

VOTES FOR WOMEN

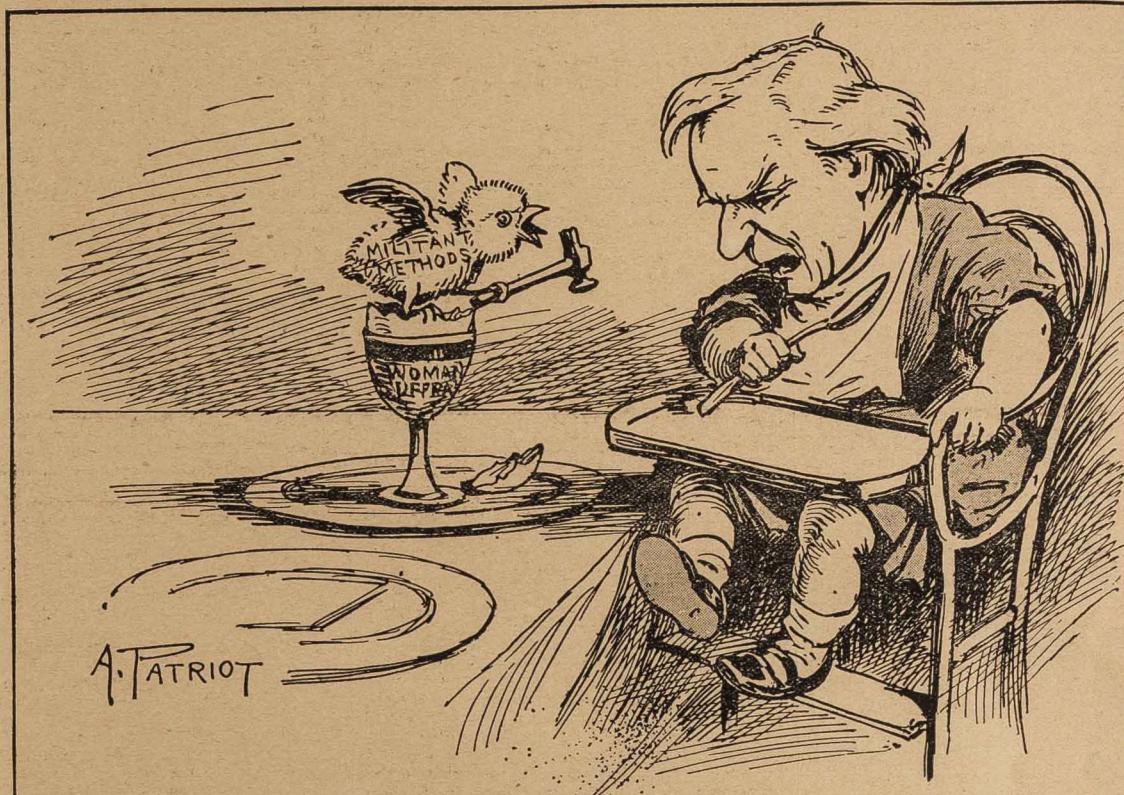
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1913.

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MASTER HERBERT'S EASTER EGG



MASTER HERBERT (losing his temper): "Boo-hoo! I don't like this egg. It has been sat on too long!"

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DEDICATION

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

The most important event of the week is the passage of a resolution by the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation regarding with the "deepest disappointment" the failure of the promised facilities on the Reform Bill, protesting that the facilities now offered are "an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister," and recording its

belief that "only a Government measure will now serve to bring this reform into law."

Hendon Women Liberals Threaten Revolt

In England, also, there are signs that the reactionary policy of the Government will not much longer be tolerated. The Hendon W.L.A. has passed a resolution regretting that only a private Member's Bill, with no promise of Government support, is offered to women, adding that under these circumstances a "free, unfettered vote on this question is hard to obtain." In the event of the Bill being defeated on its second reading, the Hendon W.L.A. invites "all Associations affiliated to the Home Counties Union to send up resolutions to the W.L.F. Council meeting declaring their intention of abstaining for the next General Election from parliamentary work unless some measure of woman suffrage has been granted before then."

A Campaign of Violence

While the Press is denouncing in the most vivid language the actions of women who have been driven to desperation by the continued chicanery of politicians, it sees excuse for men who are guilty of the most cowardly attacks upon women. Thus the *Westminster Gazette*, in a leading note in its issue of March 17, says of the scenes in Hyde Park on the previous day: "We deplore these scenes of violence, but it would be affectation to pretend that there is anything to be surprised at in this retort in kind." The actual facts at which the *Westminster*

sees "nothing to be surprised at" are reported on the same page as follows:—

Mrs. Drummond struggled on gamely, but not a word in a speech of nearly half an hour's duration was audible to the crowd. She had only been speaking about a minute when somebody threw a large clod of grass at her, the missile finding its mark. This was to signal for a veritable fusillade, which was apportioned between Mrs. Drummond and another lady speaker. Mrs. Drummond was hit on a number of occasions, some of the clods, which had been thrown with considerable force, striking her in the face.

We have only to add that these attacks are not, as the *Westminster* maintains, a "retort in kind," for while the women who are suffering from a grave political grievance confine themselves to attacks on property, the men who are not themselves suffering from any grievance whatever attack the persons of the women.

A "Suffragette-Hunting" Throng

The *Standard* devotes nearly a column, in which not a single word of disapproval occurs, to a highly-coloured account of these outrages, which are told with a gusto reminiscent of a story written for boys of some successful foray against savages or wild beasts instead of the baiting of exceptionally courageous British women. The writer says:—

Miss Rogers and Miss Wickham were hit repeatedly with turf and eggs, but continued undismayed, dodging the missiles when they could.

He then describes how the meeting was concluded by the police, and proceeds:—

Mrs. Drummond was rushed into the Marble Arch Tube Station with a shouting, angry mob fighting with

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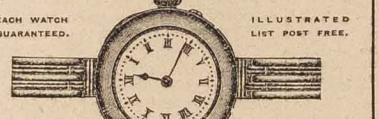
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FRIDAY, MARCH 21, 1913.

ASKING FOR TROUBLE

The English people are fond of claiming for themselves the characteristics of stability and dogged perseverance. Whether these are in reality traits common to the race or peculiar to certain distinguished individuals of it is a matter of opinion. But few will deny to the sister people north of the Tweed the right to a similar claim made on their behalf.

The Scotch are not a race who jump to rapid conclusions. They are slow to be dislodged from a preconceived opinion, and are not easily moved by enthusiasm or eloquent appeal. But when they have once started upon a road they progress steadily forward, and only a profound conviction of error will suffice to turn them back.

For a long time Scotland was the despair of the suffrage world. Appeals to sentiment or reason appeared equally to fall upon deaf ears. Liberal-partyism seemed triumphant over liberalism. But slowly and very steadily all that has changed. To-day it is among the Scotch that the principle of woman suffrage finds many of its most persistent supporters. And Scotch men and women who have up to the present been ardent Liberals in the party sense are coming every day more clearly to see that the only road for their party to take is the road that leads to equality between the sexes.

The annual Council of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation have been meeting in Glasgow during the past week, and the question of woman suffrage has formed the principal subject of discussion, with the result that a resolution has been passed protesting that the facilities now offered by the Government are "an inadequate compensation for the pledge of the Prime Minister," and calling for a Government measure. This resolution and the speeches which were delivered in support of it by well-known party women provide food for reflection which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues would do well carefully to digest. They are a sign that the blind and unreasoning loyalty of women to party politicians is coming to an end, and that unless the Liberal Cabinet speedily change their tactics they will find that they have lost a devotion which they can never regain.

How much longer are they going to pursue this disastrous course? Are they going on until every woman in the country is in active revolt? If not, they had better make haste and review their position, for women are determined to have the vote, either with the consent of the Government or over their politically-prostrate body. The only effect of continued delay will be to bring final disaster upon the Government and humiliation upon the country.

As we look back over the way in which the Liberal Party have handled this question of votes for women, we are struck with the extraordinary provocation which has at every stage been offered to women. The first great delinquent in this respect was the

Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, who, in 1884, secured the defeat of a woman suffrage amendment by persuading his supporters in the House of Commons to break their pledges to women. There was not at that time, however, sufficient sex-consciousness among women to resent the indignity which had been offered to them.

The next important event was the refusal of Sir Edward Grey in 1905 to answer a direct question put to him at question time by two women in the audience, in consequence of which they were violently ejected from the hall. This led to the inception by a new suffrage society of the militant methods, including deputations to Parliament, interruptions at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and the anti-Government policy at by-elections. From all of these the Liberal Party suffered; but the new organisation was a small one, the older suffrage society did not adopt the new policy, and there was still left intact the solid phalanx of Liberal women who gave to the party their full support.

The next few years saw a continued succession of provocations offered to women who claimed their enfranchisement as a necessary embodiment of Liberal principle. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman told a deputation of women that though they had an irrefutable case they had nothing to hope from a Liberal Government. Mr. Asquith, after his accession to the Premiership, declined altogether to see any deputation of women, and persistently refused either to bring in a Government measure or to allow time for the discussion of a private Member's Bill. Thus provoked, many of the most alert of the women Liberals left the party. Some joined the older suffrage society, others associated themselves directly with the militant organisation and worked actively against the Government.

At last, after four years, in which many hundreds of women had suffered imprisonment as common criminals for purely technical offences, a way of compromise was suggested by which the Government might save their face. The Conciliation Bill—a measure scrupulously fair to all parties—was devised by a non-party committee in the House of Commons. Every section of suffragists accepted the compromise. Not so the Government. They blocked it in 1910. In 1911 they blocked it again, but promised full facilities in 1912, and Mr. Asquith undertook that this promise should be kept not only in the letter but in the spirit. Then came the great betrayal of November, 1911, by which the whole basis of the franchise was thrown into the melting-pot, with the result, which Mr. Lloyd George announced in memorable words, that the Conciliation Bill was torpedoed. The older suffragists and the Liberal women decided to trust the Prime Minister's honour, and still remained friendly to the Government. The militants at once saw the trick that had been played. They "demonstrated"; and because the treatment meted out to previous peaceful demonstrations had been brutal, they demonstrated by breaking windows.

Another twelve months passed. The Government's breach of faith of November, 1911, fructified in the failure of January, 1913, and in the substitution of the worthless promises for the following session. This time every one of the suffrage societies became anti-Government, and up and down England unrest has been spreading amongst the women Liberals. And now comes the resolution of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation to which we have referred above.

Step by step the Government have provoked these actions. At every stage they have made the counsels of moderation look foolish, and have justified, and more than justified, the predictions of the extreme party. Already they have driven militancy into crime, and the devoted loyalty of their women followers into disaffection.

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THE OLD PRETENDERS

A GIVE-AWAY STORY FOR M.P.'S

By Laurence Housman

The Old Pretenders had been playing the game for forty years and more. You may reckon, therefore, that they had become adepts at it. And as they had made the rules entirely to suit themselves, and not in the least to help those on whom they played it, the game grew more and more popular as years went on, till the players became a handsome majority.

Now the game was this. The Old Pretenders had got a fine, large house to live in and make laws in, furnished for them by other people. They were paid £400 a year to live in it and to keep it in working order; and they got cheap meals under cost price thrown in—and other people paid for those, too, some of them women.

And so, in course of time, the Pretenders grew old, and their hoary heads became to them as a crown of glory. And they all remained very pious in their opinion, while still the women went on working for them, steadily and uncomplainingly, for that was part of the game.

And then a change came over the scene—a very sad change—which was entirely the fault of the women, for without a single rule in the game having been altered, some of them began to complain. They said that it wasn't cricket! "Who ever said that it was?" replied the Old Pretenders. "The rules of this game are entirely political; they are also non-party. And when party comes along, of course, that which is non-party has to give way."

"But you gave us a pledge!" expostulated the women. "Ah, that meant 'Weather permitting,'" replied the Old Pretenders. "In fair weather we shall remain your friends and continue to play the game as we always have done; but if our umbrellas won't stand it, then our pledges must go; that stands to reason, and experience proves it. You will remember how in 1884 our Grand Old Umbrella threatened to turn inside out if we paid any attention to you—so we didn't. A solid hundred of us broke our pledges to you, and you showed us very plainly that you expected nothing else, for you continued working for us. What right, then, have you to complain now? Do try to be wise, and take example by us. Observe how patient we have always been, and as a result, what large majorities we have got. See how evident it is, when the matter comes to argument, that the other side haven't got a leg to stand on. Surely that ought to content you! Continue to fetch and carry, and to wait and see, and faintly trust the larger hope, and all the rest of it! New rules can't be made all in a day."

"Well, that's handsome of you!" said the women. "You, at any rate, are a decent lot."

"We are, indeed!" said the Pretenders. "And now what will you do for us in return?"

"We will back you up," said the women; "stick to you through thick and thin."

"You couldn't do better," said the Pretenders; and they smiled more benevolently than ever.

The "Fetch and Carry" changed itself into the "Catch and Harry," its declared object being to catch and harry all Old Pretenders who said much but did nothing. And wherever they went they "caught on" very persistently and effectively. Other associations also sprang into being, the "Weather or No" was one of them, the "Touch and Go" was another, the "Now or Never" a third; and many more followed, all bearing names of a like significance, daring, defiant, insubordinate, and very disconcerting to the powers that were. But the "Wait and Sees" and the "Believe Onlys" remained pinned to the party leading-strings, turning up eyes of unutterable trust and stupidity—and doing nothing, except what they were told—the odd jobs and the errand running, and the backstair scrubbing which they had so long been accustomed to.

The Old Pretenders beheld this change taking place, and they rubbed their eyes in amazement. "This is very unreasonable," said they; "and so precipitate—after forty years! We didn't think it of you; it isn't what we had been led to expect!"

The "Catch and Harrys" were by far the worst. Instead of helping the Old Pretenders any more, these women were now actually opposing them, trying to turn them out. Was ever such ingratitude known?

Then the Old Pretenders said something which I have to print in capitals because it is so important—

"YOU MAKE IT VERY DIFFICULT FOR US TO PLAY THIS GAME!" said the Old Pretenders.

"Good!" cried the "Catch and Harrys." "Now at last we are getting on; now, perhaps, you'll do something!"

Now as the Old Pretenders had never intended to do anything, this offended them, but it also gave them furiously to think.

They thought furiously for some time, but to no effect. "Cajolery is lost on these women," they cried lamely. "They have become unfeminine! Opposing us, indeed! How can they possibly expect us to support their cause now?" But as they spoke

they caught sight of the "Wait and Sees" and the

"Believe Onlys" sitting upon their doormats as patient and trustful as ever, and they settled to pretend a little longer, however difficult it might be. So to these faithful ones once more they declared the faith that was in them; and these women for their part did the same. And so in a sticky, streaky, and sectarian fashion the game still went on, and they continued to say "Agreed!" and did nothing.

Then the "Catch and Harrys" began to do worse things still, for they became not only "oppositions," but obstreperous—they became "militant."

And then once more the Old Pretenders said something which, because of its importance, must be printed in capitals—

"YOU MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR US TO PLAY THE GAME, IF YOU DO THAT!" said the Old Pretenders. And for almost the first time in their lives they told the plain, unvarnished, unadulterated truth. They couldn't any longer both pretend and play the game. In the face of militancy pretending was not a bit of good, they had now to appear in their true colours. Either they must do something or else they must own to all the world that for forty years they and their like had been telling lies in order to get the women to work for them. And somehow or another that didn't "do" either. They were always now coming upon that dreadful word "do." Hitherto they had always managed to combine it with other syllables which had given it another and a quite impracticable meaning. "Cock-a-doodle-do," they had been wont to cry when their other cry, "Agreed!" had proved successful. But now, under militant attentions, that word "agreed" also had acquired another and a more sinister meaning. The sword of militancy had struck it and cleaved it in two. All that "Agreed!" now meant in their mouths was this: "A greed for power, a greed for office, a greed to put party above principle, a greed to have others work for them without fair return, a greed for £400 a year and dinners below cost price, to be paid for out of the pockets of the women." Cut in two like that it became a dreadful word, and the worst of it was *it was true*.

So, like the cuckoo clock which had lost its first note and could only "oo," these Old Pretenders were forced to drop their "Cock-a-doodle-doing" and to begin "doing" instead. In other words, they had to leave off pretending and become real. Militancy had made it impossible for them to pretend any more.

Now a thing which makes people for the first time honest and tell the truth—must it not be good? It may not be pleasant or popular, but, like black draughts and pills, it may be the only cure.

VOTES FOR WOMEN FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Green

We are pleased to welcome into the ranks of the Fellowship a large number of additional members who have joined during the past week. We ask them specially to concentrate upon getting new permanent readers who will either have the paper sent to them direct from the office by post, or order it to come regularly from their newsagent.

Now that the daily Press are using every means in their power to incite the baser sort of the public to assault and maltreat the Suffragists it is of more than usual importance that the true facts should be made known. Not one person in a hundred, for instance, whose only source of information is the daily Press, has the faintest idea of what really happened in the cases of Miss Billinghurst or Miss Lenton. The papers have given prominence to Mr. McKenna's deliberately misleading accounts, and letters on the other side and personal narratives from the victims themselves have been either suppressed altogether, or cut down as to fail to carry conviction. The introduction of VOTES FOR WOMEN to new reader is, as it were, the opening of a new door to the mind, by which knowledge may be gained and sympathy aroused.

Keep May 7 Free!

Members of the Fellowship are asked to keep the evening of Wednesday, May 7, free for a special reunion of fellows, fuller particulars of which we hope to be able to give later.

In the meanwhile, we wish all a very pleasant Easter holiday, and hope that they will come back refreshed for a vigorous campaign in the spring and summer.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To March 17, 1913.)

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MILITANCY GOES ON

DIARY OF EVENTS

Thursday, March 13.—On Wednesday night, after we had gone to press, a studio raided by police in Campden Hill Gardens; the owner, Miss Hocken, arrested; bottles of corrosive fluid, wire cutting clippers, hammers, &c., seized.

Letters in large numbers damaged by fire in letter-box at Queen Victoria Street Post Office. Pillar-boxes also attacked near Law Courts and outside Mansion House District Railway Station; no arrests.

Friday, March 14.—Two windows broken at the Teela Gem Company, Old Bond Street, value £90; one arrest.

Three windows broken at Messrs. Roneo, High Holborn, value £40; one arrest.

Names of several houses at Richmond obliterated during the night by black paint or tar, believed to be the work of the Suffragettes.

Pot of green paint thrown at Home Office window, no damage; one arrest.

Bottle of corrosive fluid put in letter-box at Thornton Heath; several letters damaged. Label affixed to bottle stating that it was a protest by male voters against the treatment of women.

Saturday, March 15.—New, unoccupied house, value about £1,800, burnt out at Cheam, Surrey. Copies of *Votes for Women* found near a Suffrage postcard found near; damage attributed to Suffragists; no arrests.

Several pillar-boxes attacked at Bolton, bottles of ink being used; about 200 packets damaged. Contents of pillar-boxes also damaged at Newcastle.

Stones and leaden pellets thrown at Mr. McKenna's house, Smith Square, Westminster, no damage; one arrest.

White fluid put into pillar-box in Villiers Street, Strand; one arrest.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 13.—At the West London Police Court before Mr. Fotheringham, charged with breaking up on February 26, with other persons unknown, to set fire to the Pavilion at Roehampton, Miss Olive Hocken; remanded in custody for a week. Bail in £1,000 subsequently allowed.

Friday, March 14.—At the Guildhall Police Court, before Alderman Sir John Savory, charged with breaking plate glass windows at the Roneo Company, Holborn Viaduct, value £40, Miss Isabella Irving; committed for trial, bail refused.

At the Marlborough Street Police Court, before Mr. Mead, charged with breaking windows, value £30, at the Teela Gem Company, Limited, Old Bond Street, Miss Margaret McFarlane; committed for trial, bail allowed in £100.

At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Curtis Bennett, charged with breaking windows, value £30, at the common danger, namely, a tin of green paint at the Home Office window, Miss Marjorie Masters; fine 40s., or one month's imprisonment.

Monday, March 17.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Marsham, charged with putting noxious fluid in a letter-box in Villiers Street, Strand, Miss Eileen Casey; sentenced to two months' imprisonment.

At the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Francis, charged with wantonly discharging missiles at the common danger, namely, a tin of green paint at the Home Office window, Miss Marjorie Masters; fine 40s., or one month's imprisonment. The fine was not paid.

ARREST OF MISS HOCKEN

What was described in the Press as a "Suffragette Arsenal" was unearthed at a studio in Camden Hill Gardens, Notting Hill, on Wednesday evening, March 12, and following on the discovery Miss Olive Hocken, an artist, was brought before Mr. Fotheringham at the West London Police Court the next morning on a warrant, charging her with conspiring, combining, confederating, and agreeing, on February 26, with other persons unknown, unlawfully and maliciously to set fire to a certain building, viz., a pavilion at Roehampton.

"A Perfect Arsenal"

The arrest, it was stated, was regarded by the authorities as of importance, by reason of the fact that, at the studio of which the defendant was said to be the occupier, there was found a perfect arsenal of implements of destruction, including bottles of corrosive fluid, clippers for cutting telegraph wires, fire-lighters, hammers, flints, tools of all descriptions, in addition to a number of false motor-car identification plates, some miniature golf-links flags, &c.

Mr. A. H. Bodkin, who prosecuted on behalf of the Director of Public Prosecutions, stated that he only proposed to call

such evidence that day as would justify a trial. At the next hearing the case would be opened fully, and there would be adduced clear evidence connecting the defendant with the ownership of a bag which was found on the night of February 26 on the golf-links at Roehampton. The contents of the bag were of an inflammable character. On that night contestants met, holding a meeting, were pelted with oranges, clogs of earth, mud, and stones. The *Manchester Guardian*, in its account, says:

"Before Mrs. Drummond and the other speakers arrived hundreds of youths had provided themselves with 'ammunition.' Others had come prepared with whistles, trumpets, mouth-organs, and hand-bells. As soon as Mrs. Drummond mounted the van to open the meeting, the crowd, who were so numerous, before she had uttered her first sentence a clot of turf struck her in the mouth. Mrs. Drummond merely smiled at her tormentors and continued her speech, while for half an hour the crowd shouted, sang, and pelted the van. Mrs. Drummond was succeeded by a lady who farewelled just as badly at the hands of the crowd."

Chief-Inspector McBriar then described Miss Hocken's arrest, when she said to him, "I think I will be able to prove that I was not at Roehampton." She particularly pointed to a looker-up to Notting Hill Police Station, where, when the charge was read to her, she said, "My mother will be able to prove I was not there."

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THE GOVERNMENT AND THE SUFFRAGETTES

Why Not Give Them The Vote?

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
March 13

Mr. Touche asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether, during an attempt to feed the suffragist prisoner, Miss Lenton, the tube was introduced into the trachea, causing some obstruction to food to pass into the lung, whether Miss Lenton was therefore released from prison it being the opinion of the medical officer in charge that her life was in danger; and whether the doctor who examined her on her release found that pleurisy was present together with lung mischief?

Mr. McKenna: There is no foundation for the statement which has been made that she entered the trachea, or that any food passed into the lung, and I am obliged to the hon. Member for affording me an opportunity of giving the statement an emphatic contradiction. Miss Lenton's collapse occurred some hours after she was fed, and was due to the bad state of her health aggravated by the unusual food. She resisted such an examination while in prison, but since her release, her own medical attendant has formed the opinion that she was suffering from pleurisy.

Mr. Remnant: In the event of this or any other lady suffering permanent injury from treatment she receives in prison, will the right hon. gentleman or the doctor who administers the treatment be responsible?

Mr. McKenna: I must wait until a case arises in which any person has suffered any injury from her treatment in prison.

Mr. King: The right hon. gentleman if he is aware of recent pathological experiments made on patients suffering from trachoma, to test whether oil persistently rubbed into the pores of the skin daily, will keep the patient alive for several weeks; and whether he will use this method of treatment as an alternative for the forcible feeding of prisoners?

Mr. McKenna: I am informed that cod-liver oil has been frequently applied to the nostrils to afford temporary malnutrition, with very doubtful success. In any case the prolongation of life by this means would be very limited.

Mr. King: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that since I put this question on the Paper I have received letters from gentlemen attributing the saving of their lives to this process?

Mr. McKenna: I can quite understand that to be the case, but it would only be possible to adopt this practice where the feeding was required as a temporary process. In the prison cases it would hardly be sufficient.

March 17

Mr. Douglas Hall asked the number of police employed during the past three months in protecting militant suffragists, male and female, who have been picketing, advocating and encouraging breaches of the law, and the amount of public money expended in so doing; and if there is any means whereby the money so spent can be recovered?

Mr. McKenna: No police officers in the Metropolitan Police district have been specially employed to protect militant suffragists; but where protection has at times appeared to be needed—*i.e.* for instance, at some recent outdoor public meetings—the necessary steps have been taken by the police present in the ordinary discharge of their duty. It would be impossible to distinguish in this matter between suffragists who are "militants" and others, or to estimate the cost entailed on the public by attendance at suffragist meetings.

Mr. Norman Craig asked the Home Office by what authority he is enabled to direct the release of a prisoner under remand under conditions which permit of the prisoner being rearrested for the same offence?

Mr. McKenna: In ordinary circumstances, only the magistrates have power to grant bail to the High Court for any period of time. In exceptional circumstances, where life depends on immediate release and there is no time for making application to the magistrates, it may be the duty of the Home Secretary to authorise a prisoner's removal from prison to home or hospital.

Mr. Norman Craig asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department in how many instances he has ordered the release of persons convicted of offences in purported furtherance of the Woman Suffrage movement before the expiration of the term of imprisonment to which they were respectively sentenced; and whether in any, and, if so, in how many instances the persons so released have subsequently been convicted again?

Mr. McKenna: We have only had time to ascertain the figures for Holloway Prison, but these include the great majority of such cases. Since the beginning of last year the number released from Holloway before they were due for discharge in ordinary course was fifty-five. Of this number eight are known to have been subsequently reconvicted.

THE EXCEPTIONAL CASE

In the course of the debate on Parliamentary Procedure in the House of Commons last Friday, Mr. Goldsmith said:—

What Miss Billinghurst Says
According to the Political Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, the Liberal

Suffrage Bill to be introduced by Mr. Dickinson is already drafted. "It follows," he says, "exactly the amendment which it was hoped to move on the Franchise Bill last session, with the exception of one clause which was omitted in consequence of the Bill to which it was to be attached and consequently contemplated a months' residential qualification, this session's Bill will be in harmony with the existing electoral law. The Sub-committee of the Liberal Suffrage Group met on Wednesday of last week to consider the draft and the procedure to be adopted. It is likely that the promoters of the Bill will approach the Government, and ask them at what time it will be convenient to give the opportunity promised."

STRONG LETTERS IN THE PRESS "Not Good Enough for Women"

Miss A. L. White writes to the *Manchester Guardian* in very strong terms regarding the "Liberal" attitude towards the woman's question. In the course of her letter, she says:—

"If over a party was untrue to its essential principles the Liberal party has been on the subject of women's suffrage. We who have left the Liberal party for the time being may still hope to find far more room in the true Liberal ideal than those who try to reconcile their suffragist principles with loyalty to politicians who oppose them. The fiasco of the Franchise Bill and the further device of leaving the question to another private bill have been too much for the long-tried patience of Liberal suffragists, and it is high time we spoke quite frankly and openly to our brother members of the party. Mr. Lloyd George sent out a circular to his party to the effect that he had nothing further to add to his letter of January 30. Ten minutes later the Chancellor, who has no time to keep his word to his fellow-countrymen, was seen driving off in a motor-car with Mr. Masterman and his golf clubs.

The Union's Action

The following letter has been sent to him:

To the Right Hon. D. Lloyd George, M.P., Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Dear Sir.—We received your message from your brother this morning, and we write to inform you again that we cannot accept your suggestion of our communicating with all the other associations in Wales, and forming part of a deputation composed of representatives from each of them, as they exist primarily for all sorts of causes, and who include among them the great majority of our leading actresses.

The active workers for Woman Suffrage, whether militant or non-militant, are grateful to you for the valuable services rendered to the cause by the members of the Actresses' Franchise League, and do not need Miss Mayo's interesting facts to assure them that her profession, like all those in which women are represented, do realise the necessity and urgency of the woman's vote.

MR. HARBEN AND THE HOME OFFICE

Miss Billinghurst's Case

Harben's contention in statement sent to us, in which she says:—

"I wish to reiterate every word of my previous statement with regard to the way I was treated in Holloway Gaol. In my statement of the facts published in the *Suffragette* of January 24, 1913, I did not err on the side of exaggeration, but in that of restraint, for the sake of my comrades who were about to enter prison and adopt the hunger strike, but I state now, as I have already stated at a public meeting that when Dr. Asquith's doctor sent by the Home Office succeeded in forcing a tube up my nostril, it caused me an excruciating agony to eye, nose, and ear. I was deaf for a long while afterwards, and my nose bled violently. This is described by Mr. McKenna as 'experiencing discomfort.' It proved to be a useless torture, for they could not succeed in pouring the food down the gullet. The doctors who first examined my nose and throat since my release say that it was an act of great cruelty, for they say that no doctor would have dared to have forced a tube up a nose as mine had they first examined it, but they had not troubled to make that necessary examination."

"Another correspondent of the same paper says:—

"It has come to a choice between Liberalism and the Liberal party. We March 12:

LIBERAL WOMEN'S EARNEST HOPE
At the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Women's Liberal Federation the following resolution was carried and sent to Liberal members of Parliament in favour of Woman Suffrage:

"This committee (representing the largest democratic political organisation in the country) earnestly hope that every effort may be made to carry through the House of Commons on the lines drafted by the Liberal Members' Committee, which would enfranchise women occupiers and wives of male occupiers; but they ask Liberal members to bear in mind that the W.L.F. does not prefer that, failing the passing of the wider measure, women occupiers should be enfranchised rather than that the removal of the sex disability should be further delayed."

**THE I.L.P. AND THE WOMAN'S VOTE
Demand for a Government Measure**

The report of the National Administrative Council to be submitted to the annual conference of the Independent Labour Party at Manchester on April 20th and 25th inst. points out that the campaign on behalf of the enfranchisement of women has continued. At the last I.L.P. Conference at Merthyr a resolution was carried asking the Labour party to oppose further extensions of the franchise to men unless women were included. They are glad to report that this policy was endorsed by the Labour party at its last conference in London. They also point out that the question of votes has been settled once and for all when it was before Parliament in January, but this was rendered impossible by the extraordinary ruling of the Speaker.

Mr. Norman Craig asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department in how many instances he has ordered the release of persons convicted of offences in purported furtherance of the Woman Suffrage movement before the expiration of the term of imprisonment to which they were respectively sentenced; and whether in any, and, if so, in how many instances the persons so released have subsequently been convicted again?

Mr. McKenna replied as follows in the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Mr. McKenna is attempting to shift the issue. I went to Pontypool for the express purpose of bringing home to his own constituents what was actually happening in English prisons under his administration. Knowing that there would be denial and controversy, I was particularly careful to keep to the letter of the document that I held in my hand, Miss Billinghurst's own statement, which I had been at some pains to verify. The only point at issue is whether or not that statement is true, and those who have read the correspondence published in your columns can judge that point for themselves.

"The sort of exaggerations attributed to me by local reporter, I had already made an express disavowal which Mr. McKenna accepted before challenging the truth of Miss Billinghurst's statement; he cannot now shift the controversy back on to that issue."

THE ONLY SOLUTION

The National Political League, in their manifesto concerning last Tuesday's demonstration in Kingsway Hall, placing the responsibility for the hunger-strike on the shoulders of the Government, go on to say:—

"Therefore, ladies, we demand that all such disturbances like those which now prevail, cannot be allowed by a responsible Government. What, then, is to be done? A statesman would answer: 'Go to the root of the matter and remove the grievance.' But at Westminster, it seems, petty party struggle for useless party power has entirely obscured that insight into the deepest needs of the nation which alone would enable those responsible to solve the great problem of the moment."

THE EXCEPTIONAL CASE
According to the Political Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, the Liberal

MARCH 21, 1913.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MILITANCY FOR NON-MILITANTS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.
Dear Editors,—I am intending to hold a meeting in order to discuss "Militancy for non-Militants" as soon as possible.

I have arranged for the use of the lecture room at my club, 3, York Street, St. James's, if a sufficient number of suffragists who are interested in this policy will join me. It includes withdrawal of all help, monetary and otherwise, from the country until women are recognised as citizens, and practically amounts to a national boycott.

We are willing to help at the meeting (especially by speaking) and sharing the expenses with me, which only amount to a small sum) write to me at 21, St. James's Road, Tunbridge Wells, stating whether they are willing to help in starting the Union?—Yours faithfully,

CHARLOTTE E. R. IRELAND.

THE SPIRITUAL MILITANCY LEAGUE

The Spiritual Militancy League, of which Lady Aberconway is hon. treasurer, and Miss Sauter, hon. secretary, Mrs. Stanton Coit being chairman, has issued the following manifesto:—

"We have banded ourselves together with the aim of concentrating attention upon the spiritual and vital issues involved in the cause of women's movement. We fear that these issues are in danger of being lost sight of in the heat of the day."

"We desire" proceeds the manifesto, "to unite all who believe that the supreme power of woman is a spiritual power, and from this point of view we would make a greater effort than has yet been made to awaken the imagination and rouse the conscience of the public as to the wrongs suffered by women, and through them by the family. We desire to bring to the world no methods of violence nor any action which may endanger life or property, but by concentration upon the ideal of social justice, by reliance upon the spiritual force which is at the heart of all progress, by perfectly peaceful protest, by extending the knowledge of the Women's Charter, and by working for the reforms it advocates, we will attempt to create an irresistible wave of public opinion in favour of the complete emancipation of women."

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Artists' Franchise League,

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,

259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,

9, Grosvenor Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,

55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,

1, Queen's Way, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,

39, Aldwych, London, W.C.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise League,

45, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,

James Street, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,

2, Holborn Viaduct, Upper Chapel.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,

53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,

Mill Field, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,

2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Women's Franchise Club,

9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Women Suffrage,

Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.

Irishwoman's Franchise League,

Admiral Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,

29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,

23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,

27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government League,

126, Leinster Road, Rathmines, Dublin.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,

32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,

Chester Gate, Ealing.

Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,

23, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,

136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,

15, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,

25, Victoria Street, S.W.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,

5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,

16, St. James Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,

14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster,

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**Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s.
1d. per word for every additional word
(Four insertions for the price of three.)**

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, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, ETC.

A BSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extra. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, quietest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d. en pension 9s.; terms for long stay; finest luxury provisions. Manageress, 478 Gerard.

A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600ft). Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery. Spacious house; 22 bedrooms, billiard room, bathroom; extensive grounds; tennis; conveyances; vegetarians accommodated; Suffragists welcomed; board, residence, 30s. to 37s. 6d.; photos, prospectus, Chas. Hallam, Littledean House, Newham, Glos.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouvierie Road, W. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

GUESTS received in Lady's Country House; good cooking, vegetarian if required; indoor sanitation; hot baths; home comforts; sun aspect; bracing.—Box 266, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court.

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R ESIDENTIAL 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.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W. (near Platt's Lane), open April 15; 1 to 2½ guineas a week; exceptional position, delightful gardens.—Apply Mrs. Errol Boyd.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

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H EATHFIELD, Ilkley, Yorks.—Large furnished house, close to golf links, to let furnished for six weeks from first week in August; four reception, eleven bedrooms, two bathrooms; garden, tennis lawn.—Apply Miss Thompson, Heathfield, Ilkley, Yorks.

I N one of the healthiest and most beautiful Estates, on famous golf links. Picturesque and well-built houses to be let or sold. Prices from £350; rents from £32 p.a. Houses of any size and suit purchasers will be built on instalment system, under which repayments do not exceed rent. Gravel soil, main drainage and water, bracing air, golf club, residents' club, tennis, croquet, cricket, bowls, miniature rifle range, &c. 1¾ miles from Bank; splendid service of trains for business men. Illustrated booklet post free.—Apply Estate Office, Department D, Gidea Park, Essex.

L ARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

T O LET, March, Furnished Flat; 4 bed, 2 sitting-rooms, 21 guineas weekly; six months.—Miss Little, 73, Prince of Wales Mansions, Battersea Park.

WANTED.

L ADY, teacher, away all day, wishes unfurnished room, vicinity Charing Cross.—Box 340, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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A DA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; dictation a speciality.—106, Beaumont Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval or repression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality. Woman, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. (15cts., American stamps) for 101 Questions Answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities. Katharine Bushnell, "Bernard Lodge," 10a, Drayton Park, Highbury, London, N.

L ADIES suffering from Neglected Education speedily benefit by my course of postal tuition; writing, correct speech, correspondence.—Miss T., 31, Compton Road,

M ISS HUGOLIN HAWKINS resumes her lessons in speaking, acting, and reciting. Brighton visited weekly.—Address, 13, West Cromwell Road, S.W.

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