

THE VOTE,
November 14, 1913.
ONE PENNY.

IN ULSTER TO-DAY.

THE VOTE

THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

VOL. IX. No. 212.

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FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 14, 1913.

THIS WEEK

Edited by C. DESPARD.

FOUR EXTRA PAGES.

OBJECTS: To secure for Women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men;
to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between
the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

OUR REPLY TO LLOYD GEORGE.

[SEE PAGE 26.]

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BECAUSE It is useless to trust men alone to legislate for women. They make promises at the polls and break them in Parliament.

OUR POINT OF VIEW.

The Voice of the Voter.

Even the utmost ingenuity of the Party Press cannot explain away the significance of the recent by-elections. The voice of the voter has been heard and the Liberal Government can find no comfort in what has been said. Signs of alarm are evident; Government organs do not hesitate to declare that the sentence on Jim Larkin has been responsible for the loss of votes not only in Reading but in Scotland, and that unless he is allowed the freedom of Sir Edward Carson further reverses will follow. The cry is renewed: "Let Larkin out!" No severer criticism of the maladministration of justice has ever been made by Suffragists than that dealt out to the Dublin authorities by *The Daily Chronicle*. It is only so much more evidence that it is the voters who count; a Liberal Government which permits snobbery to enter into Courts of Law deserves to lose the support of all men for whom Jim Larkin is fighting and of all who have any sense of justice. Voteless women are no longer to be soothed by the siren song that the vote is valueless. They have played an important part and played it worthily in these recent by-elections. Cabinet Ministers may pretend to dwell on Olympian heights and regard the results with easy detachment, but their sins are coming home to roost and bringing most uncomfortable retribution. The Government, which breaks its pledges to women, which tortures them for rebelling against treachery, which punishes the weak and lets the strong go free, has been severely shaken. In the haste to cover up their confusion by making all kinds of new and wonderful promises to "the people," they are conveniently unmindful of what is due to women. Not so the women, who spurn the stale advice to secure more pledges from politicians, which politicians never find it convenient to fulfil.

Sheer Trifling.

We congratulate the Middlesbrough Branch of the Women's Freedom League on the good fight they made against the way in which the Chancellor of the Exchequer trifled with facts. He would not admit that the recent town's meeting at Newcastle, presided over by the Lord Mayor, which pronounced in overwhelming numbers in favour of Woman Suffrage, had any real value; but when asked whether he would have accepted their verdict as important had it been a land question, he was cornered; he had no answer. When it suits his purpose Mr. Lloyd George can refer to "the mere handful of militants"; but when it comes to putting his brave words into action, the militants are a convenient excuse for doing nothing. If a responsible Minister, who boasts of his keenness for Woman Suffrage, allows women suffragists to be excluded from his meeting at which he poured out contempt on permitted slumdom and its evil effects on women, he cannot be surprised when women refuse to trust to his sincerity. He is a leader from the rear. Only with the help of women as citizens will this and other great social questions be solved.

"I Have No Right."

The Lord Chief Justice has not yet found time to reply to the request of the Women's Freedom League for an authoritative pronouncement as to the legality of the order: "All women leave the Court!" We have not

failed to note, however, that he made a significant statement in Court during the hearing of the case of *Ghent v. Fitzgerald*. The Rev. Thomas Ghent, Curate of St. Andrew's Church, Stockwell, sued a police-sergeant, Arthur Fitzgerald, for slander, involving the plaintiff's misconduct with Mrs. Fitzgerald. When counsel for the defendant was about to cross-examine Mr. Ghent he observed that "in cases like this it used to be the custom to ask women and children to leave the Court." The Lord Chief Justice then said:—

"I have no right to order ladies to leave the Court, but it will assist Counsel properly to perform their duties if those ladies whose presence in Court is not absolutely necessary would leave it."

Thereupon some women and boys left, and the Lord Chief Justice expressed his gratification that they had responded to the intimation; some, however, remained. In view of this statement in Court the tenour of the reply from the Lord Chief Justice, which we are awaiting, cannot be in doubt, and magistrates who insist on the exclusion of women must now reckon with high authority. The right of women, as part of the public, must be vindicated. That is the position on which we insist, and it has yet to be proved that men alone constitute the public. In view of the statement of the Lord Chief Justice, ushers and door-keepers should no longer be the arbiters as to whether women may or may not enter public Courts.

Saul Among the Prophets.

There is a piquancy which women tax-resisters will not fail to appreciate, in the declaration of Mr. Lloyd George that he is really one of their growing company—have not Unionist business men in Belfast joined in? Can it be a result of the tax-resistance campaign now gathering strength in his own Principality, or is it the first indication of an intention to deal fairly with women over that million and a-half sterling which the Treasury conveniently pockets? Those who live will see.

Male Militancy.

At a special court at Newtown Butler, before Major Bredin, resident magistrate, nine men, all of Clones, were charged by the Crown with riotous assembly at Roslea on September 21, with having damaged the dwelling-house and shop of James Flynn, and with inflicting grievous bodily harm upon Head Constable Thomas McKinney and Constables Simon, Rulton, and Flaherty while they were in the execution of their duty. All the defendants were returned for trial to the assizes, but were admitted to bail.

They were assailed with a fusillade of tomatoes and other missiles. Curiously enough, according to eye-witnesses, the strikers themselves took little or no part in the disturbance, the assaults being by women and men unconnected with the strike, who had gathered outside the factory. Some of the free labourers were battered unmercifully by their assailants with their fists before police reinforcements arrived. The crowd was then driven into side streets.

We take above at hazard from a list of masculine efforts to obtain something they require for men-folk. In Wellington a good deal of the same sort of thing appears to be going on also. Should any sympathisers here supply the Wellington strikers with sympathetic contributions, we should be glad to hear some anti-militant view as to the advisability of disfranchising the working classes from some of those impartial gentlemen who make militancy a reason for delaying a Government measure or denying our claims altogether.

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Head of Political and Militant Department—Miss C. NINA BOYLE.
International Department—Mrs. HARVEY, Brackenhill, Bromley, Kent.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS SALE.

Last year we raised nearly £400 by the International Suffrage Fair, and this year we propose to raise funds by holding a Christmas Presents Sale at Caxton Hall, Wednesday afternoon and evening, December 10. Will readers help us to make it a success by giving a Christmas present to the League, either in money or in kind, before that date? Presents in money should be sent to our honorary treasurer, Dr. Knight, and presents in kind to Mrs. Huntsman, at this office. We further ask all our readers in London to purchase their Christmas presents from us at this Sale. We hope by this means to raise a substantial sum for the general funds of the Women's Freedom League.

AT HEADQUARTERS.

Sunday Afternoon "At Home."—Members and friends are very cordially invited to our "At Home" at Caxton Hall, next Sunday afternoon, November 16. Tea will be served from 3.30 till 4.0 p.m., and at 4.15 Mrs. Despard will take the chair for the Rev. Hatty Baker, who will speak on "Ibsen's Influence on the Woman's Movement." Just before the chair is taken Mrs. Harvey will be the recipient of a prison brooch at the hands of our President, and bouquets will be offered her from members of the Tax Resistance League and the Women's Freedom League.

Discussion Meetings.—On Monday evening, November 17, we shall hold a discussion meeting at this office, which will be opened by the Rev. Moritz Weston, D.D., on "The Economic Independence of Women." The chair will be taken by Miss Eunice Murray at eight o'clock.

Caxton Hall "Wednesdays."—On November 19, at Caxton Hall, we shall have the great pleasure of listening to speeches from our President and Mrs. de Fonblanque, the organiser of the Women's March from Edinburgh to London. Mrs. de Fonblanque has chosen as her subject: "Nature and the Soul of Woman's Suffrage," and we hope that our friends will rally in force to give her a good welcome. The chair will be taken at 3.30. Admission to all these meetings is free, but collections will be taken to defray expenses.

Poster Parades and Hand-bill Distributing.—Will volunteers for this work meet Mrs. Fisher each Wednesday morning at 11.30 at this office to help make our Caxton Hall meetings more widely known?

"Vote" Sellers.—Our paper has been enlarged, but we want it more widely read in London. Will those of our members who really wish to do valuable work for us and can spare time to do street selling at any hour of the day or evening, kindly send in their names at once to this office or call to see us? We are in very urgent need of more VOTE sellers.

F. A. U.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

We can give you Ideas! Begin with our Christmas books for children and grown-ups; they are most varied in interest and prices range from 2d. upwards. Two irresistible books are "Peter Pan's A B C," with fascinating full-page coloured illustrations by Flora White, for 2s. 6d.; and "Children's Stories from Shakespeare," told by that able story-teller, Mrs. Nesbit, illustrated by John H. Bacon, Harold Copping, and other artists, at 3s. 6d. Come and see the others at Headquarters any day, 10-5 o'clock. Our best thanks to Miss Neal, of Manchester, for her donation to the Literature Department of 7s. 6d.

BY-ELECTIONS. READING.

Result:—
Captain Leslie Wilson (U.) 5,144
Mr. G. P. Gooch (L.) 4,013
Mr. J. G. Butler (Soc.) 1,063

Unionist majority over Liberal .. 1,131

The result of the poll evoked extraordinary excitement on Saturday night; our policy of "Keep the Liberal Out!" achieved a notable success. The Women's Freedom League continued to hold good meetings morning, noon, and night until the eve of the poll. We were very glad of the help given by Mrs. Peters and Miss Nellie Ashman, of the Thatcham Group. In spite of the rain on Thursday night Mrs. Tanner, Miss Anna Munro, and Mrs. Leigh Rothwell kept good audiences, and on Friday night they had a long, quiet meeting at Cork-street, although a great part of the town was in an uproar. Reading people say they have never before had such an exciting election. We returned to London with the knowledge that the woman's demand is now more clearly understood and that sympathy with it is increasing every day.

KEIGHLEY.

Sir S. O. Buckmaster (L.) 4,730
Lord Lascelles (U.) 3,852
Mr. W. Bland (Lab.) 3,646

Liberal majority over Unionist .. 878
Liberal majority at last election, 825.

The staff detailed for work at Keighley took up their quarters in the constituency last Wednesday, holding an open-air meeting that night which secured a record attendance. Miss Eunice Murray presided, and Miss Alix Clark, in charge of the organisation, made an exhaustive canvass of the town and its resources, and sold a large number of VOTES and other literature, thus giving the League an excellent advertisement from the very start. Lodgings were most difficult to obtain, and we were informed that no less than 500 election speakers had invaded the division.

Our meetings were uniformly well attended, and were thoroughly popular, if one might judge from the kindly comments of numbers of well-wishers among the friendly townsfolk. Suffrage is the most popular topic of all the topics discussed; and even advanced Liberals accepted our anti-Government attitude without hostility, recognising—if one may judge by appearances—that it is logical and just. We held five or six meetings daily—dinner-hour, afternoon, and evening; and Miss Clark and Miss Murray disposed of VOTES to the number of 100 a day. In all directions there is goodwill and good wishes, the women, practically without exception, being Suffragists, and we could almost find it in our hearts to pity the cold isolation of the Anti-Suffragist lady who shared the shop of unspeakable vulgarities with Messrs. Samuels and Goodwin. We did not have one rough meeting, and met with nothing but extreme eagerness to hear our speakers. Quite young lads and lasses crowded to our platform, showing a real interest in the meaning of the movement; and even those working for the "anti" Lord Lascelles declared that we had not much longer to wait; "it's coming fast," they said.

The new Solicitor-General has placed Women's Suffrage on his election address as one of the three measures which he considers of prominent importance—the two others being Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment. How he means to deal with the Prime Minister's stubborn opposition he has not explained. The National Union is not using its "fighting fund" at this election to support the Labour candidate, possibly on account of the expressed sympathy of the Government candidate; and is doing propaganda work only, a course that does not appear to have been entirely understood by the third candidate and his friends. The Women's Social and Political Union was also represented, but did not appear to be so much in evidence as usual.

On Friday night Lord Lascelles, after some shilly-shallying, openly declared himself opposed to Women's Suffrage. This does not seem to have greatly enhanced his rather slender reputa-

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tion as a politician, either among his friends or his foes. The general opinion, even among his own adherents, appears to be that "he's young yet," and has a good deal to learn. It is as interesting to note the appearance of the Suffragist Lord Robert Cecil on the platform of this Anti-Suffragist, as it was to find him, a "free-fooder," on the platform of the Tariff Reformer at Chesterfield. By-election work adds considerably to one's cynical outlook upon politics and politicians.

The third candidate, a local personage, whose campaign for municipal honours had just ended in failure, did not accord to Women's Suffrage the same prominence in his election address as Sir Stanley Buckmaster. He, nevertheless, pledged himself to oppose any measure of franchise "short of adult Suffrage," which did not include women; and though awkwardly worded, his agent assured us that it was a *bona fide* pledge in which there was nothing equivocal. In view of the position, and after consulting my colleagues, I decided to preserve an entirely independent attitude.

The news of the Reading and West-Lothian results have heartened us greatly, and have spread consternation among Liberals here. We offer our warm congratulations to our colleagues who contributed to these results, and are hoping that the new organisation, the Northern Men's Federation, may also feel that they have in a measure started to wipe out the affront put upon them by the Prime Minister.

We have worked together in Keighley under circumstances of considerable discomfort and difficulty—partly due to atrocious weather, and partly to even more objectionable accommodation—to our entire mutual satisfaction. Miss Clark is utterly indefatigable, and triumphed in marvellous ways over difficulties that appeared insurmountable; and Miss Murray has shown herself able to speak three times a day, and still sell Votes and literature with unflagging energy. We ought to get a good Branch of the Women's Freedom League in this district quite easily.

C. NINA BOYLE.

WEST LOTHIAN.

Mr. J. W. Pratt (L.) .. 5,615
Mr. James Kidd (U.) .. 5,094

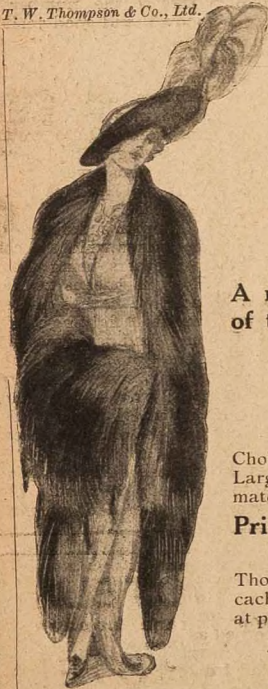
Liberal majority .. 521

Liberal majority at last election, 2,070.

The W.F.L. brought their election campaign to a close on November 6 by holding four excellent meetings in different parts of the constituency, the speakers being Miss McLachlan, Miss Ada Broughton, and Mr. Andrew Young, for whom Miss Skene presided, at Broxburn.

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The work of the W.F.L. in West Lothian has been rewarded by an increasing interest in the Woman's Movement, and we rejoice in the substantial reduction of the Liberal majority. The meetings have been large and most orderly, the attitude of the crowd being very friendly, even enthusiastic. The campaign has been successful in every way. Several women have joined the League and others have promised to do so should a Branch of the W.F.L. be formed in their district. The Scottish Council hope to form a Branch in the district in response to the appeal of women who have joined the League.

The following contributions are herewith most gratefully acknowledged:—
Mrs. Murray .. £1 10 0
Miss Skene .. 0 5 0
An Armadale Working Woman .. 0 1 0

SOUTH LANARKSHIRE.

Organiser—MISS ADA BROUGHTON.

Committee Rooms—23, Waterside-street, Strathaven.

Candidates:—

The Hon. W. Watson (U.)
Mr. George Morton (L.)
Mr. T. Gibb (Lab.)

Liberal majority at last election, 1,197.

The League is carrying out a strenuous campaign in South Lanarkshire, and the organiser earnestly appeals to all who can give assistance in this fight against the Government. Meetings are being held in all the towns and most important of the villages. To secure their success more speakers and helpers are needed. The organiser also makes an earnest appeal for financial support.

"MORE ORGANISERS": AN APPEAL.

Dear Readers.—We venture to appeal to you to help us raise £500 at an early date to be spent on organisation work. We have but few organisers, but we are forming fresh Branches in various parts of the country, and we are constantly receiving calls for help from new districts. It grieves us to refuse this assistance, but it is a matter of physical impossibility for our present staff to cope with the increasing work. In view, too, of the next general election, which cannot be long delayed, we feel the necessity of having our own organisers scattered over the country, making Woman Suffrage of vital importance in every constituency. We can go a long way towards accomplishing this if our supporters will give us the financial assistance we ask. We must keep the women's point of view before the electors if we are to succeed in getting votes for women in the near future, and we appeal to our readers all over the country to make a ready response.—Yours sincerely,

E. KNIGHT.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

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Cheques to be made payable to the Women's Freedom League and crossed "London and South Western Bank, Ltd."

INSURANCE ACT: THE "PATERNITY" BENEFIT.

The wife of a soldier on foreign service, married off the strength, was confined on August 18, 1913. After supplying the necessary certificates, and making several fruitless applications for the money, she called to tell her doctor that she was sorry she could not pay his fee, as the thirty shillings maternity benefit had been sent by the Hearts of Oak Society to her husband abroad.

MIDDLESBROUGH DEPUTATION TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

On November 7, at Pinchingthorpe Hall, the residence of Mr. Henry Williams, M.P., Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation from the Middlesbrough Branch of the Women's Freedom League and of the National Union. Mrs. Schofield Coates, Miss Winifred Jones, and Miss Mahony represented the Women's Freedom League. From Mrs. Coates' able speech we take the following extracts:—

The Women's Freedom League, in asking you to receive their deputation, wished to obtain from you a definite pronouncement as to what you yourself intend to do for Women's Suffrage and what the Government means to do.

You are here in Middlesbrough to speak upon a subject which you declare affects women as much as men, and in some directions more than men. In Middlesbrough a Municipal Housing Campaign is afoot, and yet the secretary, a woman, and other women, including myself, on the committee are refused admission to hear what you have to say! Would that have happened if women had been enfranchised? Or would such an anomaly exist as the Qualification of Women Act of 1907, which prevents the community from availing itself of the services of married women on County and Town Councils which deal so intimately with home life?

Speaking as a mother, I would like to feel that the State did not place hindrances in the way of my daughter's development, but would give her an equal opportunity with my son. The granting of the Parliamentary Vote will give women a different status, and will inevitably aid in solving the problems of our social life, among them the land question and the administration of justice in our Courts, to which the Freedom League is drawing public attention.

I beg to point out to you that the Middlesbrough Town Council has passed a resolution in favour of Women's Suffrage, and that great meetings have been held here, and resolutions enthusiastically carried in its favour. It is a working-class community, and you will find it quite ready to accept a Government measure for Women's Suffrage.

A tirade against militancy will not be an answer to our deputation. The Government's delay has itself borne the fruit of militancy. Macaulay has said: "Half the logic of misgovernment lies in this one sophistical dilemma. If the people are turbulent they are unfit for liberty; if they are quiet, they do not want liberty. But Reformers are compelled to legislate fast, because bigots will not legislate early. Reformers are compelled to legislate in times of excitement because bigots will not legislate in times of tranquillity." Viscount Morley has said reformers should not be deterred from their work because of the actions of any extreme wing. History shows that reforms have come through and because of the extreme wing.

We are here to discuss Women's Suffrage and the quickest means of getting it. At Swindon you said you were as good a Suffragist as ever—nay, better. Will you not do something to justify that assertion? Are you prepared to bring in a measure for Women's Suffrage and undertake to get the Government to back it? It is a Government measure we demand. Surely we have a right to expect this after your offer to champion the cause? If not, will you support any other measure of Women's Suffrage brought in by anyone else? We wish to know what you meant by saying, at Swindon, that you did not want an instalment. Would you rather no woman in the land should be enfranchised than that the sex-barrier should be broken down by the enfranchisement of a comparative few? If so, are we not justified in considering your championship of our cause a matter of party prejudice rather than principle?

We wish to know what you consider Mr. Asquith should do to redeem his promise. So long as that broken promise stands on record it is useless to deplore its results. Mr. Asquith in 1908 considered himself bound to bring in an Electoral Reform Bill. Sir Edward Grey last week said that Women's Suffrage prevented further progress with electoral reform for men, and would continue to do so until the demand that women should be admitted to the register has in some form or other been met.

How is that demand going to be met and when? The question is urgent, and we want a definite answer.

Miss Winifred M. Jones, in the course of a short speech, said:—

It has been urged that the present Parliament will have no time to consider such a measure in its present lifetime. May I ask if you think it is fair to allow a great question of undisputed importance to wait over until the House of Commons, so to speak, chances on a quiet session; when the matter would most probably come up as a pleasant dialectical diversion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made a long reply, in the course of which he said:—

You have asked me a few questions; would you mind my asking you a few? I should like to know exactly what it is I am expected to do. I am to bring in a Bill, and I am to get the Government to back it up. Supposing the Government say they will not back it up?

Mrs. Coates: Mr. Asquith was not very keen on the land question, and you have made him bring it up.

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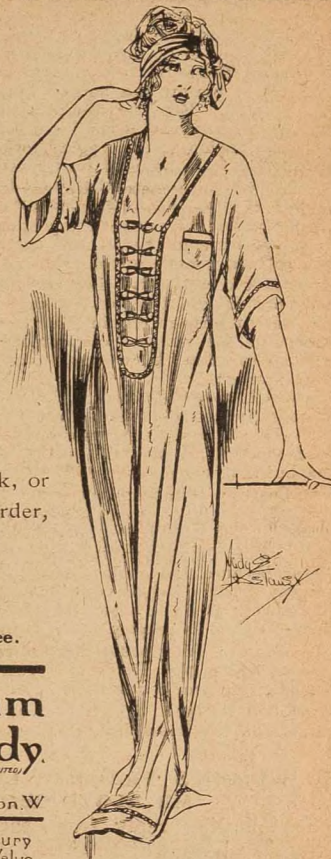
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Mr. Lloyd George: That is not so at all. The Prime Minister has spoken strongly in favour of land reform. But here he is emphatically against women's suffrage, and he has half the Cabinet with him. You must put yourself in the position of Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and myself and the other suffrage Ministers. If the Government refuse to bring it in there are two things we can do. We can enter into an arrangement whereby it is an open question, and each member of the Ministry can vote as he pleases. The next thing you can do, you can resign. Very well. Let, say, half the members of the Cabinet resign, and carry with them their sympathisers on the suffrage. Do you realise what that means?

It means that every great question for the promotion of which we have been working all our lives, which are just as sacred to us as the cause of suffrage is—Welsh Disestablishment, particularly in my case, for which I have worked for twenty-three years, for which I was especially chosen by my constituents; Home Rule, which the Irish people have been fighting for at least 100 years, and they would probably say 700 years—is suggested that we should wreck the only instrument that will enable the Irish people to obtain liberty just at the moment when it is within their grasp; and religious equality of Wales just when that is on the point of accomplishment, that I should wreck the Liberal Party for the sake, not of woman's suffrage, because I can assure you it would not promote woman's suffrage, but for the sake of a particular view of tactics taken by a few people whom I do not consider are any better judge of tactical considerations than we are.

Land Reform is another subject which I have taken up for twenty-five years. I find a Ministry prepared to take it up and a party solidly supporting me. I should wreck all hope of getting a minimum wage for hundreds of thousands of poor people. Women are just as concerned as men in housing reform, in getting good houses instead of the wretched houses they have. I should wreck all that, supposing I did what you point out.

Let us assume that Sir Edward Grey, Lord Haldane, and myself and other Ministers in favour of the suffrage walked out of the Cabinet. I do not want to exaggerate our importance or influence, but it would produce a very serious split in the party.

Your idea is that because Sir Edward Grey and the rest of us do not come out, although we pretend to be suffragists, we are not sincere. I am not going to discuss my sincerity with anybody. Is there any other party that would promote a Woman's Suffrage Bill. Does anyone imagine that Lord Robert Cecil or Lord Hugh Cecil, who are keen suffragists, are going to make it a condition of supporting a Tory Ministry that that Ministry

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shall promote a Woman's Suffrage Bill? Are you really likely to promote the cause in the slightest degree?

You have been very frank with me, I am going to be quite frank with you. I do not think there is the slightest hope of a Woman's Suffrage Bill being passed in the present Parliament. Why? It is purely and simply because public opinion has been alienated. Roughly speaking, two-thirds of the Liberal Party are suffrage and a third anti-suffrage. Does anyone in his senses imagine you are going to convert Liberals who are doubtful about the suffrage by throwing pepper into the eyes of their cherished leader, who has got the loyalty of the party more almost than any leader I can recollect in my lifetime?

I am sure you will not get the people of this country to listen, at any rate for some time, until the commission of crime has ceased to be a weapon in the armoury of the suffragists.

I regret it very deeply. But one thing I will not do. I will not imperil Home Rule, or Welsh Disestablishment, or land and housing reform merely in order to embark on some quixotic strategy for the purpose of promoting woman's suffrage or anything else when I know that it is a form of strategy that will end in disaster.

I believe if they had accepted the Prime Minister's declaration and honestly assisted the suffrage members of the Cabinet and the House to make the best of that pledge, we should have carried the Bill. I also believe the Lords would have thrown it out, but that would not have mattered.

Mrs. Coates: What are you going to do for us?

Mr. Lloyd George: I can only do what I have already done. You seem to think it is of no consequence. I have promised to support a Bill. I am not telling you what I would do as a Cabinet Minister, because that is not a matter for me to make any public statement about. I shall vote for a Bill, I shall vote for it in all its stages. If I can't get the larger Bill I will vote for the smaller. I shall be prepared to give what advocacy I can to it.

Mrs. Coates: You could fight as our champion. Be a St. George as well as a St. David! If you struck out and did what was right, you would take the country with you.

Mr. Lloyd George: I have a great horror of splitting great parties. I do not know that you ever advance a cause by doing that.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE REPLY TO MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

The following reply from the Women's Freedom League has been sent to the Press:—

The Middlesbrough Branch of the Women's Freedom League asked Mr. Lloyd George to receive a deputation to discuss with him the prospects of Woman Suffrage, the net result of it being that the Chancellor declared that if he could not get the larger Bill he would vote for the smaller, and would be prepared to give what advocacy he could to it. Considering that Mr. Lloyd George had the opportunity to follow this common-sense plan when the Conciliation Bill had the best possible chance of becoming law, instead of supporting that Bill he boasted that he had torpedoed it and spent his oratory on the praise of what proved to be impossible amendments to a Reform Bill which no one wanted and which had no chance of becoming law, we think the Chancellor was wise in refusing to discuss his sincerity on this matter with our deputation.

We further think that his tirade against militancy was futile. Men in England, at any rate, have no ground to censure women for their rebellion in the cause of political freedom. Mr. Lloyd George knows as well as we do that those who hold political power have never been converted by peaceable means into sharing it with those who are denied it. The Chancellor could give no better advice to the peaceable women of the National Union than that they should press candidates to give pledges for Woman Suffrage, and they, in turn, are to press the Government for facilities. Seriously, we ask the Chancellor what this stale advice has been worth in the past? Does any woman in her senses imagine it is going to succeed in the future? She knows too well that politicians' pledges are not their bond and pressing for facilities ended in the Speaker ruling Woman Suffrage amendments out of order in the Reform Bill. How can women follow the Chancellor's advice to question candidates seeing that women suffragists are deliberately shut out from political meetings—his own at Middlesbrough being a case in point?

The Bishop of Winchester shows truer statesmanship in telling the Government that a truce to militancy must be accompanied by a definite promise of a Government measure.

Mr. Lloyd George asks if doubting Liberals are to be converted by pepper being thrown into the eyes of their cherished leader. We ask if Mr. Lloyd George supposes that militant women are likely to be converted to peaceful methods by the brutal torture of suffragist women in prison by paid medical hirelings? If he shares that view with Mr. McKenna, we can only say that he fails to understand the reading of British history. Such brutality, the vindictive sentences of magistrates on women suffragists, the hysteria of Liberal stewards, the trickery and shuffling of the Government in dealing with this question of Woman Suffrage, and the canting homilies of Liberal Cabinet Ministers on the subject of militancy are the cause of the present revolt amongst women. One of Mr. Lloyd George's speeches on this subject does more to goad women to militancy than all the work of the militant organisations.

THE "PROTECTED" SEX. IN THE CRIMINAL COURTS

At Clerkenwell.

Mary Martella (36), soliciting. Bound over for 12 months and to remain in a home for that period. Mr. Laurie remarked: "If you come here again you will be severely punished."

Annie Morris (22), charged with stealing a watch and chain from Alexander McLean. Prosecutor said he accompanied prisoner to her flat, where she robbed him. Prisoner stated that the man gave her the watch and chain, saying he had no money. He was drunk at the time. She was found guilty, and Mr. Laurie postponed sentence till next sessions.

[This is a habit to which judges seem partial, though what purpose is served is not clear. It must certainly add to the prisoner's distress of mind to be kept in prison in doubt as to punishment for a week or two after sentence has been passed.]

Mary Watson (32), for begging. 3 months.

Benjamin Poole (23), charged with stealing a quantity of scrap brass, alleged that when he was arrested nine policemen set on him and knocked him about, frog-marching him to the station. His wife, expecting to become a mother, was also knocked down by the police. "You don't get a chance once the police have 'a down' on you," said prisoner. 12 months.

Herbert Lewis (19) was charged with indecently exposing himself with intent to insult young women. Miss Philp said she was standing outside the house where prisoner lived in Greenwich, when he came and stood by the window. She threw a stone at the window, and the police came and arrested him. Complaints of indecency had been made to the police for four months previously; they approached Miss Philp and a friend, Mrs. Hazlewood. There were other men in the house, and it could not be discovered which man was guilty, so the stone-throwing was arranged as a signal to the police. Counsel for the defence said: "Bear in mind the type of woman who tells you this story. Not a woman who runs away from something indecent, but one who goes out to meet it, and, disappointed at not seeing it, waits for it to happen." Mr. Laurie said: "It is a most disgraceful offence." 6 months, second division.

IN THE POLICE COURTS.

Killed.

James Honeyands (21), a stoker, charged with shooting the eighteen-year-old wife of Mr. Bradfield. He was committed for trial.—*Reynolds's*, November 9.

At the Hants Assizes at Winchester, John Penny (30) was found guilty of shooting his mother while she lay in bed asleep. He was sentenced to death, with a recommendation to mercy from the jury.—*Sunday Times*, November 9.

Indecent Assault.

Walter Dudley, builder, charged at East Ham with indecently assaulting Ada Litkins in a picture palace, was discharged because he bore an "irreproachable character," and the girl had been charged with theft and had once left her home for six weeks.

Disorderly Houses.

John Stidston and Annie Stidston, his wife, were charged at Marylebone with assisting in the management of a disorderly house. Prisoners were each fined £10 or 2 months, the man paying 3 guineas costs in addition.

Mrs. West (37) was charged at Bow-street with keeping a disorderly house. She was fined £10 and £3 3s. costs.

For managing and assisting in managing a house of ill-fame in Glasgow, Mrs. Low was fined £20 and Mrs. Fox, her daughter, £10, at the St. Rollox Police-court, by Bailie William Maclure and Police-judge Archibald Campbell.

[We continue to deem it scandalous that such cases should be disposed of summarily by magistrates with short sentences; and that examples are not made of the clients of these premises.]

Neglect.

John Marsh (40), charged at Stratford with neglecting his wife and three children, had left them saying he would not keep them any longer. 21 days' hard labour.

Abduction.

At Preston, James Hughes (27), rag-gatherer, charged with abducting Catherine Hodgson (16). Committed to Manchester Assizes.

The Legal Value of Sugar and a Child.

From *The Scottish Prohibitionist* we take the following:—"In the Dundee Sheriff Court Hon. Sheriff J. M. Gray sentenced a man to 40 days' imprisonment for stealing 2 lb. of sugar, and on the same day he sentenced another man—save the mark!—to fourteen days' imprisonment, or a fine of two guineas, for assaulting a little girl. The ordinary individual is driven to the conclusion, judging by the sentences given, that 2 lb. of sugar are of considerably more value than the innocence of a child; or, in other words, the man who takes property in the shape of 2 lb. of sugar is a greater criminal than the man who abuses innocent childhood."

Male Prisoner Forcibly Fed.

Frank Moss, sentenced to hard labour in connection with the Dublin strike, has been forcibly fed, according to the *Daily Herald*, for more than a week. He is one of the rank and file; Jim Connolly, the leader, was not forcibly fed when he hunger struck.

"THE VOTE": AN APPEAL

Dear Readers,—In sending out my appeal this week I wish to thank most warmly the friends who have already made so generous a response; their example will stimulate others, and I am convinced that ere long we shall, through the help of our friends, be able to make the enlargement of our paper permanent. We have received from many quarters expressions of appreciation of the increased and varied interest which the enlargement of the past two weeks has made possible. We must go on; we cannot now go back to sixteen pages. Will you help?

* * * * *

As Editor of THE VOTE I make a special appeal to you at this juncture in the Suffrage Movement. We feel that victory is in sight, and we want the organ of the Women's Freedom League to play its part worthily in the approaching triumph. We are severely hampered by want of space; articles of special interest have to be refused and events of importance left unnoticed because our paper is too small to include them. We want a permanent enlargement of four pages, but for this we must have £5 a week guaranteed.

Advertisers are finding our paper a very useful medium and are taking more and more space. This is a most healthy sign of our importance. We must, however, keep pace with the demands on us by providing extra pages for reading matter.

I ask for £100 now, so that we may be sure of a twenty-page VOTE for twenty weeks. I know I shall not appeal in vain. For the sake of our great Cause you will enable me to carry out this improvement.

THE VOTE is an integral and essential part of our League; it is eagerly bought up at our meetings everywhere; and in view of the importance of the political situation we feel that an immediate enlargement is imperative.

Remember, every contribution, large or small, is a practical help.—Yours in the Cause,

C. DESPARD.

P.S.—Will every reader fill up THE VOTE Coupon on page 20?

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WHAT THEY DIDN'T SAY.

III.

Sir Walter Scott.

To the people of England, 'twas Asquith who spoke,
If the women have votes, why, my word will be broke;
And ere that shall happen or Cabinets fall,
Let the weakest remain, where they are, by the wall.
Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
I'm the staunchest supporter of all rights for man
I've said it before, and I say it again,
'Twould be bad for the country, so let things remain.

Lloyd George he is canny, his eye's on the crowd;
Says he, This demand has become very loud;
If I don't turn to them, they'll turn against me,
And I wonder what then will become of L. G.?
Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
For promising benefits I'm just the man.
I can promise to-day, and to-morrow we'll see—
Don't come for fulfilment to bonny L. G.!

Poor McKenna is sorry, he'll have to confess
He cannot see how to get out of the mess.
To put people in is quite easy, says he;
But to keep them there?—really, 'tis quite beyond me.
Come fill up my cup, come fill up my can,
Here's a very fine job for some other man!
It's all right for Asquith and facile L. G.,
While they counsel patience, blows fall on Reggie!

H. S.

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THE "JOHN BRIGHT" TRADITION: NO TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

For a Liberal Government which has repeatedly declared that there must be "No Taxation without Representation" to discover the grandson of John Bright amongst the tax resistors, must be seriously disconcerting. Mrs. Clark, of Street, Somerset, wife of Mr. Roger Clark, grandson on his mother's side of John Bright, is a member of the old constitutional society for Woman Suffrage, but is also a strong believer in the "No Vote No Tax" policy of the Women's Tax Resistance League, considering that so long as women are taxed and refused representation it is their duty to make this constitutional protest against injustice. She, therefore, refused to pay her Income-tax, but was told that though the income was hers, her husband was the person liable to pay the tax. Mr. Clark, inheriting the "John Bright" tradition, upheld his wife in her determination to demonstrate that, as far as she was concerned, there should be "No Taxation without Representation"!

A silver jug and an Indian rose-bowl were taken to satisfy the claim of the law, and were sold by public auction on November 3 at the Crispinian Hall, Street. There was a crowded audience, and the auctioneer opened the proceedings by declaring himself a convinced Suffragist, which attitude of mind he attributed largely to constant contact with women householders in his capacity as tax collector.

After the sale a public meeting was held, presided over by Mr. Roger Clark, at which Mrs. Kineton Parkes, organising secretary of the Women's Tax Resistance League spoke, emphasising the constitutional character of tax resistance, and insisting that a nation which approved the action of John Hampden by erecting statues to his memory must also approve the action which tax-paying women are taking to protest against unrepresentative Government. At the close of the meeting many questions were asked, new members joined the League, and the following resolution was passed with enthusiasm, and only one dissident: "That this meeting is of opinion that women tax-payers are justified in refusing to pay all Imperial taxes until they are granted the same control over national expenditure as male tax-payers possess."

THE EXHIBITION OF SWEATED INDUSTRIES will be opened to-day by Sir A. Griffith Boscawen, M.P., and the Hon. Mrs. William Cecil will take the chair. Lantern lectures will be given by Mr. Mallon and Miss Ruth Young will speak on the general conditions of women's labour. Admission to the Exhibition will be 1s. from 3 to 6 p.m., and 6d. after 6 o'clock.

IN ULSTER TO-DAY.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that the eyes of the civilised world are upon Ulster to-day. Insignificant in size, yet with her men armed, drilled and mobilized for war, she menaces the peace and prestige of the Empire. And wherefore? Because she is grimly determined to maintain the rights and liberties of British citizenship. In the present situation Ulster plays the rôle of the Suffragette among British politicians. All the arguments Ulster uses to justify her position could be adopted, are indeed identical with those used by the Suffragettes. "We shall fight against an intolerable tyranny," says Ulster. So say the Suffragettes. "We shall not be governed without our consent," says Ulster. So say the Suffragettes. "Our cause is just; we are prepared to die rather than yield," says Ulster. So say the Suffragettes. "The blame of our rebellion lies with the Government that refuses to redress our grievances," says Ulster. So say the Suffragettes. The point where the similarity ends is that the militant women are condemned for their actions and Ulster commended for her spirit and patriotism. Indeed, there is a certain piquancy in the situation when one hears the militant Ulster man object to the militant Suffrage woman. In no other place in the kingdom perhaps is the feeling stronger against feminine militancy than in Ulster, and that not alone among anti-Suffragists, but among genuine Suffragists, and in the midst of a population armed and prepared for civil war! Evidently a good deal of the old-fashioned early Victorian doctrine of woman's docility and woman's place in the scheme of things prevails in this province. I have repeatedly drawn the parallel between the Suffragette and Ulster to the Ulster Unionist man, who invariably replies: "Oh, the case of Ulster is quite different." "But how?" I as invariably ask, and have never yet been satisfactorily answered.

Another point to be noticed is the calm and unemotional way in which the enfranchisement of Ulster women—if and when a provisional Government is established—has been received. No excitement, no outcry, no prophecies of evil and disaster. Even the Press, so ready in the past to foretell the evil consequences of woman's direct influence in legislation, accepts with the utmost nonchalance Sir Edward Carson's intention to include women in the electorate of Ulster. Might we not infer that if the long-delayed granting of the franchise were accomplished in Great Britain there would be the same calm acceptance of it, and that it would not be regarded, as some of our politicians would like us to believe, as a calamity and national disaster?

Further, the demeanour of the Ulster Unionist women at this juncture is of some interest. They, to whose party allegiance and help we are told we owe this concession in Ulster, have taken their new honours very meekly and quietly—not to say shamefacedly.

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In fact, at the first meeting of their Council after the proclamation of the Ulster Women's Charter, the letter from the secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council, which embodied that Charter, was not permitted by the chairwoman to be read, and only a distant allusion was made to the new right to vote vouchsafed to Ulster women. Possibly the Ulster Unionist women are well aware that while they are ostensibly rewarded for services rendered to their party, it is their Suffrage sisters really who are to be congratulated upon having scored a victory.

At any rate, accepting the *bona-fides* of the Ulster Unionist Council's promise to their women, it would seem for the moment as if in Ulster the Suffragists' occupation, like Othello's, was gone. But that is merely a superficial view. The advantage gained in Ulster must be made the lever for advancing the Cause generally. When Unionists come back to power it will surely be difficult for them to give an unfavourable answer to Women Suffragists, when already some of their most prominent men have conceded the principle and conferred the right upon one section of women. It cannot be argued that Ulster women *per se* are wiser, or worthier, or better fitted to vote than the women of England or Scotland or Wales.

It seems to me that a new field for Suffragist activities is now open in Ulster. A definite and well-considered policy of missionary work might be undertaken whereby the Ulster Unionist women should be enfranchised in spirit as well as in person; they might be taught the value and responsibility of their promised freedom, to be used, not as a means of selfish, vain glory, but as a possession "twice blessed" when shared by their sisters in all parts of Great Britain and Ireland. We seek to convert in our campaign for the vote, politicians, the Church, and the general public. Why not then this large association of women, whose services—trained, equipped, and organised in political work as they are—would be of immense help on the side of the Suffrage? With this new honour thrust upon them by Ulster men, and accepted by them, they cannot plead that they are anti-Suffragist, or non-Suffragist, why not, then, Suffragist? The spirit of sex-loyalty and sex solidarity fostered now in Ulster women would prove the leaven among party women which would leaven the whole lot. And moreover it is a work upon which all sections and societies of Suffragists now in Ireland could unite and co-operate.

L. A. M. PRIESTLEY (Mrs. GEORGE McCracken).

OUR OPEN COLUMN.

** Letters intended for publication must be written on one side of the paper only, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer. It must be clearly understood that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions expressed.

STATE REGULATION OF PROSTITUTION.

MADAM,—The letter of your correspondent, Constance Tite, in last week's VOTE, on the State regulation of prostitution raises an interesting point which is frequently overlooked. Advocates of State regulation are often found to be at the same time ardent opponents of the so-called "White Slave" traffic. Yet it is a fact that this very traffic in girls is—in its worse forms at any rate—almost wholly dependent upon the existence of regular houses of prostitution, which latter—in a more or less open form—would be an inevitable result of State regulation. As your correspondent points out, it is undoubtedly rather to be deplored than otherwise that the Venereal Disease Commission will not have to discuss the subject. For—quite apart from any moral grounds—the hopeless inadequacy of State regulation as a check on the evils of prostitution is becoming daily more apparent. This may be perhaps best seen in the case of Germany, where the system has been in vogue for many years, and where it has been worked out with characteristic German thoroughness of organisation. Nevertheless, it has resulted in practically utter failure all round. To give details would occupy too much space; suffice it to say that none of the hoped for aims have been achieved with any measure of success, and to-day an ever-growing opposition to the system on all sides—among the general public as well as among medical men—shows that it is already tottering, and that its abolition is merely a question of time.—Yours, &c.,

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FRIDAY, November 14, 1913.

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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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"PRIMITIVE SAVAGERY."

WHO ARE THE SAVAGES?

This is an era of talk. Words and phrases, high-sounding, if blatant, are reeled off by the yard on platforms and elsewhere. And if the speaker is happy enough to gauge the temper of his audience, he is rewarded with vociferous applause. There are only comparatively few who take the trouble to go behind his words or to think out their true meaning.

We wonder how many of the audience who listened with apparent enthusiasm to Lord Claud Hamilton at Kensington last week carried away any clear conception not of what he meant—that was pretty evident—but of the real meaning of the words he flung out so cleverly.

It appears that he, with others, has thrown in his lot with the anti-Suffragists, "appalled by the outrages and crimes that have been committed by the militants." Formerly the women of England, more highly educated than any other women in the world, had been the pride of their men. The extreme militants had reduced themselves to the level of "primitive savages."

We can imagine the shudder that ran through that respectable assembly when Lord Claud compared these English women with the "wild and evil spirits of the French Revolution and the Commune."

This fine gentleman, chivalrous, we have no manner of doubt, to the tips of his fingers, bitterly blames the Government for its weakness, and advises much more stringent measures. "A hulk in the Solent, provided by the Admiralty and guarded by the police," should be their prison. There sea-breezes would so whet their appetites that the "so-called hunger strike would be impossible."

It is notable that, in the same speech, this chivalrous person gave his audience to understand that he also is a militant. "I am an Ulster man. I am prepared to take my stand with my brother-subjects should, unfortunately, occasion arise. I possess a first-class certificate of musketry at Hythe, and, my eyes being still good and my hands free from tremble, I take it I am as good a shot as I was when a young man."

What is Lord Claud Hamilton prepared to shoot? Men? If so, who will dare to deny that he is ready to go beyond the militancy of the wildest militant Suffragist?

For our own part we defend neither burning down houses nor shooting down men. But we confess we like equal-handed justice; and if it is recommended that a hulk in the Solent be made ready for rebellious women, we demand another for rebellious men.

A further and most startling piece of news has come to hand. In Belfast last week 5,000 men of business came to a "momentous decision." They have pledged themselves to "keep back payment of all taxes which they can control, so long as any attempt to put into operation the provisions of the Home Rule Bill is

persevered in." It would almost seem as if these "hard-headed" men of business who represent £144,000,000 of capital, and who, we learn, are ready to risk the loss of everything, had taken a leaf out of the book of the "wild and evil spirits" whose contumacy they deplore.

But that to which we desire here to draw special attention is the extraordinary lack of any sort of principle on the part of those who govern us.

Women who persist in tax-resistance are imprisoned, and treated with the harshest rigour that the law permits; no recognition of motive; no first division; no permission, except under strict regulation, to see friends; one man is imprisoned for asking soldiers not to shoot their brothers—this in a civilised and Christian country; two or three others because they preached resistance against intolerable trade conditions, exposed the wickedness of the mere money-mongers, and advised hunger-stricken people not to pay rent until the industrial dispute was at an end. Other people meanwhile conspire to break the laws, should they not be to their liking, threaten armed resistance, and actually drill and organise a provisional citizen-army and government, and, so far from imprisoning and torturing them, the authorities speak them fair, invite them to confer, and hint at a possible compromise.

As the tangled skein unwinds our bewilderment grows. It would almost seem that the women in their movement and the men and women in their trades unions, had not been violent enough to suit the Government, or is it that the country generally has failed to understand the true significance of the present situation, failed to see who the true criminals are, and whither their folly and brutality are driving us?

Lord Claud Hamilton and persons of his ilk, are denouncing women's reversion to what they are pleased to call primitive savagery. It would be well clearly to understand what savagery means. We believe it is the opposite of civilisation. That is another good old word which it might be useful to define. We hear on every side that Western Europe and the United States of America have reached a level of high and splendid civilisation, unparalleled in the history of the world. Comfort, luxury, convenience, rapidity of transit of thought, word and commodity, amounting almost to the annihilation of distance; scientific triumphs, through which, we are told, disease will presently be eliminated and death delayed indefinitely—with these art, culture, refinement of life and manners. So the tale flows on. The praisers may admit that there is another side to their picture; but it need not be reckoned with. It belongs, in fact, to human nature, which is not, and which will never be perfect.

Others again will tell us that our difficulties arise from the fact that civilisation is not sufficiently diffused. The book-educated wealthy and the inheritors of wealth are, of course, civilised. The lower strata of the population—this we believe is the polite way of alluding to the under-dog—is uncivilised. The time will come when he too will learn the art of living, and then all will be civilised.

But what in the name of all that is sensible is civilisation really? Have we got hold of the right end of the stick; or, asking for bread, have we been given a stone?

Lord Claud Hamilton, sitting in the seat of the mighty, dares to say that the men of England had been proud of their women. We, the women of to-day ask, How has their pride been shown? They boast of their civilisation, they talk of their chivalry. We, surrounded, hemmed in with savagery, treated as slaves, denied our human rights; we, who have seen a savage police-force, as in Wales, and in Dublin, and in London, let loose against men and women who had dared to ask for justice; we who know that young women of the nations we rule, professedly for their good, are continually sold into worse than slavery to our camps and barracks—we proclaim that this boasted civilisation is a farce.

Civilisation is the opposite of savagery. It means, literally, gentleness of living—not weakness, for gentle-

ness, rightly interpreted, belongs to manly and womanly strength, and means feeling for, consideration of, the needs of others. Is it on this gentleness that our Western civilisation is based? We think there are few who could be so deluded as to say that it is. Rather, in the modern gospel, "make yourself rich, exploit and use up human labour, fight, if it is necessary; but—make yourself rich;" in the demand made in all tones by the powerful, "Submit; things must be allowed to go on as they are; woman serving, man ruling; woman yielding, man, when he has money in abundance, taking his pleasure at any cost to human life and happiness"—in these we hear the roar of primitive savagery.

Who are the savages? We answer without fear or hesitation. They are those who do these things and who allow, without protest, these things to be done.

Material luxury profits us little. If we would do away with savagery, if we would enter the path that leads to the shining civilisation of the future, we must be not strong only, but truthful.

Our woman's movement which is, in its essence, a revolt against the primitive savagery of the modern world, cannot pass into the higher levels where peace reigns, until it has gone through its militant stage. In the world's history it has ever been the same. Not the most peace-loving of us all can dare to dream that, given the present situation, given the long delay, given the broken troth, the selfishness and the savagery, we are going to enter our promised land without scathe. But for scathe to ourselves we care not. The threats and gibes of Lord Claud Hamilton and his anti-Suffragist friends, produce no effect upon us. We remember what was said by One of old time: "The Kingdom of God suffereth violence. And the violent take it by force."

Take it we will, and not all the brute force in the world shall put us back from our enterprise.

C. DESPARD.

A WOMAN'S UTOPIA.

An Address given by Mrs. E. M. Moore at a
W.F.L. Caxton Hall "Wednesday."

[CONCLUDED.]

But More, splendid husband and father though he was, was yet under the blind influence of tradition where women were concerned; for though in Utopia no woman was allowed to marry under eighteen (a law far in advance of the barbarous English law, which still allows a girl of twelve to marry), yet husbands were allowed to chastise their wives, and women were still ordered to make confession at the feet of their husbands.

The Republic of Plato testifies to a deeper insight into the relationship between men and women, and women and the State. . . . The dialogue at the beginning of the fifth book of the Republic is as follows (Polemasehus and Adeimantus question Socrates, who has been defining justice and the government of an ideal community): "We have an idea that you are lagging and stealing a whole section, and that a very important one, out of the subject, in order to avoid handling it. . . . We have been long waiting in the expectation that you would specify the conditions under which children are to be begotten, and the manner of rearing them after they are born, and, in fact, that you would give a complete description of the community of women and children intended by you, for we are of opinion that the mode of carrying out this idea according as it is right or wrong, will be a matter of great, or rather of vital importance to a commonwealth. . . ."

Socrates complied with the request with great reluctance; and men to-day are facing with the same reluctance what has now become an insistent demand on the part of woman for a due recognition of her place in the ordering of the State. But Socrates was far ahead of his age, and also ahead of our age in many of his recommendations as to the training and education of women. He asserted that: "As far as the guardianship of an ideal State is concerned, duly qualified women must share in the life and official labours of the duly qualified men,

since we find that they are competent to the work and of kindred nature with the men."

That was written about 400 years B.C., and there are women alive with us to-day who have been stoned and reviled by our—so-called educated—men for seeking to become qualified doctors. Truly it is amazing to remember, before such evidence, that Lord Curzon has said he knows "of no anomaly or injustice from which women suffer that men were not willing and ready to remove. . . ." The average man is undoubtedly still in the elementary stage of one of the participants in Plato's argument who defined justice as "the interest of the stronger." That is beyond question the present Government's definition of justice.

At the beginning of the Republic, Socrates was asked: "How do you feel about love, Socrates?" His reply was: "Hush! if you please; to my great delight I have escaped from it, and feel as if I had escaped from a frantic and savage master. . . ." Quite a humorous reply, if one can escape from its tragic weakness.

Against such declaration of weakness we will balance a modern woman's Utopia, chiefly as adumbrated in the work of that remarkable woman, Ellen Key. She writes: "Personal love is life's highest value as well directly for the individual himself as indirectly for the new lives his love creates. . . . This certainly is spreading from day to day all over the world. . . ."

Love must again become, though on a higher level, that which it once was when the nations looked upon life with reverence—Religion." Ibsen spent his life genius demonstrating the same truth. Here we come to woman's first and fundamental demand in her vision of a Utopia; it is that man and woman shall guard the gift of life. We believe with her that education, every cultural effort in intellectual and religious matters, will remain superficial until we regard that which determines all other cultural schemes, the elevation of the race through the acceptance of the profound significance of human love. In taking this standpoint we are aware that we are on difficult ground, that "we preach to a generation in which love is the most betrayed, and the most coarsened, the most neglected, and the most despised of all the great forces of life"; so that an attempt to comprehend its importance may be regarded as an exhortation to overlook, in a sentimental rhapsody, all other life values for its sake, when we but urge that *unless the unity of the soul and the senses* in the relations between man and woman is accepted as a fundamental doctrine of life, then all other life values must of necessity become impoverished and lacking in purity. It is for want of such acceptance that society is ravaged to-day by sins and diseases so appalling in their effect upon the moral and physical welfare of the race.

That such ideal is still far from men's mind is self-evident. Woman is still exploited, though her body is the temple of a new soul; and this defilement is manifest throughout our social life. It is manifest in the rearing of our children, in the blind way in which we parents shirk our responsibility to teach our children *as a first duty* the necessity of consecrating their bodies to the service of life and the race. It is manifest in our public and elementary schools (especially boys' schools), where, as an intelligent boy once told me, cheating is practically impossible, because boys who employ such methods are held in contempt by both masters and boys; but this greater cheating of the heritages of life, which starts with coarse and unclean speech at school, that, rather than being held discreditably, is still looked upon as a mark of manhood. So the pure springs of youth are first poisoned, and many a young man discovers, too late, the truth of these lines:—

So much of life is dead in its control,
That she, my pleasant lady of all grace,
Is gone out of the devastated soul;
I see her not, nor do I know her place;
Nor even enough of virtue with me stays
To understand, ah me!
The flower of her exceeding purity.

From this blinding of the soul's eyes, from this lower-

ing of the significance of life, comes the demand for the sacrifice of the "unfortunate" woman; the demand for our cheap modern pleasures—our suggestive plays, our sensational picture palaces, and our indifference to the highest forms of art.

Hence, also, as Edward Carpenter writes, we see men to-day "so fatuous that it actually does not hurt them to see the streets crammed with prostitutes by night, or the parks by day with the semi-lifeless bodies of tramps; men to whom it seems quite natural that our marriage and social institutions should lumber along over the bodies of women, as our commercial institutions grind over the bodies of the poor." This shrewd and also ideal writer continues: "The lady, the household drudge, and the prostitute are the three main types of woman resulting in our modern civilisation from the process of the past, and it is hard to know which is the most wretched, and which is the most wronged, and which is the most unlike that which in our own heart every true woman would desire to be."

For woman to consummate her Utopia she must then be free; that is the urgent necessity which every thinking woman must insist upon for herself; and man is still very afraid of freedom, and woman, too. Yet what a strange delusion! Has not history proved the superiority of free over slave nations; and is it not clear that the very forces which liberty sets free work against what people may imagine might be the dangerous consequences of liberty?

What do we see in our world to-day? We see that on its material side our empire is a marvel of enterprise, skill and genius; on its social side it is in a condition of anarchy, disease and widespread poverty; and we believe this is largely due to the exclusive rule of man; for in the balanced duality of human life the man organises and initiates what may be termed the material splendours of existence, and the woman conserves its ideal and spiritual aspects.

So, though men have dubbed their own Utopias chimerical and visionary, we women have faith in ours, not because we think that we can succeed alone where so many fine men have failed, but because we believe that "their endeavours to solve social and political problems have been like building on ground shaken by an earthquake, that their great creative activities have nevertheless been like steam from an infected source, and their development of power in the other fields of life a growth from a shrivelled root." Man has forgotten that the aim of life is life itself; that has, generally speaking, been the last goal he has set before him. But it is the goal towards which woman has set her eyes; it is the ideal for which she has been willing to suffer ignominy, abuse and death. And by this profound measure we know that the great revolution of woman, which is being carried on throughout the world to-day, is instinct with the flaming purpose which underlies the evolution of humanity.

EDITH MARY MOORE.

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On January 1 Toronto will vote on the proposal to give married women owning property municipal franchise.

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FORCIBLE FEEDING PROTESTS.

The secretary of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage has sent the following protest to the Home Secretary:—

Sir,—I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage to convey to you the following resolution: "Owing to the deliberate renewal of forcible feeding in the case of certain woman Suffragists, the committee of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage is compelled again to express its abhorrence of this practice, and it especially protests against the application of both forcible feeding and the provisions of the 'Cat and Mouse' Act to one and the same individual."

The Penal Reform League, 68a, Park Hill-road, N.W., have addressed the following letter to the Home Secretary:—

Sir,—With reference to reports which have appeared in the Press announcing the resumption of forcible feeding in prison, the Committee of the Penal Reform League desire me to draw your attention to a resolution passed at their meeting in July last to the following effect:—

The Executive Committee of the Penal Reform League, having in view the discredit brought on law by what is known popularly as the "Cat and Mouse Act," and the injury inflicted thereby on the cause of penal reform, hereby expresses its conviction that when a prisoner who is in prison for conscience sake brings himself by hunger-striking or similar self-discipline to a state of health which, in the opinion of the Medical Officer of the prison in which he is confined, endangers his life, then justice and humanity demand that he be released unconditionally.

The Committee add that, in their opinion, even so grave a misfortune as the death of one or two prisoners would be a less serious evil than the deterioration of the moral sense of the community effected by acquiescence in such an abominable outrage as is involved in forcible feeding.

Protest Meeting.

The Committee for the Repeal of the Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health of Prisoners Act, commonly called the "Cat and Mouse" Act, will hold a public meeting of inquiry at the Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, on Tuesday, November 25, at 8 p.m. Political prisoners who have been forcibly fed will give evidence on oath. Chair: Dr. Flora Murray; Speakers: Mr. Israel Zangwill, Miss Abadam, Rev. Ivory Cripps. Tickets may be obtained at Kingsway Hall; the Committee's Offices, 6, Avenue-mansions, Finchley-road; or at 69, Wimpole-street, W. 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d. Admission free.

A LECTURE will be given by

The Rev. W. MORITZ WESTON, D.D.,

on "The Economic Independence of Women,"

AT THE

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The Women's Freedom League

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Every Wednesday Afternoon at 3.30.

NOVEMBER 19th—

Speakers: Mrs. DE FONBLANQUE:
"Nature and the Soul of Woman's Suffrage."

Miss NINA BOYLE.

Chair:

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On TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 18th, at 3 p.m.

Speakers:

Professor BICKERTON.
The Rev. LEWIS DONALD-SON (of Leicester).
Mr. J. L. HAMMOND.
Mr. ROY HORNIMAN.

Mr. BEN WEBSTER.
Mr. FREDERICK WHELAN.
Mr. ZANGWILL.

Chair:

Miss LENA ASHWELL

All members of the audience are cordially invited to tea in the Theatre after the meeting, when the Vice-Presidents of the League and other leading actresses will act as hostesses.

TICKETS: Boxes, £2 2s., 30s., and 15s. Stalls, 5s. (first three rows) and 3s. 6d. Grand Circle (first row) 3s. 6d., (other rows) 2s. 6d. Upper Circle, 1s. 6d. All numbered and reserved. Pit (unreserved), 1s. To be had from the A.F.L.

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NATIONAL WEEK OF PRAYER.

The Week of Prayer, from November 1 to 8, has justified its description as National, and was warmly taken up in many parts of the country. The greater number of direct service and prayer meetings were arranged and held locally by the Branches of the Religious Suffrage Societies, and, as yet, only partial records are to hand. Among larger gatherings may be mentioned the Church League service at Bow Church, Cheapside, where Canon Masterman preached; a meeting of the Jewish League at Porchester-terrace; the attendance of the Catholic Society at Benediction at the Cathedral, Westminster; a meeting of the Society of Friends at Devonshire House for worship to seek Divine guidance; and a prayer meeting for the Free Churches at Caxton Hall, where Rev. Thos. Phillips presided. The Spiritual Militancy League, the Society of Shepherds and Weavers, and other societies also had special gatherings.

Outside London, large joint meetings, or smaller sectional ones, were held at Brighton (in the Pavilion), Eastbourne, Bourne-mouth, Ipswich, Birmingham, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dublin, Swindon, York, etc.

At the Caxton Hall.

The joint meeting at the Caxton Hall, London, on November 6 was one of the most impressive ever held in a hall famous for its suffrage gatherings. Not only was it pervaded by a spirit of comradeship, but by a spirit of rejoicing in that comradeship. Among the hostesses at the reception before the meeting was Mrs. Alice Meynell, whose presence was warmly welcomed. By the time that Lady Spicer took the chair the hall was crowded to its utmost limits, and the speeches were worthy of the unique occasion. Our strength lies in the diversity of opinions we hold, said Lady Spicer in a brief speech urging the importance of the spiritual aspect of the movement and the danger of delay in giving women political freedom to work for the uplifting of the world. A splendid reception was given to the Rev. C. Hinscliffe, founder of the Church League, who described the meeting as "unique and historic," showing a solid and determined front against irreligion. He said that it was proposed to form a Standing Committee of the Religious Suffrage Societies; great enthusiasm greeted his announcement that the Bishop of Kensington had consulted with the suffrage clergy, and as a result an appeal was to be sent out, signed by Bishops, to the clergy in and around London to take part in a Clergy Protest meeting against the horror of forcible feeding; the date fixed is December 5, at the Queen's Hall.

Miss Abadam pointed out that at one moment Christianity depended entirely upon the word of one woman: "Fiat" (Let it be done!) and declared that this fact would be a fruitful

source of meditation for the heads of all Christian Churches. She added that even happily married women were not satisfied to-day with love and creature comforts, knowing the evils that existed; their conscience demanded to be satisfied—a national, yes, an international conscience. Women have to be rebels; rebellion against evil is fidelity to God.

It was in defiance of his doctor, and at considerable risk after his serious illness, that the Rev. Fleming Williams attended the meeting, but he received an enthusiastic welcome. Opponents of the movement through which woman is to fulfil her being as the Creator meant, will never understand its strength until they realise its deep spirituality. Referring to the books of Sir Almroth Wright and Mr. Belfort Bax, he said that they were rendering good service to the Cause of Votes for Women. Never in history had physical force triumphed ultimately over moral force. It was an encouraging sign to see the Churches, in spite of historic antipathy, grasping hands in truest comradeship in the presence of the Eternal God. Mrs. Ford Smith, speaking for the Friends' League, said that she attributed much of her happiness in life and freedom from disillusionment to the fact that from childhood there was equal treatment for girls and boys in the Society of Friends; the marriage laws were equal and binding equally on man and woman, and among Friends there was complete religious equality between the sexes. Dr. Hochmann, representing the Jewish League, said that the anti-suffrage struggle was between the spirit of power and the power of the spirit; the walls of prejudice would fall before the trumpet call, gathering all together, despite differences of creed and ritual. A speech from Lady Frances Balfour, on behalf of the Scottish Churches, brought to a close a meeting instinct with goodwill and comradeship, and dominated by one great purpose on which God's blessing was asked. The resolution, passed unanimously and with enthusiasm, ran as follows:—"That this Joint Meeting of the Religious Societies in favour of Women's Suffrage, calls upon the Government to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women in the interests of Justice, Morality and Religion."

JUMBLE SALE AT NINE ELMS.

The Nine Elms Branch of the Women's Freedom League will hold a Jumble Sale at Mrs. Despard's house, 2, Currie-street, on Thursday, November 27, 5-10 p.m., and Friday, November 28, 2-10 p.m. The proceeds will go to Headquarters' expenses, and Mrs. Despard makes an appeal to members to help her in this effort to increase our funds. Will all who can send parcels addressed to her to 2, Currie-street, Nine Elms, S.W., as soon as possible?

WOMEN IN INDUSTRY.

Sweated Workers: Conference in Mayfair.

Regulations for the establishment of Trade Boards in the sugar, confectionery, and food-preserving, the shirt-making, the metal hollow-ware, and the linen and cotton embroidery trades are about to be issued by the Board of Trade. It is computed that these additional Boards will affect nearly 200,000 workers, many of them women and girls at present in receipt of exceptionally low wages.

To assist these workers to secure satisfactory representation on the Board, and to organise them for the forwarding of their interests as wage-earners, a fund is to be started at a conference to be held at Sunderland House on Monday, November 17, when addresses will be given by the Duchess of Marlborough, the Bishop of Oxford, Mr. C. F. G. Masterman, M.P., Lord Lytton, Mr. J. R. Clynes, M.P., Miss Mary Macarthur, Mr. Thomas Holmes, and Mr. J. J. Mallon. To this fund Mr. John Galsworthy has subscribed £100, and has written a note on sweated women workers for the programme of the Conference. Lord Milner, Mrs. Randall Davidson, Lady Askwith, Mr. H. J. Tennant, M.P., and Lady Meyer have also contributed.

In a "Civilised" Country.

Mr. Thomas Holmes, the police-court missionary, described his work among the sweated women of London at Kingsway Hall recently. On three successive days, one hot summer, he said, three widows—each a sweated home-worker with a family—were brought before a London magistrate. Nature eventually broke down. One widow jumped into the River Lea; the second threw herself in front of a train at Dalston Junction; and the third took poison. The latter, however, recovered, but so accustomed were her hands to match-box-making, that while on holiday she was unable to keep them still.

Women's Employment Bureau.

When presiding at the annual meeting of the Women's Employment Bureau, Miss Melville, M.A., B.D., drew special attention to the new branch of the work, the Students' Careers Association. Miss K. V. Bannatyne pointed out that the Bureau is not a charitable institution for providing employment, but it could do nothing better than convince women of the need for being thoroughly trained to take up professions and occupations in which it was well worth their while to become thoroughly efficient. The domestic arts were discussed by Miss Bunker, of the School of Housewifery, who pointed out that domesticity had now been raised to a science for which intellect was necessary as well as the training given in the schools now being established in all the principal towns. A large field was open to women who might be able to do anything in the way of inventing labour-saving appliances. Mrs. Scott Dick also spoke, and gave an attractive account of floral decoration as a form of work specially suited to women of artistic tastes.

Strike Ended by Union Officials.

Intervention by the officials of the National Federation of Women Workers led to the termination a few days ago of a strike of about 20 girls and nearly 100 sympathisers at Cooper's collar factory, Coburg-street, Old Kent-road, S.E.

Invasion of Scottish Fisher Girls.

Last month a remarkable invasion of Yarmouth took place, when fourteen trains arrived from Aberdeen and further North filled with Scottish fisher-girls to work in the herring-curing yards. Special arrangements have been made for securing medical insurance benefit for the fish-workers while in England. It will be interesting to see whether the fisher-girls and men take their numerous hand-wounds to the insurance doctor, for the doctor will have a bad time if they do. Hitherto local medical effort has been insufficient to deal with the large number of patients suffering from cuts and poison due to handling the herring, and the surplus has availed itself of the ministrations of the voluntary nurses sent by the Scottish churches.

Sweating under Government.

Notwithstanding a heavy downpour of rain many hundreds of Government workers assembled in Trafalgar-square, on October 11, to ventilate their grievances. They were reinforced by a large number of women employees of the Army Clothing Factory at Pimlico, who had marched from Battersea-park.

Mr. W. B. Cheesman, president of the United Government Workers' Federation, presided, and said they were there to protest against conditions which no decent employer of labour would tolerate for a single week. Mr. J. McGrath proposed a resolution urging the imperative need for the immediate concession of a 30s. minimum wage, and an increase of 5s. per week on the increased cost of living. The resolution also condemned the Holt Committee's Report, and demanded that the prices for piecework at the Army Clothing Factory, Pimlico, be restored to the rates paid prior to 1906, and condemned the Liberal Government for reducing the wages of the women workers at Pimlico.

Women Railway Workers: Russia's Progress.

The women have gained another decisive victory in Russia. The Ministry of Roads and Communications has given permission for women who have obtained the certificate of railway engineers at the Women's Polytechnic in St. Petersburg to be employed in responsible posts on the State railways, with all the rights of other State servants.

CAXTON HALL "WEDNESDAYS."

How Hungary Preserves Child Life.

It was a "living" subject with which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson dealt at the Caxton Hall gathering on November 5, namely, "How Hungary Preserves Child Life." Better would it be for Great Britain, she said, if, instead of bewailing a falling birth-rate, she took care of the children who are born, and put a stop to the increasing death-rate. In Hungary every child has a legal right to State maintenance; no questions as to parentage are asked, the child itself is the first consideration, and the State is bound to take care of every child that needs assistance. The headquarters for the State Care of Children are at Budapest, and there are seventeen State Asylums scattered over the whole of Hungary. The Budapest Asylum is the largest, and deals with eight to nine thousand children every year; children, unless weak in health or intellect, and requiring special care, are drafted as soon as possible to the Children's State Colonies, of which there are about 374 in villages specially chosen for their healthy moral and physical surroundings. It is considered a disgrace if a village is not deemed worthy to have a Children's Colony. Mrs. Sanderson told of one which redeemed its bad character and became a model village in order to make itself eligible for the responsibility of a Colony. The children attend the village school, and the State pays for their education up to the age of 12, but there is special training afterwards for State-protected children to enable them to earn their livelihood. Many girls remain in the households of their foster parents, or are trained for service, those showing special gifts are taught the famous Hungarian embroidery; boys frequently remain working on the land with their foster parents. Every effort is made to keep the mother with the child—for nine months if possible, in order that she may nurse her baby; a contrast, remarked Mrs. Sanderson, with British workhouse treatment, which requires the mother to scrub and clean while someone else looks after the child. The State spends nine million crowns yearly (24 crowns equal £1) in caring for 55,000 children; the particulars of each case are carefully kept; the first claim is on the father for payment, then on the mother, but, in her case, there is no compulsion. The State pays 10 crowns a month for a child; 18 for mother and child so long as the mother remains. The foster parents feel that they are doing something for the State; under the direction of Herr Ruffi, who is at the head of the Department, everything is carried out on the most modern scientific lines, and the best attention is given to the health of the children.

The motive power behind this remarkable work is expressed in the inscription over the door of a child's ward in one of the Asylums:—

The Child is the State's Greatest Treasure.

Mrs. Sanderson paid a hearty tribute of appreciation to the generosity of those who arranged a most interesting tour, free of cost, to the State Asylums, Children's Village Colonies, and hospitals, for a number of the delegates to the International Suffrage Conference at Budapest. Miss Andrews gave a stimulating address at the meeting, and Miss Underwood presided.

Chapter 13

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"HIAWATHA."

Last week we expressed our keen appreciation of the beautiful and artistic performances of *Hiawatha* on November 4, and we hope that others might have the opportunity to see this admirable production by women. This week we express our truest appreciation of the substantial help to THE VOTE which has resulted; also our gratitude to the anonymous friend who has so generously met the expenses.

Clear profit (to date)	£37 12 0
Expenses—	
Anonymous	£24 1 6
Miss Marie Lawson	0 10 6

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE AT DULWICH.

Dulwich was dull no longer on Saturday evening, November 1, when the Herne Hill and Norwood Branch of the Women's Freedom League held a lively meeting in All Saints' Parish Room, Croxted-road. We were very fortunate in having both Mrs. Despard and Miss Boyle as speakers, also Mr. Allan Allport, a member of the Men's League, and Mrs. Tanner took the chair with her usual ability. The audience listened with deep attention to Mrs. Despard's appeal for justice between men and women and between rich and poor; Miss Boyle's witty and vigorous address gave keen enjoyment, and evoked hearty applause. Mr. Allport said there was no specifically masculine case for Women's Suffrage, but there was a man's method of advocating it; he explained the policy of the Men's League, and invited men in sympathy to join it. At question time there was some vigorous heckling by local Liberals, who do not like our anti-Government policy, but Miss Boyle was more than a match for them all, and her keen replies were much appreciated. The feeling of the audience was strongly in favour of Votes for Women; a practical result was a good collection. We are very grateful to Mrs. Despard and Miss Boyle for their presence, which made our meeting such an encouraging success.—W. M. S.

ICELAND AND THE BUDAPEST CONGRESS.

We have received a letter from Mrs. Briet Asmundsson, of Reykjavik, correcting a misunderstanding with regard to the payment of the expenses of the Iceland delegation to the International Woman Suffrage Congress at Budapest last June. In THE VOTE, and in other papers, it was stated that the people of Iceland renounced one of their prized and infrequent mails to pay the expenses, as the Government had no fund from which to allocate the cost. Mrs. Asmundsson, whose presence with her daughter at Budapest was so warmly welcomed, writes thus: "The Government of Iceland granted the money from public funds, as an extra budget. This is the custom in Iceland when an unexpected grant of money is needed after the budget for the financial year is passed. I hope other papers which have given inaccurate information will make this correction."

We willingly publish Mrs. Asmundsson's statement, and congratulate the Government of Iceland on being public spirited enough to recognise the significance of the International Woman Suffrage Congress by making special arrangements to pay the expenses of Iceland's delegates. A fine example was set to other Governments; it will be interesting to see how many will follow suit for the Berlin Conference of 1915.

Woman Suffrage in America.

The House of Representatives has appointed a Committee to hear arguments on the question of Woman Suffrage. Representative Suffragists and "Anti's," cables the Central News, will appear on equal terms before the Committee, and no time limit will be set to the arguments. It is considered probable that Mrs. Pankhurst will speak.

Women Workers: The Value of Organisation.

A Chesterfield Branch of the National Federation of Women Workers was formed on October 20. Mr. Barnet Kenyon, M.P., presided, and was supported by Miss S. Lawrence, London (Women's Trade Unions League), and Miss Airey, Sheffield (organiser for the Federation of Women Workers). The chairman said he could not help thinking that as far as girl workers were concerned Chesterfield was one of the worst organised districts he had visited for a long time. The first idea of organisation was to get better wages and to improve the condition of the workers, particularly from the health and moral points of view.

The Suffrage Club

The Suffrage Club, 3, York-street, St. James's, gave its anniversary dinner and entertainment on November 7, when a most attractive programme was provided by "the Popinjays" under the direction of Mr. George Denby, and Miss Leah Baleman-Hunter delighted everyone with her recitations.

The Rev. HATTY BAKER

Will LECTURE on
"HENRIK IBSEN'S INFLUENCE on
THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT,"

At CAXTON HALL, Westminster, S.W.
SUNDAY, NOV. 16th, 3.30 p.m.—5 p.m.

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BRANCH NOTES.

Will Branch Secretaries kindly write their reports very distinctly and briefly on ONE SIDE of a sheet of paper, leaving a margin on the left, and address them to the Editor, THE VOTE Office, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, W.C.2. A halfpenny stamp is sufficient; the flap of the envelope should be tucked inside. All reports must reach the office on or before the first post on Monday mornings.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.—Croydon.—Office, 32A, The Arcade, High-street.

The secretary wishes to thank "A. W. T." and others for parcels for jumble sale. Miss A. Miller was the speaker at our "At Home" on November 6, who made special reference to the National Week of Prayer, arranged by the religious Suffrage societies, and to the meetings and services held by the Church League, the Free Church League and the Friends' League in Croydon. Under the title of "A Dream and its Fulfillment," Miss Miller related in a delightful manner one of Olive Schreier's "Dreams," and showed how the dream illustrated the Woman's Movement.

Clapham.

Will members please bear in mind the Christmas Present Sale to take place at the Caxton Hall on December 10? The Clapham Branch wish to be well represented, the non. secretary will be glad if members will bring their contributions to 37, Honeybrook-road, Clapham Park, not later than Monday, December 8, so that they may be sent to the Hall together. Members are also asked to make known our public meeting at Balham Assembly Rooms on December 3, 8 p.m. Chair: Miss F. A. Underwood; Speakers: Miss Murray and Mrs. Mustard.

East London.

A Branch meeting was held at 37, Wellington-buildings, Bow, on November 6. To meet the convenience of members, it was resolved that Branch meetings shall be held fortnightly on Tuesdays and Thursdays alternately. At each meeting there shall be a debate or a short paper on subjects of interest to Suffragists, such as lives of pioneer women, social problems, women's professional interests and difficulties, &c. It is hoped that members who cannot help in other ways will come forward with suggestions and papers. Will members also make notes of interesting Suffrage news and bring their notes and paper cuttings to the meetings that they may be entered in the Suffrage log-book of our Branch, which we hope will soon become a very valuable and interesting volume. Miss Nixon and Miss Gunner have kindly offered hospitality to the Branch on Sunday, December 7. Members will meet at Loughton, and after a walk through the Forest, enjoy tea and talk at the home of their hostesses. It is hoped many members will come and bring their friends. Further details for meeting will be given later. The next Branch meeting will be on Tuesday, November 18, when Miss G. M. Mitchell will read a short paper on "Women Under the Law." Will members please send merchandise orders to the hon. sec. early, so that parcels can be got ready before the meeting?

PROVINCES.—Brighton and Hove.

Miss Hare took the affirmative in a debate on "Are Men More Favoured by Law than Women?" at the Hove Debating Society, on Thursday, and in a closely reasoned speech she gained the audience to a majority vote for her side, in spite of the fact that her opponent was above the average opponent in common sense and logic. The date of the whist drive was given wrongly last week. It will be held at the Bon-Bon Teashop, Preston-street, on Saturday, November 15, at 8 p.m., and it is hoped that many will come and bring friends so that the evening may be a financial success. A committee meeting will be held to complete the winter programme, particulars of which will be sent to members.

Ipswich.

On November 6 we held our usual working party. One lady has kindly given an order for Christmas presents for distribution to her poorer friends, for which we are very grateful. We hope others will also do their shopping with us. Mrs. De Candole, a member of the N.U.W.S.S., has kindly consented to speak to us on November 27. We hope all members will make a special effort to be present and to bring friends.

Manchester (Central).—Office, 46A, Market-street.

A most fascinating lecture was given by Miss Andrews at Friday's Branch meeting. At the request of a few of the members, the subject of her lecture was put to the vote, and there was a unanimous decision in favour of "The Power of Thought." An interesting discussion followed, led by Mrs. Heath, the chairman. The annual meeting will be held on Wednesday, December 3, when the election of officers and committee will take place. Nominations (which must be seconded) should reach the secretary on or before Friday, November 28. Six members of committee, in addition to hon. secretary, hon. treasurer and hon. literature secretary, are required.

Will Branch members who have not already done so, kindly pay their yearly subscriptions as early as possible, as the treasurer is anxious to make up her accounts before the annual meeting?

Middlesbrough

The annual meeting was held last Monday, and reports of the year's work were given by secretary, treasurer and merchandise secretary. Mrs. Schofield Coates reported on the Housing Reform Conference, and Mrs. Barrett on the women's conference of the Workers' Education Association. Members are asked to be present at the "At Home" in the Café, on Monday, November 17, to welcome Miss Munro at the beginning of her week's campaign here. There will be music and refreshments.

SCOTLAND.—Dundee.

At the Branch meeting on November 6 the speaker was Mr. Norval Scrymgeour, who took as his subject "The Vote—What Then?" He showed how the country will benefit, when the franchise is conferred on women, with regard to free speech—miserably muddled to-day—international peace, the feud between capital and labour, the drink traffic, the divorce laws, and degenerate literature. There was a good turn out of members to hear Mr. Scrymgeour, whose

sympathy with our Cause is well known and whose remarks are also distinguished by that literary distinction of which he is a master. A keen discussion followed, taken part in by Mrs. Holley, Mrs. Allan, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Hamilton, and Misses Clunas, Wilkie and Angus. Our secretary, Mrs. Mitchell, was congratulated on her success at the recent election to the parish council; she is the third member of our League on that body.

Edinburgh.—Suffrage Shop, 90, Lothian-road.

Mrs. Murray was unfortunately prevented by illness from being present at the monthly "At Home" on Wednesday, but has kindly promised to speak at an early date. Miss Munro, who took her place, delighted the audience by her reading of Miss Eunice Murray's pamphlet, with appropriate comments. Miss Jack told some amusing incidents of the West Lothian bye-election campaign, at which our members have assisted by speaking, shopkeeping, &c. A very pleasant evening was spent on Saturday, when the American tea, arranged by Miss Stirton and Miss McLachlan, took place. We had the great pleasure of having with us Miss Alison Neilans, who gave an interesting and thoughtful speech on the political situation. Without minimising the difficulties, Miss Neilans took a hopeful view of the position, and from her experience of the Clyde campaign and other recent work, absolutely differed from Mr. Lloyd George's assertions of "bitter hostility" to the movement. The wish is only too evidently father to the thought in the Chancellor's case! Miss May Grant's delightful violin solo, and Mr. Docherty's amusing recitations added greatly to the pleasure of the evening. Mrs. Jackson and her helpers, who arranged the tea, Miss Munro who acted as hostess, and Mrs. Thomson who disposed of the gifts brought by the guests, are all thanked for very valuable help. Miss Berta Ireland has undertaken the organisation of Vote street sales, and will be glad to have names of helpers who can give time, however little. Please note that the Jumble Sale has been postponed to November 22, and communicate with Mrs. Crabbe, who will arrange for goods to be fetched.

Glasgow.

On November 1 a successful Jumble Sale was held in Anderston. In spite of the fact that the W.S.P.U. had held a Jumble Sale in the same hall on the previous Saturday, we were able to make over £20 after all the expenses were paid. The conveners, Mrs. Scrimgeour, Miss Findlay, Mrs. Moore, and Miss Gentles, are to be congratulated on the result of their efforts. On Thursday, November 6, the Council met as usual to discuss business. Afterwards the Branch meeting was held, when Miss Shennan gave a splendid address on the political situation. The subject was very appropriate in view of the by-election in which the Glasgow Branch is working, and Miss Shennan's address should be of great value to those who are taking part in the work. Helpers of all kinds are required. Will all who can spare a day or two kindly send word to the shop without delay? The South Lanark constituency is a very difficult one to cover, so we shall welcome help from as many as can possibly go.

Kilmarnock.

We desire to express our gratitude to Miss Eunice Murray for her kindness in defraying all expenses of our first public meeting, and to Miss Buntin for a donation of 10s. We are enrolling new members.

Paisley.

A very attentive hearing was given to Miss Shennan on November 3, at our monthly meeting. She dealt with the policy of our League and the political situation. We expect to have Miss Helen McLaughlan as speaker at our next meeting, and hope that all members will try to come and bring friends. Will members kindly note that the December meeting will be held on Friday, December 5, instead of Monday, December 1? Watch "Forthcoming Events" for full particulars.

THE "ENGLISHWOMAN" EXHIBITION.

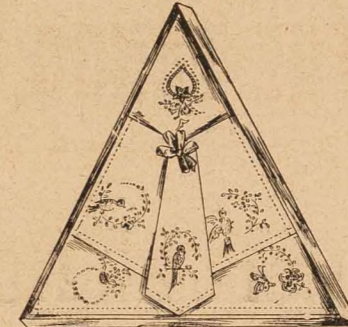
Every year the interest of this excellent exhibition of women's work increases, and the widening scope of women's activities is demonstrated. Mrs. Elspeth Spencer, the successful woman architect, who not only undertakes to draw out plans for houses or country cottages, but is capable of carrying out the actual building, exhibits plans and sketches of her work, and is attracting considerable attention. For the first time, too, basket-making is included, and the charming variety of fancy and useful baskets made by Miss H. Palmer, of Chenies, Bucks, show the industry brought to a perfection. Among the artists whose work is shown for the first time is Miss Hedley Charlton, whose "Good Night Suffrage Prayer" of a little girl and her doll is a favourite card among Suffragists of every hue. Miss Charlton is organising a Guild of Girl Artists, and deserves notable success, her own work being so full of character and charm. Some beautiful and artistic poker work on leather, principally with Egyptian and other oriental designs, is shown by Miss Florence Street, of Sedburgh, Yorkshire, and among the exquisite needlework in the exhibition, that of Miss F. Relfe, of the School of Embroidery, Weybridge, who reproduces in perfect colouring any design in china on tea cosies, deserves the highest praise. Various village industries are well represented, among them the Cullompton and Somerset weavers, the Irish lace and embroidery industries, Donegal, the Diss Association, and the Guild of Woodcarvers, Curry, Somerset. In a very happy little speech Mrs. Walter Page Hines, wife of the American ambassador, opened the Exhibition on November 5; it will remain open until November 15, and will well repay more than one visit.

"Mrs. HUMPHREY WARD admits to the full woman's capacity in municipal work, in looking after drains, paving stones, and street lamps, and even in taking an intelligent interest in the Watch Committee, but when it comes to taking an interest in great Imperial affairs, then she would be entirely false to her sex, if she was allowed to express any opinion in the ballot-box! I believe the view that women are incapable of dealing with those great international questions is utterly without foundation.—Lord Robert Cecil.



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FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO BE FREE.

Sun., Nov. 16.—CAXTON HALL, "At Home," 3.30—5 p.m. Members and friends cordially invited. Tea, music. *Speaker:* The Rev. Hatty Baker, on "Henrik Ibsen's Influence on the Woman's Movement." *Chair:* Mrs. Despard.

Mon., Nov. 17.—DRILL HALL, W. EALING, Public Meeting, 8 p.m., Mrs. Despard, Miss Boyle, Mrs. Huntsman and J. Y. Kennedy, Esq. *Chair:* G. A. Chambers, Esq. Admission free. W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C., Lecture, 8 p.m., the Rev. W. Moritz Weston, D.D., Ph.D., on "The Economic Independence of Women." *Chair:* Miss Murray. Admission free. Discussion invited.

Wed., Nov. 19.—CAXTON HALL PUBLIC MEETING, 3.30. Mrs. de Fonblanque on "Nature and the Soul of Woman's Suffrage" and Mrs. Despard. Admission free. STREATHAM TOWN HALL, Whist Drive, 7.30 p.m. Tickets, 1s. each.

Thurs., Nov. 20.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade, "At Home," 3.30 p.m. Mrs. E. M. N. Clark.

Wed., Nov. 20.—CAXTON HALL PUBLIC MEETING, 3.30. J. Malcolm Mitchell, Esq., "The Growth of the Suffrage among Men." *Chair:* Mrs. Tanner.

Thurs., Nov. 27.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, 32A, The Arcade, "At Home," 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Ackroyd, 2, CURRIE-STREET, NINE ELMS, Jumble Sale, 5-10 p.m.

Fri., Nov. 28.—2, CURRIE-STREET, NINE ELMS, Jumble Sale, 2-10 p.m.

Tues., Dec. 2.—STREATHAM TOWN HALL, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard and others. W.F.L. OFFICE, 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C., Discussion Meeting, 8 p.m. Mr. E. B. Lloyd. Subject: "The Real Meaning of the White Slave Traffic."

Wed., Dec. 3.—CAXTON HALL, Public Meeting, 3.30. Mrs. Ackroyd on "The Work of Women on Councils." BALHAM ASSEMBLY ROOMS, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Mrs. Mustard and Miss Murray. *Chair:* Miss Underwood.

Tues., Dec. 9.—CROYDON W.F.L. OFFICE, The Arcade, High-street, Meeting, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* Stewart Robertson, Esq., M.A.

Wed., Dec. 10. Caxton Hall, Christmas Presents Sale, 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. 8.30, H. Baillie Weaver, Esq., on "Male Cant about Female Violence." *Chair:* Mrs. Mustard.

PROVINCES.

Fri., Nov. 14.—Manchester, Clarion Café. Combined Meeting of Branches. *Speaker:* Mrs. Despard.

Nov. 17—22.—Middlesbrough, Miss Anna Munro.

Mon., Nov. 17.—Middlesbrough, Hinton's Café, "At Home." *Speaker:* Miss Munro. Gravesend, Labour Hall, Public Meeting 8 p.m. Mrs. Tanner.

Mon., Nov. 24.—Gravesend, The Labour Hall, 8 p.m. Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Hove, 1, Eaton-road. Lecture: "The Occult Significance of the Woman's Movement." Miss Hare, Middlesbrough, Hinton's Café, Public Meeting, 8 p.m. Rev. A. Scruton, "Women's Fight for Freedom."

Thurs., Nov. 27.—Chester, Brown's Sale Room, John-street, Monthly Meeting. *Speaker:* Mrs. Shaw.

Dec. 1-6.—South Shields, Miss Anna Munro.

Mon., Dec. 1.—Gravesend, The Labour Hall, 8 p.m. Public Meeting. Mrs. Despard.

Dec. 8-11.—West Hartlepool, Miss Anna Munro.

Fri., Dec. 12.—Bolton, Lecture Hall, Public Meeting. Miss Anna Munro.

Mon., Dec. 15.—Gravesend, The Labour Hall, 8 p.m. Public Meeting.

SCOTLAND

Sat., Nov. 15.—Glasgow, 70, St. George's-road, Cake and Candy Sale, to be opened at 3.30 by Ex-Provost White, of Partick.

Wed., Nov. 19.—Edinburgh, Suffrage Shop, 90, Lothian-road, 8 p.m. *Speaker:* from the Women Workers' Union.

Sat., Nov. 22.—Edinburgh, Jumble Sale.

OTHER SOCIETIES.

Sun., Nov. 30.—KINGSTON HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY, Fife Hall, Fife-road, 7 p.m. *Speaker:* Miss Eunice Murray (W.F.L.). Subject: "Prejudices Old and New."

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.

At the large gathering last Sunday afternoon in the East Meadows, Edinburgh, presided over by ex-Councillor Colbron, of Kelso, Councillor Crawford maintained that the Government was entirely responsible for the militancy of the present time, because of the manner in which women had been repeatedly tricked and betrayed. Mrs. Arcliff Sennett appealed to voters to support the Northern Men's Federation in their determination to see this matter settled without further delay.

Women's Tax Resistance League.

Mrs. Kinton Parkes has been carrying the banner of tax-resistance into the Chancellor of the Exchequer's own country. On November 5 a crowded "At Home" was held at Newport. Mrs. D. Thomas was hostess, and an address was given by Mrs. Kinton Parkes on "The Chancellor's Million and a Half." The same evening a public meeting was held in the Temperance Hall, and the subject was "Shall Women Contribute Money to the State?" Both these meetings were well attended, and many new resistors are ready to make protests when next year's taxes are levied.

Actresses' Franchise League.

A mass meeting will be held at the Shaftesbury Theatre (by kind permission of Mr. Courtneidge) on Tuesday afternoon, November 18. Miss Lena Ashwell will take the chair, and the following eminent men will speak:—Professor Bickerton, Rev. Lewis Donaldson, Messrs. J. T. Harwood, Roy Horniman, Ben Webster, Frederick Whelan, and Israel Zangwill. After the speeches the audience will be invited to take tea in the foyer of the theatre, the hostesses being the vice-presidents of the A.F.L. and other leading actresses.

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(Extract from the Report of the Directors.)

A N examination of the details of the Trading Account has shown that a fairly creditable average has been maintained in the Advertisement Department, but in order that the accounts may be held and increased, it is necessary that the Advertisers shall be well patronised, and the Directors appeal to all members to support those firms who support the paper, to regard the Advertiser not merely as an ordinary trader knocking at the door of the consumer, but as one of the most important factors in building up "THE VOTE."

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Three Minutes
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SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES' MEETINGS.

We accept Announcements of Suffrage and kindred Meetings for this Column at the rate per single insertion of 2s. for 24 words, 1d. every additional word; four insertions at the price of three. All Announcements must be Prepaid, and, to ensure insertion should reach the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER VOTE Office, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi London, by the *First Post on Tuesday Morning*.

AT INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton-street, W.—Subscription One Guinea. **WEDNESDAY,** NOVEMBER 19, at 3.30, CLUB TEA. Chairman: Mr. HERBERT JACOBS. Speakers: Miss BEBB and Miss NETTLEFOLD.

IRISH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—WHIST DRIVE Thursday, December 4, 7.30 p.m., at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham-street, Strand. Tickets 1s. 6d., including refreshments, from Mrs. CASEY, 29B, Lincoln's Inn Fields, and Miss CARSON, 2, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

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