

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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THE QUADRIGA FOR CONSTITUTION HILL.

G.P.O.

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

"Deeds, not words," is the motto of the Women's Social and Political Union; and on Monday next it will once more be exemplified. By deeds and not by words did men win their freedom; and by deeds and

not by words can the opposition of enemies and false friends in the Cabinet alone be broken down.

Four Parties in the Cabinet.

If there are any women left who still think this course unwise we ask them to ponder upon the attitude of the four leading Ministers who only during the past week have been approached on this question. The Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Birrell and Mr. Winston Churchill have each a different point of view. The Prime Minister is against any and every form of Woman Suffrage, Mr. Lloyd George is for one particular solution, Mr. Birrell is for a totally different solution, Mr. Winston Churchill disagrees with them all. How will words suffice to evoke order out of this chaos? Deeds and deeds alone can do it, by creating a situation which must receive attention.

Mr. Lloyd George at the Albert Hall.

Mr. Lloyd George spoke on Friday last at the Albert Hall. His speech was simply a hash up of what has been said before over and over again. Not a single new light did he shed on the "great opportunity" provided by the Reform Bill; not a single new fact did he adduce to show how his amendment would be carried. And, worst of all, he brought no pledge from the Government that the Referendum trick—that costly method of denying justice—would not be used even at the eleventh hour against women, if by any possibility any proposals for their enfranchisement be carried through the House of Commons.

When will the Reform Bill be Introduced?

He commenced by saying that if women were to vote at the next General Election it was of supreme importance that Woman Suffrage should be carried in the present Session in order that it might secure the

benefit of the Parliament Act. For this purpose the Reform Bill would provide a great opportunity. In answer to an interjected question as to when the Reform Bill would be carried, Mr. Lloyd George replied, "From the Suffrage point of view it is immaterial, so long as it is carried this Session." This statement is directly contrary to fact, for by the terms of the Parliament Act unless the Bill be carried a full month before the close of the Session it does not secure the benefit of the Act.

Why not a Government Measure?

Mr. Lloyd George was then challenged as to why the question of Woman Suffrage was not to be dealt with by a Government measure. His reply was that one-third of the Cabinet and one-quarter of the Liberal Party were opposed to it. We venture to say that this is equally true of almost every other question which comes before the House of Commons. Will Mr. Lloyd George deny that at least one-third of the Cabinet and one-quarter of the Liberal Party were opposed to the Budget of 1909, or that the same proportion are opposed to Irish Home Rule, or that a far larger proportion disapproved of the Insurance Bill? Nevertheless, these measures, desired only by a minority of members, are carried through the House by Party pressure. Woman Suffrage, on the other hand, desired by a great majority of the House, is side-tracked.

Letting the Tories in.

Mr. Lloyd George then declared that to insist upon a Government Bill would be to split the Cabinet and to let the Tories in, and that state of affairs would be worse for the prospect of Woman Suffrage than the present. We fail to see why determined action on the part of the suffragist majority should split the Cabinet

any more on this question than on others; but if it be true, then that is a question for the recalcitrant minority to consider, and not for the majority. And suppose a few reactionaries have to be cast out, is that not better than allowing the whole Cabinet and the whole Party to be reactionary? What is to be the future of Liberalism if it is not liberal? Woman suffragists have no desire to shatter the Liberal Party, but if that is the only way they will not hesitate to take it. They know quite well that it would not be long before the succeeding Conservative Government would in its turn split on the rock of Woman Suffrage unless the wiser course of giving women the vote were adopted.

The Referendum.

After detailing the pledges made by the Prime Minister in November last, Mr. Lloyd George repeated his own objections to the use of the Referendum; but, when pressed later for an explicit statement as to the policy of the Government, he said that only the Prime Minister could answer that question. This reply was the more disappointing because Mr. George had declared at the beginning of his speech that he had come not to tell the audience his personal position, but his view of the position of the Government. Now if the Referendum is to hang like the Sword of Damocles over the head of the suffragists, of what use is any proposition which Mr. Lloyd George can make? Even if his scheme was far more seductive than it is at present we should reject it with scorn, because it could always be defeated in the end by the Referendum.

The Man Who Sowed Discord.

Mr. Lloyd George went on to say, however, that what he feared most was not the Referendum, but the possibility of disunion in the suffrage ranks. What sublime effrontery from the man who found the suffrage ranks united, and deliberately sowed discord! Had it not been for Mr. Lloyd George the Conciliation Bill would now be law. Had it not been for him there would have been no Manhood Suffrage Bill; but if and when a Government introduced a Reform Bill it would have applied to men and women alike. And yet this man says he is afraid of disunion!

The Conciliation Bill.

Mr. Lloyd George had given an undertaking that for twenty minutes he would consent to answer questions. As usual this promise was broken, the excuse given on this occasion being that his speech had been punctuated by interjections. Instead of twenty minutes he devoted about three or four minutes to perfunctory and evasive answers. His reply on the question of the Referendum we have already dealt with. As to the Conciliation Bill, he reiterated his opposition, but added the remark that if he became convinced no wider franchise were possible his attitude would be different. This promise, such as it is, was not (as the chairman subsequently said) new, for a similar promise was made as long ago as Oct. 14, 1911, to a deputation from the Men's Political Union. But it is not of the slightest value, for it is always open to Mr. Lloyd George to go on saying to the end of the chapter that he is not yet convinced.

How Can the Lloyd-George Amendment be Carried?

Apart from the Referendum the most important question addressed to Mr. Lloyd George related to the chances of success of his Amendment. The W.S.P.U. have quite openly stated their grounds for disbelieving that any such amendment as he proposes can be carried. These are, firstly, that he will not get Unionist support, secondly, that he will not get Liberal anti-suffragist or Irish anti-suffragist support, thirdly, that he will not get support from the followers of Mr. Birrell or Mr. Churchill, and, fourthly, that owing to lack of Government pressure, there will be no compulsion even for pro-suffragists to attend and vote. The W.S.P.U. have given figures to show that as a result Mr. George's Amendment will be lost. Now if Mr. George were sincere, he would have taken the opportunity provided by the occasion of Friday last to refute the case as stated by the W.S.P.U. But instead of doing so he evaded it entirely, saying, instead, that he thought his Amendment could be carried because there was a majority of suffragists in the House and he hoped for unity. That will not do! There was a majority—a vast majority—in the House united on a definite scheme of enfranchisement—the Conciliation Bill. That proposal Mr. George deliberately "torpedoed" substituting his own scheme in its place. We want something more than pious sentiments about unity from the man who gave us that stab in the back before we shall believe his proposal has any real chance of success.

Interrupting Mr. Lloyd George.

Mr. Lloyd George suffered during his speech from numerous interjections made from different parts of the hall. Many of these interruptions were directed to weak points in his arguments and served to show why women distrust the offer which he is making; others were frankly expressions of disapproval. Such comments are part and parcel of the normal political warfare of this country. Public speakers of all parties are accustomed to them from men, and woman suffrage speakers in the early days had their full share. When a man is trying to palm off false coin for sterling metal he cannot expect to escape such criticism, and if it were not made this very fact would be cited to prove the enthusiastic acceptance of his offer. Politicians are not divinities whom it is

blasphemy to interrupt, and who can be propitiated by flattery into giving what they would otherwise withhold. They are plain mortals very much susceptible to pressure, who despise those who bow down before them and who respect, even while they fight, those who stand up to them.

Mr. Asquith Refuses Information on the Referendum.

Having failed to get any satisfactory answer from Mr. Lloyd George with regard to the Referendum, and having been informed by him that the Prime Minister alone could expound the attitude of the Government on this question, the W.S.P.U. determined to apply to Mr. Asquith for information. Mrs. Pankhurst accordingly addressed a letter to him on Saturday last, in which she stated that she proposed to wait upon him, with her colleagues, on the following Monday (February 26) to solicit his views. To this letter she received the reply that Mr. Asquith had nothing to add to the answers which he had given to the deputation in November last. Mrs. Pankhurst accordingly wrote again, pointing out that the question of the Referendum had been mooted since that time, and that great anxiety was felt by Woman Suffragists owing to the unsatisfactory statement of Mr. Lloyd George as to the Cabinet's position on this subject. Mr. Asquith, however, repeated his refusal and Mrs. Pankhurst, in view of the forthcoming protest on Monday, March 4, decided to content herself for the present with obtaining assurances from private Members that the question would be pressed on the floor of the House without delay.

Mr. Birrell receives the Anti-Suffragists.

On Saturday last Mr. Birrell, in reply to a deputation of anti-suffragists, repeated his declaration in favour of votes for women, though he did not feel that the pressure of argument was so strong as it used to be in John Sturt Mill's time. Since then the Married Women's Property Acts had been carried as a result of the efforts of great lawyers, and not by breaking windows. However, he was still a Suffragist, and believed in the Conciliation Bill, but he did not want to see a wider measure of enfranchisement carried, and thought that if a wide amendment was brought forward, women stood the chance of losing all. To this we have two things to say, firstly, to note that the Married Women's Property Acts were drawn up by Dr. Pankhurst and passed through by the ardent work of Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy and other suffragists, and that it is Dr. Pankhurst's wife and daughter and Mrs. Elmy who have come to the conclusion that constitutional methods are no longer of any avail. And secondly, to call attention to the fact, which Mr. Lloyd George invariably ignores, that there is a party in the Liberal ranks, led by Mr. Birrell, who, though suffragists and Liberals, are opposed to the amendment which he says he can carry through the House of Commons.

Mr. Winston Churchill—the "Promising" Politician.

Mr. Winston Churchill has written a letter to the Women's Freedom League, in which he declares his intention of voting against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill. He also states that it is against the passage of a Woman Suffrage amendment to enfranchise some eight millions of women, and he will vote for the third reading of the Manhood Suffrage Bill even if all amendments to include women are lost. This is the man who, when he needed the help of women at Manchester, declared that he was a friend to woman suffrage, and that if and when occasion offered he would support it in the Cabinet and elsewhere; and who, when he needed the help of women in Dundee, said that his friendship was not one of words, but of deeds. And yet there are women who ask us to trust in the promises of Cabinet Ministers!

The Case of William Ball.

The disgraceful story of the treatment of the case of Mr. William Ball is gradually coming out. All through the week Mr. McKenna has been called on to answer questions in the House of Commons on this subject, and on Monday and Tuesday nights the matter was raised and debated at length by Mr. Geo. Lansbury, Lord Hugh Cecil, and Mr. Lynch. Mr. McKenna, in his reply, appears to have abandoned the discreditable suggestion that Mr. Ball's mind was unbalanced before entering the prison; but still maintains that his condition had nothing to do with forcible feeding. He contends that Mr. Churchill's regulations do not cover cases where hard labour is imposed by the magistrate, and refuses to extend them in this sense, but admits he could have remitted hard labour in the case of Mr. Ball and so have made the rule applicable to him. He promises an independent medical enquiry into the treatment of Mr. Ball in prison. This enquiry will be of considerable advantage as throwing light on the facts of the treatment in prison, but Mr. McKenna must realise that our accusation against him and against the prison authorities extends to many other matters not included in it. In the first place Mr. Ball ought to have been treated as a political offender, secondly, he ought not to have been forcibly fed, thirdly, he ought to have been released when his mind showed signs of instability, fourthly, his friends should have been communicated with at once, and fifthly, he should not have been sent away as a pauper lunatic. A great meeting of protest is being held by the M.P.U. to-night (Friday) in the Queen's Hall and we recommend our readers to be present.

The New Constitutional Society.

A very striking article appeared in the "Woman's Platform" of the Standard on Tuesday last by Mrs. Cecil Chapman setting forth the policy of the New Constitutional

Society for Woman Suffrage. Mrs. Chapman discusses Mr. Lloyd George's speech at the Albert Hall showing that it failed to give any new reason for trusting his policy. She then picks out one by one the weak points in his scheme and shows that if he was really in earnest he would refuse to remain a member of a Cabinet which would not accept the enfranchisement of women. She concludes by stating that the Society profoundly distrusts a Government which leaves to a chapter of accidents a measure of such supreme and even vital importance, and that though non-militant the Society will lose no opportunity at by-elections and elsewhere of opposing this and every Government which withholds votes from women.

Australian Women Cable to Mr. Asquith.

Our readers will learn with pleasure that the Women's Political Association of Australia have sent the following cable to Mr. Asquith:—

"Australian Non-Party Women protest against Colonial Secretary taking part in Anti-Suffrage Demonstration. They regard it as an undesired reflection on Women Voters. Courtesy demands neutrality."

We thank the Women's Political Association heartily for this message.

The Plural Voting Bill.

The Second Reading of the Plural Voting Bill will take place this afternoon (Friday), and the attitude of the Government towards it will be carefully noted in view of the rumour that the Government are more solicitous to pass this measure than their boasted Reform Bill. In a letter to the Times Lord Wolmer, after referring to Mr. Lloyd George's statement that the Reform Bill would be proceeded with, says:—

If it is so, we may ask why has a Liberal member at the instigation of the Government Whips brought in a Bill (for which he has secured first place in the ballot) to abolish plural voting? Would this be necessary if the Government were in earnest about their suffrage proposals? Does it not mean that they intend to force this Plural Voting Bill through because they conceive that they can thereby gain some electoral advantage, whereas the larger measure, about which they are helplessly divided, is not really intended to become law, but merely to delude and appease for the moment the public Women Suffrage supporters? If not, what is their reason for separating the two measures?

And the London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian drops a hint to the same effect in that paper on Tuesday.

Mothers Not Parents.

The Croydon Vaccination Officer has by a particularly mean trick brought home to mothers that they are not reckoned as parents under the law. Recently, in Croydon, several mothers have signed exemption forms in the presence of magistrates and solicitors without question. These have been forwarded to the vaccination officer, who has kept them till the statutory period for exemption has expired. He has now taken steps for compulsory vaccination on the ground that the exemptions were not in order, as the mother is not regarded as the legal parent of the child.

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THE GREAT PROTEST.

Stirring Speech by Mrs. Pankhurst.

TAKE THE BIG VIEW!

Extracted from the Speech of Mrs. Pankhurst at the London Pavilion.

I have one word to say to the women who have not yet made up their minds to join our protest on March 4. What view do you take of Mr. Asquith's treatment of the question of the Referendum? Is not this latest insult enough to convince you that there is nothing left for women to do except to make, so far as women can, a political situation equivalent to that made by certain sections of men in the country who are determined to have justice?

Think of the question of the mining crisis to-day. Every newspaper in the country is saying that something must be done, and there are some newspapers going so far as to suggest that the money of the country—your money and mine—shall be used to subsidise the wages, in order that the men's grievances shall be settled and that public affairs shall not be disorganised any longer. Why? Because the miners have made a situation which has to be faced.

Are women so politically blind that they cannot see the seriousness of the women's position? Or is it that they are putting their domestic affairs before their public duty? When men mean political business their domestic duties recede far into the background. But women, by long training, have been taught to be ready to sacrifice everything for the welfare of those who are near and dear to them. We who are born in this country have the opportunity of making women take as big views of their public duty as men have ever done. It is by taking big views that the liberties of this country have been won, and I appeal to women to-day to come in such numbers that we are enough to settle the business. If we are numerous enough, if we are determined enough, we can make a situation that within twenty-four hours of our protest we shall have the Cabinet Ministers asking us to confer with them.

When you think of what we have to do, when you think of the position of women and children, when you think of the horrible wrongs inflicted upon the helpless members of our sex, is it not enough to compel us to make one great effort, and not forbear until we get this elementary question of citizenship settled. I call upon women to show that they have freedom in their souls, and that they resent such an insult to our womanhood as the Prime Minister has addressed to us this morning!

LETTERS FROM VOLUNTEERS.

I want to join in the protest on March 4. I am one of those lately released, and I am ready for anything.

Forgive me for not sending in my name to you at an earlier date, but as my mother is going too we were not sure whether I should be able to resist imprisonment as well. However in a crisis like the present, I feel that there should be no holding back from militant action, whatever the cost.

If I can, I want to join in the protest on the 4th. Since Mr. Ball's treatment, and no mention of Woman Suffrage in the King's Speech, my spirit is most militant, and though I have by no means recovered from my operation, a sequel to Black Friday, still I hope to add my unit to the 1,000 women.

I am a woman of sixty-five, but if my presence at the Protest on March 4 will be any help to the cause—as I understand numbers are necessary—will you please put my name down for it?

Yes, I go on the next protest; I simply can't keep away. Don't you think this great movement draws and compels one? Although I am quite out of touch with any one, yet I feel one in the spirit. . . . This prison idea has been simmering in my heart for some time, since one of my brothers said to me, "Ah, how your ardour would cool if you had a small taste of Holloway." Then it seemed to shoot through me like a lightning flash, "You must go." If my husband does not give me my rail fare, I shall borrow it. I am determined nothing shall stop me; if I walk the whole sixty miles I will be there. Of course I shall hate leaving my darling little son. Ah, he is really such a sweet little soul.

A veteran writes:—I will join as far as my strength will go in the great militant protest on March 4. There is a responsive echo in all my being to your noble words.

I was not able to join the last protest, for reasons which I gave to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The reasons still stand, but this time I feel they must give way, that if I did not join the protest I should be a traitor to our cause, so please put my name down for the 4th. I am old, and a coward, but I can at least be loyal.

GREAT MEETING . . . IN THE LONDON OPERA HOUSE On Thursday, March 7, at 8.15. PRELIMINARY SPEAKERS: MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE AND MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST. ADMISSION FREE.

drawing up a scheme for house-to-house canvassing for subscriptions. For everyone who sympathises in this great struggle for freedom there is the question to be answered, "What can I do?" Some women are selling their jewellery, some are denying themselves a specific pleasure or luxury, yes, and even necessity, so that they may have the means of giving of their substance in a measure worthy of those others who have given of their very life. Some are devoting several hours of every day to productive or remunerative labour, some are undertaking special service such as selling the paper in the streets, or canvassing for contributions from house to house, or open-air box-collecting. And not one who estimates approximately the value of what others have done to win freedom for her as a woman, but will desire to place some unique gift or sacrifice upon the altar of human liberty. The sum total realised by all this individual effort will be announced at the Albert Hall meeting on March 28.

Though Self-Denial Week begins nominally on March 9, and ends nominally on March 16, the majority of the members of this Union will feel that it really begins on the first day that sees the imprisonment of our colleagues, and lasts until the prison gates open, and they come back to take again their "place in the sun." E. Pethick Lawrence.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

February 19 to February 24.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund. Includes names like Miss F. M. Denny, Miss Winifred Holiday, Mrs. Gwyneth Kaye, etc.

William Ball Fund.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the William Ball Fund. Includes names like Anon, Miss Henry Bury, Mrs. Miriam Levy, etc.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Self-Denial Week.

After March 4 comes March 9. Both very significant dates for all the readers of this paper. On March 4, those who believe that resistance to organised wrong in high places is their paramount public duty, will hear a call to action, and will obey. On March 9, all those who, for various reasons, are either unable or unwilling to sacrifice their own liberty for the liberty of their sex, will be only too glad to take part in a great co-operative concentrated effort for the financial strengthening of our fighting organisation.

That is why we have set aside Saturday, March 9 to Saturday, March 16 as our special Week of Self-Denial. Many plans for this week are being formed at local centres all over the country. In some cases special sales of work or of home-made cakes, preserves and sweets are being arranged. In other cases all the local members are

Memberships Fees: 2 2 0. London: 43 10 2. Per Miss B. Barrett: 1 9 1. Miss E. Billing: 3 15 9. Misses Crocker and Roberts: 19 19 8. Miss G. Green: 4 2 2. Miss Macaulay: 3 5 0. Mrs. Mansel: 0 7 5. Miss Parker: 20 16 7. Miss Phillips: 1 7 7. Total: £416,730 6 8.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AT THE ALBERT HALL.

No New Government Pronouncement. Evasive Answers to Important Questions.

The eagerly anticipated meeting of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies in the Royal Albert Hall, with Mr. Lloyd George as the principal speaker, took place on Friday last.

What Would He Say?

Would Mr. Lloyd George finally set at rest all fears about the Referendum? Would he demonstrate how his amendment could be carried? Would he indicate at what time in the Session the proposed Reform Bill would be introduced?

The Importance of this Session.

Well, now, that is the fact that I want to get well into the minds of all those who are labouring for the attainment of this purpose—that this year, this session, determines, so far as the next general election is concerned, the fate of this question.

Splitting the Liberal Party.

Now the question has been put to me, seeing that you are in a majority in the Liberal House of Lords, but I am wrong, all the better. If they do pass it, well and good.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S SPEECH.

Mr. Lloyd George said: I have addressed party meetings on the subject of Women's Suffrage, but Mrs. Fawcett is perfectly right in assuming that this is the first, purely non-party gathering.

Why not a Government Measure?

Mr. George: Now that is an appeal I am sure you cannot resist. (Laughter.) What, summarised shortly, is the Government promise? That a Reform Bill will be introduced this year for the simplification and extension of the franchise to men; that it will be carried through this year.

My view of the Government's Position.

I have come here to discuss the position of the Suffrage and its Parliamentary prospects—(cheers)—and to tell you frankly, not merely what my own position is in the matter—that is a matter of comparative insignificance—(hear, hear, and laughter)—I am glad to have laid down some proposition, at any rate, which will command the assent and approval of that courteous lady in the box there—(cheers)—but, what is much more important, my view of what the position of the Government is. What is the position at the present moment? (A voice: "Rotten," and another voice: "You are stopping progress.")

Some Truths.

At least half the adult citizens of this country, whose lives are deeply affected by every law that is carried, have absolutely no voice in making the law. They have no more voice in the matter than the man who drags their lords and masters to the polling-booth.

Mr. George Corrected.

Very well, what is the position? You have not got a single party in this country that is agreed on the question of the Suffrage. (A voice: "The Labour Party.") You are perfectly right. I accept the correction. (Cheers, and a voice: "What about the miners?")

England and the Empire are concerned, not one of them is united on the question of the Suffrage. "Convert them!" Take the Liberal Party. Three-fourths of the Liberal members of Parliament support Suffrage Bills. (Cheers.) Two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet will vote for the Suffrage amendment when it comes on.

Very well, come to the Conservative Party. There the position is reversed. I am not criticising it, but I am stating facts. Two-thirds, or three-fourths—Lord Lytton will correct me if I am wrong—of the members of the Conservative and Unionist Party are opposed to the Suffrage, and fully three-fourths of their leaders are opposed to it.

Mr. Asquith's Pledges.

I meant to have repeated the exact pledges given by the Prime Minister, on behalf of the Government, and I want you to realise exactly what they are. They were replies to questions put by Mrs. Fawcett—(cheers)—and if you will allow me I would congratulate the movement upon having a leader worthy of its dignity and greatness. (Cheers.) These are the pledges. Mrs. Fawcett put this question to the Prime Minister: "Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?"

A voice: "What do you say?" Mr. George: "What do I say? I certainly agree with every word that was said by the Prime Minister. This declaration was made by the Prime Minister not merely on his own behalf, as he repeatedly said, but made on behalf of the Government. Let me say this about that question: You are right. We are here, as men and women of all parties, to consider the best method of carrying the Suffrage. (Cheers.)

"This Session."

You go through all these pledges, and you will find that Mr. Asquith repeated in every phrase and form these undertakings on behalf of the Government that they will be introduced and carried through all its stages this session—(a voice: "What time?")—that it would be in such a form that it could be amended so as to convert it into a Manhood and Womanhood Suffrage Bill; that once these amendments were incorporated the Government, as a Government, would undertake responsibility for the Bill.

The Referendum.

I meant to have said a word about the Referendum. I cannot imagine how any Liberal who declines to submit questions in which he is specially interested to the public, or to the members of the House of Commons, can be so ignorant of the fact that it is a referendum on questions like Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment which we Liberals entertain, it seems to me that they apply with two-fold force to the cause of Women's Suffrage. What are they? That it undermines the authority of Parliament; that the Referendum is costly, not merely to the State, but to those who have charge of great causes; that it is a home rule injustice, especially on obedient, powerful, rich and just; that it helps the monopolist against the poor, the helpless, the least powerful members of the community.

You have seen it done in America. Whenever there was a Referendum on the women's question you always found the liquor traffic, the great steam owners, federating to fight against Women's Suffrage. They spent enormous sums of money. Why? It was

business for them. If they defeated the Suffrage, their return was hundreds per cent. on the money they had invested in overthrowing Women's Suffrage. It is not fair; I say again that the Referendum is a costly deed of justice under these conditions. (Cheers.)

*Some Sort of Medium...

These are not the things I am most afraid of. I will tell you what I am most afraid of. It is that when you come to bring your Bill before the House of Commons, or move your amendment, the Suffragists, who are united on the principle of Suffrage, may not be united upon the particular method of carrying it out. That will be fatal. You have one section who want adult Woman Suffrage, and may not support the Conciliation Bill. On the other hand, you have got the Conciliation Bill, and some of its supporters decline to support Adult Suffrage. Unless you find some medium course, some sort of bringing them together, then, I think, it will be fatal to our success. My appeal to those who mean business—to those who really want it through (hear, hear)—is that when the time comes for moving the amendment in the House of Commons, we will be united on the question of the Suffrage, and we will secure the support of all sections of the Suffrage party.

The Need for Women's Votes.

There never was a time when the nation stood more in need of the special experience, insight, and sympathy of womanhood in the government of our affairs. (Loud cheers.) The questions pressing for settlement—housing (a voice: "Woman Suffrage!"), the cost of bread and the necessities of life, education, the up-bringing and the medical treatment of children, sickness, temperance, and the great question of the national adjustment of religion, whether inside schools or outside— all these questions in which women are deeply interested—surely they should have the right to express their opinion upon them. (Cheers.) What is more, you can tell what the toll and trouble of the international and social condition may bring forth? (A voice: "Women know!") There are the great questions of peace and war, and who can tell what will happen? Have the women no interest in that great question? There has never been a war yet in the history of the human race to which women did not contribute their share of the indemnity of suffering. (Hear, hear.) They have the right to a voice in shaping the policy and in controlling that destiny. (Cheers.)

There is a great labour unrest. (Hear, hear.) During the last few days we have had clamours on all sides for Government intervention. After all, when Governments intervene, Governments are the creation of the electorate. (A voice: "We pay for them.") If that is done, the Government Reform Bill will suffer the most? (A voice: "Women, poor, voteless women.") Have you ever seen a great strike? I have. I know that the burden of starvation falls upon the women, not merely themselves, but in watching the hunger of their children. (Further interruptions occurring at this point, Mr. Lloyd George turned to Mrs. Fawcett and said, "I shall certainly not answer questions.")

As the Chancellor resumed his seat a portion of the audience broke into the song "He's a jolly good fellow," and there was a counter-demonstration of booing and hissing.

QUESTIONS.

After the other speeches were given, Mr. Lloyd George said:—A number of questions have been sent in to me; some were sent in before the meeting. It is no fault of mine that the latter were not answered. On the contrary, I proposed answering them, but friends of those who sent in the questions made it quite impossible to proceed with the answers to their questions. The questions which have been sent in to me—(interruption)—if you do not want to listen to the answers to questions (it is very late), I think I should meet the wishes of everybody by resuming my seat. ("No, no!")

There are three questions practically when you look them down. One is the Referendum; the second is with regard to my attitude on the Conciliation Bill, and the third is with regard to the difficulty of obtaining a parliamentary majority for any amendment, except a narrow one. I will take the three and deal with them as shortly as possible.

The Conciliation Bill.

With regard to the Conciliation Bill, I have never concealed my attitude towards the narrow franchise Bill. I have held that view during the whole time I have been in Parliament, and I expressed it to the cause of Women's Suffrage. What are they? That it undermines the authority of Parliament; that the Referendum is costly, not merely to the State, but to those who have charge of great causes; that it is a home rule injustice, especially on obedient, powerful, rich and just; that it helps the monopolist against the poor, the helpless, the least powerful members of the community.

has been given in any country, of franchise to women. In our Colonies, in the United States of America, in Norway, the franchise has been conceded upon broad democratic principles, and I am firmly convinced that with unity and common sense we shall be able to carry it this year. (Cheers.)

The Referendum.

The second question is the Referendum. The question is put to me: "Do you express your own opinions or the opinions of the Government?" There is only one Minister who is entitled to express the opinions of the Government, and that is the Prime Minister. That question was not put to me at the time of the deputation to me, because at that moment there was no suggestion, so far as I could recollect, by any prominent person that the Referendum should be applied to women's suffrage. For the moment, I express my own individual opinion, and I shall stand by it.

A Reform Bill Amendment.

The third question is this: "How do you imagine that a parliamentary majority can be secured for an amendment to the Reform Bill—an amendment for the extension of votes to women, on the Government Reform Bill?" The only reason why is because there is a majority of Suffragists in the House of Commons. Up to the present they have demonstrated on every occasion that they are in a majority. I think that they will do so again—in fact, I feel perfectly confident of it. I have quite clearly shown you that the danger is with regard to the methods, and I have made an appeal to the Suffragists of all sections that we should meet together to discuss that question, and that we should come to a common agreement as to the character of the amendment which will be moved to the Reform Bill. If that is done, I venture to predict to you, as my last word, that before this year is out we shall have won a great parliamentary triumph.



Master George: I've got something wonderful to tell you if you're quiet. Miss W.S.P.U.: Well, what is it? Master George: Queen Anne is dead!

HOW SHE BECAME A SUFFRAGETTE.

As she was on her way home after her "day out" (she was a domestic servant) she bought some sweets for her fellow servant. In Oxford Street the bag broke, and she was in despair, when she happened to catch sight of a VOTES poster in it. Suddenly something about the low rate of infant mortality in New Zealand on the front page of the paper attracted her attention, and she stopped to read it regardless of the sweets, which, as the account continued, dropped one by one to the ground. By the time she had got home she had no sweets, but she no longer cared about them. She read the paper through, and ordered the next number at a newsagent's, and finally decided to take it in regularly, going each "evening out" to fetch it. Subsequently she attended some of our evening free meetings. So greatly was she stirred and impressed by all she heard that when the time came for a militant protest she decided to throw up her situation and join it. She was arrested and subsequently imprisoned.

"BUNTY" A SUFFRAGIST.

In spite of the fact that the Prime Minister has shown his approval of "Bunty" by visiting her at the Haymarket on several occasions, it must be confessed that Bunty is a Sufferer. The fact is made quite clear in a delightful article on "The True Story of 'Bunty Pulls the Strings'" in the issue of the Pall Mall Magazine for March. Woman! Arise! And take thy fitting place, Amid the armies of the human race. Gird on thy sword of justice and of right, Nor rest till victory crowns the valiant fight. Uplift thy heart and mind, and gather strength From thy increasing forces. Till at length With overwhelming power and might, loath Thou scatter'st to the winds thy foes at last. Thy foes,—Alas! that women can be found Who seek to crush their sex upon the ground, There to be trampled 'neath the grinding heel Of inequality,—gainst which there's no appeal. To these—thy sisters—I would say, "Take care! Thou dost not still lie sleeping, unawake. Of what this glorious struggle means for thee—The pray'd-for, fought-for goal of woman's liberty."

POLITICAL PRISONERS.

In the Times for February 20 there appeared an interesting communication from the Lisbon correspondent. It appears that the British Minister, Sir Arthur Hardinge, had just completed an unofficial visit to the Lisbon Central Prison, the Linoeiro, and had interviewed some of the political prisoners, including Senhor Azevedo Castello Branco. The paragraph says it is understood that these political prisoners, although not badly treated, are in prisons which are out-of-date and insanitary. The Government has, however, promised improvements. It is interesting to note that the Portuguese authorities and the British Minister evidently recognise the difference between political and other prisoners.

SENEGALIAN WOMEN HONOURED.

It is interesting to note how public attention is being drawn to the part women take in war. In VOTES FOR WOMEN, on February 16, we published a picture of Chinese women soldiers, and now from the Daily Mail Paris Correspondent comes the news that the splendid gallantry under fire of the wives of France's Black Senegalese troops is celebrated in a touching Order of the Day issued by the commander of the French troops. The order, which is published by the Armée Coloniale, specially mentions the following killed in the service of France:—Musnia, wife of Corporal Ahmed Yacub, mortally wounded at the battle of Talmoust, June 14, 1908, while distributing cartridges in the firing line; Fatma, wife of Corporal Taron, killed; Cumba, wife of Private Sama Diuf, killed; Bintu Korro, wife of Private Tome, killed. The order gives the names of two other women who distinguished themselves at this engagement by their courage in handing out cartridges under a galling fire.

A TRUE STORY.

SUFFRAGETTE: (convulsing, to small fire-ditching girl behind counter in a little shop) "Your Mother is a Municipal Voter is she not?" GHR: Oh, no thank you Miss, she only suffers from being old and infirm.

Obviously, from the point of view of effective political action in the carrying of a Bill through Parliament, there are great drawbacks in the absence of the usual party motive and party machinery. We country to fighting our political battles by these means that we find it difficult to take any great many disagreements. We seriously wish to employ or appeal to them. When trusted leaders are seen taking opposite sides on a critical question the prudent politician is apt to think that they have made up their differences, and it is small consolation to him to know that the opposite party is no less divided against itself and that there is a composite majority, even a large one, in favour of a particular view. His heart does not warm as it has been used to do when party and principle have pulled together and he has marched forward as one of a united and triumphant host. Yet, as Mr. Lloyd George pointed out last night, it is under these unaccustomed conditions that the battle must be fought. We could wish it were otherwise, and that so great a preponderance of Liberal opinion should declare itself in favour of this last and greatest measure of enfranchisement that a Liberal Government should feel itself justified or compelled to make it its own and throw the whole weight of its responsibility and conviction into the scale. There indeed would be new strength and life for Liberalism. But if Liberals are forced to fight this gain there is no reason why women should wait for their enfranchisement till a whole party is prepared to make their cause its own. Parliament is the last authority, and majorities in the House of Commons count by heads and ignore parties.

That the Chancellor of the Exchequer should frequently have found it necessary to appeal for a fair hearing is, no doubt, to be regretted. But that his audience had ample justification for feeling whole-heartedly dissatisfied, if not for giving such expression to its dissatisfaction, is fairly clear.—The Irish Times, February 24.

It is all very well for him to protest that the present is "the best opportunity Women's Suffrage has ever had." That may be the case, though we doubt it. It is clear that Mr. Lloyd George does not regard it as good enough to justify wild rejoicings on his own part. He seems inclined to regard it a little dubiously, and the Suffragists—if they remember to make the usual allowances for temperamental bias when they consider his statistics—will not improbably contemplate it with irate dismay. On the Chancellor of the Exchequer's reckoning there is a majority of a hundred in the House of Commons upon the women's side, so that from that point of view the result is not altogether brilliant. It seems to forget that the palmy days of the Conciliation Bill are over, and that—chiefly through his own instrumentality—the whole Suffragist movement has undergone a radical transformation.—The Birmingham Post, February 24.

There are sixty-six pledged anti-Suffragists in the Coalition, counting 132 on a division. Since the Liberal Unionist Party will stand firm against a Bill which has never been before the country, the Woman Suffrage amendment—if ever it is reached—will be defeated. This Mr. Lloyd George must know. It is, to say the least, distinguished to pretend that all women will be voting in 1914.—The Sheffield Daily Telegraph, February 24.

He lost his good humour, and showed signs of anger. It was an ordeal which even Mr. Lloyd George would not care to repeat. His labour, it may be said, was in vain, for though he preached to the converted he failed to convince the unconverted that he was the friend of Suffrage.—The Western Morning News, February 24.

WOMAN! ARISE! And take thy fitting place, Amid the armies of the human race. Gird on thy sword of justice and of right, Nor rest till victory crowns the valiant fight. Uplift thy heart and mind, and gather strength From thy increasing forces. Till at length With overwhelming power and might, loath Thou scatter'st to the winds thy foes at last. Thy foes,—Alas! that women can be found Who seek to crush their sex upon the ground, There to be trampled 'neath the grinding heel Of inequality,—gainst which there's no appeal. To these—thy sisters—I would say, "Take care! Thou dost not still lie sleeping, unawake. Of what this glorious struggle means for thee—The pray'd-for, fought-for goal of woman's liberty."

CABINET MINISTERS INTERVIEWED.

Replying to a deputation of Anti-Suffragists who waited on him at Bristol on Saturday last, Mr. Birrell said that so far as he was concerned, although the question had only lately become prominent, it had been in his mind and in the minds of the people he was in contact with for very many years.

After referring to the passage of the Married Women's Property Act, "not in consequence of broken windows or broken bones, nor, indeed, intelligent interest on the part of the male elector, but to great lawyers," Mr. Birrell said that he could not honestly and gravely see any very great distinction between voting for huge corporations like Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol and going into polling-booths and voting on what were called national questions.

The following extract from the reply given at Dundee on December 2, 1910, by Mr. Churchill to the deputation of the Women's Freedom League, and referred to in the above letter, will help further to elucidate the right hon. gentleman's position:—"The Prime Minister has given a pledge that in the next Parliament, if a Bill is introduced which the House of Commons approves of, and which is capable of free amendment, facilities will be given for that Bill to be carried through the Commons."

Dangers of the Amendment. After referring to organisation and other difficulties in the way of a Referendum, Mr. Birrell said the Women's Suffrage question was one upon which it was impossible for Liberals or Tories to agree.

Mr. Birrell on the Referendum. After addressing a meeting in the Vestry Hall, Poultry Road, Bristol, on Thursday in last week, Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, replied to a question he was asked: "What is the Government going to do with regard to the suggested Referendum on Women's Suffrage? How is the amendment to be carried?"

Mr. Birrell on the Referendum. After addressing a meeting in the Vestry Hall, Poultry Road, Bristol, on Thursday in last week, Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary for Ireland, replied to a question he was asked: "What is the Government going to do with regard to the suggested Referendum on Women's Suffrage? How is the amendment to be carried?"

On the second point in the question Mr. Birrell said that he could not honestly and gravely see any very great distinction between voting for huge corporations like Liverpool, Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, and Bristol and going into polling-booths and voting on what were called national questions.

carried into law, so far as the House of Commons is concerned, in the ordinary way during this session.

MR. CHURCHILL.

Mr. Churchill has addressed the following letter to the hon. Secretary of the Dundee Branch of the Women's Freedom League:—"Dear Madam,—In reply to your letter of the 19th inst., I have in the first instance to refer to my statements made before the last election in Dundee on the subject of Women's Suffrage to a deputation of your own league."

"I shall vote against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, and shall oppose its passing into law. With regard to the Government Reform Bill, I prefer to wait until that measure is introduced before pronouncing upon hypothetical amendments to it."

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"The Prime Minister has given a pledge that in the next Parliament, if a Bill is introduced which the House of Commons approves of, and which is capable of free amendment, facilities will be given for that Bill to be carried through the Commons. There is no chance of that pledge being altered to a pledge that facilities will be given in the first Session of Parliament."

Mr. Churchill's Record. It will be remembered that during the Manchester (North-West) by-election, April, 1908, when pressed to win votes and anxious to obtain favour with women, Mr. Churchill spoke as follows:—"I will try my best, as and when occasion offers, because I do think sincerely that the women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women."

"I will try my best, as and when occasion offers, because I do think sincerely that the women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women. It is no longer a movement of a few extravagant and excitable people, but a movement which is gradually spreading to all classes of women and, that being so, it assumes the same character as franchise movements have previously assumed."

On April 15, 1908, at Manchester, Mr. Churchill, in reply to the question, "Do you favour the giving of votes to women, and will you do what you can to influence the Cabinet in that direction?" replied "Yes." On May 2, 1908, at a meeting of Women Liberals at Dundee, Mr. Churchill said that, so far as he was personally concerned, he was a friend of the movement, not one who dealt in words only, and promised glibly, and then, having given a vote, thought nothing more of it.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MEETING TO-NIGHT. Every Member is asked to try and be present at the Queen's Hall, to-night, Friday, See page 342.

Monday, March 4. 3.15 p.m.—London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus. 8 p.m.—Parliament Square.

Mrs. Pankhurst, leader of the demonstration, will be present at the afternoon meeting. Dr. Ethel Smyth, one of the demonstrators, will speak. Speeches will also be made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B.

London Opera House, Thursday, March 7. After March 4—March 7. As already announced, the London Opera House, Kingsway, has been taken for a special meeting to be held on Thursday, March 7, at 8.15 p.m. This is the first time this vast building has been taken by the W.S.P.U. You will want everyone to understand the great militant protest on March 4, then make the most of the opportunity and tell everyone about the meeting.

Admission is free, but reserved seats can be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., price 2s. 6d. and 1s. Boxes at 12s. 6d. (holding eight), 10s. 6d. (holding six), and 6s. (holding four). The speakers will include Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B.

MR. URE AT ANDOVER.

Mr. Ure addressed a mass meeting in the Drill Hall at Andover on February 22, and, as a member of the Government, he was, of course, questioned by the ubiquitous Suffragettes. Tickets for chairs at the meeting all contained a pledge at the back, that the holder would not disturb or interrupt the meeting, which the ticket secretary said, included the asking of questions by the ubiquitous Suffragettes.

Another magnificent victory! Mr. McKinnon Wood, instead of returning to St. Stephen's with a majority of four figures as in December, 1910, goes back with a few hundreds only to his credit. To this result, as will be seen from the following account by our special correspondent, the W.S.P.U. largely contributed.

The by-election has resulted in the return of Mr. McKinnon Wood by a majority of 469. That we have contributed in no small measure to this sweeping reduction in his majority there can be no manner of doubt. The bitter and sometimes insulting hostility evinced towards us by official Liberal workers was flattering proof of the effectiveness of our campaign.

Our canvassers were all over the district. The man or woman in St. Bolex who had not heard of the atrocious treatment inflicted by a so-called Liberal Government on Mr. Ball for making a chivalrous protest on behalf of women must be either blind or deaf. As always at the time of a by-election, our meetings have been splendidly encouraging. The last indoor meeting, held on Saturday night, was a particularly successful one. A novel feature was the large number of working women with babies in their arms; the passage leading to the hall was transformed into a kind of impromptu nursery, to which the mothers were obliged to retire at intervals, when the cries of the babies became too vociferous!

Mr. Ure however had not yet finished with the Suffragette, for when he got to the station, there she was again, and she had him all to herself till the London train came in. There were very few people on the platform. She gave him five written questions, which she had been prevented from putting to him at the meeting. These dealt mainly with a Government measure and with the Referendum.

Mr. Ure asserted his willingness to have answered these questions at the meeting if the audience had not prevented him by the noise they made. He said he would support Sir Charles Grey's proposed amendment to the Reform Bill, but that notwithstanding the precedents of 1867, he was not prepared to resign if the Government themselves did not bring in a Woman's Suffrage Bill. He said he was not in favour of a Referendum on Woman Suffrage or any other question.

At this moment the London train came in, and ended Mr. Ure's explanations of his very half-hearted support of the Cause.

MR. LEWIS HARCOURT.

A meeting was held at the Mansion House on Wednesday afternoon on behalf of the London School of Tropical Medicine. The Lord Mayor presided, and Mr. Lewis Harcourt spoke.

No sooner had Mr. Harcourt risen than a woman sitting near the front jumped up and exclaimed, "Mr. Harcourt, how dare you stand there and call yourself a Liberal, while you—"

GLASGOW BY-ELECTION.

Mr. T. McKinnon Wood (L.)... 8,530. Mr. F. A. Macquisten (U.)... 4,094. Lib. Maj. ... 469. The figures in December, 1910, were as follows: T. McKinnon Wood (L.), 9,221. A. R. Chamberlain (U.), 7,726. Lib. maj., 1,495.

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THE PROTEST OF A HORNSEY TEACHER.

There has been evidence of some desire to know why the suffragette teacher in Hornsey has come into conflict with the authorities, and we are glad to be able to publish the following, from Miss Frances Creaton herself.

All classes of women suffragists are agitating to benefit the conditions of women in all spheres of life. Five or six years ago I first heard of Mrs. Pankhurst and her Union, and learning that she was working for women and for me amongst others, I at once recognised the necessity of working for myself and others too. Thus, like many other women similarly circumstanced, I took my part in all forms of safe agitation, but felt that for me it was impossible to do anything that would bring me into conflict with the authorities, since I had to consider my livelihood. This seemed sufficient reason to me for a time. However, coming into contact at the street corner with the actual product of the schools, party-ridden voters, small-minded, illigal, and often rough, I realised that I was engaged all day in turning out further specimens of the type against whom I contended in argument the evening. The situation contained an element of absurdity.

A careful consideration of the system of education in the light of reason instead of tradition led to the discovery that in all probability more harm than good was being done to the children as things are. It is a pretence that children are educated—they are drilled and trained in certain stereotyped lines, controlled either actually or by implication by physical force. The methods of wholesale instruction, turning out results all to one pattern, became hateful to me as I saw their pernicious effects. I could only continue conscientiously to do my work since the beginning of the winter season in September by making determined efforts in every possible direction to effect improvement. It seemed to me that it would be no good to the children or to me myself, resign my appointment and take up some other work—it would be no better in the system for that, and certainly I should get no satisfaction out of it, for I love teaching more than anything else.

I felt that as a citizen (to be) and a teacher my duty was to do all in my power to benefit the children of the State by taking a vital interest in education, not by implication, but by what was already systematised, but when necessary calling for an overhauling of the system. It shows the effects of being established and maintained by a male electorate—its methods and aims are militaristic—I claim that it would be improved by a large dose of women's influence. In November came the proposal that all men should be enfranchised, implying that the preferable women should not. This was the last straw. I felt it incumbent upon me to protest in person.

On the evening of November 22 I considered definitely what form my protest should take; it finally took the form of broken glass. Proceedings at Bow Street were lengthened out, so that it was Monday before I reached my school again. However, I kept the authorities informed daily of my whereabouts and what prevented my attendance at school, as well as acquainting them fully with the

VOTES FOR WOMEN. MEN'S POLITICAL UNION.

PROTEST MEETING.

will be held at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., on FRIDAY, MARCH 1st, 1912, at 8 p.m. (doors open at 7.30), TO PROTEST AGAINST THE INHUMAN TREATMENT OF WILLIAM BALL.

Chairman: Mr. H. W. NEVISON. Speakers: Mr. George Lansbury, M.P., Mr. William Ball (if well enough to appear), Mr. Chas. Mansel-Moullie, Mr. Victor D. Duval, and others.

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.

FIVE LECTURES BY Mrs. ANNIE BESANT (President of the Theosophical Society).

THE PATH TO INITIATION AND THE PERFECTING OF MAN. ON SUNDAY MORNINGS (11.30 a.m.): March 3.—The Man of the World; his first steps. March 10.—Seeking the Master. March 17.—Finding the Master. March 24.—The Christ-Life. March 31.—The Christ Triumphant and the Work of the Hierarcy.

A REAL COUNTRY LAUNDRY.

YOUR ATTENTION is respectfully drawn to the above Laundry, which is now ready to undertake a few more families' washing. This Laundry is under the personal supervision of the principals, whose eighteen years' experience enables them to execute all work entrusted to their care in the best possible manner, and at the lowest prices. Finest and softest underware a speciality. The laundry has all modern conveniences and improvements (the sanitary arrangements being absolutely perfect), with large open-air drying grounds. Inspection is invited at any time. Intending customers may rest assured that their linen will be finished in the best style, and returned correctly and punctually. A van will call to collect from any district on receipt of postcard. Managers will call to make arrangements, if so desired.

RIVERBANK LAUNDRY, Ferry Rd., TEDDINGTON. Phone 569 P.O. KINGSTON.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

motives that led me to adopt this protest. I was suspended from duty until the committee had deliberated upon my case. On December 5 I submitted a statement to the sub-committee and was interviewed by them, a committee of over a dozen men and one woman. Declaring themselves unable to find fault with my ten years' record of school work, they proposed inflicting various penalties for my breach of contract instead of requiring my resignation. A week later, to the full Committee for Education, I presented a statement protesting against the decision of the sub-committee as too severe, since it amounted to a fine of about £20, amongst other things, for it appeared I was to be suspended from duty till the end of the year without salary. I pointed out that this stoppage of salary was probably illegal. However, my letter was not read to the committee, who adopted the course proposed by the sub-committee. Following this, steps were taken by the Solicitor of the Union of Teachers to obtain the salary illegally withheld, since I would not submit to be terrorised through fear of retaliation on the part of the committee from demanding it. At the first request the money was granted. Their retaliation took the form of notice of dismissal. It is very necessary that teachers, and especially women who desire improved conditions, should quite definitely show their determination to get them. Children are the hope of the world, and their education the most vitally important matter in the State!

A SUFFRAGE STORY.

In "Under his Roof" (Women Writers' League, 6d.) Miss Elizabeth Robins has used her fine powers to tell in a very touching and beautiful story of the spiritual peace and safety that comes of immersion in a great cause—the glory that awaits the soldier in the woman's war, the spiritual death of those who hang back. Her story, too, brings out in its striking plot the physical strength that can be gained by holding to a great ideal, and the physical danger that may pursue the one who seeks safety in inaction.

TWO PAMPHLETS.

Pamphlets form a very useful and easily distributed means of propaganda, and it would be hard to find two more indicative of modern thought than those which have reached us this week. "Love and Honour" (not "Obey") by Mrs. Dugdale-Duval (George Villiers Press, 1d.), "Woman Suffrage in New Zealand." By Lady Stout. (The Woman's Press, 1d.) Both can be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Mrs. Duval, whose protest against the degrading submission of our women to another has again raised the question of the alteration of the Married Status, has traced in this pamphlet the origin of the word "Obey" in this connection, and the reasons why it should be impossible for any self-respecting wife to say it or husband to demand it.

The real result of Woman Suffrage in New Zealand is a valuable information for those Suffragists who may have garbled and untrue statements to answer. Lady Stout, wife of the Chief Justice of New Zealand, can speak with authority, and in this pamphlet she gives, first, a clear list of the reforms that have been accomplished, and secondly, a number of answers, founded on fact, to Anti-Suffragist arguments about Woman Suffrage in New Zealand.

A HISTORY.

"The Story of the Women's Suffrage Movement" (by Bertha Mason; Manchester: Sherratt & Hughes; 1s. net) contains a most interesting and valuable history of the constitutional history of Woman Suffrage from the first growth of the movement to the present day. Perhaps the most valuable pages are those giving a summary of Parliamentary events from the Reform Bill of 1832 to the promise of facilities for the Conciliation Bill in 1912. Such a complete list has not, we believe, been published for many years, and both speakers and writers will find it of the greatest use as a refutation of the time-honoured argument that Woman Suffrage has never been before the country.

THE REFERENDUM.

"The Referendum among the English," by Samuel Robertson Hoey (Macmillan; 2s. 6d. net), is an interesting little book dealing with the workings of the Referendum in the United States of America; the Referendum was adopted by our American cousins early in their Constitutional life, and derived from the principle of English government which the Pilgrim Fathers took with them when they set out to create constitutional laws of their own.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"A Living Wage." By C. C. Cotterill. London: A. C. Fifield. Price, 6d. net. "The English Agricultural Labourer." By the Rev. A. H. Baverstock. London: A. C. Fifield. Price, 6d. net. "Women's Suffrage." By M. G. Fawcett, L.L.D. London and Edinburgh: T. G. and E. G. Jack. Price, 6d. net. "After Thoughts." By G. W. E. Russell. London: Grant Richards, Ltd. Price, 7s. 6d. net. "The Englishwoman." March. London: Sidgwick and Jackson. Price, 1s. net. "The Criminal and the Community." By James Devlin. London: John Lane. Price, 6s. net.

IN MEMORIAM.

The sympathy of all our readers will go out to Mr. and Mrs. Hawkins in the great loss they have sustained in the death of their youngest son, who was in his seventeenth year. It will be remembered that Mr. Hawkins had his leg broken at Mr. Churchill's meeting at Bradford on November 26, 1910, and has been many times imprisoned for the cause. Their son also took a deep interest in the emancipation of women.

The FRENCH HAT SHOP (near the Queen's Hall). THE "MARIE." 7/6 WITH VEIL. Smart Tricorne Crinoline Hat, lined Chiffon, as sketch, in Black with White Fancy Mount. Also in All Black, Tawny and Black, Navy, and Helio. With Veil, Box, and Postage, 8/4. Terms—Cash with order. Catalogue post free on application. Tel.: Gerard 7298. NO HATS ON APPROVAL. All Hats imported; therefore orders are accepted on the understanding that a few days are allowed for billing the same. 322-324, REGENT STREET, W. ONLY ADDRESS—NO BRANCHES ANYWHERE.

Frank Clayton : : LADIES' TAILOR. : : COSTUME, as sketch, to measure £2 10. NAVY SERGE 2 Gas. TAILOR MADE COULUMES in order, in the latest materials, complete, including Suits, in Black or Navy, £12 6. FACED CLOTHS, from £3 0. FULL LENGTH COATS, from £1 7. Careful and prompt attention to country and local orders. A large and varied assortment of Patterns and Fabrics, with self-measurement forms will be sent upon application, post free. Special attention is paid by experienced cutters to the production of perfect-fitting garments from sample bodies or cuts. Guaranteed made by Men Tailors. OPPOSITE TUBE STATION, NOTTING HILL GATE, LONDON, W. Phone 1394 WESTMINSTER.

THE WOMEN TAXPAYERS AGENCY. Recovers all Income-tax Overpaid since the 5th of April, 1908. Secures Abatements and Exemptions. Prepares Accounts for Super-tax and Income-tax. Conducts Appeals before the Commissioners. Advises on Investments with regard to Income-tax. The Agency's clients include the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Miss Decima Moore, and many well-known Suffragists, Doctors, Actresses, etc. Craven House, Kingsway, W.C. Tel. 6049 CENTRAL.

DIMOLINE PIANO CO. Special Sale of Pianos. Cheap. All Makers. SILENCING STOP PIANOS FROM 20 GAS. CASE. PLAYER PIANOS. SIMPLEX PLAYERS. Special Terms to Members W.S.P.U. Manager: Mrs. DIMOLINE TOMES, 11, Parkhurst Hill, Holloway (Private House). Furniture, &c. Grace Jones.

AN ARAB JOAN OF ARC.

Mr. Alan Ostler, the Daily Express special correspondent with the Turkish Army in Mesopotamia, writes from Senati Beni Adhem on January 20.—"When the Arabs chased the Italian infantry out of the trenches at Gargash two days ago, they dashed in, Arab fashion, under the fire of the machine guns and got to close quarters almost before their hidden antagonists had realised that those who did not retire the trenches would afford ready-made graves."

"The attackers, with their voices hoarsely losing and fluttering, and their voices hoarsely shouting war-cries, came on like a tidal wave that broke over the trenches."

"At their head was a figure, cloaked and hooded in russet brown, who carried a spear and a staff of olive wood, and whose voice rang high and shrill above the shouts and rattling rifle fire. The face beneath the russet hood was of so deep a brown as to be almost black."

"The eyebrows met in a savage frown over keen, glittering eyes; the jaw was square and heavy, the nose short and straight, with widely distended nostrils; and a collar of panther's teeth glistened about the broad brown bosom."

"With a voice like the rattling of an angry hail, this figure alternately menaced and exhorted the Arabs, and shrieked out terrible curses against the Italians."

"The desert men swept up and over the earthworks, and their fearless leader, leaping into the trenches, plunged an arm elbow deep in blood, and then stood, with a dripping right hand hung upwards, a statue of the Goddess of African Battle."

"For was a woman, a Soudanese warrior, that fought in the ranks with the men at Gargash. It was her voice bidding onwards with children in the tents, and urging brave men to find a sure road to Paradise upon the Italian guns, that madened the Arabs as only the voices of their woman-folk can."

"She was struck by a fragment of shell before the charge began; but she went forward, shaking her bleeding hand in the faces of the men, and bidding them carry glorious wounds like hers. After the fight she was the heroine of the camp at the Gardens of the Children of Adhem, and strode among the tents, one hand bandaged, and one brandishing the staff of olive-wood."

"This woman chanted fiercely, triumphantly, as Deborah chanted through the lines of the Israelites when the host of Sisera was overthrown. The Turks and Arabs alike praise her courage. But she wanted quick praise; but a gun; and she came to the door of the tent of the Turkish leader and made her petition there. And a carbine was given to her."

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Members are once again reminded that Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. should be at once notified of any and every change of address, so as to avoid much trouble and expense in sending out notices. Entailed at headquarters. W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Members are invited to take part in a co-terminous competition to be held here on Friday, next, at 8 p.m. Will members and their friends look kindly upon the Jumble Sale on March 15? They may be sent to the shop on any day, and parcels should be sent to the shop on any day, and parcels should be sent to the shop on any day.

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HAVE YOUR OWN BOOK-PLATE. Practically every thoughtful possessor of books wishes to have his or her ownership permanently noted on every volume by means of a book-plate, and that such a plate should have a personal interest as displaying in its design...

Dorothy Madison's Book-Plates. Original Design prepared for a Village Library. On request I will send specimens free to any address at home or abroad. It generally takes about three weeks to complete the design, plate, and 100 copies.

HENRY K. WARD, 49, Great Portland Street, London, W.

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LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. Table listing dates, times, and locations for various meetings from Friday, 1st to Monday, 4th.

Table listing various societies and their meetings, including BOURNEMOUTH, BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT, CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT, etc.

Table listing various societies and their meetings, including WEST AND NORTH KENT, HOME COUNTIES, BEXHILL-ON-SEA, etc.

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single Insertion, 24 words or less, 2s. 1d. per word for every additional word.

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS. Property owned at W.S.P.U. meetings should be sent to Miss Kerr, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

MISS KERR (W.S.P.U.) has several umbrellas, a necklace, and a variety of other articles left at the Christmas Fair and Free, a Mull found in room 72 after secretary's meeting; also a necklace and pair of long gloves, found after the meeting at the London Pavilion.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale Silk Persian Rug, 3 1/2 yds. by 14 yds., suitable for sofa cover or portiere; beautiful dark colour. Price £22.-Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale fine hand-made crocheted lace; collar, cuffs, and three strips each measuring half-yard. Price 17s. 6d. A handkerchief with deep border of hand-made lace. Price 2s. 1s. Also a Microscope in case, and fifty-seven slides. Price £6 6s., or would consider near offer. Proceeds to go to W.S.P.U. funds. Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

BARON'S COURT, BOSCOMBE, BOURNE-MOUTH.—High-class Boarding Establishment. Moderate.

BLACK FOREST. English lady offers comfortable rooms in large, bright, airy flat, best position lovely old-world town. Winter sports. Central heating. Board optional. Terms moderate.—Mrs. Robin, 22, Kingstons, 1, reburg, Baden, Germany.

BOARD-RESIDENCE.—84, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W. Women workers and Students are received from 25s. per week. Close to Earl's Court Station and bus route.

BOARD-RESIDENCE offered by a lady to students, visitors to London, and others. Moderate terms. Comfortable home.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, superior, from 30s. Close Baker Street Underground and Tube. Bed and Breakfast 2s. 6d. per day. Telephone 4333. Putlington.—Mrs. Campbell, 5 and 7, York Street, Eartman Square, W.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms 2s. to 2s. 6d. per day. Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE, Trevara, Bouverie Road West. Board-residence or private apartments. Excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables.—Proprietress, Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

LARGE Front room as Bed-sitting, lady or gentleman, cooking, attendance, or board arranged as required. Good bath arrangements.—35, Fawcett Park Road, East Putney.

LONDON.—Carlton Private Hotel, 14, Craven Street, Charing Cross. Room and breakfast from 1s. Central and convenient. Tel. 219 Gernard.

LONDON, W.C. (113, Gower-street).—Refined HOME (ladies). Bed, breakfast, dinner, and full board (Luncheon) (cubicle), from 15s. 6d. rooms, 13s. 6d. Full board, 17s. 6d. to 25s. Gentlemen from 15s. 6d.

MOST Comfortable and centrally situated Apartments or Board-residence to let. Rooms arranged for meetings. Bed and breakfast from 3s. 6d.—3, Torrington Square, W.C.

PINNER.—Board Residence, 7, Meadow Road, or rooms.—Madam Dorothe, telephone 119 Pinner. Member W.S.P.U.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 43, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUPFRAGETTES, spend your Winter Holidays at SUNNY BRIGHTON. Comfortable board-residence with Miss Turner. "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Nat. Tel. 1702. Terms moderate.

TWO ladies (gardening, poultry farming) receive paying guests. Sunny house, good cooking. Near church, post station. Lovely country; good cycling; between Bournemouth & Salisbury. Winter terms, 25s.—Leslie-Carrington, Verwood, Dorset.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Helmholtz. Ladies and gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 2s.—Madame Veigel, 43 and 45, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

26, KENSINGTON GARDENS SQUARE, Hyde Park. Board Residence in quiet, superior house. Excellent position, close to Queens Road Tube and Whiteley's Private Gardens. Most comfortable, clean. Good cooking. Lib. table. From 21s. Highly recommended.

TO LET, Etc.

CHARMING detached Cottages and Houses, built in historic park of 500 acres, adjoining magnificent golf course; 15 minutes from City; good gardens; prices from £375; easy instalments; rents from £22.—Write for full particulars.—G. 30, Descriptive booklet, House and Cottage Department, Gidea Park, Ltd., 33, Henrietta Street, Strand, W.C.

COMFORTABLY FURNISHED Modern Five-roomed Cottage. South aspect; garden; beautiful country; sea. Water supply and sanitation good. Tel. Easter, 10s. weekly.—"Sunset," Pett, Sussex.

FINE small upper part, comprising three large rooms, kitchen, bath, light and airy, quiet house, suitable for a lady. Write for full particulars.—G. 30, Davies Street, B.keley Square, W.

FURNISHED Flat near Holborn.—Reception room, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom. To be let March and April. Terms, 20 monthly. Members of W.S.P.U. preferred.—Reply, Box 222, Votes for Women, 4, Clements Inn.

LARGE Room to let, suitable for Meetings, at Home, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—11-13, Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford St.

LONDON, W.C.—Six good Rooms; upper part very centrally situated; every separate accommodation. Apply Ss, Votes for Women, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SMALL furnished flat, month or longer, four rooms, hot water in bathroom and kitchen, ren 18s., or offer.—Flat 3, 25a, Earl's Court Gardens.

UNFURNISHED Flats, 1st floor, 3 rooms, kitchen, bathroom, balconies, electric light, 4th floor, 2 rooms, kitchen (self-contained), use of bath-room. Close to Tube Station.—Apply ground floor, 22, Trevor's Road, Earl's Court.

WANTED.

WANTED to rent, three unfurnished rooms, one suitable for studio. Top light not required. Chelsea preferred.—Apply, Miss Harman, Hamridge, Amsbury.

WANTED.—Unfurnished or partly, suite rooms, ground or 1st floor. Near Hampden Hill, Cheerful house and company. Part board and attendance. Lady and son.—Box 280, Votes for Women, 4, Clements Inn.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

ADA MOORE gives lessons in Singing and Voice Production. Diction a speciality. West End Studio. Visits Brighton on Tuesdays.—Address, 115, Kentish Mansions, London.

SCIENTIFIC TRAINING (residential or non-residential) in cooking, laundrywork, housewifery and upholstery, given by diplomaed teachers at St. Martha's College, 4, Chichester Street, Westminster.

COMMERCIAL Poultry Keeping. A thorough practical knowledge can be obtained at Lovegrove's Poultry Farm, Woodcote, Reading, long or short courses. Particulars from the Manager.

COLONIAL TRAINING. 3 months' course from April 9. Cooking, bread baking, dairywork, milking, poultry, incubators, carpentry, etc. Fee 21s. inclusive.—Kate Leclaire, Chockendon, Reading.

ELOCUTION.—Postal Tuition given by Miss Marlan Rayson, 36, Victoria Road, Dartington. Success guaranteed to earnest Students. Terms moderate.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent 17 Script. for 107 Questions Answered, a Woman's Gatechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Businell, Hawarden, Chester.

GRADUATE (experienced teacher) coaches examination candidates and backward pupils. Visits, receives, corresponds. Many recent successes. Especially successful Matriculation Mathematics.—154, Hamlet Gardens, Ravenscourt Park, W.

IF YOU WANT TO MAKE MONEY, take lessons (by correspondence at home and abroad) in Chocolate and Sweet Confectionery. For particulars and sample box, apply Mrs. Pain, Sunnyside, Rossall School, Fleetwood, Lancs.

LADIES suffering from neglected education speedily benefited by my course of Postal Tuition. Writing, correspondence, correct speech.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road, Finchmore Hill.

MISS HUGOLIN HAWES gives lessons in Speaking, Acting, and Reciting; 5 scholarships offered to be completed by December 1912; classes given in ozonised air at Eustace Miles Lecture Rooms if desired; Brighton visited weekly.—Apply 8, Ashburnham Mansions, Chelsea.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing, Singing Classes and Ladies Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

POULTRY FARM.—Vacancy for student. Incubators now working. Variety of breeds stocked. Terms, apply M. and P. Spong, The Pelbridge Poultry Farm, East Grinstead.

SCHOOL.—Can any reader recommend a Proprietary Boarding School for little boy 8 years. Not too far from London. Healthy situation. Moderate terms.—Box 278, 4, Clements Inn.

TO SUPFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashburnham Mansions, Eight Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Isidor Zang will write:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

SITUATIONS WANTED.

DAILY WORK, cooking and cleaning, required by respectable widow with good references; in urgent need.—Apply in first instance Mrs. Tuke, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

GENTLEWOMAN requires post as Lady Help on superior farm or private family. No premium. Services given; in time small salary. Experience riding, driving, poultry and gardening.—S. Richardson, South Park, Lincoln.

MAN and Wife as Caretakers, can be highly recommended; two years reference from last employers. Man, army pensioner.—C, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SITUATION VACANT.

A WORKING HOUSEKEEPER required in a comfortable home; good salary; must be reliable R. M. M. No. 10, "Musculum," Burgess Road, Herne Hill, S.E.

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