

THE VOTE

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

VOL. I.—No. 15.

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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

Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

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

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WHAT WE THINK.

The Deadlock.

The tie between the Liberals and Conservatives at this election has opened the door for rumour and speculation. Every possibility of the situation is being discussed by both parties. The question is almost as absorbing as the General Election itself. For us the issues are on the knees of the gods, but one thing is clear: the Nationalist and Labour parties will hold the next Ministry in the hollow of their hands. There must be much gnashing of teeth in both camps over this result of the appeal to the "people."

Our General Election Policy.

With the possibility of either Party taking the reins of office our General Election policy stands clearly justified. We have brought pressure to bear against ten men of Cabinet rank in the Liberal Party and against eight among the Conservatives. We have been successful in reducing many majorities. We have kept some men out. Wherever we have been we have improved the prospects of our cause. Whichever Party finally takes office we shall be the better placed because of our General Election efforts.

Electoral Reform Becomes Fashionable.

Many are the measures of electoral reform which the masculine parties are now discovering to be urgent. Abolition of plural voting, redistribution, and manhood suffrage are to be advocated by the Liberals; proportional representation is the fashionable Conservative nostrum. This new zest for electoral reform is quite unselfish, of course. No one would suggest otherwise. But since everyone seems to be seeking to juggle with the old votes or create new ones it is clear that we must stir ourselves and get our share of the harvest.

Ballot-Box Messages.

There have been many comments upon the high proportion of spoiled voting-papers at this General Election. We can supply a good reason for the increase. It is due to the many men supporters who wrote "Votes for Women" upon their ballot-papers. Since the rate of

illiteracy is decreasing we can justly take this credit. But we shall never discover how many friends sent their ballot-box messages in this way. The party agents, returning officers, and sheriffs are all too willing to join the Press in the application of the method of the boycott.

The Consistent Antis.

Mrs. Humphry Ward has delighted us once more by an example of anti-Suffrage consistency. After declaring by voice and pen with great emphasis for years that woman must shun national and imperial politics like the plague, this lady appeared during the election in the Watford Division of Hertfordshire to canvass and cajole votes for her son. Mrs. Ward issued six letters on Tariff Reform to the electors, who must have been greatly moved thereby, for a turnover of three thousand votes resulted. Having instructed the electors to carry out her wishes by electing Mr. Arnold Ward, we presume Mrs. Ward will instruct the new member how to represent her in the House of Commons. It may be hard on Mr. Ward, but one does not expect anything else from an anti-Suffragist.

Suffragettes Move Votes.

A writer in the *Sunday Times* tells us that "both Liberal and Tory canvassers in certain quarters confessed that they heard more about Women's Suffrage than any other question," and Liberals who were being opposed "issued leaflets warning their supporters against the Suffragettes." It is good to have this independent testimony. We know it is true, for leaflets and special meetings of warning were common experiences for our organisers. Boycott and violence tell the same tale. The enemy knows that our appeal is carrying the people, and he is afraid of the effect upon the poll.

Liberal Women—or Slaves?

Mr. Asquith's constituents dragged truth out of him on more than one issue, and on none more clearly than on Votes for Women. Have the Liberal women no pronouncement to make in answer to his emphatic declaration of hostility? If he continues to be Prime Minister in the new Parliament we certainly must have something to say to him. Only emphatic militancy can meet the need. But what will the Liberal women do? Have we to classify them finally as women or slaves?

Miss Muriel Matters says:

that, notwithstanding the increase of the electorate, we have succeeded in reducing Mr. Lloyd George's majority. From the *North Wales Chronicle* the following significant account of this "statesman's" electioneering methods is taken: "A large crowd of men wearing yellow favours, and carrying sticks, assumed such a menacing attitude in front of the polling booths during the day that Conservative voters were frightened to go and record their votes. This is a clear case of intimidation, and we hope the Unionist Party will take steps to prevent a recurrence of such scandalous disturbances, otherwise polling in Carnarvon will be a pure farce, and will prejudice seriously the chance of the candidate in that Borough."

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THE CONFERENCE.

Our fifth annual Conference was held on Saturday, January 29th, at Caxton Hall, commencing at 10.30 a.m. Mrs. Despard was in the chair, and besides a large muster of delegates and the presence of the outgoing National executive and the officers of the League there was a considerable attendance of branch members. The business of the Conference was transacted according to the democratic principles of the League, the opinions of each delegate being heard with due deference to the wishes of the branch represented and the objects and best interests of the League. The pleasure that it was to our provincial and Scottish members to meet and greet their President once more was made evident during the afternoon, and the sympathy which was felt with our Organising Secretary in the grave illness which has caused her to be absent from the storm-centre for such a long time was



NATIONAL EXECUTIVE.—(Left to Right) Mrs. SNOW, Miss MARIE LAWSON, Mrs. SPROSON, Mrs. AMY SANDERSON, Mrs. HOLMES, Mrs. BILLINGTON-GREIG, Mrs. DESPARD (President), Mrs. HOW MARTYN, Miss BENETT, Mrs. ARNCLIFFE SENNETT, Mrs. HICKS. (Only delegates seated at front tables are included in this view.)

also among the gratifying personal notes of a most interesting meeting. Much of the work of the Conference was of a private nature, dealing with questions of policy and organisation, and will reach all our members in due time in the course of the annual report.

President's Address.

Mrs. Despard, whose rising was greeted with loud and prolonged applause, observed that it was her pleasure and her duty to welcome, in the names of her colleagues and herself, the delegates who had come to the Conference, and to say how earnestly they hoped that their meeting in council would result in increased strength to the League. Alluding to the anxiety caused by the illness of Mrs. Billington-Greig, she said that in her absence they had carried through successfully the policy she had initiated. "To some of us," she added, "the mysterious little meeting at Chandos

Hall, from which, after the Westminster campaign, we sent out our protestors to the House of Commons will remain a deathless memory. Little as those present knew it then, they were pioneers in that wonderful feat of endurance—that day and night watch—which has won the admiration of the world."

Speaking of THE VOTE, Mrs. Despard described its "launching" as one of the great events of the year, and mentioned with gratitude and warm appreciation the work done by Miss Marie Lawson, "without whose hard and unremitting labour and business faculty it could not have been started at all." She went on to say: "I am sure you must be glad that the League has an organ of its own, and one worked on such admirable lines, but I would point out to you, and I hope you will carry this to your branches, that you must all work too. In every town where we have a branch there should be a brigade of sellers. There should be amongst the branches a friendly

competition as to which can sell the greatest number of copies, that we may have presently a circulation that will free the directors from anxiety." She urged the branches to remember that on them the stability of the League depended: that the branch secretary who stuck to her guns in spite of all difficulties was of far greater real value to the League than many of those who were much more to the front. She also alluded to the whole-hearted support given to us, "not in money alone, but in personal help," by Tennessee Lady Cook as one of the important events of the year.

Formulating a Programme.

"Before the present Parliament has run its course," she went on to say, "we shall have the vote. We must be ready. It is important that we of the League, who stand for freedom for all, should become constructive and formulate our programme on questions such as education,

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industrial organisation (including equal pay for equal work of men and women), the break-up of the Poor Law, and a national housing scheme. I believe it would consolidate the League and give many who are still vague about what the vote really means something definite to work for if we could form a social programme of such a type."

The Present Political Situation.

Of the present political situation she observed that the huge Liberal majority of 1906 had been swept away, and Mr. Asquith must keep his power at the bidding of the Labour and Irish parties. That the Government's unpopularity had been fostered by outraged, insulted, and ignored women was a fact which no honest politician could venture to deny. "In all sincerity, I believe that we have never had such opportunities as those which are open to us now. During the last Parliament we were fighting a strong Government, a solid majority, but now we have in front of us a Government no longer in harmony with the country and depending for its majority in divisions on all sorts of accidents. We know we can bring pressure to bear on the Government of 1910, and we must make



ENGLISH DELEGATES.—Standing (left to right) Mrs. CLEEVES (Swansea), Mrs. JOHN RUSSELL (Hampstead). Seated (left to right), Mrs. DILKES (Eastbourne), Mrs. THOMSON PRICE (Hampstead), Miss S. G. BARNET (Sheffield).

it fear us. Our anti-Government propagandum now, our bye-election policy, our political protests of whatsoever sort will be far more effective than they could possibly have been in the late Parliament. If the life of the present Parliament is destined to be a short one it may well be that those in power in their political wisdom may conciliate the women before they engage in another electoral battle. So friends and colleagues, we enter the New Year with hope. We face its difficulties and its dangers with courage. All we have to do is to hold ourselves together: to brace ourselves to action and to be ready for any call, for every emergency."

N.E.C. Report.

Mrs. How Martyn read the report of the National Executive Committee, in the course of which she said that good progress had been made in all branches of our work. Having alluded to the results of the International Suffrage Conference held in London during the year, at which Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Billington-Greig were the Women's Freedom League representatives, she went on to say that the Hon. Treasurer reported a very healthy growth in our income, which has leaped from less than £3000 in 1908 to over £6000 in 1909, thus enabling us to begin 1910 with a substantial balance. This satisfactory finance should encourage every member to again aim at doubling our income, and thus increase our work. The special feature of the League, its voluntary workers, has been maintained, the latest additions to the list being some honorary organisers. Special appeals from the League met with hearty response, and resulted in large sums for legal defence, for picketing, and for election work. Glasgow had made a great step forward in opening a shop and offices combined at 302, Sauchiehall Street, and the League hoped soon to have a similar feature in London. The literature sales had doubled during the year, and six new pamphlets had been added.

Speaking of THE VOTE, Mrs. How Martyn emphasised the obligation of members to take at least one 5s. share in the paper and to support it in every way, and particularly by supporting the advertisers.

A rapid survey of the action of the League during the past year was then briefly given, including Miss Muriel Matters' flight over London from Hendon to Westminster in an airship distributing handbills the day Parliament opened, and that when there was found to be no mention of Women's Suffrage in the King's Speech a deputation went from Caxton Hall (February 18th), which resulted in many arrests, including that of Mrs. Despard. On July 5th another attempt was made to win an audience with Mr. Asquith, when the deputation was allowed to wait outside Westminster until the House rose at 4 a.m. This resulted in the picketing protest, which lasted for sixteen weeks, from July 5th to October 28th. Members of the Men's League, of the Committee for Justice to Women, and friendly members of Parliament made continual and unavailing representations to the Prime Minister. The Freedom League then resolved to petition his Majesty, and wrote to Lord Knollys asking an audience. The



SCOTTISH DELEGATES.—Standing (left to right), Miss McLACHLAN, Miss WILSON, Mrs. MCGREGOR, Mrs. STEVEN. Sitting (left to right), Miss GRAHAM, Mrs. JULIA WOOD, Miss ANNA MUNRO, Miss RUSBAND, Mrs. SCRIMGEOUR.

King referred us to the Home Secretary—thus proving that the right of petition had not lapsed. A deputation then waited upon Mr. Gladstone, who promised to convey to the King the petition for an audience. At intervals during the picketing the official residence of Mr. Asquith in Downing Street was visited, the usual arrests resulting, the Misses Scott undertaking the hunger strike against being classed as common criminals. On August 18th and 19th there was further picketing of Downing Street, resulting on the second day in eight arrests, including Mrs. Despard. At Bow Street Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., M.P., on behalf of the prisoners, pointed out the grave constitutional issue involved, and delivered a scathing indictment of the Prime Minister. Fines of 40s. or seven days were the sentences, and an appeal was allowed (which was recently heard before the Lord Chief Justice and was lost). The sixteen weeks' picketing was brought to a dramatic conclusion by the Bermondsey ballot-box protest, which was an attempt to invalidate the election because women took no part in it. The plan was marred

(Continued on the page following.)

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by the sheriff refusing to declare the election invalid and also by the fact that the presiding officer injured his eye in attempting to remove some of the harmless liquid used with strong ammonia. For this the two women who carried out the plans were sentenced, Mrs. Chapin to four months and Alison Neilans to three months in the second division. On entering prison Miss Neilans commenced the hunger strike. Protests not involving imprisonment have been made in the provinces, in Sheffield and in Birmingham, on the occasion of visits of Mr. Asquith, and protests against the Freedom of the City being conferred upon him were made by the Glasgow and Edinburgh branches. There were six protests by Women's Freedom League "passive resisters" during the year, and also several sales of Suffragists' seized goods in the provinces and Scotland. The year has been prolific in bye-elections, and special campaigns against the Government were run in ten constituencies, resulting in loss of seat or votes. There were several special campaigns carried on, including those by the two caravans.

At the beginning of the year the Women's Freedom League earned the gratitude of British Suffragists by arranging for Dr. Thekla Hultin, M.P., and Mme. Malmberg to come to Great Britain. In May we held our Green, White, and Gold Fair, and on December 11th there was the Yuletide Festival in the Albert Hall. In the House of Commons our cause has been voiced by Mr. Snowden, who again introduced the Sex Equality Bill, but in the House this was the sole event of importance except the steady questioning of the Home Secretary. A Special Conference was called in June to discuss and settle our General Election policy, which was carried out as far as funds permitted during the last few weeks.

Special Resolutions.

After the interval for lunch the following special resolutions were carried unanimously:—

"1. That this Conference calls the attention of the Government to the irrefutable proofs that the various Women's Suffrage Societies and the general public have given during the past year of the need and demand for Votes for Women, and condemns in the strongest terms the inactivity of the Government. This Conference demands that a Bill for enfranchising women on the same terms as men shall be the first measure dealt with in the next Session of Parliament."—[N.E.C.] Proposed by Mrs. Holmes and seconded by Mrs. Hicks.

"2. This Conference calls the attention of all women to the treachery and contempt with which this Government has treated the question of women's enfranchisement, urges upon them the necessity of pressing this reform by stronger efforts, and further calls upon them to put the emancipation of their sex before either party or class."—[N.E.C.] Proposed by Mrs. Billington-Greig and seconded by Mrs. Sanderson, both of whom emphasised the last clause.

"5. This Conference expresses its deepest indignation at the forcible feeding of women who protested in prison—in the only way open to them—against being classed amongst common criminals; further, this Conference expresses horror at the brutal action of the justices in commanding that a defenceless prisoner should be hose-piped with ice-cold water."—[Middlesbrough.]

"6. This Conference protests strongly against the treatment meted out to the women Suffragists who have been condemned to imprisonment and placed in the Second and Third Divisions for offences which should bring them under the category of political prisoners, and therefore entitled them to be placed in the First Division."—[Middlesbrough.]

The militant policy of the League was unanimously endorsed, a vote of confidence in the N.E.C. being passed. Resolutions dealing with the Committee and officials, branches and Councils, &c., were dealt with, and will be found fully in the annual report.

A special session of the Conference was held in the Emerson Club on Sunday morning, Mrs. Despard in the chair.

Sunday at Home.

One of the largest and most successful of this year's "At Homes" was held in the Queen's Hall on Sunday afternoon, Mrs. Despard presiding, to welcome the delegates socially and give the London members and their friends an opportunity of hearing the different experiences of workers in various parts of the country during the General Election. Miss Anna Munro gave a pithy and witty account of experiences in Scotland; Miss Muriel Matters spoke of Wales and of the bad influence of Mr. Lloyd-George upon the Welsh people; and Mrs. Sanderson, who has been working in no less than seven constituencies, spoke of the evils of the party system and more particularly when women fell under its influence. Mrs. Billington-Greig summed up the results of the recent work of the Women's Freedom League, and said that, speaking as one who had held the strings, she had never been so full of admiration and gratitude at the work done by the organisers and workers. They had worked in sixty constituencies and had forty general campaigns throughout the country. They had ten special campaigns against Liberal enemies of Cabinet rank and eight against Conservative enemies of Cabinet rank.

Mrs. Snow and Mrs. Fisher acted as hostesses, and saw that every hospitality was extended to their guests.

Elections.

The four officers of the National Executive were re-elected, and the National Executive Committee was chosen as follows:—Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, Mrs. Cleaves, Mrs. Hicks, Mrs. Holmes, Mrs. Manson, Miss Manning, B.A., Miss Matters, Mrs. Snow, Mrs. Sproson, Mrs. Sanderson, Mrs. Vulliamy, and Mrs. Wood.

ON MR. ASQUITH'S TRACK.

Protests in East Fife.

The Women's Freedom League car followed Mr. Asquith from meeting to meeting on the Monday before the poll. Everywhere he spoke during the previous week questions on Votes for Women had been sprung upon him, and now to questioning was added a policy of dogging and protest. At every one of the last day's meetings Miss Anna Munro, Mrs. Saul Soloman, and Miss Leyson held great protesting gatherings outside.

On Tuesday the dogging continued. From polling station to polling station the green, white, and gold fluttered behind the English Czar's car, and in spite of a special police car in attendance the cry of "Votes for Women" greeted him at nearly every polling station in East Fife.

We had covered the constituency with large posters in the colours calling upon the people to come to Cupar to protest with us at the declaration of the poll if Mr. Asquith was again elected. Some three thousand people gathered at the County Buildings in answer to our call. For about an hour, while awaiting the result of the count, they were addressed by Miss Munro, Miss Sidley, Miss Bremner, and Mrs. Saul Soloman. Then the poll was declared. The Liberal cheers were cut across by a concerted measured shout of "Votes for Women," which was taken up and repeated by great numbers of men and women in the crowd. Again and again the woman's war-cry broke across the blind cheers.

Then the crowd began to look for Mr. Asquith to appear and speak. But nothing happened. They got restive. Still he did not appear. Those of our members who were at the front window of the hotel immediately opposite saw him approach the window several times and withdraw hurriedly. Straight across the road, eye to eye with him, he could see Mrs. Saul Soloman and Miss McGilchrist awaiting his coming.

At length he was persuaded to have the window opened. Then the storm of protest broke forth louder than ever, and scarcely a word uttered by the Prime Minister could be heard by the crowd. Finally he turned angrily from the window.

But this was not the end. A meeting of supporters awaited Mr. Asquith in the adjacent hotel. Our women placed themselves close to the entrance of the County Buildings from which he must emerge, and were again and again removed by the police. Each time they returned to their posts, but Mr. Asquith did not appear. Finally it crept out that he had escaped by a back door of the County Buildings, passed through the stable-yard of the Tontine Hotel, and up the kitchen stair to reach and address his waiting committee.

Our members redoubled their attempts to reach a point of vantage. Miss Benett and Miss Bremner boarded Mr. Asquith's motor-car, Miss Sidley and Miss Munro were imprisoned in a blind alley by a group of burly policemen, Mrs. Gordon was carried bodily through the crowd from the motor, Miss Urquhart released herself from a violent Liberal by the timely use of ju-jitsu, and Mrs. Saul Soloman descended boldly into the surging crowd and took up her stand close to the waiting car. Time after time our members broke free and returned to the attack, but finally they were all secured by a compact body of police, who formed a double guard over them. When Mr. Asquith had left the town all our women were released.

The six volunteers immediately followed in the new member's track to Raithe. They carried with them a letter demanding an immediate interview, but they were not able to reach the house, which is two miles from the road, to deliver it. About a mile from the gate they were met by a body of woodmen and keepers carrying staves and accompanied by dogs. These men kept the six dangerous Suffragettes at bay while the police reinforcements arrived from the house—where there appears to be a permanent guard for Mr. Asquith's special benefit—and from the town of Kirkcaldy.

After a wearying struggle and chase our volunteers, according to a local paper, "were persuaded to with-

draw." The "persuasion" took the form of three policemen to every Suffragette and a special reinforcement of armed keepers to keep closed the avenue of return. While our women were taken to the town under this escort Mr. Asquith escaped by another road to the station and took train for London.

The police informed our members that special orders had been issued that there should be no arrests while the Prime Minister was in Scotland!

BRANCH NOTES.

Ipswich.

The electors of Ipswich were not allowed to forget the Suffragettes during the election here. The League colours were kept flying, and much propaganda work was done. Mr. Asquith came surrounded by constables and detectives, but he was frequently reminded of "Votes for Women." We held our first annual meeting on Thursday; the local committee now includes representatives working in neighbouring towns, Mrs. Bastian, Hadleigh; Mrs. Milano, Felixstowe; Mrs. Henry Tippett, Stowmarket and Wetherden; and Miss Cronin, Woodbridge. Miss Collison was re-elected treasurer, Mrs. Hutley assistant-treasurer, Mrs. Pratt literature secretary, and myself hon. secretary. Mr. and Mrs. Bastian have done splendid work in Hadleigh during election time.—C. E. ANDREWS.

Swinton.

At the Branch meeting on Thursday, January 27th, it was decided to make Saturday, February 12th, into a Suffrage Day, with a jumble sale in the afternoon, in St. Peter's Old School, and an open-air meeting in the Market Place in the evening. The latter is by special request. Much is hoped for from this day financially and otherwise, and workers are asked to meet on Tuesdays, February 1st and 8th, in St. Peter's Old School, at 7.30 p.m. The money raised is to be used for propaganda work in the district. Will this induce friends in Manchester to send jumble parcels to me at Newholme, Hazlehurst, Worsley?—JANET HEYES (Secretary).

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THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1910.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

The electoral race between the two historic parties has finished in a dead-heat, and neither party can conduct the government of the country without an alliance. The men electors have declared neither for Tariff Reform nor Free Trade; neither for nor against the House of Lords. There is no mandate from the country. That part of the nation that is allowed to issue mandates has declared itself a divided house. The Irish Nationalists and the Labour Party will hold the balance of government in their hands.

This position is one of insecurity. It cannot last. The support of the Nationalists will have to be paid for. The support of the Labour Party will have to be paid for. And the price that the masters of the situation ask may be too high for Liberal pride to pay. The remnant of the great host of 1906 will have to recognise its own weakness and barter for its existence. If it resents the rule of those who hold the reins it may precipitate its own destruction at any moment. Any combination of the parties leaves matters still insecure. There are rocks ahead for the Government in every direction. Whatever alliance it makes it must make at a big sacrifice in another direction: a concession to the Labour Party means an affront to the Whigs; the price of Irish support will be the sacrifice of some parts of the Budget as well as the granting of Home Rule, and the House of Lords may have something to say again to the latter measure. There is no possible way of action for the Government which is not also a line of danger. The prophets declare that the next General Election must come in the next two years and may come in the next three months.

Already the two small parties are reckoning up the gains that they will obtain as the price of allowing Mr. Asquith's Government another term of office. Already they are reminding each other, as a preparation to reminding him, that great bodies of voters supported the Liberal candidates at their bidding during the late contest. They recognise that the turn of the wheel has put a new power into their hands, that pressure can be successfully applied, that they can win concessions which three months ago were in the realm of the impossible. If the Government tries to prolong its existence it must grant concession after concession to the dictators. It cannot have peace or any continuation of power in any other way.

We must mark this fact well. If the Liberal Government seeks to carry out a programme and conduct the national business by the aid of the Irish Nationalist and Labour parties, or of either of these parties, the real masters of the situation must be looked for in its allies. The Labour men and the Redmondites will dictate the lines of Government action. This must be emphasised again and again. The Irish Nationalists and the Labour men can dictate, carry, or destroy any measure. Purely Liberal measures will go through only by their aid and consent, and Labour or Irish measures will have to be passed in payment for each one of them.

Our bye-election policy is an anti-Government one, and an anti-Government one it must remain. But when the life of a Government is determined by its allies those allies are in great measure responsible for its acts. The Irish and Labour parties are on their trial. Circumstances as they are they can at once put an end to all brutality to women Suffragists; they can at once insist upon the recognition of the subject's right of petition; they can obtain a Government pledge for the early enfranchisement of women. If these things be not done then the allies of the Government will endorse its injus-

stice and brutality. They will become responsible for its acts. They will identify themselves with the enemy, and by permitting it to continue in office they will take its sins and shames upon their own shoulders. This is the position we may have to face.

Briefly, there is only one way of facing this position: pressure must be brought to bear at once upon the allies of the Government. Whether there be a publicly acknowledged coalition or a privately arranged working agreement makes no difference. We must at once take action to point the only way of honour to the Irish and Labour men. Speedily all this must be done, and if clear declarations be not forthcoming in a limited time, if definite action full and satisfactory be not promised, we shall have no alternative but to oppose those who have declared themselves the allies of our enemy. No other course will be possible. No other course will be safe. No other course will satisfy the spirit of rebellion and independence.

These circumstances must be faced from every point. If the Government continues in office by the pleasure of an ally or allies we must take immediate cognisance of those who make its existence possible. But the Government may not choose this way. It may prefer to leave the Irish and Labour groups outside its calculations and to make a bold bid for another appeal to the country on a new franchise basis. The greater part of the Budget could be carried by a compromise with the Conservatives, for supplies must be secured before the end of March. Then a franchise measure could be drafted and passed by temporary arrangement with other parties. Both the great parties and the Labour Party profess now to be anxious for some measure of franchise extension or reform. The late General Election result has turned a matter of more or less indifference into an urgent necessity. There must be a rearrangement of votes or a new body of voters to appeal to in the near future. Franchise extension or reform has suddenly rushed to the front and will have to be attended to.

Of this we must make our opportunity. We must show to all concerned that the best franchise measure to pass is Women's Suffrage, that no other measure is adequate or sufficient, and that any other measure will precipitate revolution among the women of the country. We must make this clear above all doubt. We must put all other franchise possibilities out of the running. Ours is the one franchise reform that is at once urgent and urgently demanded. Pressure and diplomacy and sacrifice now must bring victory. The gods have given us the moment. Shall we take it or let it go?

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

AT HOMES.

Last Thursday at Caxton Hall, Westminster, we had a stirring address from Mrs. Despard on happenings in the Political World, followed by a most interesting speech by Mr. Joseph McCabe, dealing with the ecclesiastical position of the movement, and explaining how the political parties had a tendency to view Women's Suffrage from the standpoint of political expediency and party advantage. In touching on the Liberal fear that the enfranchisement of women might add a reactionary element to the electorate, while he did not have that view, he maintained it was their duty to grant this reform and take the consequences; it was just and right, and being just and right to equivocate and hesitate was not only weakness but wrong.

After the tea interval Mrs. Webb gave us two delightful recitations, which were enthusiastically received.

We are fortunate at present in having Mrs. Billington-Greig with us in London, and on Thursday, March 3rd, she will talk on the political situation—a subject just now of exceptional interest to every member.

Mr. Joseph Cameron Grant, who will also kindly speak, has chosen for his address "Why Working Women Need the Vote." We trust all members will bring their friends, as this will be a very important "At Home."

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We need not now be the slaves of fashion. Time was when one dared not overstep very strict limits in regard to wearing apparel. To-day, there is freedom in the air, and as a consequence individual tastes can be allowed to dictate the precise cut and style of gown to be worn.

It is not everyone, however, who can interpret her own tastes exactly aright without a little experience of the effect which will result from allowing full licence to her own whims in regard to gowns. Subtle touches and modifications make for the success of a new departure in dressing. The expert must be called in. Such a one is Maud Barham, who gives skilled advice to a large *clientèle* daily at her studio, 186, Regent Street, W.

The love of things quaint and rare, antique furniture, and bric-à-brac, still happily finds a place in the mental equipment of the children of a hustling generation, much as refreshing gardens and trimly laid-out squares ornament our great and crowded cities. The magnetism of the old curiosity shop is a cogent force, and the discovery of a convenient storehouse of uncommon treasures ranking in this category has in it something more alluring for the genuine curio hunter than the fabulous jewels of Aladdin's Cave. A typical warehouse of this sort is owned by the Bric-à-brac Company at 7, Hand Court, Holborn, and its resources are wealthy.

Of the building of hotels there is no more end than there is to the making of books. The West-Central division of London is almost one vast collection of sojourning-places, whose number is legion. But who, as a complete stranger, shall choose well among so many? The quality of service to be obtained is not less varied than their style. They range from the cheap and nasty to the

elaborate and expensive. Cheap and good and central is an ideal not unattainable. Newton Hotel comes up to this standard of perfection. It faces the British Museum Station, and is within four minutes' easy walking distance of the Central Offices of the League. The small sum of 4s. 6d. is charged for room, bath, and breakfast, and the inclusive weekly terms are from 35s. The hotel is spotlessly clean, and appointments are comfortable and the food is excellent.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

CASH STATEMENT.

From 1st January to 31st December, 1909.

RECEIPTS.		PAYMENTS.	
To cash in hand, Jan. 1.	£ s. d.	By rent, fire, light, office expenses, &c.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1.	18 3 3	„ Hire of halls	331 1 10
„ Cash at Bank, Jan. 1.	166 14 10	„ Printing and stationery	665 12 3
	184 18 1	„ Bill-posting and advertising	379 13 11
„ Subscriptions, donations, and lecture fees	3,790 13 4	„ Postage, telegrams, telephone, &c.	502 18 2
„ Branch donations and affiliation fees	236 18 2	„ Salaries	244 6 1
„ Collections	582 14 0	„ Travelling	1,088 18 9
„ Sale of tickets	467 1 0	„ Voluntary workers' expenses	387 7 3
„ Green, White, and Gold Fair	779 17 3	„ Bye-election expenses	351 15 1
„ Sundry receipts	61 9 3	„ Legal expenses	551 9 1
		„ Furniture and fittings	260 1 1
		„ Purchase of 400 shares in the Minerva Pub. Co., Ltd.	57 0 0
		„ Cash in office and in organisers' hands, Dec. 31	50 0 0
		„ Cash at L. and S. W. Bank, Strand Branch, Dec. 31	19 1 9
			1,213 15 10
	£6,103 1 1		£6,103 1 1

BALANCE SHEET—DECEMBER 31st, 1909.

LIABILITIES.		ASSETS.	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Sundry Creditors		Presentation plate	10 0 0
For trade accounts	46 7 1	(Mrs. Despard's silver seized and sold for Income-tax, presented to the League by the purchaser, Victor Luxemburg, Esq.)	
For legal expenses	82 16 0	Diamond scroll ring for sale, presented by Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, with valuation from Messrs D. and J. Welby, Ltd., Garlick-street, W.	50 0 0
Balance for general fund	1,516 9 7	Unsold goods from Yuletide Festival	7 10 0
		Reproduction of Holloway Cell	8 0 0
		Banners, decorations, and other propaganda material	16 0 0
		Two caravans	75 0 0
		Office furniture and fittings	96 5 7
		Sundry debtors, advertisers in Yuletide Festival Programme	25 13 6
		Literature Dept. for loan	74 6 0
		400 5s. shares in the Minerva Publishing Co., Ltd., 2s. 6d. per share paid up	50 0 0
		Cash in hand	19 1 9
		Cash at Bank	1,213 15 10
	£1,645 12 8		£1,645 12 8

MRS. T. P. O'CONNOR.

To an American journalist Mrs. T. P. O'Connor remarked the other day that she did not know there was any difference between a Suffragist and a Suffragette. "But if a Suffragist be a persuader and a Suffragette a soldier I am both." Shortly before going to America Mrs. O'Connor gave a representative of THE VOTE a short interview.

"I've been a believer in Woman's Suffrage for the last thirty years," she said, in answer to a question, "ever since I went out into the world to earn my living. I was a journalist once, but gave it up because I couldn't understand the value of news. If Brooklyn Bridge blew up or a man hanged himself on top of a sky-scraper I never could see why anyone should want to know, so I wasn't a success for American papers.

"Any woman who has got to earn her own living must have exactly the same staff to lean on as the male worker. If she hasn't she is underpaid. In America, as in England, the State departments pay the woman less than the man. Where a man has 125 dollars a woman has 75 for the same work, and it's the same all through.

"What happens in the States where women have votes? Well, I can't give you any recent news, as it's some time since I've been in America, but Colorado has made many strides since its women have got the vote. Women always prove themselves above party. Principles are what they strive for."

"Do 'dry' States follow the feminine vote?"

"Well, what if the States do go dry? Human nature is weak, and needs legislation for its protection. To legislate against the drink traffic ought to be one of the aims of the woman-voter.

"What strikes me as

being the great difference between English women and American women," said Mrs. O'Connor in answer to a question, "is a difference of atmosphere in the relation of the sexes. Over here a man keeps on remembering all the time he is talking to a woman, that she is a woman, and if she is an Englishwoman she keeps on reminding him of the same fact in a thousand subtle ways. In America the attitude of the sexes is quite different; there is perfect equality between them."

"The American wife does not look up to her husband, then?"

Mrs. O'Connor calmly regarded her questioner and said as slowly as she knew how:

"No American looks up to anybody."

"How are American wives off as regards laws affecting their husband's property?"

"No man can sell his homestead without his wife's

signature, and in many States the homestead is absolutely exempt from mortgage. The American man can't leave his wife homeless in his will. In no State does she inherit less than one-third, even if separated for twenty years, and in many States she inherits half his property. But though in some respects the American woman is favourably situated, there is much room for improvement in her status, and this improvement can only come through enfranchisement.

"An argument that is very common amongst English anti's," went on Mrs. O'Connor, "is the physical force argument. It's the one that appears to me quite the most vindictive. For generations every effort has been made to keep back the physical development of women—high heels, corsets, and other abominable devices to mar and

impair her growth have been thrust upon her as being necessary to keep her feminine. In America a physical culturist named Checkley has recently announced as the results of his training, that given a healthy male baby and a healthy female, and allow them to develop on the same lines, with the same exercises and food, the result will be two equally fine and strong animals. In the Civil War the part played by the women was quite as important as that by the men, and they were even known to have joined the fighting line disguised as soldiers.

"I do not think," said Mrs. O'Connor, in answer to a further question, "that the suffrage will interfere with the home life of the woman-voter any more than her social life would."

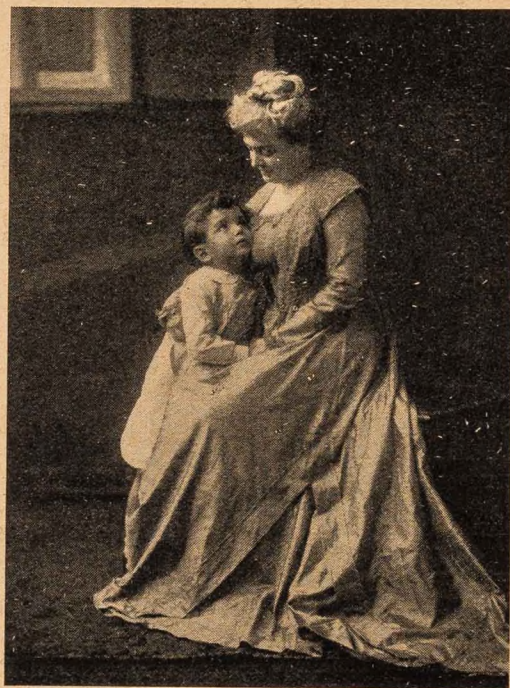
"But the Pilgrim Fathers?"

Mrs. O'Connor laughed. "It was the Pilgrim Mothers who made America," she said.

"Those great, strong, resolute women who never faltered in their purpose and devotion to the cause they bore in their hearts. History—written by men—only tells you of the men whom the *Mayflower* sheltered, but the women were there too."

With that impression of kindness, of womanliness, and of broad sympathies, Mrs. O'Connor brought a brief but interesting conversation to a conclusion. She is a woman who has done many things in her life—travelled, talked, even written plays and books, and met some of the most interesting people of her day. She has helped her husband in his electioneering many times, and most memorably when the great Parnell counted "T. P." amongst his henchmen. Back to America Mrs. O'Connor is bringing with her the story of the fight we are making here, and she sends us the sympathy of our American sisters.

Our photo shows her with her little grandson—her son's only child—to whom she is devotedly attached.



MRS. T. P. O'CONNOR AND GRANDSON.
(Photo, Kent-Lacey, Brighton.)

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SCOTTISH NOTES.

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Office Secretary: MISS KIRBY.
Organisers: MISS ANNA MUNRO, MISS OLIVE ROBERTSON.
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Glasgow.

ELECTION EXPENSES FUND.—The election is now over, and we have distributed in and around Glasgow some thousands of leaflets; our printer's bill alone comes to nearly £10. Will all those members who are collecting please return their cards as soon as possible to Miss Kirby?

CENTRAL BRANCH 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET.—In spite of fog, frost, and snow, a large number of members turned out to hear Miss Hamilton's address on "Political Education." Miss Hamilton is a recognised authority on educational matters, and this perhaps accounts for the excellent advice and many valuable suggestions which she gave as to the best possible means of obtaining a broad, unbiased, political education. Miss Semple made a strong appeal to the audience for subscribers to the Glasgow and District Council. This appeal met with a prompt and generous response, subscriptions of from half-a-guinea to thirty shillings per annum being offered.

The collection taken was unusually large. Altogether from the point of view both of treasurer and audience, the meeting was felt to have been a most profitable one.

Dundee.

Miss Jessie Clunas was the lady who was violently removed from Mr. Churchill's "Meeting for Women" long before the time of beginning, not Miss Lila Clunas, as reported in THE VOTE of last week. Miss Clunas has put the case into the hands of the Procurator-Fiscal.

The Branch was "At Home" to friends and all interested on Tuesday last. There was a good turn-out of members. Mrs. Allan, Treasurer, submitted a report of income and expenditure for the election. It was agreed to send a donation of £10 to headquarters for election expenses. Miss Clunas (Hon. Secretary) and Miss Smart (Press Secretary) submitted correspondence that had passed between Mr. Husband, Mr. Churchill's Parliamentary agent, and them, anent the Lochie incident. Mr. Husband "regretted that a misunderstanding had arisen between the ladies and the Clerk in Charge," and that we were "magnifying the matter too much." One can imagine the howls of execration and the columns of moral platitudes that would have been hurled at us—Suffragettes—if we had tricked and deceived Liberal stewards or Liberal candidates. A strong protest has also been sent from the Branch to the Liberal Executive, condemning the treatment of and the insulting language used towards several members of the League during election times by Liberals.

The usual fortnightly meetings of the Branch are to be resumed, the delegate to the London Conference, Miss Kate Husband, giving an account of the proceedings there, in our usual meeting-place on Tuesday, February 8th.

HOW TO HELP.

Under this heading from time to time brief articles dealing with good ideas for assisting the work of the League or increasing the sale of THE VOTE will appear.

Many suggestions for helping on our paper were made at the Conference both afternoon and evening, and at the Queen's Hall on Sunday. Our president has a great interest in THE VOTE, and continually expressed her hope that members of the W.F.L. would give every encouragement they could to this new venture. It was said also at the Conference that the influence of the paper in bringing the League before the public had not as yet been fully realised by the members. The importance of the street-selling—a point which we are never tired of bringing before our readers—was also insisted upon.

Street Customers.

The humours of street selling are very varied, and no two "sellers" have the same experiences. The most unexpected people, seeing the Suffragette at her post, stop to ask the most unexpected questions—not always about the Suffrage. One of our best "saleswomen," telling the fortunes of her pitch, said that a puzzled foreigner, seeking to keep an appointment, stopped to ask what day of the week it was. Country cousins continually inquired the way, and it generally happened that these inquirers in gratitude for information given bought the paper. A man selling chestnuts insisted upon presenting her with some of his fattest and best; an old man selling papers came over to ask "how was trade?" a kindly old lady

stopped to say "My dear, you must be cold standing here," and slipped a shilling for a copy into the seller's hand. Superior people bought to see "what these Suffragists are doing." An endless stream of different personalities passed, the greater number friendly, but even amongst those who were not there were customers. Any of you who want to help THE VOTE should try street sales, and apply to Mrs. Snow, 148, Holborn Bars, E.C.

AFTER THE BATTLE.

Says Philip Snowden:

"The women Suffragists have suffered at this election in the same way as the Labour Party. The 'dominating issues' have submerged their question to some extent. But the results have shown that there is no strong opposition in the country to women's suffrage. In my constituency I never found that my support of the women was detrimental to my chances of re-election. On the contrary, the women suffragists obtained over 7000 signatures of electors to a petition in favour of votes for women. It is not yet known what is the extent of the support for women's suffrage in the new Parliament—it is not likely to be equal to that in the late Parliament, so far as numbers formally pledged to the reform go; but there will be this difference, that every member pledging himself to women's suffrage at this election does so knowing that he is giving a serious answer to a practical and pressing question."—*Christian Commonwealth.*

Says Victor Grayson.

"And I am defeated. Over eight thousand Colne Valley voters have preferred either Liberal or Tory to voice their needs in Parliament. . . . Many thousands of women, girls, and young men have worked, and wept, and cheered for Socialism, but being voteless could not affect the verdict."—*Woman Worker.*

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common Tea without knowing it, but the finest lady in the land must realise when drinking

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THE CASE FOR WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.

By LADY COOK, (nee Tennessee Claflin.)

The question of the franchise for women is one which must be decided in their favour sooner or later, and the sooner the better. For it is no longer a matter of sentiment, but of justice. The fact that more than one-half of the inhabitants of this country are disfranchised and politically ranked with lunatics, idiots, criminals, and infants solely because of their sex is an anomaly so glaring and inequitable that it must not, and cannot, continue. Among the onerous duties which will fall upon the next Parliament, the rectification of this wrong should take an important place.

Legal Logic.

Since 1867, when an Act was passed by which, as Lord Beaconsfield—then Mr. Disraeli—said, it was intended by the House to give the franchise to every householder rated for the relief of the poor, the question has undergone many new phases which strengthen the demand for duly qualified women to have the right of voting at Parliamentary elections. No one now would agree with Mr. Justice Probyn when he said a few years ago, "Infants cannot vote, and women are perpetual infants." The most obstinate and most prejudiced opponent of women's claims to the franchise would disavow such legal logic as that. Yet it was by dicta such as this from the Bench, and by worse from Revising Barristers, that the Act of '67 was not permitted to include women householders as well as men. One Revising Barrister impudently stated to a woman who pleaded her claim in his court that he declined to recognise suckling as a qualification for the suffrage. And in the Court of Queen's Bench, on a question of appeal by 1600 women ratepayers, Mr. Justice Byles denied humanity to the sex. "I will not," he said, "allow that woman can be man unless in a zoological treatise or until she is reduced to fossil remains."

Old Injustices.

If we go back a little we find that the same sort of arguments that were levelled against woman's franchise did duty for many other degrading disabilities. It was considered ridiculous for her to acquire learning: to know was a man's business, not a woman's. When Françoise de Saintonges tried to establish girls' schools in France she was hooted in the streets, and her own father doubted her sanity. Niebuhr thought that a girl, if well educated, would know too much. Dr. Channing spoke of "women forgetting the tenderness of their sex" when they argued on theology; and Lessing said, "The woman who thinks is, like the man who puts on rouge, ridiculous." The late Dr. Maginn pleasantly said, "We like to hear a few words of sense from a woman, as we do from a parrot, because they are so unexpected." Voltaire stated that "Ideas are like beards; women and young men have none." And the greatest praise the Abbé Choisi could give a great lady, the Duchesse de Fontanges, was that she was "beautiful as an angel and silly as a goose."

The basis of these and similar scoffing witticisms, from Aristotle's definition of woman as *animal occasionatum* down to those of our own day, is the underlying male contempt for the supposed intellectual inferiority of women. Men starved her mind and then asserted that she was not to be taught because she was not worth teaching. Just as in Massachusetts she was not to have the franchise because, as Theophilus Parsons gravely asserted, "women, what age soever they are of, are not considered as having a sufficient acquired discretion."

The Modern Woman's Right.

All these erroneous ideas as to woman's natural inferiority, which have so long retarded her mental and social emancipation are, however, things of the past. If there are a few still so antiquated as to entertain them, they do so secretly and dare not avow them. Women have abundantly proved that their capacity to acquire sound knowledge, to reason clearly and judge accurately,

is equal to that of men, or, if this should be denied, that it is at least equal to a right use of the franchise. In every branch of learning and in every occupation and duty thrown open to them they have acquitted themselves with credit, and falsified the predictions of their opponents. In their public functions, as Poor Law Guardians, Factory and School Inspectors, and other civil offices, they have exercised an intelligence, discretion, and ability not surpassed by their male coadjutors. On what grounds, then, are qualified women—even those of rank, property, and education—denied the exercise of that privilege which has been freely bestowed upon multitudes of impecunious and illiterate men? There can be only one answer, though it be in itself as absurd as the old story of the Goodwin Sands and Tenterden Steeple—it is because they are women.

In the ages of government by physical force, when every man was a warrior, there might have been good reason for excluding women from political functions. Now, however, the citizens of this country hire others to fight for them, and soldiers and sailors are paid through the taxes which are imposed upon women equally with men. The tyranny of taxation without representation, against which every Englishman feels justified in taking up arms the world over, is laid upon women still. How long is this grave injustice to continue? Must women also arm for constitutional privileges before they will be conceded?

Her Capabilities.

John Stuart Mill once said: "It is my belief that, in all those parts of the business of life which depend on the vigilant superintendence and accurate estimation of details, women, when they have the necessary special knowledge, are better administrators than men. And I am now speaking, not of women as they might be—not as some improved mode of education would make them—but of women as they now are, and of the capacities which they have already displayed." Having instanced the Sanitary Commission in the Great American War, he added, "From the beginning and throughout it was women's work. It was planned, organised, and worked by women. The Government was jealous of them at first, but the hopeless inferiority of its own arrangements made it soon glad to make over the first place to them. Not only had such work never been so well done, but nobody had ever supposed it possible that it could be so well done."

Her Wasted Energies.

It would be interesting to know what are the real arguments now advanced by those who oppose Woman Suffrage. The old objections have been exploded. On what new circumstances do they rely? Instead of anything solid and specific, we hear a few muttered platitudes about "woman's sphere" and "domestic duties." We have never learnt that the possession of the franchise interferes with the ordinary duties or occupations of men, so that there can be no reason to suppose it would have an injurious effect upon those of women. "Before and after being a mother," says Jean Paul Richter, "a woman is a human being, and neither maternal nor conjugal relation can supersede the human responsibility, but must become its means and instrument." For men to desire that the active sympathies and aspirations of an intelligent woman should be circumscribed solely within the domestic area is to wish her to be a domestic serf, a slave of the hearth.

A large proportion of women have independent means and no occupation; others have no domestic circle to engage their affections; while many possess talents which, if freely exercised, would go far to enrich our national life. The existing law compels a monstrous waste of wholesome energy. Therefore, as a matter of right, as a means of imbuing politics with higher purposes and a purer morality, and for the general protection of the unrepresented millions who groan under the oppression of partial laws, we urgently invite all who love justice and desire the future welfare of their country to combine for the extension of the Franchise to Women.

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THE GENERAL ELECTION CAMPAIGN.

In Hackney.

Our Committee decided to make the question of "Votes for Women" a very real thing to the Hackney electorate, and at once secured the Suffrage Shop at 4, Clarence Road. Ardent members made great sacrifices of their holidays, and as soon as the electric light had been installed decorated the windows and opened for business. Meetings began on December 31st, and were held nightly in the shop until the poll.

As we could not expect help from speakers at headquarters at such a busy time our members rose to the occasion and boldly plunged into oratory themselves. Mr. Wilks, of the Men's League, gave us valiant help, and we held open-air meetings nightly in South and Central Hackney, and the night before the poll we had no less than seven outdoor meetings.

The election policy of the League was explained at every meeting and the electorate were asked to vote for the candidate whom they would choose and write "Votes for Women" across their ballot-paper. Although this would spoil their paper it would send a mandate direct to the Government for our enfranchisement.

On polling-day, January 19th, we made a brave show. Mrs. Holmes secured the loan of a beautiful motor-car for the day. The car was decorated with the colours and toured the constituencies all day, attracting a great deal of attention. At every polling-booth were members from 8 a.m. till the end, giving out leaflets and asking the men not to forget our cause. Both the *Chronicle* and the *Telegraph* gave us headlines, whilst the local Press referred to us as the "ubiquitous Suffragettes," giving us a title we have never won before.

A local paper states that in South Hackney more than forty votes were spoilt by the words "Votes for Women." So far we have not ascertained the number secured in Central Hackney. Our best thanks are tendered to all our members and friends who worked so admirably in the cause.—S. A. M.

In West Sussex.

The election campaign in the Horsham Division of Sussex has been carried out with that regard to decorous behaviour which must have gladdened the hearts of all non-militant friends and supporters; and yet we have managed to make the hearts of political agents to palpitate.

As both candidates were equally hostile to a Woman's Suffrage Bill there was much speculation as to the attitude we should adopt towards them. They were questioned on several occasions by both men and women, and Lord Winterton, who replied very emphatically in the negative at the commencement of the campaign, so far committed himself before the end of it as to make a provisional promise depending on the "behaviour" of the ladies between now and the next General Election.

The electors of Midhurst and the surrounding villages have been severally reminded of their duty to women at this time by a house-to-house distribution of leaflets. A very successful protest meeting was held in Midhurst Market Square a few days previous to polling-day. The audience, with the exception of a few unfledged youths, was large and attentive.

Miss M. E. Byham was in the chair, and Miss E. Cummin and Miss Roff addressed the meeting. The speeches were well received and questions were asked at the close. In answer to an enquiry, Miss Cummin suggested that

very effectual support might be given to the woman's cause by writing "Votes for Women" across the ballot-paper. This suggestion struck an added terror into the hearts of the over-anxious party supporters, which was intensified when we appeared at the doors of the polling-stations on election day armed with formidable-looking leaflets for distribution. These were eagerly perused by the various officials, but found to be nothing more than a strong searchlight on the injustice done to women and the call to duty on the part of men. We were therefore allowed to remain in the teeth of a biting north-east wind the whole twelve hours. For the greater part courtesy and kindness was extended to us on every hand. There was one glaring exception. "I am ashamed of you. You are a disgrace to your sex," was the manly remark of an elector addressed to a blanched and shivering woman as she handed him a leaflet.—ANNIE N. ROFF.

Mid Glamorgan.

Our meeting in the Public Hall at Aberavon proved to be one of the most successful of the whole campaign, and in an account which appeared in the local Press it was said that:

The lady speakers of the Women's Freedom League, at present touring Mid-Glamorgan, paid a visit on Monday to Aberavon, and were accorded a hearty reception. The meeting was held in the Public Hall, Aberavon, but the hall was much too small for the crowd which had assembled, and many hundreds, unable to gain admission, kept up a counter-demonstration in the streets, cheering and hammering the doors. During this time Sir S. T. Evans, K.C., motored through on his way to Maesteg, and was loudly cheered and booed by the crowd. The chair was taken by Mrs. E. A. Cleaves (Sketty), and the speakers were Mrs. Fagan, Mrs. Beith, and Mrs. Purves. Mrs. Beith said that there had been 420 members in the House of Commons pledged to support their cause, but that was no use unless they had the support of the Government. If a woman paid rates and taxes, surely she was entitled to the full duties and privileges of citizenship. (Cheers.) She appealed to the electors of Mid-Glamorgan to insist upon the candidates giving support to the Bill.

Tuesday was polling-day, and by making use of Mrs. Fagan's motor-car and my dog-cart we were able to visit most of the polling-stations in this large constituency, displaying our colours and distributing leaflets. Fine receptions and much cheering were accorded to us all along the route, for many converts have been made to our cause.

On Wednesday Mrs. Kineton Parkes and I drove back to Sketty via Neathe, where we arrived just in time to hear the declaration of the poll. We pulled up alongside Sir Samuel Evans' motor-car, and when he and Lady Evans came out to address the crowd they spotted us at once. In quiet ways like this we have always been able to make ourselves felt wherever the Liberal candidate has been. Mrs. Fagan, Mrs. Beith, and myself have been able to talk with him on four different occasions about our cause, and we confidently hope that his attitude towards it may be a different one in the coming Parliament from what it was in the last.—MARY McLEOD CLEEVES.

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101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

5—BECAUSE MANY OF THE TRADES FORMERLY REGARDED AS PECULIAR TO WOMEN HAVE BEEN INVADED BY MEN, WHO HAVE AT THE SAME TIME GUARDED THEMSELVES AGAINST A SIMILAR OCCURRENCE IN THEIR OWN TRADES.

By means of their trades unions and the fact that they have representatives to watch their interests in Parliament working men have been able to close the doors of well-paid trades for which women would be fitted and refuse them admittance. At the same time they have entered the baking, dressmaking, and laundry, &c., trades, from which women, being unrepresented, have been unable to exclude them.

Every trade that a man chooses to engage in is man's work; men are allowed freely to invade any trade in which women are engaged, and turn them out of it. Men have monopolised the brewing, which occupied women in ancient times; they have monopolised the baking trade, which was in the hands of women; they have invaded the washing trade—with capital and machinery men are taking the profits, and are relegating the women to the position of drudges. Even the women's clothing trade is now exploited by men with capital, able to import and copy French confections. On the other hand, women are kept strictly out of men's work by the serried ranks of men's trade unions, who do not allow women to practise the higher branches of skilled trades. . . . The consequence is that the trades in which women are permitted to engage are so overcrowded, and there is such competition amongst women, that women's wages are now far below their normal commercial value throughout the whole labour market."—LADY MCLAREN.

What is wanted is such a representation of women in the Legislature as shall secure to them a living wage on the same terms as to men. There are far-reaching economic problems here upon which I hardly dare touch at present, but we may as well recognise plainly that to give women political power is the best way to secure them in the long run such an economic status as will lift them clear out of their present position of reputable and disreputable dependence on men.—REV. R. J. CAMPBELL.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

LONDON.

Thurs., Feb. 3rd **Caxton Hall**: 3 to 6: Mrs. Billington-Greig and Mr. J. Cameron Grant.

Thurs., Feb. 10th **Caxton Hall**, 3 to 6: Mr. Cecil M. Chapman and the Rev. Dr. Cobb.

Thurs., Feb. 10th **Willesden and Maida Vale Branch**: Meeting at 14, Great Western Road, Paddington. Rev. C. Hinscliff. All members earnestly requested to attend to hear delegates' report of the Annual Conference.

Thurs., Feb. 17th **Caxton Hall**, 3 to 6: Mrs. K. Parkes and Mr. Bart Kennedy.

Thurs., Feb. 24th **Release of Mrs. Chapin**, Holloway Prison, 8 a.m.

THE PROVINCES.

Thurs., Feb. 3rd. Manchester Branch Meeting, 8 p.m. Subject: "The Physical Force Fallacy."

Thurs., Feb. 10th.—Sunderland: Social Gathering, Westcott House.

SCOTLAND.

Tues., Feb. 8th.—Edinburgh, Café Vegetaria: "Poor Law Reform," Miss Marshall.

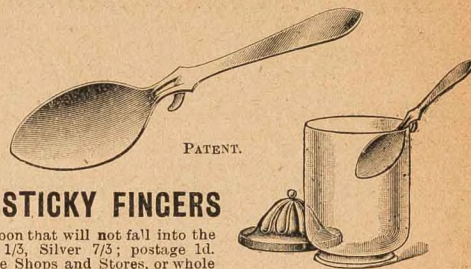
Edinburgh, Oddfellows' Hall, Public Meeting: Mr. Laurence Housman, Mrs. Nevinson.

Wed., Feb. 9th.—Glasgow Central Branch, 302, Sauchiehall Street: Social and Business Meeting, 8 p.m.



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OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

Lady Castletown and Lady Wilson have recently joined the list of vice-presidents of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and Lady Katherine Morgan, Lady Hindlip, Lady Scott Moncrieff, and Lady Stormonth Darling have consented to belong to the Women's Council.

The newly-formed Chelsea Branch held a crowded Drawing Room Meeting at Lady Scott Moncrieff's house on January 25th. Miss Woods took the chair, and Mrs. Gilbert Samuel and Miss Eva Mackenzie spoke; and on the 26th the Kensington Branch held a meeting at Albert Lodge by kind permission of Mrs. Cameron Grant. Mr. Cameron Grant took the chair, and spoke of the economic disabilities of women and the importance of the vote, while Mrs. Gilbert Samuel testified to the excellent work done by the Branches of the Association, and especially that of the Kensington Committee. Miss Isabel Marris also addressed the meeting.

The Irish Branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association intend to hold a public meeting in Dublin on February 3rd in the Antient Concert Rooms at 8 p.m. Lady Arnott, the Irish President, will take the chair, and Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., will deliver an address on "Women's Suffrage." The Countess of Fingall, Lord Castletown of Upper Ossory, Lord O'Brien, and the Rev. James O. Hannay, M.A., have promised to speak in support of the motion.

Women Writers' Suffrage League.

The Reception to be held at the Waldorf Hotel on the afternoon of February 6th, for which the Women Writers' Suffrage League are sending out invitations, promises to be unusually attractive to its members and their friends. Instead of the speeches which are the usual features of such gatherings, the chief guests—Mr. Henry James, Dr. Saleeby, Mr. J. Masefield, as well as the president, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Mrs. H. W. Nevinson—are displaying a practical sympathy with the cause by promising to read extracts from their own writings.

Actresses' Franchise League.

The Actresses' Franchise League will be "At Home" to its members and their friends in the Victoria Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Friday, February 4th, at 3 o'clock. The guests will be received by Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley and the chair occupied by Miss Granville. The speakers include Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Maud Hoffmann, Mr. M. Campbell Johnston, hon. counsel to the A.F.L., and Major-General Sir Alfred Turner.

N.W.S.P.U.

It will be remembered that last October, after being arrested at Newcastle and sentenced to one month's imprisonment, Lady Constance Lytton was, after three days' hunger strike, examined by a specialist who had been sent for by the authorities, and was then released from prison on the plea of a weak heart. On January 14th she disguised herself as a working woman, was sentenced to fourteen days' hard labour, and after three days' hunger strike was fed by force for several days without any pretence at medical examination. When, after enduring this torture for several days she collapsed under it, a perfunctory examination was made, and the doctor declared her heart to be all right. Finally her identity leaked out, and she was released after eight days. In Liverpool Miss Brewster has been sentenced to six weeks' hard labour for a trifling damage done to the prison windows last August, for which she was then punished. Miss Leslie Hall was released weak after serving a month's sentence and being forcibly fed the whole time.

"If physical force were to be the ultimate test of all power, then Hackenschmidt, or the elephant from the Zoo, ought to be Prime Minister."

CICELY HAMILTON.

A great deal of matter has been held over until next week owing to the space given to the Conference.