

THE VOTE

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

VOL. III. No. 68.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1911.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR and SECRETARY respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER.

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EDITORIAL.

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

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WHAT WE THINK.

Footpad Government.

When Mr. Ginnell attacked Mr. Lowther, though profoundly discourteous, he was in the right—he attacked the agent and minister of the Party system, the system which says whether the private member shall be heard or whether he shall not. The "dramatic" robbery of the private members' time by the sub-caucus in the Cabinet is the latest proof of the system of the footpad Government which is stultifying the power of the private member and making party, and party alone, the motive power at Westminster. Minorities have no chance, and majorities, unless their objective is included on the Party programme, are similarly unfortunately placed. How long the country will stand this system remains to be seen. Our cause has been the greatest sufferer from it; and we now find ourselves left high and dry outside the pale of the King's Speech. We are told that proposals will be submitted, without delay, for settling the relations between the two Houses of Parliament with the object of securing the more effective working of the constitution. But the "effective" working of the constitution is to be gained by gag, and by stifling the hearing of such questions as are likely to affect a hitherto unenfranchised class.

We were told by Lord Robert Cecil the other day that men who knew nothing of the arguments for or against Party measures, inasmuch as they were absent during the debate, flocked in when the division bell rang and voted in whatever way the Whips directed. And it is in this way that the business of the country is being conducted. We read in a recent leader in *The Daily Telegraph*, the organ of the Conservative party, a weighty eulogium of Mr. Asquith, and in what is meant to be an expression of profoundly complimentary opinion, the statement that the Premier "disbelieves in single-chamberism, socialism, and in a good deal of Redmondism, just as much as we (i.e., *The Daily Telegraph*) do." And this, which is apparently meant as a sincere appreciation of Mr. Asquith, congratulates him on not being an honest man and on sacrificing his principles to his party. And to such a depth of degradation has the Party system brought the country, and the man who stands at the head of the State!

Scottish Sack-Sewers.

In a recent issue of *The People's Journal* (Dundee) attention is called to the earnings of sack-sewers, and, from the facts given, this depressing home trade would seem to call for some action on the part of the Trades Board. It is an industry, we are told, peculiar to Dundee, and is work reserved for criminals and the poorest of the poor. The criminals compete with the outside worker and undersell, via the authorities, the outside labour. The employers will not give out a single sack in Dundee unless the Dundee and Perth prisons are unable to take in more sacks. The expert sack-sewer makes a fraction less than 1½d. an hour; what the most worn and weary make is only known to their starved selves and their employers. "It is a too familiar sight in Dundee streets," says the journal, "a frail woman carrying a heavy bundle of sacking. The weight of it causes her to twist and distort her body, and the cord cuts into her slender shoulders. And this is a country that professes to respect its womanhood, and pours scorn and contempt upon the Orientals because, forsooth, they do not respect their womenkind."

Lace-Workers' "Charter."

What has been called the lace-workers' charter will benefit 10,000 poor workers engaged in the finishing processes of machine-made lace in Nottingham, who will now come under the Trades Boards Act. Owing to the action of middlemen and middlewomen, we are told, it is indisputable that large numbers of the women have not been able to earn a penny an hour, and when hampered by bad "draw threads" they might receive a rate appreciably less than this wretched payment. The Board of Trade has now resolved that: "The minimum or lowest time-rate for the trade of machine-made lace and net finishing, other than the finishing of the product of plain net machines, shall be 2½d. per hour up to and including September 30, 1912, and 3d. per hour thereafter, free and clear of all deductions." An essential feature of the new list will be the attempt to deal with the difficulty of defective draw threads. The piece rates are to operate until October, 1910, when the list will be revised to include an extra ½d. an hour to be added. Three months' notice is being given of the new rates.

An Inhuman City Council.

The report of the Liverpool Anti-Sweating League brings a curious fact to light. Great assistance, it is stated, was given to the League by many of the firms concerned, who allowed the organisers to address the workpeople on the aims and method of the Trade Boards Act. One firm of contractors against whom the League had cause of complaint raised the women's wages on a particular branch of work from 7s. to 12s. The City Council, however, took no notice of the League's invitation to establish in its contracts a minimum (living) wage in those trades where a trade union or standard rate does not exist, and profess themselves quite content with the fact that Government has passed the Trade Boards Act. "If it happen," says the report, "that the Trade Boards Act is unable to cover the whole ground of the sweated industries for some years, then so far as the City Council is concerned the citizens of Liverpool will continue to countenance the present inhuman and grinding exactions practised on the woman-worker."

PROPAGANDA.

On the Eve.

The Conciliation Bill, slightly modified, is to be reintroduced, and there promises to be some competition among our champions in the House for the honour of association with this measure of enfranchisement. It would be foolish to say that we have no friends or champions in Parliament—there are many sincere men pledged to the Cause, and it is our duty to encourage them by showing a united front and unceasing activity. Simultaneously we must work to discourage our enemies, to make their path more difficult. To carry out these obvious duties of the hour, a great army of devoted women is needed, and we must spread the propaganda far and wide. Let us gather in the women of every condition of life, provided they are earnest and sincere. When we protested militantly there were many who said: "Oh, yes; I would work for the Suffrage if your methods were different." Now that there has been for a while a truce we can put to the test the sincerity of these sympathisers, they must come in and can come in now. As for those who believe—as many of us believe—that reforms are won by fighting, by suffering, and by proving to a superficial world the strength of our convictions, through self-sacrifice and endurance, they, too, must come in. They cannot stand aside when the Cause needs them so greatly and when to-morrow may sound a call to arms more earnest and more fateful than in all the months gone by. The standard of freedom and fair-play is raised, and the proudest honour that womanhood can claim is to be serving under it. Surely it will be something splendid in the future to say: "I fought for the enfranchisement of women." Now the call goes out: "We are on the eve of victory! Who will help?"

New Branches.

We have nearly seventy branches up and down the country, but we want more. The central organisation cannot reach every worker and sympathiser as efficiently as a local Branch. Therefore, there should be a concerted effort among members to call into existence new centres. Everywhere there are earnest and sincere women working as scattered units, who could do so much more for their ideals if they would band together. It is only necessary for one who realises this to take the initiative, and then, with a little work, a branch is soon established. If those willing to start branches in their own districts will communicate with Headquarters, help will gladly be given.

Meetings.

There is a great need for meetings just now, and it is earnestly hoped that every branch will, in addition to regular members' gatherings, hold one or more public meetings this month. While the Census campaign is in progress it is essential that we should have the ear of the public, for the Census protest must be on a large scale to be really effective.

South-West London Propaganda Centre.

The Municipal canvass now in progress in Battersea needs volunteers, and every member who desires to obtain some experience of political work is urged to help in this. Our committee rooms are at 316, Battersea Park Road, and Miss Madge Turner, who is in charge, will give full information.

Caxton Hall "At Homes."

On Thursday, the 9th inst, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, 3 p.m., Mrs. Despard will speak on "Stop the Traffic," and Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell will also speak. On the following Thursday, February 16, Mrs. Thomson-Price will speak on "The Vote from the Professional Woman's Point of View," and Mr. Joseph McCabe on "The Rights of Minorities."

Members' Meetings.

London members are reminded that meetings will be held every Sunday at 1, Robert-street, from 4 to 7 p.m. The first of these meetings was held on Sunday

last, and was very successful and enjoyable. Mrs. Despard made a short speech, emphasizing the importance of concerted action and drawing special attention to the Census campaign.

Remembering Miss Jack's delightful account of the Scottish "Hard Up" Social, it was suggested to arrange a similar entertainment in London, and at once several of our enthusiastic members formed themselves into a Committee and started work. Miss Taylor and another member, who are by professional duties prevented from putting much time at our disposal, guaranteed the cost of the hall, and subscribed £1 towards the expenses. The "Hard Up" Social will take place on March 24.

At next Sunday's meeting Miss C. V. Tite will be present. We hope that a great many of our members will attend.
B. BORRMANN WELLS.

OUR TREASURY.

Now that it has been decided by the Conference that the General Secretary of the Freedom League should be a paid official, I hope that the branches will realise their responsibility in the matter and consider what help they can give headquarters. On October 29 I made an appeal in this paper for a special fund of £1,500 a year for office expenses, to be distinct from ordinary donations and subscriptions. This plan has been very well received by many of our members, who are aware that such expense cannot be suddenly curtailed, although it may be considered expedient to curtail our militant activities for certain periods. The appointment of a paid secretary will increase this necessarily regular expenditure, and I hope all those members who have already come to my help with money and promises will take upon themselves the further task of convincing their branches of the utility of such a fund. The difficulty of doing useful work is enormously increased if, for want of money, one cannot plan ahead, nor is the living from hand to mouth economical in the long run.

C. V. TITE.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Cash Statement—January 1 to December 31, 1910.

RECEIPTS.		EXPENDITURE.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
To Cash in Hand	19 1 9	By Rent, Fire, Light, Office Expenses, &c.	369 17 10
.. Cash at Bank,		.. Hire of Halls	357 6 11
Jan. 1, 1,213 15 10		.. Stationery	90 2 0
	1,232 17 7	.. Printing and Advertising	470 18 9
.. Subscriptions, Donations and Lecture Fees	2,749 9 6	.. Postage, Telegrams, Telephone, &c.	267 17 3
.. Branch Donations and Affiliation Fees	172 13 5	.. Salaries	972 5 0
.. Collections	534 14 1	.. Travelling	331 0 5
.. Sale of Tickets	229 4 9	.. Voluntary Workers' Expenses	295 8 0
.. Advertisements in Programmes, Goods sold, London Branches Council, and Sundries	173 17 7	.. General Elections and Bye-Elections' Expenses	785 7 8
		.. Legal Expenses	218 7 8
		.. Furniture and Fittings	15 7 8
		.. Votes and Editorial Expenses	319 16 5
		.. Shares in the Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd.	350 0 0
		.. Cash in Office	14 3 5
		.. Cash at Bank,	
		Dec. 31	232 17 11
			237 1 4
	£5,092 16 11		£5,092 16 11

MRS. DESPARD has again received a lengthy document ordering her under heavy penalties to pay her taxes. This she has again refused to do.

WE remind our readers of our Receipts Competition. We shall be glad to file from time to time such receipts for goods bought from advertisers as may be sent to us previous to the announcement of the results, which will appear in issue dated March 25.

"IF—!"

BY LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

How often we still hear that physical force is the basis of government, and how blind to the fallacy of that statement people can still be, until you give them an object lesson!

The women's struggle for political freedom may have to resolve itself, therefore, into a series of object lessons wherein physical force plays no part at all, but is replaced by that far more fundamental consideration—consent, or lack of consent, on the part of the governed.

How long does the "physical force" doctrinaire suppose the machinery of modern government could go on, if all the women who are demanding the vote "struck" in various ways against those more delicate parts of the machinery which have nothing to do with physical force? And if we are told that the women who don't want the vote are equally capable of the same striking attitude—of contracting themselves out in a similar revolt to contrary ends—all we need say on that score is that they are very welcome to try; and if they summon up enough heart, and enough independence of man's judgment and authority to do it, then the very process will turn them into suffragists, they will have quitted their present premises; for they will be saying that laws ought not to be carried and put into force until they, too, have been consulted. And that is the woman suffragist's position. A strike of anti-suffragists would make a practical clearance of the species, for they would have to get up and stand erect, relying on themselves, and they would cease thenceforth to go upon all-fours at the bidding of others, or because they thought the all-fours attitude showed off their sex-charm to the best advantage.

Now, hitherto, the militant branch of the suffrage movement has chosen a line of action which involved, in nearly every case, far more suffering and inconvenience to those who made the protest than to those against whose unrighteous authority the protest was made; or perhaps it would be more true to say that they incurred greater physical damage and discomfort in order to inflict a heavier and more moral kind of damage and discomfort upon the Government. It was magnificent, but it was not in every case economic warfare. It depended for its reward quite evidently on the moral sense of the community, and it may be that it estimated the moral sense of the community on too high a standard. I do not say that such a process would not inevitably win in the end, or that those who have the courage and devotion for such action should cease to follow their instinct of rebellion against unjust authority by all possible means. But "all possible means" include others which have not yet been tried, which do not involve the same ordeal of submission to the violence of the physically stronger, in order to awaken the communal conscience. Pitch the battle on a field where a valuable departmental crop has been sown for harvest at a future date, and the physical disproportion of the forces ceases to be an element in the fight. Make economics the ground of your contention, and it is the big economic organisation that has prepared the ground at great cost for its own purposes which pays the heavier price.

I am assuming such a "change of venue" taking place, in order to show that on economic lines a Government, however great its physical forces may be, is peculiarly vulnerable; and if the Government has not the sense to meet the women's claim for justice at an early date, there can be little doubt that some women may set themselves to demonstrate the economic disadvantage under which the complicated machinery of modern government labours when it fails to secure the general consent of the governed.

Let me give just a single example to show what I mean. We are now in the year 1911; and in this year, on the night of April 2, the Census will be taken. It will actually be collected on the following day, but

its record will be of the occupancy of all the houses in the United Kingdom during the night of Sunday, April 2.

Now, there is an enormously complicated and very important piece of Government work, involving an expenditure of several hundred thousands of pounds, extremely necessary for the information and guidance of all sorts of Government departments about which the general public knows nothing, and depending for its value on the scrupulous accuracy and completeness of its record. Now what a terrible blow it would be to the "physical force" doctrine if the women suffragists of this country—driven to sterner measures by the "shuffling and delay" of the Government—of which Mr. Birrell, the author of that accusation, still finds it honourable and convenient to remain a member—how terrible it would be if the women, or even only a few thousand of them, showed their economic power over organised modern government by setting themselves to break down the accuracy and completeness of the Census returns! Supposing they put their houses, on the night of April 2, into the temporary occupancy of a fighting line of other women*—women who are not householders, women on whom the authorities would find it very difficult or even impossible to levy a distraint for any fine incurred; and supposing these women, after occupying the house, along with a great number of other women, on the Sunday night, returned the Census paper on the Monday morning marked "No Vote, no Census," what would be the corresponding losses of the two combatants? The women—these few hundreds or thousands—with their unknown and unknowable numbers of guests, not liable to any penalty, concealed within their doors, might be fined, or failing the exaction of the fine, might be imprisoned. But the Government would lose the value of a vast, costly, and highly systematised numbering of the people which depends for its efficiency on being taken at regular and preordained intervals, and with the utmost accuracy and completeness. You would get, therefore, in one scale the voluntary suffering of a small body of stalwarts, and in the other the breakdown of a piece of Government machinery which could not be repaired without a fresh Act of Parliament; and then only very imperfectly, because the date, which gives to the decennial Census its full value, would necessarily have to be altered.

Nor would the cost to the Government end there. It would have to accept defeat in the open field, or it would have to set on foot a large number of prosecutions of women, a great many of whom would probably have refused their names and addresses to the collectors—or might even have gone elsewhere before he arrived on the Monday morning, leaving a label upon the door-knocker, "No Vote, no Census"; or an unfilled

* It is the occupier on the night of April 2 alone who will be responsible for making the return to the Census officials. The owner or tenant cannot, if absent, be called upon to fill in the particulars, nor can the Government require the owner or permanent tenant to be in occupation to see that the returns are made.

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form bearing the same inscription. The Government might have to run to the expense of all those perfectly useless prosecutions—useless because the work they were instituted to defend would already have been spoiled past remedy—and it would, by the mere fact of prosecution, advertise to the world its failure to obtain the full returns it had sought, and so stand dishonoured for the very obvious connection between the breakdown of its administrative machinery and its own failure to deal fairly by those whose obedience it claimed. The heaviest losses would obviously lie against the Government.

When acts of justice are unconscionably delayed, when the temper of a wronged section of the community is rising, and discontent growing more pronounced, it is well for statesmen to look ahead and see what may be the outcome of their impolitic reluctance to own themselves wrong and to admit reform. In what I have written here I am not dictating to women suffragists what they should do, but I am suggesting to hostile and purblind politicians what they have power to do, and what they may do. For there does come a point when people labouring under unjust government have to regard all forms of passive resistance—and some active forms as well—not merely as a right, but as a duty.

It will be difficult for a Government whose leading members, when it was out of office, condoned for party ends the passive resistance of Nonconformists over the Education question—whose most prominent member only the other day praised those Welshmen who in the past disguised themselves as women and pulled down toll-gates and barriers permitted by law—it will be difficult for such a Government to argue with any show of consistency that a Census strike of women, in the year which is going to see members of Parliament paid out of taxes levied on women, is anything else than a protest public-spirited in character, constitutional in aim, and in substance right.

MEN'S LEAGUE "AT HOME."

An interesting and pleasant reunion of the Men's League and their supporters and friends took place at the Grand Hall of the Criterion on Saturday last. Mr. Reginald Pott (chairman of the General Purposes Committee) was in the chair, and was supported by a large number of speakers who made brief speeches, including Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. Joseph Clayton, Mrs. Despard, Mr. H. N. Brailsford.

Mr. H. W. Nevinson, in the course of his address, observed that a parallel for the present surprise at women in revolt might be found in that of Sir Henry Irving when he caressed the mountain lamb, saying, "Drink, pretty creature, drink"; and the pretty creature, disliking the attitude of sentimental affectation, turned and bit him!

Mr. Brailsford dealt with the present prospects of the Bill and the strategical position adopted by the Conciliation Committee. Last year the Committee had gone about asking questions and indulging in polite appeals, and this method had not been altogether displeasing to the Government. This year they would adopt a different procedure. The only way to read an oracle was not to pray politely, but to go sword in hand, and they were going to try the proper method with the oracle at Westminster. He thought it would be quite possible to introduce the Bill under the ten-minutes rule.

Mr. Zangwill paid a signal compliment to Mr. Brailsford and Mr. Nevinson. From his experiences of Fleet-street, of Liberal staffs of Conservative papers, and Conservative staffs of Liberal journals, he never believed anything he saw in print—even when he wrote it himself; but he had his incredulity shaken when he found two men honest enough to throw up their appointments on the staff of a Liberal paper because that paper was not true to its professed principles over this question of the women. Such an action relieved journalism of vulgarity.

WHY I BECAME A SUFFRAGIST.

By Mrs. DONALD SHAW.

It must have occurred to a good many women who have passed their first youth, at some time in their lives, that there is something singularly unjust in the laws of this country as regards women. And even if only the merest fleeting idea crosses a woman's mind that all is not right as regards her own sex, and that there is room for improvement she has, whether she knows it or not, taken her first hesitant step along the pathway of emancipation cleared for her by those women who have thought so deeply and felt so strongly on the subject of women's wrongs that they have been forced to cease thinking and take action to right them. It is not difficult, however, to understand why so many women are still extremely apathetic in their attitude towards the Woman Movement. Those who have been supported all their lives, who have never been forced into the labour market, who have never suffered under the selfishness and tyranny of a bad man to whom the law chains them, can scarcely perhaps be blamed if they fail to appreciate the spirit which actuates those who are fighting to raise and release themselves and their sisters from slavery. It is a fact well known to everyone who has worked to win the Franchise for women that it is these apathetic women who are not only the most difficult to arouse to interest, but also form an even greater handicap to the Cause than men themselves.

The happily married woman—especially the woman of the upper middle class—snuggles herself into the security of her own four walls, and when approached on the subject invariably replies in a tone of unctious self-righteousness: "What do women want the vote for? Look at me, how happy I am! I am content to remain a woman and don't want to claim equality with man."

It has always struck me as curious, by the way, that the mere fact of putting a slip of paper into a ballot-box is supposed to completely unsex a woman, though where the logic of this reasoning comes in I have never been able to discover.

To return to our bugbear, the apathetic woman. Supposing one proceeds to point out that other women are not so fortunate as she is; that some women have to work for their living; that some are condemned to live with unfaithful husbands because the law can deprive them of their children if they decline to submit to indignity, the answer will come as glibly as before—

"Oh! but, of course, that is all their own fault; really, it must be."

Ask them to explain where the fault lies, and you get a vague murmur and a reiteration of the conviction that the woman herself is to blame. Go a little further and draw her attention to the fact that there is going on daily and hourly a horrible traffic in the bodies of innocent girls known as the White Slave Traffic, that on the altar of man's brute passions are sacrificed yearly thousands upon thousands of young lives, and that other women are fighting to save their sisters from destruction, and immediately the lady's hands will fly to her ears and she will cry, "Oh! but I never dream of discussing such things; no nice woman could possibly know anything about them."

And then she will trot off contentedly to her Bridge or her Mission to convert the Woolloomoos or some other tribe of contented negroes, leaving the latest specimen of erotic fiction lying open on her drawing-room table.

After the apathetic woman comes a large section of women who are "sitting on the fence," neither approving nor condemning, sometimes for prudential reasons—i.e., the chance of losing a position or of creating family friction if they declare themselves in favour of the movement, or simply because they are not sufficiently conversant with facts to form an opinion either way, and they are therefore unable to realize what far-

reaching effects the granting of the Franchise to women would have, not only on the welfare of women and children but on the moral and physical health of the nation.

I am convinced that a large number of people, both men and women, are still labouring under the delusion that the present struggle to win the Vote is persisted in solely because a certain number of women think they ought to vote equally with men at General Elections, because by doing so they will feel themselves on an equal footing with their husbands and brothers, and that there is nothing more behind the movement than this.

For years I personally worked, argued and fought to uphold woman's right to an equal wage for equal work, for equal laws for both sexes, for woman's right to be self-supporting and self-dependent, for woman's right to be regarded as an individual and not as a female animal; but as regards the Suffrage I too sat on the fence and waited until I had seen and learnt enough of the Woman Movement to know that the motives and aims of its pioneers were identical with my own, and realizing the value of organized movement I gladly joined forces with them.

In conclusion, it is not perhaps out of place to mention that I have noticed during the last year or two that a very curious change has taken place in the attitude of the average man towards Women's Suffrage. The former kindly, contemptuous, "run away and play little girl" method of treating the subject has given place to either violent and bitter denunciation, a judicial weighing in the balance of pros and cons, or a whole-hearted approval; but whether he be anti, uncertain, or approving, man to-day certainly realizes that the subject is one which cannot be lightly dismissed, but which must be faced in all seriousness, and in this change of masculine opinion there is undoubtedly to be read the fact that the granting of the Franchise to Women is very nearly come.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

The National Executive Committee met directly after the Conference and proceeded at once to make arrangements for filling the vacancy caused by Mrs. How Martyn's resignation. Mrs. Nevinson received a unanimous request from the Committee to act as Hon. Secretary *pro tem.*, and this she has kindly consented to do. A sub-committee was appointed to advertise for a General Secretary, to receive the applications, and to report to the Committee at its next meeting.

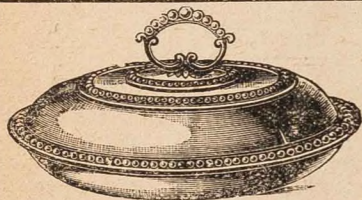
Mrs. Borrmann Wells was unanimously asked to act as head of the Propaganda Department until she is obliged to leave for America. Though at great inconvenience to herself, Mrs. Borrmann Wells has acceded to the request.

The Committee was also unanimous in asking Mrs. How Martyn to be head of the Political and Militant Department, Mrs. Eileen Mitchell of the Literature, and Mrs. Snow of THE VOTE Sales Department. All these members have consented to act, Mrs. Eileen Mitchell making it clear that for the present she could only regard it as a temporary arrangement.

THE delegate who is recognised in last week's group by her uniform only is Miss Woodall, the enthusiastic Hon. Secretary of our Chester Branch.

REQUIRED—GENERAL SECRETARY FOR THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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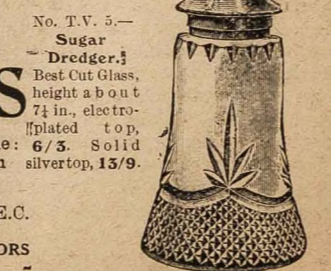
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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1911.

BOYCOTT THE CENSUS.

The King's Speech has been read, the legislative programme is now before us for our consideration. What do we find is to be dealt with in the first Session of this new Parliament? We had hoped that when the Liberal party was returned to power for the third time in succession with a large majority of its members pledged to an extension of the franchise in favour of women, that at last this great outstanding injustice would have been referred to in the King's Speech. It does not appear to us to be a great deal to expect from a Government which pretends to stand or fall by the will of the people, that now after more than five years of unparalleled agitation among women some definite pledge should be given that their ever-increasing grievance should receive attention. But because this Government does not need to rely upon women's votes for its support, therefore, anything and everything is more important and more urgent than women's right to political freedom.

It is time that men and women realise what party policy and trickery are disgracing our Government to-day. Returned to power to give expression to the will of the people—the male electorate—the very first action of Mr. Asquith as head of an autocratic Cabinet is to make it impossible for the representatives of the electorate to do more than register the decrees of the Cabinet. By an astounding misuse of Governmental machinery Mr. Asquith contemptuously sweeps aside all those whose urgent grievances have become inconvenient to him, and no private member need trouble to do more this Session than obey the Party whip. Our friends in the House are deprived of the opportunity of action. This is recognised by *The Daily News*, which says, "A greater grievance will doubtless be felt by the promoters of the Conciliation or Women's Suffrage Bill, who had decided this week to institute a ballot for the measure, but who will not now have the opportunity."

It is clearly evident that Suffragists must change their grievance from an inconvenience to a menace. Any Government which refuses to recognise women must be met by women's refusal to recognise the Government. Women should do all in their power to obstruct the business of any Government which rules them without their consent, and this can be done in more than one way.

Tax resistance has already been used, and used successfully to point the injustice of taxation without representation, but an even greater injustice, which can be summed up as "legislation without representation is tyranny," is daily affecting the lives of all British women. To this tyranny we must not become consenting parties. It is not enough merely to protest against the Government passing laws which concern women without a mandate from them. Since the grievance is not sufficiently recognised it must be made evident in the only way in which it can force recognition, and that is by obstructing the legislative machinery in all its stages.

An opportunity offers itself to every Suffragist, man or woman, to do this. A Census Bill comes into effect on April 2 which empowers the Government to obtain minute and personal information relating to every person in the kingdom. If the required information is given upon which future legislation will be based then we actually approve in effect the present political status of womanhood.

Woman Suffrage is not in the King's Speech and

there is no shadow of an excuse for such an omission—an omission which is deliberate and dishonourable. What is the reply of the Women's Freedom League to be to the callous indifference and heartless dishonesty which has characterised the Government's treatment of Women's Suffrage up to the present time? Is it to be expected that we shall without protest or hindrance fill in Census papers and thus assist and make easy the task of governing women while denying them the elementary rights of citizenship? Women have borne so much, and been so patient, that doubtless this will be expected, but this time expected in vain.

The Women's Freedom League has for some months been arranging the details and now openly calls upon women all over the kingdom to boycott the Census, to refuse all information about themselves and their households. It further calls upon them to combine in every possible way which ingenuity can devise to ensure that not only householders, but large sections of the population shall evade being included in the Census. We intend to do our best to make it unreliable and inaccurate, and so far as women are concerned, so wrong, and with so many omissions, that it is essentially misleading.

It must be understood that Suffragists do not object to the Census in itself, but they cannot conscientiously give information which conduces to the smooth working of the Government machinery which is so persistently used to interfere with women and to dictate the conditions of their lives, while denying them any control over it whatever.

We have seen some of the ideas of justice to unrepresented women which exist in the Local Government Board under Mr. John Burns, where an attempt has already been made to restrict women's labour and we consider it within reasonable probability that the detailed inquiries which the Census makes into the relationship as to marriage, the number of children and the occupation of the women, may be used later to press forward legislation upon the same lines. In any case, whether such legislation be good or bad does not here concern Suffragists, the only principle for us to concentrate upon is, "Do we believe in helping the Government to gather facts and figures which will be used for making laws to govern women without their consent?" There is for the sincere Suffragist only one answer and that answer the Women's Freedom League gives most emphatically now. Legislation is to be hindered, hampered and obstructed—Suffragists will cease to be merely persons with a grievance; they will become a menace to that good feeling upon which even the most powerful Government must ultimately rely. To boycott the Census is an important step in this campaign of obstruction.

EDITH HOW MARTYN.

CAXTON HALL "AT HOME."

The speakers at the "At Home" on Thursday, February 2, were Mrs. Despard and Surgeon-General Evatt, C.B., who has already spoken for the Women's Freedom League on several other occasions.

Florence Nightingale.

Surgeon-General Evatt gave a brilliant lecture on Florence Nightingale and her work in the Crimea. He observed that he had had the great honour of knowing her personally, and of frequently discussing with her the great number of subjects of which she was mistress. Florence Nightingale had a great advantage over the other women of her time—the advantage of a good and extensive education. She was an only child and her father had devoted his whole attention to her. Thus when she grew up she was better educated than the average man with whom and came into contact. She had broad religious views, and was supremely tolerant and without prejudice. In a rotten era she stood aside from ordinary society women and associated with other fine and earnest spirits, such as Elizabeth Fry.



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BRANCH NOTES.

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

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

You will each have received a notice of our annual branch meeting, to be held on Tuesday, February 14, at 7 p.m.

After the delegates have given their report of the Annual Conference the business of the branch will be attended to, including election of new officers as president, secretary and treasurer; also, if members desire them, literature and public meetings secretaries, and the committee (consisting of five members).

If the business is not finished on the 14th, we shall be obliged to call another meeting for the following week, which will in that case be notified in THE VOTE.

I shall be glad if all members will pay their subscriptions for 1911 as early in the year as possible.

Stewards and helpers for decorating Chandos Hall for public meetings are greatly needed. Will members willing to assist in these ways, and in distributing handbills for our meeting there on February 28 (when Lady Stout will speak), kindly send their names to me?

We have lost the valuable help which we have been receiving in the above ways from Miss Dorothy Spencer and Miss Tucker, so if the members of this branch wish our meetings to continue to be successful they must come forward and do all in their power to make them so. The handbills must all be judiciously distributed and the meetings made known to our friends.

At our meeting held on January 31, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, who kindly took the chair, spoke most impressively, and Mr. G. E. O'Dell addressed us on many matters of interest from the point of view of a man and a keen Suffragist. We were sorry that the audience was not so large as usual, owing, probably, to the intense cold.—E. G. T.

Hackney.—4, Clarence-road, Hackney, N.E.

On Wednesday, January 25, Miss Le Croisette held another successful Suffrage Social and Whist Drive at her flat, 238, Navarino-mansions. The social part of the programme lasted from 6 to 8 p.m., and after an interval for refreshments Mrs. Mustard spoke on the Women's Movement. This was followed by many questions and a heated debate, which lasted till past eleven o'clock. There were several strong "Anti's" present, but their objections were ably answered by the speaker. A profit of 7s. 6d. was made, which was handed over to the branch funds, and several copies of THE VOTE were sold. There will probably be another of these meetings in a few weeks' time.

Next Saturday, February 11, a meeting will be held for members of the branch at the Suffrage Shop at 7 p.m., and it is hoped every member will make an effort to be present.

A cake and candy sale is to be held on Saturday, February 25, and any help in the way of supplies (or money) will be greatly appreciated.—E. E. BUSBY.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W. On Monday, January 23, a members' meeting was held at 28, Carson-road, Dulwich. The chair was taken by Miss Bills, and we thoroughly discussed the most important of the annual Conference resolutions. On Wednesday, February 1, we held another meeting to hear our delegate's report of the Conference, and Dr. Vickery gave us a very interesting account of the discussions and the resolutions that had been passed.

We are glad to record a very marked increase of interest that has been taken by our members this year in the Conference and in the general work of our League, and on Saturday last seven of our members, besides our delegate, attended the Conference and stayed the greater part of the time.

Some of our members have arranged to form a music circle to meet occasionally for singing practice of "The Awakening" and other Suffrage songs.

I shall be pleased to send particulars of meetings to any other member or friend who would like to join, if they will let me know as soon as possible.

On Saturday, February 18, by kind invitation of Dr. Vickery, a social drawing-room meeting will be held at 28, Carson-road, Dulwich, to which members and friends are invited.—BARBARA SPENCER, Hon. Secretary.

Stamford Hill.—Mrs. CUNNINGHAM, 114, Holmleigh-road.

The open-air meeting on Monday evening at West Hackney Church resulted in failure, owing to the bitter wind that prevailed. Mr. Sproson tried two pitches, but to no purpose. But on Friday evening, at Amhurst-park, Mrs. Tanner addressed a very fair-sized audience, and in the remarks passed among the crowd confirmation might be found of Miss Hicks's statement that the conversion of the man in the street is at length effected.

The Whist Drive and Dance—now a thing of the past—has left behind it some very pleasant remembrances, and the encouraging assurance that a similar effort next year will be still more successful. The friendly feeling shown by all gave the affair the character of a private family party. Of the five whist prizes one each was presented by Mrs. Thomson, Mrs. Southall and Miss Essex. Mrs. Cope's delightful singing of "The Awakening" gave pleasure to everybody.

At our next evening "At Home" on Tuesday, February 21, we are to have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Nevinson, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Wheatley.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND BRANCHES.

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

On Wednesday, February 1, a very successful Whist Drive was organised by Miss Mottershall, and held at her house, 6, Clarence View, Southsea. Several of the members gave the refreshments and two of the prizes, and after a few trifling expenses had been paid, Miss Mottershall handed 12s. to the treasurer.

Will members please remember the meeting at the Co-operative Hall, Gosport, Thursday, February 9, at which Miss Munro will speak?

I should like to remind members and sympathisers that THE VOTE is always obtainable at 4, St. Paul's-road, Southsea.—S. WHETTON.

LANCASHIRE AND CHESHIRE.—Hon. Organiser:

MISS MANNING, B.A., Harper-hill, Sale, Cheshire.

Chester.—E. WOODALL, 13, Abbey-square.

Keener interest than hitherto has been taken in the Conference, and there is cheering evidence of effort on the part of members to volunteer suggestions and definite help.

One rather new enthusiastic member informs me she wrote on Sunday to a number of friends, asking them to join us, as she is resolved to get two dozen new members before very long. She also proposes to organise a working party.

Another member, Miss Nellie Smith, has very kindly offered to help the branch to extend its work to the district round Chester, and we have met a number of people at Ellesmere Port (on the Ship Canal) who wish to be educated, so we are arranging for a meeting early in March.

If any readers of THE VOTE have friends in this part of Cheshire who might help in any way, kindly send their addresses to me.—E. WOODALL, Hon. Secretary, 13, Abbey-square, Chester.

Eccles.—Miss J. HEYES, "Newholme," Hazelhurst, Worsley. The Eccles Branch met on Friday, when Miss Neal gave a short speech on Olive Schreiner's "Dreams," and arrangements were made for the forthcoming campaign in the division.

On Thursday, February 9, a King's Speech meeting will be held in St. Stephen's Schools, Swinton. Speakers, Miss Sidley and Mrs. Manning. Chair, Mr. Peter Lindley (Chairman of the Swinton Council).

On the afternoon of Wednesday, February 15, the branch will hold an "At Home" (3.5 p.m.) in Burgon's Hall, Monton Green, when members will have the privilege of meeting Mrs. Despard. Invitations may be had from the branch secretary.

Manchester (Central).—Miss A. E. HORDERN, 89, Clitheroe-road, Longsight.

The branch members are asked to send in their names to Miss Hordern, giving the time they will be able to devote. Mrs. Despard's Pendleton Town Hall meeting on February 15

at 8 p.m. This meeting is organised by the Manchester and Eccles Branches. All possible help is wanted at once.

Sale.—Miss GELDER, "Thornlea," Wardle-road.

On Monday Miss Heyes addressed the Sale Branch members on "Childhood Suffrage: A Plea for the Free Development of the Child." A most interesting lecture, and a most interesting discussion rewarded those who found their way to the Temperance Rooms. On February 13 (Monday next) Mr. P. T. Johnstone will speak on "The Underfed Children of the Nation," in the Temperance Rooms, at eight o'clock. Mr. Johnstone is an authority on this subject, and we urge all who believe in practical politics to be present.

On Tuesday, February 14, Mrs. Despard will speak in the Free Library, at 8 p.m. This is King's Speech meeting, and we want all Sale to hear what we as women think and intend to do in the present political situation. If you have an hour to spare, call on the hon. secretary and get bills to distribute; if you have only half an hour, write a postcard, and bills will be forwarded to you.

Urmston.—Miss M. HUDSON, "Oaklands," Flixton.

A great disappointment was in store for Urmston members on Friday. At the meeting in Wills' Room, Miss Manning announced that after many delays she had abandoned the attempt to get a hall in Urmston and had arranged a meeting in the Pendleton Town Hall instead. Nurse Griffin gave a charming address on "The Subjection of Women" at this meeting, and we are only sorry there were not more to hear her. However, plans are afoot for greatly increased activities, and on February 17 Mrs. Aldridge will speak in Wills' Room (42, Flixton-road) on "The Work of Women's Trades Union Councils."—M. E. MANNING.

OTHER PROVINCIAL BRANCHES.

Wolverhampton.—Mrs. CRESWELL, 25, Rugby-street.

Owing to Mrs. Sproson's indisposition, Mr. Frank Sproson delivered an excellent address on "Woman, Past and Present," to a large and sympathetic audience, in the Labour Hall, Stourbridge, on Sunday last. Several questions were put to the speaker, one being, "What can we best do to get women the vote?" And Mr. Sproson replied: "Write to your representative, and tell him that unless he supports the Conciliation Bill you will not support him," a statement which was enthusiastically received.—E. S.

Cheltenham.—Mrs. EARENGEY, B.A., 3, Wellington-square.

Our branch has received fresh impetus, and the Cheltenham people a clearer understanding of the true meaning of "Votes for Women," from the recent visit of Mrs. Despard and Miss Neilans to the district. Councillor Dr. Earenghey presided over a crowded and sympathetic meeting at the Town Hall. Mrs. Despard, in her speech, referred to the changed attitude of Cheltenham (which was typical of the whole country) towards this question. In the early stages the movement was regarded with curiosity, then it met with opposition, and now there was general agreement with the principle underlying it. Miss Neilans explained the militant position clearly and convincingly. The names of several new members and sympathisers were given in, a good collection was taken, and a considerable quantity of literature sold. In the afternoon of the same day a very successful "At Home" was held at "Snowden," Cheltenham, by kind permission of Miss Bardsley, Mrs. Despard being the speaker and Mrs. Earenghey in the chair.

WALES.—Hon. Organiser, MRS. CLEEVEES, Chez-nous, Sketty.

Swansea.—Miss Anna Munro is coming to help me on February 16 for two weeks with my work in Wales.

I am arranging a Whist Drive at Chez-nous on Monday, February 20, in honour of Miss Munro's visit. Will all the members please help make this evening a great success? We want money badly in this branch, so if I can get all the prizes and refreshments given, there will be a nice sum to hand over to our hon. treasurer, Mrs. Hutton. We hope to hold a public meeting here also, if we can secure a hall. That has been our great difficulty all this winter, a suitable room for our meetings.

Cardiff.

The members are arranging a jumble sale this month and will be glad of help, so please look around and see what you can spare, and send it to Mrs. Woolf, Royal Hotel, Cardiff.—M. McLEOD CLEEVEES.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow: Suffrage Centre, 502, SAUCHIEHALL STREET.
Suffrage Centre Manageress: MISS K. McARTHUR.

Hon. Secretary: MISS B. S. SEMPLER.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS JANET L. BUNTEN.

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

Hon. Secretary—Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buecleuch-place.

Hon. Treasurer—Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street.

Hon. Shop Secretary—Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent.

The impression created two years ago at the splendid meeting addressed by Madame Malmberg and Dr. Hultin has by no means been forgotten here, as was proved at our Tuesday afternoon "At Home," when the announcement that Madame Malmberg would speak brought out an audience which quite filled the shop. Madame Malmberg made a short speech on the present state of affairs in Finland, and answered many questions.



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WILLIAM OWEN
WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

Her short visit was greatly enjoyed by the branch. Thanks are due to Miss Stirton, whose excellent "Hot Scone Tea" greatly added to the pleasure of the meeting. A good collection was taken.

Mrs. Joseph Dobbie was the speaker at the evening "At Home" on Wednesday. She dealt with the disabilities of women under Scots Law, which, though in many respects fairer than that of England, is still very imperfect. Mrs. Dobbie, who has made a special study of the subject, was able to quote numerous concrete instances of injustice, especially with regard to the custody of children. The meeting on February 15 has been cancelled on account of Mr. Franklin's meeting, tickets for which (3d., 6d. and 1s.) are on sale at the shop.

Members are asked to keep in mind the public meeting on February 24, a Friday evening. We are glad to announce that the Whist Drive and Dance arranged by Miss Wilson and Miss Thomson has resulted in an addition of £5 to the funds of the branch. Miss Caroline Dalziel is arranging a Whist Drive for February 10, and all the tickets have already been taken up. This is an excellent method of adding to the funds, without expense to the branch, and should commend itself to many members.—HELEN McLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

Glasgow.

The annual business meeting of the Glasgow Branch of the W.F.L. will be held in the Suffrage Centre on Thursday, March 2, at 8 p.m., when office bearers and council will be elected. As this is the most important meeting of the year, it is hoped that every member will make an effort to be present. Annual subscriptions (1s. 6d.) due at annual meeting.

The Glasgow Men's League will be the host for our next "At Home," to be held in the Centre on Monday, February 27, at 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Israel Zangwill.

Members might please note that the Centre is now open on Thursdays till 8 p.m., and Saturdays till 6 p.m.—K. Mc. A.

A great exhibition and sale of Irish hand-made point laces and crochet will be held at the Suffrage Centre in the middle of the present month.

It is expected that a well-known lady, closely connected with the objects of our League, will open the exhibition, date and particulars of which will be announced in course.

At the conference of the Women's Labour League in Leicester last week a resolution was moved calling on the Labour members to do all in their power to secure speedily the full citizenship of women, and demanding that adult suffrage should be made an immediate question of practical politics. This was carried *nem. con.*

THE SESSION AND THE BILL.

BY H. N. BRAILSFORD (Hon. Sec. Conciliation Committee).

The Editor has asked me to give some account of the proposals and present position of the Conciliation Bill. It is a request with which I gladly comply. The whole of our success during the past six months has been due to the confidence which Suffragists of all schools have so generously reposed in us. To retain this sense of comradeship and this unity in effort is the condition of our further progress. It demands a frank interchange of views.

Facilities This Year.

Our work is governed by the elusive pledge which Mr. Asquith gave on November 22. Facilities will be given for effectually proceeding with a Woman Suffrage Bill in some session of this Parliament. An inert and irresolute movement would hug that pledge and await events. It would be rewarded, if at all, by the grant of facilities in the last hurried weeks of the final session. The instinct, the spirit, and the hard experience of Suffragists have taught them that there is no session like the present. Two hasty dissolutions in a year have reminded us that Parliaments are mortal. We understand that if party convenience requires it, the present Parliament, like its predecessors, will be dissolved with that pledge unfulfilled. A closer calculation will show the wisdom of this instinct. It will be of little use to pass a Bill in this Parliament unless women are enabled to vote at the next General Election. A Bill passed in the last session would almost certainly be useless, because the register would not be available.

Another factor still further limits the time-table. We do not know how the House of Lords will treat our question, but we do know that, with the exception of Lord Selborne, Lord Courtney and Lord Lytton, all the more prominent peers, both Unionists and Liberals, are anti-Suffragists. It will probably be necessary to set in motion the new machinery for overcoming the Veto. That means that our Bill may have to be passed not once but three times. It follows then that no session later than the second would be of much immediate use to us. But the second session, by all accounts, will be one of vast legislative projects. The Home Rule Bill will be long and complicated, and may even set up a federal scheme. There is talk, too, of a Bill in this second session to reform the House of Lords. Clearly time in the second session will be a very precious commodity. There is, in short, no session so safe or propitious as the first.

Time to Spare.

It will be said that the first session must be devoted to the dominant issue of the Lords. The dominant sex always has some dominant issues. It is the business of politicians to make one. There never will come a year in which no section of men has a claim to press. It is for us to urge that if it be passion and earnestness and urgent need which cause an issue to "dominate," women have a claim which is second to none. The Parliament Bill will be out of the way by midsummer at the latest. There will be slack months in the summer or autumn when the later stages of our Bill may with ease be taken. The Government can find time for a Plural Voting Bill. It makes thereby a fresh aggravation to the women's position. It can find time to take votes away, but none to give them; time to reform the franchise for a partisan end, but none to extend it to satisfy a human demand.

A Question of Method.

For the moment the time-table of the House has been closed to us. By an unprecedented exercise of its omnipotence, the Cabinet proposes to rob the House of all the usual private members' days. In order to fetter the Lords, it proposes to muzzle the Commons. The consequence is that there will be no ballot for the introduction of motions or for the second readings of Bills. If we are to obtain time, it must

be by the favour of the Government. Luckily, the opinions publicly expressed last autumn to deputations of women by Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Runciman stand on record. They all declared with various degrees of emphasis that the facilities refused then might be granted next year. Next year is now this year. A member of our committee will at the first propitious moment introduce our Bill, probably under the ten minutes' rule. That done, we shall invite the Government to live up to the spirit of its undertaking that the House itself shall decide the fate of the Bill. The Government will be asked to give it a chance of declaring its will. If it will pass a resolution declaring its desire to "proceed effectually" with our Bill this session, the further exercise of the Cabinet's Veto would become too flagrantly indecent. To stake our fate on such a resolution may be daring strategy. But we have a right to expect the support of three ministers at least. If private members will not give the time we need, the lesson, one hopes, will not be lost on the party women who squandered their days and their weeks in working for them at the two last elections.

The Bill.

Experience has taught us that while our Bill is the only one which can rally support from both sides of this evenly divided House, it must in some minor particulars be modified. Its title will be general—"A Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on Women"—so that amendments may be freely moved. The amendment which Mr. Shackleton put down to the second clause last session will be incorporated this year in its text. One further change we have decided to make. We shall omit the £10 occupation qualification, leaving the household qualification only. The change is quite insignificant from the woman's standpoint, but it is important to the politician. We counted the women municipal voters in Leicester, and found that out of over 5,300 all were householders save twenty-six. These twenty-six women were qualified in respect of warehouses, shops, &c. The probability is that all of them had or could have had a household qualification, but since the law allows only one vote within the same town, they had chosen to be registered for their business premises. The change we are now making will not in most cases disqualify them. They will simply register their names in respect of their houses instead of their shops. In counties, on the other hand, it is obvious that this qualification might lend itself to the manufacture of faggot votes. A wealthy man may do what a poor man cannot do—he may, for form's sake, make his daughter or his sister the tenant of a stable, a field, or a bit of woodland. This danger is probably much exaggerated, but it had a marked effect upon the House when Mr. Churchill played upon it last session. We cannot afford to raise any unnecessary prejudice against the Bill. What remains after this elimination is the simplest and the most democratic of all the franchises—the household qualification. It is better understood than any other. It was the joint gift of Conservatives and Radicals in 1867. It will give a vote to every woman, rich or poor, who is the head of her house and the mistress of her own affairs—to every woman who is the tenant even of one room over which she can prove that she has full control.

The New House.

The new House is, we reckon, slightly more favourable to us than the last. We have lost some obstinate opponents and gained some good friends. Of resolute supporters we have in all parties 246. There are about 120 less reliable supporters, the quality of whose conviction leaves something to be desired. There are forty-two adult Suffragists, of the type which is reluctant to enfranchise any woman until it can give votes to all.

— A —

STRAIGHT TALK AND A SPECIAL OFFER.



THE world is full of quacks who claim to cure this and that. People try them, and waste their time and money. And they waste their hope, too. When I advertise, and say I have a thing which does make for health and cure certain evils, these people, who have been led to hope before, and have spent their money on such vain hopes, say that I am another quack—

promising much, and doing nothing but take the money. Suppose you sat here with me as I write, I think I could remove your prejudice. You would find first, that I sincerely believe what I say. Secondly, you would find that what I say is sane, reasonable, practical. Thirdly, I could give you proof. This is what I say. Turkish Baths are good for men and women—good in health, better in illness. This is how they act in Rheumatism, Gout, Sciatica, and Lumbago. There are certain wastes, acids, poisons—

—call them what you like—in the blood. These acids crystallise, work into the joints, and cause pain. In a proper state of health the body would eliminate them, largely through the pores of the skin. Does your prejudice prove that this is wrong, untrue, or unreasonable?

Again, I say the Turkish Bath cures this by a simple, natural aid to Nature. It causes free perspiration. Perspiration cleanses the blood by opening the pores and hastening elimination. Pure blood is health, and blood purified of uric acid means a body cured of Rheumatism, Gout, Sciatica, Lumbago. This is true, whatever your prejudice may make you think.

Many people who ought to have Turkish Baths cannot take them—the public baths are too far away. Or they cost too much. Or they cannot spare the time. Or they do not care to sit perspiring with other people, inhaling the necessary impurities of the heated atmosphere. There is nothing unreasonable in this.

Now, I sell the Gem Turkish Bath. It is a simple, inexpensive cabinet. You sit in it with your head out of it. You heat the air inside by a safe and inexpensive stove which I have designed. The air confined within heats up steadily to a high temperature. You begin to perspire. You can feel the impurities of the body leaving it. The skin begins to discharge the tiny clots of dirt which choke the pores of people who consider they are particularly clean and take hot baths regularly. The pores begin to do their real work—to allow the heat to sweat disease from the system through the thousands of tiny channels. Nature is then curing the body of disease in its own way. Can you—

you who are prejudiced—deny this? Read a little further—these facts are important to you. If you sit in my Gem Cabinet and take one treatment in this way—if you go in with Rheumatic pain you will be better when you come out, easier, and more comfortable. Don't mistake me—I don't say that chronic rheumatism is going to leave you then and there; but you will not be so bad. If you repeat the treatment for another day, you will be better still. I have known sufferers use the bath daily for a month, and then, by taking a bath once a week, kept themselves free of Rheumatism, Sciatica, Gout, or Lumbago afterwards.

You say cynically, "Yes, sir; that's your story—that's what you say." You do not believe me. Because I want you to pay for this bath, buy it, use it, get well—I do not tell the truth. Well, you do not know me—you have a right to take this attitude. This is my answer—it is an answer you cannot doubt:

Send me a ten-day post-dated money order. Take the bath by return. Use it seven days. Use it according to instructions. See whether it does what I say. Never mind what you think or what I say—try the thing itself. If it does not satisfy you, if it does not do what I say it will do, stop your money order, pack up the bath, and send it back.

Now will you investigate? At least, do not shelve the matter, but let me send you, post free, my 100-page booklet on the Hot-Air Treatment at home. Address my company, The B Gem Supplies Co., Ltd., 22, Peartree-street, Goswell-road, London, E.C.

THE TURKISH BATH MAN

Few of these will vote against our second reading, but they will make a difficulty at our later stages. There are sixty-five members who are neutral, or as yet undecided. Finally, there are 193 declared opponents. Our task in the interval, before the testing time arrives, is to make the "wobblers" reliable, and ensure that at the worst the adultists and the neutrals will not vote against us. Every method is good which convinces these men that they have to face an urgent demand and may serve a popular cause. There are still constituencies in which no Suffrage societies of any kind exist. Some members have never come face to face with the women of their locality. Others are still grotesquely ignorant of the Bill and the arguments behind it. Surprisingly good results have been achieved by the deputations from women which have so far waited on members. The thirty-three town councils which have passed resolutions in favour of the Bill afford the best of all possible proofs of its popularity. Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Hull, Cardiff, Dundee and Cork are sufficiently typical of the trend of public opinion, and the list of these towns will presently be lengthened by fresh accessions. The outlook has never been so bright nor the rate of progress so rapid.

FREE OPINIONS FREELY EXPRESSED.

** In this column we publish, as far as space permits, the views of our readers on any subject of interest to members without favour and without prejudice. Only matter coming within the scope of the law of libel will be barred. 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, however, that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions so expressed.

Mrs. Billington-Greig Answers Her Critics.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

Dear Madam,—I see that you have published three letters in comment upon my resignation. May I deal with them? One is from a member unknown to me, and it requires no answer; one is from an anonymous Scot who thinks it folly to serve the greater end while struggling for the smaller immediate liberty; and one is from a man who objects to my making a fuss about my resignation. This last would be amusing if it were not false. I am not making a fuss about my resignation; I resigned in order to make a fuss.

The bitter disillusionment which many women in the militant movement have suffered culminated for me in the premature breaking of the truce, and in the light of this piece of criminal folly my whole connection with the movement and my whole attitude to it had to be reviewed. I saw clearly my duty was to act as critic. This duty could not have been performed from within the League, as every member knows, and the vacillation of the League between standing firmly to a course of its own and following Mrs. Pankhurst's lead robbed me of my last confidence in it. If I have not made my position clear in the articles complained of I hope that that error will be made good in my book on "The Militant Suffrage Movement," which is now in the press.—Believe me, Yours faithfully,

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

The Myth, High Possil, S.O. Bishopbriggs, by Glasgow. February 2.

** We have been obliged to hold over a considerable amount of correspondence.

Vote Parade.—VOTE-sellers and sandwich volunteers meet at 1, Robert-street at 10.45 for 11 a.m. on Saturday, the 11th inst. SPEAKING of the Government's avowed intention of annexing the entire time of the House for the Veto resolutions, *The Standard* says "the decision deprives every unofficial section of the House of its unquestioned right to raise topics of public interest by resolution or Bill. Ministers, moreover, are suspected of desiring to avoid such questions as Women's Suffrage or the Labour Bill to reverse the Osborne judgment, and doubtless they will be pressed to declare themselves on these and other subjects before the House grants the concession they desire."

KING'S SPEECH MEETING, MONDAY, FEB. 6, CAXTON HALL.

The general indignation of Suffragists at the omission of all mention of Women's Suffrage from the King's Speech was voiced at our meeting at Caxton Hall on Monday night, when it was definitely resolved to retaliate by boycotting the census. The following resolution, moved by Mrs. Despard and seconded by Mrs. Nevinson, was put to the meeting and carried unanimously:—

That this meeting protests against the omission of Women's Suffrage from the King's Speech and against the action of the Government in trying to prevent the introduction of a Woman Suffrage Bill by taking the whole time of the House. This meeting heartily approves of the plan to hamper Government business by tax-resistance, refusal to give information, and other methods, as a protest against the government of women without their consent.

A letter was read from Mr. Housman regretting his absence and observing that he was returning to town for Census-resisting purposes on March 31.

Mr. Asquith Clears the Decks.

Mrs. How Martyn was in the chair, and in the course of her address described the King's Speech as expressing "a poor little miserable policy which was meant to pass for statesmanship." Alluding to Mr. Asquith's action in appropriating the private Member's time she said:

He knew that very early in the Session he would be faced with the problem of dealing with the Woman Suffrage supporters in the House, and so he has resolved to clear the decks entirely of these inconvenient people, and to take the whole time of the House for Government business. (Shame!) Now, from one point of view, that is a great compliment to the Woman Suffrage cause, for I believe it is chiefly that which has made Mr. Asquith take this extraordinary step, and which has made him flagrantly misuse the governmental machinery. He has reduced the private member to a mere voting machine.

My friends, there is only one loophole of escape which is open to us: it is that we shall not be wanting in a downright practical policy. We shall have during the next month or two, to make certain that at least one other measure of importance shall be dealt with; and that measure, I need hardly say, is the enfranchisement of the women of this country. (Applause.) We know that our good friend Mr. Brailsford—(applause)—and his Committee will do all that they possibly can to bring this about, and it is for us to say and determine that, after the Bill has been introduced, time and opportunity shall be allowed for it. I shall call upon our President, Mrs. Despard, to outline to you the policy which will be followed by this League, after I have read the resolution to be put to this meeting to-night.

Mrs. Despard, who was received with prolonged applause, said, in moving the resolution:—

Stop the Traffic.

What is the policy that we are going to adopt? We are still absolutely determined and ready to do whatever is demanded of us, so that we can get this block to our progress swept away. It appears to me that now the time has come for women to show the country what democracy really and truly means. That is our task. How are we to set about it? "Stop the traffic!" And how are we going to do it? All of you must be aware of the fact that this year, in the month of April, a measure is going to be taken which is considered to be of tremendous importance to the country. An enormous amount of money and an enormous amount of labour are to be expended on it. The first thing we intend to do is to ask women all over the country to say, "So far as we are concerned, the census shall not take place." We shall prove now very clearly whether we are part of the people or not; whether you can have a people without the women of the nation. We are calling on the women

householders and occupiers all over the country to absolutely refuse to give the information asked for on the census papers. (Prolonged applause.) I am glad that the views of this meeting are with me.

A Logical Protest.

Now a protest, whether it is militant or passive, should first of all be logical; that is to say, it shall mean something; there must be some reason behind it. This protest is logical. We women have been proud of the nation to which we belong, of the fact that we are British women, citizens of no mean nation, that we have been the mothers, wives, sisters of the great men of this nation. But your rulers deny us the rights of citizenship, while they impose on us citizens' responsibilities. We say we will not register ourselves as citizens: we absolutely decline to inscribe our names upon your books. If you do inscribe our names there, you shall do it in spite of us; and no information we can possibly withhold shall you have! This is as logical as anything can possibly be.

Hampering the Government.

The next thing is that the protest should be effective; that is to say, it must be something that appeals to the imagination, and something which causes inconvenience to those who do not desire to be inconvenienced in this way, to those who would oppress us. The time has come to register a protest against this male tyranny. What it will end in no one knows, if we continue to offer no resistance. Therefore, our protest must be effective. We must let them know that we can obstruct, can hamper their business, can prevent the wheels of government running smoothly. Incidentally I might mention that in regard to this census business, which is to cost the country so much money, cheap labour is to be employed, and of course that means the labour of young girls. ("Shame!") For the purposes of this Government, schools are being visited to find what little girls there are, about fourteen years of age, who can do some of the work in connection with this matter. For this temporary work they will earn from six to seven shillings a week. I am a school manager; but cannot prevent it. Men; don't consult us on such things. Is it not time, I ask, that we should protest? We are going on with our Census campaign, and shall only stop it if we have a pledge for a Bill this Session; but, failing that, our plan is to obstruct Government business in every possible way.

Our protests will not be passionate; we shall not be distraught; we shall simply offer a strong, steady resistance.

VOTES FOR WOMEN—This Session.

DEMONSTRATION

(Under auspices of Men's League for Women's Suffrage) at

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Chairman - H. W. NEVINSON.

Speakers: THE RIGHT HON.

EARL OF SELBORNE, C.G.M.G.,

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P.,

Rev. J. IVORY CRIPPS, and others.

Mdme. MARIE BREMA (Actress's Franchise League) will sing.

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS.



**DARE TO BE
FREE.**

LONDON.

- Wed., Feb. 8.**—8.30 p.m., 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead. Branch members' meeting.
- Thurs., Feb. 9.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell.
- Fri., Feb. 10.**—Balham. Lecture Hall Assembly Rooms, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard.
- 32, Wynne-road, Brixton, 5 p.m. Miss Tite.
- 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, 7 p.m. Meeting of Women Householders. Mrs. How Martyn.
- Sat., Feb. 11.**—1, Robert-street, Special "Vote" Parade, 11 a.m.
- Sun., Feb. 12.**—1, Robert-street, 4 p.m. Members' meeting, Miss C. V. Tite.
- Tues., Feb. 14.**—7 p.m., at 1, Robert-street, Central London Branch Members' Meeting.
- 3 p.m., Umbrella Parade to advertise King's Speech meeting will start from Lymington-road, Finchley-road, N.W. (opposite Hampstead Public Library). Volunteers are needed.
- Clapham Branch, 316, Battersea Park-road, 8 p.m. Miss Hurst.
- Wed., Feb. 15.**—West Hampstead, Lecture Hall (corner of Burrard-road and Finchley-road), 8 p.m. King's Speech meeting. Mrs. Nevinson, Mrs. How Martyn. Music 8 p.m.; speeches 8.30 p.m.
- Thurs., Feb. 16.**—"At Home," Caxton Hall, 3 p.m. Speeches, 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Thomson Price, Mr. Joseph McCabe.
- Sun., Feb. 19.**—1, Robert-street, 4 p.m. Members' meeting.

PORTSMOUTH.

PROVINCES.

- Thurs., Feb. 9.**—Drawing-room meeting, 3.15 p.m., Kedleston, Junction-road, Southsea. Miss Munro. *Hostesses:* Mrs. Studdy and Mrs. Hay Shaw (Mrs. Donald Shaw). Co-operative Hall, Gosport. Miss Munro. 8 p.m.
- Eccles.*
- Thurs., Feb. 9.**—King's Speech Meeting. Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- LIVERPOOL.*
- Fri., Feb. 10.**—King's Speech Meeting. Miss Marguerite Sidley.
- CHELTENHAM.*
- Fri., Feb. 10.**—*Chair:* Dr. Earengy, Annual General Meeting, Sirsa House, London-road, 6.30 p.m.
- CHESTER.*
- Feb. 11 - 13.**—King's Speech meeting, 8 p.m. Chester Assembly Hall, Newgate-street. Miss Marguerite Sidley. *Chair:* Colonel Verschöyle.
- SUNDERLAND.*
- Tues., Feb. 14.**—King's Speech Meeting. Miss Alison Neilans.
- SALE.*
- Tues. Feb. 14.**—Sale Free Library. King's Speech Meeting. Mrs. Despard.
- URMSTON.*
- Wed., Feb. 15.**—Public Hall. King's Speech Meeting. Mrs. Despard.

DUNFERMLINE.

SCOTLAND.

- Thur., Feb. 9.**—King's Speech Meeting. Miss Alison Neilans
- PERTH.*
- Fri., Feb. 10.**—King's Speech Meeting. Miss Alison Neilans.
- EDINBURGH.*
- Fri., Feb. 10.**—Synod Hall, Castle-terrace. Whist Drive in Miss Dalziel's studio, 3 p.m. and 7.30 p.m.
- DUNDEE.*
- Sat., Feb. 11.**—Miss Alison Neilans.
- GLASGOW.*
- Mon., Feb. 13.**—8 p.m., Berkeley Hall, St. Andrew's Halls. King's Speech Meeting. Miss Eunice Murray, Miss Alison Neilans *Chair:* Mrs. Wilson.
- Tues., Feb. 14.**—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road. "At Home," 4 p.m. Mrs. Scott (New Zealand).
- Tues., Feb. 21.**—Baillieston Literary Society. Miss Caroline Reid.

WALES.

- Tues., Feb. 14.**—Llanelly. Young Liberal League, 8 p.m. Miss Munro, Mrs. Cleeves.
- Mon., Feb. 20.**—Swansea, Chez-nous, Sketty, 7.30 p.m. Whist Drive. Tickets (including light refreshments), 2s.
- Feb. 15 - 23.**—Swansea, Cardiff, Barry, Aberdare, Newport, Caldicot.

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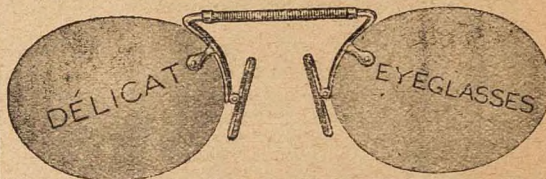
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