The IIffragette

The Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union.

VOL. I.-No. 9.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)



WHY LETTERS ARE BURNT.

The Suffragists who have been burning and otherwise destroying letters have been doing this for a very plain and simple reason. They want to make the electors and the Government so uncomfortable that, in order to put an end to the nuisance, they will give women the vote.

These militant women are being warned that letter-burning is very unpopular. That is just what they want it to be, because they know that if the electors and the Government liked to have letters burnt, they would do nothing to stop it.

The quiet, patient methods of the law-abiding, non-militant Suffragists are very popular indeed (with those who happen to hear anything about them), and it is just because they are so popular that they are a failure; the Government and the electors being quite content that such pleasant, harmless methods shall continue for ever. The vote has never been given as a prize for good conduct. Women will never get the vote except by creating an intolerable situation for all the selfish and apathetic people who stand in their way.

It is true that in making a difficulty for the Government and for the men voters, the letter-burners may incidentally put other women to inconvenience, but at least those women will be suffering in their own interests and not only in the interests of other people, as is so often the case where sacrifices made by women are concerned. History teaches us that we must suffer to be free, and women, as men have done before them, are finding themselves obliged to pay this price for their liberty.

As for the men who are complaining of the actual or possible destruction of their letters, let them explain why they did not, long ago, force the Government to give votes to women. The men of the country and the dishonest and reactionary Government they have put in office must bear the whole blame and the whole responsibility for the attacks upon the letter-boxes, because, by rejecting every quiet and lawful appeal for the vote, they have driven women to methods of revolution.

The Suffragette,

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON. Telegraphic Address :

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ing to the Postmaster General 5,000 letters have been affected. No form of militant protest has ever been taken so seriously by the country as a whole. Window breaking, once the chief object of criticism, seems now to be regarded as a comparatively tolerable and pleasant mode of action. The starving widow who may lose "the postal note remitted to her for the succour of herself and her children" is being held up as a possible victim of letterbox protests. But those who make the protests are unabashed, because it is to help the starving woman and to make her less dependent upon the postal note of the charitable that they are fighting for the passage of a Woman Suffrage proposal. How is it possible, will Mr. Lloyd George at the treachery of the politicians and the apathy and indifference of a certain section of the electors.

Platitudes and Insincerity.

The Labour Party Unmasked 135
Camparex Throughout the Week.

A Review of the Week.

Government's Dishonest Plans Revealed

It is understood that the Prime Minister and the Government, having considered various alternative courses of action, have now completed their plans for dealing with the Suffrage situation. The Franchise Bill will not be dropped on the prefest of lack of time, for Mr. Asquith's pledge to the women must be "loyally" kept. The sanctually be passed without a division. The women's amendment swill thus be reached, and will be discussed and voted upon one after another. But, as the W.S.P.U. has for the past twelve months prophesied will be the case, ample provision has been made by the complete defeat of each amendment in turn, with the result, so Ministers believe, that "the women will be out of the way for years." Throughout this diagraceful transaction appearances are to be carefully preserved, and the ridiculous pretence that Mr. Asquith is "a man of honour" is to be as far as possible maintained.

"Fire Alarms"

Platitudes and Insincerity.

The so-called Suffrage Conference, held in the London Opera House list week, was meinter more nor less than a blind. The whole tone of the speeches made by the politicians who were present on the platform was enough to to sit and applaud such speeches. Not one word of practical value was uttrated by the two Ministers, Si John Simon and Mr. Acland, nor by the two Labour Members, Mr. J. R. MacDonald Mr. Arthur Henderson. The question of Nationalist hostility—one of the main factors in the situation—was entirely ignored, and more of the Government. The control of Nationalist hostility—one of the main factors in the situation—was entirely ignored, and more of the main factors in the situation—was entirely ignored, and more of the Government of the main factors in the situation—was entirely ignored, and my actually be passed with the summand of the main factors in the situation—was entirely ignored, and my care with the following the following the following th

Only One Militant Society.

John Redmond Silenced.

One of the finest of militant protests took place at Mr. Redmond was supplied with a written copy of his speech, the papers were able to give some account of it, but for an hour and a half he was only able to complete one sentence. It was "tragic," said Mr. Redmond, that his advocacy of Home Rule for men should be interrupted by protests against injustice to women. Of course, eviladoers always find it tragic when the day of retribution comes. The silencing of John Redmond has brought rejoicing to every Suffragist worthy of the name. And the Suffragist worthy of the name, and the paper was the state of the day of retribution comes. The silencing of John Redmond has brought rejoicing to every Suffragist worthy of the name. And the Suffragists has made on the Coalition have agreed and decided to cover up their treachery by denunciation of militancy. No-body will be deecived, however, because in the calcived the very been thought of the tactics of dishonest politicians were precisely similar to those they adopt at the present Lloyd George's visit to Aberdeen have, had their sequel in the police-courts, when all the was only every one and all, resorted to the whole episode has aroused the

ing to the Postmaster General 5,000 letters of the W.S.P.U., that he is the most danger-

1. That many Conservatives will not support the Norwegian amendment, and many Liberals will not support the Con-

Mr. Keir Hardie Again.

"Fire Alarms."

Only One Militant Society.

Mr. Keir Hardie Again.

Mr. Keir H

dows and destroying the furniture of the local W.S.P.U. office. The Press describes these mischievous youths as "indignant" students. But why not hysterical students, we should like to know! Or if indignant students, why not indignant women, especially as women have serious political grounds for their indignation and their window-breaking, whereas the students have serious political grounds for their indignation and their window-breaking, whereas

December 13, 1912.

Liberal Lawlessness.

Members of the Government have much to say at the present time about the lawless methods of the W.S.P.U. They would do well to remember that the methods adopted by themselves and their followers in the Liberal party to get rid of interrupters at public meetings are not only violent but also contrary to the law. On each occasion on which the

themselves and their followers in the Liberal party to get rid of interrupters at public meetings are not only violent but also contrary to the law. On each occasion on which the matter has been brought before the Law Courts the ejected Suffragist has secured damages. Mr. Hawkins, whose leg was broken by the stewards at a meeting addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill, was the hero of the leading case, and secured a verdict and substantial damages. We have now to congratulate Mr. Smithies Taylor, who was ejected from a recent meeting addressed by Mr. Lloyd George, upon the success of the action for assault brought by him against those responsible. The Liberal party would do well to amend its own methods before criticising those of militant Suffragists.

The Christmas Holidays.

Every member of the W.S.P.U. who is going to Switzerland or elsewhere for their Christmas holidays is urged to take with her cards for the weekly At Home at the London Pavilion, and order forms for The Suffragists.

The Christmas Holidays are result, the Union will be greatly strengthened for the important work it has to do in 1913. Order forms and At Home cards can be had on application to the honorary secretary, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, and instructions with regard to text with the recards to the Publisher at the same address.

cextra copies of Thre Suppragators to be sent each week to the holiday address. Thus sequipped, every W.S.P.U. holiday-maker will be able to secure new visitors to the Monday At Homes and new readers for the paper. As a result, the Union will be greatly strengthened for the important work it has to do in 1913. Order forms and At Home cards can be had on application to the honorary secretary, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, and instructions with regard to extra copies of the paper should be addressed to the Publisher at the same address.

SWELL THE WAR CHEST!

The Treasurer's Note.

The great success of the Christmas sale at Lincoln's Inn House gives renewed proof of the many-sided activity of the W.S.P.U. The appeal to members to work for the sale was made at a time when great demands were being made for personal service in many other directions, but, as always, our wonderful Union proved equal to the call.

When the sale was opened a week ago the friends who crowded into our pillared hall found stalls covered with gifts of every description, most of these gifts being the work of the skilful hands of our members. After a week's busy selling goods still pour in, and the supply appears to be inexhaustible. New attractions find their place on the stalls every day, and as they appear are eagerly purchased on behalf of the Union, I want to thank all who have helped, and are still helping, in this delightful way to fill the Union's cofters. Our thanks to those who give their time so gladly day in day out in selling what has been so generously given, to the artists who are performing delightful music for our entertainment, and also to the ladies who have undertaken the refreshment of the inner man in the tear-com.

I am persuaded that the already assured

I am persuad

tea-room.

I am persuaded that the already assured success will be maintained by crowds of eager Christmas shoppers. Knowing as I do the unfailing devotion and energy of the members who organised the sale, I can promise all who come to buy and to enjoy that so long as they continue coming there will be stall-holders to sell, and beautiful and useful goods to be boucht.

Miss. Miss. Miss. Mrs. Prof. True and the sale of the sell of the

bought.

Come, then, and bring your friends to visit the Suffragettes and see the headquarters of which we are so proud, and help to swell the War Chest of the W.S.P.U.

E. Pankhurst.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

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Iready acknow-	-			Mrs. Suttie	0	1	(
ledged 138,7	25	4	6	Miss Ross		1	
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MRS. DRUMMOND'S CALL TO WORKING WOMEN.

GREAT AND INCREASING RESPONSE.

December 13, 1912.

	HOW YOU CAN HELP!		fee
	Carlo States of Contract of the Contract of th		Win
	PALSE CENTRAL CONTROL OF THE CONTROL OF		su
The last week has shown still more		warm welcome in the homes of the	arc
clearly that the time is ripe for Mrs.	teered for these districts:-	members of the W.S.P.U. To all who	hos
Drummond's appeal to working women.	Poplar-Miss Hockin.	can offer hospitality—send in your names without delay to the Hospitality	hes
Numbers of letters have been re-	Limehouse-Miss Haig.	Secretary, Lincoln's Inn House, Kings-	Pr
ceived from volunteers who wish to	Stepney—Miss Fischer. Bethnal Green—Miss Emerson.	way.	ate
join the "General" in her great	Pimlico and Lambeth—Miss Sheddon.		thi
stand for political liberty. They	Fulham and Putney-Mrs. Keeling.	Mrs. Drummond's Fund.	ple
will go with her to the House of	North London-Miss Jacobs.	The state of the s	an
Commons, to lay their demand for the	Hackney-Miss Hayman	£ s. d.	So
Parliamentary vote before the Prime	North Kensington-Miss Wylie.	Miss Eugenie Adams 0 2 6 Anon 1 0 0	ma
Minister and Mr. Lloyd George, and to	Miss Glidewell, who is in charge of the	Miss Winifred Holiday 2 0 0	of
insist on its satisfaction. The spirit	committee-rooms in Bow, reports that a	Anon 100 0 0	Mi
animating these women is best shown by	local union is being formed, and the	Miss Maggie E. Fletcher 0 5 3	dif
extracts from some of their letters.	ready response of the women is most en- couraging. Already meetings are taking	Miss Hall Forsyth 0 5 0	sit
From the wife of a working man :-	place every afternoon, and several large	Mrs. E. M. Beckett 1 0 0 Mrs. G. Houstoun 1 0 0	opp
"As the wife of a working man who	open-air meetings have been held. From	Mrs. G. Houstoun 1 0 0 Miss Alys Barry 1 0 0	ser
wishes to see the enfranchisement of	Stepney comes the news that the open-	Miss Murray Clark 1 1 0	ing
women, I shall be pleased to join in your	air meetings are being supported every-	The Misses Brackenbury 1 0 0	sul
demonstration, and shall bring others	where, and the enthusiasm of both the men and women is a feature of these	Mrs. Horace Barrett 0 10 0	Jul
with me."	meetings. Miss Fischer desires to thank	Mrs. Muriel Hart 2 2 0	
A teacher writes:-" As a working	Miss Haig, Miss Graham, Miss Medwin,	Miss Allman 0 1 0 Anon 0 6 0	1
woman—a teacher—I will go with you	and Miss Canning for splendid help		Ar
on the deputation in January. I have	given and all Chelsea members who	Mrs. Heath 0 5 0	cal
been a member of the W.S.P.U. from	kindly sent contributions. More can- vassers are badly needed, and outside	Mrs. Catherine Holiday 10 0 0	fra
the beginning, but have never been free	workers are urged to help, as the call is	Miss E. W. Allen 0 10 0	Pel
to join any deputation or take any part	urgent.	Miss Alice Heale 1 1 0 Miss Juliette Heale 1 1 0	pit
in militant action before, owing to my	Limehouse has also had most enthu-	Miss Juliette Heale 1 1 0 Anon 10 0 0	spo
work."	siastic meetings, marked by the orderly	Miss Trov1 0 0	day
	demeanour of the crowds, some of the	Frank Smith Esq 0 10 0	and
The following is from a woman trade	men seeing quite clearly that their failure to help hitherto makes it illogi-	Robert Williams, Esq., 0 10 0	Au
unionist:-" Please add my name to	cal for them to criticise the Suffragettes.	Mr. & Mrs. Mansell-Moullin 5 0 0 Miss Ellen M. Lloyd 1 0 0	the
your list of working women to go on	Help and hospitality in various ways is	Miss Leslie Lawless 1 1 0	was
deputation to Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George. I have been President of a	offered from a number of people living	Mrs. Sydney Williams 5 5 0	tio
woman's Trade Union for over seven	in the district. All who can assist this		mii
years, and have worked for women for	campaign are urgently asked to send in names to any of the ladies mentioned	Dr. M. Wilson 0 6 0	spe
over twenty years."	above at 278, Roman-road, Bow.	Miss Miller 0 1 0 Miss Mellville 0 2 6	Tra
		Miss E. Turner 0 1 6	nig
Another working woman writes:-"I		Miss Steger 0 5 0	the
wish to offer myself for deputation. I	Help the Great Scheme.	Miss A. W. Watson 2 2 0	hav
am a dressmaker and shall fool it an	p car occur occurrence	Mrs Rosina M Pott 5 0 0	****

THE W.S.P.U. IN CANADA.

Miss Wylie's Progress. Miss Wylie has made romarkable pro-gress in her work in Canada. We quote the following from her report: "The feeling in Montreal in favour of Woman's Suffrage has changed so much

Strong and Flourishing.

Here, in Fort William and Port Here, in Fort William and Port Arthur — the twin cities, as they are called—is a strong and flourishing Suffrage Society, presided over by Mrs. Peltier, who is kindly giving me hospitality. On Sunday, November 17, I spoke in the auditorium here; on Monday, in the Y. M.C.A. Hall in Port Arthur; and on Tuesday, once more in the Auditorium, the resolution demanding the Federal Vote for Women this session was carried unanimously. A good collection depetation to Mr. Augusth and Lloydwoman's Tangle Usen President of its
years, and have worked for women for
over twonty years."

Are stroke weiging woman writes:—"1
Are stroke working woman in their
great studie for freedom. The following
set revent is typical of anch letters—"
"No one one work in the Bast or,
and wevered woman wites woman with the working
woman and alter their conditions. I
should like to ask your if the more work and the present of the working woman with the working woman

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The Suffragette.

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FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13th, 1912

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Methods Wise and Unwise

Nothing matters now but methods, so far as Woman Suffrage is concerned. Let the right Noman Sulfrage is concerned. Let the Fight another the methods be adopted by an adequate number of women, and success will follow! At present the Labour Party ought to read the letter addressed Labour Party ought to read the letter addressed Suffrage movement is divided as to methods. Thus the Women's Social and Political Union uses methods that are militant; but the other great organisation, the National Union of Women's

Suffrage Societies, uses methods of another kind.

The W.S.P.U. is militant with the object of ing a situation from which the Governmen and the electors will find themselves compelled

Is such a policy politically expedient? Cer-ninly it is; because "Governments move only n response to pressure," and those who are content while the demands of less complacent and accomdating people are being attended to

Is the militant policy of the W.S.P.U. morally right? Unless all the patriots and heroes of past times are now to be accounted as sinners,

successful when adopted by women! Considering the effect already produced by existing militants; considering the complexity and delicate balance of our modern civilisation; considering the ingenuity, courage and persistence of the average woman, a militant policy pursued by women will undoubtedly be successful.

There is no doubt whatever that Mr. Lansbury's

us now contrast with it the alternative policy of the N.U.W.S.S. What that policy is we learn from the words of Mrs. Fawcett, who is the presing the political interests of the Labour Party, the present unconditional subservience to the Govern-

Labour candidates pledged themselves to fight for the measures on the Labour programme, then for working women is to keep perfect faith with

As for the further official argument, that an anti-Government policy is out of harmony with wishes of the Labour rank and file, we cannot declared that no extension of the franchise would be acceptable that did not include women. To give effect to this resolution, it is necessary for the Labour Members to oppose the Governm because unless they do so, the Government will persist in giving more Franchise Reform to (if only in the shape of a Plural Voting Bill) without giving votes to women.

Mr. MacDonald's favourite excuse for supporting he Government at women's expense is to say that the next Government might be just as bad as the present one. The answer to him is, that omen to loss of office, and that if, as Mr. Mac Donald believes, they would prefer defeat, such defeat would be an unforgettable lesson to their

by Mr. Lansbury to the Administrative Council of the I.L.P. This document appeared in The Daily Herald on December 4, and in The Labour plainly and squarely that, in his judgment, the position taken up by the Labour Party on the question of women's enfranchisement amounts to a gross betrayal. He further declares that instead of being used to secure this and other reforms on the Labour programme, the votes of the Labour Party are being sold for nothing. The Labour Members wander through the di lobbies in support of Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment, while every one of the questions they were elected to support are being neglected, and, says Mr. Lansbury, "during the Parliatry." He continues: "I can think of nothing Ts. it possible that a militant policy shall be successful when adopted by women? Considering the effect already produced by existing militants;

censure of the Labour official policy is pe feetly So much for the methods of the W.S.P.U. Let sound. Whether it be regarded from the point Manage the last and hoteness will be. Dr. Louis Garrett Adermote. Reliable Ann. Br. Reliable Ann. Reliable

WOMEN'S RIGHTS.

By HERMANN BAHR.

(Translated by special permission of the author for "The Suffragette.")

Hermann Bahr, successful playwright, Social Democrat, and philosopher, whose position in the German literary world is somewhat analogous to that of Bernard Shaw in England, declares his belief in the social and political emancipation of women.

December 13, 1912.

The Woman Question exists because certain women feel themselves to be suffering an injustice. Whether the woman of the future will still be denied full thuman rights, or will establish her claim to equality the divine thought she repsents. And when she shall have won this right for herself, then, and then only, will see that qualities really are "womanly." What we now call "womanly" is ment cannot be solved by logic alone, neither, can they be proved nor disproved by argument. they be proved nor disproved by argument.

at the bidding of popular sentiment. Why do we no longer devour human flesh? Because we should no longer find it palatable. Why do we no longer keep slaves? Because we should ourselves find it intolerable to do so. Why do we no longer torture to this much is no longer seriously disputed. the to do so; but all to whom it does give pain

sonally I live in hopes of the speedy discovery of some less cumbersome instrument of Government. Oman. She modelled herself on man, and took leasure in masculine habits; she smoked, cut her air short, rode astride, preferred manly garb, and Will women ever have the vote? It entirely de-

Woman's Individuality.

Nevertheless, these advanced women of a bygone ought the boundaries convention prescribes for her. Presently they were followed by others who no longer trove to obliterate the difference between the sexes. they said, woman is not of the same order as

modify herself to suit his requirements. Present-day "womanliness" is an invention of men who are apt Cannibalism, slavery and cruelty to animals have to find anything in the opposite sex that does not suit them in domestic or sexual relationship "un-

Will Women Ever Have the Vote?

Opportunity to develop and fulfil herself in accord ought to do so; but all to whom it does give pain could combine, and then it would depend on whether their corporate feelings were strong enough to infect so many people that at last even sportsmen would begin to feel ashamed of themselves. It is always after this fashion that a corporate suggestion operates, and gradually causes a new social sentiment to bear fruit in action and new social ordinates. No one can realise the physical and method to so, the vote is necessary to her. That is the present position. But can it honestly be asserted that one human being can speak for another, or can so perfectly understand another as to exactly anticipate his wants? No one can realise the physical and operates, and gradually causes a new social sentiment to bear fruit in action and new social ordinance. A change of custom is invariably a question of feeling, and only afterwards becomes a question of force.

When the young bourgeoiste first began to consider the rights of man, it forgot altogether that women as well as men are human beings. And, what is still more remarkable, the women themselves forgot it may be the crueial moment slip by without putting the physical and mental requirements essential to the growth and full development of the individuality of another, failing which he must for ever remain an empty sketch or fragment of what he might be. No one but himself can do this, not even the eleverest or the most just-minded. No woman on earth will ever quite understand a man, a real man; and equally no man on earth will ever understand a real woman; though he be the wisest, the kindest, and the most more remarkable, the women themselves lorget it too. They let the crucial moment slip by without putting in their claim; albeit the period of the French Revolution was rich in gifted and even eminent women. But these, instead of casting in their lot with other women, singled themselves out from the rest. It was enough for them to extricate themselves rest. It was enough for them to extricate themselves on the conditions under which the

women of their time laboured; they were deserters, who forsook their own sex to enrol themselves among the opposite one.

Some day, perhaps, we shall find ourselves to have outgrown our present Parliamentary forms, and personally I live in hopes of the speedy discovery of

will women ever have the vote? It entirely depends upon how strong their sense of injustice is. type should at first have served as a deterrent, particularly with women, and more especially with the best women, who refuse to be false to their nature and are not ashamed to be familiar to the description of the strong of the which they have had no part. But, in any country, the moment this does strike the women as introduced and are not ashamed to be feminine, but, on the contrary, are strongly averse to unsexing and modifying themselves on a masculine model.

which they have had no part. But, in any country, the moment this does strike the women as introduced intolerable, and intolerable such as the render continued obedience to man-made laws impossible, then, and then only, will they immediately

reasoning, but only by the degree of passion and force evoked in women by their grievances.

"Solely Their Own Affair."

With every individual something comes to the world that did not exist before him, and will not exist after him, and the desire of his being is to give to any cause are always its exist after him, and the desire of his being is to give to exist after him, and the desire of his being is to give to exist after him, and the desire of his being is to give worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing that be?" he asked. "Because," I continued, the fullest expression to this something, whatever it may be. It has been said that every human being the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing the fullest expression to this something, whatever it may be. It has been said that every human being the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing the movement in the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type will allow in containing the movement in the movement; for those who give their moral support and nothing else to any cause are always its worst foes. A man of this type worst foes. A man of thi ay that be?" he asked. "Because," I continued, our actions never proceed from arguments, but ther from our inner requirements, and only in their of thinking the same thought twice. This der afterwards to justify those requirements do se seek for reasons in reality superfluous." He was tonished, but I stuck to my point.

The Woman Question exists because certain women

> Finally, there are a few men in every land who actively exert themselves on behalf of women's rights. They are called Feminists, and are often somewhat conviction that women's influence on politics will be

The Needs of the Age.

The fact is, it is not so much out of concern for to grapple successfully with modern problems. Throughout Europe, politics are found wanting in that they fail to identify themselves with the needs of the Age; and in that they deal with anything and everything rather than with just those matte the great spiritual and social processes now at world In short, European politics are at the mercy of academic politicians. In their hands politics have become a game, a sport, a technical accomplishment in which one politician tries to outdo another in cunning, in duplicity, in squeezableness and dex-

All this can only be altered by the coming of a new people innocent of all the intrigues and deceptions of political caucuses and wirepulling, a people almost barbarously unsophisticated, who, in their youthful enthusiasm, shall deal with politics in all

It is always said of women that they are notoriignorant of what is called "politics" to-day. And

The basis of all old-world systems is physical force. The basis of all old-world systems is physical force. They exist by virtue of the subsistence of the strong upon the labour of the weak. The basis of the new world-system is mutual help, charity and love. It exists by virtue of the support of the weak by the strong, on the principle that each shall labour, in Man's attitude towards the Suffrage question is of no great importance. Many are simply conscious proportion to his strength, and receive in proportion of no great importance. Many are simply conscious proportion to his strength, and receive in proportion to his need. We are still far from the goal, but the frenchman is not a German, a business man is not an artist; but the Frenchman does not wish to become a German, nor the artist a business man; each one has his own peculiarities, of which he is proud; each one claims the right to be wholly himself as Nature has made him, and to determine his life according to his natural propensities.

In proportion to his strength, and receive in proportion to his need. We are still far from the goal, but to great importance. Many are simply conscious to his need. We are still far from the goal, but to great importance. Many are simply conscious to his need. We are still far from the goal, but to his need. We are still fa

December 13, 1912.

MILITANCY SPREADS LIKE A FLAME.

Redmond Routed at Dalston—
Pillar-boxes Attacked all over the Country—False Fire-alarms Call Attention to Women's Discontent.

**The flower of militage has been been content at the country—False Fire-alarms Call Attention to Women's Discontent.

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tioned Mr. Birrell upon the occasion of his Rectorial Address to the students of Glasgow University, a body of these illogical young rufians marched to the headquarters of the W.S.P.U. in Glasgow, and proceeded to wreck the premises. There was, as is so often the case in the hooliganism of the enfranchised male, no reason in their attack, the women simply having attended the meeting, presided over by a Cabinet Minister, in the pursuance of their well-known policy of reminding these official gentry, whenever they are to be found of their political duty to those women of the country who demand a political status.

MR. RUNCIMAN AT BARRY.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

As soon as our voices were heard the

WINDOW-SMASHERS AT WORK.

Attack on Local Post Office.

QUESTIONS IN THE

Protection of Cabinet Ministers.

WOMAN SEXTENCED TO TWO MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT.

Nine false alarms which reached the London Fire Brigade by telephone last night are attributed to the militant Suffragists appeared to be to go about to the different alarm stations giving false alarms of fire. He would only point out that, if these false alarms had been given on an evening such as the occasion of the fire - at Barker's, at Kensington, the men of the Fire Brigade would have been called away from their-proper duties, and there would have been called away from their-proper duties. At Holland Park last evening when he saw the defendant go to a fire alarm post, break the given and save been a great loss of his.

It appeared that Police-constable to go about to the different alarm from a mong the hundred for the word their proper duties. The mongan had been given on an evening such as the occasion of the fire-at Barker's, at Kensington, the men of the Fire Brigade would have been called away from their proper duties. At Holland Park last evening when he saw the defendant go to a fire alarm post, break the given and the suburbs—the city being and engrossing, so that the condential men can be relieved for the work they have indicated. It appeared that Police-constable and the sound and the suburbs—the city being and engrossing, so that the condential men can be relieved for the work that the had only to place with the proposed while Southand and Ireland are by no the proposed that the had only to place with the proposed while southed the proposed with t



Clearing a Fleet Street Paint-stricken Letter-box. [Topical.

BOGUS FIRE ALARM.

THE NEW TACTICS.

Chepstow Villas,
Bayswater,
Lincoln's Inn
Fields
Holland Park-ave,
Poultry.

John Pound & Co Actual Makers.



ze 15in. × 121in. × 6in. Price £8 17s. 6d.

268-270, OXFORD ST., W. 211, REGENT ST., W. 67, PICCADILLY, W. 243, BROMPTON RD., S.W.

177-178, TOTTENHAM COURT RD., W. 81-84, LEADENHALL ST., E.C.

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WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

THE BEST VALUE Leather Bags

IN LONDON.

Suede, Glace, Seal, Morocco, and Russian Leather. All sizes, shapes and colours.

CHRISTMAS PRESENTS.

ABOUT HALF THE =USUAL PRICES.=

John Harries Westbourne Grove W.

"MARRIAGE."*

In "Marriage" Mr. Wells states a proble which no one living in this generation can be quite unconscious of. The difficulty of attaining to a happy married comradeship, especially in the middle classes as they are to-day-where one partner, in the function of so breadwinner to the family is often overworked and the other partner, "the spendir partner," as Mr. Wells calls her, tends many cases to be hard put to it to find occup

all thoughtful women and by no inconside given us her solution of it in "Women an Labour"; Charlotte Perkins Gilman hers i "Woman and Economics"; the crusted anti-suffragist answers it by the two alternative ex pedients of declaring it (a) to be entirely the woman's fault, a thing quite unavoidab women, or (b) entirely non-existent. The problem may be and has been faced from dozen different angles. It is irritating fr. Wells that he never attempts to face at all. He simply states it—and runs awa

The answer which Trafford finds in the is not the solution of that problem at all. s the answer to quite another question to which every one of us, bachelor and spin factory reply if we are to find rest or ha ness. Is this life just chaos? Am I here just to pass the time till I die? Or is there som great purpose to be fulfilled in which I to nust play my small part? And if so, what my part, where is my niche in the great neme of things? And Trafford finds a answer, or at least, something as near to a But what about Marjorie? Apparently her pa in the scheme of things is to furnish Trafford ibrary, to read the books he is interested i o listen to his writings! The whole conel sion seems but an up-to-date rendering of He for God only, she for God in him. One is tempted to believe that Mr. Wells shares the views expressed by one of his characters, the old Oxford professor, that women have no souls.

An Innate "Anti."

Taking the book as a whole, two things stand out clearly. In the first place what an innate "anti"—in spite of his firm determination to appear advanced on the woman question—the author is. Again and again the

tion to appear advanced on the woman question—the author is. Again and again the cloven hoof shows through, often enough quite unintentionally, in his seorn of unmarried women, "a pack of spinsters and duffers"; in his seorn and distaste for old women, in his whole attitude towards women; above all, perhaps, in his quaint conviction that if Trafford's problem is solved Marjorie's will ipso facto be solved along with it.

And in the second place one closes the book with the conviction that whatever genius Mr. Wells possesses (and few will be found to deny that he does possess, at all events, remarkable talents) does not lie in the direction of character drawing. He takes immense pains with his characters, of course, and his observation is both accurate and minute, but there is nevertheless something lacking, he somehow fails to give us the atmosphere of character and personality (that atmosphere which he conveys so wonderfully when describing nature, as for instance, in snow-covered Labrador), perhaps it is that he takes too much pains. With the possible exception of Mr. Pope—a masterly, if somewhat exaggerated sketch—the characters do not stand out vividly to us, nor does each present itself as one perfect whole.

M. H. M.

* "Marriage." By H. G. Wells, London: Macmillan Arbroath, Victoria Hall, Lantern Lecture

Programme of the Week.

11	LUNDUN.	
е	Friday, December 13.	
1-	Bow, Obelisk. M.P.U. Mr. E. Shaw, Mrs. Bouvier 8 p	
У	Bromley Hall. Women's Meeting. Mrs. Matthews 3 p Chelsea, Lincoln's-street, King's-road. Miss M.	m
-	Sheppard, Mrs. Temple Bird 12 no	on
e	Ilford, Broadway-chambers. Miss M. Thompson. Chair: Mrs. Whitten 8 p	m
1,	Lincoln's Inn House, Christmas Presents Sale	m
g	Saturday, December 14.	
n	Daturday, December 14.	

-	Bow. Out and Out Mission. Women's Mission.	
-	Miss N. Lightman	3 p.m.
	Chiswick, Duke's-road. Miss Coombs	8 p.m.
y	Harlesden, Manor Park-road. Miss Joan Dugdale,	1375
	Miss Meakin	8 p.m.
	Ilford, Balfour-road. Miss Harvey	8 p.m.
y	Kilburn, Glengall-road. Miss Elsa Myers, Miss	
	Haarbleicher	8 p.m.
-	Kingston, Church-street, Miss C. Green. Chair:	
8	Mrs. Dacre Fox	2 noon.
	Lincoln's Inn House. Christmas Presents	
d	Sale 11 a.m. to	8 p.m.
n	Stratford, Maryland Point. Miss Agnes Kelly.	
	Chair: Miss V. Aitken	8 p.m.
-	Walthamstow, Trinity Schoolroom, Orford-road.	
	Miss Hicks, M.A. Chair: Miss Gargett	4 p.m.
-	Willesden Green Library. Miss E. Jenkins, Miss	
e	Burton	8 p.m.
	Wimbledon Broadway. Mr. E. Duval. Chair : Mrs.	

e	Dickinson 7.5	30 p.m
f	Sunday, December 15.	
е	Hampstead Heath, Flagstaff. Miss G. Brackenbury, Miss Meakin	30 a.m
m of	Hyde Park, near Marble Arch. M.P.U. Mr. V. Duval, Miss Lennox	3 p.m
it	Victoria Park. M.F.W.S. Mr. Mark Wilks, Dr. A. Macpherson. Chair: Mr. G. Pamment	3 p.n
У	Wimbledon Common. Miss Nancy Lightman. Chair: Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m
	Monday, December 16.	
	Croydon, 50, High-street. Debate	8 p.n

8000	Wienday, December 16.
3000	Croydon, 50, High-street. Debate 8 p.m.
end	Kensal Rise, Harvist-road Schools. Mrs. Davies,
	Miss Haarbleicher 6.30 p.m.
It	Limehouse, Pigott-street. Miss Naylor 8 p.m.
one	Lincoln's Inn House. Christmas Presents
	Salo 11 a.m. to 8 p.m.
nster	London Pavilion, Piccadilly-circus, W. Mrs.
atis-	Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Professor
atis-	Bickerton, Mr. Baillie Weaver 3 p.m.
appi-	Westminster, Selincourt's Factory. Miss Hicks,
	M.A., Miss Liddle 12.30 p.m.
just	m 1 D 1 1
	Tuesday, December 17

e	Tuesday, December 17.	
o	Lincoln's Inn House. Christmas Prefents Sale	8 p.m.
t	Palmer's Green, 6, Stonard-road. Fireside Talks	8 p.m.
n	Wednesday, December 18.	
n	Ilford, Manor Park, The Rabbits, Miss Haslam Lincoln's Inn House. Christmas Presents	
).	Sale	8 p.m. 8 p.m.
t	Ti	

o.	Lincoln's Inn House.	11 a.m. to 8 p.m.
rt		8 p.m. December 19.
's n,	Lincoln's Inn House.	
u-	Steinway Hall, Lower Sey	
of	man-square, W. Miss Beldon, Mr. Wills	Annie Kenney, Mrs 8 p.m.

2	
	Friday, December 20.
S	Finsbury Park, 19, St. Thomas-road. Cake and
S	Candy Sale 5-10 n.m.
t	Lincoln's Inn House. Christmas Presents
	Sale 11 a.m. to 8 p.m. Sloane-square. Miss Naylor, Mrs. Temple Bird 12 noon
	Streatham Town Hall, Christmas Rally, Mr. Frank
	Witty, Miss N. Sargent, Miss L. Tyson . 8 p.m.

- COUNTRY Friday, December 13th.

mond. Chair: Mr. Vernon Harcourt, C.C Edinburgh, St. David-street. Miss M. Scott. Chair:	8	p.m
Miss Brown Edinburgh, West End. Miss Melrose. Chair: Miss	8	p.m
E. Macdonald	8	p.m
Saturday, December 14th.		
Brighton, Seafront. Mrs. Dacre Fox Edinburgh, Royal Halls, Pitt-street. Lantern	3	p.m
Lecture, Miss F. Parker (Cantab.)	0	

Lecture. Miss F. Parker (Cantab.) 8 p.m. Hitchin, Market-place. Miss Garrett 7.30 p.m.
Sunday, December 15th.
Brighton, Seafront. Mrs. Dacre Fox
Monday, December 16th.
Hastings, Lower Public Hall. "At Home" 4-6 p.m.

Northampton, Lower Assembly Room. Miss C.							
Marsh	8 p.m.						
Tuesday, December 17th.							
Bexhill, W.S.P.U. Shop. "At Home"	4-6 p.m.						
Brechin, Temperance Hall. Lantern Lecture	8 p.m.						
Nottingham, Trinity-square	7 p.m.						
Saltley, Norton Memorial Hall, Mrs. Drummond	2.30 p.m.						
York, Colby-chambers, Coppergate. Dr. Helena							
Jones. Chair: Mr. Anderson	8 p.m.						
Wednesday, December 18th.							
Birmingham, Smethwick Town Hall. Mrs. Drum-							
mond	2 30 nm						

Birmingham, Queen's College. Mrs. Drummond		2000
Chair: Miss D. Evans ardiff, 27, Charles-street. Miss Annie Williams eicester, Secular Hall. Women's Meeting iewcastle, 77, Blackett-street. Dr. Alice Burn	. 5.30-7 . 8	n m
Thursday, December 19th. Castbourne, 58A, Grove-road. Mrs. Dacre Fox. Cainburgh, 27, Frederick-street. Miss N. Brown.	3 30.5	D. D.

VIRGINIE, Maison Française, Prix Moderes, BLOUSES, LINGERIE. 4, SLOANE STREET, S.W.

December 13, 1912.

ARTHUR'S STORES, WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

GENERAL PROVISIONS & High-Class Confectionery. All Cakes and Pastries made of the finest ingradients by our own Bakers.

PREVENTS INFLUENZA, COLDS, Etc. FLUID BUX BEEF.

1, 2, 4 and 8oz. BOTTLES. COOPER, COOPER & CO., Ltd., 71-73, Tooley St., London Bridge.

LADIES SHOULD SUPPORT FEMALE ENTERPRISE. HOTEL LONDON, Lancaster Street, Lancaster Cate, Kyde Park



Buy our **COAL** Happy at and he **COAL** Christmas.

Silkstone 27/- Best Household 25/6 Best Household 25/6 Best Nuts 25/- Best Nuts 24/6 Coke, per Chaldron, 15/- WILLIAM CLARKE & S	. 22/6 . 21/6 . 40/~ tuations.

1. GRAY'S INN ROAD, KING'S CROSS, W.C. 95, QUEEN'S ROAD, BAYSWATER, W.

What more Welcome Present

can you send your friend than a case of **Tea**, or (most welcome of all at this season of the year) a package of **Chocolates P**

THE WOMEN'S SUPPLY ASSOCIATION

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C. are prepared to send, post free to any part of the U.K. on receipt of the amount stated, a packet containing:

					な	3.	d.	
10 lb.	of Tea,	Indian	blend	(No.	1)	15	0	
10	"		11					
10		China						
10	00 h	17	(No. 2	1	5	0	

Suffragette" Chocolates.

(No. 1) in 1-lb. 1/4 1-lb. hoxes,	
(No. 2) ,, 1/8 ,,	3/-
(No. 3) ,, 2/- ,,	3/9
Chocolate Almonds 1/9 ,,	3/3
Chocolate Bon-Bons1/6 ,,	3/-

All branches of the W.S.P.U. stock our Tea and Chocolates.

WORKING-WOMEN, JOIN THE W.S.P.U.!

How it will Help You-

The vote is a right equally for all women or working-women it is a necessity a Women? Because, if you have votes, you will make the same use of them that you me olk are learning to make; you will strengthe our position; you will say to the candida me, "If you want my vote you must sup ort a minimum wage for working-women nis, naturally, will not suit the Government which makes profit out of paying women low

When men are fighting for better condition cey have two weapons-trade unionism and he vote. You can combine, but you can't You have only one weapon. Is that

overnment. Lastly, if you feel it all isn't worth whil and 368, HORNSEY ROAD, N. nember that there are many worse off than
u. There are the women who work such
ag hours in such abominable conditions that
by lose their mental and physical health,
d cannot even grasp the idea of the vote
ere are the women driven into the streets to
ere are the women driven into the streets to
en a crust of bread for their children; there
the women who have ill-luck, and lose their
se, and make mistakes, and grow hopeless

that ill themselve heaven the Strite obs, and make mistakes, and grow hopeless, $p_{\mathcal{L}}^2$ may kill themselves because the State fifers them no decent refuge, no honourable telp. So long as women have no votes these hings will go on. Working-women, stand up for your sisters! Rally to the great demo-ratic Union that is fighting the battle of all who are poor and burdened and oppressed! Stand by those who are striving and suffering o make the world better! Join the W.S.P.U.!

IN MEMORIAM.

IN MEMORIAM.

It is with deep regret we announce the death of Mrs. Phillips, of Falmouth, wife of Dr. Phillips, and mother of one of our best-known rganisers, Miss Mary Phillips. Mrs. Phillips was a firm believer in the militant movement, and was a member of the W.S.P.U. Although in failing health for some time past, he would not send for her daughter, because he felt the movement needed her services. Up to the very last she thought only of others. The sympathy of all members of the W.S.P.U. will go out to Dr. Phillips and to Miss Phillips in their great sorrow. their great sorrow.

THE SUFFRAGE CLUB

3, YORK STREET, ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, S.W.

EARLY APPLICATION ADVISABLE.



The Newest Novelty

CHILDREN'S

Bedroom or House Wear

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"Peter Rabbit"

In all Sizes and Two Art Shades,





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LABOUR PARTY UNMASKED.

Suffragists Throughout the Country Call Labour Members

DEPUTATIONS TO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT.

THREE LETTERS.

SWEATED WOMEN IN BELFAST.

December 13, 1912.

BELFAST.

Ghastly Conditions that the Vote Would End.

When in the early part of this year it was stated that the sweating of women outworkers in Belfast and the conditions of the women were almost inhuman in their consequent effect, it was said that such statements lacked confirmation, that they were sensational and exaggerated. But the Committee of Inquiry appointed by Mr. Wilson Churchili to examine the conditions of employment in the Irish linen and making-up trades has issued a report, and so far from quieting the allegations made in the English Press of the Belfast women workers, it convex terrible confirmation of the hoghle is the Specially sweated state of these wretched in the Belfast and according to the efficial report they are some 3,400 outworkers in Belfast, and according to the efficial report they are some 3,400 outworkers in Belfast, and according to the efficial report they are "widows, spinisters deepending upon the work for their livelinod, married women whose husbands are out of work, and women whose husbands are a labourers earning small pay; the work they do is thread-draw in the leading and the Spinish and the Spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the section of the work for their livelinod, married women whose husbands are labourers earning small pay; the work they do is thread-draw in the leading and the Spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the spinish respectively and the spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the spinish respectively and the spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the spinish respectively and the spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the spinish respectively and the spinish respectively. The spinish respectively and the spinish respectively and the spinish respectively. The spinish respect

hem-stitching, lace-attaching, emidery, fancy sewing, and, of course Christmas "presents" season offers these wretched women their busiest.

Suffering Children.

Campaign Throughout the Country. Announcements.

Speakers' Class.
The last class before the Christmas a holidays will take place to-night, the Friday, at 7.45 p.m. Will all those who have library books kindly return them without fail? The Christmas Holidays.

Speakers' Class.

The Advertising Exhibition.

REGENT ST., W. HANDKERCHIEFS.



No. 461.—Ladies' Linen Cambri hemstitched, with initial in 1 him floral surround. About 15 i square with ½-in. 7/6

No. 58. - Gentlemen's Lines Cambric Hemstitched Hand kerchiefs with embroider

initial. About 20 inch square with % in. hem, ... per dozen 11/9

SPECIAL.—Handkerchiefs with the

WEST OF ENGLAND.

EASTERN COUNTIES. Cambridge and District.

aniser know what she is prepared to do sale and from Kingsway. Shop is open now tributions to club fund to be sent to Mi talvertising selling tickets, &c., at once? levery day till 9 p.m. Helpers at Wimbledon Hall. (Org., Miss D. Evans. Office, 97, Joh

HOME COUNTIES. Bexhill-on-Sea.

Hitchin.

THE MIDLANDS.

receive renewal as possible. We fall. Dramatic club has started again. Any-Norwich Dec. 2, 4, and 5, addressed by Mrs. of this thinks on the started again. Any-Norwich Dec. 2, 4, and 5, addressed by Mrs. of this thinks on wishing to join should send his or her will continue up name to Miss Hall at office. Rehearsal, 97, the class from local. John Bright-street, Thursday, 8 p.m. Consultable that the control of the control o

Developer and Restorer of Resonating, Ringing QUALITY and POWER of Voice in Singing and Speaking.

ALL THROAT AND NASAL QUALITIES ELIMINATED' & FATICUE IN SPEAKING CONSIDERABLY LESSENED.

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General Director - EDITH CRAIG.

£1 11s. 6d. £1 1s. 10s. 6d.

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For particulars of membership, apply to the SECRETARY, 31, BEDFORD STREET, STRAND, W.C.

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SMART & ARTISTIC HATS HATS SENT ON APPROVAL. Renovations a Speciality.

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ANTIQUES.

December 13, 1912.

NORTH-WESTERN COUNTIES.

Glasgow.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES

each (including refreshments). I ceeds to defray the expenses of W.S.P.U. East-End campaign.

Acceptable Xmas Gifts

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OXFORD STREET · LONDON







4 cups 6 cups 8 cups 15/6 21/- 25/-





A Song and Violin Recital.

VUNDI.













Orders by post receive special attention.

No one should miss our Grand Xmas Bazaar The Fairies' Festival sitors say (with reason) that it is the best Xmas Show in Town.





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All advertisements must be prepaid. To example, the properties of the price of the p

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

LOST PROPERTY.—Miss Kerr is in bund at meeting, &c., should be sent to be that the bund at meeting, &c., should be sent to be that the bund at meeting, &c., should be sent to be that the bund at meeting, &c., should be sent to be the bund at the

DEATH.

At Flushing, Falmouth, on Dec. 7th, ELIZABETH LOUISA, wife of W. Fleming Phillips, M.B., C.M.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, Etc.

A BSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Galety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, daintiest, conset quarters; samptions bed-attendance and lights, from 8. 6d.; re peaslon, %s. Finest English provisions. Terrace, garden, iounge.—MANADERS, 4785 Gerrard.

A LBEMARLE COURT HOTEL, 35, 36, and 37, CLEVELAND SQUARE, LAN-CASTER GATH, W. Reopening with the following structures, and the second control of the secon

BOARD - RESIDENCE (Ladies). Good position, trams, buses. Moderate inclusive terms.—Mrs. Fife, 333, Lordship-lane, Dulwich.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, superior, from Tube. Bed and breakfast, 38. 6d. per day. Telephone: 4339 Paddington.—Mrs. CAMPBELL, 5 and 7, York-street, Portman-square, W.

BOARDING HOME SCHOOL FOR CHILDREN, near London, country. Experienced ladies in charge. Excellent references. How wood West.

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Miss Turkers, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria-road, Erighton. Nat. Tel. 1702.

BRIGHTON TIPCHFIELD HOUSE,
Rock-gardens, off Marine-parade. Good table.
Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

COMFORTABLE APARTMENTS.—
Cooking a speciality, vegetarian if required,
One minute from splendid golf links. Close to sea and
thops—Miss G., S, Buchanan-avenue, Bournemouth.

H OSPITAL SISTER can receive Invalid
Lady or Child, Small, comfortable home
every care.—Fixer, Browning-road, Worthing.

PRIVATE HOTEL for LADIES ONLY (quiet and refined), 13, St. George's square, Westminster. Bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance from 4s, 6d.—Write or wire Miss DAVIES.

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