

THE VOTE

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

VOL. V. No. 123.

SATURDAY, MARCH 2, 1912.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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Published by W. SPEAIGHT & SONS, 98 & 99, Fetter Lane, E.C.

EDITORIAL.

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OUR POINT OF VIEW.

Winston Churchill—Then.

Those who have studied, without Party bias, the Churchill records will not be surprised at the treacherous repudiation of his former sentiments and pledges on our question by the First Lord of the Admiralty. He can no more face Woman Suffrage actualities than Sidney-street guns. Votes for Women has now become practical politics, and the noble sentiments which it was safe to utter when he and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were engaged in trying to kill the Conciliation Bill of 1910, become obsolete as soon as there is any danger of having to translate them into action in 1912. Then, his sole indignation was directed against the narrow confines of the Conciliation Bill; his bosom burned with indignation at the exclusion of married women, and his tirade against its concession to property at the expense of poverty was magnificent in view of a coming election. Judging from his moving eloquence on the necessity of admitting women not only to the franchise but to all positions in our public life, the uninitiated and callow might be led into thinking that he was prepared to welcome Mrs. Humphrey Ward herself to the Front Bench.

Winston Churchill—Now.

Not so those who understand the worth of Cabinet—and Churchill—utterances, particularly when the possibility of having to stand by them looms large. The "very serious grievances and slurs" over which he shed crocodile tears in the Conciliation Bill debate of 1910 are still in existence, but now that he is asked to translate his pity into action, he is prepared, bravely and undauntedly, to swallow all his previous utterances. He will oppose and vote against the Conciliation Bill on its second reading; amendments to the Government Reform Bill are "hypothetical," and he will not yet pronounce upon them. But while saying "I won't," he makes the clearest pronouncement. He will have none of the Conciliation Bill—on which Mr. Birrell begs us to rely—nor of the Dickenson No. 2, for the country is not yet prepared, he considers, to enfranchise seven or eight millions of women; and if not seven or eight millions, then equal suffrage is, of course, quite beyond the pale. To leave no loophole of doubt as to

his future action, he is ready quite cheerfully to support a Manhood Bill, and we know how busy he has been with the Referendum proposals. The change of front is complete; we are now able to place the right honourable gentleman. Surely an effort has been made to strengthen the "Anti" demonstration by his valuable presence and vocal support! We wonder, however, whether the undaunted front of to-day will continue when he is face to face with the necessity of receiving another W.F.L. deputation led by Miss Clunas! It is to be hoped that the Liberal women, whose work he accepted and now rewards by this cynical treachery, will be as formidable antagonists as our redoubtable colleague. Such knavery calls for instant reprisals. More power to their elbows!

Mr. Lloyd George's Hopes and Fears.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer possesses an astonishing gift for reeling off platitudes. Considering the amount of his handsome salary, towards which women contribute, no one can blame us for thinking they are dear at the price. The great and impressive meeting of Friday last was surely not convened for the purpose of hearing what we knew already; the grains of wheat were almost lost in the load of chaff. He made confident predictions of success, but put the responsibility for its attainment on women. The ominous word "fatal" with regard to failure to discover yet another compromise on an amendment to the Government Bill, showed that he is by no means blind to the dangers of our "best opportunity." We looked for a pronouncement of personal leadership in the fight; we received information about the majority shattering a Cabinet and a party, and advice to find without delay a plan to save the Cabinet, the Party, and ourselves. We recognise, however, that he committed himself—but not the Government—beyond all possibility of retraction, from a layman's point of view, to opposition to the Referendum proposals, and also to the statement that the Government would push the Reform Bill through all its stages. Will he stake his political life reputation on securing the inclusion of women in the Bill? Such action would go far to answer the question sent up to the Albert Hall platform by the W.F.L., asking how the passing of an amendment can be ensured seeing that our opponents will make a determined effort to split our majority.

A Perambulating Committee Room.

Lord Lytton, speaking at the Albert Hall on February 23, declared that it was true wisdom to take advantage of all possibilities and facilities for the Conciliation Bill, in view of "the precarious life of any Government." The Glasgow Election result shows a significant drop in Mr. McKinnon Wood's majority, which emphasises Lord Lytton's advice. We are most glad to hear from Miss Nina Boyle and her helpers that the Women's Freedom League campaign has been so successful, and that even on one occasion Mr. Wood himself could not lure men to hear him when he found them listening to a woman suffragist. We congratulate our workers on the happy idea of perambulating the big constituency with a yellow cart and white pony, gaily decorated with W.F.L. colours, and bearing the explanation, "W.F.L. Committee Room," thus arousing amused interest and capturing attentive audiences.

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

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AT HEADQUARTERS.

Propaganda.—During the past week excellent propaganda work has been done by Miss Andrews in South Wales, and by Miss Anna Munro in Sunderland and Middlesbrough. Miss Nina Boyle is returning from Glasgow this week, and next Tuesday evening will open a discussion at the "Gardenia" Restaurant on "How Men Protect Women." We hope to see a crowded room on that occasion.

Caxton Hall "At Home."—The next "At Home" will be held at Caxton Hall, Wednesday afternoon, March 13. We look forward to having Mrs. Despard with us, and ask our readers to make this "At Home" widely known among their friends. Mrs. Tippet and Miss Andrews will also speak, and music and recitations will be included in the programme of the afternoon's proceedings.

Conciliation Bill Meeting.—A public meeting will be held at Caxton Hall on the evening of the Second Reading Debate on the Conciliation Bill, Friday, March 22. The speakers will include Mrs. Nevinson, Miss Neilans, and Miss Nina Boyle. Tickets for reserved seats can be had from this office at 1s. and 6d. each.

Votes for Women Demonstration.—A mass meeting will be held Saturday afternoon, April 27, in Trafalgar-square. The crowd will be addressed from three sides of the plinth, and members and friends from all parts of the country are cordially invited to come and take part in this demonstration. We want to see the Square crowded. It will be preceded by open-air meetings in all parts of London, particulars of some of which will be given in next week's VOTE.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

POLITICAL AND MILITANT WORK.

St. Rollox, Glasgow, By-Election.

Result:—T. MCKINNON WOOD (Lib.) .. 8,530
F. A. MACQUISTON (Cons.) .. 8,061

Liberal Majority .. 469
Organiser-in-Charge, MISS NINA BOYLE.

The Women's Freedom League decided to work this election from the suffrage centre, 302, Sauchiehall-street, but made excellent use of a pony-cart as a platform for the speakers, a counter on which to display literature and THE VOTE, and also as an advertisement for the work and policy of the League.

Both candidates promised to support the Conciliation Bill, and therefore a propaganda campaign only was conducted. Mr. Macquiston declares he was converted to Woman Suffrage by the injustices of the Insurance Act in relation to women. Mr. McKinnon Wood has supported our question in the House of Commons on previous occasions, but states that he cannot pledge himself to vote against the Government if women are not in the Reform Bill. This is most unsatisfactory, and acting in line with its usual policy the Freedom League did not support either of the candidates.

Meetings have been held regularly in the dinner hour and at night throughout the constituency. Miss Boyle and her helpers have secured attentive and appreciative audiences. There was steady support and approval from the organised workmen and public officials, and sympathy from all classes of men and women. These by-elections are very necessary work at the present crisis, and friends are urged to contribute towards the expenses.

Tax Resistance.

Miss Bunten's fine of £1 has been paid by some person or persons unknown. She will, therefore, not have to go to prison for this particular tax-resistance at present. Miss Bunten called at the court and protested against the action of the Clerk of the Peace in accepting this payment when it was not made by her or in her name, but it was pointed out to her that the Clerk had no power to refuse such payments, and said he could not tell her who paid the fine.

ALISON NEILANS.

BIRRELLINGS.

The Irish Suffragist Deputation.

The members of the deputation of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation, in urging that women should be included in legislation affecting the Parliamentary Franchise, impressed upon Mr. Birrell the value of the public work women are doing in Ireland.

Dr. Strangman, herself a Town Councillor at Waterford, spoke of women's service on Councils and Poor-Law Boards; Mrs. James Duncan, of Dublin, said that women had taken a free and equal part with men in the work of nation building; they were elected to the governing bodies of every society engaged in this work, including the Senate of the New University.

In his reply Mr. Birrell stated

That the Home Rule Bill would necessarily enfranchise women if the women were already enfranchised in England. He thought that the first thing to do was to get the Conciliation Bill through, and then the smaller matter would follow the larger. He made no promise, but explained that, as the Home Rule Bill would take a little time to pass the House of Lords, and the Conciliation Bill would be settled right away, it would be better for the deputation to concentrate their attention upon the Conciliation Bill in England. If that measure were passed it would be impossible to keep enfranchisement for women out of the Irish Bill.

Speaking at Fishponds on February 23, Mr. Birrell said The Home Rule Bill would take two and a half years to pass. If the Imperial Parliament declared that women were entitled to vote, that would govern Ireland exactly in the same way as England. If the question was not decided by the Imperial Parliament it would be left to the Irish Parliament.

The Anti-Suffrage Deputation.

In reply to the deputation of the Bristol Branch of the National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage, on February 24, Mr. Birrell said

That although he was by no means enthusiastic about the question, he was still, he was sorry to say, intellectually persuaded that they could not rationally draw the distinction they had drawn between the part in social and public life in which woman had an interest which she was entitled to display with regard to domestic and municipal concerns, and in regard to the Parliamentary Franchise. He could not honestly see any very great distinction between legislation for huge Corporations like Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Leeds, and Bristol and going into the polling booths and voting on what were called national questions. He really could not quite divide a woman's intellect into these water-tight compartments. It was stated that, if over a million women were put on the electoral rolls by the Conciliation Bill, others must follow. That was rather an admission that terrible consequences would not follow, and he had no doubt in time the larger Franchise would follow the smaller, but at present he would not force the pace, and was not disposed to increase the women electorate at a gulp. So far as the Conciliation Bill was concerned, advocates of Women's Suffrage were troubled as to the best course to pursue. He hoped they would stick to the Bill, because, if they lay in wait for amendments, they would stand the chance of losing all.

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

From other recent pronouncements we take the following:—

MR. BONAR LAW (Conservative Member for Bootle, Lancs., and Leader of the Opposition) has promised to speak in the House of Commons in favour of the Conciliation Bill.

SIR WILFRID LAWSON (Liberal Member for Cocker-mouth) replying to a Woman's Suffrage deputation, said

He stood for Adult Suffrage, but if he could not secure that he would be prepared to support a smaller measure giving Votes to Women on the ground that half a loaf was better than no bread. He hoped and expected that the reform would come from the Liberal Party, and that it would come quickly, but if the Liberal Government should fail the women and the measure be brought forward under a Tory Government he would turn Tory for that occasion.

WINSTON CHURCHILL UNMASKED.

I believe that there is a proportion of women capable of exercising the Parliamentary franchise not merely for their own satisfaction but to the public advantage, and I believe that that proportion of women is found in every class throughout the community. I believe the State would be the gainer if they had the vote, and if, in consequence of the vote, they had what I think myself follows from that, access in the fullest sense to all positions in our public life.

The denial of a recognised political status for the whole sex implies a slur of inferiority not to individuals but to the entire race of women. I frankly say I should like to see that grievance redressed and that slur effectively removed.—WINSTON CHURCHILL, House of Commons, July 12, 1910.

The following letter from Mr. Winston Churchill was received by the hon. secretary of the Dundee Branch of the Women's Freedom League on February 25, 1912, in response to a request to fulfil his pledge to make a statement of his position on woman suffrage when legislation with regard to it had definitely arisen:—

February 24, 1912.

Dear Madam,—In reply to your letter of the 19th instant, I have in the first instance to refer you to my statement made before the last election in Dundee on the subject of women's suffrage to a deputation of your own League. From this extract, which I enclose, you will apprehend the answers which I shall give to your questions.

I shall vote against the second reading of the Conciliation Bill and shall oppose its passing into law. With regard to the Government Reform Bill, I prefer to wait until that measure is introduced before pronouncing upon hypothetical amendments to it. I may say generally, however, that I believe the giving of the Parliamentary vote to seven or eight millions of women is a step which the country is not prepared to take at the present time.

Lastly, the fact that women's suffrage was not included in any form in the Government Reform Bill would not prevent me from supporting it on the third reading.—Yours, &c.,

(Signed) WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

The following is an extract from the reply referred to in the above letter as having been given by Mr. Churchill to the deputation of the Women's Freedom League at Dundee on December 2, 1910:—

The Prime Minister has given a pledge that in the next Parliament, if a Bill is introduced which the House of Commons approves of, and which is capable of an amendment—facilities will be given for that to be carried through the Commons. There is no chance of that pledge being altered to a pledge that facilities will be given in the first Session of Parliament. So far as I am myself concerned, I am still of opinion that the sex disqualification is not a true or logical disqualification, and I am therefore in favour of the principle of women being enfranchised. But I decline utterly to pledge myself to any particular Bill at the present time. I will not vote for any Bill which I consider will have the effect of unfairly altering the balance between parties by giving an undoubted preponderance to the property vote; and I will not vote for any Bill unless I am convinced that it has behind it the genuine majority of the electors. This is my position, and it is very desirable that you should not build any undue hopes on any words I may say. I have no desire to extend to you any encouragement which may afterwards afford ground for your reproaches. Whatever I have admitted in friendly discussion on this subject, I have always found was only the excuse for renewed abuse and insult, and every step taken in friendship towards your bodies has only met grosser insults and more outrageous action. I am confident that while these tactics are employed the opinion of this country will be rendered less favourable and not more favourable to the cause which you keenly have at heart.

The Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P., First Lord of the Admiralty, learned of the existence of the Women's Freedom League when, as the rejected candidate of N.-W. Manchester, he went to try his luck in Dundee. Since that memorable encounter he has come in contact many times with Miss Clunas to his invariable discomfiture. We take the following from *The Women's Freedom League News* of October 14, 1908:—

UNCONDITIONALLY.

Two of our members are to have an interview with Mr. Winston Churchill when he visits Dundee. To quote *The*

QUALITY AND VALUE.

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd.—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent-street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of gem jewellery and gold and silver plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.

Courier: "The concession has been wrung from the President of the Board of Trade at the point of the bayonet. Swearing that he never would consent in December last, he veered round in a few weeks, and though later Mr. Churchill endeavoured to establish conditions, he has now unconditionally surrendered. The tale is a pretty one, and shows that the determination of the Suffragists is unlimited."

Last December Miss Clunas, Secretary of our Dundee Branch, received a promise, after much correspondence, from Mr. Churchill that the next time he visited Dundee he would receive a deputation from the Dundee Branch. To quote the *Courier* again: "There the matter ended for a time, and if Mr. Churchill had forgotten about the correspondence, the Suffragists hadn't. At the beginning of September, when the preliminary announcements were made that Mr. Churchill was to visit the constituency in October, Miss Clunas was at him again. Her letter was a pointed reminder of his promises to receive the deputation."

"I am desired," replied Mr. Marsh, "by Mr. Churchill to say that he will be willing to receive a deputation from the Women's Freedom League during his visit to Dundee on condition that no attempt is made by any of the members of that League to make disorderly interruptions at meetings. On receiving a guarantee to this effect Mr. Churchill will ask Mr. Husband (who has his arrangements in charge) to appoint time for the deputation."

"Miss Clunas replied in hot haste thus: 'I have in my possession a letter from you, dated January 2, 1909, in which you promised, without making any conditions whatsoever, to receive on your next visit to Dundee a deputation from the Dundee Branch of the Women's Freedom League on the question of Woman Suffrage, and also a letter, dated January 21, 1909, in which you agreed that the hour fixed for such a deputation should be after 4 p.m. I expect you to fulfil the promises (Continued on page 225.)'

LONDON SOCIETY OF THE
NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES,
58, VICTORIA STREET, S.W.

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3.30 to 6 p.m., EMPRESS ROOMS,
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Discussion invited. Duologue arranged by Miss ELSIE FOGERTY.

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MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON VOTES FOR WOMEN IN 1912.

GREAT MEETING OF THE NATIONAL UNION AT THE ALBERT HALL.

On February 23 Suffragists and sympathisers gathered in force at the Albert Hall for a great demonstration under the auspices of the N.U.W.S.S. From floor to gallery the enormous building was crowded, and many were unable to gain admittance. The hall was made beautiful by the banners of the various societies representing all parts of the kingdom; the excellent stewarding was done entirely by women, and the outcome in practical financial help for the Cause amounted to the notable figure of £5,410. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., presided, and the special attraction of the meeting was the presence, as a speaker, of Mr. Lloyd George, who was supported on the platform by a large number of Members of Parliament and other friends of the movement.

In her admirable address from the chair Mrs. Fawcett spoke of the coming victory for woman suffrage "if we have statesmen worthy of the name, who have the ear to hear, the eye to see, the heart to understand the depth, the intensity of this women's movement for enfranchisement, and the power to see that the granting of our claim is now an absolute necessity, necessitated by the changes that have already taken place in the educational, social, and industrial position of women." She declared that Mr. Asquith would have been a greater statesman if he had put woman suffrage into his Reform Bill, and added that it was unstatesmanlike to allow the present crude and cruel waste of the mental, moral, and material forces of the nation. She welcomed Mr. Lloyd George as an asset on the side of woman suffrage.

The Chancellor was subjected to considerable interruption and volleys of questions during his speech, but when, towards the end of the meeting, according to promise, he dealt with questions sent up, he was heard with attention. At the outset he undertook to deal with the political situation, and after some general remarks on the justice of the woman's claim and the "barbarous anachronism" of ignoring it, he said:—

This year of grace, this session of Parliament, you have the best opportunity you have ever had to put an end for ever to that system. This is the fact that I want to get well into the minds of all those who are labouring for the attainment of this purpose—that this year, this session, determines, so far as the next general election is concerned, the fate of this question. I am proceeding on the assumption that the House of Lords, if it is sent up there, may reject it. I am not an authority on the views of the House of Lords, but if I am wrong, all the better. If they do pass it, well and good. But you had better prepare your plans on the assumption that they will throw it out, at any rate, the first and second time, and that it will go through the third. They will get two bites at it.

"The Best Opportunity."

What I want to emphasise is this. It is exceedingly important that we should realise exactly what the position is, and lay our plans accordingly. Here is an opportunity never provided before. Do not forget that. You may be dissatisfied with it; you may, as Mrs. Fawcett very well put it, wish that the opportunity were improved upon. But still the fact remains, it is the best opportunity that has ever yet been given to the suffrage. And instead of quarrelling with your opportunities make the best of them.

What is the Government's promise? That a Reform Bill will be introduced this year for the simplification and extension of the franchise to men, that it will be carried through this year, that it will be drafted in such a form that a woman's amendment can be incorporated in it, and if so incorporated the Government will be responsible for it as a whole. What has hitherto been the one insurmountable object in the path of this reform? (A voice, "It has not been a Government measure.") I agree. But what is the position? You have not got a single party in this country that is agreed on the question of the suffrage. (A voice, "The Labour party.") You are perfectly right; I accept the correction. But, after all, the Labour party are not, for the moment at any rate, an alternative so far as a Parliamentary majority is concerned, and what I mean is that, so far as the two great parties that have hitherto in turn governed England and the Empire are concerned, not one of them is united on the question of the suffrage.

Party Divisions.

Take the Liberal party. Three-fourths of the Liberal members of Parliament support Suffrage Bills. Two-thirds of the members of the Cabinet will vote for the suffrage amendment when it comes on. But you must recollect that one-fourth of the members of the party are opposed to it.

Come to the Conservative party. There the position is reversed—I am not criticising it, but I am stating facts. Two-

thirds or three-fourths—Lord Lytton will correct me if I am wrong—of the members of the Conservative and Unionist party are opposed to the suffrage, and fully three-fourths of their leaders are opposed to it. That is the difficulty. The first fact that you have got to get into your minds is this—and I am quite sure you have got it—that no party can form a Cabinet on the suffrage. You cannot, and therefore you must get some other method of proceeding. That is the method which the Government pledge has thrown open to us.

The Majority Cannot Rule.

Now the question has been put to me—seeing that you are in a majority in the Liberal party, why don't you as the majority enforce your will? Seeing that you are a majority in the Cabinet, why don't you enforce your will in the Cabinet? If you attempted to enforce your will, although you are in a majority, in the Cabinet or in party, you would hopelessly shatter both. ("No!") It is no use saying "No." I know what I am talking about. You must remember that Cabinets and parties exist not merely for the promotion of one question but for several. If we took the advice of some of our very impulsive friends, the first thing that would happen would be such a serious division in the party that it would be paralysed for all practical purposes.

We are here, as men and women of all parties, to consider the best method of carrying the suffrage. And I will be perfectly frank with you: If anyone attempted it, you could not form a suffrage Government that would live for five minutes. You cannot get any Cabinet or any member of a Cabinet, you cannot get any member of Parliament—I challenge you to name one on either side—who is prepared to wreck his Cabinet, his party, or his party programme merely for the sake of forcing his will for a moment on this one issue.

Now let me carry you to the next point. Supposing you found Liberal Ministers prepared to undertake that responsibility, has it ever occurred to you for a moment whether that would advance the suffrage by a single yard? Supposing you turned out the Cabinet, two-thirds of which is for the suffrage, destroyed a Parliament with a majority of a hundred for it, put out of power a Government three-fourths of whose supporters are pro-suffrage—what is the alternative? A Unionist Administration.

A Challenge to Unionists.

I challenge anyone here or anyone outside who can produce a single statesman of authority on the other side who will undertake that if a Unionist Administration comes into power they will put through a Women's Suffrage Bill. I will go beyond that. I will challenge you to produce any statesman of authority who will undertake that a Unionist Administration would ever give the facilities which the present Prime Minister has given for a Women's Suffrage Bill. There is only one way by which we can carry the suffrage through this year—(A voice, "Make it a Government measure")—you won't get that. There is only one way by which you can carry it this year—it is the way which is shown by the Prime Minister's declaration, and if we proceed along that road, all sections, all parties of suffragists together unitedly, without jostling, elbowing, and clawing each other, we will get through. I am convinced that if we act unitedly nothing can prevent our triumph this year, but those who make it difficult and impossible for us to march upon that road seem to me to be deliberately throwing away the greatest chance we have ever had in this country of carrying through this great measure of emancipation.

Mr. Lloyd George recapitulated the Prime Minister's pledges with regard to the Reform Bill, and stated that no man in England has a more sensitive regard to his pledged word than Mr. Asquith. With reference to the rumour that the Bill would not be introduced as pledged, he said: "No Government could commit such an outrage on public faith without forfeiting the respect of every honest man and woman in the land."

The Referendum.

Dealing with the referendum he said: I cannot imagine how any Liberal who declines to submit questions in which he is specially interested to the caprices of a referendum can fairly and justly submit women's suffrage to that test. Whatever objections there may be to the referendum on questions like Home Rule and Welsh Disestablishment which we Liberals entertain, it seems to me that they apply with twofold force to the cause of women's suffrage. What are they? That it undermines the authority of Parliament; that the referendum is costly, not merely to the State, but to those who have charge of great causes; that it is a bonus on injustice, especially on opulent, powerful, rich injustice; that it helps the monopolist against the poor, the helpless, the least powerful members of the community. You have seen it work in America. Whenever there was a referendum on the women's question you always found the liquor traffic, the great slum-owners, federating to fight against woman suffrage. They spent enormous sums of money. Why? It was business for them. If they defeated the suffrage, their return was hundreds per cent. on the money they had invested in overthrowing woman suffrage. It is not

fair; I say again that the referendum is a costly denial of justice under these conditions.

Another Compromise.

These are not the things I am most afraid of. I will tell you what I am most afraid of. It is that when you come to bring your Bill before the House of Commons, or move your amendment, the suffragists, who are united on the principle of suffrage, may not be united upon the particular method of carrying it out. That will be fatal. You have one section who want adult woman suffrage, and may not support the Conciliation Bill. On the other hand, you have got the Conciliation Bill, and some of its supporters decline to support adult suffrage. Unless you find some medium course, some method of bringing them together, then, I fear, it will be fatal to our success. My appeal to those who mean business is that they should put their heads together and try to secure some sort of medium formula to unite both sections, so that when the time comes for moving the amendment in the House of Commons it will be an amendment that will secure the support of all sections of the suffrage party.

Excellent speeches were made by Mrs. Philip Snowden, who declared her intention of resorting to tax resistance if the woman's cause were betrayed, and by Lord Lytton, who advocated the wisdom of pressing forward the Conciliation Bill in view of the precarious life of any Parliament, but declared that he was pledged to assist a wider enfranchisement of women as opportunity offered.

The resolution, brief and to the point, ran as follows:—

That this meeting calls upon Parliament to enfranchise women in 1912.

It was carried with great enthusiasm.

Mr. Lloyd George Answers Questions.

Dealing with questions, Mr. Lloyd George observed: There are three questions practically when you boil them down. One is the referendum; the second is with regard to my attitude on the Conciliation Bill, and the third is with regard to the difficulty of obtaining a Parliamentary majority for any amendment except a narrow one. I will take the three and deal with them as shortly as possible. With regard to the Conciliation Bill, I have never concealed my attitude towards the narrow franchise Bill. I have held that view during the whole time I have been in Parliament, and I expressed it and still hold it, and am entitled to hold it. But if I were convinced that no other franchise were possible, then I have always said my attitude would be a different one. I think it is so important that you should get franchise for women embodied in an Act of Parliament that if I were convinced that owing to Parliamentary difficulties no other measure were possible, I should certainly support, much as I dislike it, even the Conciliation Bill. But I am not convinced. I have believed it possible to carry through the House of Commons a measure for the enfranchisement of women upon the basis of every extension, which up to the present has been given in any country, of franchise to women. In our Colonies, in the United States of America, in Norway, the franchise has been conceded upon broad democratic principles, and I am firmly convinced that with unity and commonsense we shall be able to carry it this year.

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

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

Press Comments.

SUNDAY TIMES, FEBRUARY 25.

Mr. Asquith has never shown himself deficient in Parliamentary courage, but even he might shrink from facing the situation [on the introduction of the Reform Bill], and might think longingly of the House of Lords, into which no Suffragist has as yet penetrated. It is to the House of Lords indeed that the Government are looking for help. Mr. Lloyd George anticipated that the Peers would reject the Bill as a whole and cheered his audience by a reference to the Parliament Act. It is very doubtful, however, whether the Peers would reject a Suffrage Bill if redistribution were to follow, but it is quite certain that they would

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strike out the Women's Franchise clause. The Government would have then to choose between their own Bill as they introduced it and no Bill at all, and there is no question what their choice would be.

MORNING LEADER, FEBRUARY 24.

Mr. Lloyd George has performed a considerable service to the cause of Woman Suffrage by his speech last night, if only by turning the light on to the facts of the situation. There was a time, no doubt, when it was necessary for the zealous Suffragist to prove her case to the unbeliever. There may have been a time when it was necessary to persuade an indifferent public that the question really was of importance. Both these periods are now passed, and the problem before those who are earnest for this necessary measure of Franchise Reform is not to vindicate its abstract justice nor to demonstrate its intrinsic urgency, but to take steps to get it through Parliament.

DAILY CHRONICLE, FEBRUARY 24.

The speech bore eloquent testimony to the progress which the more thoughtful propaganda on the women's behalf has made among us. Nothing could have been franker or more sensible than the Chancellor's statement of the position as it affects the Cabinet and the party. Our leaders are to be congratulated on having handled successfully a matter over which Ministers less loyal to each other and their common causes might easily have made shipwreck; and Women Suffragists are also to be congratulated on their excellent prospects. . . . We are glad that the Chancellor has been able to give at least this splendid send-off to the campaign which sooner or later, and we hope sooner, can only end in one way.

DAILY GRAPHIC, FEBRUARY 24.

The large meeting that assembled at the Albert Hall last night to hear Mr. Lloyd George speak on Women's Suffrage does not seem to have obtained much solid satisfaction. The position still remains exactly where it was before. The Suffragists and their friends still ask that the question of Votes for Women should be treated by itself; Mr. Lloyd George replies that the Government will only allow the question to be touched in the shape of an amendment to a general measure for the reform of the electoral laws. The enthusiasts for the cause can hardly be expected to be satisfied with such a method of meeting their claims. No one yet knows upon what lines the promised Franchise Bill of the Government is to proceed, and it must raise issues of a very highly contentious character, which may altogether submerge the question of the Suffrage for women.

THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, March 2, 1912.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH.

The note of change is in the air. That, it may be said, is not new. Everywhere, and at every successive period of the world's history, it has been the same.

Nothing can be as it has been before; Better so call it, only not the same.

That is true, yet undoubtedly there are moments in the lives of nations, no less than in those of individuals, when in a special way impending changes are felt, moments when long-sleeping forces seem suddenly to spring into activity, and it is dimly understood that if they cannot be held back the whole structure of society will alter.

Such an era is upon us now; and some, as they hear their old shibboleths derided, and see the beliefs and conventions they had cherished as sacred flung into the melting-pot, are seized with a great fear. So labour is cajoled and threatened by turns; patriotism is preached to the mothers of the nation; religious people are warned of the "Red Peril" that is in their path; women, above all, who seem to be responsible for the greater part of the mischief, are besought to return to the limitations imposed of them by the mysterious power these call Nature, and no longer to burn their own fingers and endanger the comfort and convenience of others by meddling with matters that are too high for them. When, in spite of all this wise advice, labour continues dissatisfied and restless, and mothers, looking at their pining babes, ask what patriotism means, and women reiterate their unreasonable demands, the lovers of the old order are bewildered. "What is the world coming to?" they ask.

The answer is what it was in the past: "The old order changeth, yielding place to new."

At this critical moment, placed as we are where two roads meet and cross, we may do well to consider how this old order is changing and what part the woman's movement has played in awaking the forces that threaten it. Convention, physical and mental force, money, the dead hand of tradition and the living hand of prejudice—these are the buttresses which support the old order. Those who praise it indeed use different words. They speak impressively of manly strength, respect for authority, aristocratic descent, inherited wealth, and superior education. They demand that to these the world of the little folk shall bow. The old order is changing because the little folk are beginning to suspect that dust is being thrown into their eyes. When that suspicion has grown up into a certainty, when the eyes of the people are clear and their vision is definite, the new order, framed and supported by free women and free men will dawn upon the world. We know that to many we are as those who dream there may be clouds in the political heaven, we are told; so it has been before, but they will presently disperse, and society will return to its old ways.

In face of these we point to signs of change that cannot, by any cleverness of presentment, be argued away. The most convincing of these is the growing power of the woman's movement. Last week we had to record the determination of the Labour Party to be true to itself and its principles by refusing to support a Manhood Suffrage Bill. This week our enthusiasm has been aroused and our hopes have been kindled by another great event, one which shows even more clearly than the other the growing power of women. For the first time in the political history of our country since government by Party began, a Cabinet Minister has spoken upon a contro-

versial measure on a non-party platform. That some members of the vast audience he addressed found it difficult to believe in his sincerity was indeed made evident by frequent interruptions. What we claim is that the very presence of the Chancellor on the Albert Hall platform was a sign of the power and significance of our movement—a sign that the volcanic forces which it may be found to contain are being felt as something that must be reckoned with.

Still more important are certain points in his speech. We would draw special attention to one notable statement. "There never was a time when the nation stood more in need of the special experience, instinct and sympathy of womanhood in the government of our affairs. The questions pressing for settlement—housing, the cost of bread and the necessities of life, education, the upbringing and medical treatment of children—all questions in which women are deeply interested, surely they should have a right to express an opinion upon them."

In other words, it has come to be recognised, not by one political party alone, but by all righteous men and women, that we are out upon a task whose magnitude has not been fully grasped. National housekeeping—it is that which faces us, that which, in grim earnest, the men and women of this generation have to tackle. And if on any great scale this is even to be attempted, elements, that may tend to disintegrate the forces that make for righteousness, must be reconciled. "Agree with thine enemy, whilst thou art in the way with him," was the wise advice of an ancient seer. When agreement is reached, enmity disappears. In place of the opponent we have the ally. And this even the most timorous of politicians are beginning to perceive. For this indeed is the true solution.

Woman is no enemy to man; she is what she has ever been—the helpmate, the friend, the mother. What she demands is the opportunity to serve through her love and aptitude. If that is not given, if the national housekeeping, in which expediency no less than justice demands that she should find a place, continues to be carried on without reference to her, the compelling voice of duty will call upon her to resist.

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new."

Into this new order woman is pressing, and none can keep her back. Women, here and there, and not in one class alone, are receiving, physically, a new training. They are learning economy of force in their activities, economy of expense in their pleasures. Women, looking with new eyes upon Society, are growing ashamed of their subjection, and are preparing to throw it off. Women, feeling a new value in the life to which for so many ages they have ministered, are demanding economy in the use of life. The national housekeepers of the future—the makers and administrators of the rules that regulate the household—will be compelled to use fairly the national resources. Woman and the mighty forces of mental and physical labour, seeing below the seeming smooth surface of Society miseries and evils permitted, nay, even fed by the State itself, will make a new departure. Not amelioration which is feeble, but healing which is divinely strong, they will claim when their voices can be fully heard in the councils of the State.

Dreams, many will say! Yes; but all history shows us that the dream of to-day, firmly held, may be the reality of to-morrow. We end with the fine words spoken by Mrs. Philip Snowden at the Albert Hall meeting:

"Confident of the righteousness, the beauty, the holiness of our great Cause, we will go on, certain that by and by that Cause—the eternal Cause of our common humanity—shall be carried to a triumphant and crowning victory."
C. DESPARD.

[In view of the important political happenings of the week, we are obliged to omit Branch Notes, book reviews, and other features. Branch fixtures will be found in Forthcoming Events.—Ed.]

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK.

A Pinchbeck Statesman.

As the action thickens round our question, and ways of evasion and escape are being closed on every side, we are being treated to some cynical revelations.

Luckily, militant suffragists have never pinned their faith to Cabinet Ministers' pronouncements, so Mr. Winston Churchill's latest "ratting" record will not come as a bolt from the blue! We have always shared the opinion of Mr. Churchill's colleagues in the Cabinet that, though he has distinguished himself in many ways—notably as the hero of the Sidney-street battle and by speeches at times of crisis calculated to intensify panic and misunderstanding—as a statesman he is productive of nothing but mischief and indiscretions.

Miss Clunas, who is noted in Dundee as a most formidable heckler, has "drawn" him several times, in spite of all his sulky defiance. The history of these encounters will be found on another page. What will the women Liberals of Dundee do now? Still work for a man who has betrayed them so shamelessly? Or will they see to it that his next election result is the same as that he brought from North-West Manchester?

Words, Not Deeds!

Mr. Lloyd George has spoken! The mass meeting convened by the N.U.W.S.S. in the Albert Hall was to be the beginning of his great campaign in the country for votes for women. Up to the time of going to press, however, we have heard of no other meetings at which the right honourable gentleman is to preach his gospel. The promised campaign has evidently been abandoned, and what further help—or hindrance—we get from Mr. Lloyd George will be given on the battlefield itself—the floor of the House.

The political Bunty has spoken; but we are still left wondering how he is going to pull the strings to bring about the success he has so confidently predicted, seeing that the obstacles in the way are very largely of his own manufacture.

A Self-Created Difficulty.

The great danger ahead, as he himself frankly admitted on Friday last, was "that, when you come to bring your Bill before the House of Commons, or move your amendment the suffragists, who are united on the principle of suffrage, may not be united upon the particular method of carrying it out. That will be fatal. You have one section who want adult woman suffrage, and may not support the Conciliation Bill. On the other hand, you have got the Conciliation Bill, and some of its supporters decline to support adult suffrage. Unless you find some medium course, some method of bringing them together, then I fear it will be fatal to our success." But, on the ground that he personally did not like the Conciliation Bill—which was assured of a large majority—Mr. Lloyd George split the compromise which had been adopted with great reluctance and self-sacrifice by all sections of the suffragists, and brought about the very difficulty which he is now quoting as a possibly "fatal" bar to success.

The Straight Path that Leads to Freedom.

There is, of course, a plain and straightforward way of avoiding the difficulty—that of introducing a Government measure. But this course also is vetoed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and an examination of his reasons for doing so only reveals more clearly—what we have known all along—that it is the weakness and lack of sincerity of the so-called supporters of our question, rather than the strength of the opposition, that determines the policy of the Government.

Disproved by Precedent.

After informing the meeting that the suffragists were in a three-fourths majority in the Liberal Party and the Cabinet, Mr. Lloyd George went on to say:—

"If you attempt to enforce your will, although you are in a majority in the Cabinet and the Party, you will hopelessly shatter both."

But ministers have before now carried measures in

spite of the resignation of some of their colleagues, and in the face of bitter opposition from members of their Party. Peel did not shrink from initiating legislation because of strong differences of opinion amongst his colleagues. Neither did Gladstone. Disraeli carried the Reform Bill of 1867 in the face of greater obstacles than those that confront the present Cabinet.

Honour Rooted in Prejudice.

Perhaps the Chancellor wishes us to believe that the Liberals of to-day are made of more impeccable stuff than the politicians of the past. That never—oh, never!—could the sensitive honour of the "antis" in the present Government stoop to put aside their private prejudices at the bidding of their public duty.

But if that be so how can they accept an amendment favourable to Women's Suffrage any more than a Government Bill? If their opposition is so fixed and insurmountable that rather than acquiesce in the introduction of a Government measure they would shatter their Party to the four corners of the earth, how will they bring themselves to support the principle when brought forward on a private member's amendment? It can only be explained on the assumption that Mr. Asquith and his "anti" colleagues consider that such an amendment has no chance of passing.

A Type of "Supporter."

And, indeed, Mr. Birrell has let the cat out of the bag quite openly. In answer to a deputation of Anti-Suffragists, who waited on him at Bristol on Saturday last—after incidentally explaining that he was by no means enthusiastic about our question, but that he was "sorry to say" he was still intellectually persuaded of the justice of our claim—he advised us to stick to the Conciliation Bill, because if we laid in wait for amendments we should stand the chance of losing all!

Members of the Cabinet, therefore, who still refuse to take the only sure way, and are urging upon us the adoption of a method that on their own showing opens the door to difficulties that may prove "fatal," must not be surprised if they are charged with insincerity and evasion.

MARION HOLMES.

"CANT."

WOMAN'S PLACE IS THE HOME.

"I think I may take it that every section in this House is only too glad to make use of the services of women when they think they can profit by them, and it does not lie in the mouths of any of us to say that taking a part in the framing of the policy of the Empire is degrading to the sex. In any other department of human thought than politics such an argument would be described by no milder word than 'cant.' Cant it undoubtedly is."—RIGHT HON. A. J. BALFOUR.

As the above text helps us to realise, the positions taken by our opponents are not of crystal clearness, nor are they susceptible of very lucid statement. The assertion that "woman's place is the home" is a good example in point. Let us take the apparently obvious meaning of the words—and I say only "apparently obvious" meaning, because, contrary to all settled belief, the words have no meaning at all. But first, it is of course certain that if woman's place is really in the home, one of the chief duties of States should be the provision of a home for every woman to be in. We need not labour this point. The results show so clearly that this has not been regarded as one of the chief duties of States.

If woman's place is the home, then there are several places where it is clear she should not be. She should not be found in the shop, the steam laundry, the mission station, or the convent, nor on the stage, or in government offices (even at half the wages of the male), nor in the house of ill-fame. When, moreover, this aphorism is employed to express the supposed fact that women are by nature, or even by custom, debarred from such an act as exercising the vote, then it becomes also clear that women should not be on Boards of Guardians, on county or parish councils, or devoting their attention to the housing of the poor, the conditions of factory

workers or of prisons, or the work of patriotic and "party" leagues and federations; no woman should be President of the National Union of Teachers, or sit on the committee of a political organisation, or on the Divorce Commission.

But I am driven to suppose that the phrase is not intended to run "woman's place is the home," but "woman's place is a home"; women, that is, were made, planned, and constituted with a view to a close and life-long connexion with kitchens, parlours, and babies. It does not mean, in fact, that she ought to live in her own home, but that her activities should always imply a home. But here, again, what derogations from the ideal? There ought to be no women who spend day and night in social functions, who toil in the fields or in factories, who spend their lives as hack journalists or in typewriting offices; no women should devote themselves to science or to a public life as professionals; they should not set out to explore unknown tracts of country, or even to achieve mountain-climbing records accompanied by their own husbands. For none of these women carry a home with them any more than the woman on the stage, or the woman hermit in the desert, or the woman in a house of vice. And what shall we say of the "young women" who now, urged on by men, spend their evenings as recruiting serjeants, parading the streets, accompanying the evening march, and "persuading" the men to enlist "willy-nilly"? Why, if the men cannot be got to do the patriotic duty for which they earn the vote unless the women make them, where is the vote for the women? But the patriotism which refuses women the vote because a few men are paid to fight, does all things well. It causes women who have "nothing to do" with Imperial matters or war to exert pressure on the male voter to get such business done, and it rewards the female with hats and gloves. Could there be a better picture of the ideals of the anti-Suffrage world?



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But all this, surely, must be wide of the mark. We are only knocking down straw men of our own setting-up. The real meaning of the phrase "woman's place is the home" is that the disabilities of women exist for the sake of the bearing and rearing of children. This is the whole truth of the matter, this and nothing else whatever. Men are very sorry it should be so; that there should be women with unsatisfied yearnings; unmarried women, or even married women with no babies to look after; women, as Manning once said, "with as pronounced a vocation" for one of the professions as any man; "superior" women with a better education than most men, with superior talents; women who are "the best men" in their family; women—being also human beings—who would like to follow their children's and husband's paths in life in some other sense than by making their puddings, mending their stockings, and entertaining their friends: but the fact remains luminous, inexorable, permanent; children must be born and must be reared, and the lives of women must be planned solely with a view to the accomplishment of this all-important function. Everything else to do with the race men will, of course, attend to—at least, to all which concerns the males whom women bear and rear. The fact that women, like men, are born with other capacities, and have other and insistent needs, that they should have more intelligence than is necessary for their place in life, regards no one but the Almighty. The male's part has ever been to keep women in the sphere to which he sees the Almighty has called her.

His "not to reason why"

"His," in fact, "but to do"—and let women die.

But what is really funny is that the only thing which might militate against woman's physical moral or mental efficiency for her task from which men propose to protect her, is the Vote! I have said that the aphorism at the head of this paper possesses no meaning at all; no one regards the home as woman's place if by leaving it she can relieve males of supporting her, administer to their entertainment, or perform any of those (numerous) duties which men find too tedious, too arduous, or too ill-paid.

Men—male-men—strained their painful gaze looking before and after; they saw women who had spent the whole day at the mill returning "home" to wash and bake, and spending their dinner hour feeding husband and children; they saw little girls of fourteen adding housework to a twelve-hours day in the factory, while the "stronger sex" was in bed; they saw women fighting with disease, poverty, insanitary conditions, vice in men and women; they saw them toiling in the fields and lifting all the burdens; nay, they saw this "the weaker sex" charged with all the burden—moral, physical and legal—of their own vices: they had called upon her sex to band itself in political associations for helping men; they had seen woman through the ages as warrior, as prophet, as priestess, monarch, courtesan, ballet dancer; and they nobly decided to emphasise the obvious fact that "woman's place is the home" by refusing her the vote.

M. A. R. TUKER.

HOW MEN PROTECT WOMEN.

For stealing 2s.—A woman.—Jennie Peacock, was sent to gaol for twelve months, with three years' police supervision, for obtaining by false pretence 2s. from Emily M. Barker at Newburn in January last.

For stealing £107 13s. 11d.—A man.—Daniel Simmons (31), fisherman, was sentenced to eight months' imprisonment for stealing, in moneys, £3 5s., the property of Edward Allsopp, at Cowpen, and for breaking and entering the shop of Edward Cohen at Tynemouth and stealing a quantity of jewellery and other goods value £107 13s. 11d.; and Edward English was sentenced to six months for receiving part of the goods, well knowing them to have been stolen.

IN MEMORIAM—On Friday, January 25, Miss Annie Young, of 37, Holmwood-gardens, Brixton, passed peacefully away. She was one of the most loved members of the Herne Hill and Norwood Branch of the W.F.L.; the sad tidings of her death were received with deep sorrow and regret.—B. S.

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The text of the Bill which Mr. Agg-Gardner will introduce on Friday, March 22, is as follows:—
A BILL TO CONFER THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE ON WOMEN.

Be it enacted, &c.:

1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884) shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the County or Borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purpose of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be registered as voters in the same Parliamentary Borough or County Division.

3. This Act may be cited as The Representation of the People Act, 1912.

The Conciliation Committee met on February 21 to make arrangements for the Second Reading of the Bill. No change will be made in the text of the Bill, and the title is worded so as to admit of free amendment. After careful consideration it was decided that the balance of advantage lay in keeping the Bill downstairs, and accordingly no attempt will be made to refer it to a Grand Committee. The unanimous view of the Committee was that their duty to the Suffrage movement is to enable the utmost advantage to be taken of both the opportunities which are presented this Session. Application will accordingly be made for facilities after the Second Reading. It is hoped that the advanced groups will be prepared to allow the Bill to go through as it stands, reserving their efforts to secure a wider measure by way of amendment to the Reform Bill. An invitation will be addressed to these groups to confer with delegates of the Conciliation Committee in order to concert some common understanding.

The Anti-Suffrage Members of Parliament have taken up a definite attitude in opposition to the Conciliation Bill. On their behalf Mr. Arnold Ward has given notice of his intention to move its rejection, and in the early future this group will hold a meeting to decide on a line of action in the debate.

WINSTON CHURCHILL UNMASKED.

Continued from page 219.

made in these two letters, and await to hear from you the date of the deputation.

"As a reply did not come to this letter, Miss Clunas wrote again, enclosing copies of Mr. Churchill's letters, promising to receive a deputation, and adding: 'The Branch expects you as an honourable man to keep your word. I await, therefore, to hear from you the time fixed for this deputation.'

"After some further correspondence with Mr. Churchill's agent, the time and place of the interview were finally fixed."

As a result of his "candid utterances" to this deputation the men electors of Dundee were provoked to hold a great protest meeting—the first of its kind ever held in Britain—and passed a resolution to withhold their support from the Government until they promised to grant the vote to qualified women.

When Mr. Churchill was to visit Dundee in December, 1910, for his General Election campaign a disquieting memory of the twenty-two letters he had received from Miss Clunas with regard to the previous deputation led him to agree by return of post to receive a W.F.L. deputation. The deputation, consisting of Miss Husband, Miss Grant, and Miss Clunas, was received by him after he had gained courage, by interviewing the Liberal women and the Constitutional suffragists, for the "battle royal"—to quote a local paper—with the Women's Freedom League. It was to this deputation that he made statements given above.

THE AGITATION FOR THE ENFORCED USE OF LEADLESS GLAZE in the manufacture of pottery seems likely in the near future to be crowned with complete success. There is no beauty in poisonous productions that cannot be obtained by the purest methods. Mr. Norman W. Franks, of Chepstow-place, Bayswater, sells nothing but leadless glaze ware. He is initiating special propaganda, and, in preparation for needed structural alterations, is offering his stock for sale at 20 to 33 per cent. reductions. The sale will commence on March 11, but all readers of THE VOTE (presenting this notice) will have the opportunity of making their selection at sale prices one week ahead of the general public—that is to say, from March 4 to 9.

LITERATURE DEPARTMENT.

In the belief that many of those who still need conversion to the Cause, and who cannot be persuaded to come to meetings, may be best approached by means of literature, the Literature Department has published a new Literature List, which it is hoped, will be given away extensively but judiciously by our Branch Literature secretaries and members, together with our leaflet "Social Problems and Votes for Women." The price of both list and leaflet is 9d. per 100—usual discount to Branches. Specimens of both will be sent to anyone who will write for them enclosing postage.

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SUFFRAGE PROPAGANDA PLAYS.

The Actresses' Franchise League was responsible for the production of three excellent Suffrage propaganda plays at the Rehearsal Theatre last week. The first little sketch, *The Rack*, written by Mrs. Harlow Phibbs, is full of amusing situations, and "Betty," a militant Suffragist, who is mistaken for a lady burglar, was very well represented by Miss Gladys Morris. Mrs. Madeleine Lucette Ryley cleverly depicted Lady Valentia Carew, an erstwhile "anti," who has just become converted to militant suffragism, and Miss Blanche Stanley was excellent as the old-fashioned confidential maid with a horror of "them awful Suffragettes."

A Chat with Mrs. Chicky, by Evelyn Glover, is a dialogue between an "anti" lady, intent on getting signatures to a "declaration" that "women do not want the vote," and Mrs. Chicky, a charwoman. Miss Marianne Caldwell was a typical patronising, fussy and finally indignant "anti," and the part of Mrs. Chicky, the over-worked, under-fed, charwoman with a "code id'er dose," but with a magnificent spirit of independence and a contempt for "the lor," and the stupid way in which it is administered, was enacted with absolute fidelity and with an obviously keen sense of humour by Miss Inez Bensusan.

Brass and Clay, placed on the bill as "Anonymous," but which a little bird has whispered was written by our old friend and co-worker, Marion Holmes, is a powerful indictment of the existing double moral code and of the unjust and cruel laws which make possible such a tragic episode as the play depicts. *Brass and Clay* deals with a pathetic human tragedy like that which was recently brought before the country in the case of Daisy Lord. Gould Traverson, a Labour M.P. who has just returned from abroad, has been accorded a hearty reception by his comrades, and comes to the offices of the Industrial Union, where he finds his fiancée, Katherine Carey, and some of his fellow-workers waiting to greet him. Mrs. Desbury, a well-known worker among the poor, comes in to welcome him, bringing with her Lucy Leigh, who has just been released from Holloway Gaol and is now on her way to a home. Lucy Leigh is a poor girl who, betrayed and deserted, had been condemned to death for infanticide, but had been afterwards reprieved and sentenced to imprisonment. A tragic scene ensues when Lucy recognises Traverson as the man to whom she owes her sufferings.

Miss Adeline Bourne, who took the part of Lucy Leigh, interpreted the character with fine understanding. Her indictment of Traverson was given with poignant intensity, and the girl's passionate, half-frenzied description of her terrors in the dock and the agony of the condemned cell gave Miss Bourne an opportunity for a piece of splendid acting, in which she showed almost epic dramatic power. Mrs. Desbury (sympathetically played by Miss Mildred Orme) takes the sobbing, exhausted girl gently in her arms, and draws her from the room, and Gould Traverson and Katherine Carey (Miss Evelyn Walsh-Hall) are presently left alone. The *dénouement* is finely worked up. Traverson makes an appeal to Katherine to give him another chance, and attempts to minimise his part in the tragedy by quoting conventional platitudes. "The woman must always pay—on certain lines," he says. "After all, we didn't make nature's laws." "Women have no quarrel with nature's laws," replies Katherine, "but men have scored them under with a finger dipped in cruelty and bitterness. See how it has worked out! Cheers and crowds for you—the condemned cell for her; and the contrast will last all your lives." The other characters were admirably sustained by Miss Lucy Milner, Mr. S. W. Hewetson, and Mr. Walter Simmons.

THANKS AND AN APPEAL.

Miss Ethel Clayton, hon. sec. of the London Branches Council, writes:—Thanks are due to all who poster paraded, distributed bills and worked generally to make our public meeting a success. It is of the utmost importance that we keep much in evidence during this Session. Plans of future work will be announced shortly.

Members are asked to note that the last of the series of Csafe Chantants takes place on March 2, unavoidably postponed from February 24, and we want it to be the greatest success of all. Mrs. Fisher, who has organised these socials, is looking forward to welcoming many new as well as old friends. There will be whist and games for both of which prizes are provided. Tickets, 1s. 6d. each, may be had from Mrs. Fisher, 1 Robert-street.

THE HARD-UP SOCIAL COMMITTEE wishes to offer its hearty thanks to Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Harbord, Miss Turner, Miss Pell, Miss Coxhill, and others too numerous to mention, who worked so hard to make the social a success. Special thanks are also due to the members of the Actresses' Franchise League and the other artists who contributed to the success of the evening. The hon. sec., Madame J. van Raalte, 23, Pandora-road, W. Hampstead, will be glad to receive accounts of tickets sold from Branch secretaries who have not yet settled. Will those visitors who promised money contributions in lieu of contributions to the supper, kindly send same to the hon. treasurer, Miss L. Woolf, 46, Mazenod-avenue, W. Hampstead? In addition to the donations towards expenses already announced, the hon. treasurer gratefully acknowledges the following: Mrs. Gilbert, 2s. 6d.; Miss Ballam, 1s.; Miss Bisdee, 4s. 8d.; Anonymous, 10s.

ALL THE WORLD OVER.

Not far from Tripoli there is a large tribe of natives known as the Tuaregs. The male Tuareg has no liberty at all—everything belongs to the woman. The Tuareg man obeys the woman in every respect, and descent is traced through the mother. It is the man who is veiled. He does the cooking and minds the babies! The chief of the Tuaregs is a woman, women make the laws, and when a woman dies the widower receives *nothing* if there is a surviving daughter. "Antis," please note: the men, though socially and politically the "weaker sex," are physically more powerful than the women!

The superintendent of a home for feeble-minded women was asked what was the "test." "Well, you see," was the reply, "we have a large tank which is kept filled with water by a spigot at one end. The patient is given a ladle and told to empty the tank. Them that isn't feeble-minded turns off the spigot." Women are at present classed politically with idiots who, like the Antis, are content to work for ever trying to accomplish their end, but who aren't keen enough to realise that a vote would help to turn off the spigot and so shut off the supply. Votes for women will help them to turn off the spigot from which runs the supply of saloons, immorality, insanity, tuberculosis, &c., because the majority of women would vote for laws controlling these things, and, when the laws were once passed, would be more exacting in having them enforced.—*The Woman's Journal*.

During the week January 24 a group of men—the United States Senate—were discussing a Bill that had been introduced into congress to have a child's bureau to "investigate and report upon all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life." There was grave opposition to such a Bill. These men carefully guard the lives of horses, cattle and hogs—something like £30,000 a year is spent by the Government for the publication known as "Diseases of the Horse"—but when an attempt is made to place the children of the nation on at least an equal basis with the domestic animals, senators rise and discover great constitutional limitations and prohibitions. Would women elect such men to represent their needs and those of their children?—*The Woman's Journal*.

WOMEN IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT. MRS. HUMPHRY WARD'S VIEWS.

The meeting at the "Gardenia" restaurant on February 20 was of an unusually interesting character. Mrs. Brownlow, of the Women's Local Government Society, opened a discussion on "Women in Local Government." The chair was taken by Miss Underwood, who expressed pleasure in welcoming to the platform of the Women's Freedom League so prominent a member of another woman's Society. Mrs. Brownlow stated that women's work in public life consisted principally in trying to repair the mistakes of men. Men were apt to overlook details which were important in affecting the welfare of the community. In Local Government was the machinery which affected the lives of the people. The lecturer distinguished between the work of the County Council, Borough Council—which she described as a glorified vestry—and the Urban District Council. By these authorities the housing problems had to be faced, the education of children and baby farms controlled, adulteration of food and weights and measures dealt with, the inspection of workshops undertaken, and Mrs. Brownlow emphasised the urgent need of woman's work and the woman's point of view in all these matters.

The discussion which followed this lecture was well taken up by the audience, in which Mrs. Humphry Ward and Dr. Winter were distinguished visitors. Mrs. Humphry Ward contended that women had not yet realised the powers they possessed under Local Government, and that if they used these to the full they could accomplish all that they wished without the Parliamentary vote. Miss Tite considered that women had been doing the work to which Mrs. Ward referred far too long, that just so long as they were prepared to administer the law they would be made use of in all the duties of citizenship without gaining its privileges. Miss Andrews, Mrs. Drysdale and Mrs. Mitchell also took part in the discussion. Reference was made to the difficulty women experience in getting on to Local Government bodies. In nearly all cases men run as candidates on Party lines, and are extremely loth to give women a place on Party ticket. Mrs. Humphry Ward stated that efforts were being made by the Advancement Committee for Local Government to induce the various Parties to allocate to women a certain percentage of wards. This course has already been tried by women themselves, frequently with the result that those wards have been allocated to women in which it was perfectly well known that no member of the particular Party on whose ticket the women ran had any reasonable chance of being elected. Mrs. Brownlow was happy in her summing up of the different arguments for and against women taking part in Local Government work. She thought that the possession of the Parliamentary Vote would be of the greatest use to women in Local Government, that it would co-operate excellently with the work women wished to do in Local Government, and urged that there should be no dissension between suffragists and anti-suffragists on this matter. If anti-suffragists did not want the Parliamentary vote, let them by all means make the utmost use of the municipal vote.

THE NORTH-EASTERN CAMPAIGN.

Mrs. Clark, President of the Sunderland Branch, writes:—On Wednesday, February 21, Miss Munro addressed a Branch meeting, and members were all greatly encouraged by her able and helpful address. Plans for future work were discussed, the most important being that the Branch should run a lady candidate at the next municipal election.

On Thursday evening, before a crowded audience, Miss Munro and W. Priestly, Esq., were the principals in a debate on Women's Suffrage. Miss Munro made so absolutely convincing a speech in favour that many who came to the hall antagonistic left convinced of the justness and advisability of granting votes to women. Upon a show of hands, the Chairman, the Rev. Thomas Hook, declared the decision to be in favour of the motion: "That it is expedient in the best interests of this country that the Parliamentary franchise should be granted to women." We consider this form of propaganda excellently educational, and evidence of our willingness to submit all aspects of the subject to public discussion and criticism.

On Friday afternoon, a drawing-room meeting was held at the house of Mrs. Vincent, our Literature Secretary, to whom our best thanks are due for bringing together many who had never before attended a Suffrage meeting. Miss Munro spoke on Florence Nightingale's work amongst the soldiers. Her lecture was greatly appreciated. The financial gain was most satisfactory, and, best of all, new members were enrolled.

At night Miss Munro spoke in the Institute at East Boldon. Members from Sunderland were present, and the meeting was very successful; new members were added to the roll, and we shall endeavour to follow up this effort by forming a Group at the earliest possible moment. The campaign has been all too short, but we tender our earnest and sincere thanks to Miss Munro and all who helped to make the meetings successful. We hope in the near future to welcome Miss Munro again. To finish our winter work, we have arranged a whist drive and dance in the Edward Hall on March 26.

SOUTH WALES.

The Barry Branch arranged a meeting of members on Wednesday, February 21, and gave me a cordial greeting. Miss Morris, Mrs. Digby Smith, and other members who have done such good work in the past, have promised to arrange a public meeting as soon as possible. The meeting at Cardiff in the evening of the same day was very enthusiastic. Miss Watt, Miss Jackson, Mrs. Keating Hill and other members are anxious that the work should be extended, and, in spite of many difficulties are keeping the flag flying. A visit to Mountain Ash and the Rhondda Valley brought varied experiences. By the faces one saw it was evident that great anxiety was being felt, and naturally so, as South Wales is the storm centre of the miners' trouble. The beautiful scenery was marred by the blackness of the coal pits, and the ugly rows of small cottages. Mrs. Keating Hill has done much to educate the miners with regard to Woman Suffrage, but at present they are indifferent, if not actually antagonistic. She and I addressed a large outdoor meeting at Mountain Ash and obtained a good hearing. There is much work to be done in the Rhondda Valley, where Miss Griffiths and her friends hope shortly to form a Group.

CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

TAX RESISTANCE: MEETING AT BUXTON.

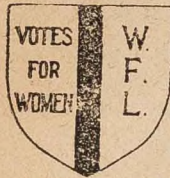
A highly successful meeting under the auspices of the Women's Tax Resistance League was held in the Town Hall, Buxton, on February 21. Mrs. Juson Kerr presided. The principal speaker was Mrs. Despard, who said that for five years she had refused to pay imperial taxes, and pointed out that women were virtually in a position of slavery so long as they were forced to obey laws which they had no hand in making. The secretary, Mrs. Kineton Parkes, explained the object and progress of the League. A resolution to the effect that women were justified in resisting taxation until they were enfranchised was carried with only three objectors. The Chapel-en-le-Frith Glee Singers gave an admirable rendering of "Women of To-day" (music by Montague King). A drawing-room meeting had been previously held at Park House, by kind invitation of Miss Ashmall-Salt. In connection with the League, a shop has been opened at Spring Gardens, where daily meetings are held.

THE WELCOME "VOTE."

Mrs. Temple, one of our members, who has gone to live in the Federated Malay States, writes:—"On my arrival at Klang my hostess gave me letters, &c., which were waiting for me, and amongst them was THE VOTE. You really can't imagine how pleased I was to see that little paper—it seemed quite to welcome us in a strange country. My hostess remarked 'Aye you a Suffragette?' and when I said 'Yes,' she said 'Then take my advice, and don't say anything about it,' and when I wanted to know why, she said the question was only ridiculed out here, and women dressed themselves up in the colours, and made themselves look the most dreadful frights, and went to fancy dress balls as 'Suffragettes!' I am so grateful for THE VOTE every week—it has never failed me, and I am so glad of the detailed accounts of meetings, &c., which are given. We have a *Weekly Times* sent out, but that does not devote much space to Women's Suffrage, and I am most anxious not to get out of touch with things."

FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.

LONDON AND SUBURBS.



DARE TO BE FREE.

Thurs., Feb. 29.—LECTURE ROOM, Public Library, Lavender Hill, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle and Miss Andrews. **TOTTENHAM BRANCH MEETING**, 7.30 p.m., 91, Mount Pleasant-road. **PECKHAM GROUP MEETING**, 8 p.m., 23, Albert-road.

Fri., March 1.—CROYDON "AT HOME," 3.30 p.m. Miss Fennings. N.E.C., Robert-street, 2.30 p.m. **KENSINGTON BRANCH MEETING**, for Branch members only, 53, Drayton-gardens, S.W., 8 p.m.

Sat., March 2.—Last of series of Cafés Chantants (postponed from February 24). Caxton Hall, 7 p.m. Whist and games. Tickets, 1s. 6d. (no extras), from Mrs. Fisher, 1, Robert-street. N.E.C., 10.30 a.m.

Sun., March 3.—ADULT SCHOOL, Hackney, Mrs. Mustard on "Josephine Butler," 9 a.m.

Mon., March 4.—LONDON BRANCHES COUNCIL MEETING at 1, Robert-street, 6.30 p.m.

Tues., March 5.—DISCUSSION MEETING, Gardenia Restaurant, 8 p.m. Miss Boyle on "How Men Protect Women." **PUBLIC MEETING** at Laverick's Dairy, 97a, Rye-lane, Peckham. Mrs. Despard, 8 p.m. **HAMPSTEAD GARDEN SUBURB FORTNIGHTLY MEETING**, 47, Rotherwick-road, 3.30 p.m. Dr. Alice Vickery. **WEST HAMPSTEAD ANNUAL MEETING**, 23, Pandora-road, 8.30 p.m. P. AND M. GROUP, 1, Robert-street, 6 p.m. **CLERKS' UNION**, 34, London Wall, 7 p.m. Mrs. Despard.

Wed., March 6.—DEBATE, Miss Boyle v. Mr. Maconachie, Leyton Liberal Club, 49, Grange Park-road, Leyton, 8.30 p.m. **DEBATE**, Miss Ethel Fennings, W.F.L. v. Miss Mabel Smith, N.L.O.W.S., Men's Adult School, Woodside, 8 p.m.

Thurs., March 7.—CLAPHAM BRANCH MEETING, 1, Imperial-mansions, Bromells-road, 8 p.m. **HERNE HILL BRANCH SEWING MEETING**, Oak Cottage, Dulwich, 3.30 p.m.

Fri., March 8.—CROYDON "AT HOME," 3.30. Mrs. F. Shone.

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

Mon., March 11.—HERNE HILL BRANCH MEMBERS' MEETING, 161, Croxted-road, Dulwich, 7.45 p.m.

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 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Tippet and Miss Andrews.

Thurs., March 14.—KENSINGTON BRANCH SPEAKERS' CLASS, 64, Bedford-gardens, Campden-hill, 8 p.m. Subject: Albert Hall meetings of Feb. 23 and Feb. 28. Open to all W.F.L. members.

Fri., March 15.—CROYDON "AT HOME," 3.30. Mrs. Tanner.

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."

Fri., March 22.—CAXTON HALL. Public meeting, 8 p.m. *Speakers*: Mrs. Nevinson, Miss Neilans, Miss Boyle, and others. **CROYDON "AT HOME,"** 3.30. Mrs. Bessie Drysdale.

Lobbying at the House of Commons. Mon., Tues., Wed., Thurs., 2.45-11 p.m.; Fri., 12-5 p.m.

PROVINCES.

Tues., March 5.—**Gt. Yarmouth.** Mrs. Nevinson.

Sun., March 24.—**Kingston HUMANITARIAN SOCIETY**, 7 p.m. Miss Andrews, "The Woman's Movement: A Benefit to Humanity."

Liverpool.

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

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

Manchester.

Thurs., Feb. 29.—WALKDEN TOWN HALL, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard and Mr. J. H. Hudson M.A.

Wed., March 6.—46a, Market-street, 7.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard on "Theosophy and Life's Problems."

Hove.

Sat., March 9.—37, Sackville-gdns., White Elephant Tea, 4 p.m.

Thurs., Mar. 21.—8, San Remo, 6.30 p.m. Dr. C. V. Drysdale, "Woman's Suffrage and the Birth-Rate." *Chair*: Miss Hare.

WALES.

Wed., March 13.—Swansea. Dynevor-place, 8 p.m. Miss Salmon, "Parliamentary Procedure."

SCOTLAND.

Thurs., March 7.—Dundee, Gilfillan Hall, 8 p.m. Parish Councillor Miss Grant, "Municipal Lodging Houses for Women."

Edinburgh.

Sat., March 2.—Musselburgh. Open-air Meetings, Miss Eunice Murray. Leave shop 2 p.m.

Wed., March 6.—SUFFRAGE SHOP, 33, Forrest-road, 8 p.m. Miss Eunice Murray: "The Teaching of Tolstoi."

Glasgow.

Thurs., March 7.—ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING. 8 p.m.

Thurs., March 14.—CONCERT by Miss Mary Dixon's Choir.



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