

VOTES FOR WOMEN

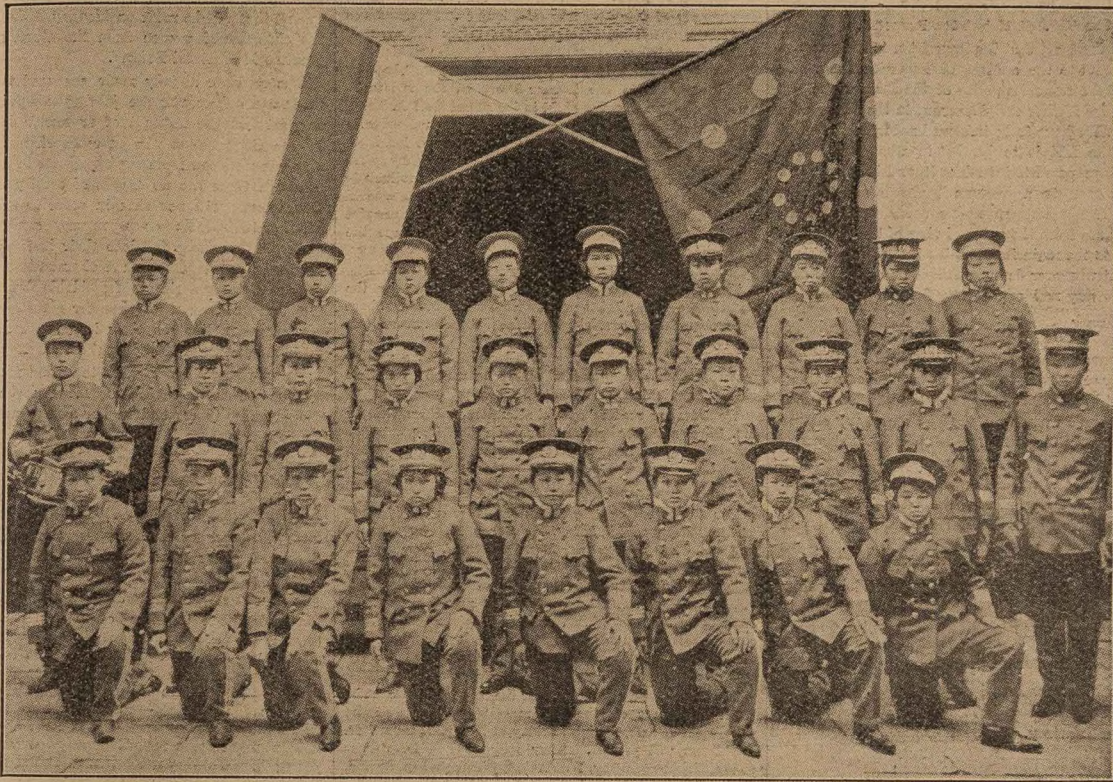
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. V. (New Series), No. 206.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1912.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

CAN WOMEN FIGHT?



Photograph by Higgins, Shanghai.

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WOMEN SOLDIERS OF SHANGHAI.

"Shanghai Battalion of Republican Chinese Lady Soldiers. The members of the Shanghai female battalion are from seventeen to twenty-five years of age, and most of them are daughters of well-to-do merchants. They are now in Nanking, waiting orders to march to the front."

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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.

Profound horror has been caused by the latest atrocity of the Government towards a suffrage prisoner. On Monday last a laconic message reached Mrs. Ball from the Governor of Pentonville that it was proposed,

on that very day, to certify her husband as insane, and to send him to an asylum as a pauper lunatic. Proceeding to the Home Office with her solicitor, she was informed that the certificate had already been given and that he was already being transferred to Colney Hatch.

Terrible Condition of Mr. Ball.

She at once set to work to secure his release, and by dint of the unflagging effort of herself, her solicitor and the W.S.P.U., she succeeded on the following day in obtaining the custody of her husband. She found him in an exceedingly emaciated condition, with his nose and throat swollen and inflamed. With the help of a nurse she removed him to a nursing home where everything is being done to bring him back to health.

Indignation Aroused.

The indignation of the Women's Social and Political Union, and of other members of the public, surpasses

all limits at this atrocity. It will be seen that not only did the authorities torture Mr. Ball in prison by forcible feeding, but that they continued their brutal treatment until he was in such a state that a doctor was prepared to certify him as insane. Moreover, though his condition was so serious, they took no steps to inform his wife until the very last moment, and actually transferred him to an asylum as a pauper lunatic before giving her a chance to make other provision, which she was quite able and willing to do.

The Responsibility of the Government.

For this outrage Mr. McKenna, the Home Secretary, is directly responsible. Whether his action and that of the prison authorities who are under his orders amount to a breach of the strict letter of the law as interpreted to-day remains to be investigated. But before the bar of public opinion we arraign him and the Government of which he is a member as guilty of a dastardly crime, and we are determined that throughout the length and breadth of the land this story shall be made known until his name and theirs are execrated and condemned.

Enshrined in Our Hearts.

But above even our thoughts of anger and passionate resentment our hearts are full of the deepest reverence for the brave working man who, all alone and friendless in his prison cell, dared to stand out against all the power of authority, and who brought upon himself in consequence such a terrible fate. It is such souls as these who illumine by their radiance the dark pages of

TO LONDON MEMBERS.

The W.S.P.U. Meeting on THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15,

IS BEING HELD, AT 8 P.M., IN THE

SAVOY THEATRE

(Entrance from Strand or Embankment)

Instead of in the Steinway Hall.

THE KING'S SPEECH.

THE CASE OF MR. BALL.

human history—who give to mortal men and women a fresh vision of the Divine. To this brave man, and to his brave wife, who in all these dark hours has never lost her courage or her determination, we offer, in the name of the Union, our deep sympathy and our reverent admiration.

The King's Speech.

The policy of the Government with regard to Woman Suffrage was declared on Wednesday in the King's Speech, read at the opening of Parliament. It was contained in the words:—

Proposals will be brought forward for the amendment of the law with respect to the Franchise and the Registration of Electors.

This is a vague statement which will bear any interpretation which the Government may subsequently find convenient to put upon it. It cannot, however, imply a Woman Suffrage Bill, as the Prime Minister has definitely stated that the Government will not make themselves responsible for such a measure. On the other hand, it would cover equally a Manhood Suffrage Bill or simply a Plural Voting Bill.

The W.S.P.U. Reject the Proposal.

As we understand that the Opposition intend to move an amendment to the address dealing with the whole question of the franchise policy of the Government, we may hope for further enlightenment in the course of a few days. We have to be informed not merely of what character the Bill is to be, but in what part of the session it is proposed to introduce it, and in what form it will be open to a Woman Suffrage amendment. Important as these questions no doubt are in themselves, they are from the point of view of the W.S.P.U. subsidiary to the main issue, which is that in whatever form and at whatever date the Bill is introduced it does not provide any real opportunity for the enfranchisement of women.

Entirely Unsatisfactory.

Even assuming fair play on the part of the Government, we have proved on more than one occasion by political arithmetic that not one of the possible amendments to include women in the Bill stand any chance of being carried unless supported by the Government as a whole, and this support is refused in advance. There is not, however, the slightest ground for expecting fair play from the Government; the official and quasi-official utterances of the Liberal Press during the past three months have utterly destroyed all that. When important Liberal organs openly advocate what other Liberal organs have described as a "naked breach of honour" on the part of Liberal Ministers, it cannot be wondered at if we have no faith whatever in the Government's bona fides. Even, therefore, if a Woman Suffrage amendment could be carried, the Government would take other means of destroying it. The proposal contained in the King's Speech is, accordingly, wholly unsatisfactory.

The W.S.P.U. will Fight.

In the face of a situation such as this the Women's Social and Political Union have only one policy to pursue. By every means in their power they will give effect to their hostility to the Government. As announced by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in our leading article and by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence elsewhere on this page, a demonstration of protest is being organised immediately which will take place on March 4, when the members of the Union will show by deeds which speak louder than words how they feel with regard to the latest attempt of the Government to cheat them of their rights.

The Press on the Situation.

Several of the London papers published on Wednesday morning, before the contents of the King's speech were known, striking comments on the political outlook. The Morning Post referred to the Franchise Bill as a "vote-catching" device, which it was safe to say would "not be carried very far." The Standard says:—

Mr. Asquith's embarrassment is the Nemesis which has overtaken a policy that has substituted trickery for statesmanship. The introduction of the Adult Suffrage proposal was a mere dodge, and not even a clever dodge. On its merits there is no call for this tremendous innovation, which was only devised in order to meet—or to escape—another. Nobody had asked that several million more voters should be thrown into the electorate, not even Mr. Asquith's Radical "tail" and Labour irregulars. But some women had certainly demanded that they should be given the franchise on the same terms as men; and this is Mr. Asquith's ingenious expedient for "dishing" them.

It further states that if the Ministerial Party holds together over the Suffrage Bill it will have achieved a miracle.

Be Watchful and Wary!

During the week the Standard has also published in its "Woman's Platform" important articles by women

on different sides with regard to the situation. On Friday Mrs. Pankhurst wrote:—

"My message to woman is that they shall rise in rebellion against any further trickery on the part of the Government. Women are invincible provided they are brave and united. If the vote is worth asking for, it is worth fighting for. Unless the King's Speech contains the promise of a Government measure for Women this session, I, for one, shall make a militant protest against so grave an insult. We call upon those who would vindicate the honour of womanhood to join us in the action that we shall take."

And on Monday Mrs. Pethick Lawrence called upon women to be watchful and wary in the changing political situation, and added: "To women in the militant societies I would say: Remember that before religious disabilities could be swept away the Prime Minister had to be driven to a choice between 'concession and civil war.'"

Release of Women from Holloway.

The women who have served sentences of two months in Holloway were released on Saturday and Monday last, and were given a very hearty welcome by their friends. We are glad to be able to report that none of them have suffered serious consequences from their incarceration. Everyone is looking forward to the dinner in the Connaught Rooms to-night (Friday), when the W.S.P.U. will have the opportunity of doing them special honour. Particulars as to tickets, which must be purchased before the evening, will be found below.

The Labour Meeting at the Albert Hall.

We congratulate the Labour Party on the successful meeting held on Tuesday night in the Albert Hall on behalf of Adult Suffrage. The crucial moment undoubtedly occurred when a member of the audience asked Mr. Macdonald whether the Parliamentary Labour Party were prepared to throw out the Government if it failed to include women. Mr. Macdonald's answer "certainly" was greeted with intense enthusiasm. By sticking close to that promise the Labour Party have it in their power to force the Government to do justice to women.

Items of Interest.

The treatment of the Woman Suffrage issue by the Oxfordshire Women's Liberal Association has brought about the resignation of several prominent Liberal women (see p. 303).

Mr. Ernest Terah Hooley is allowed to have writing materials and to carry on his business in prison; yet these elementary rights are refused to Suffrage prisoners.

We draw our readers' special attention to the article by Mr. Clayton in the present issue on the Government's responsibility for non-party measures.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The Thursday meeting (February 15) is not being held at the Steinway Hall, but at the Savoy Theatre, Strand, at 8 p.m. The speakers are Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. The policy of the Union with regard to the King's Speech is being announced. And a protest will be made against the atrocious treatment of Mr. Ball in Pentonville Gaol. A special collection will be taken towards the legal and medical expenses connected with the case.

Welcome to Prisoners.

There are still a few tickets for the special dinner to be given in honour of the two months' prisoners at the Connaught Rooms, to-night, Friday, at 7.15 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst will preside. They may be had from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., price 6s. (If vegetarian, please state when making application). All the after-dinner tickets have been sold. Please apply at once as no tickets can be secured at the Connaught Rooms.

The London Meetings.

On Monday, February 19, the speakers at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., at 3.15 p.m., will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Georgina Brackenbury and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Please note that, owing to the importance of the Thursday evening meetings and the need for more accommodation, the usual evening meeting on Thursday, February 22, will be held in the Caxton Hall, not in the Steinway Hall, at 8 p.m., when the speakers will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others. The evening meeting on February 23 will be held in the Kensington Town Hall at 8 p.m. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held in all centres where the W.S.P.U. is represented, see page 312 et seq.

Remember March 29!

Just now, when so many great meetings are being held it is imperative that W.S.P.U. members should do their utmost to make their own Albert Hall meeting, on March 29, a great success. This they can do by securing tickets for themselves and their friends at once. Tickets may be had from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Prices are as follows:—Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; lower orchestra, 2s.; balcony, 1s. and 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d., all numbered and reserved; boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d.

IN MEMORIAM.

We deeply regret to announce that Mrs. McClelland, of Pinner, a life-long suffragist, passed away on the 6th inst. after years of suffering borne with characteristic fortitude. For forty years she laboured in the great Cause, and was a co-worker with Mrs. McLaren, a sister of John Bright. With her own hands she worked and painted for the Pinner W.S.P.U. one of the most beautiful of the many banners carried in last summer's great Procession. She lived till the eve of victory, but with the certain assurance that it was close at hand.

COME!

Week by week we have discussed in these columns every aspect of the political situation with regard to Votes for Women. We have studied the records of other franchise agitations, only to learn over again the lesson:—"Who would be free, themselves must strike the blow!" We have seen that never by argument, never by appeal have the voteless and subjected sections of the community obtained freedom as a gift from the dominant class. Franchise rights have in every case been wrung from reluctant rulers by the menace of social upheaval.

We are intellectually convinced that unless we can make trouble for the Government we must remain in the political subjection which penalises women in every aspect and avocation of their life, and heaps misery upon the wretched and degradation upon the wronged.

This intellectual conviction, united with the strong moral compulsion that has welded us together in this Movement, obliges every woman in our ranks to take her place definitely in the demonstration of protest that will be made on Monday, March 4, against the exclusion of women from the Government's programme of Electoral Reform.

The response already made encourages us to hope that the numbers who are joining this protest will be so great that the methods of repression hitherto used by the Government will be rendered ineffective. In any case we know from our experience in the past that although there are no depths of cruelty to which the Government will not sink in order to retaliate upon solitary individuals or upon any small group of Suffragists who may fall into their hands, they take a different line altogether when the numbers with which they have to deal rise to formidable figures. Therefore every woman who takes her place loyally beside her comrades lightens their imprisonment and mitigates the costliness of the great sacrifice.

Every woman knows that there are many weighty reasons which might be urged why she especially should refuse to respond in her own person to the call for action. There is not a woman in the world worth the name who is not indispensable to some person or persons in her own circle. Not one of all the thousands who have led the van and made it comparatively easy for others to follow—not one but has had to leave husband or brother, sister or mother, whom she loved better than herself, not one who has not caused grief in hearts intensely dear to her, not one who has not incurred disapproval, not one who has not risked the loss of friends or the withdrawal of affection. That is part of the price which they all have paid for a great ideal and for the deliverance of those too weak, too poor, or too rigidly held in bondage to help themselves.

That is the sacrifice—not the mere imprisonment which they have suffered, and which, at the present time, at any rate, is robbed of any terror that it once possessed. Working women have risked, and in some cases have lost, their livelihood; the most delicate women have disregarded their health; great women have set aside their reputation; clever and popular women have staked their social influence; mothers have torn themselves from their children; heedful of the cry of desolate little ones in the unmothered world. All have responded to the public duty to which they knew themselves called, and have availed themselves of the great opportunity for service to the human race which is not given in every generation and which is the supreme benediction of destiny. No woman awakened to the new vision of dignified womanhood has any moral right, in the light of her vision, to claim the immunity which these pioneers denied themselves. Noblesse oblige! Those are most generous of their life who have most life to give. A very notable woman and a very great artist has, within the last few days, sent in her name as a volunteer for the next militant protest, and her words should be laid to heart by all who think that a sacrifice too great to give is being demanded of them by their conscience:—

I have been torn between two conflicting duties and desires—that of going on the next deputations or of fulfilling an engagement to represent "Woman as Composer and Conductor," at the great Women's Exhibition, which opens in Berlin this month. Your own sense of duty to your life's work will tell you how an artist would feel in such a case, and that to decide has been difficult; but at certain rare crises human responsibility must override everything. The thought that any one of us by not going with you might encourage others to hang back is intolerable, and its converse not to be resisted; for now each unit counts. So I have cancelled Berlin. Please put me on the list. ETHEL SMYTH.

The magnanimity of such a spirit, and the sincerity of these plain words will make an irresistible appeal to self-respecting and upstanding women. They will wish to be worthy of such a colleague and of such a renunciation.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE PENTONVILLE ATROCITY.

Suffragist Prisoner Sent to Pauper Lunatic Asylum. Release Secured by Wife. Terrible Condition of Mr. Ball through Brutality in Prison.

An atrocity recalling, and even surpassing, the worst days of Lord Gladstone's régime at the Home Office has been perpetrated on a Suffragist prisoner at Pentonville, who has been first tortured by weeks of coercive feeding in prison and then sent off to Colney Hatch as a pauper lunatic, without allowing his wife or friends the opportunity of providing for him.

It has been only owing to the superhuman efforts of Mrs. Ball and her solicitor, Mr. Marshall, backed up by the unsparring work of the W.S.P.U. and the men's societies, that Mr. Ball's release has been secured.

He is now in a nursing home where he is receiving every care and attention; but he is in a very serious condition of health. His body is horribly emaciated and his nose and throat are so swollen and inflamed by the disgusting operation which has been constantly performed on him, that his voice is exceedingly faint. We are informed, however, that there is no reason why he should not ultimately completely recover, when the full story of his treatment will be made known.

Story of the Case.

Mr. William Ball is a working man and a member of the National Transport Workers Federation and of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. He came up about a year ago from Birmingham to London. His wife states that he is a fine athlete, and for over twenty years has had no serious illness. Neither he nor any of his relatives have suffered at any time from any form of mental instability.

On December 21 last he was arrested for breaking two panes of glass at the Home Office. In his defence at the police-court the following day he stated that he broke the windows as a protest against the unjust sentence passed on MacDougall, and also as a protest against Manhood Suffrage, which would bar the passage of a measure for Votes for Women. He had two daughters and two sons, and he wanted as much protection for his girls as he did for his boys. If the vote were extended to more men and not given to women on the same terms it would be an insult to all right thinking men. He as a man was not prepared to see the woman, who were the mothers of the race, and to whose care were committed the children during the years of their lives when they most needed it, excluded from the right to choose the legislators.

In spite of the fact that this was Mr. Ball's first offence, that he bore a thoroughly good character, that his action was done from a purely political motive, and that it could not be called serious damage, Mr. Ball was sentenced to two months' hard labour. Arrived at Pentonville Prison, Mr. Ball demanded to be treated as a political offender, and in particular to have the "ameliorations of prison conditions" specified by Mr. Winston Churchill in April, 1910, in the regulations framed specially with a view to Suffrage prisoners who had been convicted of offences not involving "dishonesty, cruelty, indecency, or serious violence." These were refused.

Mr. Ball declined to take off his ordinary clothes, he was however stripped for force. He further refused to eat the prison food and commenced to carry out the hunger strike. The authorities then decided to feed him by force, and on Christmas day the horrible operation was performed on him for the first time. In spite of his protests and the protests of his friends outside who had reason to know that it was being done, this disgusting process was repeated twice daily for five and a half weeks.

Meanwhile, at the suggestion of a friend, Mr. Ball, who had already written several letters to the governor of Pentonville and to the Home Secretary with regard to the treatment of her husband and had received no reply, decided to take a step, rendered necessary by the fact that her family are absolutely dependent on the earnings of herself and her husband; she endeavoured to get her husband's life insured. She accordingly wrote the following letter on January 4, to the secretary of the Prison Commission at the Home Office,

Dear Sir,—I wish to insure the life of my husband, William Ball, now a prisoner in Pentonville, in the New York Life Assurance Co., the necessary permission to allow the doctor nominated by the Insurance Co. to attend at the prison to make the necessary medical examination. —Yours faithfully, (Signed) O. W. M. Davies, Governor.

Mrs. Ball took immediate action and succeeded in securing the services of a

solicitor, Mr. Marshall, of Messrs. Hachett Jones, Biggood and Marshall, and together they went to the Home Office. There they were told that Mr. Ball had already been certified as insane and sent off to Colney Hatch; it was added that as he had been granted remission of sentence, he had, as a matter of fact, been released from prison that morning.

From the Home Office, Mrs. Ball went straight away to Colney Hatch, where she was allowed to see her husband. She found him very seriously ill and in an exceedingly emaciated condition. In a very faint voice he was able to tell her that he had been brutally treated in Pentonville, and that he had been fed by force twice a day for five and a half weeks, and that he had been twice locked in the punishment cell.

Lies of Prison Authorities.

He had also been told by the prison authorities that he had been entirely repudiated by the Women's Social and Political Union, who had decided to have nothing more to do with him. This statement he had utterly refused to believe, remembering well that similar lies had been told to other Suffrage prisoners with impunity by prison officials in other prisons.

Mrs. Ball was obliged to leave her husband in Colney Hatch on Monday night, but determined to get him out on Tuesday. To this end no effort was spared by Mr. Marshall or by the W.S.P.U. Mr. Marshall was at last sent by the Lunacy Commissioners to the Asylums Board, and the latter arranged for the immediate transference of Mr. Ball from the pauper side of the institution to the paying side. This made it possible for him to be released late in the evening, and Mrs. Ball went up to the Asylum with a nurse and fetched her husband away in a cab.

As already stated, Mr. Ball is at present in a nursing home, where every care is being bestowed on him. His weakness is very pitiable, and his nose and throat are horribly swollen and inflamed in consequence of the operation of forcible feeding. He was exceedingly hungry on his arrival, and is taking food with a famished appetite. Food and sleep are already working wonders and his recovery will probably be rapid.

"A Crime that Must be Punished."

At the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon Miss Christabel Pankhurst, before dealing with the political situation, spoke with very grave earnestness of the case of Mr. Ball, pointing out that it threw a fresh light upon the very extraordinary measures which the authorities are prepared to use against the prisoners connected with this movement, whether man or woman. "We know," said Miss Pankhurst, "that if Mr. Ball had been one of a large body that could give great trouble in prison, he would have had the special privileges framed for the benefit of Suffragist offenders, but because he and Mr. MacDougall were just two solitary individuals, they were treated as ordinary third class criminals."

After referring to the facts of the case, Miss Pankhurst proceeded:—"It seems to me that in a country supposed to be civilised such things should be absolutely impossible. We have always known that it was very much too easy to certify people as insane upon very insufficient evidence, but I do not think that such a case as this has been heard of before. We cannot allow this thing to go on. We cannot allow that man's reputation for sanity to be played with in this fashion. Mr. Ball was absolutely and perfectly sane when he went into prison. He is a man who suffers in any way from mental derangement. He is an athlete and has enjoyed good health for twenty years. He is either sane or not sane. If he is sane, I leave you to judge of the action of the authorities, and if he is insane they have driven him insane."

Mr. Ball was due to be released on February 21. They must have known that this was going on. They must have noticed these symptoms, and they ought to have ordered his release before it was too late. This is a most terrible crime that the authorities have committed, look at it whichever way you like—a crime that has got to be punished, either in the law courts, or, if that is impossible, in the court of public opinion.

"This Union is taking the matter up. We are going to see it through, and we hope that you will help us as best you can. On Saturday when I spoke in Wolverhampton, I said that if the Government were not restrained by the force of public opinion in England they would behave to us just in the same way that the Russian Government behaves to political reformers. There were one or two people in the audience who expressed their dissent, but what will they say when they hear what has been done to Mr. Ball? Has the Russian Govern-

ment ever devised so infamous a procedure as the persons responsible to the present Liberal Government? It seems to me that a question like this ought to be the very first matter for the House of Commons to deal with. I believe that we may well be thankful that it meets again this week. With a Liberal Government in power, and a House of Commons in recess, anything may happen. Nothing is too bad to happen."

"We want to know what Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and the Labour Party will have to say to this. Mr. Ball is a working man. We hope they will defend him. We say emphatically that a Government which will allow its officials to behave as in the case of Mr. Ball is not worthy to be kept in power."

(It will be seen from the report of the Labour meeting on page 310 that the case of Mr. Ball was dealt with by Mr. Keir Hardie and great indignation was evoked in the vast audience.)

The Meeting in the Savoy Theatre.

It was arranged that the meeting to be held on Thursday night, in the Savoy Theatre, after we went to press, should take the form of a special protest against the treatment of Mr. Ball, and that a special collection should be taken to cover the legal and medical expenses connected with the case.

THE VALUE OF A WOMAN'S LIFE.

In one column of the Scotsman recently three police cases were reported. Two of them were at the Edinburgh Police Court. In one, a man who sold a bicycle which had been lent him was sent to prison for thirty days; in the other, a man, for having in his possession half a ton of coals for which he could not satisfactorily account, was sent to gaol for sixty days. The third case, at Aberdeen Sheriff Court, was a charge of culpable homicide against a man who, in the course of an assault on his wife, pulled her backwards down a stair, fracturing her skull. He got off with two months' imprisonment. It might be unfair to draw from this the deduction that North of the Border the value of a woman's life is estimated at just about twice as much as a bicycle and about equal to half a ton of coal, but such a striking disparity between the crimes and the sentences certainly favour that view.—Truth, January 3.

LIBERAL SECESSIONS.

We learn that wholesale resignations are taking place amongst the members of the Mid-Oxfordshire Women's Liberal Association as the outcome of that association's recent attitude towards Woman Suffrage. This association, says The Standard (Woman's Platform), has been in existence twenty-one years, and during this period has included amongst its members some of the foremost women exponents of Liberal thought. It has had the practical support for many years of the wives and daughters of Liberal dons in Oxford University. Amongst the members who have recently seceded are Mrs. Sidney Ball ("Oona H. Ball"), wife of the Senior Tutor of St. John's College; Miss Sidgwick, daughter of Dr. Arthur Sidgwick, Fellow of Corpus Christi College; Miss Rhys and Miss O. Rhys, daughters of the Right Hon. Sir John Rhys, Principal of Jesus College; Miss Drummond, daughter of Dr. James Drummond, Principal of Manchester College; Mrs. Hughes, a Liberal councillor of the City of Oxford; Mrs. Lewis, the Misses E. and C. Lewis, Miss Mabel Rose and Miss Holda Dorn (the late honorary secretary). The feeling that has prompted this action is expressed in a letter from Mrs. Hughes to Mr. Adolphus Ballard, Liberal agent for Mid-Oxfordshire and secretary-elect of the association in question. In the course of which Mrs. Hughes says:—

"I have been a member of the Mid-Oxfordshire Women's Liberal Association since its formation twenty-one years ago, and was present at the original committee when the rules were drawn up. In those rules Woman Suffrage was included as one of the aims of the association. The Liberal men of the constituency have for many years passed resolutions in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and have more than once instructed their delegates to the National Liberal Federation to support it."

"Now that (by desire of the present Government) the question is before the constituencies, it is conceivable that the Liberal Party in Mid-Oxfordshire might go back on their steps, but that they refuse even to discuss the merits of the question is a blow to Liberal women of the constituency, and I, as one of them, have, with sincere sorrow, felt obliged to give up all support of the Liberal Party in Mid-Oxfordshire. . . . I feel that no other course is left open to me than to resign my membership."



Black kindly lent by the "Daily Mail." MR. WILLIAM BALL.

NO PEACE FOR CABINET MINISTERS!

Mr. Churchill confronted with Suffragettes on his Visit to Ireland.

Nemesis, in the shape of the suffragist—man or woman—dogs the steps of Cabinet Ministers. Mr. Winston Churchill's much discussed visit to Belfast is a noteworthy example, and it is well that he and others should realise that while Belfast spent £2,500 in getting soldiers to protect Mr. Churchill, the only people who made any real protest were the women. Mr. Churchill, it should be added, had bluntly refused to receive deputations from two Irish Suffrage Societies.

On the Boat.

A member of the W.S.P.U. sends us the following account of events in connection with Mr. Winston Churchill's visit to Belfast last week:

When we took our seats in the train for Belfast an official said, "You are on the same train as Mr. Churchill." Mrs. Carmichael asked, "Are there any Suffragettes on it?" He replied, "Oh no; we have taken great precautions against that." Presently Mr. Churchill came along with a great crowd; but, of course, we took no notice of him. As soon as we got to Stranorlar, he got on the boat and went straight to his private cabin. We went down into the ladies' cabin. Some time before we got to Larne, Mr. Churchill opened his cabin door, came out a little way, saw us, and then went back again. He was a little suspicious of Mrs. Churchill, we were the only two women on board.

Shortly before we reached Larne, he again came out of his cabin. We went up to him, and I said, "Mr. Churchill, we hear that you want to submit the question of Woman Suffrage to a Referendum. It is a very dishonest trick, Mr. Churchill." Mrs. Carmichael said, "How have you the face to advocate a Referendum for Women when you are not advocating it for Home Rule or other questions?" Mr. Churchill replied, "Well, I think it is a question which ought to be submitted to the people." Mrs. Carmichael said, "You remember a year ago, Mr. Churchill, when I spoke to you about the Conciliation Bill, you said that it was a bad Bill, and that you voted against it because it was not democratic. Now, when we are asking for a democratic measure, you try to get it killed by asking for a Referendum." He looked very foolish, and said, "Well, I never cared for the Conciliation Bill." I said then, "I don't believe you care for the Suffrage at all, Mr. Churchill." He replied, "I cannot say that I care about it." "You did not say that," I said, "at North-West Manchester, when you were in danger of losing your seat." "Well," he said, "you see you don't discriminate between your friends and your foes; you fight your friends as well as your foes." I said, "Well, our so-called friends in the Cabinet are in the majority, and they ought to assert themselves in our favour." Then the following dialogue took place:

Mrs. Carmichael: "I hear you had a long Cabinet meeting on Tuesday, over four hours? I hope you did something for us?"
Mr. Churchill: "We did not even mention the subject. I have got a long and important speech to make, and I cannot stay here."
Mrs. Carmichael shook him by the arm, and said, "Don't forget the women, Mr. Churchill." During the interview we understood Mr. Churchill to say something to the effect that there was a difference between Woman Suffrage and Home Rule, but it was too long a matter to discuss.

The Questions.

He then got into a first-class carriage in the train for Belfast. We had not been able to give him the questions which we wished to put; there was too great a crowd outside, boozing and cheering him, mostly boozing. So Mrs. Carmichael walked up to his compartment, and threw the list of questions into it; it fell at his feet. Then I threw a copy, which was also slung at his feet, and said, "There are some questions for you, Mr. Churchill." They were as follows:—

1. Do the Government, who profess to believe that a nation ought to govern itself, also believe that individuals should possess rights of self-government in the shape of the vote; and, if so, do they intend to introduce and carry a Bill giving to women in Ireland and in every other part of the kingdom the right to vote for the Parliament by which they are governed?
2. Will the Government, in drafting the Home Rule Bill, insert a clause providing that women shall vote for the proposed Irish Parliament? If such a clause is omitted from the Bill, will not that be a negation of the principles of justice and liberty, on which the Government profess that their Home Rule proposals are based?
3. If, while pressing forward a Home Rule Bill for men, the Government were to bring forward legislation giving the Parliamentary vote to women, both in Great Britain and Ireland, will not that be proof that their Home Rule policy is founded not on love of the principles of self-government, but simply and solely on a desire to buy the support of Mr. Redmond and his followers?
4. Does Mr. Churchill still adhere to his own statement that the Referendum is "a trick in order to gain time to lead the sheep again, a fair pretence to strike a fatal blow"? If so, why does he advocate the trick of submitting the question to a Referendum?
5. Does Mr. Churchill believe that Home Rule as well as Woman Suffrage should be submitted to a Referendum?

When we reached Belfast there was a great crowd, and Mr. Churchill was absolutely surrounded by detectives. I made a dash for him, and got within an inch of him, but a man pulled me back.

At the Meeting.

We were told that pledges not to interrupt would be required, but we got in to the meet-

ing without being asked for pledges. We were in the grand stand, so were under cover. The platform was long and filled with wires to carry the sound. The result was that whenever there was an uproar, on account of the women being ejected, the sounds went along the wires. We sent a wire to Mr. Churchill to begin with, asking him to make some reference to Woman Suffrage. We arranged to allow him ten minutes, and then we gave Home Rule to Irish women, Mr. Churchill? "she asked. Mr. Churchill replied that that would be a question for the Irish Parliament to decide. She was thrown out. After that the Suffragettes proceeded. We left about five minutes between each, so as to give Mr. Churchill time to get into the thread of his speech again. The interruptions were mostly about Home Rule for Irish women. As each woman interrupted she was ejected.

A lady on the platform told us that Mr. Churchill looked very nervous. We could hear that he began to stutter, although his speech was written down. We could not see him—the hall was so crowded. Each interruption was clearly heard all over the hall, and caused great excitement. Also, owing to the hall being densely packed, the ejections were very difficult. At five minutes' interval there followed six papers plaintively had it, all the carefully worked-up purple passages!

Mr. Churchill left by a special train. He was late in getting on the boat. There were with him six detectives and four Irish policemen (the latter accompanied him as far as Stranorlar). A crowd was boozing at him. He went straight to his cabin, and did not emerge until we reached Stranorlar.

The Tricolour.

He waited until the very end, until everybody had gone off. There was a long pause. Then he came, followed by Mrs. Churchill. Just as he got to the end of the gangway I rushed forward, and hit him across the face with a tricolour (folded, and without a staff), saying, "No Referendum for Women." He struck out at us. He had hardly taken two steps after this when Mrs. Carmichael did exactly the same thing. He looked absolutely murderous. Then the detectives began to hustle Mrs. Carmichael, and Mrs. Churchill cried, "Don't hurt her! It is all right." Then we had to hurry into our compartment. We had a crowd outside our carriage door; they were very friendly. Someone said, "He didn't give him half enough." We said, "We will give him more next time." The officials on the train, too, were all very nice to us. They kept coming to see if we had all we wanted.

An Irishwoman's Comment.

An Irish member writes:—"Except on the platform itself (reserved to men and a few women who put party before all things) we were represented everywhere. Mr. Churchill flinched, regarded his watch with a hurried worried, and the stewards wreaked their growing irritation on the later hecklers, who were struck, buffeted, and dragged across the backs of benches. It was not possible, however, that the vast audience was not unsympathetic. One man interjected as we went: 'We'll have to give it to them!' Several cried, 'What pluck! Don't hurt her!' and many interjected with overzealous stewards and appealed to the fair play. Irish audiences will not tolerate brutality to women. Outside we met with an ovation, distributed leaflets demanding Votes for Irish Women under Home Rule, and unfurled banners bearing the inscription, 'Women's vote for Home Rule.' The Suffragette leaders were the one topic of conversation in Belfast, having one completely before Mr. Churchill and the limelight. We await with eager interest future visits of Cabinet Ministers to Ireland."

In the Train for Glasgow.

Desiring to interview Mr. Churchill in the train between Stranorlar and Glasgow, Miss Frances Parker and Miss Ellison Gibb secured seats in the compartment next that reserved for him, and quietly awaited his arrival. Much interest was shown by the crowd, who loudly discussed whether the ladies were Suffragettes or not. Still greater interest was displayed by Mr. Churchill's friends and detectives when they appeared. They made a point of passing through the compartment, so as to have an opportunity of stating their opinions. While there was a constant procession of these gentlemen up and down the carriage, taking a good look at the women each time they passed, Mr. Churchill himself had a peep, but the Suffragettes remained quiet and calm. They what they were waiting for came to pass. Evidently unable to rest while suffering from such nervous anxiety, Mr. Churchill came boldly along and glared at the two women while speaking to another woman belonging to his party, who had come in beside them. Miss Parker then asked if she might speak to him. "What on?" he barked. "On Votes for Women." "No, I have had enough of that," he replied. Asked what the Government was going to do for women, he said: "For this behaviour you will not get the vote now," and walked on. Miss Parker continued speaking to him till pushed back into the carriage by the detectives.

"Remove this Woman!"

Peace regained once more till the men who were guarding the door were enticed into the

carriage and sat down to talk things over. In the midst of the conversation, Miss Parker suddenly darted out and tapped at Mr. Churchill's window, followed by the detectives, she was pushed further up the corridor, and Miss Gibb took her position at the door and quietly waited events. Mrs. Churchill came out and appealed to her to go away, as her husband had had no rest for forty-eight hours and he was getting little sleep. The attempt to give the information that there were women in Holloway who were getting even less sleep was interrupted by Mr. Churchill opening the door and demanding: "What's all this?" "The only statement I will give you is go away, woman!" He seemed then worked up into a hysterical condition and poured forth abuse on Miss Gibb for some time. "Intolerable!" "Respectable woman!" "You are a low woman!" were some of his expressions, even stronger words being used which would have been more appropriate to a starboard battle than to move this woman!" "What's all this?" "Respectable woman!" He ended up with, "Remove this woman! He ended up with only time to remind him the women would stand no more trickery, that a Government Bill was demanded, and that the Referendum could be tried on Home Rule but fair play must be had for the women.

Then the Hon. E. E. T. Finnes, M.P. for Banbury, courageously came to point out the evil of their ways to the Suffragettes, and stayed for a long talk. He explained that he was an Anti-Suffrage Liberal, and that the Suffrage agitation should be carried on. He said they were doing great harm to their own cause. For instance, there were two Members of Parliament travelling to Glasgow with Suffragettes, but on account of the women's behaviour on this journey they were now anti-Suffragists and would work against Woman Suffrage. He declined to give their names, but the newspapers say that besides Mr. P. Whyte, M.P. for Perth, and Mr. T. H. Greenwood, M.P. for Sunderland. This long talk was stopped at intervals for excursions along the corridor to remind Mr. Churchill that women must have the vote in 1912. Miss Parker was so successful in getting past the detectives that Mr. Finnes complimented her on being a splendid scout, and said if ever he had to go to war he would engage her.

At the various stations people were collected demanding a speech from Mr. Churchill. But the speech was always punctuated with remarks on Votes for Women.

MRS. GREIG'S ARREST.

On Friday Suffragettes were in wait for Mr. Churchill at the Central Hotel, Glasgow, to catch him on his way to the luncheon at the Clyde Navigation Trust Offices. A corporation motor-car was standing at the entrance to take some guests to this lunch. Just as it was starting off, Mrs. Greig struck the window with her muff, completely smashing it. She was immediately arrested and taken into the hotel. After Mr. Churchill's departure she was taken to the Central Police Station. After the charge was taken down, on giving her word of honour not to molest Mr. Churchill during this visit and to appear at court when summoned, she was allowed to go free.

At Euston.

Although Mr. Churchill left Glasgow by the night train, and was expected to arrive in London at 11, the train was only five minutes late in arriving, and although, after some little delay, Mrs. Churchill alighted and drove off, almost an hour passed, detectives, railway officials, and suffragettes waiting before Mr. Churchill appeared. Two policemen had been hurriedly fetched by a porter, and while a woman approached, saying, "The women of the country will not have a Referendum, Mr. Churchill," the police stood on guard. Mr. Churchill turned to the detective and said, "Don't let that woman get away." As he walked to his taxi he was reminded by a man that women wanted votes this year, and then Miss Lennox rushed forward and said, "We have an opportunity of stating our opinion, Mr. Churchill." He turned and looked at her, and made an inaudible reply, whereupon she said, "You are a coward and a traitor." He immediately told the police to seize her, and she was hurried out of the station. In the meantime the two women who were waiting, and again rushed forward, and it was surprising to see what with fear Mr. Churchill stepped back, his companion stood in front to protect her, and police and detectives seized her, who was also hurried away from the station. At this time Mr. Churchill was apparently not aware that a man, walking along almost shoulder to shoulder with him, was pointing to remind him of the women's claim. Also waiting to the women, who were being taken from the station, the man said: "Are you not ashamed of yourself, sir, to think that women should be treated like that on your account?" Mr. Churchill became very red, and said, "If you are not careful, I will knock you down." His companion, who was presumably a Scotland Yard attendant, threatened to use his stick,

but Mr. Churchill muttered something which sounded like "No, no; don't do anything." Again this male champion said, "It is most humiliating that you, in your great position, should be the cause of such vulgar brutality to women." At this juncture a taxi cab arrived, into which Mr. Churchill hurriedly stepped, and left the station.

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL.

Mr. Herbert Samuel addressed the Bournemouth Liberal and Radical Association in their Town Hall under somewhat distressing circumstances on Thursday evening last.

Then Sir H. Glanville introduced to us the Postmaster-General, who, beginning his speech with some reference to Liberal principles, was immediately interrupted by a man in the front row of the gallery on his left asking him if he would be true to Liberal principles and give votes to women? The startled Minister stood dumb, while the man continuing, said, "Women who are in prison to-day are there because they are fighting for Liberal principles." Many Bournemouth Liberals clearly sympathised, for among the cries of "Shut up!" "Sit down!" and "Put him out!" which now arose, were some very distinct "No, no!" and "Let the man alone!" "I resent woman being treated in that way because I am a Liberal," he went on, pointing the finger of reproach at the now distracted Postmaster-General. The babel of confused directions from the platform and the audience made it difficult to catch his further utterance, while the conflicting cries along the galleries themselves into a fierce demand to turn him out, and a counter request to leave him alone. For a few minutes the stewards remained uncertain how to act, till at last the deadly logic of the man continued the removal, and amid renewed militant action. She then spoke very earnestly of the different forms of inspiration which make women offer themselves, and pointed out that there was no deliverance except by renunciation and sacrifice.

At the close of her address there was a dramatic moment when Miss Brackenbury from the Upper Circle appealed to the women in the audience to rise now and follow their leaders, and numbers in the audience stood up to signify their intention of taking part in the next protest.

UNREPENTANT MILITANTS.

When, at the Steinyway Hall on Thursday last, Miss Christabel Pankhurst pointed out that militancy was an absolute necessity, and more necessary now than ever, her words found an echo in the hearts of many of her hearers. Votes for Women, said Miss Pankhurst, was much more discussed than Home Rule, even though Mr. Redmond had his eighty votes in the House of Commons and the women's only weapon was militancy!

She then called upon Miss Naylor, who had the most enthusiastic welcome. In the course of her speech she said that though she had done militant action she yet felt for everyone who had shirked and made excuses before undertaking it; nevertheless, her advice to them was to go on pushing themselves up to the fence and at last to leap over. Someone once said, "Tell farmers to put knots in their cotton." Women had lost a great many things because they had not secured answers—they come to make a distance. During the last decade women had got some economic independence, but the Government stopped it now and again and took away some of it. She viewed with great concern the idea of limiting the rich at schools to domestic things. Why should girls of the middle class be taught to manage and instead of being educated in a general and all-round way as boys were? This was another proof of the need of the vote. Just because they had not got security in the first place, they were coming in, and women must be ready, because if depended on them whether they made use of the tide or not. Victor Hugo said that the Nineteenth Century would see the rights of woman—she believed the Twentieth would see woman entering into her rights. In a few moments she concluded: "The cause will succeed in proportion to the number of women who will lay down their lives for it," and she appealed to the audience to follow their own ideals, not those of somebody else. "Do him, lying in the shadow of a door, while he recovered, they led him with kindly help to the cooler air outside, with expressions of indignation at his rough treatment.

MISS MALECKA.

The trial of Miss Kate Malecka, who, it will be remembered, was imprisoned on a vague political charge, began before the Warsaw High Court on February 13, the case being tried in an open court. This is the first time since the existence of the Russian Courts in Warsaw that a political case has not been heard behind closed doors. Miss Malecka, who pleaded not guilty, was released on bail. Her case will probably come on early in May.

Mrs. Eve Murray, of Hertford, writes to state that though she is a woman ratepayer to nine years' standing, she has never seen any of the ballot papers on Woman Suffrage which are said to have been sent to women in all parts of the country.

AT THE LONDON PAVILION.

A thrill of horror and indignation ran through the audience at the London Pavilion on Monday afternoon, when Miss Pankhurst told of the atrocity (a full account of which will be found on another page) practised by the Government on Mr. Ball. She pointed out that when women had the vote they would never stand the things that men have stood. Passing to the current political situation, she announced that if there were no declaration of friendship in Mr. Asquith's speech at the opening of Parliament, there would be a protest, not only to secure Votes for Women in 1912, but that the Government might be taught that women are determined to continue the fight for their rights. Mrs. Brailsford also referred to the case of Mr. Ball. Surely, she said, it was not a case for women suffragists only, but a case for every woman and for every party woman to take up. Indeed, this was a time for every woman and every party man to come outside their parties, and say, "We cannot allow this sort of thing to go on. Women had gone on trusting, generating after generation, but trust was no good when you were a woman striving with men in the labour market or in the professions. Since the holidays there had been several Cabinet meetings, but it had been impossible to discover what went on there. There had been nothing but flouting rumours, nothing definite, yet women felt the most profound distrust. There were, however, many signs that the cause was progressing, and even if all the powers of darkness were against it women need not fear, for their cause was right and just.

Mrs. Patricia Lawrence, after referring in stirring terms to the atrocity at Pentonville, and emphasising the fact that it is no use looking for justice from those opposed to the movement, went on to show how important it is for every woman to enroll herself as a member of the movement. Even more important was it, she said, that those convinced of the great need of the vote should take their share in militant action. She then spoke very earnestly of the different forms of inspiration which make women offer themselves, and pointed out that there was no deliverance except by renunciation and sacrifice.

At the close of her address there was a dramatic moment when Miss Brackenbury from the Upper Circle appealed to the women in the audience to rise now and follow their leaders, and numbers in the audience stood up to signify their intention of taking part in the next protest.

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was entertained to luncheon at the Women's City Club, Louisville, on Tuesday, January 23, and created something of a sensation by telling her hearers that they were no further advanced than the Chinese and Turks whom they held in contempt. "You are," said Miss Pankhurst, "the most backward nation in the Western world, and here in Missouri you have the most backward State." She cited cases to prove her statement and showed that the evils resulting from low wages and the unjust economic conditions under which women lived in that city were worse than existed elsewhere, and she earnestly appealed to the women of St. Louis to take suffrage seriously and to put it before everything else, pointing out that they could not afford to create dissension and weaken their organisation by taking sides on other matters or by following fads. She reminded them that after they had the right of the ballot they could turn their attention to questions concerning their welfare and that of society in general.

OUR RELEASED PRISONERS.

At eight o'clock on Saturday morning, a number of friends gathered outside the gates of Holloway to welcome the twelve brave women who were due to be released after their two months' imprisonment. Their appearance was the signal for loud cheers, and having been greeted they were hurried into the two decorated buses, which conducted them to the Gardemia Restaurant, where they were welcomed by Miss Pankhurst and Mrs. Tuke and entertained to breakfast. They were eager to hear the latest news, and especially to learn the date of the next protest. Six women were released on Monday morning, and all will be welcomed to a special dinner at the Connaught Rooms to-night. Particulars of this will be found under "Announcements" (page 302). These women have come out of Holloway more determined than ever to go on in this fight, and they are convinced as never before that nothing but military will gain the day.

MR. HOBHOUSE AT TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

We have received the following letter, criticising our report of Mr. Hobhouse's visit to Tunbridge Wells, in VOTES FOR WOMEN of February 2:—

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Sir and Madam,—My attention has been drawn to your report, in your issue of February 2, of the meeting arranged by the League of Young Liberals, and addressed by Mr. Hobhouse. Kindly allow me to make one or two corrections.

You say: "Women were only admitted by ticket and were required to sign pledges not to give them to Suffragettes." The latter half of the sentence is totally untrue. Women were admitted by invitation and ticket only, but they were not required to sign any pledge whatever. There were at least 500 women at the meeting, so that the facts could easily have been ascertained.

The story of the lady who had her ticket inspected seven times, etc., was no doubt interesting to your readers, but I have absolutely failed to confirm it, although I know every steward personally. It may be your correspondent obtained the information concerning this from the same source as she procured that regarding the pledge signed by women before admission.

Your second paragraph amused me greatly. You say, "On leaving he (Mr. Hobhouse) hurried to his car amid a chorus of 'No Manhood Suffrage for us! Votes for Women! but in the Bill'." Does your correspondent mean to say that Mr. Hobhouse was left together, and a large crowd waited, and gave them a magnificent "send off." As the car moved off four women crept up to the edge of the crowd and presumably said the "inspiring" and "damaging" words which one of them must certainly have reported to you, for their nearest neighbour could not have heard a sound in the tremendous cheering which was going on, and which continued until the car was out of sight. A little later I saw three of the ladies talking together a few yards from the hall and looking very disconsolate, and well they might for they had fortunately absolutely failed to "demoralise" in their now well-known manner, either inside or outside the hall! I suppose, however, they had to make the best of a bad case when they reported to their official organ.

As I am sure you only wish to publish accurate news and give a correct and sensible report of your doings, I trust you will insert this letter in your next issue.—Yours, etc.,

FRANK B. BENDING.
Hon. Sec. Tunbridge Wells Branch League of Young Liberals.
40, Napier Road, Tunbridge Wells, February 6, 1912.

On receiving the above we forwarded a copy to our correspondent at Tunbridge Wells, asking her to reply to the various points raised. It seems to have been clearly understood that there was a pledge. A Liberal woman, among others, informed our correspondent that she would have to sign a pledge not to give her ticket to a Suffragette, and that she had been told by a responsible person (whose name is given) that she would have to give the names of anyone else to whom tickets were to go, with a promise to make no distinction. Our correspondent says: "There is no doubt that no ticket was given to a woman unless she promised." She further adds: "I saw the ticket with her name on it so that she should not pass it on, and she was the woman who told me it had been seven times inspected, and that one of the stewards wrote the number of her seat upon it." This Liberal woman has, we understand, withdrawn from her Liberal Association as a result of this meeting, which shows her to be a member of the membership of that and the W.S.P.U. was incompatible. The local press made it very clear that extraordinary precautions were taken to keep Suffragists out. The local Courier, January 26, says, "Previous to the meeting, parties of organisers even visited the cellars in order to make certain that no Suffragists were lurking in the building." And as our correspondent truly says, "If such free admission to the meeting was allowed to women as Mr. Bending asserts, why would any woman attempt to hide there?"

Mr. Bending further criticises our report as to Mr. Hobhouse's send-off. Our correspondent says, "There was at no time a large crowd. What shouting there was was done to shout us down in a perfectly amiable manner. I was in the second row of the crowd, such as it was, and should have been right in front but for three or four men who came out of the hall and stood in a row in front." When I began to shout one of these nudged the other, and said, "They are here," and the leader I shouted the louder they shouted." She adds: "None of us ever 'crept' anywhere."—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MR. BIRELL AT GLASGOW.

Mr. Birell was the guest of Friday evening at the dinner given at the Glasgow University Union. Men only were present. It was a very mild night and all the windows were open, so Miss Parker, Miss McDiarmid, and Miss Gibb contented themselves with throwing in a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN and calling out messages to Mr. Birell till all the windows were closed. As there were many windows, this took some time, and Mr. Birell was assured that if he forgot the woman he might be sure they would not forget him.



A FIRE BRIGADE OF GIRLS. The girl workers at Messrs. Carr's factory, New Southgate, take great interest in the firm's private fire brigade. Inset is a demonstration of rescue work by the brigade.

NEWS FROM AMERICA.

Despite the roar and bustle of the Presidential campaign says the New York Correspondent of the *Leith Independent*, American suffragettes are missing no opportunity of placing their case before the voters, and as there will be State elections in the majority of the States of the Union next November as well as the Presidential election the women are endeavouring to get the question of Woman's Suffrage submitted to the electors.

TWO FINE CONCERTS.

Lovers of music must be grateful for the courage and enterprise shown by the Solly Quartette, on the evening of Jan. 20, at the Bechstein Hall, when the opportunity was given of hearing well and artistically rendered two quartettes by Vincent d'Indy (op. 45 and op. 7), and other items of the modern French school. The exacting demands of the music were well met by the members of the quartette (Miss Solly, Treacher, Bell and Izard), and songs by Dvorak, and Brahms were rendered by Miss Marguerite Le Mans, a further interesting novelty being "Four American Indian Songs," by G. W. Cadman, founded on real tribal songs. The young pianist, Milles Antoinette Wileid, assisted in the second quartette, and gave a truly delightful rendering of "Les Baigneuses au Soleil," by Sévécac, and "Helvetia," by V. d'Indy.

The matinee of singing and recitation given by Miss Helen Henschel and Miss Pamela Coleman Smith on January 16 was an artistic treat. The programme was interesting and original. Miss Henschel sang a group of English songs, including the new and charming "To-morrow" (by Henschel), French songs by Debussy and other moderns, with her usual charm and skill, playing, moreover, her own accompaniments as only a musician can. The negro songs, an innovation in a concert of this kind, were delightful. One is grateful for the opportunity of hearing these characteristic pathetic songs artistically rendered. A novel interlude to the singing was provided by Miss Coleman Smith's quaint West Indian stories.

AT BELFAST.

The officials were much perturbed by a rumour that Miss Christabel Pankhurst was present, and went round anxiously looking for her.

—The Globe.

BOOKS AND PLAYS.

HANNAH MORE.*

In the later half of the eighteenth and first of the nineteenth centuries the moral position of women may be said to have reached that point where the long lane begins to turn. It was the age of the Blue Stockings, one of the most notable examples of whom was Hannah More.

Miss Meakin has endeavoured to give the public, not so much a "Life" of this striking woman as a "biographical study of her life and times." Hannah More had the somewhat rare qualities of a broad and tolerant mind combined with that of fervent and deep evangelical piety. The breadth of her mind can well be gauged by the fact that two of her most intimate friends were David and Mrs. Garrick, the latter having been a professional dancer, and her religion that of the Roman Church. Those interested in psychological study will find food for reflection in the curious fact that, with all her close friendship with the Garricks, and after having written various Plays, Miss More should have inveighed so strongly against theatre-going. It was "not to be defended on strict Christian principles."

This curious fact, perhaps, gives us the keynote to the reason which prevented her from being a whole-hearted supporter and sympathiser of the movement among women, which even in those days was beginning to make its stirrings felt. A friend of Wilberforce, a keen supporter of the Abolition Movement, yet she seems, owing to the somewhat narrow and limited outlook engendered by the puritanical evangelicism of her day, and her adherence to the same, and, in spite of her otherwise tolerant mind, to have been prevented from fully understanding the significance of the writings, for instance, of such a one as Mary Wollstonecraft. "It was, no doubt, of her that she was thinking," says the author, "when she wrote: 'One who wanders far from the limits prescribed for her sex.'" Hannah More had not entirely shaken herself free from the "duty and limitation" theory. However, we think Miss Meakin has nicely expressed it in saying that had she lived to-day she would not have been a Militant, but would have joined with the Moderates.

In spite of her caution, this clever woman was distinctly a forerunner of the better type of woman to come; and to the devoted work and energy of her sister and herself we owe the foundation of education for the children of the labouring classes.

In conclusion, it is interesting to learn from this book that it was a woman, a certain Lady Middleton, who first enlisted the interest and sympathy of Wilberforce on behalf of the negro slaves. Miss Meakin has drawn for us a sympathetic picture of a personality of whom we can truly say that she made the world a better place by living in it.

K. Douglas Smith.

ITALY.

The name of Yoshio Markino is a name to conjure with. Buyers of this book will have the joy of possessing nearly one hundred illustrations by this wonderful artist. Eight are beautiful colour plates, the remainder in equally delightful half-tone and line drawings. This is a joy for the lovers of the beautiful and of Italy. They illustrate the account of knowingly chosen wanderings through Umbria and Central Italy, with excursions to Ravenna and Ancona, ending at Rome. (Only a few pages are devoted to Rome by way of closing the pilgrimage.) The written chronicle gives a fair amount of information, scattered casually through much enthusiasm for the beauties of Italy.

SHORT REVIEWS.

If we turn to the preface of the bulky volume of "Verse for Young People," compiled by Alfred Miles (Stanley Paul, 2s. 6d. net.), we find that in his book "the serious purpose which underlies all education is clothed in cheerfulness; and truth, which is the end of all study, is spoken in love," and the purchaser of "A Garland of Verse" will never regret the expended half-crown. Those who cannot afford even that modest sum may still possess themselves of portions of the work, for it is procurable in sections of 16pp., at one penny each.

Suffragettes will be interested in a little booklet which has been issued by the International Suffrage Shop, at the price of 6d. It consists of the final chapter of a remarkable book: "La Femme et le Peuple," by Léonie Rouzard, the veteran feminist and socialist worker in France. The greater part of the book consists of an exposition of Socialism, but of greatest interest to us is the concluding part, which demands the same rights for women as for men:—"There is no inequality between the sexes; there is difference. I should therefore demand for women the same comfort, the same independence, the same education, and the same rights as for men."

Thomas Love Peacock; might be called the Bernard Shaw of the early nineteenth century. A satirical writer of high order, a determined opposer of sham emotions and fake prejudices, he is not without his message for present times. Messrs. Herbert and Daniel have issued a pleasing and handy little volume in the Regent Library series, giving extracts from some of Peacock's most notable works. "The Sleeping Venus," an extremely witty and satirical extract from "Crochet Hall," will commend itself to readers of "Votes for Women."

"Hannah More." By Annetta M. B. Meekin. London: Smith, Elder, 14s. 6d. net. "A Little Pilgrimage in Italy." By Olive M. Potter. Illustrated by Yoshio Markino. Price 12s. 6d. net. "Thomas Love Peacock." By W. H. Helen. London: Herbert and Daniel, 2s. 6d. net.

"THE PIGEON."

In a little play being performed at the Royalty Theatre Mr. Galsworthy has held the mirror up to life with a faithfulness that is seldom equalled on the stage. As a result we have portrayed before us paths and humour, and, above all, human nature.

No one can go and see the play without getting something good out of it; the serious person will be forced to smile; the shallow person though he will have many a laugh will come away feeling there is something more behind; the theorist will be compelled to recognise that no theory is big enough to meet life as a whole. Those whose interest is in human nature itself will realise that they are in the presence of a master craftsman whose profound understanding springs from a big heart and a big brain.

All the characters are delightful and are well sustained. Mr. Whitford Kane as the artist whose generosity is not tempered with discretion, Mr. Wilfrid Shine as the reprobate old cabman, Mr. Dennis Eadie as the indigent French philosopher, Miss Gladys Cooper as the artist's daughter, and Miss Margaret Morris as the violet-seller could not have been better. As to the minor parts we are inclined to suspect that Mr. Frank Vernon as Mr. Calway is intended to represent the author himself; if so he certainly is not spared the criticism attaching to the theoretical reformer. We recommend all our readers to go and see for themselves.

WOMEN WRITERS.

A delightful matinee was given at the New Prince Theatre last Friday by the Women Writers' Suffrage League. The enthusiasm of the audience testified to the acceptable character of all the items, which from beginning to end were of a most attractive character. The programme opened with an Overture, "The Dawn of Victory" (composed expressly for the League by Selwyn Lloyd), after which Miss Eva Moore, who was received with enthusiastic applause, spoke a delightful "Fore Word," arranged by Miss Cicely Hamilton. Then followed a comedy in one act by Miss Elizabeth Baker, the clever author of "Chains," in which the principal part was taken by Miss Janette Steer. The sketch told how the relatives of a deceased draper find themselves left out of his will in favour of a daughter of whom they have long ago lost sight. This daughter is Edith, who comes back and makes herself known to them as a successful woman of business, with shops in Paris, Vienna, Monte Carlo and elsewhere. Their astonishment that the business should have been left to her is only equalled by the meek and humble way in which they ally to do her bidding, and take from her whatever crumbs of comfort and prosperity she chooses to bestow on them. There is delightful humour in the tiresome and unreasoning lamentations of the widow, and a great deal of common sense in the dialogue. Songs by Miss Marta Cunningham, and ever-welcome violoncello solos by Miss Elizabeth Robins' fine play, "Votes for Women," speaker's Dream," produced by Mr. Guyton Heath, in which the heroines of Shakespeare's plays appear to the sleeping Master, each one speaking a few words appropriate to her character. The cast included such popular players as Miss Marion Terry, Mr. Courtoise Pounds, Miss Edyth Olive, Mrs. Leslie Carter, Miss Frances Dillon, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Alice Crawford, Mrs. Saba Raleigh, Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Eva Moore, Miss Inez Bensussan, and Miss Adeline Bourne and many others. The Organising Committee are to be greatly congratulated on the brilliant success of the afternoon's entertainment.

A PRISON SKETCH.

One of the features of the programme at the Coliseum is a sketch entitled "Helping the Cause," in which Mrs. Langtry appears as a member of the "Women's Non-yielding Society." The curtain goes up on a prison cell in Holloway Gaol, into which Lady Victoria Vanderville, who has been sentenced to fourteen days' imprisonment for breaking a window at the police station, is being shown by a wardress. Her adventures in prison end very satisfactorily. The suffrage movement seems to be everywhere!

American suffragists have just launched a theatrical company to present suffrage plays. The idea originated with Mrs. Marie Jenny Howe (Mrs. Howe, it will be remembered, gave an amusing "Anti" speech at the Steinway Hall), who thinks the public are tired of speeches, and need to have their suffrage arguments presented in the form of dramatic situations. Among the members of the company are our old friends, Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson (now Mrs. Hale), Miss Elizabeth Freeman and Miss Inez Mithelland.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Future of England." By Hon. Geo. Peel. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 6s. net. "The Referendum Among the English." By Samuel Robertson Honey. London: Macmillan and Co. Price 2s. 6d. net. "Felix Christie." By Peggy Webbing. London: Methuen. Price, 6s. "Among the Eskimos of Labrador." By Dr. S. K. Hutton. Seeley Service and Co. Price 16s. net. "My Adventures Among South Sea Cannibals." By Douglas Romie. Seeley Service and Co. Price, 16s. net.

A COLONIAL BISHOP'S VIEWS. A Message to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

I am one of those who believe in Votes for Women, and my belief is founded upon my faith, which teaches me that "in Christ there is neither male nor female." A long experience of other lands confirms me in my belief that both men and women will be benefited when women are recognised as our equals; but I have little hope of such recognition until women have equal power.

I have often listened to discussions by men on "The Woman Question," and have heard some strange ideas set forth by men—for instance, the whole subject of the relationship between European men and the women of Oriental and primitive peoples; but I notice that the arguments are mostly entirely one-sided—the rights of woman are not considered at all. I may or may not approve of all the "tactics" of those who are most anxious to secure Votes for Women, but I am not so very ignorant of history as to be unaware of the struggles men were obliged to go through in earlier days when claiming their rights. Whatever else you have done you have made the whole Empire think, and that is something.

I want to see you possessed of power, for I hope that you will use it to protect womanhood, not only in your own land, but "beyond the seas."

I want to see you possessed of power, so that when such as myself come home and tell of the doings of some men—some men, thank God, not by any means all men—we shall get a hearing and a hope of redress. Nowadays, with men only in power, we are so easily "put off" by excuses readily made by men for men. Then I hope you will use your power as mothers in demanding guarantees from those who seek your daughters in marriage—guarantees which, in many cases, will not be forthcoming.

I hope as mothers and as full-powered citizens you will send us men taught to respect women.

I hope, in fine, as women you will raise us men, and whatever you do now, or whatever you wish to do you will do with greater effect when you have more power—equal powers with us.

More and more are politics becoming important. But in politics no one is listened to if he (or she) has no vote.

UPWARD.

By Teresa Eurén.

(Translated from the Swedish by Elizabeth Göthlin.)

In the distant South, in a mountain land, The story is told, of a Paradise grand, That is hid near the highest peak, But only the blameless and earnest soul Can attain, of all those who seek. Both tollsome and dear is the long dark way, But hand joined in hand, it is said, some day— All they, whom creed and race divide, Shall seek together; at last their eyes Shall gaze on the light that ever lies On the upper heights, and each pass they win Shall be as a gift, as a lamp within, To the youngest and last in the chain.

Among our burden'd kindred goes a story, That somewhere lies a height we all can gain; But they must have—who wish to see its glory— The will, both strong and instant to attain. The ridge grows dark, the night fall comes apace, The hosts to whom we pointed out the way Shall far above us see the sun's bright face, Gaze far across the wide stretched meadows gay; See the undreamt of, never ending spaces, The view not darkened by our narrow bounds; Hear how the pure winds of the summits sing, And find Life's source, youth's everlasting spring, The Paradise which all our hearts desire.

And therefore our strife is both hopeful and glad, As jointly right onward we go; Our chain it has girdled the whole world around, Time nears, when we conquer our foe. We have wander'd afar in the valleys deep, But it ends that wandering long, We grope our way upward by chasm and steep, And greet one another with song. We greet one another in darkness e'en yet, Give the watchword from friend unto friend, "It dawns! It dawns! It draws towards the morning watch!" All hail! Unborn heirs of the end!

FROM A PIONEER.

Let us be strong and united. Let others boast of their extensive numbers; let us be possessed of the intensive spirit that alone avails to win the battle. We are not moderate—we don't want to be moderate. It is the zealots, the enthusiasts in every movement who do the fighting, and face the storm. It is the moderate people who gather the fruits of victory, and remain under shelter till the storm has rolled by. We have undertaken a mighty work—to make a breach in the moss-grown, but now crumbling walls of ignorance and prejudice, that women may march through, and go hand in hand with men towards a true democracy. A mighty work indeed—but is it not an incomparable reward? And are we to faint by the way? The path is strewn with thorns and thistles; but suffering has always been the badge of the reformer. Are we to shrink from wearing it?—Mrs. Lloyd Thomas.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

It is reported that various preparations are being made for the opening of the Provincial Assembly in Canton. Members are to be elected by popular vote, and suffrage rights are to be extended to women, who are also eligible for membership, the qualification being that they shall be over twenty-one years of age, either graduates of girls' high schools, or teachers in elementary schools for over three years.

A number of highly educated women from a school in the north of China are at present studying military tactics and shooting in Shanghai, with the view to fighting under the Revolutionary flag. And yet it is said that women cannot fight!

A correspondent writes to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence that the Chinese women of Shanghai have proposed forming a Woman Suffrage Society. "Judging from the outlook here," the letter adds, "it seems the Chinese women will have the vote before the women of England get it."

A Special Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph has been making enquiries as to the working of the "three-shift system" in a mining village. This is what he says about the miners' wives:—"I walked on, and in a mile or two I came upon a mining village. It had no pretensions to beauty, but in the house I was invited to enter there was a bright fire burning, and the little woman who welcomed me was as clean and neat as a new pin. After the manner of many of her sex, she was resigned, accepting her lot without any recrimination; yet there are fortnights when she rises at four o'clock in the morning, and is at work until midnight. 'It's twelve, often, by the time you tidy up and that,' she exclaimed, simply. She serves meals in an mending procession—a breakfast at two for the heavier who 'goes down' at three in the morning; something at five for the boy on the 'fore shift,' from half-past five till two; dinner for the hewer back from the pit at ten; dinner for the boy going on the one-to-nine shift at midday; and supper for the boy who goes on the night shift from ten till four, and comes home hungry at that untimely hour. That is roughly a summary of the position. 'Tired!' she said, 'I have no time to be tired. There's water to be got ready for them when they come in 'clarty,' and their boots to scrape and brush—they're polished at the week-end—and there's their clothes to 'dad'—that's to knock against the wall to get the dirt off—and all their washing. I'm never done. Pots and pans and boots and dishes—I'm never away from it! I left the woman laughing at the absurdity of man-made mine administration, and walked down the row of houses. Outside one of them was an elderly woman. 'I asked her about the three-shift system. 'The meat's never off the table,' she said, briefly; 'it's a dog's life for a woman.'"

Mrs. Assheton Harbord, who has just been awarded the Royal Aero Club challenge cup presented by Mr. John Dunville for the longest aggregate distance covered by balloon in three consecutive years, is one of the best-known women balloonists, the Manchester Guardian reminds us. In 1908 she won the Krambs Cup for the longest voyage by balloon in England—London to Driffield, in Yorkshire. For the Aero Club challenge cup she went from Hurlingham, to Hagen, in Westphalia, in 1909; in 1910 she made a cross-channel flight to La Chatre (Department Indre) in France; and on December 29 she went from Penbrooke Dock to Witham, Essex, a distance of nearly 250 miles. This was the longest balloon voyage ever made in England. On each occasion Mrs. Harbord's pilot was Mr. C. E. Fullock. Other women balloonists include Mrs. Griffith Brewer, who was the first balloonist to cross the Channel; Mrs. Moore Brabson (formerly Miss Krabbe), Miss Gertrude Bacon, Mrs. Capper, and Mrs. Hild Nicholl, who (as Miss Vera Butler) was one of the founders of the Aero Club. Mrs. Maurice Henriot, wife of the novelist, was the first Englishwoman to obtain the Royal Aero Club's pilot aviator certificate. Mrs. Assheton Harbord made her hundredth ascent in June.

The Standard (Woman's Platform) publishes the following note from a correspondent keenly interested in the endeavours being made to improve the conditions of women in the East:—"A movement is in progress among the women of Turkey to emancipate themselves from the trammels of tradition. The first step is to obtain a more liberal education, and efforts are now being made to establish a school for the higher education of girls of the upper class. In order to study the various educational institutions in this country, Mrs. Bala-t-din, a pioneer among the Turkish women, has come over to this country. She has recently visited Cambridge, and proposes during the coming term to study at Bedford College for Women."

According to the Near East, Roumania will shortly have its own suffrage paper. It will be named Drepturile Femeii (The Rights of Women), and the Editor is Mme. de Reus Janculescu.

We are glad to see that Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont, the leader of the woman's suffrage movement amongst society women of New York, intends to start a woman's daily paper, because, she declares, "women's work is not fairly represented in the existing Press." The journal will be managed entirely by women.

The French Chamber passed on January 22 a law which allows an unmarried mother to fix some of the responsibility of their common offence on the partner of her guilt, or, as is too often the case, the guilty betrayer.

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London Society of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 58, Victoria Street, S.W. PUBLIC RECEPTION Tuesday, February 20, at the EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON (High Street Station), from 3.30 to 6 p.m. Chair: Miss Clementina Black. Speakers: The LADY FRANCES BALFOUR, MISS H. D. COCKLE on "Christine of Pisan," and MRS. MAY WRIGHT BEWALL. Discussion invited.

The Women's Social and Political Union.

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"We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men."

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1912. WE SHALL FIGHT!

The Government, in the King's Speech, repeat their announcement of a Reform Bill for men only. A strong militant protest on the part of women is the inevitable reply to this insulting and menacing proposal. Women must now fight for their political lives. They must force upon the Government the direct responsibility for carrying Woman Suffrage. This has from the first been the object of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Government are making a pretence of concession to the demand of the Union by undertaking to assume responsibility for the Woman Suffrage clause on condition that the House of Commons shall first decide to add it to the Reform Bill.

While we regard this so-called offer by the Government as an encouragement to continue our militant campaign, we realise that it gives us no guarantee of the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in the Reform Bill. If the Government really expected and intended that the procedure they propose should lead to the enfranchisement of women, they would be equally willing to take the more statesmanlike and dignified course of including a Woman Suffrage clause in the Reform Bill before its introduction.

The excuse that the Prime Minister and a minority of the Cabinet are opposed to Woman Suffrage is not to be taken seriously. It is obvious enough that the two sections of the Cabinet are playing into each other's hands, and it is well known that the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George between them planned the introduction of a Reform Bill for men only. The Government count upon the defeat of the amendment, and if it should not be defeated then there are other tricks in reserve which they can play unless we can compel them to stake their life and reputation as a Government upon the successful settlement of this question.

Let us re-state the reasons why the Government anticipate the defeat of the amendment. They know, as we know, that being an amendment to a Government measure, and being framed to enfranchise millions of women, the amendment will not attract Unionist support. This loss of Unionist support would be quite immaterial if the amendment had the united support of the Coalition forces. Such united support it would secure if, instead of being an amendment, the proposal for Woman Suffrage formed an integral part of the Government measure. But if the proposal is embodied in an amendment,

upon which the fate of the Government does not depend, then it will not have the whole Coalition behind it. For the 66 Liberal and Nationalist Anti-Suffragist Members of Parliament will be free to vote with the regular Opposition, and as their votes count 132 on a division, the result will be that the Coalition majority of 118 will be wiped out, and the supporters of the amendment be left in the minority.

Another most serious point is that unless Woman Suffrage is a Government measure there is no compulsion upon any Member to be present to vote in its favour. If the fate of the Government as well as of women were at stake, Members of Parliament belonging to the Coalition would see that their absence did not cause the Government's downfall. But so long as the life of the Government (and their own seats) is perfectly safe, their zeal for the cause of Woman Suffrage may be insufficient to take them to the House of Commons if there is some other call upon them which would take them elsewhere. We can afford to cherish no illusions with regard to such a matter as this.

For certain persons to talk as they do about Woman Suffrage being "a House of Commons matter" is folly, if not worse. The House of Commons, drilled and disciplined as it is, is totally unaccustomed to act alone in matters of this gravity. Moreover, we cannot, in dealing with the House of Commons, fix responsibility and punish misdoing as we can in dealing with the Government. The duty of initiating Woman Suffrage, or any other great reform, rests primarily upon the Ministers of the Crown, and those who would persuade us to the contrary are, whether wilfully or not, preaching a most misleading doctrine.

Everyone who professes to be content with the Government's so-called offer ought, in common honesty, to say whether he or she can explain away our statement that whereas the Coalition majority of 118 is available for carrying Woman Suffrage as a Government measure, the majority for a mere amendment to the Reform Bill will be wanting.

The time has now come for all who believe in the equal enfranchisement of men and women, to unite in attacking a Government who refuse to give effect to that principle—to unite in driving the Government to choose whether they will resign, or whether they will introduce a measure giving votes to women as well as to men. There is little doubt that the Government would prefer the second alternative. If they are too reactionary to do that, then let them be driven from office.

The Labour Party has lately declared with emphasis its refusal to accept a Reform Bill for men only. Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, at the Albert Hall on Tuesday last, said that the Labour Party would strive to the uttermost to secure the enfranchisement of all women as well as of all men, and when asked whether he was prepared to turn out the Government on this issue, he replied, "Certainly." We look, therefore, to see the Labour Members declare war upon the Government unless the Manhood Suffrage Bill is at once abandoned, and a measure of franchise reform for women as well as men definitely announced. This is, in fact, the only way in which Mr. Ramsay MacDonald and his colleagues can give effect to the declarations they have made on this question. For obviously, the Labour Members, by simply voting for an amendment, could not ensure its passage. They are too few in numbers for that. But they are numerous enough to force the hand of the Government if they throw their weight against them in every division—not on the Suffrage question only, but on all others—with a view to driving them out of office.

The Labour Members have now to choose between opposing the Government on the one hand, and being responsible for their policy on the other. Should they decide to help to keep the Government in office, they are at the same time assuming joint responsibility for the Government's refusal to bring forward Woman Suffrage, and they are also assuming joint responsibility for such methods of coercion as the Government may adopt in the attempt to crush our movement. The decision of this issue is one of vital importance to the Labour Party itself. They have come to a parting of the ways, and if, instead of fighting the Government in the name of principle, they decide to remain at peace with them on the terms of sacrificing one of their most vital principles, the Labour Members will gravely imperil the position and future of their Party.

It is not for us to dwell too much upon what other people are going to do for us. Self-reliance is our watchword, and the question with us is always what we shall do for ourselves. Whatever may be the policy of others, we shall fight more sternly, more strongly than ever before, with the object of compelling the Government to do their duty and to take the full responsibility of granting votes to women. We intend, therefore, to have a great demonstration of protest on March 4, which will be an expressive of our indignation at the proposal to extend the vote to men and not to women, but will be a definite political act, committed with the view of bringing pressure to bear upon the Government, and in order that a change in their policy may be brought about.

Christabel Pankhurst.

GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY FOR NON-PARTY MEASURES.

By Joseph Clayton.

It is sometimes alleged that because Votes for Women is not a party cry, but finds supporters in all political parties, therefore the Government cannot take the responsibility for a Women's Suffrage Bill.

But on several occasions since 1831—to go back no further—the Government of the day has taken up non-party measures under pressure of public opinion, and passed them into law. As a matter of fact, it is a difficult thing to find a single Act of Parliament of serious national importance—with the exception of Factory Acts—that has not been a Government measure, and hitherto in every case of franchise extension the Government has taken full responsibility for the increase of the electorate.

The Repeal of the Corn Laws.

The repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 is a notable instance of the Government taking action on a non-party proposal. Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister in 1841, and he, the Duke of Wellington, and the rest of the Conservative Cabinet, were all stoutly Protectionist. Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, the leaders of the Whigs, were equally opposed to Free Trade. Then the Anti-Corn Law League, led by Villiers, Cobden and Bright, came into the field, and for some years carried on a vigorous propaganda. The majority against repeal in the House of Commons dropped from 381 in 1843 to 254 in 1845, and at the close of that year both Peel and Russell were converted to Free Trade in corn. But Peel was the recognised leader of the Protectionist party, and his Cabinet was unconverted. Peel therefore tendered his resignation, and only on Lord John Russell's failure to form a Ministry did he again take up office. Peel's colleagues stood by their chief, Lord Stanley alone leaving the Cabinet. The Duke of Wellington remained "a staunch Protectionist, whom no logic could convince," but, as in the case of Catholic Emancipation, he laid aside his personal opinion in the belief that it was his duty to his Sovereign and to the country to help the Prime Minister carry on the government. It never occurred to Wellington to put his private opinion or personal feeling before public duty.

"His last political service was in joining Sir Robert Peel to abolish the Corn Laws—much against his personal wish."—"Wellington," by George Hooper. "English Men of Action." "I am the servant of the Crown and people," the Duke wrote at that time. "I have been paid and rewarded, and consider myself retained; and that I can't do otherwise than serve as required, when I can do so without dishonour; that is to say, as long as I have health and strength to enable me to serve." At the same time no statesman was less of a time server or office seeker than Wellington. "He held popularity in great contempt."—"Greville Memoirs.")

On May 15, 1846, Peel's resolution for the Repeal of the Corn Laws was carried by 98, in spite of the bitter opposition of many of his own party. It was an Act that cost Peel his office and for the time it broke up his party. For the Protectionists were implacable against the statesman who they considered had betrayed their cause, and on June 25, the very day the abolition of the Corn Laws passed the Lords, Peel's ministry was defeated in the Commons, and fell in its very hour of triumph. Three days later Sir Robert Peel resigned—never again to hold office.

But what is the verdict posterity has passed upon Sir Robert Peel? Had he refrained from bringing forward the Repeal of the Corn Laws on the ground that his Cabinet was divided on the question and that his party might be injured, would Peel have won the respect that his memory still enjoys? The Prime Minister, in 1846, boldly put the public welfare before party considerations, and was content rather to suffer loss than to delay what seemed to him a necessary and pressing change of law.

Household Suffrage.

The enfranchisement of the male urban householder in 1867 is another case of Government responsibility for a non-party measure. Disraeli always favoured a wider electorate, while Palmerston, the Liberal leader, was always against reform after 1832. In 1859 Disraeli brought in a Reform Bill which was thrown out by the Liberals, and the following year Lord John Russell brought in a Bill himself, which he subsequently withdrew. Then, in 1864, a private Member (Mr. Baines) tried without

success to get a Bill through the Commons. Two years later, when the Liberals were in power, Gladstone brought in a Reform Bill. The party were not united on the question; Robert Lowe, a Liberal, led the attack, and the Government was beaten. The Conservatives came into power with Lord Derby as Prime Minister, and Disraeli as leader in the House of Commons. All over England, in the summer of 1866, the town workman was demanding the vote, and Reform Leagues and Reform Unions were organised. Then came the disturbance over the Hyde Park railings, and, as Justin McCarthy says in his "History of Our Own Times":—"The Hyde Park riot, as it was called, convinced Her Majesty's Ministers of the necessity of an immediate adoption of the Reform principle."

"The question of the franchise, which had hitherto mainly interested politicians and zealots, was thrust before the country." (Lowe and Sanders' "Political History of England.")

The Conservative party was less favourable to Reform and far more divided on the question than the Liberals were; but Disraeli at once made it a Government matter. Lord Cranborne and Lord Carnarvon resigned from the Cabinet, Lord Derby admitted that the extension of the franchise was a "leap in the dark," but the bulk of the party loyally followed their leaders, and Household Suffrage for the town workman became the law of the land.

It no more occurred to Disraeli than it did to Sir Robert Peel that a matter of grave political importance, ripe for settlement, was to be left to private members of Parliament or to be snubbed by the Government merely because it cut through ordinary party lines. It is quite contrary to all our political and constitutional customs for a Franchise Bill to be passed without the full support of the Prime Minister and the Government. It is equally without precedent in the last eighty years for Cabinet Ministers to retain office and yet take opposing sides on any political question of burning and immediate importance. When non-party measures that are widely supported are to be carried into law the practice has been for the Government to take responsibility for placing such measures on the statute-book.

Thus Peel and Wellington took the responsibility for the Repeal of the Corn Laws, and Derby and Disraeli for Household Suffrage. Palmerston, when he was in power, took a similar responsibility, of a negative kind, in preventing the passage of a Reform Bill. In each case there were Cabinet resignations and the breaking of party ties.

Prime Ministers in the past—Gladstone, no less than Peel and Disraeli—did not shrink from responsibility for Parliamentary Bills because of want of unity amongst their followers. These men pressed forward their Bills in spite of the defection of colleagues, and at the risk of breaking up their parties. It is only in 1912 that the private opinions of a Liberal Prime Minister are held to be sufficient excuse for the Government's refusal to carry out the will of the House of Commons; and only in these strange times is the fear of a party split offered as adequate reason for the Government doing nothing in the face of a great agitation for the franchise.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Now that the King's Speech has been read the need for action on the part of the Women's Social and Political Union has been made perfectly clear. Upon two things every member of this Union, every reader of this paper, every sympathiser with this movement must concentrate immediately. The first is the organisation of a protest on a vastly greater scale than any that has taken place in the past. Every individual counts. Great numbers must break down the Government's methods of repression. Too many for prison means no prison for any.

The second is the gathering together of a great Campaign Fund for fighting the last, and most desperate stage of the battle against an utterly unprincipled and ill-Liberal Cabinet. A few days after the next protest, the Union throughout the whole country will practise a week of Self-Denial, and that week will be dedicated to Special Effort for filling the War Chest. March 9 to March 16. Write the date on mind and memory. Make ready your plans. In 1912 the W.S.P.U. has to break all records.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

January 31 to February 8.

Already acknowledged	£14,651 3 7	Mrs. Shaw	0 3 0
Mrs. Booth	2 0 0	Mrs. B. B. B.	0 3 0
Mrs. F. E. Bright	2 0 0	Mrs. L. Bothera	0 3 0
Mrs. A. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Truman	0 2 4
Mrs. M. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. D. B. B.	0 2 4
Mrs. N. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. H. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. O. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. I. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. P. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. J. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Q. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. K. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. R. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. L. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. S. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. M. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. T. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. N. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. U. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. O. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. V. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. P. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. W. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Q. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. X. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. R. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Y. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. S. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Z. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. T. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. A. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. U. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. B. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. V. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. C. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. W. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. D. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. X. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. E. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Y. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. F. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Z. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. G. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. A. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. H. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. B. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. I. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. C. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. J. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. D. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. K. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. E. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. M. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. G. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. N. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. H. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. O. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. I. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. P. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. J. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Q. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. K. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. R. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. L. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. S. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. M. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. T. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. N. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. U. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. O. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. V. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. P. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. W. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Q. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. A. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. U. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. B. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. V. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. C. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. W. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. G. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. A. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. I. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. C. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. J. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. D. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. K. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. E. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. P. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. J. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. T. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. N. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. U. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. O. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. V. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. P. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. W. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Q. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. X. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. R. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. F. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Z. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. G. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. A. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. H. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. B. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. I. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. C. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. J. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. D. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. N. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. H. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. O. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. I. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. P. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. J. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Q. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. K. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. R. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. L. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. U. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. O. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. V. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. P. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. W. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. Q. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. X. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. R. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Y. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. S. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. Z. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. T. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. A. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. U. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. B. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. V. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. C. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. W. B. B.	0 1 0
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Mrs. G. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. A. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. H. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. B. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. I. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. C. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. J. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. D. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. K. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. E. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. L. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. F. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. M. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. G. B. B.	0 1 0
Mrs. N. B. B.	2 0 0	Mrs. H. B	

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. Otherwise much trouble and expense is entailed at headquarters.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

BALHAM & TOOTING. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cockeidge, 12, Foxbourne Road, Balham, S.W.15.

BARNET. Hon. Sec.—Miss Sue Watt, 13, Stratford Road. Much disappointment was felt at the absence (due to ill-health) of Mr. Ashford Jones from the Even Hall meeting on Feb. 6; Miss Isabel Seymour and Lady Stout were the speakers, and much appreciated.

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT. Hon. Organizer—Miss H. Gargett, 4, St. Leonard Rd., Hendon, W. The cake and candy sale is drawing near. Will members please send goods to the Organizer as soon as possible?

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN. Shop and Office—308, King's Road. Hon. Sec.—Miss Helen Blacklock, 6, Seath Road, Barnes.

CLAPHAM. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Strong, 8, Elspeth Road, Lavender Hill, S.W.

CROYDON. Office—50, High Street, Croydon (Nak.). Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Green, Shop Sec.—Miss L. Hall.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY. Shop—86, Fulham Road. Hon. Sec.—Miss L. Cutten and Mrs. Roberts.

GREENWICH, DEPTFORD & WOOLWICH. Hon. Sec.—Miss F. Billinghurst, 7, Okerott Road, Blackheath, S.E.

HAMMERSMITH. Hon. Sec. (pro tem.)—Miss Carson, 40, Melrose Gardens.

HAMPSTEAD. Hon. Shop and Office—178, Finchley Road. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Hicks and Miss C. Collier.

HENDON AND GOLDERS' GREEN. Shop and Office—28, The Parade, Golders' Green. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Wynne Derby House, Hendon.

ILFORD. Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road. By kind invitation of Mrs. Crouch the members' social was held at 122, Walsley Road, on Thursday.

ISLINGTON. Office—37, Goswell Road, N. Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Caserley.

KENSINGTON. Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2115 Western. Hon. Sec.—Miss Evelyn Sharp.

KINGSTON, SURBITON AND DISTRICT. Office—11, Helix Hill, Orchard Road, Kingston. Miss Ella Myers held the attention of a large and growing crowd in her hour and a quarter at Kingston on Saturday.

LAWSON. Hon. Sec.—Miss Lawson, 13, 2nd Princes Street, London. Hon. Sec.—Miss Lawson, 13, 2nd Princes Street, London.

LEWISHAM. Hon. Sec.—Miss Christina Campbell, Miss C. Townsend. Office—28, Berlin Road, Catford.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. The Thursday evening meeting on February 15 is not being held at the Steiney Hall, but at the Savoy Theatre, Strand, W.C., at 8 p.m.

Send your SOILED GOWN and 4s. to CAR'S.

They will Dry Clean and return it, postage paid, looking like new.

WRITE NOW FOR COMPLETE PRICE LIST. CLARK & CO., THE CLEANERS, 14, HALLCROFT ROAD, RETFORD.

NORTH ISLINGTON AND HORNSEY. Office—19, St. Thomas Road, Finbury Park. Hon. Sec.—Miss Constance Bryer, 49, Tunell Park.

OXFORD. Office—11, Helix Hill, Orchard Road, Kingston. Miss Ella Myers held the attention of a large and growing crowd in her hour and a quarter at Kingston on Saturday.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE. Shop and Office—28, Praed Street. Hon. Sec.—Miss Lawson, 13, 2nd Princes Street, London.

WALTHAMSTOW. Hon. Sec.—Miss L. C. Hart, 11, Sylvan Road. A large gathering assembled at the shop last week to hear Mrs. Lawson's address.

WEST HAM. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Turner, Hookstone House. At a general meeting held at Hookstone House on Feb. 6, Mrs. Turner appealed for volunteers for the next protest.

WEST HAMPSTEAD. Hon. Sec.—Miss D. M. Hooper, Old Manor Farm, Squirrels Heath, Essex.

WIMBLEDON. Shop—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel. 1027. P.O. Wimbeldon. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Lamartine Yates.

WIMBLEDON PARK AND S. WIMBLEDON. Hon. Sec.—Miss Allan, 79, Woodside, Wimbeldon. The Musical and Dramatic Entertainment at the Masonic Hall, on February 8, was a great success.

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and Mrs. Lebler retired. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Handing, 21; Miss Hill-Tennie, 34; Miss Kent, 14; Mrs. Bhan, 14; Miss Symons, 21; Miss Hovey, 14; Miss Gilling, 14; Miss Wilton, 14; Miss Daniels, 14; Miss Morgan-Jones, 14.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT. Organizer—Miss G. Allen. Members near Steyning will be glad to know the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield will address a meeting there in the Town Hall on Monday, February 19, at 8 p.m.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KEAT. Organizer—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay Trevarra, 30, Boulevard Road West, Folkestone. Friends are asked to apply to her for tickets to dispose of among their friends.

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KNEBWORTH. Hon. Sec.—Miss Aver, The School House. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Wilson, The Castles. A meeting was held in the Mission Room on Friday, Feb. 9.

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The man who invariably takes mustard with his viands is usually a man with a good appetite and a good digestion.

People do not eat Mustard because of its own taste; they eat it because it brings out the flavour of the meat and makes it more appetising, because it excites and sharpens the appetite itself. "Good digestion" naturally "waits on appetite" if it is good Mustard, best Mustard

Mustard

The organizer addressed a sympathetic gathering of the local L.P. Miss Sharnam will be glad to receive parcels of clothes, etc., for a Jumble Sale to be held next month.

NOTTINGHAM. Office—6, Carlton Street, Tel. 3511. Organizers—Miss Roberts and Miss Crocker.

SHROPSHIRE. Organiser—Miss Bertha Ryland, 51, Belle Vue Road, Shrewsbury.

WALSALL. Shop and Office—19, Leicester Street. Hon. Organizer—Miss F. Ward.

WEST OF ENGLAND. Hon. Secs.—The Misses Tollamach. Friday's meeting at the Guildhall was an enthusiastic gathering.

BATH. Shop—12, Walcot St. Hon. Organizer—Mrs. Mansel. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Dove Wilcox.

BRISTOL. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 1131. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove Wilcox.

CHELTENHAM. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. W. L. Mellersh, Bergholt, Painswick Road.

The Woman's Press, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C. Have pleasure in informing the Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN that a SPECIAL SALE IS NOW TAKING PLACE AT THE WOMAN'S PRESS SHOP. In which a number of articles are being disposed of. "VOTES FOR WOMEN" BUTTONS, at 1/2d. each. PHOTO BUTTONS, at 1/2d. each. PICTURE POSTCARDS (including all the postcards of the leaders and of scenes in the Movement, but not photo cards), at 1/2d. each. There is also a sale, at GREATLY REDUCED PRICES, of a number of articles slightly shop-soiled, including Bags, Brooches, Belts, Ties, Almanacks, Calendars, Albums, Playing Cards, Stationery, Pamphlets, Blotters, and a few Booklets in Leather Covers. NOW PROCEEDING.

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. Address the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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 Fete; a Muff 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, Lady's long gold chain. Price £2 2s. Proceeds to go to W.S.P.U. funds.—Apply Mrs. Sanders, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE W.S.P.U. has for Sale Silk Persian Rug, 3 1/2 yds. by 1 1/2 yds., suitable for sofa cover or portiere; beautiful duck coats. Price £2 2s.—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 21s. Also a Microscope in case, and fifty-seven slides. Price £3 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.

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LONDON, Kimberley House, 86 and 87, Guilford Street, Russell Square.—Well furnished, comfortable Boarding House. First-class cuisine and service, central for City and West End. Terms: 26s. weekly, 5s. daily, room and breakfast 3s.

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DARKSTONE, Dorset (near Bournemouth).—Paying guests received. Sunny winter residence. Near churches, station, tram, golf links. Permanent guest desired.—"Southridge," Overbury Road, Sandcote, Parkstone.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, 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. No. 41. 702. Terms moderate.

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TO LET, Etc.

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"We shall not be in town until after Christmas, when we will be very glad to return to the Old Oak Farm excellent washing."

"The way my washing has been done is always beyond praise. I am more than pleased."—Mrs. Purdy, M.W.S.P.U. Managers. Prices moderate. Original testimonials forwarded if required.

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