

# THE VOTE

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

VOL. V. No. 113.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1911.

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.

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## EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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## OUR POINT OF VIEW.

### Taking Off Their Coats.

It is significant to find that the Prime Minister, while urging his men friends among the "antis" to take off their coats and enter the fight against the enfranchisement of women, strongly advised the co-operation of women "in effective militant operations of a constitutional kind." We should like to hear his definition of constitutional militancy, by the way! Although he is still considering whether he will act upon his own advice, he told the deputation last Friday that their only chance of success was in co-operation. This is exactly what we have always asked: the right of women to stand side by side with men in the work of the world. There was another sign of grace in Mr. Asquith's reply. Making play with the manner in which Lord Curzon and Mrs. Humphry Ward skated round the debated word, "referendum," he waived it aside as of no use in general political questions, but thought that it might apply to the women's case. Yet his own powers of reasoning showed him the difficulty of its application, and he went so far as to recognise that Women Suffragists could only regard a referendum of men as "in the highest degree misleading and unsatisfactory." We trust that, to use the Prime Minister's phraseology, the pro-suffragists of the Cabinet have also determined to "take off their coats" and enter the fight. The speeches of Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Lloyd George, the message of Lord Haldane, and the declaration of Mr. Birrell, are referred to elsewhere in our columns. The influence of these men counts for much; but there must be solid, hard work as well. The women have borne the burden and heat of the day; and the men who are in the seats of the mighty must come down and enter the arena.

### The Value of Woman's Work.

"Miserably inadequate" was the judgment of a mass meeting of East-end tailoring workers, who met at the New King's Hall, Commercial-road, E., last Sunday, to consider the Board of Trade's proposals for a minimum wage. We agree in the judgment. Here is the proposal for men over twenty-three: 6d. per hour.

And the same for women? By no means. 3½d. an hour for those over eighteen, if skilled, and graduated scales for learners. We pity the man over twenty-three earning 6d. an hour for skilled work; we are indignant when woman's skilled work is valued at about half that sum. Yet these are the proposals calmly put forward by men whom the "antis" bid us trust, since they are animated by such chivalrous care for voteless women. Chivalry at 3½d. an hour is sweating pure and simple. We rejoice that the tailoring workers would have none of it. It seems that the men are standing by the women in this matter. The best way to help is to become ardent workers to secure the only remedial lever, the woman's vote. Meanwhile, there is value in collective bargaining, whether it be in tailoring or in Post Office work.

### Is it Professional Jealousy?

The reports in the British Press of the legal proceedings in which Madame Curie, the French scientist, is involved, have been particularly meagre. The case is one in which women are naturally deeply interested, for the honour gained by Madame Curie is an honour to womanhood. The case is still *sub judice*, but it has aroused such wide interest that, contrary to custom, a summary has been published in the French Press of the speeches of counsel in the first hearing. Madame Curie is defended by a Cabinet Minister, M. Millerand; he declared that the whole affair was a horrible plot against her, arising not from a domestic quarrel, but brought about "by professional hatred of Madame Curie, which has been growing ever since she undertook her late husband's duties at the Sorbonne." According to M. Millerand, these jealous scientists endeavoured to "side-track" M. Curie by bribing him with a lucrative post in a private institution for the blind. They did not succeed, but since his death bitter attacks have continued, and M. Millerand stated that he was prepared to bring before the Court evidence of an attempt upon the life of Madame Curie, adding "the identity of the would-be criminal will astonish us all." It is to be hoped that the truth will be discovered and that if, as her counsel declares, Madame Curie is the victim of unscrupulous hatred, justice will be done, and that she will be set free from further trouble. We can only wish for her the solace of being able to continue unhindered such admirable work in the cause of science as that which has recently brought her the honour of the Nobel Prize.

### Encouragement from "The Spectator."

Every week we are faced with a serious difficulty—want of space. It is only by a much-to-be-desired enlargement of THE VOTE that we can hope to find room for interesting points which are now crowded out. A friend in Lausanne writes to say that when her copy of THE VOTE reached her last week she found no reference in it to *The Spectator's* recent "anti" article. We quote her words: "*The Spectator* says that the Conciliation Bill will be swallowed up like Aaron's rod. In Exodus vii. 12, I find that Aaron's rod swallowed up all the other rods because it was the rod of God. Again in Numbers xvii., Aaron's rod brought forth buds, blossomed, and yielded almonds. It is encouraging to know on such respectable authority as *The Spectator* that the Conciliation Bill is destined to repeat the miracles of old."

## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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### POLITICAL AND MILITANT WORK. GOVAN BY-ELECTION.

Candidates: Mr. D. T. HOLMES, Liberal; Mr. GEORGE BALFOUR, Unionist; Liberal Majority last election, 2,040.  
Organiser in charge, Miss J. GIBSON; W.F.L. Committee Rooms: 621, Govan-road.

The policy of the League at this election is to oppose Mr. Balfour, the Conservative candidate, because he has expressed himself, verbally and in writing, as an opponent of Women's Suffrage; he has refused to make any promises in our support, but wishes to refer the question to a referendum of the electorate. Mr. Holmes, on the other hand, has given very satisfactory answers to the questions asked, and has undertaken not only to vote for a Women's Suffrage amendment, but to oppose the Third Reading of the Electoral Reform Bill if it does not include women. He has further promised to support the Conciliation Bill through all its stages if the Reform Bill amendment should fail. We have, therefore, issued a pamphlet calling upon the electors to vote against the Anti-Suffragist candidate.

Our Committee Rooms are in the main street of the constituency, close to the office of the Anti-Suffrage Society, which has, apparently, already caused some amusing mistakes, for a very enthusiastic man Suffragist told Miss Neilans that he had almost signed their petition under the impression it was for "Votes for Women."

Miss Gibson, with the help of Miss Buntin, had all the arrangements for meetings in hand and the shop well known by the time Miss Neilans arrived from London on Friday evening; the campaign opened with a splendid meeting the same night, at which Miss Semple held the attention of a very large and critical crowd. Miss Neilans followed, and it was evident that a very favourable impression had been made. On Saturday we had the help of Miss Jack and Miss McLachlan from Edinburgh, and were able to arrange for a succession of meetings in the town.

Our open-air meetings have been the most successful of any Party in the constituency. We were warned beforehand by the Anti-Suffrage speaker that it would be hopeless to hold meetings on Saturday, as the streets are generally somewhat rowdy; but in the afternoon Miss McLachlan and Miss Neilans spoke to an enormous crowd, which was roused to keen enthusiasm embodied in a practical form, when an unknown man in the audience voluntarily offered to take Miss Neilans' hat, and made a good collection on behalf of the League. At night Miss Jack, Miss Neilans and Miss McLachlan had another enthusiastic meeting, which ended with loud and repeated cheers for the speakers. All our copies of THE VOTE were sold out by Miss Gibson.

Polling Day will be December 22, and, judging from the sympathetic interest shown, the work of the Freedom League will have made its mark in Govan.

Miss Bain has given great help in the shop, and we hope to have assistance from other Glasgow members during the last few days. All who are unable to give personal help are earnestly asked to make a Christmas present to pay the expenses of the election campaign.

#### South London.

At the invitation of the Brixton I.L.P., Mrs. Tanner addressed a meeting in Ruskin Hall, Akerman-road, on Thursday, December 14. Many questions were asked, and a most lively and interesting discussion followed. A resolution calling on the M.P. "to press for the inclu-

sion of women in the Government Reform Bill, and to vote against the Third Reading if women were not included," was carried.

#### P. and M. Group.

The meeting for December 20, unfortunately, had to be cancelled owing to Mrs. How Martyn being ill; as the House does not sit again until February 14, the group will not meet for a few weeks.

### NEW PARLIAMENTARY SUFFRAGE COMMITTEE.

In common with nearly all the Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Freedom League received the following letter:—

HOUSE OF COMMONS.  
December 9, 1911.

Parliamentary Committee for Women's Suffrage.

DEAR SIR OR MADAM,—We have pleasure in forwarding you herewith an invitation to a Conference, to be held on the 14th inst., of Members of Parliament and organisations which are in favour of the extension of the franchise to women on broad and democratic lines. Your Association is requested to send two representatives to the Conference, and in view of the importance of our taking joint action to arouse public opinion in favour of the enfranchisement of women between now and the introduction of the Government Bill, we trust your organisation may be prepared to co-operate in this forthcoming campaign.—

Yours faithfully,  
ARTHUR HENDERSON,  
Chairman.

GEO. N. BARNES.  
H. G. CHANCELLOR.  
R. HARCOURT.

FRANCIS NEILSON.  
CHAS. ROBERTS.  
WALTER R. REA, Hon. Sec.

Mrs. How Martyn and Mrs. Sproson represented the Women's Freedom League, Mr. Herbert Jacobs and Mr. Brailsford the Men's League; delegates were also sent by The Fabian Society, The Women's Labour League, The Women's Co-operative Guild, The Women's Liberal Federation, The Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, The People's Suffrage Federation, and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

In his opening remarks the chairman stated that no Society is to be asked to give up any part of its policy, and that, in order to meet on a common platform, the demand must necessarily be for a measure of enfranchisement on broad and democratic lines.

In addition to the delegates from the various Societies, the following Members of Parliament spoke: Mr. Chancellor, Mr. Leif Jones, Mr. Anderson, Mr. Glyn-Jones, Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Neilson, Mr. Chas. Roberts, Mr. Pointer. The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

That the Societies represented in this Conference be invited each to appoint one delegate to a Central Committee to co-operate with a Committee of Members of Parliament for the purpose of co-ordinating the work of the Societies throughout the country in support of the campaign for the extension of the franchise to women on broad and democratic lines.

The new Committee, though independent of the Conciliation Committee and of the Committee of Liberal Members of Parliament, is in no sense a rival; the co-operation of Mr. Brailsford is an assurance on this point. The Conciliation Committee will continue to watch the Conciliation Bill; the new Committee will devote its attention principally to Suffrage amendments to the Electoral Reform Bill. A further letter from Mr. Rea on the 18th, says: "As it is important that the work should be begun at the earliest possible moment, a joint meeting of the Committees will be held immediately after the Christmas holidays."

#### DEPUTATION TO MR. HOBHOUSE.

A small deputation from the Women's Freedom League waited upon Mr. Hobhouse on Thursday at the offices of the Duchy of Lancaster. In the absence of Mrs. Despard, the President, Miss Underwood, secretary of the League, introduced Mrs. How Martyn, hon. Head of the Political and Militant Department, Miss Tite, hon. treasurer, and Miss Neilans, National Executive Committee, and explained that the deputation repre-

sented the opinions of the whole League throughout the country.

Mrs. How Martyn mentioned that they had not come in the hope of converting Mr. Hobhouse as they knew he was opposed to Women's Suffrage, but to put their views before him in relation to the pronouncement of Mr. Asquith on the Electoral Reform Bill. Mrs. How Martyn pointed out that the artificial political limitation placed upon women was all the more irksome in view of the ever-increasing educational and civic development, and that each further extension of the franchise to men rendered women more and more dependent upon the good offices of Members of Parliament who were, even with the best intentions towards women, obliged to pay attention to the interests of men voters rather than voteless women. On behalf of the League, Mr. Hobhouse was asked if, being unable to support the Conciliation Bill, or an amendment to the Electoral Reform Bill, he would abstain from voting against these measures.

Mr. Hobhouse, in reply, said: "I cannot give the promise that you would like. I do not in any way agree with you. . . . I shall take an active part in the campaign against you. I will not give my reasons, and I refuse to answer any questions."

Miss Tite and Miss Neilans also put questions, but Mr. Hobhouse again definitely refused any reasons or explanations.

### THE POLITICAL HORIZON.

Suffragists perceived the importance of attending the Horticultural Hall meeting last Saturday to see what further hope would be offered for next Session. We are compelled to acknowledge that the weakness of our present position lies in the word "if." Therefore, we must shape our policy and conduct for two possibilities—namely, "if" Parliament does, and "if" it does not, pass an amendment for women's enfranchisement next year.

When we met the Prime Minister on the deputation, one of the chief reasons which caused me to believe this was not the time for militancy was the fact that he was an Anti-Suffragist. The Prime Minister may be an illiberal and out-of-date statesman, Mr. Lloyd George may be a political enigma, and Sir Edward Grey, a political knight-errant whose chivalry is much in arrears, but I want to deal with a few concrete facts. The Cabinet could not promote a Bill to include women without the consent of Mr. Asquith; no Party will risk the fall of the Cabinet for the cause of a section of the people who are voteless, for while they may cast an occasional glance at morality, they have always one eye on the ballot-box.

If we had the power to break up the Cabinet, what do we stand to gain, other than a risk of a change for the worse? It would undoubtedly be replaced on the present register by a Conservative Cabinet, which would probably be a house not so much "divided against itself" on this question, but one possessing a stronger "Anti" element. We have spent much time in bringing together the "Pro" and "Anti" elements in the present Cabinet. Judging by the speech of Sir E. Grey and the personal conviction of the Prime Minister, we can force them no further; but they themselves have devised a compromise to meet the situation. It would be sheer folly to try to wreck a Cabinet when the fullest possibilities have been obtained.

The real advance we have made in the outlook, judging by the expressions of Sir E. Grey, is indicated by the fact that there has been prolonged conflict in the Cabinet on the question. Sir E. Grey made the most significant statement in his speech last Saturday, that he would not be a party to the introduction of a Manhood Suffrage Bill which did not give the House of Commons a fair opportunity to put women in; to pass such a Bill, he said, would be invidious and indefensible on the part of the House of Commons. Lord Haldane also wrote to him to say that the government of the people is incomplete without women's enfranchisement.

The next best position to the inclusion of women in

the Government Bill, when introduced, is to proceed on the line taken. We, as Suffragists, have the advantage of the declaration of a Cabinet Minister that the House of Commons would "stultify itself" if it passed a Manhood Bill, clearly suggesting that he will be no party to it, and the Prime Minister, as head of the Government, has pledged himself to give his support to a woman's amendment carried by the House of Commons. This is the most hopeful sign of an understanding that cross-voting shall not take place on the final stage of the Bill, for it would mean the defeat of the Government. The Prime Minister is pledged to take responsibility for the woman's amendment as a part of the whole Bill.

The speech of Mr. Lloyd George did not contain any new argument which has not been used by hundreds of Suffragists; but we have nothing to lose in having him on our side as an advocate in the country.

EMMA SPROSON.

N.B.—The office of the Women's Freedom League will be closed from Saturday afternoon, December 23, until Monday morning, January 1.

## "Thinking Women Read The Standard."

IN a few weeks this phrase has become a truism. Why? Order **The Standard** for a week, or a day, and you will see. It is because, since October 3, **The Standard's** daily news pages have included one headed:

### "WOMAN'S PLATFORM,"

which every Thinking Woman in the land, and very many thinking men, want to see and to study every day. "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" has ended what was called the "Press Boycott" of the serious interests of thinking women—not their ribbons and ornaments, but their thoughts, aims, claims, views, hopes, deeds, and—Work.

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1. Following "WOMAN'S PLATFORM" closely and day by day in **The Standard**, and using freely in women's interests, as opportunity offers.
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## DECLARATIONS OF CABINET MINISTERS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

SIR EDWARD GREY, speaking at the meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation, on December 16, to inaugurate "the Woman Suffrage Campaign," said, in the course of a long speech,

That he was prepared to vote for the Conciliation Bill as it stood rather than see it wrecked. He was, however, never contented over the exclusion of married women from that Bill, and upon its merits it would have been his wish to vote for an amendment to include married women. They had, however, the risk with the Conciliation Bill—and a great risk it was—that unless the supporters of women's suffrage were absolutely united upon comparatively narrow lines, those opposed to women's suffrage, by throwing their votes to one side and then to the other, might have destroyed it altogether.

Now the situation had been changed to some extent. If the House of Commons put in an amendment to the proposed Government Suffrage Bill the opponents of women's suffrage could not wreck the chances of the Bill, because any amendment put to the Bill, so as to include woman's suffrage, would have the whole organisation of the Government behind it.

He thought the main object upon which they should unite was to add to the Government Bill an amendment which would put into the Bill all that the Conciliation Bill would have done, and would include married women as well. He wanted the household to be represented by husband and wife. Most of them there were against plural voting, but not in the sense that if there was a household where there were two partners, both equally interested in the object of the home, there should not be two votes. Let them unite on the question of something like household suffrage for women, put everything else aside, and make one great effort to carry it.

They were asked: Why does not the Government put Women's Suffrage into the Bill when it introduces it, and why do not the people in favour of Women's Suffrage insist on that being put into the Bill when it is introduced?

Supposing they did so, the result would be that the Government would break up, and there would be no Bill of any kind. If those in favour of Women's Suffrage resigned because women were not included in the Bill, the Government would break up, and if they insisted upon their inclusion in the Bill, then those opposed to Women's Suffrage, including the Prime Minister, would resign, and the Government would equally break up. But he reminded them that, however much they differed in regard to Women's Suffrage, they were all united equally in loyalty to the Prime Minister. Furthermore, if the other party came into office, they would be no more united on that question than the present party were.

The House of Commons, therefore, was the thing that mattered. It was to him inconceivable that the House of Commons, which had more than once by large majorities approved the principle of Women's Suffrage, should now calmly proceed to pass through all its stages a Bill widening the Suffrage to men without doing something to remove the barriers to women. Let them all be united in recognising the Government Bill as the greatest opportunity Women's Suffrage had yet had, and do all they could to get Women's Suffrage included in that measure.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE, after supporting the statement of Sir Edward Grey on the general question, said he had been told

That no mandate had been given for carrying Women's Suffrage in the present Parliament; but, why not? How was the House of Commons to receive a mandate? There was only one way in which the House of Commons could get a mandate for carrying any Bill, and that was by each Member getting it from his own constituents. He forgot how many Members in the House of Commons were pledged to Women's Suffrage, but all who were pledged were pledged in the sight of their constituents.

If 300 or 400 had been returned without taking their constituents into their confidence, and had suddenly voted in favour of the Enfranchisement of Women, then there would be a good deal of ground for the complaint that they had no mandate. The Prime Minister, in 1908, had declared this to be an open question, and had said that if it were carried by a majority in the House of Commons and incorporated in the Government Bill, the Government would accept responsibility for it. From that moment it ceased to be a pious opinion, and became an issue of the first practical importance. . . . Had the government by men been such a success that men could claim a monopoly of government? Within a mile of the Throne and the Houses of Parliament they had poverty, wretchedness, and squalor that filled their hearts with disgust and horror. If that is the government of men, why have not men yet devised a better way of settling international quarrels than blowing each other's brains out? All the great problems of life men and women have settled together—the deepest and greatest problems of life, the problems that really matter; the difficulties of life they have shared; the sorrows of life and its trials they have shared—it is the oldest partnership, the most enduring, and the most successful, and I say it will be a day of blessing for this Empire when that partnership is carried into the sphere of government."

LORD HALDANE, who was prevented from being present by a long standing engagement in the North of England, sent through Sir Edward Grey the following message:—

If I had been with you and Lloyd George I should have desired to express myself emphatically. The development of political life in this country has, in my opinion, reached a stage where it is no longer either logical, expedient, or just to withhold the franchise from women. The argument against the extension based on a supposed principle comes too late in the day. In substance the domain of our public life has, with the single exception of the Parliamentary franchise, been thrown open to women. We invite their co-operation in all practical movements, and not least in those concerned with Imperial politics. How can we insist any longer on a supposed natural disqualification for government?

As for the fear of domination by women because of their numbers or of their destroying the virile traditions of our race, it does not weigh with me. Leadership is no question of mere numbers. I have confidence in the forces that make for the influence of man, and I leave to Nature herself the preservation of the balance and the solution of problems which ought not to arise while human nature remains what it is.

But for the rest, looking at the complex and intricate social questions which are ahead—questions with which Parliament is being called on in an increasing degree to occupy itself—I see nothing but gain in the full participation of women in the franchise.

### A BIRRELL DIALOGUE.

The Chief Secretary for Ireland (Mr. Birrell, M.P.) having agreed to meet a small Deputation from the Manchester Branch of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, for a friendly talk upon the question of the proposed Government Reform Bill and the intended Women's Suffrage amendment thereto, the meeting took place after the recent Liberal Demonstration at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

The interview, given in the midst of a general company of Mr. Birrell's friends, was of an informal and hurried nature, only lasting about ten minutes in all. To the surprise of the deputation Mr. Birrell said that he could only spare about five minutes.

Mr. Sam Brooks (Hon. Sec.) began by asking Mr. Birrell if he accepted the theory of "Cabinet responsibility," the theory that each and every member of a Cabinet was equally responsible for every Government measure, and if so, would not he (Mr. Birrell—an avowed Suffragist) be as responsible as any other member of the Cabinet for the proposed Bill which, as introduced by the Government, proposed to grant more votes to men but none whatever to women?

MR. BIRRELL said that he did not accept the theory of "Cabinet responsibility" just put forth. In the Cabinet Members had differences of opinion; and they compromised with each other.

MR. BROOKS: What do you think will be the exact nature of the Women's Suffrage amendment to the Reform Bill, which, it has been suggested, would be moved from the Government Front Bench by a Cabinet Minister?

MR. BIRRELL: I have no idea; I could not say. Half a dozen different amendments may be moved.

MR. BROOKS: In case the Reform Bill were introduced to-morrow, would you be favourable to a "widening amendment," proposing to confer the vote on "Married Women," as suggested, and, indeed, insisted upon, by Mr. Lloyd George, in respect to the Conciliation Bill?

MR. BIRRELL: Personally I should not be favourable to it; I am opposed to it, but I would vote for it, in the last resort, if other Women Suffrage amendments, of which I approve, were outvoted, rather than leave the women out of the Bill altogether.

MR. BROOKS: In the event of an Adult Suffrage amendment being moved to the Reform Bill, would you be able to vote for it?

MR. BIRRELL: No, rather than do so, I would prefer to give up my seat in the Government. I am strongly opposed to such a wide extension of the franchise at the present, in one instalment. I am sixty-three years of age, and if Adult Suffrage became law I would give up politics altogether.

MR. BROOKS: But supposing the Adult Suffrage amendment stipulated that the eligible age for voting should be, say, twenty-four for women, because they are considered responsible persons before the law at an earlier age than men.

MR. BIRRELL: Ah! In such a case I might reconsider my objections.

MR. BROOKS: We are constantly being told, by Suffragist members of the Cabinet, "Why do you pester us, why not pester and try to convert the anti-suffragist members of the Government?" Now, would you mind telling us who are the avowed anti-suffragist members of the Cabinet, so that we may "pester" and try to convert them?

MR. BIRRELL: I am afraid I must refuse to do that.

Mr. Birrell then allowed himself to be dragged away from the Deputation by his friends (Mr. A. Haworth, M.P., and others) and, as he was making his way to the door, it was impossible to put further questions to him, although it had been intended especially to ask him whether he and the Government proposed to grant votes to the women of Ireland in the intended Home Rule Bill, and also whether he himself and the other Suffragist colleagues of Mr. Lloyd George in the Government would aid that gentleman in his efforts to "dish" or "torpedo" the

Conciliation Bill, which was certain to obtain a large majority in the House of Commons, by means of an early, rather than later, introduction of the proposed Government Reform Bill.

The Deputation state that they were greatly disappointed with the unsatisfactory nature of the interview which Mr. Birrell granted them, and they much regretted that he did not give them an opportunity to extract his opinions in regard to the important matters just mentioned.

MR. RUNCIMAN, SPEAKING AT A LIBERAL DEMONSTRATION AT Chester last Thursday, said, in answer to a written question sent up by Miss Woodall, hon. secretary of the W.F.L. (Chester Branch): "Most certainly I will vote for the amendment to include women in the Reform Bill." The statement was greeted with loud applause.

## WOMEN CLERKS IN THE POST OFFICE

For the first time a deputation of the Association of Women Clerks was permitted recently to wait on the Postmaster-General, Mr. Herbert Samuel, at the G.P.O. Miss E. H. Stirling, a member of the Women's Freedom League, was one of the chosen representatives for the Postal Order Branch, and made several good points in the discussion which followed the speeches.

The main points which the deputation placed before Mr. Samuel on behalf of the Women Clerks were:—

(1) The adoption of the principle of equal pay for equal work; (2) The lack of prospects of advancement in the Post Office.

Miss Howse, chairman of the Association, in thanking the Postmaster-General for receiving the deputation, pointed out that it represented voteless women who were dependent on the good offices of male sympathisers and unable to bring any direct pressure to bear on Members of Parliament to redress grievances. Concisely, and with careful argument, she outlined the case for equal pay, pointing out that the existence of an ever increasing number of underpaid women in the clerical and administrative branches of the Post Office was a menace to the prospects of men, also that the Department would stand to gain by the elimination of the competition of cheapness which is now harassing both men and women. It was further urged that the increased efficiency of the women, when better pay enabled them to live under more favourable conditions, would raise the standard of the Department.

The Postmaster-General admitted that the work of the Women Clerks is very well done, but said that women have nearly twice as much sick leave as men in similar departments. Miss Howse pointed out that the general sick leave in the Post Office, according to the Postmaster-General's Report, shows only four days per annum more than men. Mr. Samuel agreed, but maintained that the real point of difference is that most men have a wife and family to support, whereas it is exceptional for a woman to have relatives dependent upon her.

In reply, the members of the deputation referred to the number of cases in which the brothers in a family marry and the women wage earners have to support parents and sisters; a young woman clerk may have few responsibilities, but they increase as she grows older and the family divides; also that single men receive the higher wage, whereas women with relatives to keep continue to get the lower.

The result of the interview and of the free discussion is summed up in *Association Notes*, the quarterly paper of the Women Clerks, thus:—"We feel confident that if Mr. Samuel maintains an unbiassed mind and emancipates himself from the thrall of the permanent officials, who are for ever searching for means of making petty economies and—following the lines of least resistance—cutting off chances of the promotion of women in the Service, whilst leaving the salaries of men untouched, he will be bound to recognise that we have been unfairly treated."

### An Impending Injustice.

The following resolution, passed at a meeting of the women clerks employed in the Money Order Department, gives succinctly

the grievance which is felt to be but the beginning of further disabilities:—

That this meeting of women clerks of the Money Order Department protests against the degradation of the class of woman clerk by the introduction of a grade of clerks whose pay and conditions of service are inferior to those laid down by the Hobhouse Committee for the clerical work of that department, and considers the introduction of such a scheme a direct violation of the Postmaster-General's repeated asseverations that the rate of pay fixed by the Parliamentary Committee could not be interfered with. This meeting also condemns the action of the Postmaster-General in further restricting the pay and prospects of women clerks in the Post Office while the representations of the deputation recently received by him are presumably still under consideration and when the appointment of a Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry in the immediate future is decided upon, and calls upon him at once to withdraw the scheme.

The Postmaster-General, Mr. Herbert Samuel, was present at the fourth annual "At Home" last week of the Association of Women Clerks of the General Post Office. It seems, however, that when everything was outwardly smooth and fair, the Treasury had in their possession a revision scheme which sought to effect large economies at the expense of the women clerks by cutting down their salaries as fixed by the Parliamentary Committee.

The salary paid to the women clerks begins at present at £65, and rises annually by £5 to £110. There are also prospects of promotion to more highly-paid positions. This scale was fixed by the Hobhouse Committee in 1907, and the women state that, despite the fact that since then the work has increased both in complexity and responsibility, particularly as a result of the Old-Age Pensions Act (the examination of the paid pensions orders being carried out in the Money Order Department), the permanent officials of the Secretary's Department are introducing a lower grade of clerks, with longer hours, less pay, and inferior conditions generally.

For instance, instead of receiving from £65 to £110 a year, the new class are to receive a weekly wage of 18s., rising to 34s., and for this they must work eight hours a day (instead of seven under the present system) and will receive less holiday. One result of the innovation, the women contend, will be practically to stop all promotion. Time after time they have agitated to receive the same wages for the same work as men, and have repeatedly received the reply that the wages were fixed by the Hobhouse Committee. The women claim that if that were a valid reason for refusing to increase the scale, it should be an equally valid reason against lowering the scale, and that the formation of a new grade is merely an official manoeuvre for circumventing the report.

Miss M. L. Cale, hon. secretary of the Association of Women Clerks, writing on the subject, says:—"Although the inception of the scheme of reduction may not be due to Mr. Samuel, unless he interferes to preserve the women's salaries from reduction he will be held to be guilty of conniving at a monstrous piece of injustice. Mr. Samuel has referred the staff in general to the Select Committee which will be appointed in 1913. Let him, therefore, withdraw his scheme and leave it to the Select Committee to decide in fair debate whether the work now done by the women clerks is still worth what it was considered to be worth in 1907." The policy of the Association is to resist any increase in water-tight compartments; it seeks to lessen the already existing classes by getting the sex bar removed. The Department affected at the moment is striving to get the help of Members of Parliament, but already realises that even a strong association has not been able to protect voteless women from serious financial changes.

Mr. Samuel's latest reply to questions in the House of Commons was as follows:—

"The work was really not appropriate to the higher grade. The work which had been done in the past had sometimes to be reviewed. It was sometimes found that through an oversight very elementary duties were being performed by people in receipt of salaries far above the value of that work. It had been found to be so in the case of the Money Order Department. That was why a new class had been introduced. Under a commercial firm the work transferred to the new class would probably be done by boys. The change would not nullify the increase of clerks' salaries from £55 to £65 recommended by the Hobhouse Committee. The existing women clerks would all be retained in the service, but the number taken into the service in future would be somewhat diminished."

The following data are of interest in regard to women's work in the Post Office:—

- 1871. Women clerks introduced to the General Post Office.
- 1881. Open competitive examinations and £65 per annum, increasing by £3 to £80, six-hour day (Second Class).
- 1891. Seven-hour day and increase of £20½ to maximum, £100 (Second Class).
- 1897. Reduction of minimum to £55, increasing by £2 10s. to £70, then by £5 to £100 (Second Class).
- 1907. Hobhouse Committee decided £65, increasing by £5 to £110 (Second Class).
- 1911 (December 11). Introduction of new class, 18s. to 34s. a week, to do the simplest duties done for the last eight years or so by girl clerks, who after two years automatically went on the woman clerk's scale.

## THE VOTE.

Proprietors—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., Ltd., 1, Robert Street  
Adelphi, W.C.

Secretary—Miss H. HOLMAN.

Directors—Mrs. C. DESPARD, Mrs. E. HOW MARTYN, B.Sc.,  
Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE, Mrs. M. H. FISHER.

SATURDAY, December 23, 1911.

### "COLD COMFORT."

We wonder if either the Prime Minister or the distinguished deputation of Anti-Suffragists who waited upon him last week were satisfied with the interview? We learn that he praised their lucid arguments, that he admired their determination, and that he counselled additional efforts. Almost he seemed to be persuaded to add the weight of his own eloquence to their campaign. He said, moreover, that the Suffragists were prematurely jubilant, and yet he could give the deputation but "cold comfort."

They had suggested a Referendum. Mr. Asquith very aptly asked to whom was the appeal to be made. To the men? But then, certainly, the women would not be satisfied. To men and women? Possibly that would be juster, but the practical question arose, To what women? He did not, indeed, encourage his visitors to hope that a possible solution of the great question that has been agitating the nation would be found in this direction. The final conclusion was very much the same as that given to the Suffragists. Everything depends upon yourselves. Work as hard as you can.

We do not doubt that the Anti-Suffragists will take this advice. They may even congratulate themselves on the Prime Minister's sympathy and geniality.

Nevertheless, the outstanding words are true. He could give them but cold comfort. For there can be no doubt the hope and the fervour belong to us, the tide has turned in our favour; and if we can but, during these next few months, draw together in perfect unity, if we can show a determined front, the battle is ours.

During the past week there have been, besides the Anti-Suffrage deputation, two events of great interest. The first was the Tax-Resistance dinner, attended by members of all the great Suffrage societies. But for one speech, redolent of party-feeling, it was admirable in temper and spirit. Its chief note was the one which, at the present moment, it is more necessary than ever to strike—combination; different methods, but one aim—a readiness to unite where united action is possible. The second was the great meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation at the Horticultural Hall, addressed by Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George, which, as every woman in the Hall must have felt, was a triumph of organisation.

Some of us might have wished that opportunity had been given for questions, the answers to which might have cleared up doubts and misgivings entertained by some in the audience, and perhaps this may be arranged on another occasion. This was rather of the nature of a demonstration, and, looked at from that point of view, nothing could have been more magnificent. Mrs. Eva Maclaren, in an opening speech full of spirit, alluded to the Prime Minister and the Anti-Suffragist deputation. It had been said that our jubilation was premature. We should be poor campaigners, she maintained, if we entered this struggle with dejected spirits. We reserved our jubilation for the successful close of the campaign. Now, our temper must be that quiet confidence and determination in which great things were wrought out. The goal was yet to be won, and it could only be achieved by tireless effort.

Sir Edward Grey gave the first speech, and no one could fail to admire its straightness, its courage, and its wisdom. He began with the principle that lies behind

the demand. "Are you," he said to opponents, "making for progress by limiting the work and the opportunities of woman? But if you try to widen her interests, as is being done now both by men and women, what is your object? That she may be a better plaything, a pleasanter companion? That would be a mean object. Is it not rather that, pressing out into wider worlds, her influence may be powerful in humanising society?"

But the most interesting part of his speech was that in which he defined the present situation. Never, in his opinion, has the prospect been brighter.

Analysing the chances of the Conciliation Bill, he said he had seen "rocks ahead" in widening amendments. Rather than wreck the Bill he would himself have voted for it under any circumstances, but he had never been content with the exclusion of married women.

He saw in the Electoral Reform Bill with the proposed amendment a greatly improved chance. To him it was inconceivable that the House of Commons could reject it. Did they do so, they would prove themselves lacking in consistency and in logic.

The speech by Mr. Lloyd George which followed was remarkable from several aspects. As to the chances—more than the chances, the virtual certainty of success—he endorsed every word spoken by Sir Edward Grey. He scouted the assertion that no mandate had been given by the electorate, pointing out that a large majority of constituencies had sent to the House of Commons representatives pledged to support a Woman's Suffrage Bill. In illustration of the fact that laws which deeply affect the interests of women are being passed without consulting them in any way, he pointed to the Insurance Bill, which affects no less than four millions of women. He also reminded his audience that one of the four Insurance Commissioners is a woman. She could be trusted to administer in this complex and difficult business; but she could not be trusted with the vote. To carry this through every grain of resource and energy must be used. "If we pull together nothing can prevent our success." All this was rapturously applauded, and the meeting broke up, animated, as we could not but feel, with a joyful sense of hope.

After expansion comes reflection. We ask what does it all mean? Do we trust unduly? Thinking that our feet have almost touched the long-desired goal are we, in 1912, as in so many previous years, to be put back again into the wilderness? Is the comfort cold?

Without being prematurely jubilant, we would say, in all seriousness, that we believe something is to be put to our count. That, with no sensation to attract them, women should fill such a building as the Horticultural Hall, to overflowing; that two Cabinet Ministers should be on their platform bringing a message of help and goodwill from a third—Lord Haldane—that the speakers should assert with such conviction their assurance of success—these are surely indications of that which we long for, the end of our first great battle for independence.

Our first battle, for those who have been in the thick of it know that it is only the first, that many more have to follow. The struggle through which we have been passing has borne fruit. We have seen shadows and dreamed dreams. In one of Maeterlinck's symbolic plays the curtain opens on a company of blind people wandering and stumbling as they move about in a rough desert region. Amongst them is a woman, supposed to be mad, with a baby in her arms. We gather from their talk that they have been in an asylum and that a priest has brought them out. He seems to have deserted them, for they cannot hear his voice. But the priest is lying amongst them dead. A dog that has strayed into the company finds the body, and his howling draws the people round, and they feel themselves lost, feel that their guide has gone. Suddenly the mad woman gives a cry; the child wails, and another woman, catching the baby in her arms, rushes out into the

wilderness. Then all are silent; they hear footsteps. On one here and another there the light begins to break. Slowly they follow the madwoman and the child, and the curtain falls. That is a parable of to-day. We have been as blind people groping in the darkness. It is slowly lifting. The madness of us—the few who refuse to accept defeat—the vision of the child crying for the light, have broken the spells of convention and prejudice. When the curtain of misunderstanding rises we shall be able to perceive the world that needs us, and neither the aloofness of the adversary nor the cold comfort of the candid friend will trouble us, for we shall be ourselves; we shall know that we are sharers in the life of that dual humanity to which, in the beginning, dominion over the material universe was given.

C. DESPARD.

### THE SUCCESSORS OF JOHN HAMPDEN AT DINNER.

It was a gay and delightful scene; the Victoria Hall of the Hotel Cecil was at its brightest on the evening of December 12. There was that happy hum of conversation and ripple of laughter which always betoken enjoyment. The diners as they sat at the high table, faced by many round tables, certainly enjoyed the good things which the Hotel Cecil provides on such occasions. On those tables were beautiful flowers and something more—charming little banners in brown, white, and black, bearing the words: "No Vote, No Tax"; and Britannia looking down sorrowfully from her pedestal on which were inscribed the words: "Women's Tax Resistance League." Here was the dominant note of the evening—artistic sense allied to earnest purpose. Still something more—menus which had another end in view than merely to give the names of soups and entrées, seeing that they bore the dignified figure of John Hampden himself, reproduced by permission of the Lord Chamberlain from the statue in the Houses of Parliament. John Hampden the tax-resister, the gaol-bird, who stands now as the bird of freedom, honoured everywhere to-day. Is it prophetic? "Will the women successors of John Hampden be thus honoured in two hundred years or less? I hope so!" said Lord Russell. Over the entrance to the Hall was another representation of the famous man who withstood the King and a bad law and won the fight over Ship Money. There were ships on our programmes, and a wondrous ice-ship as a further decoration of the Hall; it was illuminated from within, a wonder of the ice worker's art; it gradually melted in the warmth of the evening's enthusiasm. Was it, too, prophetic—prophetic of the melting of the bad laws against which the women are fighting to-day?

Not wholly an evening of feasting and fun; there was the serious business of the speeches, preceded by the honouring of the loyal toasts, announced in clear and penetrating tones by the Toast Mistress, Mrs. Arcliffe Sennett, and the inevitable photograph. Up rose the chairman, Sir Thomas Barclay; then came the silence of intent listening. Bold were the words of Sir Thomas: "I hold, I hope every man holds the equality of man and woman as a natural right; no man has vested interests in the disability of the other sex. The highest position in the land has been held by a woman: the Queen; yet women have been denied the right to say who shall serve under the Queen. In municipal affairs the woman's vote has made for straightforward economy; the Parliamentary vote would bring into family life greater harmony and comradeship. The self-renunciation of women is a marvel to men; their powers of organisation are one of the glories of the century. I say, Go on, go on! They who pay the piper have the right to call the tune. This is the foundation of English ideas of justice. See that you do call the tune!"

"Does it strike you, my friends, that we are law-breakers?" asked Mrs. Despard. "We have drunk

the loyal toasts, and yet we are conspiring to break the law of the land; not only conspiring, but determined to do it; some of us have broken it more than once; and those who have not are aiders and abettors. Yet we are all gay, cheerful, hopeful. This delightful scene is before our eyes, but we have other memories: the man in possession, the auctioneers' rooms, even though now auctioneers will sometimes take the chair and keep order at our protest meetings! There comes a moment when it is necessary to break a bad law. I congratulate the tax-resisters on what they have done; those who have not joined us must do so; we are going to win; women have the spirit of invention, of initiative; we are determined to win our citizen rights and to mould the world to be better than it is at present."

Then a history of John Hampden from Lord Russell: how he met the crucial time with intelligence because he knew the rights—and the wrongs. The law went against him; he defied it; in two years both Houses of Parliament agreed with him that Ship Money was illegal; Strafford found him a very uncomfortable agitator; Strafford might almost be a spiritual ancestor of Mrs. Humphry Ward! A present-day magistrate is shocked to hear that all liberties have been gained by doing illegal acts! "I hope it will not be long before the pioneers of the Suffrage movement are honoured as John Hampden is honoured to-day!"

"The Successors of John Hampden" had a doughty champion in Mr. Laurence Housman. Mr. Lloyd George honours John Hampden and sings the praises of the "Welsh Rebeccas," men disguised as women who broke down toll bars, but struggling women are uncomfortable neighbours to him. To wipe out the spirit of rebellion would be to wipe out some of the greatest chapters of English history; the gaol-bird has again and again become the bird of freedom. Tyrants have always deemed that they were actuated by the highest motives. Tax-resistance is something that the mind of the average Englishman understands to-day; to-day the women follow John Hampden; they break the law; they go to prison; but they will win their pedestals, as he has done. Still the eloquence flowed on: Mrs. Cobden Sanderson telling how even "antis" are now urging law-breaking over the Insurance Bill; Mrs. Kineton Parkes saying that women are first Suffragists, then tax-resisters, brave, logical, and determined; the Rev. Hugh Chapman, quoting from the Bible the long roll of passive resisters, and urging that the way in which the principle should be worked out must be left to the conscience of each individual; and Mr. Pethick Lawrence finding that perhaps to-day the Suffrage movement was giving men a chance to become angels; John Hampden withstood the divine right of kings; the women to-day are withstanding the divine right of governments. A final appeal from Mrs. Louis Fagan for funds for the Women's Tax Resistance League. As a post-script, "The Awakening" sung by Miss Lucie Johnstone, and two witty recitations by Miss Eva Moore. At last the company, which included so many of the women and men of to-day who stand for freedom and progress, decided that it was time to spread their infectious enthusiasm far and wide beyond the walls of the Hotel Cecil. The first dinner of the Women's Tax Resistance League—a notable occasion. A. A. S.

### "WOMEN JOIN HANDS."

This song, which opens with a "Call to Arms" of the Women's Movement, is admirably adapted for public meetings. It is written in march time, the melody is decidedly haunting, and the chorus distinctly original and full of swing. The words, by our good friend, Mr. Laurence Housman, and the music by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, are so well adapted to the purpose for which the song is written that it cannot fail to become a general favourite. Messrs. Bach and Co., the publishers, have agreed to supply copies to Headquarters of all Suffrage Societies at special rates of discount off the marked net price of 6d. per copy. The profit to the Women's Suffrage movement will be further augmented by the fact that the author and composer have both agreed to hand over their entire royalties—amounting to 10 per cent. of the marked price for every copy sold—for the benefit of the Cause.



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TREASURER'S NOTE.

I am now receiving the capitation fees every day, and merely wish to remind those Branches who have not yet paid that I should like to receive them, if possible, this week to get everything settled before Christmas. In the last Treasury list the Edinburgh Branch is entered for £2 2s., intended for the first instalment of their capitation fees for next year, and for a donation of £5. Now they have very generously offered to postpone the payment of the capitation fees and added the £2 2s. to the donation, sending also another 5s. to make the total donation £7 7s. I should also like to give sincere thanks to Swansea Branch for their special levy.

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£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Amount previously acknowledged	2,568 5 6	C. T. O. (per Miss Alder)	0 5 0
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Miss Fox Bourne	1 1 0	Mrs. Moscheles	0 1 0
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Mrs. E. Taylor Brown	0 1 0	Christmas Gift Meeting:	
Miss D. Burton	0 2 0	H. Fry, Esq.	0 10 0
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Miss F. Bridges	0 2 6	Stamford Hill Br.:	
Miss E. Boston	0 1 6	Mrs. M. Barron	0 5 0
Miss A. E. Boston	0 1 6	Mrs. A. Thomson	0 10 0
Miss Henry	0 1 0	Capitation Fees:	
Mrs. Abney	0 1 0	Montgomery Boro's Branch	2 10 0
Miss Tigg	0 2 6	Northern Heights Br.	0 18 6
Miss Woods	0 1 0	Mid-London Branch	1 0 0
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Mrs. Woodworth	0 5 0	Miss A. Neilans,	0 5 0
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Mrs. I. Hamilton	0 2 6	London	10 10 3
Mrs. E. V. Clayborn	0 2 6	Total	£2,636 16 0
Miss M. Smith	0 2 6		
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Cheques to be made payable to "The Women's Freedom League" and crossed "London and South-Western Bank, Ltd."

ALL THE WORLD OVER.

QUEEN MARY'S ADVICE TO THE WOMEN OF INDIA.—Our Queen spoke at Delhi, with deep satisfaction, "of the evolution which is gradually but surely taking place among the inmates of the purdah," and she encouraged the women of India to educate their girls "so that they may grow up fitted to become useful and cultivated companions for their future husbands."

The "Woman Movement" is a mighty, human force, which knows no barrier of race or creed, therefore, our Persian sisters sought the help of English Suffragists when Russia demanded the surrender of their independence. Our hearts go out to Persia's women in deepest sympathy; but, alas! how vividly their cry brings home to us the cruel sense of our own helplessness.

A Nyakyusa man will give his child in marriage to a leper—provided the leper be wealthy enough! The reverend gentleman who speaks of the transaction as "criminal," adds "but considerations for the future well-being of his children are unknown to the heathen father." Unfortunately, lack of such consideration is by no means limited to heathen fathers!

The Superior Consistory of the Lutheran Church in Alsace-Lorraine has decided to give women the right to vote for, and

serve as members of, the parish councils. This apparently insignificant action has caused serious dismay in German Governmental circles. It is feared that the right to vote in parochial elections will so stimulate the women all over Germany that the agitation for Political Suffrage will receive an unwelcome impetus. The question is, Will the vote of the Superior Consistory be sanctioned by the German Government? (*Woman's Journal*.)

A Chicago Police-Inspector "rescued" hundreds of girls, but his success incurred the enmity of those who expected to secure the "profits"—he had destroyed thousands of dollars' worth of business—so he was sent to a penitentiary on a trumped-up charge of accepting "graft" from saloon-keepers and proprietors of disreputable houses. The fortunes of the police are so tied up to those who profit by this trade (traffic in women) and to their friends the politicians, that the most well-meaning man upon the force is constantly handicapped. A young Chicago policeman arrested the proprietor of a five-cent theatre. The crime was a heinous one, involving the ruin of fourteen little girls, but so much political influence was exerted on the proprietor's behalf—he was a relative of the Republican Committeeman of his ward—that, although his license was immediately revoked it was reissued a few days after to his wife! The young policeman was reprimanded for his activity, and subjected to a process called "breaking," which he knew would at last oblige him to resign from the force. His offence, as he was plainly told, had been his ignorance of the fact that the theatre was under Political protection! "The woman who does not want to vote in order to turn such a Government out of power has either no blood in her veins or no grey matter in her skull. Most likely she has both, but she has never been shown the facts and taught to see the connection." (*Woman's Journal*.)

Just now, when our eyes are turned to the Abor country, it is interesting to learn that that nation is divided into clans, which are "Motherhoods." The males inherit nothing, all family property descends through the wife; she is the head of the family, and her voice has great weight in the national councils.

K. HARVEY,

Hon. Head Press Dept., Women's Freedom League.

OUR OPEN COLUMN.

Letters intended for publication must be written on one side of the paper only, and authenticated by the name and address of the writer. It must be clearly understood that we do not necessarily identify ourselves with the opinions expressed.

To the Editor of THE VOTE.

Dear Madam,—I have read with great interest the article in THE VOTE entitled "Evolution and the Women's Freedom League," and would like to say that the idea expressed is one that must surely meet with approval from all Suffragettes. Any new plan to show that our war is not against men, but that men are fighting with us, is, I think, one of the best ways by which we can convert the Anti-Suffragettes. Hoping this plan may meet with every success.—I am, yours faithfully,  
4, Old Steine, Brighton. LUCY STEARNS.

Dear Madam,—Mrs. Thomson-Price's suggestion of extending the League in order to include men is an admirable one. It should be an answer to those who speak of the Suffrage movement as springing from sex-antagonism. There are already men working for the League, and there is no solid reason why they should not be admitted to full membership with voting powers. The Suffrage agitation is a movement for the enfranchisement of a class that most of all requires representation. There are fathers and husbands and brothers who have the interests of their daughters and wives and sisters as much at heart as their own, and who know that those interests can only be safeguarded by representation. What is wanted is the fullest co-operation of voting men in working with voteless women for civic liberty for all.—Yours faithfully,  
EDITH SEARLE GROSSMAN.

Dear Madam,—I do not agree with the suggestion made in THE VOTE that the Women's Freedom League should throw open its portals to admit men to membership of the League. I think possibly the League might stand to gain by men's greater experience in administration and in the management of affairs; I do not think this development would tend to the emancipation of the individual woman, but rather to retard it. It seems to me necessary, in order that we may obtain that freedom, that we must be left free and unfettered to find our own way along the path to freedom. The greater experience of men and the fact that the average man is still better educated in politics than the average woman would tend to the predominance of the man's point of view, to the detriment of that of the woman. It is not that I do not appreciate the splendid work rendered to the cause of Women's Suffrage by some men, but, as far as I am able to judge, I find the average man (even those who say they are in favour of the women's movement) is soaked to saturation point in party politics, perhaps almost unconsciously, and utterly unable to appreciate the woman's standpoint.—Yours truly,  
JESSIE CAMERON.  
63, Constantine-road, Hampstead, N.W.

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BRANCH NOTES.

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

WILL BRANCH SECRETARIES KINDLY NOTE that, owing to the Christmas holidays, no Branch Notes will be included in our issue of December 30? Notes for the following issue should reach THE VOTE Office (Room 28), 1, Robert-street, Adelphi, London, on Monday, January 1, 1912, by the first post, as usual. LONDON AND SUBURBS.—Anerley and Crystal Palace District.—Hon. Secretary: MISS J. FENNINGS, 149, Croydon-road.

A Branch meeting was held at 149, Croydon-road, on Monday, December 11. Only a few members sent in their collecting boxes, but we were able to send up 10s. to Headquarters, and hope to get more next month. The next meeting is to be on Thursday afternoon, December 28, at 3 o'clock. Will all members make a special effort to come, as most important resolutions are to be discussed for the Conference in January?

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

At the "At Home" on the 15th inst., Mrs. Fowler-Shone read an interesting article by Mrs. Perkins Gilman on "Social Parentage," showing the utmost need for women to recognise their duty to all children, as well as their individual children, for the social welfare affects the individual for good or ill. An animated discussion followed. Mrs. Sproson has kindly promised to speak at our next "At Home" on January 12, 1912.

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

Cake and candy sale. Many thanks to Mrs. Catmur, Mrs. Pierotti, Miss Roles, and others who made this such a success. The Hackney Branch has now replenished its funds, and looks forward to even better results in 1912. The shop has, during another year, been self-supporting, although it has only been open four hours each evening. To all those who so regularly devote their spare time to it we offer our appreciation and thanks. The shop will be closed from the 20th to the 30th inst., when we shall re-open with an important Branch meeting.

Hampstead.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. SPILLER, 63, South Hill-park.

Will members make a special effort to attend the Branch Meeting on the 29th, at 8.15 p.m., at 63, South Hill-park? We have power to draft amendments to the numerous resolutions, and these must I sent in before January 1. Happy Christmas to all!

Hampstead Garden Suburb.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. BETHAM, 7, Woodside.

A public meeting was held by the Branch on Monday evening, December 11, in the Institute, in order to explain the present policy of the League. Mrs. Nevinson was in the chair, and spoke wittily and hopefully of the crisis, stating her belief that the Conciliation Bill was not yet dead, in addition to which the amendment of the Reform Bill might be carried, giving votes to a far larger number of women. Dr. Drysdale referred sympathetically to the difficulties into which the women had suddenly been thrown, and was happy to declare that the policy of the Men's League and of the W.F.L. were identical. Mrs. How Martyn gave her usual clear explanation of the League's policy, and dealt at some length with the history of the Suffrage movement. The resolution calling upon Mr. Mallaby Deeley and Mr. Fletcher to vote for the amendment and against the third reading if the women's amendment is not included in the Bill, was carried unanimously. New members and associates were enrolled.

Mid-London.—Hon. Secretary: Mrs. TRITTON, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing, W.

On Monday, January 8, we shall hold a meeting for the election and instruction of our delegates to the Annual Conference. All members should make a great effort to be present.

PROVINCES.—Brighton and Hove.—Hon. Secretary: MISS HARE, 8, San Remo, Hove.

Miss Allen gave an interesting address on "Infant Mortality" last Wednesday at a meeting at Miss Close's. Mrs. Kirtlan sang "The Awakening." The annual business meeting was held at Mrs. Francis' house, when a new committee was elected and suggestions were made for next year's programme. The resignations of Mrs. Francis as joint secretary, and Mrs. Jones-Williams as treasurer, were received with great regret. The thanks of all members are due to them for their work since the Branch was formed. We are glad to be able to retain Miss Hare as secretary, and the other two ladies as members of Committee.

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

Members and friends wishing to spend a pleasant evening during Christmas week are invited to a whist drive on Thursday, December 28, at 7.30 p.m., at 6, Clarence View, by the kindness of Miss Mottershall. Tickets, 1s. each, may be obtained from Miss Mottershall and Mrs. Wheatton, proceeds to go to local funds. A jumble sale will be held in January. Articles will be sent for if the secretary is notified.

SCOTLAND.—Edinburgh.—Suffrage Shop, 33, Forrest-road; Hon. Secretary: MISS A. B. JACK, 21, Buccleuch-place; Hon. Treasurer: Miss M. A. WOOD, 67, Great King-street; Hon. Shop Secretary: Mrs. THOMSON, 39, Rosslyn-erectant. On Wednesday evening Miss G. H. Jacob, B.Sc., gave one of

SUFFRAGETTES AT "PLAY."

The Whist Drive at the Caxton Hall on December 16 was greatly enjoyed. When one adds that the general organisation was in the capable hands of Mrs. Fisher, and the musical and dramatic items were arranged by Mrs. Labrousse, the statement becomes self-evident. Miss Catherine Lewis, who is well known in the dramatic world as the founder of the Ibsen Club, and who has successfully produced many of his plays, some for the first time in this country, and her daughter, Miss Pax Robertson, gave a delightful rendering of the "nurse" scene from Romeo and Juliet. Miss Robertson was an ideal "Juliet," young and beautiful as Shakespeare's heroine should be; and Miss Lewis interpreted the part of the nurse with the skill of long experience and highly-finished talent.

Miss Ethel Rayson, A.R.C.M., aroused the enthusiasm of the audience—not an easy thing to do when one is appearing "between the acts" of a whist drive!—by her recitation, "Marguerite." She gave an encore, "Just in the Usual Way." Her pianoforte solos, "Nocturne," by Chopin, and "Griller," by Schumann, were also greatly appreciated.

Madame St. Aubin was warmly encored for her song, "Spring is Here," and responded by giving "Catch Me," one of Margaret Cooper's famous "turns." Her fine voice was also heard to great advantage in "The Carnival." These Whist Drives are proving a very pleasant means of bringing London members together, and increasing the good fellowship and camaraderie that should exist between members of a society united by a common ideal and working for a great cause.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

We have on sale, price 3d., "Elizabeth Fry," which has been described as the most excellent of the three cameo life-sketches by Mrs. Marion Holmes. Will those literature secretaries who have not yet sent in cash for literature sold kindly remember that in view of the audit it will be a great convenience to us to receive the money as soon as possible? EILEEN MITCHELL.

SPECIAL NOTICE.—When the Mid-London was the Central Branch, there appears to have been some confusion in the minds of a few members between it and the Headquarters of the League, and some names which ought to have been put on the list of National members were included in that of the Central (now Mid-London) Branch. Will any who on account of this error have received Mid-London Branch notices kindly let the secretary (Miss Tritton, 1, Northcote-avenue, Ealing) know, and excuse her mistake, as she could only use the list of old members given to her? She would like to correct it and send the amended list to Headquarters with the capitation fees.—E. G. T.

her delightful lantern lectures, the subject being "Woman, the Civiliser." She showed how in very early times, while man hunted and fought, woman evolved gradually such arts as cooking, basket-making, pottery, weaving and agriculture. Thus she was the chief contributor to material civilisation. In later ages she made contributions equally important to civilisation in its truer sense, such women as Elizabeth Fry, Mary Carpenter, and Florence Nightingale being instanced. Every member is urged to take a collecting box for the Headquarters' levy. An attractive programme is being prepared for our Burns' Night. Please note Thursday, January 25, and keep the night free.

Glasgow.—Suffrage Centre: 302, Sauchiehall-street; Hon. Secretary: MISS MINA STEVENS; Hon. Treasurer: MISS J. L. BUNTON.

There was a large and interested audience at the "At Home" on Saturday to hear the Rev. Mr. Emmitt and Miss Neilans. Mr. Emmitt's remarks aroused keen criticism. Our thanks are due to Miss Church for acting as hostess, and to Miss J. Scrymgeour as chairman. A special meeting of the Branch will be held on Thursday, the 21st, at 8 p.m., to discuss the resolutions for the Conference. It is important that there should be a good audience. On January 11, there will be a whist drive, tickets for which can be had at the centre. The exhibition of artists' work will be closed on Saturday.

Kilmarnock.—Hon. Secretary: JEAN J. WADDELL, 8, Douglas-street.

Miss Eunice Murray held a very successful meeting in the Temperance Hall on Monday night. We hope to hear Miss Jack, of Edinburgh, on Saturday on proposals for the Conference.

A "HARD-UP" SOCIAL.

A Committee has been formed consisting of Madame J. van Raalte, Miss Woolf and Miss F. Dickson to arrange a "Hard-up" Social, similar to the one given at Holborn Hall last March. It has been decided to hold it at the Gardenia Restaurant on a Saturday in February. There will be dancing, a concert, and side shows. Arrangements are being made with the Actresses' Franchise League to perform Suffrage plays. The committee wishes to surpass, if possible, the success of last March; it hopes, therefore, that some generous members or readers will subscribe towards the necessary expenses. Donations will be gratefully received by the Hon. Treasurer, Miss L. Woolf, 46, Mazenod-avenue, West Hampstead. Other communications to be addressed to the Hon. Sec., Madame Jeannette van Raalte, 23, Pandora-road, West Hampstead.

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## FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

### LONDON AND SUBURBS.



**DARE TO BE FREE.**

**Thurs., Dec. 28.**—BRANCH MEETING at 149, Croydon-road, Anerley, 3 p.m.

**Mon., Jan. 8.**—MID-LONDON BRANCH MEMBERS' MEETING, 1, Robert-street, 7 p.m.

**Tues., Jan. 9.**—LONDON BRANCHES COUNCIL MEETING, 1, Robert-street, 7.30 p.m.

**Fri., Jan. 12.**—WEEKLY "AT HOME," The Office, The Arcade, High-street, Croydon, 3.30 p.m. *Speaker*: Mrs. Sproson.

**Mon., Jan. 15.**—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, 1, Robert-street.

**Tues., Jan. 16.**—NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING, 1, Robert-street.

### SCOTLAND.

#### Edinburgh.

**Wed., Jan. 10.**—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 33, Forrest-road, "At Home," 7.30 p.m. Musical and Dramatic Entertainment. *Mrs. Finlayson Gould.*

**Thurs., Jan. 25.**—ODDFELLOWS' HALL, Burns' Night. *Speaker*: Mrs. Sproson. Tickets, 1s. and 6d.

#### Glasgow.

**Thurs., Dec. 21.**—SPECIAL BRANCH MEETING at 8 p.m.

**Thurs., Jan. 11.**—Whist Drive.

### THE SUFFRAGE ATELIER.

The members of the Suffrage Atelier held a Christmas party and exhibition of their work at their studio, 4, Stanlake Villas, Shepherds Bush, last Wednesday. In spite of the wet weather many friends arrived, each bearing a Christmas present, presents which ranged from a mangle to a file—all of great value to the Atelier. The use to which the mangle will be put, for instance, will probably be a source of astonishment and gratification to many Suffragists before long. After tea the guests inspected the work shown in the various departments, including original drawings and designs, posters, postcards, and Christmas cards, designed and printed at the Atelier. *Mrs. Vulliamy*, of the National Executive Committee of the Women's Freedom League, spoke on the work of the Atelier, dwelling chiefly on its value to the Suffrage Societies and to women artists as affording them opportunities to experiment and also to become acquainted with processes of reproduction. In the New Year the Suffrage Atelier will inaugurate a special poster propaganda in the country.

A NEWCOMER IN THE JOURNALISTIC WORLD IS *The United British Press*, which month by month will hold aloft the banner of the Independent Political Association, and deal with public questions without party bias. It will not be run for the purpose of profit, but undertakes to serve the public honestly and honourably, inviting inspection and inquiries any week-day from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m., at the offices, 1, Victoria-street, Westminster. The first issue (3d. monthly), contains a number of rejected letters to the Press by the editor, Mr. Alphonse Watters, and independent comment is made on many subjects, including Railway Companies and the Cabinet, Home Rule or Dictatorship? Is Taxation Legal? and Women as Jurors. On the Woman Suffrage question the newcomer declares that it is now an imperative necessity for every woman to have the vote because a larger proportion of women than men are free from neurasthenia, and so are able to exercise their power of reasoning.

THOSE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN HUMAN DOCUMENTS will rejoice that *Mrs. Bedford Fenwick*, the editor of the *British Journal of Nursing*, begins in the current number of that able weekly a series of articles in which there will be "hearts' blood." Nurses and others know that "human beings are the only vitally absorbing things in the world," and will follow with special appreciation "The Seventh Marchioness of Riviere" and *Mrs. Fenwick's* succeeding stories.

OWING TO A CHANGE IN THE CONSTITUTION of the London Branch of the Irish Women's Franchise League, the Branch in future will be known as the Irish League for Women's Suffrage. Address: Emerson Club, 19, Buckham-street, Strand.

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