saturday next, the 16th, at 3 p.m., an anti-Suffrage meeting will be held at Trafalgar Square, London. In view of the quaint assertion by our opponents that women do not want the Vote, it is desired to have an effective rally of Suffrage workers in the Square to sell THE VOTE and other literature, and to emphasise by their presence the demands of the League and the determination and sincerity of the women. Meeting place, the office, 2 p.m.

BE AT THE SQUARE 3 P.M., AND WEAR YOUR COLOURS.

Special Notice.

Arrangements are being made that from now on there will be someone in charge at the London office until 9 p.m. every night except Saturdays. New members, friends, and sympathisers who cannot attend in the day-time are urged to call in the evening. B. BORRMANN WELLS.

HYDE PARK DEMONSTRATION.

The Women's Freedom League is participating in the Mass Meeting initiated by the National Women's Social and Political Union, to be held on Saturday, the 23rd inst. It will also take part in the Procession which will march to the Park. Special notification will be sent to all Members, but sympathisers and friends are urged to call at the Office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C., or write for further details.

Mrs. How Martyn, 1, Marden Road, South Tottenham, won first prize (10s. or two shares Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd.) for largest number of receipts for goods bought from advertisers. Miss Bennett, Holly Hedge Cottage, Well Road, N.W., won second (6s. 6d. or year's subscription to THE VOTE) for largest amount spent.

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We are sometimes told that the Empire will suffer by giving Votes to women. I say that the Empire is suffering through NOT giving Votes to women. When thinking of those great tracts of territory we have conquered, when contemplating the Empire on which the sun never sets, we forget the woman's side of it, and until you get the woman's point of view in politics not only will the Empire suffer, but the domestic work which we want done at home will not be attended to either.

We have got to get this Bill through, and you have got to help us. Forty years is surely long enough to wander in the wilderness before coming into our inheritance. The present moment is a unique opportunity, and we want the help which you are going to give us in order to push the thing through. Every man here is, I hope, going to send a post card to his Member of Parliament to-night, calling upon him to support this Bill and to use every effort to get it through the House before Parliament rises for the recess.

Mrs. Nevinson's Speech.

Mrs. Nevinson, whose address was heard with deep attention, said:—It is not very long ago that we made the funeral oration here over Mr. Stanger's Bill, which passed by a three to one majority in the House of Commons at its second reading. For that Bill had died through being consigned to a Committee of the whole House. Lord Robert Cecil asked the Prime Minister what had become of it, and he replied that indeed he had forgotten all about it! A Women's Suffrage Bill passed its first reading forty years ago. And there have been five Bills since that date. They all die after their second reading. One of our opponents said to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman that all Suffrage Bills after their second reading had better be sent to a Committee of the whole House of Commons, but Sir Henry said that a Women's Bill ought to be given the same chance as any other Bill.

In a part of the Women's Procession there was a contingent of women taxpayers who carried a John Hampden banner with the motto, "No vote, no tax," and as we passed along the men said, "Quite right, my gal; don't you pay it!"

Many men still hold to the superstition that all women are kept by men, and this in spite of the fact that every year more and more women have to go out into the labour market to keep themselves. They are no longer protected by men, and they want the Vote to protect themselves. Men have no right to take advantage of women's labour, to exploit them in the labour market without allowing them some means of protecting themselves. The average wage of a working woman is 7s. 6d. a week. I know a woman who, after working nineteen hours a day, could only earn 4s. 6d. a week. I was one of the Poor Law Guardians before whom she was brought. She told us that she could no longer earn her living because the landlord said that the continual working of her machine disturbed him and his children. We allowed her a small amount of outdoor relief, but I know that will only assist in subsidising her sweating employer.

We still hear from our anti-Suffrage friends that woman's place is at home, although they know or should know that if most of the women who are now in the labour market were to attempt to follow out that principle they would be carried out of their homes for burial at the end of a week.

A large and enthusiastic audience was present at the Rehearsal Theatre on Friday last for Mrs. and Miss Chapin's Matinée, in aid of the W.F.L. funds, when Mrs. Chapin's plays "Shame" and "A Modern Medea" were produced for the first time, under the direction of Miss Edith Craig. They were followed by G. B. Shaw's "Press Cuttings," which provoked roars of laughter.



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SATURDAY, JULY 16, 1910.

ON THE EVE.

When this issue of THE VOTE appears we shall know our fate: our Bill will be practically certain of passing into law without delay or it will be postponed again—by the breach of a Governmental promise. The Cabinet will have chosen peace and honour or war and shame. We shall either be rejoicing at the near approach of the dawn or facing and planning a new and more vigorous campaign of protest and disintegration. The two days granted by the grace of the Government for the second reading of the Bill will be over; their issue will be known to all, and a wave of hope or of rebellion will be moving the women of the land.

There is no doubt in any well-informed mind of the seriousness of the position. Our friends in the House are conscious as never before of their responsibility. The great issues at stake being at last partly realised, these men have been carried beyond their old-time attitude of acquiescence and academic interest into strong partisanship. Even where no keener understanding of our needs has come with the last few years, a change of magnitude has been wrought by the knowledge of our political campaigning and its results. There is no light trifling now in a Women's Suffrage Bill. It is a matter for long discussion at Cabinet meetings; it is a matter for repeated paragraphs and daily newspaper leaders; it is a matter for fiercely organised opposition.

And it is from the enemy that we get the more eloquent proof of the seriousness of the issue. He is at last deeply and gravely perturbed. Never has he organised his forces and planned his campaign with the energy and resource of to-day. He knows that he is now facing something strong, combating something capable, opposing something that has within it the impetus of vitality. The careful arrangement of the details of the debate, the whipping up of votes, the game of bluff which is being played with vague talk of names and numbers—all point the same way. The enemy is taking this effort to enfranchise women with seriousness. He has not missed those indications of "deliberate intention" upon which we are building our hopes. He knows that the game of trifling and talk has become a game of critical importance. He knows that the day of our final victory is not far off and that all he can now do is to delay by every means in his power the dawn of that day of his defeat.

There are rumours of restive Liberal members and of secret circulars issued to the Liberal women that they may be kept quiet if the Bill is betrayed. There are other rumours of discreetly conveyed messages from prominent members of the Cabinet to the rank and file party man. But most of these may be taken as the products of enterprising journalists who, seeing that Women's Suffrage is in the air, earn an honest penny by devising plausible rumours about it. Nevertheless, there is more than rumour in the assertion of unrest in the Liberal Party. We have received documentary proof of this during the last few days, and can say without hesitation that many Liberal women—some of them of prominent position—are seriously considering the imperative duty of throwing in their lot with the militant Suffragists if this Bill is killed. Like us, they feel that they have sacrificed much to Parliamentary exigencies, that they have come far to meet a House bent on compromise, and that a betrayal now will be the more wanton and insulting because of these very facts.

At last, too, these workers for the Liberal cause have realised that the responsibility of their party cannot be avoided or explained away. If this Conciliation Bill is killed this Liberal Government will be directly responsible for the deed. There is in existence a sufficient majority

of friends to carry the Bill through its second reading, through its discussion by a Standing Committee, and through the report stage. Nothing is wanting but time; and this the Government can supply. Never in any modern Parliament has there been so much time at the disposal of any Government for such good use as this. The Veto Conference has thrown a surplus of it upon the Government's hands, and if our Bill is given the advantage of it the Lords should see the measure before the vacation. There is no reason other than a Government blockade why this should not be. Our friends are supplying that proof of "deliberate intention" for which the Prime Minister asked when they insist upon this conclusion to the debate of the 12th. If this proof is supplied in full, as there is every sign that it will be, Mr. Asquith and his colleagues can have no honest or honourable alternative to the course named. They must fulfil the pledge given to the House that opportunities for a final settlement will be granted, and this can only be done by the provision of temporal facilities. If this is not done—if the way of the Bill is not cleared of all doubts and obstructions—there will be no escape from the responsibility involved.

It is, of course, obvious that the only back door of escape from the fulfilment of the pledge given by the Ministry lies in the engineering of a negative vote or a very small majority for the measure. But it would be impossible for this line of action to be taken by responsible Ministers without their risking too much. At this time of day such an effort in wirepulling would be sure to reach friends in the House and women prominent in the Liberal party's counsels, and it would not escape exposure and punishment. Again, it would probably defeat its own object. No ordinary member who found himself the target for special Suffragette attentions would be likely to spare those who used undue influence in getting his vote. The trickery would so expose itself that in the end the tricksters would bear a double burden. This is not the day when such political methods pass unnoticed and without retaliation.

We have a good majority in the House, and there is a surplus of time—even in the short interval left before the vacation—on the Government's hands. These are the only vital needs our Bill requires to pass into law if it receives fair treatment. Its passing will redound to the credit of this House of Commons in a way which few of its members at present realise; to break down the first barrier between any body of human beings and their freedom is a deed always sure of glorious recognition. The political results may or may not be at once all we have hoped of them. That is on the knees of the gods, but the educational results upon the younger generation cannot but be productive of much progress towards the feminist ideal. If the Bill be not passed there remains for us the problem of teaching men in general and the Government in particular that women who are reckoned of no importance in the councils of the nation, that women who are scornfully rejected when they seek willingly to serve their country as integral units, can become a cause of grave disintegration and a forceful source of disharmony and discontent to the nation that refused them their just rights as citizens. To this task we shall have to bend our energies if betrayal comes. But the facts and forces are against this. The Bill must pass. We have done our part. We must stand and wait while others do their part. Yet surely the day has come when they can no longer withhold their hands.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

WE WAIT.

We wait!
 With bated breath
 And longing eyes;
 With eager hands out-
 stretched
 To clasp the crown
 Of Victory!
 We wait!
 Hope rising high!
 Defeat? Not that

To kill our joy, to drive
 To black despair!
 Come, Victory!
 We wait!
 Tense silence falls
 On every heart!
 We scarce can ask, Which
 will
 It be? Defeat?
 Or—VICTORY!

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BRANCH NOTES.

London Branches Council.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi.
 Crystal Palace and Anerley District.—149, Croydon Road.

A large and interested crowd gathered last Monday evening at the Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, to hear Mr. Duval's stirring speech, at the close of which a good many questions were forthcoming, which he answered in his usual able manner. Thirty-six copies of THE VOTE and some literature were sold and a fair collection taken. Miss Pearson took the chair, and before the meeting broke up Miss Jessie Fenning reminded the men present how they could help by writing to Mr. Asquith and their members re the Conciliation Bill.—J. M. F.

Highbury.—10, Highbury Hill.

In spite of pouring rain, a meeting was held last night at Highbury Corner. Our speaker was Mrs. Toyne, who held a large audience interested for nearly an hour. A resolution was put and carried unanimously. A copy has been sent to every Cabinet Minister. Unfortunately the weather was too bad on Tuesday last to allow the Poster Parade which had been arranged for THE VOTE. Members are again reminded that help is needed every Tuesday and Thursday at the open-air meetings.—J. R. A.

Hornsey.—8, Church Lane.

The sixth Women's Suffrage meeting was held outside Hornsey Fire Station on July 4th, at which Miss Norris spoke. The crowd grew large, and seemed reluctant to go at 10 p.m. Many neighbours came to listen whom it had been impossible to excite previously. Miss Norris was kept well employed and the crowd convulsed with laughter by questions from some boys of fourteen to eighteen years of age. One elderly gentleman was much troubled about girls becoming of age at eighteen and boys not until twenty-one, and he failed to see that that had nothing to do with the Conciliation Bill. Miss Eggett took the chair. Very many thanks are due to both ladies. Mrs. H. W. Nevinson has kindly consented to speak on July 11th.—M. S. S.

Manchester District.—Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Manchester (Central Branch).—9, Albert Square.

Members of all the District Branches have devoted their energies this week to preparing for the Great Demonstration in Alexandra Park which was announced last week. The weather prevented open-air meetings in the early part of the week, but

on Thursday and Friday we held them at Chorlton, Egerton Road, and Moss Side Billiard Hall, and each night at the Park Gates. These were all well attended by interested crowds, and the Demonstration on Sunday more than realised the expectations aroused by the meetings. The weather was perfect, the Park was thronged, and the crowds gravitated with one consent to the spot where the combined colours of the W.F.L. and the N.W.S.P.U. fluttered gaily in the breeze. There were two platforms, one of which bore bravely the new flag of the Manchester District, and from which Mr. Heyes, Miss Manning, and Miss Janet Heyes were speaking, while on the other were Mr. Spencer, Miss Lilian Williamson, B.A. (W.S.P.U.), and Miss Neal. Brilliant sunshine and great enthusiasm marked the meeting, and rendered it one of the most successful demonstrations ever held in Manchester. The speeches were listened to with great attention, and a marked respect, not only for the speakers, but their subject, was shown, their remarks being punctuated by hearty applause; and the two great audiences, far enough apart to be distinct, were thoroughly sympathetic, and carried the resolutions with scarcely a dissentient, greeting the announcement of its having been carried with acclamation.

On Saturday the Urmston Branch arranged an open-air meeting, at which Miss Manning, Miss Janet Heyes, and Mrs. Williamson (W.S.P.U.) were the speakers. During the whole week, at every evening meeting, postcards have been distributed to the voters for despatch to the members for their constituencies, and these have been willingly signed, and in large numbers. In short, Manchester has responded splendidly to the appeal we have made, and Manchester's representatives will have to face a heavy reckoning should the Bill by any chance be shelved or strangled.—M. E. MANNING.

Yorkshire.—Mrs. Sanderson, Mizpah House, Station Road, Castleford, Yorks.

Sheffield.—32, Dover Road.

An outdoor meeting, arranged at Millhouses Car Terminus on June 27th, with Mr. Richard Hawkins as speaker, was rendered impracticable by inclement weather. Some of the members are holding fortnightly gatherings for needlework and discussion of propaganda. On Friday, July 15th, Mrs. Thompson, 76, Clarkgrove Road, is giving an "At Home," when the members and friends will have an opportunity of seeing their new banner. On the 16th the Branch is joining with the W.S.P.U. in Sheffield in a great Demonstration on the Crookesmoor Recreation Ground at 6.30 p.m. Members of the League will speak from their own platform.—S. G. B.

North-East District.—Mrs. Schofield Coates, Wilstrop House, Roman Road, Middlesbrough.

South Shields.

On Wednesday, July 6th, an open-air meeting was held at Whitley Bay. Although the weather was cold, we got an audience of about 500, who listened very attentively, with the exception of a few youths bent on mischief. Mr. Thompson, an energetic associate of the Branch, dealt with Lord Curzon's fifteen points against Women's Suffrage, while I spoke principally of the changed economic conditions affecting women at the present day; hence the need of representation. Several questions were asked and a good collection taken.—M. GORDON, Organiser.

East Anglia.—Miss C. Andrews, 160, Norwich Road, Ipswich.

Ipswich.—160, Norwich Road.

We had a good meeting of members last Thursday afternoon, when a discussion took place on the political situation. Everyone present was determined to go on working—more strenuously than ever, if necessary—though it was, of course, hoped that victory is at hand. Letters were read from Members of Parliament representing constituencies in Norfolk and Suffolk, in reply to the urgent request of the Branch that they should vote in favour of our Bill. Sir Daniel Goddard, the senior member for the Borough of Ipswich, not being able to receive a deputation, asked us to send our views to him at the House of Commons.—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow Office: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.

Hon. Treasurer: MRS. JULIA WOOD.

Office Secretary: MISS McARTHUR.

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

Glasgow.

CLYDE CAMPAIGN.—Meetings have been held this week at Rothesay, Dunoon, and Largs. At Largs especially we had keen and interested crowds. Will friends please remember that to make this campaign a success I must have help and money? Helpers are wanted this month and next to speak, sell literature, collect at meetings, &c. To Miss White, Miss Gibson, Miss MacArthur, and Miss Baird very hearty thanks are due for their help and work.

In Rothesay, Miss McDonald, one of the W.F.L. members, is endeavouring to get weekly subscribers to THE VOTE, and has been influencing electors and others to write to Members of Parliament in support of the Conciliation Bill.—MADGE TURNER, Organiser.

Edinburgh.—33, Forrest Road.

We are to unite with the W.S.P.U. and, if possible, other

Societies in a demonstration on the Calton Hill on July 23rd, simultaneously with the Hyde Park Demonstration. This means a fortnight of most strenuous work, in which the help of every member is essential. Two or more open-air meetings are being held every night, as we have undertaken to work up the part of the town east of the Shop, and those who cannot speak are urged to take their share in chalking and paper-selling. A list of meetings will be found in the Shop. Meetings have already been held at Leopold Place, Easter Road, and the McEwan Hall, the speakers being Miss A. B. Jack, Mrs. Bell, Miss Dundas Grant, and Miss McLachlan.

At the afternoon "At Home" on Tuesday Miss Dundas Grant took the chair, and Miss Sara Munro spoke on various ways of helping and on the necessity of thinking out new ideas for next winter's syllabus, which is now in hand. All such ideas will be welcomed. The circulation of THE VOTE, too, must be extended. Mrs. Crabbe and her daughter have set a splendid example by themselves disposing of forty-five copies of last issue.

DUNFERMLINE.—Another good open-air meeting was held on Saturday at the top of New Row. Miss McCallum presided, and Miss McLachlan addressed the crowd, which was a very orderly and attentive one.—HELEN MCLACHLAN.

SCOTTISH FUND FOR PROCESSION EXPENSES.

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McFadyen, Miss	0 1 0	McCormack, Miss	0 1 0
McCallum, Miss	0 1 0	Jolly, Miss	0 5 0
Allan, Miss Dot	0 2 6	Macdonald, Miss	0 1 0
Sempie, Miss J. M.	0 10 0	Robertson, Mrs.	0 2 6
McCallum, Mrs.	0 5 0	Nelson, Mrs.	0 2 6
Bennett, Mrs.	0 2 6	Lawson, Miss	0 2 0
Murray, Mrs.	2 0 0	Clunas, Miss L.	0 2 6
Lodge, Miss	0 1 0	Allan, Mrs.	0 2 6
Sloan, Mrs. and Miss	0 2 6	Wilkie, Miss	0 1 0
McGregor, Mrs.	0 1 0	Anderson, Mrs.	0 5 0
Johnstone, Mrs. M.	0 2 0	Husband, Miss	0 2 0
Wallace, Miss	0 2 0	Bryan, Mrs.	0 1 0
Central Branch, Glasgow.	1 0 0	Clunas, Miss J. E.	0 2 0
Stewart, Miss	0 1 0	Grant, Miss	0 2 0
Srymgeour, Miss J.	0 2 6	Grant's, Miss, Garden Meeting, Balmarino.	0 3 0
Gibson, Miss	0 2 0	Wilson, Miss	0 2 0
Shennan, Miss	0 2 0	Angus, Miss	1 0 0
Buist, Mrs.	0 2 6	Smart, The Misses	0 2 0
Grant, Miss	0 1 0	Birrell, Mrs.	0 0 6
Ballantyne, Mrs.	0 1 0	Alves, Miss	0 1 0
Cunningham, Mrs.	0 0 6	Gibb, Mrs.	0 1 0
Gregor, Miss	0 2 0	Duquid, Miss	0 1 0
Dunn, Miss	0 0 6	Beck, Mrs.	0 1 6
Wilson, Miss	0 1 0	Hutton, Miss Maggie	0 1 0
Nairn, Mrs.	0 0 3	Donaldson, Mrs.	0 1 0
Beveridge, Miss L. B.	0 1 0	McCallum, Miss J.	0 2 6
Walker, Miss	0 2 0	Bruce, Miss Maggie	0 2 0
Norwell, Mrs.	0 2 0	Collections, Perth	0 15 9
Black, Miss Annie	0 0 6	Dundee	1 3 3
Lawrence, Miss	0 2 6	Osborne, The Misses	0 4 0
McCallum, Miss	0 2 0	Cunningham, Miss J.	0 2 0
Sidley, Miss M.	0 5 0		
Campbell, Miss	0 5 0		
Barker, Mrs.	0 2 6		
McPherson, Mrs.	0 2 6		
			£13 0 0

DR. ANNA SHAW ON AMERICAN SUFFRAGE.

Dr. Anna Shaw, who was received with prolonged applause, speaking at Trafalgar Square on Saturday, said:—

It does not matter where an Englishwoman is reared, the sight of England and English people always stirs the blood as nothing else can, and I never come to my native country but I feel a far different sensation from that which I feel anywhere else, and I realise it more because I am a citizen of the U.S.A., having gone there in the second year of my childhood, because, you know, I was born here. I am here chiefly to defend American women because of the misrepresentations and insults that have been heaped upon them by a leader of the anti-Suffragists in England. I was told this morning that one of your Members of Parliament was going to vote against your Bill because he had learned of the utter failure of the granting of Women's Suffrage had been in the U.S.A.; because it had died down there and was no longer desired by the women. Since when, I ask, have Members of Parliament come over to America to learn what they should do here for their country and people? Why come to us for instruction as to what they should do for Englishwomen? Even if we had not made a success of our movement, why should that stand in the way of your women? Is it usual to wait and see whether legislation is successful in America before it is tried in England? But I say this—the people who do come to the U.S.A. for instruction should stay there long enough to get the truth. The leader of the anti-Suffragists to whom I referred only came to America for

three weeks, never visited any Suffrage Society there, never met with one of the Suffrage leaders, and then came back here to tell you that the whole movement was a failure. I tell you that the Women's Suffrage movement in the U.S.A. was never so successful as it is at the present time; we have never had so many organised women's Suffrage Societies as at the present time. Last April there was presented to Congress a petition signed by 600,000 women asking for the Franchise. Does that look as if we were dying out? In New York and different parts of America we have lately held the biggest meetings in favour of Women's Suffrage that have ever been held there. That does not look as though our women did not want the Vote.

There was a statement in the Press the other day that Women's Suffrage was a failure in the States where the women had it, that large numbers of women of evil character had used their Vote to influence legislation. The statistics for this statement were obtained from the headquarters of the Anti-Suffragist Society in the U.S.A. Only a few weeks ago a gentleman in America used these same statistics. Next morning the senator and other members of the Colorado State sent telegraph messages to all the Press of the U.S.A. contradicting them flatly, and stated further that if any similar travesty of the truth were made by anyone regarding Colorado a libel action would at once be begun against that person and he would have to answer for it in the courts. This is the same statement exactly which has been made by Mrs. Humphry Ward. (Hisses.) She can make it here safely, but if she makes it in America she will be subjected to an action for libel.

The millennium has not come in Colorado; it will not come in Great Britain because women have the Vote. But one thing is true—the greater the number of men and women seeking better things, the more power they have in the State to work together, the better will be the conditions under which men, women, and children live. You cannot expect women even in a hundred years to undo all the evil that has ever been done under men's government. For all the evils are the result of men's government. If you are content with things as they are, if you do not want to see things better but worse, then don't help the women. But the women who do love their country and who do want the best things for it, who are seeking the highest, are binding together with men of like character to bring about Women's Suffrage, and those opponents of ours who claim that the Vote will be no good to women are the ones who will blame the women because the millennium has not come immediately after the granting of it. But a great many good things will come when men and women can work together with the power to seek the highest good. In the single State of Colorado since women had the Vote twenty-eight different Bills have been passed for the benefit of children, and every one of them passed through by the help of the women who exercised their Vote. I will give you a challenge. Bring forward to me any Bill which has been advocated by the women of the States where women have had the power to carry it through which has not been for the good of society, and I will give up my creed. Bring forward a single measure advocated by any group of women and carried into effect by women which has not been for the welfare of human beings, and I will give up my claim. I say again to our opponents, "Bring us facts," but not until then will we yield our point.

"Anti" Antics.

It was exceedingly amusing to watch the police-protected "antis" running into their meeting at the Queen's Hall on Friday night. For this "public" meeting every effort was made to keep those who were antagonistic to its object on the wrong side of the door, but notwithstanding this a good many of us got in and made things lively for them. The ladies who came to the meeting looked very frightened and thoroughly ashamed of themselves as they went in. Perhaps the most amusing sight of the evening was one of them who came late in evening dress without a ticket. She was so like the Suffragette of the comic papers that the doorkeepers refused her admission, though she pathetically told them she was "Hon. Sec." of a country branch, and had come all the way for the meeting. Our Umbrella Cohort, with posters flying announcing Wednesday's meeting, were well in view, and a large number of copies of THE VOTE were sold.

N.U.W.S.S. MEETING.

The Mass Meeting of the N.U.W.S.S. held in Trafalgar Square on Saturday last was most imposing. A procession which formed up in Spring Gardens marched, with banners flying and bands playing, into the Square through a dense crowd to the six platforms around the Nelson column, the fountains, and the Gordon statue. Watching the various detachments of the National Union, it would have struck the ordinary onlooker that it was a march of revolutionaries and not of constitutionalists, for the colour red dominated the scheme, and one whole cohort carried flaming pennons. The writers, with their black and white banner, borne by Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Christopher St. John, and the actresses, with Miss Mary Moore bearing Miss Eva Moore's banner and Miss Decima Moore and Miss Alice Terry that of Miss Ellen Terry, were mightily cheered. The Liberal women, with Lady Bamford Slack (at their head), Lady Grove, and the Hon. Mrs. Bertrand Russell, were the most significant part of the demonstration to many onlookers, though Mrs. Henry Fawcett's gallant group, leading many adherents, was sufficiently imposing. The number of elder women wearing the National Union's colours—women who have been faithful and law-abiding and accepted promises with joy, and knew that law-abiding and accepted promises with joy, and knew "that hope deferred maketh the heart sick"—was noteworthy.

Among the Societies officially represented, in addition to N.U.W.S. Societies from all parts of Great Britain, were the following:—Women's Co-operative Guild, Women's Liberal Federation, National Union of Women Workers, Fabian Women's Group, London Graduates' Union for Women's Suffrage, Actresses' Franchise League, Artists' Suffrage League, Women Writers, Suffrage Atelier, Younger Suffragists, and Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

Mrs. Fawcett's Speech.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., chairman at centre of Nelson's column, said:—

We are here to represent, as loyal subjects of the Crown, the peaceful opinion that is behind this movement for Women's Suffrage. Lady Frances Balfour is prevented from attending owing to bereavement in her family. Lady Betty Balfour sends a letter regretting she cannot be present, but wishes success to this gathering.

We are gathered here for a political purpose—the same political purpose for which our forefathers struggled many years ago. We are here within a stone's throw of the spot where Charles I. met with his death in consequence of his refusal to recognise that taxation must go with representation. We women are suffering from that to-day. We are forced to pay taxes, and we have no constitutional weapon in the representation of the people. That is why we are asking that the Conciliation Bill now before the House of Commons shall be carried into effect. We have no doubt that our friend will secure the passing of its second reading; but after the second reading there is a danger that it may be delegated to a Committee of the whole House of Commons. Those who will vote for that will vote for the death of our Bill. Those with little political experience may not know that, but we women know it because we have suffered from it before, and we will have no more of that in future. Those men who vote for it to be sent to a Committee of the whole House will be voting against the principle of women's enfranchisement.

Mrs. Philip Snowden's Speech.

Mrs. Snowden said, in putting the resolution:— You will have gathered from my reading of the resolution that the purpose of this meeting is not to argue the question of Women's Suffrage. The argument in favour of our reform has been enunciated from tens of thousands of platforms during the last twelve months. Enough has been said on the question of Women's Suffrage to convert several times over everybody upon the face of the world. The time for argument is past. The time for action is here, and we call upon those who by their actions in the House of Commons can help us to realise that for which we have hoped and toiled and prayed so long. There is no possible excuse for any refusal on the part of the Government to carry our measure through all its stages in the House of Commons. Members of Parliament have been working short time for many weeks now. It is highly probable that the Conference—the historical Conference—on the Lords' veto will not have been concluded for many months. There is one question about which we are at least as much concerned as about the Lords' veto, and that is about the veto upon the women of this country, who cannot express their convictions or take their share in the government of the country in the same way as men may do.

I differ from many of my neighbours on this platform in that I desire as an ideal that every woman should be enfranchised; but I realise as well as the most conservative Conservative in this crowd that to grant the franchise to thirteen millions of women at once would be to risk considerable danger to the interests of the kingdom; but the women who will be enfranchised by this measure have already had experience in the exercise of the vote. It is proposed to give the vote to those women who are at the present time ratepayers; to those who already have had something to do with local government; to those women with experience—well trained by that experience in the expression of it—who have already had the opportunity

to participate in local elections. This is one reason why I heartily support this measure. I am a democrat with a certain amount of courage. I want to get there as quickly as possible, but I want to get there in perfect safety, and this measure will at least ensure that. I do want to urge upon every man and woman in this meeting to put forward every effort in behalf of this cause. It is mighty in its implications and magnificent in its purpose.

Parliament may deceive us again. Parliament is not particularly clever or astute. It never legislates because there is a need for legislation, but only when there is a force strong enough to compel legislation. Parliament may miserably defeat its own purpose and blast its reputation; but in a purpose like ours, even if this measure fails, we cannot ultimately fail. We are bound to win.

Miss Chrystal Macmillan.

Miss Chrystal Macmillan (Scotland), in the course of her speech, said:—

In this morning's paper I read several messages from our King to the country. One was that the foundations of national character are set in the homes of the country, and this is what the Women Suffragists stand for—for building up such legislation as shall secure happy and healthy homes throughout the country. But what we have come to speak here about is not the justice or right of our cause. We are here to say that this Bill must go through. Of course we shall get a majority at the second reading, but that is not enough for us. Time was when a man, when he said he approved of Woman's Suffrage and did nothing, was considered a supporter. That time is past. Unless he uses all his strength and all his power to put that measure on the Statute-book he is no supporter of ours. Many members of the House of Commons are going to vote for this second reading, but those who are our real friends are those who signed the memorial to the Prime Minister to make it possible for the Bill to go through this session.

The Government is willing to give way. It was said that no possible date could be given for the second reading. An early date has been given for the second reading, and this has been given because the people in the country have brought pressure to bear in the matter; because the members of the Conciliation Committee have worked so untiringly to get this matter settled. One thing your Prime Minister has said—that he always leaves a ladder by which he can climb down; and he has left that ladder now, and given the House of Commons an opportunity to deal with this measure. We know only one way of dealing effectively with the measure, that is to make the Bill law.

Mrs. Cooper's Speech.

Mrs. Cooper, representative of the textile industry, said:— I have listened to hundreds of political speeches on Democracy, and the point they make is that the democracy of the majority should rule. Take the cotton industry, in which nearly 400,000 women are employed. We are not only politicians, but we women to-day have our parliamentary levy and pay for our member in the House of Commons, and our member is the one who is responsible for the Bill now before the House. I was speaking in Birmingham, and was pointing out certain conditions under which thousands of working women have to live, and one of the men said: "Look here! You might as well talk to air if you have not got votes." Yes, if you have not got the lever of the vote, you may as well talk to air as hope to remedy the conditions under which women suffer. The working men of this country have some control of the legislative conditions under which they work, and to me, as a working woman, it seems absolutely necessary that women should have some control of the legislative conditions under which they work. We hear a great deal said about Free Trade and about Tariff Reform, and the working woman, the organised working woman, well knows the part that either of these would play in our own local centres. It is our business, and what we ask for is that we should be allowed to mind our own business, which seems to be common sense, and it is just the enforcement of common sense that we are asking for.

Mrs. Allan Bright.

Mrs. Allan Bright, speaking in support of the resolution, said:—

It is not the first time that this platform has been used to demand freedom, political or religious. It is not the first time that there have been great meetings on behalf of the franchise. Before the period of the great Reform Act, in 1831, the people of England spoke with no uncertain voice that they would have the vote for some men who had not already got it, on the ground that it was just to have the power to make their needs known, and their efforts were crowned with success; and I take it, gentlemen, that there is no one among you who would go back to the bad old days when only the rich had votes and the sole power to effect legislation. What your forefathers demanded and fought for in the past was freedom: that is what we are asking for women to-day. Men have a vote because they pay for it in taxes. Women have not a vote, but they have to pay their taxes. Women's money is as good as men's, and far harder to earn. This is not just, and we are asking you to approve of the general principle contained in the Bill before the House—to press forward this Bill. It is a very simple Bill which is now before the House. We have eighty members in the House pledged to oppose it. We have, we know, 400 members who have promised to support the enfranchisement of women. Now, these 400 men belong to all parties. Hitherto we have never got a Bill which pleased them all, but the Conciliation Com-

mittee has done a marvellous thing in securing the support of all parties. It is approved by the Labour Party because they have ascertained that out of 100 women who would have the vote eighty will be working women; and the Liberals approve of it because there is no service or lodger vote; and, though married women are not to be shut out because they are married women, husband and wife cannot exercise a vote for the same property. No rich man can give his wife a vote on his property. Conservatives approve of this Bill because it is a cautious and moderate Bill. The vote will be given to about one million women. There are seven millions of men who can vote to-day, so they will still be able to out-vote the dangerous Liberals, the degenerate Conservatives, and the rabid Socialist-Labour women—all of which every woman who wants a vote is supposed to be!

At the Men's Platform.

The Men's League was well represented, and every speaker alluded to the near prospect of victory. Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mr. Chancellor, M.P., Mr. Malcolm Mitchell, and Mr. J. V. Kennedy were the speakers. Mr. Herbert Jacobs (President, Men's League) said that the Suffrage Societies had gone solid for the Bill, and when the Suffrage Societies went solid for anything there was consternation in the ranks of the "antis."

Mr. H. W. Nevinson said there had never been anything like this movement in politics before; it had broken down all the old barriers of class, and united on one side a solid body of women and men out against injustice. Women had been thought good enough to canvass, to join the Primrose League, and beg for votes; to decide who was to get the votes, but never to give them. He wanted to see them give up backstairs influence and come in at the front door. To those who said Suffrage would be bad for the Empire, he pointed to Sir Edward Grey, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who supported the Bill. Disraeli and Lord Salisbury, both champions of the British Empire, were both enthusiastic Suffragists.

Mr. Laurence Housman on Liberty.

Mr. Laurence Housman, speaking of the "Antis," said they were all women in comfortable circumstances who were in receipt of favours from men; they considered that women should always be recipients. But so far were they from trusting these men that they feared to exchange this bribe for justice.

The Bill enfranchised every woman, poor or rich, who had one room on which she could turn the key. In Reading there were 1600 women householders. A canvass of these women had been made. It was found that 1100 of these women were in favour of the Vote and 400 against it. Now Reading was not a peculiar town; it was merely a test of the ordinary woman householder's attitude to the Vote. Though the Anti-

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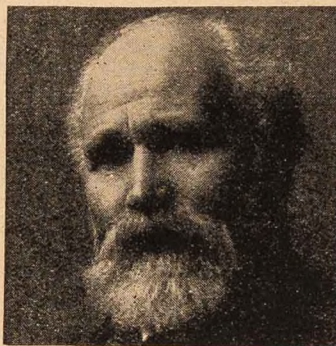
Suffragists to-day might persuade a certain number of women that they did not want the Vote, yet these women would not long remain in that position, for it was artificial and not natural.

Mr. Asquith says that he requires to be convinced that a vast majority of women want the Vote, but Mr. Asquith knows that under neither Bill would a vast majority get it. But no vast majority of women in the past was asked to show that they desired the limitation of their rights. Married women were not asked to show a majority in favour of their disabilities; the women on the School Boards were not asked to show a majority in favour of their disqualification. Men got the Vote too cheaply, and they hold liberty too cheaply. There was a great deal of talk of love of liberty, but the man who praised liberty yet refused to share it with others had not the love of liberty, but the lust of it. But a good deal of liberty was gradually being lost through the culpability of those who possessed it. The private member in the House was robbed of his liberty by party machinery and Cabinet control. The elector was so negligent of his liberty that he could only be induced to vote if he were brought to the polls in a smart motor. Gradually there was growing up a bureaucratic control of liberty; the House of Commons had fallen under the dominion of party. They frequently heard in recent times of a new form of robbery, where the householder or shopkeeper was found gagged and bound and his goods gone, and when inquiry was made it was found that he had either gagged and bound himself or been in league with the robber. And there were a great number of public men like that. Besides being out for Votes for Women, they were out also for a free Parliament, more responsible to its constituents and more free from Cabinet control.

The resolution, which was put simultaneously from all platforms, was carried unanimously.

IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL.

M.P.s' Advocacy.



MR. KEIR HARDIE.

Two Suffrage meetings simultaneously took place at Caxton Hall in support of Mr. Shackleton's Bill on Thursday last week. As one entered the building a huge banner proclaimed the fact that "Liberal women want the Vote," and in the lower hall the speakers made it clear that it would not be their fault if the Liberal women did not get it.

Upstairs the Men's League held a hastily convened meeting, at which there were many excellent and stirring speeches from Parliamentarians who knew their Westminster well. Of all the speakers, Mr. Philip Snowden was the most optimistic, but all the speakers spoke of the Bill as likely to become an Act before the autumn session was over. Mr. Herbert Jacobs presided.

Mr. Philip Snowden, in the course of his speech, said they had every reason to expect to see the fruition of their efforts in that session. The open session had made it impossible for the Government to avoid the second reading, and that would be one of the great historic events of this age. There was no doubt that it would pass its second reading with an overwhelming majority, in spite of the fact that every possible vote of those opposed to it would be brought in to stop its further passage. Should pressure be brought to bear upon it that it should not go to Grand Committee and it was kept downstairs they would have a far better test of the real sympathy of the House, for there were some men who would vote for a second reading but would go no further. If there were a further division it would be a real test. Alluding to the fact that the Bill had united members of all parties in the House, he said that though theoretically an adult Suffragist, he had a good strain of the Conservative in him, and he wanted to move slowly, and he would think twice over a Bill which would enfranchise eleven or twelve million women who had never voted before. He supported this Bill because he thought it an excellent first measure: it enfranchised women who had already voted at municipal elections. This Bill would remove the sex disability

and would make every woman a potential voter. Of any previous Woman's Suffrage Bill it gave the largest area of common ground. In Mr. Asquith's mind when he allowed the two days for the second reading there may have lurked this idea—the Conference over the House of Lords was likely to prove abortive and would have to be renewed in the autumn, and if the third reading of this Bill were taken there was no reason why it should not pass before the end of the month. Then if it went to the House of Lords and was thrown out Mr. Asquith knew something of the methods and temper of the women and depended on them to rally to his side. Those who were supporting the Bill in the House were full of determination, of enthusiasm, and of fight. There had never been anything before to compare with this agitation in the devotion, the enthusiasm, and the self-sacrifice it had inspired.

Mr. Percy Alden, M.P., described the Bill as the "least common denominator" of the various Suffrage demands, and remarked that it had the full support of working women.

Precedents Favour a Grand Committee.

Mr. Walter McLaren, M.P., said that after the second reading the Bill should be referred to one of the Standing Committees of the House. Only financial Bills were referred to Committee of the whole House: there was no precedent for any such treatment of a Bill dealing with electoral reform, which could only mean shelving it for a whole session. Mr. McLaren went on to say that three years ago, when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was setting up Grand Committee procedure, Mr. Lawrence Hardy, the Tory member for Ashford, moved an amendment to exclude from such Committees any Bills relating to Parliamentary reform or the Franchise. The then Prime Minister opposed that amendment, saying the House ought not to shut out such questions from the Committees. Mr. Balfour asked why the Government should exempt Budget Bills from the Committees and not Franchise or Women's Suffrage Bills, but he took no part in the division, which resulted in Mr. Lawrence Hardy's amendment being defeated by 287 votes to 46, the Government tellers "telling" for the Noes. On the London Elections Bill of last year Mr. Lyttelton moved that it should be referred to Committee of the whole House. This was opposed by the Government and defeated by 135 to 46, and the Bill went to a Grand Committee. "Precedents," concluded Mr. McLaren, "are in favour of allowing the Women's Suffrage Bill to be considered by the Grand Committee, and its supporters will strenuously oppose any motion to prevent this course being followed." He also dwelt on the fact that the People's Suffrage Federation are supporting the Bill.

Mr. Keir Hardie, M.P., who received an ovation on his appearance, described the Bill as being long overdue before the present session. It was said there would be a row in the Liberal Party if facilities were not granted, and it was said there would be a row if they were. "So there," said Mr. Hardie, "is to be a row in any case." As to what would happen if the Bill got to the Upper Chamber, it was a commonplace that when Mr. Balfour nodded the Upper Chamber followed his wishes, and Mr. Balfour was a sincere and convinced supporter of Votes for Women. They were all anxious that the Bill should go to Grand Committee, but if the Government were averse to doing this a Committee of the whole House would serve the purpose just as well. The women required the Vote to protect her interests. A movement was on foot in America to exclude women from the schools, because the influence of women was supposed to be having a softening effect upon the boys, and thereby unfitting them to play their part as soldiers. He hoped that was true. If there was no other reason for bringing women into politics than that it would tend to strengthen the moral qualities. In a country where was given such a disgusting exhibition as that of Monday, which made one ashamed to belong to the white race, the truer and better instincts of women were greatly needed. (Cheers.)

Mr. H. N. Brailsford observed that if anyone had asked him five years ago the most inspiring sight he had ever encountered he would have recalled the rising in

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Macedonia or a meeting with Tchaikovsky, but to-day amongst his own countrywomen he would say he had met a courage and persistence equal to the greatest of any in his experience. He went on to describe the gradual evolution of the Bill and how it had found favour amongst the different parties. Alluding to the small scope of the Bill, he said that at least it would remove the disability of sex by making every woman a potential voter. He could conceive of no greater measure finding its way on the Statute Book. It would mean an enormous change in the men and women of the country.

The Editor regrets that owing to great pressure on space this week a large amount of matter has had to be held over.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

THURS., JULY 14TH.—Caravan Send-off, 7 p.m., High Road, Edgware. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. How Martyn, Miss Sidley, and Miss Henderson. Finchley, 8 p.m. Miss Tanner.

SAT., JULY 16TH.—Morland Road, Croydon, 8 p.m. South Norwood Clock, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Cunningham.

SUN., JULY 17TH.—Brockwell Park, 6 p.m. Mrs. Toyne and Miss Irene Miller. Regent's Park, 12 o'clock. Finsbury Park, 12 o'clock. Miss Hicks, M.A.

Victoria Park, 3 p.m. Mrs. Holmes and Miss Hicks, M.A. MON., JULY 18TH.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Miss Hicks, M.A.

Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, 8 p.m. Miss Ethel Fenning and Mr. Warre Cornish.

TUES., JULY 19TH.—Hampstead Heath Flagstaff, 7.45 p.m. Chair: Miss Pell. Speaker: Mrs. Toyne. Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m. Miss Fenning.

WED., JULY 20TH.—Forest Road, 2.45 p.m. Mrs. Mustard.

THURS., JULY 21ST.—Highbury Corner, 7.30 p.m. Miss Guttridge. Finchley Station, 8 p.m. Mrs. Toyne.

SAT., JULY 23RD.—Procession to Hyde Park and Demonstration.

SUN., JULY 24TH.—Trafalgar Square, 3.30 p.m. Mass Meeting. Speakers: Miss Manning, B.A., Mrs. Sproson, Mrs. Billington-Greig, Mrs. Borrmann Wells, Mrs. How Martyn, and Miss Hicks, M.A.

MON., JULY 25TH.—Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, 8 p.m. Miss Ethel Fenning and Mr. R. Borden Smith. Meeting N.E.C., 1, Robert Street, 11 a.m.

TUES., JULY 26TH.—Hampstead Heath Flagstaff, 7.45 p.m. Miss Fenning.

Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Mrs. Holmes.

Whist Drive, 1, Robert Street, W.C., 7 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. Hostess, Miss Reeves.

THURS., JULY 28TH.—Finchley Station, 8 p.m. Miss Fenning.

Portsmouth Meetings. THE PROVINCES.

FRI., JULY 15TH.—Chichester Road, 8 p.m.

MON., JULY 18TH.—Town Hall Square, 8 p.m.

WALES.

WED., JULY 20TH.—Swansea. Chez-Nous. Evening, arranged by the Junior Members of the Branch.

"VOTE" WEEK.

As we go to press the full result of our special effort to sell the paper is not yet known, but it has been most successful. During the day time we have been able to fill a large number of extra pitches, and after 6 p.m. Charing Cross District Railway Station, Westminster, Piccadilly Circus, and other passenger centres have been staffed by members of the League who had already done a strenuous day's work. The wet, cold weather was not at all tempting, but our volunteers did not let that discourage them—they meant to sell the paper, and they sold it—so that from the W.F.L. office alone the sale has been doubled.

Several whose names were sent in to sell were apparently unable at the last moment to come, but we hope that these friends and many new ones will come forward for the work of pushing the paper during the coming weeks. Mrs. Snow will be delighted to hear from anyone who can earmark a few hours a week, "Reserved for selling THE VOTE."

Those who worked so hard in Trafalgar Square last Saturday will be glad to hear that no less than eighteen dozen copies of our paper were sold, and we think that is a splendid result.

The Directors desire to thank all the street-sellers who did so much last week, but as we have only got the names of those who sold from Robert Street we will not thank them as individuals, only assure them that their service is not forgotten, although, like Oliver Twist, we are obliged to ask for "more."

MRS. HARVEY'S MEETING AT BROMLEY.

A large number of people responded to the kind invitation of Mrs. Harvey, and attended a reception held at the Bell Hotel, Bromley, on the afternoon of Monday, 11th inst., listening with keen attention to the interesting addresses delivered by Mrs. Despard and Mrs. How Martyn. Speaking from the chair, Mrs. How Martyn called attention to a pamphlet recently issued by the Anti-Suffrage Society in which all those



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women working for the vote were defined as "a mob of rowdy Suffragist girls," a definition, she considered, eminently fitted to describe such women as Mrs. Fawcett and the honoured President of the W.F.L.! The speaker also laid stress upon the fact that in working for women's enfranchisement the aim was not political freedom alone, but the broadening, widening, and deepening of women's lives and interests in every direction.

Mrs. Despard pointed out that the results of the women's agitation would affect the status of womanhood not only in England itself but throughout the whole world, and exhorted her hearers to join the movement, thus not only enlarging and enriching their own lives and those of their fellow-countrywomen, but uplifting womanhood the whole world over. Speaking on the policy of passive resistance, which she termed "the revolt of the slaves," Mrs. Despard said she herself had paid no Imperial taxes for a period of four years, and that she had written across the last application before returning it, "I am rather tired of being a slave!" Addressing herself particularly to those whose lines are cast in pleasant places, the speaker said she thought a great deal of imagination was needed to enable those who lead comfortable lives to realise the great need for reform which those who are in constant touch with questions affecting women have brought home to them day by day, and urged all present to cast in their lot boldly and bravely with those working for the Cause of Womanhood, realising that this is also the Cause of Manhood, of Childhood, and of the great world which is to be.

At the close of the meeting the chairman announced that Mrs. Harvey had very kindly promised to lend her garden for a representation of the Women's Pageant, to take place on September 24 under the able management of Miss Edith Craig, who was present on the platform.

WHAT WE ARE SAYING AND DOING.

"If any man is for captivity, into captivity he goeth."—BOOK OF REVELATION, xiii. 10.

** In this column we give W.F.L. news items in tabloid form week by week.

Young "Vote" Sellers.

Miss Joyce Fenwick, aged twelve, and Master Clennell Fenwick, aged ten, have worked splendidly during VOTE Week, and sold 133 copies of THE VOTE. Perhaps some other of our young workers will try and break this record next VOTE Week. The public buy much more readily from young folk than from grown-up people.

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