

THE VOTE

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

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1912.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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

Offices: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI, W.C.

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EDITORIAL.

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Principle or Policy?

We go to press before the Speech prepared by his Ministers is read by the King amid pomp and ceremony in the House of Lords on the occasion of the opening of Parliament. One point emerges from current rumours and forecasts—namely, that the momentous Session about to begin will be so fully occupied with necessary business, and with the Home Rule Bill and the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, running simultaneously, that the Suffrage question may be conveniently postponed until the inevitable autumn Session. Women Suffragists are told that they must wait, or be content if the Conciliation Bill gets a chance. The truce of contented waiting for the Conciliation Bill was suddenly broken and the women's indignation aroused by a promised Bill giving votes to all men and to no women, the Prime Minister salving his conscience by vaunting the double chance of the "torpedoed" Conciliation Bill or an amendment to a Government Bill. Now the Government Bill appears to be retreating farther and farther into the future, and much may happen before it is reached. What guarantee have the women that they will get fair and just treatment? What compensation for the abandoned "great campaign" of Mr. Lloyd George? Nothing as yet but unbroken silence. The supreme effort of the Cabinet seems to be to get the woman question out of the way and save its face by presenting an unbroken front on Plural Voting or something else. It is policy, not principle, which rules, and the sway of the minority, so grievously lamented by democratic journalists with regard to Ireland or Wales, may do very well for the women.

Childish and Cynical Cant.

One of those democratic journalists, Mr. Harold Spender, writing in *The Morning Leader*, does not hesitate to say that "as long as the Suffragists continue militant—as they threaten to do—the House of Commons will always find an easy excuse for postponing the settle-

ment of the women's question." So it is a case, not of justice, but of behaviour—and this despite recent events in Ulster. Such lordly superiority did not prompt any suggestion of the disfranchisement of rioters, aristocratic or democratic, in Belfast; but women, earnestly and desperately intent on a just Cause, are to be treated as naughty children by male judges! It argues no great and convincing support on the part of such democrats; it argues also that women must rely on their own resolution and be prepared to fight with determination against dangerous delays.

Liberal Women in Revolt.

The news of the secession of so many prominent women from the Mid-Oxfordshire Women's Liberal Association is a clear indication of the revolt that is spreading among Liberal women. The Women's Liberal Federation gave a distinct lead some time ago in favour of woman suffrage; now Liberal women are taking the determined step of withdrawing from their Party as a protest against the shirking of the question. Amongst the seceding members are Mrs. Sidney Ball, Miss Sidgwick, Miss Drummond, the Misses Rhys, Mrs. Hughes, a Liberal Councillor of Oxford, Miss E. Lewis (the fate of whose suffrage resolution has led to the revolt); these and others are prominent people in the University and the neighbourhood. The Liberal Party owes much to its women, as Mr. Asquith was told at the historic deputation by one of the "Forwards"; it cannot look with equanimity on "straining their allegiance to the breaking point." The example of Mid-Oxfordshire will have a wide and welcome influence as a call to battle or to justice. The friendship and support of women is an imperative and invaluable asset to any Government which sets out to deal with social reform.

Conscience and the Child.

The appalling case, referred to in our leading article, of the punishment of honest poverty by prison should arouse an irresistible protest against conditions in which such things are possible, and which permit the long arm of the law to reach the struggling victims. Such heartrending facts crystallise the motive force behind the woman movement, and enforce the obvious moral of the need for the presence of women on the magisterial benches. Would a woman have agreed with the verdict of three men? Nay, surely. It is time that women had a voice in undoing a law which condemns honest people to prison and their children to the work-house for nothing more than making the best of lamentable housing conditions in bitter, biting weather, and spending pitifully meagre wages on food instead of soap. This deplorable incident forms a striking contrast to the report of Sir John Kirk, the veteran worker on behalf of children, who has just returned from a world tour. Speaking of conditions in Australia and New Zealand, he says that he found the public conscience awakened on the question of the welfare of the child; girls and boys have every possible chance in the matter of education, health, and general welfare. In Australia and New Zealand women have votes—a significant fact. Let the Imperial Government take note and give British women the chance to serve their country in a similar way.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Offices: 1, ROBERT STREET, ADELPHI.

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AT HEADQUARTERS.

Tours and Extensions.—Very encouraging reports are reaching us of the work done by Miss Anna Munro through the Branches in the North-Eastern District, and we hope that before her tour is finished we shall have fresh Groups and Branches to add to our list. Miss Andrews, who has been so long connected with the work of the Women's Freedom League in Ipswich and the surrounding neighbourhood, is undertaking to form fresh groups and branches in districts nearer London. Branch secretaries are urged to inquire from their members if they have any friends who would assist in this work in Chiswick, Chelmsford, Godalming, Grays (Essex), Gravesend, Reading, Southgate or Southend-on-Sea.

Discussion Meetings.—All our friends should be present to hear Mrs. Brownlow (of the Women's Local Government Society) lecture on "Women in Local Government" next Tuesday evening at the "Gardenia" Restaurant, when they will have an opportunity of taking part in the subsequent discussion. The following Tuesday our friend Mr. Henlé will open a discussion on "Some Considerations Arising Out of Adult Suffrage," the discussions in March being opened by Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Nevinson, and Mr. Tanner.

"At Homes."—We hope our friends will come in crowds to the "At Homes" we are holding at Caxton Hall on Wednesday afternoons, February 28 and March 13 at 3.30 p.m. The speakers on February 28 will be Mrs. Pember Reeves and Miss Nina Boyle, and on March 13, Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Tippet. Tea will be served early in the afternoon, and Mrs. Labrousse has kindly undertaken on each of these dates to arrange for music and recitations. Our recent "At Homes" at Caxton Hall have been exceedingly successful, and we confidently anticipate even greater success for February 28 and March 13.

Other Meetings.—We are running a campaign in Battersea from March 11 to March 16, and on the latter date Mrs. Despard will address a meeting in the afternoon at the Small Town Hall, Battersea. Next week we hope to give notices of a number of meetings to be arranged by our branches in April, which Mrs. Despard will address. F. A. UNDERWOOD.

POLITICAL AND MILITANT WORK.

A Correction.

In last week's "Call for Militant Volunteers," it was stated that the League was pledged to abstain from damage to "persons or property." This should have been persons or *private* property. Miss Neilans is anxious to have the names of all sympathisers or members who are prepared to undertake protest work, which may involve imprisonment.

Tax Resistance at Glasgow.

On Friday, February 16, at 11 a.m., Miss Bunten, the hon. treasurer of the Glasgow Branch, is to be tried at the Court House, 117, Brunswick-street, Glasgow, for the non-payment of her taxes. All members in the district should make an effort to be either inside or outside the court, wearing the colours and selling THE VOTE. Miss Bunten is determined not to pay, and is prepared to go to prison rather than admit the Govern-

ment's right to tax women, and yet deny them citizenship.

The Opening of Parliament.

The text of the King's Speech, and the subsequent debate thereon, will not be published until after we have gone to press, and comment upon it must be held over until next week. Our great poster parade will surround the House with a reminder that this is to be the women's Session. Our posters will be "M.P.s, Remember Your Pledges!" and "Justice or Jail?" together with a cartoon showing Mr. Asquith standing sadly picking the last leaves off a flower, and saying, "This Year, Alas!" It is no longer "This year—next year—some time—never!"

Lobbyers.

More lobbyers are needed. Will volunteers please send in their names as soon as possible? The hours from 5 to 7 p.m. and 9 to 11 p.m. are at present not all filled.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

The Dominant Question.

When these words appear the King's Speech will have been delivered, and the most momentous session in English history—from our point of view—will have commenced. Woman's Suffrage has changed from an annual farce played on a Friday afternoon to a thinly-attended but highly-amused House to a living political issue of the utmost importance and urgency. The air is thick with rumours, recriminations and advice—the two latter, of course, being directed freely towards us!

Unitedly Differing.

We are informed gleefully, or "more in sorrow than in anger," by various sections of the Party Press, that the members of the Cabinet are irrevocably divided on the subject, and that to press our vexed question to a finish is to endanger the very existence of the Government. On the other hand, we hear that perfect understanding and friendliness prevail amongst the right honourable gentlemen who hold diametrically opposite views, and that, though they are prepared to fight heroically and to the death in public, in private they are as "thick as thieves."

'And Keep Your Powder Dry!'

No one can blame us if we decline to trust anyone but ourselves at this juncture. The past has taught us that lesson with bitter thoroughness. We know quite well that the best guarantee that we have to-day for fair dealing on the part of politicians is the power that we possess to punish betrayal.

The following excerpt from a letter that appeared in *The Times* some days ago exposes the kind of "support" we have had from so-called friends in the past:—"It is well-known in the House of Commons that to refer a private Member's Bill to a Committee of the whole House is a gentle but effective expedient for giving the Bill its quietus. When Woman Suffrage Bills were brought in—in 1908, 1909 and 1910—it was clearly understood beforehand that the proposer in each case would himself move this euphemistic extinction." We realise that we are not dependent on a private Member's Bill this session. The Government has definitely pledged itself to give us certain advantages, and at the least sign of attempted robbery or treachery we shall declare war.

M.P.s, Remember Your Pledges!

But private Members, too, must realise that they will be held rigorously to their pledges. Trickery of any description is absolutely futile now; our memories have been sharpened to a razor-like keenness, and not a single pronouncement on this subject has gone unscrutinised. Every vote given in this session will mean business. The day of "pious opinions" and "supporting the principle" with one hand, while dealing the death-blow with the other, is gone for ever. Broken

pledges will, like chickens and curses, come home to roost with alacrity and certainty—women all over the country will see to that.

Rumours of Betrayal.

The rumour that the Government intend to drop their Manhood Suffrage Bill and push through a Plural Voting Bill early in the session, leaving the women to take their chance on the Conciliation Bill, has been very persistent the last few weeks. It is said that as the Lords would certainly reject any Reform Bill that contained the principle of the abolition of plural voting, and that this would mean the wreckage of the Woman Suffrage proposal if it were included in the Bill, we should have a better chance of success under this new plan of action. It is also pointed out, rather anxiously, that this procedure need not prevent the Electoral Reform Bill, promised by Mr. Asquith, being proceeded with later in the session. Another rumour has it that the Prime Minister is about to resign his position in the Cabinet, and that then Mr. Lloyd George will be empowered to fulfil his pledges to the letter.

Meantime in all this welter of speculation and contrary opinion the Members of the Cabinet have kept silence. The whole country is clamouring to know what they are going to do, but up to the time of going to press no statement has been made.

A Dark Horse.

If the promised chances of introducing amendments to a Government Bill, which, if passed, were to become an integral part of the Bill, are to be withdrawn, what is going to be offered us in their place? If we have to fall back on the Conciliation Bill, is Mr. Lloyd George—who was largely responsible for its failure—going to support it now and push it through? Is he going to abandon his promised "great campaign" in our favour? He himself has discredited and damaged the Conciliation Bill—he has split the compromise. What is he going to do now?

Government by the Minority.

The only pronouncement that he has made so far is that there is no split in the Cabinet; that he and Mr. Asquith are the "best of friends." If there be no split, it can only mean that one or the other section has yielded its point. Have the Prime Minister and those who think with him overcome their prejudices, or have Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey forsworn their principles? Has the majority or the minority triumphed? This will have to be made clear in a few days.

Our Demands.

If we are to be robbed of our promised advantages then something better must be given to us. We will take more, but we will refuse to take one iota less than the pledged concessions. The Government has persistently asked for trouble over our question. Their attitude has been undignified and illogical from the very beginning, and our supporters in the House will be bringing the principle of representative government into the utmost contempt if they allow any further shuffling or evasion. Mr. Asquith has declared that he is prepared to "bow to the will of the House." That has been declared quite unmistakably by large majorities several times. Let the House insist, then, that he shall acknowledge it without any further evasion and substitute for his Manhood Suffrage Bill a Bill giving votes to women on equal terms with men.

Justice or Jail?

The answer to this question is in the hands of Members of Parliament. Our weapons are primed ready for the renewal of war, but the responsibility for it rests with them, not with us. They can compel the Cabinet to move; they can check and counter-check the plots for delay that we know will be cunningly devised and put forward.

The dark days of 1908 and 1909 form one of the blackest pages in English history. Scenes took place in our prisons then that no one wishes to see renewed.

But if we are betrayed again we shall strike with a vigour and a force that will make our former protests insignificant and unimportant. The House of Commons must understand that it is a dangerous proceeding to rob women of their human rights.

Some sections of the Liberal Press still support the referendum suggestion in spite of the fact that their leaders have condemned it root and branch. We must have a definite and final pronouncement on this question from the Cabinet at once. Suffragists of every description are united in their firm refusal to submit to it, and any attempt to force it on them will be regarded as a distinct declaration of war. MARION HOLMES.

WILL ALL BRANCH SECRETARIES AND MEMBERS SPARE TIME to help in the final arrangements for the Hard-up Social, and rouse interest by bringing friends to a most entertaining evening? Please write to Mme. Van Raalte, 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead.

SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE PREPARING FOR STRENUOUS TIMES, and who may be compelled to wear glasses, are advised to go to Mr. John Pigott, 117, Cheapside, London, for a pair of his rimless eye-glasses, with patent clip, warranted to fit any nose and to keep in place in all circumstances; prices are astonishingly reasonable.

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58, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

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SWEATED IRISH WOMEN WORKERS. PLAIN WORDS TO BARGAIN HUNTERS.

Councillor Harrison, the first Irish lady to be elected to the Dublin Corporation, brought some distressing facts about women's work and wages before a recent meeting of the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association in Dublin, over which Mrs. Anna Haslam presided, and which was largely attended.

Councillor Miss Harrison said she had been interested since its inception in the Industrial Law Committee. It was a crying disgrace that the industrial law for the protection of women was more neglected in Ireland than in any other part of the Three Kingdoms. She described the case of a respectable man, a widower, who has been employed at the City Labour Yard. He was a widower with four daughters, aged 18, 17, 16 and 15. The eldest daughter was working for 2s. 6d. a week and the third daughter for 1s. 6d. a week, both with the same firm, the head of which was almost a millionaire, and she did not think he knew these things. There should be a public protest against such a thing, and if it was not stopped such a place should be boycotted. Low wages in Dublin were the cause of the closing of small shops, of the high rates, and of bad work in dressmaking and laundries. Women had no right to try to get things cheap, to go bargain-hunting, and then blame the employers for under-paying labour. To provide a minimum wage, there should be a fair price. The wit of men and women combined could surely devise a scheme by which they could be satisfied that the price was a fair one for the value of the goods, and included a fair wage. In Dublin particularly the standard of thinking about the social condition of the workers was very much behind the standard in other countries. She appealed to the young women who were studying at the Universities in Dublin to try to imitate the work done at Toynbee Hall, London, and personally study the lives of the poorer workers. Something of the kind was done in connection with Trinity College. Let each of them take up some branch of social study, not so much by books as by personal knowledge.

The Rev. R. M. Gwynn said that Irish women certainly needed the vote; if the workers had the vote it would educate them in their legal rights. He told of workers in Donegal, his own part of the country, who sometimes worked for two years without receiving one penny in cash. Miss Mary Hayden, M.A., observed that women were specially interested in the question of a living wage. She knew of a girl working in a laundry for 2s. 6d. a week, and of charwomen doing hard work for 6d. a day, or even 4d. and some bread and tea, worth perhaps 2d. The minimum wage was a question which should be considered in detail, and women had a spirit of looking into details which men had not. She looked to the vote to bring about the redress of women's grievances. The vote would also increase the sense of responsibility among women, especially among the rich and leisured classes. Miss Duggan, thanking the speakers on behalf of the University Women's Suffrage Committee, said that now Miss Harrison was a Town Councillor she hoped there would soon be a woman magistrate.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Among the pronouncements of Members of Parliament last week we chronicle the following:—

SIR GEORGE KEMP (Liberal Member for N.W. Manchester), speaking at the Suffrage Bazaar at Manchester, said:

Since last year the fortunes of the cause of Woman Suffrage have improved. . . . There is a tendency to say that no Government of any time will fulfil any pledge except it meets their own conscience and it has nothing else better to do. Stir up the present Government, and I am satisfied they will honourably meet the pledge made.

MAJOR ANSTRUTHER-GRAY (Conservative Member for St. Andrews Boroughs), replying to a Suffrage deputation at St. Andrews, said:

The Reform Bill has swept away the Conciliation Bill, and an entirely new book is opened up. Until the Reform Bill is before us it would not be right of any one to make any pledge regarding it. There is something, no doubt, to be said for the suffragists' side of the question, and if the proposal were only to go as far as the enfranchisement of women householders the question would be an easy one, but we have to consider that if women were enfranchised on the same basis as men there would be a million more women voters than men voters. The country might be at war, and I am not prepared to be ruled by women.

SIR REGINALD POLE-CAREW (Conservative Member for

Bodmin), explaining his position on Woman Suffrage, said:

I promised at the general election to support the Conciliation Bill because I believed that women who owned property and big estates, with bailiffs and others under them who had the vote, should have a voice in the country's affairs. But the framers of the Conciliation Bill cut those ladies out and gave the vote to women householders. But having made my pledge I paired for the second reading of the Bill. I had a correspondence with the heads of the Women's Suffrage Society, and explained that although I had kept my pledge I would have nothing more to do with the Conciliation Bill. That is the position I now hold, but as a matter of fact the Bill is now as dead as Julius Cæsar, so it does not matter.

MR. RIGBY SWIFT (Conservative Member for St. Helens):

I think that a woman who is the owner of property or the occupier of property in her own right, who is resident there alone, has exactly the same right to vote in a Parliamentary election as she has in a municipal election, but I am not prepared to go further than that. I am not prepared to extend the franchise either to man or woman so as to give a vote to everybody, irrespective of any other qualification than that of age.

MR. J. F. HOPE (Conservative Member for Central Sheffield), replying to a Suffrage deputation at Sheffield, said:

It has been argued that the granting of a limited franchise to women would be the most effective bar to the establishment of adult suffrage which, with women as voters, would mean a majority of them over the men. If that argument is put to me as a Conservative I am not at all sure that I am opposed to every man having a vote. I decline to give any definite undertaking on the subject, but I would point out that a limited extension of the suffrage to women, such as the household franchise, would at once create class distinctions.

LORD EMMOTT, speaking at the Manchester Bazaar, said:

On the question of policy I confess I should have thought it better to have tried the Conciliation Bill, but I am equally ready to take a very much larger measure. Indeed, I should not shrink from allowing women to become Members of Parliament. . . . The referendum is the device of the enemy.

THE PRESS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

It would be clearly impossible for the Government to retreat with honour from the position under which they gave the double assurance of adding a Woman Suffrage clause to the Reform Bill (if passed in the Commons), and of helping forward the Conciliation Bill. We repeat that an examination of the attitude of Lord Liverpool, Sir Robert Peel, and the Duke of Wellington towards Catholic Emancipation will furnish ample precedents for the action of Ministers hostile to the suffrage should the amendment be carried.—*Nation*, Feb. 10.

The pledges given by the Government to the women suffragists last year were so explicit that it is difficult to see how a discussion of the question can be avoided during the present Session. It is largely in view of this difficulty that the rumour has arisen that Mr. Asquith intends to retire.—*Daily Graphic*, Feb. 12.

Manhood Suffrage will make an impressive appearance in the King's Speech, and no doubt Mr. Asquith will do all that is necessary to guard against any suspicion of dishonouring his personal pledges. But we shall be in no way surprised if the Prime Minister finds that circumstances are too much for him, and is obliged (doubtless with great chagrin) to give up the scheme for this year. If that proves to be the case, the Government will have to pay a heavy penalty for the expectations so gratuitously encouraged. The suffragists will have just reason, quite apart from the merits of their claims, to complain of the levity with which they have been treated, and past experience shows that they are not likely to rest quiet under a sense of injury. Their discontent, too, will no doubt communicate itself to their sympathisers in the Cabinet. There is a widespread impression that the Ministry will not survive this year. It would be singular if its disruption were brought about by the consequences of the Prime Minister's shuffling policy on this question.—*Standard*, Feb. 12.

In Unionist circles the present anticipation is that the Government will give the House of Commons its opportunity to come to a decision as to Woman Suffrage on their Reform Bill, or Registration Bill, as Mr. Hobhouse called it the other day, and not on the Conciliation Bill, which Mr. Lloyd George stated had been "torpedoed." Mr. F. E. Smith's resolute opposition to Woman Suffrage is well known, but it is felt that Unionists who have favoured the Conciliation Bill need have no hesitation in following his lead if and when a Woman Suffrage amendment is moved to the Government's Bill, as it has been stipulated that such an amendment must propose Woman Suffrage on a democratic basis. It is expected that all Unionists will be ready to concentrate in favour of the view that the sweeping measure of Woman Suffrage that will be proposed could not become law without a reference to the constituencies.—*Times*, Feb. 8.

ALL THE WORLD OVER.

A woman of Nebraska says her husband is trying to raise hogs; she is trying to raise a boy. If a hog gives trouble all her husband has to do is to write to the Government and it will send him many publications as to the welfare of hogs, and, if the trouble with the porker is persistent, a high-priced expert to study the hog's welfare. When her boy causes her trouble and his welfare needs attention, the Government has not a single pamphlet and no expert to send out to study her boy's needs. She says it may be as serious a matter for her boy to become a bad man as for her husband to lose his hogs.

Mr. Forbes Robertson addressed the women of California. "For heaven's sake realise the power in your hands, and go forward and upward, independent of all political parties and quarrels. The vote is only a little, little key to open the big door which will admit a flood of light to all womanhood."

Mrs. James, of Covent-garden, has amassed £20,000 three or four times over by selling watercress. She started her business career with only two baskets of watercress and now she owns a watercress farm. She built up her big connection by hard fighting and stern struggling. She says "hard work is the secret of success. I have been out in all weathers for seventeen or eighteen hours a day since I was five years old."

Miss Chadsey, Chief of the Sanitary Police, Cleveland, says she can handle the work because officers of that department have to keep things clean. It is a housekeeper's job on a big scale!

A decree has just been promulgated by the Minister of Education under the new régime of China. Henceforth free education will be offered by the State to girls and boys under ten years of age, and further facilities for the higher education of women, as well as men, will be provided shortly. These reforms have been, for some years, the demands of a large section of already awakened Chinese women.

An attempt was made recently to convict a large fishing company of violation of the law in the use of their traps. A mixed jury was called, and on the first ballot disagreed, most of the men voting for acquittal. But there was a woman on the jury, who began to argue the case, and after seven hours she brought them over to her way of thinking, and for the first time in the history of the Puget Sound fish industry a really important conviction was secured. It is proposed to run that woman for the Legislature of the State of Washington. K. HARVEY, Hon. Head, Press Dept., Women's Freedom League.

"HARD-UP" SOCIAL.

Freedom Leaguers should turn up in full force at the Gardenia Restaurant on Saturday, February 17, bringing as many friends as possible to make the "Hard-Up" Social a success, and thereby raise funds for the League. Tickets are 1s., obtainable from Headquarters, 1, Robert-street, Madame van Raalte, 23, Pandora-road, W. Hampstead, and all Branch secretaries.

Guests are requested to bring contributions to the supper in kind, and a gift for the sale to be held during the evening. Will food reformers kindly mark their packages "Vegetarian"? Mrs. Despard will receive the guests at 6.30 p.m. The Actresses' Franchise League will perform "Explanations" by Marion Holmes and Louisa Thomson Price, at 7 p.m., and "An Englishman's Home," by H. Arcliffe Sennett, at 9.30. There will be a "sit-down supper at 8.30. Dancing will begin at 7 p.m. During the evening there will be vocal and instrumental music, an auction sale, Morris dancing, and other attractions. The Social will be held at the Gardenia Restaurant (where three floors have been taken), 6, Catherine-street, Aldwych, next door Drury-lane theatre. Don't forget the date, Saturday, February 17.

THE CURRENT NUMBER of *The Englishwoman* is particularly varied in interest. Mrs. Frank Marshall deals with "The Domestic Problem"; "Asiaticus" writes on "The Position of Women in Hindu Society"; Miss Maude Meredith, continuing her articles, takes "Women in the Public Health Service," and Miss Clementina Black indites "An Open Letter to Mr. George Calderon" on his pamphlet, "The Organisation of Buying." In the midst of other serious articles comes an amusing artist story, "Dr. Faustus," by Miss Mary Lowndes.

THE LITERATURE DEPARTMENT of the W.F.L. has published in attractive pamphlet form (price 4d.), Mr. Laurence Housman's lecture on "The Immoral Effects of Ignorance in Sex Relations." Mr. Housman has the rare gift of dealing with an important subject such as this in a way which appeals to the highest ideals and compels practical attention. The booklet should be in the hands of all who strive for equal moral obligations for man and woman.

THE HITHERTO IMPOSSIBLE NOW POSSIBLE.—A woman may possess two dresses in one, a real reversible costume. Light or dark, fancy or plain, but smart, well-cut, well-tailored, the "Unique Reversible" is a great boon to travellers. Go to Mr. D. Sherman, 34, Shaftesbury-avenue, W., and choose your style for nine and a-half guineas.

HOW MEN PROTECT WOMEN.

Woman's Perjury ("Daily Mail").

Adelaide Florence Baker, six months' hard labour. "She had made a serious charge against a man who had fortunately proved his innocence; and but for the jury's recommendation to mercy on account of her family, the judge said he would have passed a much more severe sentence."

Men's . . . ?

Annie Doyle, a cook, respectably dressed in deep mourning. Arrested and charged with solicitation by one uniformed and one plain clothes policeman. The magistrate, after hearing evidence completely establishing prisoner's respectability, said that a "grave mistake" had been made. The woman was discharged, after a night in the cells. The constables were not censured.

Husband Sentenced ("Sunday Chronicle").

Three years' penal servitude for man who last July, having quarrelled with his wife, waited until she was in bed, and then beat her head in with a coal-hammer. After months of dangerous illness the woman pulled through with her life, and the charge was altered from attempted murder to "unlawfully wounding."

Girl Thief.

Three years' penal servitude for girl of twenty-two caught walking out of house of which she had found the door open, with stolen watch and chain.

Lighter Offences (?)

Husband, at Glasgow, threw tongs at his wife and killed the sick baby in her arms. Excuse, that he had come in and found no supper. Sentence, four months' hard labour.

Husband who, drawing good wages, allowed wife to starve to death in her mother's home. Two months.

Husband who so assaulted wife that her baby was born with black eyes and bruised head; who gave her 1s. 3d. per week out of wages to keep herself and six children, and who kicked his little son constantly. Two months in second division.

Annie Say, six months in the second division, Frederick John Say, two months without hard labour, for neglecting their children.

ON OUR LIBRARY TABLE.*

A light, bright, amusing book, with many shrewd, wise and witty sayings regarding the woman question and the home scattered through its pages. It will make excellent propaganda, because it is not propaganda at all. It is the story of a girl who fully realised the value of the unpaid domestic work that women do in every home, and there is a delicious chapter in which she goes some way towards making her father realise it, too, by expressing it in dollars and cents per hour, day, week and year, and showing his indebtedness to her in reply to his repeated declaration as to how much his children cost him. There was considerable scandal in the village when Diantha "went to service" for wages, instead of serving for nothing at home, but she reorganised and revolutionised domestic work in the town she chose, and finally made a fortune out of "c.f.d.," that is, "cooked food delivery," and other things. Mrs. Gilman thinks the "fortune of the future" may be made out of organised domestic service, and many will agree with her. A very telling sketch is given in the book of an "old-fashioned" home, in which four sisters and a mother depend upon one over-worked, unfortunate brother; also a clever picture of a trained woman architect, worried to distraction with domestic work which she neither likes nor understands. The book has many happy touches of delicate penetratingness that make me proud to say, "This could only have been written by a woman!"

LEAH ANSON.

* "What Diantha Did." By Mrs. Perkins Gilman. (Fisher Unwin. 4s. 6d.)

THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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SATURDAY, February 17, 1912.

JUSTICE OR JAIL ?

Not for the first time in the history of nations is this question asked. When oppressed peoples have had their eyes opened to the ignominy of their position; when great, urgently-needed reforms have been pressed in vain upon unwilling Governments; when, by those who hold the power in their hands, all sorts of blandishments have been tried and found vain; when endurance has reached its utmost limits—then the cry has leapt forth, "Justice or Revolt?" with all that revolt may mean. It has taken in the past, as it may take in the future, many forms. Death by violence, transportation beyond the seas, or long terms of imprisonment in foul dungeons have, in our own country, been the lot of rebels against oppressive laws and self-constituted law-makers, yet always, however hard the task, these have been found. So it has been, and so it will be. Those who deem otherwise do "not understand the love of the Great Mother, and that, although few, there is no decaying of her heroic brood."

It is with this consciousness inspiring us that now, at the opening of the new Parliamentary Session, we place our alternative before the Government. The question must be settled now. It cannot be any longer delayed. We would have those who flout our endeavours and frown down our claims, understand that the spirit of revolt, which is ever the outcome of felt injustice, is in the air, and that nothing but fair and honest action on the part of those who are responsible for order and peace in the State will lay it to rest.

And why should the stupid conflict be prolonged? It has been admitted by all who are not blinded by prejudice that women are urgently needed in the shaping of social reform. Those who have watched the woman's movement, as it has broadened and deepened, must have seen long since that the time, energy, force and money locked up in the agitation that has grown out of it, are needed for the redemption of our national life, which to-day requires all the wisdom, love and resource that can be drawn around it, if we would avert the dangers that threaten us.

Further, it has been conceded that the reform is inevitable. We heard the other day, on the authority of a well-known politician, that in about seven years the time would be ripe for giving the Parliamentary Franchise to women. Similar prophecies have been made by others who profess to be able to read the clock of destiny. Our answer is always the same. What will be right seven, ten or twenty years hence is right to-day; but during the time of a perpetually increasing agitation the nation is suffering, the resources of the nation are being diverted from their proper channels of use and service.

Let us remember that it is not only the women who are in revolt to-day. So terrible are the industrial conditions, especially in the great towns, that they are becoming intolerable. The children of the workers, badly-fed and badly-housed, working in their early youth, under unhealthy conditions in ill-ventilated and often dimly-lighted offices and work-rooms, are not even so capable of bearing hardships as their fathers and mothers, and when cases of extreme privation are brought before the local authorities, how are they treated? *The Daily News* of Saturday, February 10, brings an appalling case before us. A man and woman were charged at Farnham with causing unnecessary suffering to their children. There are six of them, one an infant in arms. All were

miserably clad, but well-nourished and free from any disease. Evidence showed that the man had been earning twelve shillings a week at a gravel-pit. He could find no house, and had been allowed to put up a tent on a private piece of ground at a rent of eighteen-pence a week. The woman was no less miserably clad than the children. She had spent her husband's earnings on food, with the result that her children were healthy. But that did not satisfy the law. Man and woman were found guilty of neglecting their children, and both were sentenced to a month's imprisonment, the man with hard labour. The infant went to prison with its mother; the five others were taken to the workhouse, weeping piteously.

Compare this sentence with that given at Godalming to the man who deliberately injured little children, and then ask whether the time has not come for revising the law and its administration.

Revolt against dire poverty and its hideous humiliations is abroad to-day; and it is well that it should be so. With the great mass of the people at present the revolt is of the body—blind, vague, threatening, but not yet definite. Women of all classes, on whom we cannot but believe these tremendous forces are playing, have seen further. To the revolt of the senses and the will is added a spiritual demand. They claim independence that they may serve.

It may be said that legislation does not help. As regards the past there is some truth in the statement, for the male legislator, with his traditional habit of mind, thinks too often in terms of coercion. People, for their own sakes, must be made to do this, that and the other; and making can only be accomplished by the whip of punishment, ready at any moment for the back of the transgressor.

The legislation of the future (and already we see the change beginning to work) is to release—the land from disuse; earth's products from greedy monopolists; education from class-limitations; women from economic dependence; childhood from hunger, cold, ignorance and dishonour; old-age from neglect. It is to help forward this work of emancipation that women, loving liberty, have taken up arms, and, until their demand is granted, until they are able to work constitutionally for the ends they have at heart, they must be strangers to the peaceful paths of the days that have been.

Justice then we ask—justice or revolt; justice or jail, or whatever other punishment may follow our breach of the law. Let not our rulers imagine that the worst is over, that the agitation will presently die down, and that, like the hound whipped for its rebellion, woman will return humbly to what an anti-suffragist writer has called, "the faithful performance of her duty"! Duty? If once more we are tricked; if once more we are denied our right to serve our country when she needs our service most, the highest duty any woman can set before herself is "civil disobedience."

Militancy has not exhausted its resources. Like soldiers in the beginning of a campaign we have made many mistakes; but our errors have been of ignorance, not of cowardice. Whenever danger-recruits have been asked for they have been found, and not one of the recruits has disgraced the flag. We still hope that the Government will reconsider its attitude towards the women of the country, and that further militancy may not be needed. In the meantime we are ready for action. "Give us justice," we say; "we ask for nothing more. Persist in your unjust and ridiculous distinctions and we will rebel against your laws, which are not ours." C. DESPARD.

Paragraph from *Reynold's Newspaper*, February 11:—"The task before the Government is a heavy one. There must be no divisions; all sectional issues must be subordinated to the supreme issue of the victory of Democracy."

Of what Demos? Let the Liberal politicians face that question fearlessly, and, it may be, the necessary unity will be found! C. D.

WOMAN'S SPHERE—PAST, PRESENT, AND FUTURE.

We turn then to another popular objection to woman being granted equal rights with men, namely, that she is physically weaker than the male, and is therefore not qualified to stand the same physical strain as he can. Granted that she is muscularly less powerful than a man, I think there are few women who will not agree with me when I say that the power of a woman to endure prolonged pain, prolonged discomfort, prolonged privation, is greater than that of the strongest men.

In the north of England one finds amongst the pit hands, and the women who have sprung from colliery and dock workers, many women whose muscular strength far exceeds that of the average city bred man of to-day. In Lancashire, many of the women strip to the waist and fight like men, and it must strike anyone on careful observation of the bulk of our male youth to-day—sickly, undersized, weak and degenerate as most of them are—that in a few years women will not be able to claim much in the way of muscular protection from their menkind.

As for woman's intellectual inferiority, I think she has proved for herself that this is a fallacy. If she has been up to the present, except in rare instances, incapable of producing stupendous works, there is nothing to prove that as she develops she will not be able to produce such works; and I think every woman who has worked side by side with men and boys in intellectual occupations, or in colleges and schools, speedily discovers for herself that this much vaunted superiority of the male intellect is nothing but a superannuated myth, an exploited tradition, and if women be given for a few generations the same opportunities of development as those granted to men, they will be fully as capable, if they wish to do so, of competing equally with men on any intellectual lines.

One thing that is frequently overlooked by the critics of feminine work is that a man, no matter what occupation, trade or profession he may adopt, is always given every possibility to make himself master of it, every possible aid to carry it out under the best advantages, and granted freely and without question the right to relaxation in whatever form he may elect to amuse himself when his day's work is done. A woman, on the other hand, is invariably expected to be a Jack-of-all-trades, however much she may wish to be master of one, and even if she becomes a breadwinner, and takes up a profession or occupation which a man would consider quite sufficient for him to accomplish successfully without anything else, no excuse is ever made for her if at the same time she is not able to be an expert needlewoman or an accomplished housekeeper. Her work never in any way releases her from her household and family duties. No one ever sends for a man to nurse a sick relative, but women are often called upon to forsake their occupations and lose their opportunities in order to attend to some ailing member of the family who might just as well hire a professional nurse, or go to a hospital if he or she cannot afford to pay for private attendance.

To return for a moment to the much discussed physical incapacity of women to accomplish hard manual labour. If you go to Colonies you will find women doing pretty much the same work as men—outdoor as well as indoor—and the division of labour is far more equal, for in return for her assistance out of the house the man readily renders his share of assistance in the house, and men and women generally work on a more equal basis. It is only an Englishman born and bred in his own country who would think of leaving his wife to do the whole work of the home unassisted, and sitting down to smoke his pipe after the evening meal while she cleared up the kitchen, washed the dishes, and put the children to bed. The

help of the women of the family in such districts is far too valuable for men to indulge in the cheap sneers at them which are so common in this country, while the sphere of women is acknowledged to extend beyond the minding of babies and the sweeping of floors. The idea that women are physically and intellectually inferior to men is a fallacy which encourages the idle women of leisure to become luxurious and useless, and makes still harder than it need be the lot of the women of the working classes, as well as that of the women of the upper classes who are endeavouring to make themselves economically independent. It does no good to any one of them and lowers the status of the sex as a whole. It is only necessary to compare the lot of the bank clerk sitting at his desk, and the young man who sells gloves behind a counter, with that of the charwoman who scrubs out the building, to see that it is by no means the men of the country who do the hardest physical labour.

It is rather an ignominious fact to have to face that in England, the country which has for years prided itself on being at the very top of civilisation, and which is the head of the Church which professes to raise highest the status of women, that as a matter of fact we are at this moment far behind the women of Burmah as regards our economic and social position. In Burmah, every woman, married or single, has an occupation and a business outside her home duties. The cotton and silk weaving trades are entirely in the hands of women, as are most of the retail shops, and the women, moreover, manage their businesses for themselves without interference or supervision from men. Both in the law and in religion the sexes are equal, and there does not exist that double code of morality which is the root of so much evil and disease and misery in European countries.

The same conditions prevail in Siam as in Burmah, and while we in England are fighting desperately to obtain even a grudging acknowledgment from our men that we form an intelligent and responsible portion of the community, the women of these countries are entitled to share equally with the men all their rights and privileges, both civic and moral and religious.

The fact is that woman's sphere and woman's work has always consisted in fulfilling those duties which man has found irksome and tiresome. So long as his time was fully occupied in fighting, he was content to leave the peaceful arts and crafts in her hands; when, however, murder became a crime, animals became domesticated, wars went out of fashion, and the slaughter-house replaced the hunting-knife, many men found themselves "out of work," and cast about to find some other methods of filling up their time. They saw what women were doing, and calmly appropriated for themselves such professions as medicine, weaving, tailoring, etc., making them their own and ousting the women.

In this country laundry work and cooking are regarded as feminine occupations—in China the laundries are worked and the cooking is done by men. A few centuries ago the men of England could neither read nor write, and literature was a feminine recreation. Now literature is regarded as a masculine profession, and great is the prejudice still existing against those women who seek to storm its portals.

There is a hackneyed quotation from the lips of the late Queen Victoria which is often triumphantly thrust at the heads of modern ambitious women.

"Women were not meant to rule," she is reported to have said, and, suffering from such a feeling, that she still contrived to rule, and to rule wisely and well, is very much to her credit, but it does not in any way prove that she was correct in her dictum, nor do I think that Queen Elizabeth, for instance, would have agreed with her.

MRS. DONALD SHAW.

(To be concluded.)

PLAYS AND PROPAGANDA. A Pageant of Shakespeare's Heroines.

Congratulations have been showered upon the Women Writers' Suffrage League for the excellent matinee they gave on February 9 at the New Prince's Theatre, London, and the congratulations are well deserved. From beginning to end the programme was entertaining and enlightening. Miss Cicely Hamilton's humorous prologue, "Forward," was admirably given by Miss Eva Moore, and the ready response of the audience to significant suffrage allusions throughout the performance was quickly aroused by Miss Hamilton's words, of which two lines may be given:—

"There'll be no time for plays, no time to write;
We shall be voting morning, noon, and night."

"Edith," the short play by Miss Elizabeth Baker, in which Miss Janette Steer as "Edith," and Miss May Whitty as the tearful widow, were excellent, shows in a humorous and clever way the admirable aptitude of a trained business woman to deal with a situation usually considered the province of man. The Trafalgar-square scene from Miss Elizabeth Robins' *Votes for Women* was more direct propaganda for the Vote, and proved convincing to certain wobblers in the audience. Miss Lilian Braithwaite, Miss Agnes Thomas, and Miss Muriel Matters were true to life as speakers from the famous plinth of the Nelson Column.

The daring part of the programme was Shakespeare's dream of his heroines, arranged by Miss Beatrice Harraden and Miss Bessie Hatton. Appearing before the sleeping poet, saluting and offering flowers, the wonderful array of women came one by one and declaimed lines from famous speeches. Miss Marion Terry, a distinguished "Portia," gave the "Quality of Mercy" speech, and as "Viola," "Perdita," "Lady Macbeth," "Rosalind," "Kate," "Beatrice," and their numerous companions followed, the stage became a wondrous tribute to the genius of the poet in portraying the varied qualities of women. Miss Beatrice Ferrar, as "Puck," hovered about announcing and marshalling everyone, and Miss Esmé Hersee, with her fairy troupe, was a fascinating Ariel. Mr. Courtice Pounds, as the Clown, scored a triumph in "Sigh no more, ladies," and other songs; and Mr. G. W. Davies as Amiens also sang. The climax was the appearance of Miss Adeline Bourne as Cleopatra, and it was with enthusiastic acclamation that the famous words were received:—

"O women, women! Come, we have no friend but resolution!
All the gods go with you. Upon your helm sit laurel vict'ry,
And smooth success be strew'd before your feet!"



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THE MEDEA OF EURIPIDES. The New Players' Matinee.

Miss Adeline Bourne is to be congratulated on a magnificent success in the title-role of the Medea of Euripides (Professor Gilbert Murray's translation) at the Kingsway Theatre on February 5. It was an ambitious essay, for the portrayal of the character of Medea calls for dramatic power of an exceptionally high order. Miss Bourne's fine histrionic gifts had splendid opportunities in the tragic scenes of this great classic, and she kept her audience spellbound as the story of Jason's betrayal and the ruthless revenge which followed it was unfolded.

The accepted double code of morality was exemplified in ancient Greece as it is in the modern world, but never, perhaps, in classic lore or modern story, has there been told a more pitiless tale than that of Medea's revenge for betrayed love. Miss Bourne showed herself to be a great artiste in the scene in which she confronts Jason and hurls her relentless shafts of contempt, disdain and hatred upon him. Then the sudden change to simulated submission and capitulation was fine in subtlety and restraint, and the final scene, when Medea, like an avenging spirit of evil, taunts him with her wrongs and gloats over his despair, was a triumph of dramatic expression.

Old-world truths which have appealed through the ages to woman are voiced in this wonderful play. When she realises her desertion, Medea cries:

"Oh! of all things on earth that bleed and grow,
A herb most bruised is woman. We must pay
Our store of gold, hoarded for that one day,
To buy us some man's love; and lo! they bring
A master of our flesh!"

The part of Jason was admirably played by Mr. Philip Merivale, and Miss Tita Brand sustained with fine effect the part of the faithful nurse. Mr. Alfred Brydson, as King Creon, Mr. James Hearn, as Ægeus, King of Athens, Miss Evelyn Walsh Hall, as leader of the chorus, Mr. Franklin Dyall, as the messenger, and Mr. A. S. Homewood, as the attendant on the children (Joyce Robey and Helen Conrad), were all excellent. The New Players have started their career with signal success.

L. T. P.

ROSY ON TH' REFERENDUM.

[A Lancashire Suffragist's Straight Talk with her Husband.]

Wod's t' Referendum? Wey, it's a thing 'at wodn't pay
For men, but will for women, tha con bet.
It's not just t' thing, no deaut, for Bills yo're keen abeaut,
But women-fowk mun tak' wod they con get.
Budget it wodn't fit, nor t' Veto Bill—not it!
Home Rule? Weel, ax wod Redmond says to thad!
But it's varry useful still for a Women's Suffrage Bill:
Yigh—chalk for one an' cheese for t' other, lad!

"Refer" to women? No—that wodn't do at o.*
Yo see, they mightn't say wod men 'ud like.
Id's nobbut† mesters, then, or happen nobbut men,
Yo should go to when yo want to end a strike?†
Ad' some fowk it fair caps† 'at t' Lords worn't t' varry chaps—
To settle just which Commons Bills should pass;
Ax t' Church o' England, too, wod for Wales yo owt to do
If yo think a lad con settle for a lass!

When t' Referendum shelves o t' Bills yo want yourselves
We'll think abeaut it, happen—not afore.
Sauce for gander, sauce for goose: we'll share at t' rind an' juice,
Not hev pips an' peel for our share onny moor.
An' if t' Cabinet divides—wey, they mun just tak' sides,
An' let them win 'at con win, eh, owd lad?
But this yer Referendum, 'at some co' "Refer-an' End-'em,"
We'st not hev it—tha con bet thi life on thad?
S. GERTRUDE FORD.

"JANE EYRE"

At the discussion meeting at the Gardénia Restaurant, on February 6, Mrs. Betham, hon. secretary of the Hampstead Garden Suburb Branch, dealt with the subject of "Jane Eyre in its Relation to the Women's Movement," and showed that Charlotte Brontë must be regarded in some aspects as one of the pioneers of the women's movement.

Miss Andrews, who presided for the first time at one of these meetings, opened the discussion with a very sympathetic review of the lecturer's position, and in the various contributions to the debate it was apparent that the argument which appealed most to those present was Jane's Eyre's determination not to be used as a prop for a man's moral weakness. The self-restraint necessary for herself must be practised by him also, if he would retain her respect; and the plea that her refusal to stay with him would drive him into excess was the last one to succeed with so resolute a character as the little Jane, the "relentless exposé of shams."

It is folly to say that women are represented by the votes of the men of their family. No man is willing to sacrifice his suffrage, and let his father or brother vote for him.—*Dorothy Dix* in "San Francisco Examiner."

* All. † Only. ‡ Astonishes; puzzles.

BRANCH NOTES.

NATIONAL OFFICES, LONDON.—1, Robert-street, Adelphi, W.C.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.—Anerley and Crystal Palace.—Hon. Secretary: MISS J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

Interest in our question is being kept up at the local Parliament, and a Bill to enfranchise women is to be introduced by a private member on the 20th. As visitors are allowed, we hope all suffragists will go to listen to the debate. Members are reminded that a correspondence is going on in the *Norwood News* re "THE VOTE and the Public Library," and that they should take it in in order to follow it.

Croydon.—Office: 32a, The Arcade, High-street; Hon. Sec.: Mrs. TERRY, 9, Morland-avenue, Croydon.

On the 9th inst., at our weekly "At Home," we had again the pleasure and profit of listening to a most lucid address by Miss N. Boyle on the political situation. The speaker pointed out the uncertainties that are before us, the possibilities of the Franchise Reform Bill, the probabilities of changes in the Cabinet, and the consequent chances of votes for women. Miss Boyle advised members of the League to study procedure of public meetings, so that all details may be carried out in a business-like way. A collection was taken. THE VOTE and other literature sold well. A committee meeting will be held on the 16th inst., at 5.30 p.m.

Hackney.—Hon. Secretary: MISS P. LE CROISSETTE, 238, Navarino-mansions, Dalston, N.E.

Mrs. Errington, 22, Gascoyne-road, South Hackney, invites members and their friends to a drawing-room meeting at 7 p.m. on February 19 (Monday). Miss Cashmore and her friends have kindly consented to give Mr. Laurence Housman's play *Alice in Ganderland*, and a collection will be taken in aid of the Branch funds. Branch members are earnestly enjoined to bring all their "anti" acquaintances. Tea and coffee will be served from 7 to 7.30 p.m., prior to the meeting. New marmalade now on sale at the Suffrage Shop, 4, Clarence-road, N.E.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—Hon. Sec.: MISS B. SPENCER, 32, Geneva-road, Brixton, S.W.

The members who attended our sewing meeting on Thursday afternoon were warmly welcomed by Mrs. Bertram-Hobson at 179, Clive-road, and a good beginning was made in a pleasant and profitable feature of our Branch work. The next meeting will be held on Thursday, February 22, at 4, Nursery-villas, Underhill-road, East Dulwich, at 3.30 to 5.30 p.m. I shall be glad if members will co-operate with me in collecting newspaper cuttings relating to subjects concerning women, especially cases in court, for the use of our paper.—B. SPENCER.

Peckham.—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. J. PICKERING, 23, Albert-road.

At an animated business meeting on January 31 the following appointments were unanimously confirmed:—Mrs. Cooper, Minute Captain; Mrs. Deal, Literature and Distributing Captain; Mrs. Langley, Local Press Captain; Miss Anson, Treasurer; Mrs. Pickering, Secretary. Will more ladies please volunteer for other vacancies? All members please attend next meeting, Friday, February 16, 8 p.m.

West Hampstead.—Hon. Sec.: Madame JEANNETTE VAN RAALTE, 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead.

A meeting will be held on Tuesday, February 20, to hear the delegate's report of the Conference. Will all members make a special point of attending.—J. v. R.

PROVINCES.—Liverpool (Waterloo).—Hon. Sec.: Mrs. EVANS, 49, Kimberley-drive, Great Crosby.

Our drawing room meeting on February 6 was the occasion of Mrs. Reader's (née Cann's) "At Home" after her recent marriage, and was the first Suffrage meeting attended by some of our visitors. Keen questions were asked by men who were anxious to discuss militant tactics, the referendum, and the right of the married woman to work.

SOUTH OF ENGLAND.—Brighton and Hove.—Hon. Secretary: Miss HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

A members' meeting was held by kind invitation of Mrs. Budd at "Nurnberg," Palmiera-avenue, on Wednesday, to hear the delegates' report of the Conference. Miss Hare gave an excellent and interesting account, at the end of which she emphasised the necessity of increasing the circulation of THE VOTE. The next meeting will be on Saturday, February 17, at 7.45 p.m., to be held at 19, Norfolk-terrace. Mme. Brunel will give a recital from women poets, and all members and their friends are welcome. There will be refreshments and a collection, and it is hoped very many will be present.—E. M. W.

Portsmouth and Gosport.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire-avenue, Southsea.

The members' meeting at the Co-operative Hall, Gosport, on February 8, was well attended. Miss Hattrill gave a very interesting account of the Conference. A whist drive will be held on Thursday, February 22; at "Kingswood," 17, Rochester-road, by kind invitation of Mrs. White. Tickets, 1s. each. Time, 7.30 p.m. prompt.

EAST ANGLIA.—Ipswich.—Hon. Sec.: Miss C. E. ANDREWS, 160, Norwich-road, Ipswich.

Last Thursday a meeting of the members was held at the

office of the League. Mrs. Hutley presided, and Miss Nicholson gave a paper on the Suffrage question, illustrated from the Bible. Her chief point—the dual personality of Adam as signified in Gen. i. 26, 27—was taken up in an interesting way by her audience, and brought forth some suggestive thoughts. The annual meeting of the Branch will be on Saturday, February 17, at 3 p.m.



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WALES AND MONMOUTH.—Swansea.—Hon. Organising Sec.: Mrs. KNIGHT, 23, Walter-road; Hon. Correspondence Sec.: Miss PHIPPS, B.A., 5, Grosvenor-road.

Our mass meeting is now over, and we wish to tender hearty thanks to those who worked hard and contributed generously to make it a success. Many members helped by decorating the hall, stewarding, and distributing bills. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Seyler, Mrs. Hutton, Mrs. Roberts, Miss R. Jones, and the Misses Kirkland. We have also to thank Mrs. Salmon, of the Women's Liberal Association, who was kind enough to take the chair. The meeting was a very thoughtful one, and our resolution was passed with hardly any dissentients. Three of our members, Mrs. Hutton, Mrs. Knight, and Miss Salmon, went as a deputation to visit the Women's Municipal lodging house at Cardiff. They found the house very clean, but there were no cubicles, and no arrangements for the women to cook their own food. A Branch meeting will be held at Dynevor-place on Wednesday, February 28, when Miss Holmes, B.A., will give a paper on "Women and Social Reform." On Wednesday, March 13, Miss Salmon, M.A., will speak on "Parliamentary Procedure." On February 27 Miss Phipps addresses the Violet League on "Women from 1812 to 1912," at the Mond Buildings. Our annual meeting will be held on Wednesday, March 20, at the Grosvenor Café: business at 7.30, entertainment at 8.30, admission free, collection. Please send nominations for officers and committee to the secretary. Mrs. Knight and Miss Phipps do not desire re-election.

SCOTLAND.—Dundee.—Hon. Sec.: Miss L. CLUNAS, 1, Blackness-crescent.

The fortnightly meeting was held on Thursday last, at the Gillilan Hall, Mrs. Allan presiding. Miss Husband gave a very full and lucid account of the Conference in London, in which members were much interested. At the next meeting of the Branch Mr. Robert Blackwood, assisted by friends, is to give a concert and lecture on "Women in Scottish Song and Story." The editor of the *Dundee Advertiser* (Liberal) has lately been advocating strenuously the use of the referendum in deciding Votes for Women. A letter was sent (and inserted) by one of our members emphatically condemning this policy. Opinions of some Members of Parliament and local men were published, and opposition was strong and praise lukewarm. The editor has not yet accepted the suggestion that he should give the opinion of women on the subject.

J. A. SMART, Hon. Press Sec.

Edinburgh.—Hon. Sec.: Miss A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place; Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street; Hon. Shop Sec.: Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-crescent; Suffrage Shop: 33, Forrest-road.

On Wednesday evening we had the rare pleasure of a visit

from Mrs. Despard. The Suffrage Shop was crowded to its utmost capacity, and everyone thoroughly appreciated our President's inspiring words. She dealt with the need for clear thinking in the present day, especially on the part of women; spoke hopefully of the political situation, and at the same time indicated the possibilities of future militancy should it become necessary. The Committee has decided to take the Shop for another year, fully recognising the financial responsibility involved. To meet this responsibility various schemes are in hand, including a second "Birthday Sale" and a Jumble Sale, both in May; and a "Hard-up Social," which we hope will be as successful as our first effort of that kind. Other ideas will be welcomed.—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Asst. Sec.

Glasgow.—Hon. Treasurer: Miss J. L. BUNTEN; Office Secretary, Miss MINA STEVEN, Suffrage Centre, 302 Sauchiehall-street.

On Friday, February 16, at 11 a.m., in the Court House, 117, Brunswick-street, Miss Buntten will be tried for refusing to pay the dog-tax. As so many friends are engaged during the day will all who are free make a point of being present? We are arranging for a protest meeting to be held outside the Court, and it will be encouraging to find a large number of friends both inside and outside the Court. On Saturday, February 17, at 7.30 p.m., an "At Home" will be held in the Centre. Mrs. Wilson will speak on "Votes for Women in the Church." Miss Scringeour is arranging a varied programme. We hope the Centre will be crowded.

CAMPAIGNS IN THE COUNTRY.

North-Eastern District.

Mrs. English, hon. secretary of the West Hartlepool Branch, writes:—"This week Miss Anna Munro has been with us, and her visit has brought fresh enthusiasm and new incentives to us all in our work for the Cause. Owing to the very inclement weather it has been impossible to have open-air meetings, so on the 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th inst. Miss Munro has spoken in the Christian Mission Hall, West Hartlepool, to most interested audiences. Suffrage songs have been a specially interesting feature of the campaign, for which our best thanks are warmly given to Mrs. Garbutt, the well-known musician and a valuable member who has recently joined our League. Good collections have been taken and new members have joined the League. A most successful drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Taylor's, 8, Musgrave-street, an earnest and enthusiastic member. Miss Munro spoke to a large audience on "The Restlessness of Women." Mrs. Norman (W.S.P.U.) presided, and

Miss Sylvia Taylor gave admirable recitations. On Wednesday evening at Brougham Hall, Hartlepool, Miss Munro spoke on "Suffragettes and the Referendum." The local Press devoted special space to Miss Munro's convincing speech. A drawing-room was also held on Friday afternoon, through the kindness of Mrs. Willis, Brougham House, Hartlepool. Our best thanks are given to Mrs. Willis, Mrs. Taylor, Mrs. Garbutt, Miss Gladys Johnson, and to Mr. Norman, Councillor Robert Smith, and Mr. Meredith Atkinson, who acted as chairmen. Miss Munro has worked indefatigably." Miss Munro writes enthusiastically of the excellent work done by Mrs. English.

Montgomery Boroughs.

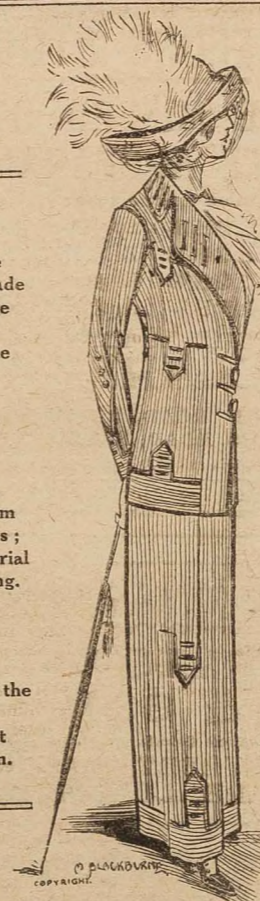
Miss Alix Minnie Clarke, hon. sec. of the Montgomery Boroughs Branch, writes:—"The pretty little Welsh town of Machynlleth, was aroused last Friday from its usual tranquility to a state of fervid excitement and enthusiasm. Mrs. Despard was coming! This was the most talked-of topic of the day; people came swarming in from all the adjacent villages to hear her. Mrs. Despard had to break down a great barrier of opposition, but no speaker on any political subject could have had a larger and more representative audience. The hall was packed to overflowing. The Rev. Fred Davies presided, and on the platform were Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, Dr. Davies, Mr. and Mrs. Ed. Powell, Mrs. Frances Lewis, Dr. Williams. Mrs. Despard was subjected to minor interruptions, but the audience was spell-bound, and the resolution was carried unanimously. The first seeds have been sown in this hotbed of anti-suffragism, but they will not bring forth fruit unless the ground is continually worked; to do this I must have money. Will any readers of THE VOTE and Freedom Leaguers realise the importance of this work in Wales, and send a donation, which will be gratefully received? THE VOTE sold magnificently, over 200 copies being disposed of."

A PERFORMANCE OF UNUSUAL INTEREST will take place at the Rehearsal Theatre, Maiden-lane, on Tuesday, February 20, at 3 p.m., when two new one-act plays and a duologue will be presented by members of the Actresses' Franchise League. Tickets may be obtained at the offices of the League for 3s. (stalls) and 2s. (gallery), all unreserved. The plays all treat of the Suffrage question from different points of view, and are entitled respectively: *Brass and Clay* (Anonymous), *A Chat with Mrs. Chicky*, by Evelyn Glover, and *The Rack*, by Mrs. Harlow Pibbs. Among those playing will be Miss Adeline Bourne, Miss Blanche Stanley, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Mildred Orme, Miss Lucie Milner, Miss Annie Schletter, Miss Inez Benstusan.

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FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO BE FREE.

W.C. (next door to Drury-lane Theatre), 6.30 p.m. N.E.C., 1, Robert-street, 10 a.m.

Mon., Feb. 19.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 22, Gascoyne-road, South Hackney, 7 p.m. Mrs. Gingham. *Chair*: Mrs. Mustard.

Tues., Feb. 20.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mrs. Brownlow on "Women in Local Government." WEST HAMPSTEAD WEEKLY MEETING, 23, Pandora-road, 8.30. P. AND M. GROUP, 1, Robert-street, 6 p.m.

Wed., Feb. 21.—HACKNEY SEWING MEETING, 26, Sach-road, Upper Clapton, 3 p.m. CLAPHAM BRANCH MEETING, 1, Imperial-mansions, Brompton-road, Clapham, 8 p.m.

Thurs., Feb. 22.—KENSINGTON BRANCH SPEAKERS' CLASS, 6, Argyll-road, Kensington, 8 p.m.—Conducted by Miss Boyle. Open to all W.F.L. members. HERNE HILL BRANCH SEWING MEETING, 4, Nursery-villas, Underhill-road, E. Dulwich, 3.30.

Fri., Feb. 23.—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson. PECKHAM DEBATE, Miss Anson v. Mr. Neumann, Collier's Hall (Small), 8 p.m.

Tues., Feb. 27.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mr. F. T. H. Henlé on "Some Considerations Arising out of Adult Suffrage."

Wed., Feb. 28.—"AT HOME," Caxton Hall, 3.30. Mrs. Pember Reeves and Miss Boyle.

Thurs., Feb. 29.—LECTURE ROOM, Public Library, Lavender Hill, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle and Miss Andrews.

Fri., March 1.—CROYDON WEEKLY "AT HOME," 3.30. Miss Fenings.

Tues., March 5.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle. PUBLIC MEETING at Laverick's Dairy, 97A, Rye-lane, Peckham. Mrs. Despard, 8 p.m.

Wed., March 6.—DEBATE, Miss Boyle v. Mr. Maconachie, Leyton Liberal Club, 49, Grange Park-road, Leyton, 8.30.

Sat., March 9.—HACKNEY BATHS, 7.30 p.m. Mr. Mustard on "Need for Business Women in Municipal Affairs." *Chair*: Alderman Tom Hosgood.

Tues., March 12.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mrs. Nevinson on "Women and the Church."

Wed., March 13.—"AT HOME," Caxton Hall, 3.30. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Tippett and Miss Andrews.

Sat., March 16.—PUBLIC MEETING, Small Town Hall, Battersea, 3.30. Mrs. Despard.

Mon., March 18.—HACKNEY BRANCH "AT HOME," Hackney Baths, 7 p.m. Miss Rawlings. "Life and Work of George Eliot."

Tues., March 19.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Mr. George Tanner on "The Paris Commune of 1871."

PROVINCES.

Ipswich.
Sat., Feb. 17.—ANNUAL BRANCH MEETING, 3 p.m., W.F.L. Offices.

Fri., March 22.—PUBLIC MEETING, Public Hall, Ipswich, 8 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss M. E. Royden, Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P.

Liverpool.
Thurs., March 7.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 51, Grey-road, Walton. Mrs. Despard.

Fri., March 8.—PUBLIC MEETING, Waterloo Town Hall. Mrs. Despard.

South Shields.
Thurs., Feb. 15.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, Hepscott-terrace, Westoe, 3 p.m. Miss Munro.

Tues., Feb. 20.—AMERICAN TEA, Victoria Hall, 3 p.m. Miss Munro and Miss Gordon.

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Sunderland.

Mon., Feb. 19.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 10, Fox-street, 3 to 6 p.m. Open-air meeting at 8 p.m.

Tues., Feb. 20.—BRANCH MEETING at Westcott House, John-street, 7.30. Miss Anna Munro. *Chair*: Miss Clark.

Wed., Feb. 21.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, Mrs. Potts, Grassmere, Cleadon, 3 p.m. MEETING in Lecture Hall, Cleadon, 7.80.

Thurs., Feb. 22.—DEBATE on "Women's Suffrage." Miss Anna Munro v. Wm. Priestly, Esq. *Chair*: Rev. Mr. Aldrige. St. Peter's Hall, Green-street, 7.30.

Fri., Feb. 23.—DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, 34, Peel-street, 3 till 6 p.m. Open-air Meeting at 8, Miss Munro.

Sat., Feb. 17.—Hove "AT HOME," 19, Norfolk-ter., 7.45 p.m.

Thurs., Feb. 22.—Portsmouth and Gosport.—Whist Drive at 17, Rochester-road, 7.30.

Mon., Feb. 26.—Middlesbrough DRAWING-ROOM MEETING, Corporation Hotel, 3 p.m.

Tues., Feb. 27.—Sidcup and Chislehurst I.L.P. MEETING. Mrs. Tanner: "The Economic Position of the Working Women."

Wed., Feb. 28.—Brighton.—Mrs. Nevinson.
Tues., March 5.—Gt. Yarmouth.—Mrs. Nevinson.

WALES.

Swansea.

Mon., Feb. 19.—MEMORIAL CHAPEL, Walter-road. Miss Phipps, B.A.: Browning's "The Ring and the Book," 8 p.m.

Tues., Feb. 27.—MOND BUILDINGS (Violet League). Miss Phipps, B.A.: "Woman, 1812 to 1912," 8 p.m.

Wed., Feb. 28.—DYNEVOR PLACE. Miss Holmes, B.A.: "Woman and Social Reform," 8 p.m.

Wed., March 13.—DYNEVOR-PLACE, 8 p.m., "Parliamentary Procedure," by Miss Salmon.

SCOTLAND.

Wed., Feb. 21.—Edinburgh.—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 133, Forrest-road, Lantern Lecture, "New Zealand," by Mrs. Napier.

Thurs., Feb. 22.—Dundee.—GILFILLAN HALL, 8 p.m. R. Blackwood, Esq., "Woman in Scottish Song." Admission 3d. Glasgow.

Fri., Feb. 16.—Miss Bunten's Tax Resistance Trial, County Buildings, 117, Brunswick-street, at 11 a.m.

Sat., Feb. 17.—"AT HOME," 7.30 p.m. *Speaker*: Mrs. Wilson. *Hostess*: Miss McCall.

Wed., Feb. 21.—NITSHILL LITERARY SOCIETY. *Speaker*: Miss Bartowinan, M.A.

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