

The

# Suffragette

EDITED BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The Official Organ of the Women's Social and Political Union.

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## THE BRAVOES OF WESTMINSTER.

Telephone girls are officially warned against accepting drugged bouquets offered them by men—there is no need to warn our readers of a like danger in the political sphere.

## A PAIR OF TRAITORS.

Women have been betrayed again. The chief guilt of this betrayal lies at the door of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey.

These two men, while posing as the champions of women's enfranchisement, have conspired, and are conspiring, to wreck that cause. In November, 1911, they, in company with Mr. Asquith, devised a false pledge, which they offered to women. The Women's Social and Political Union saw the true nature of this pledge and repudiated it; but Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, trading on their reputation as Suffragists, deceived the women of the other Suffrage Societies, and secured their acceptance of the pledge!

Mr. Lloyd George admitted that this Government pledge had "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage, to which women had been pinning their faith, but he declared—and Sir Edward Grey declared with him—that a far better opportunity for women's enfranchisement was now available. Mr. Lloyd George went so far as to say that, as the outcome of the Government's pledge, the women of the country might expect several millions of votes.

Now this pledge, which was that the Government would drive Woman Suffrage into law after its adoption by the House of Commons, has in its turn been "torpedoed." The promised Government support has been withdrawn. Because of the treachery of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, women, as regards the Parliamentary situation, are worse off than they were before.

The Prime Minister's "new pledge" had hardly been made when these two tricksters attempted, by deceitful argument, to cheat the Suffrage movement into accepting it.

Mr. Lloyd George has already condemned to arrest and imprisonment a body of women whom he had publicly promised to receive in deputation.

The cause of Votes for Women will triumph, in spite of the dishonourable methods used against it, but the reputation of Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George can never be cleansed. One of the Ministers is Secretary for Foreign Affairs. It is a calamity that our national interests should be in hands so weak, and that our national honour should be at the mercy of one who knows not what honour is.

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# The Suffragette,

LINCOLN'S INN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON.

Telegraphic Address: "WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: 2724 HOLBORN.

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## A Review of the Week.

### War Declared.

Militancy once more! Mrs. Pankhurst, speaking at the London Pavilion last Monday at the very moment that the Prime Minister was making his statement to the House of Commons, announced that only two things could avert militancy—the introduction of a Government measure giving votes to women, or the resignation from the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey. The Government have not introduced a Government measure and the two Ministers in question have not resigned. What has happened is that women have been cheated, firstly, by the Anti-Suffragist Ministers' coercion of Suffragist M.P.'s; secondly, by a hostile ruling of the Speaker, accepted without rhyme or reason or necessity by the Government, which robs their cause of the protection of the Parliament Act; and thirdly, by the unscrupulous withdrawal of that degree of Government support already promised by the Prime Minister in November, 1911. Such are the causes of militancy!

### "We are Guerrillists."

The physically weaker and less well-equipped can hope to win only by dint of guerrilla warfare. "We are guerrillists," say the militants of the W.S.P.U. "We fight for the vote as Garibaldi fought for Italian freedom." Mrs. Pankhurst is planning a special militant protest in which she has invited the co-operation of others. Already we hear that on Tuesday evening many windows were broken in the West-end, and pillar-boxes were attacked in different parts of London. The W.S.P.U. has announced its intention of continuing these and other methods of guerrilla warfare until the vote is won.

### Working Women at Downing Street on January 23.

If appeals based on reason, justice, and women's need were enough to get Votes for Women, Mrs. Drummond's deputation to Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey would have been followed by victory. The ability, dignity and firmness with which the working women stated their case put the men's Labour Party to shame. The replies made by the two Ministers were shifty and vague. Miss Annie Kenney, whose arguments were vigorously seconded by Mrs. Drummond, said that a Government lead was essential to the passage of a Woman Suffrage Amendment, that the Prime Minister had been false to his already false pledge, and that Suffragist Ministers ought to respond to Anti-Suffragist Ministers' threats to resign by saying that they would resign if a Woman Suffrage Amendment were not adopted by the House of Commons.

### Scandalous Parliamentary Proceedings.

The pen of Charles Dickens himself would be needed to deal adequately with the recent parliamentary proceedings on the Suffrage question. The whole affair constitutes a public scandal.

Parliament and parliamentary procedure have, by the joint action of the Speaker and the Government, been brought into utter contempt. The beginning of the ugly business was on Thursday, January 23, when four hours after Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey had assured the Working Women's Deputation that a free vote of a House of Commons would be recorded on the Woman Suffrage Amendments, the Speaker intimated that the passage of such an amendment would make so "huge a difference to the Franchise Bill as to involve its withdrawal and re-introduction." This utterance by the Speaker destroyed all possibility of a "free" vote upon the amendments and dealt a final blow to the prospects of women's inclusion in the Franchise Bill.

### Was It a Conspiracy?

The Government deny that they had previous knowledge that the Speaker intended to explode this bomb. Official lying is, however, so much the rule that denials of the Government's foreknowledge and of complicity in the Speaker's action, carries no weight with us. Mrs. Pankhurst has said:—"Either the Government are so ignorant of parliamentary procedure that they are unfit to occupy any position of responsibility, or else they are scoundrels of the worst kind." Now, Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George, and the rest, are not ignorant of parliamentary procedure, and in any case they could have sought the advice of the Speaker before their Franchise Bill was introduced. The only inference that can be drawn by an intelligent mind, therefore, is that they are scoundrels, and that this particular mode of torpedoing the women's amendments was an expedient held in reserve for use in the event of a Woman Suffrage amendment being carried. What we are prepared to believe is that the Speaker's disclosure of the torpedoing scheme in question was premature from the Government's point of view, and that they intended it to remain a secret unless and until a Woman Suffrage amendment should be passed.

### Speaker's Decision Not Justified.

It should be carefully noted that, as the Prime Minister himself put it, there is no rule which would require a withdrawal of the Franchise Bill upon the passage of a Woman Suffrage Amendment. Not only so, but precedent is against the Speaker, for in 1867 and in 1884 Woman Suffrage Amendments to the Reform Bills of those years were proposed without any objection being made by the Speaker of the day. Indeed, when Lord Randolph Churchill objected to Mr. Woodall's Woman Suffrage Amendment to the Reform Bill of 1884 on the ground that it was outside the scope of the Bill, and would require an "instruction" to make it in order, the Chairman of Committee, acting on the advice of the Speaker, brushed his objection aside. As to the Reform Bill of 1867, although the Woman Suffrage Amendment was lost, other enormous changes were made in it, so that, as some wit has said, the only word not changed between the Bill's introduction and its final enactment was the word "whereas" in the preamble. Yet the withdrawal and reintroduction of the Bill was not required. We repeat, therefore, that there is neither rule nor precedent to justify the present Speaker's decision.

### Why the Government Accepted the Speaker's "Ruling."

The Government have eagerly accepted the Speaker's "Ruling." As the Prime Minister said, they accepted it "loyally and without any kind of reserve." Why this readiness to obey a "ruling" which has admittedly no foundation in precedent and no foundation in Parliamentary regulations? A "ruling" which the Government were at liberty to overrule! It was accepted because, in the Government's opinion, the "ruling" gives them a pretext for breaking their pledge to give united Government support to Woman Suffrage after it had been passed by the House of Commons. Said Mr. Asquith:

One thing has been made quite clear by your ruling, Mr. Speaker, and it is that Woman Suffrage cannot, under our procedure, be introduced into any Bill the main and primary purpose of which is to enfranchise or enlarge the enfranchisement of the male electorate.

The alternatives to this plan of dealing with Woman Suffrage (a plan for years recommended by Liberals as the best and now torpedoed by the Government and the Speaker) were then stated by Mr. Asquith in the following terms:

That being the position, there are obviously two and only two possible courses to be taken. The first would be that the Government on its own account, should introduce a Bill in terms enfranchising women. That the Government will not do for reasons which must be obvious, and upon which it is not necessary to enlarge. The

alternative course and the only other course to pursue is this, and this is the course we propose to adopt—it is to engage that in the next Session of Parliament, if a Private Member's Bill for the enfranchisement of women is introduced, the Government will give it facilities, by which I mean an adequate share of their time for its reasonable discussion and amendment.

### An Impudent and Dishonest Proposal.

The most impudent and dishonest proposal ever advanced by a responsible public man! Such is our opinion of the Government's latest "offer" to women. To the shame of the House of Commons the Prime Minister was not howled down. For what does his "offer" really mean? It means that he violates the promise of conditional Government support for Woman Suffrage made in November 1911, and asks women to be content with a mere allowance of time for the discussion of a Private Member's Bill. Thus, by the recent action of the Speaker and the Government, women are to be defrauded of the protection of the Parliament Act, and also of the united Government support which was solemnly and repeatedly promised for a measure of Woman Suffrage, after its adoption by the House of Commons. The only way in which the Prime Minister can fulfil his pledge to women is by introducing a Government measure giving Votes to Women. He refuses to do this. Let no one after this talk of him as a man of honour!

### Lloyd George Found Out at Last!

The W.S.P.U. has always declared Mr. Lloyd George to be an enemy in disguise—and in very thin disguise, too—of the cause of Votes for Women. Both intuition and the plain reading of plain facts have taught the militants to distrust him. His speech in the House of Commons on Monday has let everybody else into the secret. He began by welcoming the suggestion of that rabid anti-Suffragist, Mr. F. E. Smith, that the piloting of a Woman Suffrage Bill shall be entrusted to a committee of M.P.'s, drawn from all political parties. It is indeed perfectly evident that Suffragist Ministers are hand in glove with the leading anti-Suffragists to promote the common object of cheating the women. This scheme for a "non-party Cabinet" is a fraudulent attempt to blind the women to the fact that the Government have withdrawn that support which they had promised to accord to Woman Suffrage after a favourable House of Commons vote should be obtained.

### Lloyd Georgian Deception Exposed.

"It is a mistake," said Mr. Lloyd George, "to suppose that a Parliament Act refers only to one Parliament. If a General Election intervenes between the second and third Session, you have only got to pass the Bill through another Session in the new Parliament, in order to complete the number of times which it has to pass through the House of Commons."

Mr. Lloyd George probably thinks that argument very clever, but it does not deceive any intelligent woman for one moment. The Parliament Act requires that a Bill shall pass the House of Commons each time in precisely the same form. Therefore, if a Bill on "Dickinson" lines were passed by the present House of Commons and the next Parliament refused to pass anything wider than the "Conciliation" Bill, the benefit of the Parliament Act would be lost. But the suggestion that a private Member would be able to pilot a Bill three times past the shoals of the House of Commons and to pilot it also through the House of Lords is ridiculous, and only an enemy would make it.

### Sir Edward Grey's Speech.

Sir Edward Grey's speech was quite as dishonest in its terms as we should have expected. He said, "as far as the Government are concerned, we are bound by our past pledges." He then went on to contradict himself by saying, "The Woman Suffrage Bill is not going to be a Government measure." Instead of the Government support promised in November, 1911, women were, he said, to have time for the discussion of a mere Private Member's Bill. In the hope of covering up his own treachery, he rambled on and on about the time that would be given. Time, indeed! What Suffragists want for their cause is a majority, and it is proved by experience to be impossible to get one without Government pressure. Sir Edward Grey, having said of the Prime Minister's original pledge that it provided a better opportunity than before available, now recommends the new pledge as better still. But he has played the confidence trick once too often.

### Unionists on the Situation.

It would seem that the Government, before the debate took place, had secured the consent of the Opposition leaders not to press them too hard on the question of their breach of the undertaking to make Woman Suffrage a Government measure.

Thus we have Mr. Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour amiably endorsing the Ministerial contention that the Prime Minister's new offer is better than the old one. Lords Robert and Hugh Cecil spoke in the same strain, Lord Robert (after admitting that "if any body of men had been treated as women had been treated there would have been a riot"), said:

He had no doubt that the Prime Minister's pledge would give them an honest opportunity of settling this question. If that had not been his opinion, he would have told the women to reject the right hon. gentleman's offer, as they would have nothing whatever to hope for from this Parliament.

Lord Robert Cecil is, we know, a sincere Suffragist, but the time has come when women must decide for themselves what their demands, policy, and methods shall be. The guidance of men is very dangerous.

### A Private Interview.

Mr. Lloyd George's publicly-given promise to the working women's deputation, that he would again receive it after the fate of the Women's Amendments had been decided, will be remembered. Yet, when Mrs. Drummond, after the withdrawal of the Reform Bill, called upon him to fulfil this promise, she was offered instead a private interview. A private interview would have been most unprofitable; what is needed is to have the searchlight of public opinion thrown upon his policy. General Drummond and her deputation naturally refused this offer, and insisted upon the strict fulfilment of Mr. Lloyd George's promise. As a result, she and eight other women were arrested last Tuesday. On the same evening twenty-one others were arrested for window-breaking.

Mrs. Despard and members of the Women's Freedom League have also been making a protest against the Government's latest action. They were arrested, and were sentenced yesterday to imprisonment for fourteen and seven days respectively.

Three Irish women also protested by breaking windows in the yard of Dublin Castle. They were arrested, and the iniquitous sentence of one month's hard labour has been imposed upon them.

### All for a Government Measure.

One good result the enemies' intrigues have had, and that is to unite all Societies in the demand for a Government measure. "No more Private Member's Bills!" is now the cry. Before the present crisis, the new Federated Council of Woman Suffrage Societies resolved that in the event of the failure of the women's amendments, a Government measure should be its demand. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies has now adopted this policy, and declares its intention henceforward to depend on nothing less than a Government measure. The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union has asked Mr. Lloyd George to fulfil his promise to receive a deputation of its members.

### Ministers' Replies.

Mr. Lloyd George and the rest of them denied Miss Kenney's statement that the Prime Minister's pledge was not assented to by the whole of the Cabinet. Subsequent events have shown, however, that Miss Kenney spoke truly. Mr. Lloyd George refused to resign on this same plea that all Ministers, Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike, were, by the Prime Minister's pledge, bound to abide by the decision of the House of Commons. Answering the charge of lack of zeal in advocating Votes for Women, he laid the blame for his inaction upon the militant Suffragists. The fact is, however, that many months ago it was decided, as stated in the Liberal Press, that, in the name of Cabinet unity, Ministers should not ventilate their conflicting views with regard to Woman Suffrage on public platforms. A reminder of his famous utterance on the subject of several millions of votes for women evoked a much-confused and disingenuous reply. Sir Edward Grey's chief point was that Suffragists must convert the House of Commons. That they have done already, but what is the good of it when the House is first wire-pulled into infidelity to its pledges, and then deprived of the opportunity of voting on the question at all!

### To Delete the Word "Male."

The never-finished debate on the Amendment to delete the word "male" from the Franchise Bill began last Friday. Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, who moved the Amendment, in the course of his argument for Women's Enfranchisement, declared that physical force "is not the sole, nor indeed the ultimate, function of the Government." He reminded the House that Woman Suffrage had the support of the last four leaders of the Unionist party. Referring to militancy, he condemned

not only militancy itself, but "the brutal and cruel spirit, the utterly unchivalrous spirit which it has been supposed to justify." "Every statesman," he further said, "is bound to weigh any policy which has caused such an agitation, and to remember that, however criminal the acts of some of these women have been, women of hitherto blameless lives and high aspirations have faced in this cause the greatest ignominy and the greatest suffering. It is, in fact, quite impossible to believe that ignominy and suffering have been faced except under the inspiration of what they believe to be the loftiest motive. I wish to commend that to every ruler of this country, and to bid him, if I may, to think what an infinite public disaster it would be to range those who are naturally pacific, naturally gentle, and naturally the friends of all of us, amongst the numerous dangerous forces of disorder that at present exist."

### Mr. Harcourt Repudiates Premier's Pledge.

Mr. Harcourt's speech in opposition to the Amendment was marked by an attack upon his colleagues, Sir Edward Grey and Mr. Lloyd George. His speech, both in matter and in manner, amounted to a repudiation of the pledge which the Prime Minister had made in his name. Indeed, he went so far as openly to say that if an Amendment giving any restricted form of Woman Suffrage should be passed by the House of Commons, he should hold himself free, and should probably feel compelled at some later stage, to press forward what he evidently regards as a wrecking proposal of Adult Suffrage. His remarks concerning pledges made to women should be noticed. He said: "There are too many, I am afraid, in this House who think themselves tied by pledges which were extorted not by reason but by cajolery. Then I will put it that those pledges were an expression of civility rather than of conviction." Mr. Harcourt referred to the attack upon his house, but omitted to say that this attack was made because of an incitement to arson delivered by his colleague, Mr. Hobhouse.

### What Lord Hugh Cecil Regrets.

Lord Hugh Cecil made a scathing reply to Mr. Harcourt. He jibed at his anti-woman prejudices, and exulted in the Cabinet dissensions whose real or pretended existence had been suggested by his speech. The most significant passage in Lord Hugh Cecil's speech runs as follows:—

I cannot help regretting that the Conservative Government of the days when the late Lord Salisbury was Prime Minister and a supporter of Women Suffrage, and my right hon. friend, the Member for the City of London, was Leader of this House and also a supporter of Women Suffrage, did not, before passion arose, pass some Bill, like the Conciliation Bill, into law. I believe people would have hardly noticed that it had passed into law. I believe it would have alleviated bitterness, now unhappily with us, and so painfully displayed on the Treasury Bench to-day. We should have had a quieter House of Commons, and I dare say, a quieter Cabinet at the present time.

Better late than never! A Unionist Government, with a Suffragist as Prime Minister, and with Lords Hugh and Robert Cecil in the Cabinet, may very soon be in office. We shall expect them to get a Government measure for Woman Suffrage carried into law, if the Liberals have not settled the question already.

### SELF-DENIAL WEEK.

MARCH 1st to MARCH 8th.

### LAST YEAR'S SUM TO BE DOUBLED.

Self-Denial Week for 1913 will be from March 1 to 8, both days included. It is hoped to raise a sum larger than any raised in any previous Self-Denial Week.

Every member and friend of the Union is asked to recall to mind the sum she sent to the Self-Denial Fund last year and to resolve that this year she will double it! The heroism already shown by such women as Miss Billingham and the example of Mrs. Pankhurst and other women who are at this moment preparing themselves for militant service will be a spur to others who are not in the fighting line at least to pour money into the treasury.

In due course members and friends will receive a letter from Mrs. Pankhurst and a Self-Denial Collecting Card upon which to enter the money they give and collect.

Apart from the Collecting Card Scheme there are many ways of raising money. Ideas and suggestions are invited for the coming Self-Denial Week, and these should be sent as soon as possible to the Hon. Secretary (*pro. tem.*), W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

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THE WORKING WOMEN AND MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

A FULL REPORT OF THE SPEECHES.

WORKING WOMEN SPEAK THEIR MIND.

The Working Women's Deputation waited on Mr. Lloyd George at the Treasury on Thursday, January 23, at 10.30. It was led by Mrs. Drummond and Miss Annie Kenney. The other members of it were:—

EAST-END WOMEN.—Mrs. Bigwood, Mrs. Fleming, Mrs. Steel, Mrs. Wood. NURSES.—Nurse Hutchinson, Sister Townsend.

TEACHERS.—Miss Bonwick. SHOP ASSISTANT.—Miss Bradley. DOMESTIC SERVANT.—Miss R. Perkins. LANCASHIRE FACTORY WOMEN.—Mrs. Ashworth, Miss Parkinson, Mrs. Norton. BOOT AND SHOE TRADE.—Mrs. Hawkins.

LAUUNDRESSES.—Mrs. Ward Brown. PIT-BROW WOMAN WORKER.—Miss Sarah Morgan. FISHERWOMEN.—Mrs. Coombe, Mrs. King.

TAILORSES.—Mrs. Cohen. Mrs. Drummond introduced the deputation briefly, and called upon Miss Bonwick to speak.

Miss Bonwick: Sir, I have come here as a headmistress of a large school in London, upon whom the chief maintenance of the home depends, and although I am doing the same work—in fact, a little more than the men who hold a position similar to my own, yet I am receiving just about two-thirds of what the men teachers receive. I have come here in order to put before you some of the chief points why we feel it is so intensely important that women should have the vote this Session.

The Needs of Women Teachers.

There is scarcely anything that is in our educational system but what we women teachers are as interested in and as concerned in as the men teachers. Most teachers have felt the great necessity, not only of their ordinary Parliamentary vote, but of having a representative of their own to represent the teachers. These men who are elected do not represent in a great many important matters the interests or the claims or the ideas as to educational reform that are in the minds of the women teachers, although, as a matter of fact, the Parliamentary expenses very largely are obtained from the women teachers—compulsory subscriptions year by year as members of the National Union of Teachers, of which I am one member. We find that the Government controls the women teachers right through their whole professional career. From the beginning it settles the manner of their training, the buildings in which they carry on their work, the subjects which they teach, and finally, the superannuation with which they close their professional career. And yet the women have no direct control over these important matters that affect them in their professional interests.

A Bad Influence.

With regard to the interests of the children, too, the State is constantly interfering with the matters that are of so much concern to the children. We hear of an Education Bill that is now being talked of, and we feel that it is most necessary for the good of the State that women teachers should have a voice in such matters as the age at which children should be admitted in the infant schools and the whole conditions of infant school teaching; that they should have a voice in such matters as the size of classes, and domestic and technical training of their children. And we feel also that at present our children are brought up with the idea that the State regards sex as a more important qualification for control of the Government than either education or moral character, and that is a bad influence because it acts indirectly as well as directly, subconsciously as well as consciously, upon the children growing up in our schools. We have been led to expect, Sir, by your own words, that in this present Session, in connection with the Franchise Bill that is before the House, millions of women, including the women teachers, will get the vote, that they may have a voice in these important matters of education.

Sister Townsend said she represented a body of women whose hours were longer than those of any male worker, and

whose work was attended by constant and serious dangers, of which she gave examples. A nurse risks her life in her work, and if her health is permanently injured she receives no compensation. The State registration, for which nurses had struggled so long, would not be obtained until women were enfranchised.

A Sweated Worker.

Mrs. Wood said she came from one of the worst districts in London for sweating. She had a sick tuberculous husband.

Mr. Lloyd George: What are you? Mrs. Wood: A pinature worker. What can you earn a week?—About 6s.

What do you pay in rent?—Nine shillings, but I get 2s. 6d. from one of the factory in order to get enough money to bring them up. Describing her life, Mrs. Norton said: "I have had to go home at a quarter to six at night, and then had to do my housework, washing, baking, and probably three or four nights a week it has been ten or eleven o'clock at night before I have gone to bed, and I have had to get up again at half-past five, to go to work again at half-past six."

Only Pinpricks Hitherto. "Now, I, as representing the Bradford weavers, think it is your bounden duty to give women the vote, and give it this Session, that we may have equality with men. I have also a message from the Bradford workers, and tell you that if women do not get the vote this Session, the militant tactics used hitherto will only pinpricks compared with what will be done."

Mr. Lloyd George (in pained remonstrance): "I hope you will not make it more difficult for us by using that sort of phrase. I have put your case uncomprehensively well up to now. But you are making it exceedingly difficult for us by these phrases."

Played With Too Long.

Mrs. Norton: Well, sir, you will quite see that we have been played with too long. Mrs. Cohen said that she represented a large body of tailorsesses of Leeds, who often worked under very hard conditions. The minimum wage for women in that trade was 3d. per hour, while men received 6d. per hour for the same work. The average wage of the women was 7s. per week, and even this depended to a large extent upon the season of the year. Girls, through their inability to get a living wage, were driven on the streets. Widows with families to support are also employed in the trade, and are often away from their children from half-past six until eight at night. Such women cannot be in their homes under existing conditions. Married women, also, owing to their husband's ill-health or laziness, have to take work in this trade, and when these women come back from a hard day's work they have "to start washing and baking, and in these homes where the man does nothing, the man votes."

Mr. Lloyd George: "I am a democrat, and we cannot have true democracy without women being included in the Bill; so give us the millions of votes you promised us, Mr. Lloyd George. Give them right away!"

A Pit-brow Lass.

Miss Morgan, a pit-brow lass, who appeared in her working dress, spoke of the danger of losing their vote through "protective" legislation. "We have got the right to stay at our work," she said, "but we don't know what minute we may be taken off unless we have the vote to protect us." At her work two shillings a day was top price, while some girls earned as low as 1s. 2d.

MISS ANNIE KENNEY: A Challenge to Mr. Lloyd George.

Last November the Prime Minister made a pledge that the Government as a whole would make Woman Suffrage part of a Government measure for franchise reform, if an unofficial amendment were carried by the House of Commons. The Government, he said, would, as a Government, remain neutral towards the Woman Suffrage amendments, but that if an amendment were carried, they would unite in fighting through the remaining stages in the House of Commons and through the House of Lords.

We always thought that this pledge was no good to us, even if it really was kept, because without a lead from the Government it is impossible to unite all the Suffrage forces for one particular amendment. Some M.P.s will vote for one of the amendments; some M.P.s will vote for another, so that there will be no majority for any one, and we shall fall between three stools. We are quite certain that we shall not be included in the Franchise Bill unless the Government themselves take full responsibility for getting an amendment carried.

Mrs. Norton represented the Bradford women workers in the weaving sheds. She had been a worker since she

was eight years old, and had brought four sons into the world, now grown men. She had been compelled, after she was married, to go back to the factory in order to get enough money to bring them up. Describing her life, Mrs. Norton said: "I have had to go home at a quarter to six at night, and then had to do my housework, washing, baking, and probably three or four nights a week it has been ten or eleven o'clock at night before I have gone to bed, and I have had to get up again at half-past five, to go to work again at half-past six."

A Trick.

All this shows that the Prime Minister's pledge was a trick, just as that W.S.P.U. said at the time it was made. You, Mr. Lloyd George, said in November, 1911, that if a woman amendment was carried, they say they will not share the responsibility of carrying Woman Suffrage into law. The result of the Anti-Suffragist Ministers' repudiation of the Prime Minister's pledge is that the Nationalists, and many Liberals who dread the break-up of the Government, will defeat the amendments, which are dead already on that account.

It is our business, gentlemen, to watch your speeches. Now, we have come, practically speaking, for those millions of votes you talked about. They must be given this Session, as Miss Kenney said. Therefore we hope that you intend to be as practical as we do; we shall give you every possible help we can give you. If the Government take up the Bill—and the only way of getting the vote for an amendment for votes for millions of women, seeing that the Anti-Suffragist Ministers, by convincing them that the Government will go to pieces, have induced the Nationalists and many Liberals to kill the amendments.

You Must Resign.

If the pledge was discussed by the Cabinet, and if the Anti-Suffragist Ministers had consented to be bound by it, then you will agree with us that the Anti-Suffragist Ministers have broken faith with you and have smashed the Prime Minister's pledge to his. I speak in all seriousness. It is the only honourable thing left for you to do. If you do not do it, you will be even worse than the Anti-Suffragist Ministers, for they at least do not pretend to be our friends.

Perhaps you may tell us in your reply that Mr. Churchill and others have stopped their intrigues. We know better, and in any case, the harm is done, and nobody will ever again believe in the pledge, whatever is said. In conclusion, I want to ask you again what I asked you before—How are you going to get us those millions of votes?

A Passage at Arms.

A sharp passage at arms occurred when Miss Kenney expressed the opinion that the Prime Minister's pledge was false. Mr. Lloyd George interrupted, and called upon her to prove her contention. Miss Kenney insisted that it was for him to prove that she was wrong, and attempted to continue her speech. Mr. Lloyd George again interrupted, and the argument was only finally ended by Mrs. Drummond, who rose and reminded Mr. Lloyd George that it was not a debate; that women had been thrown out for interrupting at Cabinet Ministers' meetings. "We are not interrupting you now," she said. Mr. Lloyd George smiled, and said no more. Miss Kenney resumed her speech.

MRS. DRUMMOND'S STRAIGHT TALK.

Mrs. Drummond concluded the speeches from the deputation. "Well, gentlemen, I want to be brief, but I want also to be practical. I want you to realise that this is a very practical deputation, we have brought here, that it knows what it wants, and wants to know, Mr. Lloyd George, how it is going to get it. You are a man of power; you are a man of influence; you are a man of action. But I shall only vote for it if something better is not in the Bill. Mr. Lloyd George, referring to Mr. Asquith, then said the Prime Minister would keep his pledge in the spirit as well as in the letter. He was convinced that no man in public life would alter his opinion or his attitude in consequence of any threat of personal violence. He then proceeded:—

The "Pledges."

Let us get on to the position of the

Prime Minister. When Miss Kenney made her speech, I sent for a copy of *The Times* containing a verbatim report. Those were the questions that were put by Mrs. Fawcett, who introduced the deputation:—

"Is it the intention of the Government that the Reform Bill shall go through all its stages in 1912?—Certainly, that is our intention."

The second question is:— "Will the Bill be drafted in such a way as to admit of any amendments introduced into it on other terms than men?—Certainly."

Well, now, the two first Miss Kenney does not suggest have not been adhered to strictly. The Bill has been introduced; it has been passed through; today we are going to have a guillotine resolution to enable us to carry it through. In the second place, it will be drafted in such a form as to make it possible for Woman Suffrage amendments to be introduced. Well, we have gone beyond it. We have got out a time-table which makes the four amendments to be discussed and voted upon. That is going to be moved to-day by the Prime Minister, a guillotine resolution that specifically mentions the four Woman Suffrage amendments, and enables the House of Commons to vote upon each and all of them. I think that this is carrying it out, not merely in the letter but in the spirit.

Now let us get on further. "Will the Government undertake not to oppose such amendments?—Certainly. The Government will oppose it, but they are prepared to leave the matter to the House of Commons." Well, that is going to be adhered to. Mr. Asquith, as an individual Member of the House of Commons, will oppose it. Sir Edward Grey and myself, as individual Members of the House of Commons, will support it, but the Government, as a Government, will not oppose it. They are not going to put their Whips on. So the third point of the pledge has been adhered to, and will be adhered to strictly.

An Assurance.

Now, this is very very important: "Will the Government regard any amendment in favour of women, carried, as an integral part of the Bill, and defend it in all its stages?—Certainly." The Prime Minister adheres to this statement still on behalf of the Government. Well, I shall read further (from *The Times*, of which a file is before him), because it is very important. Sir Rufus Isaacs has reminded me of another part of the Prime Minister's speech on that occasion. "You shall certainly have the opportunity to introduce into that Bill—that is, the Reform Bill, the qualification for the Suffrage for Women, if a majority of the House of Commons is prepared to assent to it. I give you my assurance on behalf of the Government that they will accept the decision that come to, and will forward the measure in one case, and give facilities for it in the other—the facilities were for the Conciliation Bill that is out of the way. Very well, the Prime Minister and the Government—and we are authorised to say that—abide by every letter and syllable of that pledge. Well, now, I don't think we can say more than that."

Miss Kenney suggests that colleagues of ours have said that if an amendment is carried against them they will resign. Well, I have never heard them say so. On the contrary, I have heard them say the contrary. Every colleague of ours has accepted this declaration of the Prime Minister's; but, of course, it does involve that we shall also accept it. It does involve that we shall also accept that. If the amendment is carried and incorporated in the Bill at the end either of the Committee or Report stage—because there are two stages, therefore we shall have two shots at it—if it is incorporated in the Bill it becomes an essential part of the Government Bill, and the Government as a whole are obliged to carry it through.

Cabinet Resignations.

I am authorised to say this as to the position of the Government at the present moment, and as to the statement that any colleagues of ours would resign—that it is a statement that is not merely unauthorised, but that it is inaccurate. I am not complaining that Miss Kenney has brought it to our attention, because I know there have been rumours of that kind. It was quite some time since that some Anti-Suffrage members have been circulating them, and circulating them very extensively and audaciously; but there is not a scrap of truth in

them. That is the bargain. It is in consequence of that that Sir Edward Grey and other colleagues of mine here are prepared to accept the pledge; but we cannot accept the pledge if it turns out to be against us if others do not accept the pledge if it happens to turn out against them. Do you follow me? And it is for that reason, it is because they are prepared to accept that pledge in the letter and in the spirit that Sir Edward Grey and I and other colleagues of ours who are present are equally prepared to accept it. There is no truth in the resignation stories. None. When Mr. Asquith spoke, he spoke not merely as head of the Government, but on behalf of the Government. He, being a strong Anti-Suffragist, was prepared to accept the position, and I should have thought that what was good enough for him as the head of the Government—and a very strong opponent of Woman Suffrage—would have been good enough for any member of the rank and file.

Well, then, several speakers suggested that I promised that this year there would be millions of women admitted to the Suffrage. I never promised anything of the sort. I did say that if millions of women were added to the electorate, those who took a certain course would look very foolish. I am not in a position to promise. I am purely a Member of Parliament. I am a member of the House of Commons, a member of a Cabinet divided on Woman Suffrage, and I can only promise to do my best. (Mrs. Drummond: Your best means something.) Well, Mrs. Drummond, if it does mean anything, I hope you will let me do it. I am perfectly prepared to work for Woman Suffrage; I am a convinced believer in it. Since I have been in public life, in the Ministry, I am more convinced than ever.

"You will Win."

My experience in regard to the Insurance Bill and other measures has shown me that it is one of the grossest injustices that women have no voice in the determination of matters which affect them much more nearly than men. I am convinced that if the case were presented to the people of this country, I am convinced that you will win, and win soon. I hope we shall win on Monday. (Mrs. Drummond: This Session?) I hope we shall win in this Session. Nothing would give me greater gratification than that, and I know that is the view of my colleagues. I know since the Suffragettes they are some have been working for the Suffrage longer than I have, and have a better right to speak on it. Sir Edward Grey was working for the Suffrage before I ever came to work for it, and nothing would give him greater pleasure—and I know this—if we do win on Monday and Tuesday, or if we do win subsequently on the Report stage, you will find that all these stories about the Cabinet falling to pieces owing to members of it resigning, I think you will find it absolutely false. Let me personally thank you for the very clear and cogent way in which you stated your case, and I wish the speeches you have made here to-day could be widely circulated. I must by necessity leave you now, but I am sure that Mrs. Drummond for the way she has organised the deputation.

SIR EDWARD GREY.

Sir Edward Grey said he was exceedingly sorry it had not been possible for him to be present earlier. There was at present a period of exceptional pressure in his department, and but for the fact that he regarded the Woman Suffrage question as very important he feared he should be absent even from the House of Commons. It was more than 25 years since he first pledged himself to Woman Suffrage. They must, however, bear in mind that there was a very formidable opposition to overcome of people who were by conviction opposed strongly to the measure. He did not agree with the arguments of the opponents, which were poor, but their feelings were strong and quite genuine. That opposition, moreover, would not be overcome by measures of annoyance, and threats; but such tactics would only consolidate it. Neither party could produce a Government on the issue of the Woman Suffrage. Under these circumstances, the best that could be done was either to secure that the House of Commons had time for a further consideration of the measure by the House, the Government remaining neutral—or that the House of Commons should have the opportunity of putting Woman Suffrage in the Government's Reform Bill. That was what the Prime Minister had offered, and he endorsed everything Mr. Lloyd George had said about its fairness. If members should resign from the Govern-

GREAT MEETING AT THE HORTICULTURAL HALL.

A magnificent meeting was held in the Horticultural Hall on Thursday night to discuss the result of the Working Women's Deputation to Mr. Lloyd George. The meeting was attended by hundreds of working women drawn from all parts of London and from the provinces. The deputation itself, attired in the picturesque costumes of their various trades, were present on the platform. The hall was packed to its utmost capacity, and there was a scene of great enthusiasm. The speakers were Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and Mr. Lansbury.

Mrs. Pankhurst, in the course of her speech, said that this deputation had shown that working women would not be outdone by working men. It used to be said that women could not combine, but the present occasion dispensed that fallacy. The deputation had been splendidly organised and conducted. They had an irresistible case if justice were to prevail, yet in spite of this they had failed in eliciting a favourable reply from Mr. Lloyd George. The pledge given by Mr. Asquith had been broken both in the letter and in the spirit. They now, therefore, called upon the Suffragist members of the Cabinet to resign.

Several members of the deputation then addressed the meeting, their keen and able speeches being received with great applause. Mrs. Drummond followed, and in the course of her speech said that there was no downheartedness among the members of that deputation. After seven years of militancy, they had turned up at the Treasury smiling, and Mr. Lloyd George had told them to convert the country, but her experience was that the country was already converted. Women would go straight ahead, and look neither to the right nor to the left until the vote was won.



HAS THE PLEDGE BEEN KEPT?

The Prime Minister made a promise to the Suffragist Deputation of November, 1911. That promise was that he would introduce a Franchise Bill which should be open to amendment in the direction of Woman Suffrage, that the House of Commons should be left free to vote for a Woman Suffrage amendment, and that if such amendment should be carried, the Government, Suffragist Ministers and Anti-Suffragist Ministers alike, would unite in carrying it into law as an integral part of the Franchise Bill.

Has that pledge been kept? We say "No." The Government says "Yes." Let facts decide! Everyone who considers the facts of the case will admit that the pledge has been doubly broken.

1. The Government's Franchise Bill, when introduced, proved not to be open to amendment in the direction of Woman Suffrage. In drafting it the word "male" was used. That meant that before a Woman Suffrage amendment could even be discussed, another amendment deleting the word "male" must be carried. Mr. Asquith admitted that he had broken his pledge when he said that an amendment to delete the word "male" was needed to "open the door" to a Woman Suffrage amendment, and that unless the amendment was carried the door would be shut.

2. The Anti-Suffragist Ministers have not held themselves bound by the pledge to unite in putting women's enfranchisement on the Statute Book after its passage through the House of Commons, and therefore M.P.s belonging to the Coalition have not had the promised freedom with regard to the question. Ever since the pledge of November, 1911, Anti-Suffragist Ministers have been telling M.P.s that the passage of a Woman Suffrage proposal would cause their resignation and the break-up of the Cabinet. The defeat of the Conciliation Bill was caused by this means, the chief Liberal Whip actually enervating against the Bill and as Mr. Philip Snowden, an M.P. belonging to the Coalition, said only the other day, the Prime Minister cannot be ignorant of the mean and unscrupulous tactics adopted by some of his Anti-Suffragist colleagues in the Cabinet to influence the Irish vote against the Bill, tactics that were successful in their object.

The resignation threats which produced the defeat of the Conciliation Bill have been continued with a view to wrecking the Women's Amendments to the Franchise Bill. The impression made on the minds of Nationalist M.P.s has been that the Government as a whole were urging them to defeat the amendments.

So late as January 16 *The Daily News*, in a leading article, maintained in spite of the denials of these intrigues by Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey that there was need of a fresh declaration from Mr. Asquith that the House of Commons, by passing Woman Suffrage, would not destroy the Cabinet.

The twice repeated refusal of Mr. Hobhouse to say that he would unite with his colleagues in the Cabinet in carrying Woman Suffrage into law is proof that Anti-Suffragist Ministers have not regarded themselves as bound by the Prime Minister's pledge, professedly made on their behalf. Mr. Herbert Samuel did not make his recent statement on Cabinet unity until after the amendments had been torpedoed.

Mr. Harcourt's speech in the debate on the Grey Amendment, by its tone and substance gave the lie to the statement that Anti-Suffragist Ministers are faithful to the pledge made in their name. Mr. Harcourt actually said in so many words that he should hold himself free, if either the "Norwegian" or "Conciliation" Amendments should be carried by the House of Commons, to oppose it at a later stage by promoting what he regards as a wrecking proposal for Adult Suffrage.

Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., has exposed the breaches of the Premier's pledge committed by Anti-Suffragist Ministers by saying in the House of Commons last Monday:-

He was too well aware of what had been going on during the last three months. Cabinet Ministers had been busying themselves during the last six weeks more than he had ever known them to do in showing cordiality and friendship for every member supposed to be sufficiently weak-kneed to listen to the tales about the embarrassment of the Government.

Sir Edward Grey, in spite of his previous denials, virtually admitted that the pledge had been broken by his reference, made in the course of Monday's debate, to the Government's "embarrassment caused by the pledge."

Finally, the Prime Minister, by now withdrawing the promise of Government support involved by the pledge of November, 1911, has confessed that that pledge was, as alleged by the W.S.P.U., a fraud.

THE WORKING WOMEN'S DEPUTATION.

An Impression by Beatrice Harraden.

It was a delightful and thrilling experience to go with the Working Women's Deputation to lay the Working Women's case before Mr. Lloyd George. As we drove along in the omnibus, which was flying the W.S.P.U. colours with an access of triumph, I reflected that here was one of the many compensations which fall like blessings on the distraught authors taking part in this movement. Gone is the serenity of our spirit, and the seclusion of our studies seems like a dream of the dim past. But unexpected interests and adventures spring up to take the place of that lost solitude of soul and body; and as I sat, with the bonnie fishwives from Newhaven, Scotland, and surveyed my company, I said to myself that I would not have exchanged these comrades for the most cultured scholars in the whole world, nor that omnibus for the quietest and most safely guarded temple of thought and imagination.

Quiet we certainly were not. We were merry and happy. I was particularly struck, from the very beginning, with the entire absence of all fear and self-consciousness in these hard-working women.

"Shall you be nervous?" I asked one of them. "Nervous?" she answered. "And who's Lloyd George that I should be frightened of him?"

And the pit-brow lassie said:- "I'm not frightened of any of them. They can't be worse than some of the men I've had to reckon with."

And the fishwife said complacently:- "If I feel comforted, I shall be able to say straight out what I want. Plain and straight."

And the East End woman said:- "Nervous. No, bless you. If I once get on my feet I shan't be able to leave off telling him to do the right thing by us."

And the bright little laundress said with a twinkle in her eyes:- "They'll hear a thing or two from me! Never fear! I'm going to tell them they couldn't do our work if they tried!"

And the General, beaming on them all, said:- "Say whatever you have to say. But let us all remember our dignity."

Well, they did indeed remember it. I have never before seen anything approaching to the dignity with which those women, later, in the Treasury, stood up, one by one, and stated their cases, and their need of the vote with which to get their grievances remedied. Their speeches, I know, are reported elsewhere; and so I need not do more than just pick out a few points here and there, by chance, as it were; for really all the speeches, as Mr. Lloyd George himself said, were so admirable and concise, and so much to the point, that there was nothing to choose between them either in interest or importance.

And the effect they produced on Mr. Lloyd George and some of his colleagues present—Sir John Simon, Dr. Macnamara, and others—was cumulative. It could not have been otherwise. For even politicians are said to be intermittently human where other people's welfare is concerned—we know, of course, that they are permanently human where their own welfare is concerned—and these gentlemen were having the privilege of listening to a continuous human record, given with dignity and fearlessness, in simple, direct language, without anger, or bitterness, and without any appeal of pathos except that of the bare stern facts of life. Of course, they were impressed. They would have been monsters if they were not.

They heard the claims of the teachers so admirably advanced by Miss Bonwick, and the disabilities of the nurses clearly explained by Miss Townend, who spoke of the nursing profession as a dangerous one in which there was no compensation for illness, and for which there was no legislation against long hours. They heard the story of the tailoresses from Mrs. Cohen of Leeds, and learnt how the girls worked for 3½ an hour, whilst the men were paid 6½d. an hour for the same job. She told them how in the slack time the girls went day after day to the factory and got no work given them, and how the hunted look came over their faces as they realised they were being driven on to the streets.

"Raise their status, Mr. Lloyd George," she said. "Help them to get rid of the hunted look."

Then Mrs. Bigwood spoke on behalf of the Sweated Workers of the East End, and told of her 6s. a week earnings in the making of pinafores, "and buy me own cotton and fire and gaslight." Then came the turn of the cheery little laundress,

Mrs. Ward Brown, who got in what she wanted to say about the men not being able to do the laundry work properly, much to the amusement of the assembled statesmen!

"We ought to have the vote at once," she said peremptorily. And in conclusion, "It's a shame we've not got it already, Mr. Lloyd George."

Soon the imposing and picturesque fishwife, Mrs. King, gave her testimony, and by reason of her great dignity looked as much in place in the Treasury as she would have done with her ocel on her back in Newhaven.

"Give me my vote, Mr. Lloyd George," she said. "I've come four hundred mile to get it, and I want it before I go back."

Then the pit-brow lassie spoke for her comrades, and as she stood there, in her quaint costume and clogs, I longed to tell those men how she was called the Florence Nightingale of the Hulton Mine, and how in that dreadful disaster, when 344 miners were killed, she had taken charge of the dead, and had worked for sixty hours on end, receiving them and rendering them the last services.

Nothing could have been better, either for effect or instruction, than the clever arrangement of the speakers, so that each personality should stand out clearly defined and contrasted. They were all deeply earnest, of course, but their temperaments were different. My only regret was that the deputation had been limited to twenty, and did not include the charwoman from Liverpool, who told me "that she was making history," or the tinplate worker from Mr. Lloyd George's own country who said she had come alone and was determined to come whether "she got killed or what." I was glad to know later that she had not "got killed or what," for I think I saw her starting out with a gallant three hundred to the Drury Lane pantomime!

Well, to return to that Treasury, where at last Sir Edward Grey put in an appearance, belated and elusively apologetic. But before he arrived on the scenes, Miss Annie Kenney and the Chancellor had had their breeze, and I would like to say about this breeze that I respected more than ever that little brave woman who dared to introduce a note of discord into the harmony of the deputation because she felt it to be her duty to make certain remarks and to ask certain questions which had to be said and asked, and which have now been proved to be more than justified by this latest development of the Suffrage situation. Hers was, in fact, the hardest and most trying part of the drama of the morning, and she went through it with a calm courage which filled me with admiration, whilst at the same time it shattered what remains of my nervous system.

For the Chancellor's brow grew "dark and ominous," as we say, or used to say, in novels. Restive and indignant became the countenances of his supporters and colleagues. Phantoms of Liberal followers rushed in to uphold the honour of the Prime Minister and menace his accuser. With my mind's eye I even saw the Liberal women joining in the phantom onslaught on that heroic figure. That was too much for any eye, whether of mind or the flesh. I closed it. And when I had the pluck to open it, I still saw Annie Kenney confronting the Chancellor, Annie Kenney who with body or brain would face without flinching the difficulties and perils of any situation.

And of Mrs. Drummond herself, what more need one say except that she was the General at the General's very best? But I cannot leave it at that, because I am really haunted by her wonderful management of the deputation, her good-natured wit, her *finesse*, which many a statesman might well envy, and the genius of her temperament, which gives her a free pass into any camp, however hostile. Mr. Lloyd George in complimenting her for her illness, and for which there was no legislation against long hours, was obviously using the language of sincerity. One could not help reflecting what a sad pity and a wasted chance it has been that he and his colleagues have not allowed themselves until now, at the eleventh hour, the opportunity of meeting face to face in frank but friendly council the women of the W.S.P.U., whose personalities have hitherto been unknown quantities to the members of the Government.

Well, these so-called statesmen have now shown that they prefer war to peace. But at least they know now, direct from this deputation, that the working women are determined to have their grievances remedied without delay, and have risen up in their numbers to form a solid phalanx against which all the opposing forces must inevitably hurl themselves in vain.

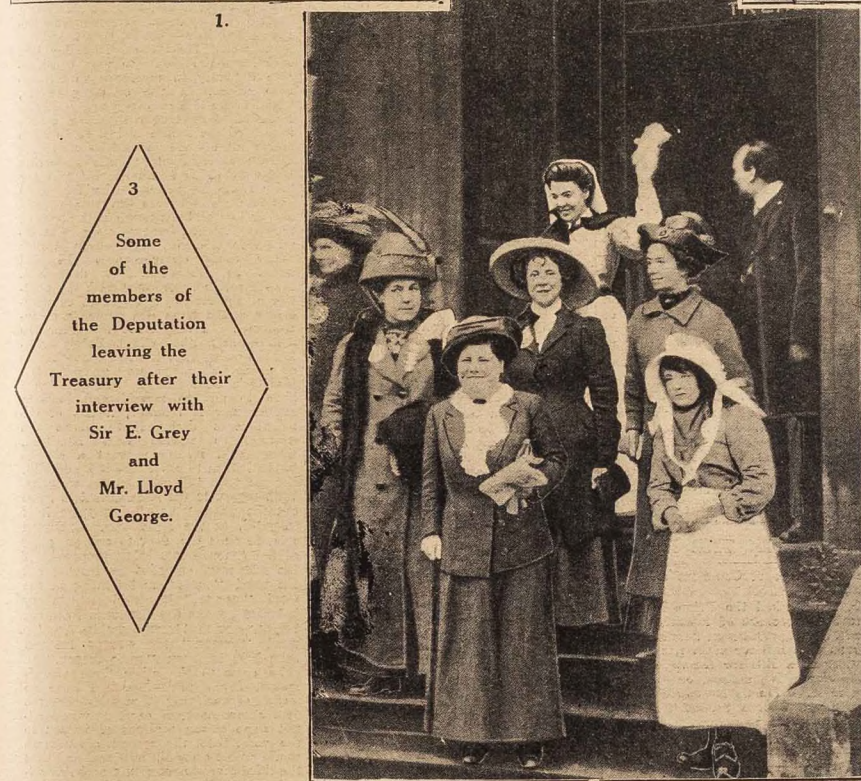
THE WORKING WOMEN'S DEPUTATION TO THE GOVERNMENT.



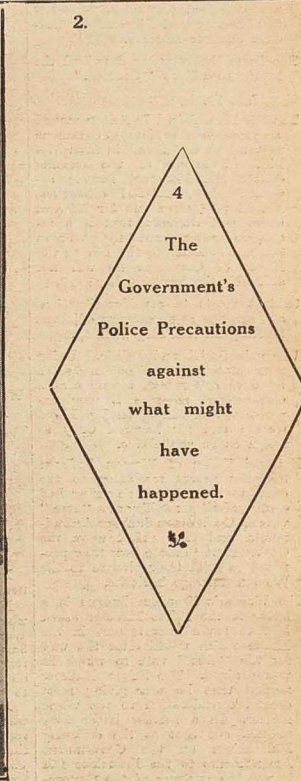
1 Deputation leaving Lincoln's Inn House on their way to the Treasury.



2 The hand of friendship. Mrs. Drummond greeting fishwomen from Newhaven.



3 Some of the members of the Deputation leaving the Treasury after their interview with Sir E. Grey and Mr. Lloyd George.



4 The Government's Police Precautions against what might have happened.



5







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**Inspired by Betrayal.**

The Women's Amendments have been torpedoed. The Government have had up their sleeve a plan whereby, if the House of Commons should withstand their intrigues and should carry a Woman Suffrage Amendment, the Amendment and the Bill together would be killed. The Government's plan was to say (making a hint from the Speaker their excuse) that by the addition of a Woman Suffrage Amendment the Franchise Bill had become a new Bill, and must be withdrawn and re-introduced. The effect of this would be to thrust the Franchise Bill, with its newly-added Woman Suffrage clause, outside the protection of the Parliament Act, and to secure that delay, equivalent to denial, which is a favourite weapon of the politicians.

As ample provision had been made to defeat the Women's Amendments, by threatening splitting up and otherwise demoralising the Suffragist

majority in the House of Commons, the Government did not anticipate that this plot of theirs need ever see the light of day. The Speaker, probed by Mr. Bonar Law, and moved perhaps by some sudden impulse of malice, made a premature disclosure of the whole cowardly scheme, and gave the hint in question before the Government had expected him to do so.

The Franchise Bill has therefore been withdrawn, and a new "pledge" has been made to women. This "pledge" is repudiated by all Suffragists, who now stand united in demanding a Government measure.

The new "pledge" of the Prime Minister is the most fraudulent proposal ever made by a Minister of the Crown. If the House of Commons possessed even a rudimentary sense of honour, he would not have dared to bring forward such a proposal. For what does it involve? It involves the entire withdrawal of that conditional Government support which was first promised five years ago, and again very solemnly promised in November, 1911. The performance of that promise of conditional support is, by the admission and the action of the Prime Minister himself, impossible. That impossibility he ought to have discovered before he made his "pledge." Therefore, he is now under a strict obligation to do, in the interests of Woman Suffrage, not less, but more than he originally promised.

The position is this: The Prime Minister's "pledge" of 1908, repeated in 1911, cannot be fulfilled except by introducing a Government measure of Woman Suffrage. Not only does the Prime Minister refuse to do this, but even after a Private Member's Bill has passed its second reading, he will not give it Government support. That the Government propose next Session to introduce a measure dealing with the voting rights of men, accentuates the fact that they have withdrawn every vestige of the Government support for Woman Suffrage originally promised. Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, by acquiescing in the Prime Minister's iniquitous policy, have shown themselves at last, and unmistakably, in their true colours.

The Opposition leaders maintain a conspicuous silence on the subject of the Government's grave breach of faith. Perhaps they cherish a lingering hope that by compounding this political felony they may escape from committing themselves to deal more honestly with the Votes for Women question when their turn for office comes again.

Women harbour no illusions as to the fate of the proposed new Bill for Woman Suffrage. They know that for want of Government support it will be destroyed. False friends have tried to persuade them that success depends on whether they proceed by means of a separate Bill for Woman Suffrage, or by means of an Amendment to a general Franchise Bill affecting both sexes. This difference of procedure is not material, and all depends on the absence or presence of Government support. In this very Session, the two alternative methods of procedure have been tried, and both have failed. The Conciliation Bill, a separate measure, was torpedoed; the Women's Amendments to a general Reform Bill have been torpedoed too. And here we may point out that from the beginning of the Suffrage movement until now, it has been a favourite Liberal trick to urge, when women were trusting to Amendments admitting them to a general Franchise Bill, that they ought instead to be trusting to a separate measure; and when they were trusting to a separate measure, that they ought rather to look forward to inclusion in a general Franchise Bill. To all such trickery, women now reply, "We demand a Government measure."

We can see with perfect distinctness the dangers which await the new Woman Suffrage Bill. They include the following:—

The House of Commons will not vote freely upon this Bill any more than it did on the Conciliation Bill.

Anti-Suffragist Ministers will no longer be under even the slight restraint involved by the Prime Minister's broken pledge, and Coalition M.P.'s will be called upon to save the Government from embarrassment and destruction by "riding them of this troublesome Bill."

The Nationalist Party, which is resolved to have no Woman Suffrage in this Parliament, will be at liberty to play a wrecking game.

The House of Commons will be told—Mr. Balfour is telling them so already—that the promoters of a mere Private Member's Bill are not entitled to claim the protection of the Parliament Act, and this will incline many not to give the Bill a second reading.

The unofficial, non-party "Cabinet," suggested by Mr. F. E. Smith, and joyously hailed by Mr. Lloyd George (a suspicious accord of views, betraying most plainly Mr. Lloyd George's real motives and intentions), would simply be the

Conciliation Committee under another name. The idea that this "Cabinet" can succeed where the Conciliation Committee failed is scouted by Mr. Brailsford, who says that like the torpedoed Conciliation Bill, the new Bill will have to face talk about splitting the Government, embarrassing the Premier, organised "ratting" led by the younger aspirants to office, "lobbying" by hostile Ministers, and determined and unanimous Irish opposition. "Three years of work as the secretary of this Committee have," says Mr. Brailsford, "convinced me that a free vote in this House, under a divided Cabinet, is a moral impossibility."

The entire scheme, as devised by the Government, is an insult to the women for whose acceptance it is offered.

Last week we said that upon the defeat of the Women's Amendments, the policy of Suffragists must be to get the Government out. That the Amendments have been torpedoed instead of out-voted, makes no difference to the situation. "Get the Government out!" must still be our battle-cry. A heavy responsibility now rests upon the men electors who profess to be Suffragists. Not from them, any more than from Cabinet Ministers, can we accept mere words of sympathy. It is not enough for them to argue that women ought to have the Vote. A determined opposition to the Government, with a view to thrusting them from office, is the duty of every man who believes in justice for women.

The official Labour Party is now called upon to make a grave decision. Mr. Henderson and Mr. Keir Hardie have both, in the House of Commons, denounced the Government's latest action. Mr. Henderson declares that the Prime Minister has gone back on his pledge, and Mr. Keir Hardie denies that any Bill which is not supported by the Government can be successful.

What will the Labour Members do to carry out the principles thus laid down? The Annual Conference of the Labour Party is sitting at this moment. Members of the working women's deputation have requested an opportunity of addressing that Conference, in order to ask that the Labour Members shall, for the sake of working-women's enfranchisement, vote sleeplessly and relentlessly against the Government, in one division after another, until they are either driven from office or have introduced a Woman Suffrage Bill. What will Labour's answer be to this demand?

The Labour Party stand at the parting of the ways. If they ignore the women's appeal and continue to support the Government, they will meet political ruin. If, on the other hand, they decide to fight the Government in the interests of women, they will find salvation. Of this we shall speak next week, when their decision will have been made.

It is, however, upon women themselves that the issue really depends. Unless they are prepared to pay the price for their enfranchisement, they can expect, and they will get, no help from men. All Suffragists now stand for a Government measure, and an Anti-Government election policy follows as a natural consequence. But here, again, dependence on men is necessary—and there lies a weakness.

It is militancy that is women's true weapon until they get the Vote. We notice that some Suffragists, converted to the necessity of a Government measure, are still opposed to militant methods, which, for some unaccountable reason, they describe as "the great enemy." But what is the alternative to militancy, we should like to know? Public meetings and petitions? Such methods have surely been tried to the full. What more can be done in that direction? And if it were done, what effect would be produced? Will the non-militants tell us that? The truth is, that the non-militant movement has now suffered a reverse comparable to that sustained in 1884. Every non-militant resource has been exhausted, and still the enemy prevails. It is only militant resources that have not been exhausted.

After the defeat of 1884, when women were left out of the Reform Bill of that year, the Suffrage movement died—to be reborn twenty years later. But for militant methods, the Suffrage movement would die to-day, and would remain dead until the springing-up of a new generation of women gifted with the courage to fight for their liberty.

Militancy is for women both a political weapon and a means of vindicating their spiritual freedom. While militancy is open to us, we can never know defeat. Or shall we word it otherwise, and say, as said Susan Anthony, the great Suffrage pioneer, that "defeat is like fire in our blood"? That noble saying, telling of every quality that breeds success!

Fortified by disappointment, and inspired by betrayal, the militant women shout their songs of triumph in the face of the enemy.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

DEMOCRACY—AND THE DEAD BILL.

By GERALD GOULD.

These days are days of rejoicing for the gentlemen who draw their incomes from the rents of streets where every house is a house of shame, or of the filthy slums where the sweated worker, by toiling day and night, does her little best to keep the lords of creation in motor cars and cigars. Base luxury and nasty indolence, pride and cruelty and stupidity, falsehood and lust and meanness—all these are having their day, and making the most of it. The cause of freedom is insulted, honour is outraged; but the House of Commons doesn't mind. Is this the will of the people? Is it thus a great nation expresses itself? We know how a true democracy should be governed; the contrast with the way in which we are governed is instructive and deplorable. The process has been a simple one. So rapidly, under the influence of the self-sacrifice, the courage and the wisdom of Suffragists, has the general feeling of the country progressed in the past few years, that even Members of Parliament had begun to wake up to the necessity of action. There was a distinct hope—from the Government's point of view, a distinct danger—that principle would be put into practice, that women would be enfranchised. The thing had to be stopped! All along the W.S.P.U. has said that such a sinister means of stopping it would be found. And stopped for the moment, by the most sinister means, it is.

How the Government Stand.

But, be that as it may, the Government, for whatever vice or whatever folly they stand condemned, at any rate have no way of escape from the derision of the civilised world and the contemptuous loathing of future generations. A dirty and silly work has been done by dirty and silly means. The political and economic enslavement of women is, for the present, to be continued. The powers in the Liberal Government, with a brutal and incredible cynicism, have seen to that. Posterity will judge them. But they are indifferent to posterity. Heaven judges them. But they are unaware of the existence of heaven. Truth, honour, justice, are to them vague words, signifying nothing. They know not what they do. Politically, they are tyrants and torturers. Morally, they are only imbeciles.

Exchange and Robbery.

A brief retrospect will show the method. By sheer pressure of women's courage the Government had been compelled to promise facilities for the Conciliation Bill. They broke that promise and killed that Bill by the announcement of their intention to introduce Manhood Suffrage. But the Conciliation Bill, they said, was to be replaced, and even bettered, by the chance of free amendment to the new measure. They told us: "It is never too late to amend." They invited us to wait and see the glories of the Committee stage. There has been no Committee stage. That which was to be so much better than what they robbed us of is not only worse instead of better, it is just simply nothing at all. And now they have the effrontery to offer us what they robbed us of in the first instance—to offer it as a new and precious thing! They killed the Conciliation Bill, and told us it was of less use than the "Reform" Bill; now they propose a Re-Conciliation Bill, and tell us it is of more use than the "Reform" Bill! Is the truth perhaps that, with the present unscrupulous and reactionary Government in power, all three Bills are equally useless?

Public and Private Morality.

One last, one pitiful plea, is left to that timid and contemptible person, the Liberal stalwart. He says: "It is true Mr. Asquith's position is not being able to fulfil his pledge is a painful one; but what can the poor man do?" Well, let us assume, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Asquith's position was really not foreseen by him. What would a man of honour do if similarly placed in private life? The failure to apply the ordinary standards of private truthfulness, kindness, and decency to public life is one of the gravest evils and darkest dangers of our time. If in any of the matters of everyday intercourse a man made a solemn promise to give a certain thing, and found himself prevented by circumstances, he would naturally give some equivalent—something which was obviously and unquestionably as good as the thing he had failed to give. There is no doubt that Mr. Asquith could do the same. It would mean extreme pressure on Parliamentary time; but he is the last man who ought to complain of that. He could do it; and he will not. His Suffragist colleagues could compel him; and they will not. The House of Commons could, at the very least, show some realisation of the need for honest action; and it will not. In God's name, what hope or help can women expect to find among such men as these?

The Speaker's Dilemma.

Again, the peculiarities and inconsistencies in the Speaker's conduct can scarcely expect to escape comment. I do not refer to the fact that in the opinion of Lord Courtney of Penwith, Mr. Lloyd George, and of other experienced Parliamentarians, there is no precedent for his ruling; that, on the contrary, such precedents as there are against him. I refer rather to the fact that his own pronouncements do not fit with each other. The initial tentative ruling which for all practical purposes killed the Franchise Bill was not asked for: it was given in answer to a question on a wholly different point. His reason for giving it unasked has been widely praised in the Party Press. That reason, we are told, was to spare useless discussion and save Parliamentary time. Well and good. But the Speaker could have spared much more discussion and saved much more time by giving his

ruling many months ago. He has been questioned in the House, and he has replied, in effect, that it is not for him to anticipate, but only to answer what is asked. He can scarcely have it both ways. If he is never to answer a question till it arises, why did he actually anticipate a question in this instance? If he could anticipate it in this instance, for the sake of saving time, why could he not do so long ago? Was it because, if he had, the Anti-Suffrage Government would not then have been able to hold out promises to women until the very end of the Session, and so to say, as they say now: "You see, it is a question of time, and in the few days left to us we cannot redeem our pledges?" I bring no accusations; I only make an enquiry. I should be genuinely glad to have it met with a satisfactory and convincing reply. I want to make the Speaker's actions fit each other; but, until they do so fit, I suggest that the discrepancies should be taken into account in our estimate of the political situation.

A CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

Every member of the Union—and, indeed, every woman who desires the political freedom of woman—is asking herself this question: "What can I do to express my burning resentment of the trick that the politicians have played upon women and my determination to carry on the agitation for Women's Suffrage more effectively than ever before?"

Already many women have translated their outraged sense of justice into action, and as I write are engaged in effective warfare. Offers for active service are pouring in, money is being subscribed with which to carry on the war against the Government. At the meetings yesterday more than £400 was given or promised. The special efforts that women are making are very touching. One young widow who has to leave England with her child to settle in Canada sends her household silver to be sold. Many women are promising weekly contributions from their wages. The young son of a member of Mrs. Drummond's deputation sends 10s., and urges his mother to continue the fight. Personal jewellery comes from those unable to send money. At the Pavilion meeting Mrs. Drummond said:—"We working women cannot give money but we give our lives. Many women in this movement give both money and life gladly."

It is of the utmost importance to show the Government that our store, both of life and money, is inexhaustible.

THE INDIGNATION FUND.

A CHALLENGE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

THE SUFFRAGETTE is read in every city, town and village of the United Kingdom. It carries the news of our movement all over the world. We want our readers everywhere to help us to create a great Indignation Fund with which to carry on our work of emancipation. England is the storm-centre of the woman's movement. Our victory will mean the speedy success of women everywhere; and therefore lovers of freedom in other lands should help us in our time of need. I earnestly invite all who cannot be active combatants themselves to send their money to our fighting fund.

E. PANKHURST.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND

JANUARY 14 to JANUARY 18.

Already acknow- ledged	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	
per Miss Hilder	7 6	A Warm Sympathiser	0 0
Mrs. M. S. Bevan	50 0	Wolheim	0 5 0
Miss Bessie Berry	0 0	Mrs. Cawley	0 2 0
Mrs. Isa Campbell	5 0	Miss E. L. Carley	0 2 0
Gillingham (Kent)		Miss A. E. Billing-	
Members (para- procendis Jubilee Sale and Subs.)	1 18 2	hurst	2 0 0
E. E. (two sisters)	0 10 0	Miss W. L. Carnegie	0 5 0
Mrs. Attoo (train fares saved)	0 1 6	Miss Benett	1 0 0
Miss Susan Carpenter	1 0 0	Miss D. Y. Habgood	0 4 0
Miss Amy Hicks (Lecture Fee)	1 1 0	Miss Alice Jones	0 5 0
"An Assistant Mis- tress"	2 0 0	Miss L. Balchin	0 3 0
Mrs. Carl Hentschel	0 10 6	Anon.	3 0 0
Dr. Helen Hanson	0 5 0	Mr. and Mrs. Darley	0 5 0
Mrs. E. M. B. Craig	0 10 0	Miss C. Bear	0 0 0
Miss Benett	2 0 0	Mrs. C. Ireland	0 2 6
Anon.	10 0 0	Mrs. G. Clave	0 0 0
Miss E. M. S. Graham	0 10 0	Mrs. M. S. Green	0 0 0
Miss Benett	2 0 0	Mrs. A. Hutchinson	0 7 6
Miss Ruby Atkinson	0 2 6	Miss Dods Budd	0 5 0
Miss M. R. Cochrane	0 3 0	Miss Maude Burgess	0 5 0
"An Assistant Mis- tress"	0 16 0	Miss Kato W. Evans	0 5 0
Miss Beatrice Daw- son	0 10 0	Miss Helen Collins	0 1 0
Mrs. Leverton Harris	5 0 0	Miss M. E. Evans	0 5 0
Mrs. E. S. Freeland	5 0 0	Mrs. Isabella Casey	1 0 0
Miss E. M. S. Graham	3 0 0	Mrs. Mary Althorn	0 2 6
Miss Helen Glover	0 5 0	Miss E. Blake	0 2 6
Miss E. Edwards	0 10 0	Miss A. M. Clifford	0 2 6
Miss Edith Bennett	0 5 0	Miss M. Baetz	0 2 6
Mrs. Gordon	0 5 0	Miss Grace Baldwin	0 2 6
Mrs. Blaine	2 0 0	A Few Nurses of St. Mary's Hospital	0 11 0
Mrs. Mary Taylor	2 2 0	Miss E. M. S. Graham	2 0 0
Mrs. Amy Leckenby	0 5 0	Miss M. A. Gazeley	0 5 0
Mrs. Jean Stottfield	0 5 0	Mrs. H. Arnold	0 2 0
Mrs. L. Mackenzie	1 0 0	Mrs. and Miss Bulan	0 10 0
Dr. Mary McDougall	1 1 0	Mrs. Robie Keller	0 10 6
Miss Marian Porter	1 0 0	Mrs. F. Cavendish	
A. E. Ritchie, Esq.	1 1 0	Bentick	1 0 0
Mrs. F. G. Wallace	1 1 0	Miss K. P. Birch	1 1 0
Mrs. Jessie Rolland	1 1 0	Mrs. M. S. Scott	1 1 0
Mrs. Mildred Tite	0 10 0	Miss Mildred Hay	0 2 0
Miss Langshaw	0 2 6	Scarborough W.S.P.U.	0 10 0
Miss Margaret West	0 5 0	Mrs. A. Winter	1 1 0
Mrs. Lindsay New- tatter	1 0 0	Mrs. Mary Taylor	1 1 0
Miss Lorna Marger- son (Sale of Jew- ellery)	20 0 0	Mrs. Squire	0 2 6
Miss Mary Edwards	0 5 0	Miss D. Stullis	0 0 0
Hampstead W.S.P.U.		Miss Symons	1 0 0
(Additional)—		Miss Catherine Wedg- wood	3 0 0
Miss Rogers	0 10 0	Mrs. F. Lavarack	1 1 0
Dr. Mabel Hardie	1 0 0	Mrs. and The Misses Preston	0 6 0
Mrs. K. E. Mulligan	5 0 0	Mrs. Usherwood	0 5 0
Mrs. S. C. Parker	2 0 0	Mrs. Yates	0 5 0
Alfred Wright, Esq.	10 0 0	Miss Hilda Sloane	0 10 0
Mrs. M. E. Hillard	0 2 6	Mrs. E. J. Langley	0 2 0
Per Miss D. Egan		Miss F. A. Randall	0 2 0
Miss Baker	0 10 0	Miss Jethro Holroyd son	1 1 0
Miss Clough	1 0 0	Mrs. M. J. Littlejohn	0 10 6
Mrs. Abbott	1 0 0	Mrs. E. E. Smith	1 1 0
Miss Dugdale	0 4 0	Miss R. H. Wedg- wood	1 0 0
Extra on Suffrage	0 2 0	Miss B. Taylor	0 10 6
Recovered on stolen cheque	0 5 10	Mrs. Walsh	0 5 0
Miss E. Cardo	0 10 0	Miss M. A. Smith	1 0 0
Mrs. Willocks	0 5 0	Mrs. E. Ward	0 10 0
Mrs. Yerbury	0 1 6	Miss Isabella Kin- foul	1 0 0
Miss Newell	1 1 0	Mrs. Anne Oldham	0 5 0
Miss Ward	0 5 0	Mrs. Maurice Scott	0 10 0
From Glasgow		Miss Edith Quinlan	0 10 0
Miss Cooper	0 8 0	Mrs. S. A. Stacey	1 0 0
Mrs. Henderson	1 0 0	Mrs. F. G. Oldham	0 5 0
Miss Taylor	0 1 0	Mrs. Levy	0 5 0
East End Speakers'		Miss E. Thomson	1 0 0
Per Miss Rosa Leo- pold	0 7 6	Miss C. Thomson	0 10 0
Mrs. Frances Edie	0 5 0	Miss A. S. Watt	0 10 0
Miss G. H. Grant	0 1 0	Mrs. C. Norris	0 2 6
Miss Hartog	0 1 0	Mrs. Rowe (per Mrs. C. Norris)	0 2 6
Miss F. A. Rauder	0 2 0	Miss G. Stevenson	1 0 0
Miss Dorothy Henry	0 5 0	Anon., Yorks	5 0 0
Mrs. Percival	1 0 0	Horsney, W.S.P.U.	5 0 0
Miss E. A. Bauder	0 2 0	Mrs. Kelly	0 5 0
Miss Hilda Sloane	1 1 0	Miss May Bellamy	0 5 0
Miss Amy Winter	2 6 0	Miss Katherine Bal- four	2 2 0
Miss M. C. Clifton	0 2 6	Miss Alice and Miss G. F. Din- mond	0 2 0
Miss D. Arter	0 1 0	Mrs. Edwards, Esq.	1 1 0
Mrs. G. Chapman	0 2 0	Wallington W.S.P.U.	
Mrs. Jagenberg	0 5 0	Sale of Cakes, per Mrs. Carter	0 4 0
Mrs. E. Saunders	0 10 0	Collected	0 6 0
Miss M. D. Roberts	0 5 0	Mrs. Eva Sandmef- son	0 1 6
Mrs. Dugdale	0 5 0	Mrs. and The Misses Sourancke	0 10 0
Miss Daisy Dugdale	0 2 6	Mrs. Payne	1 0 0
Nurses G. M. Whit- lacre	0 2 6	"An Appreciative Symphony"	0 2 6
Mrs. Bowler	0 10 0	Miss Julia E. Green	0 10 0
Miss D. Bowker	0 5 0	Per Mrs. J. Baines— Miss Helen Atkin- son	0 3 6
Bradford W.S.P.U.		Mrs. Leonora Cohen	0 5 0
Mrs. H. Holton	2 0 0	Mrs. Robson	0 5 0
Miss Millar Wilson	2 0 0	Mrs. Waugh	0 2 6
Miss Anblar	5 0 0	Per Miss D. Evans— Mrs. Parkes	2 0 0
Miss Newton	5 0 0	From Glasgow	
Miss Norah Newton	0 5 0	Mrs. Christie	0 2 6
Miss Symes	0 5 0	Miss Christa	0 5 0
Mrs. Bernhardt	0 10 0	Miss Janie Allan	10 0 0
Miss Shanks	0 2 0	Miss Thomson	0 10 0
Miss Potter	0 5 0		
Anon.	0 10 0	Collections, Tickets, etc.	
Mrs. Perkins	0 10 0	A. B.	20 7 6
Mrs. J. Millar	0 2 6	London	0 0 0
Wilson	0 6 0	Anon.	10 0 0
Mrs. McKelvie	5 0 0	Mrs. Eton	0 10 0
Hon. Mrs. Forbes	5 0 0	Miss Hilda Volheim	0 5 0
Miss K. A. Daniell	0 10 0		
Miss M. M. O.	0 5 0		
Mrs. M. Sadd Brown	2 0 0		
Mrs. A. M. Browne	0 10 0		
Mrs. Hertha Arton	0 5 0		
Miss M. G. Bowers	0 5 0		
Clerks W.S.P.U.	0 10 0		
A. B.	0 0 0		
London	20 7 6		
Anon.	10 0 0		
Mrs. Eton	0 10 0		
Miss Hilda Volheim	0 5 0		
		Total	£141,866 13 8

NOTE.—Dates at head of last week's list of "Contributions to the £250,000 Fund" should have been "January 13 to January 14."







(Continued from Page 237.) that the more women we could have secured in the Bill which is to be withdrawn...

I AM NOT SATISFIED. I am not, however, satisfied upon this. The Prime Minister in the proposal he made at the end of his statement set forth the future intentions of the Government...

THE GOVERNMENT MUST BE RESPONSIBLE. (Hon. Members: Oh!) I may be wrong, but I am perfectly sincere when I say that nothing short of the Government making themselves responsible for a Bill which includes the women would, it seems to me, meet the case and the expectations which have been created...

Mr. A. HENDERSON: Yes, but we say, "Afford time for the Second Reading of the Bill, and if the Bill succeeds in obtaining a Second Reading by a majority of the House, our position will then be what it would have been during the present week if a Suffrage amendment had been carried by the House."

Mr. A. HENDERSON: Yes, tricks. I do not withdraw the word. I am too well aware of what has been going on in the Smoke Room and in the Lobbies during the past two or three months. Every Member on this side of the House knows.

Mr. A. HENDERSON: It is not necessary to mention names. Cabinet Ministers have been buying themselves more during the last six or eight weeks than I have ever known in the cordiality and friendship they have shown to every Member who was suspected of being sufficiently weakened to listen to their tales about the embarrassment of His Majesty's Government.

Those Cabinet Ministers who have not been working quite so hard as the Colonial Secretary, those on the other side of the question who have been making these statements that the pledge of the Prime Minister—(Interruption.)

I was about to say that those Cabinet Ministers who on the other side of the question had not been working so hard as some of us who are with them with regard to Woman Suffrage would have liked to have seen them work, and who have been making these statements to deputations that this Bill afforded a better opportunity than we had ever had before, expect us to-day to be content with the Prime Minister's statement made in their name, made, I assume, in the name of all the

Members of the Cabinet. They expect us to be satisfied with this fulfilment of the pledge. I was hopeful, in spite of the speech delivered on Friday by the Colonial Secretary, that having a strong desire to carry out their pledge honourably and having denied the women this golden opportunity—I have in my hand speeches by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the Foreign Secretary, and by the Solicitor-General—

Sir A. MARKHAM: They have not denied them. Mr. A. HENDERSON: I am speaking of the statement made by the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government as a whole. If there was a desire to give full effect to the pledge made it seems to me that nothing short of the Government making themselves responsible for a Bill which includes the women would, it seems to me, meet the case and the expectations which have been created...

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What is the proposal of the Government? It is that we are to have the Bill introduced by those who thoroughly believe in it and who continue to believe in it; they will frame it in the way which they think best in the interests of the public and most feasible in view of the Parliamentary situation. I quite agree with the hon. Member for Barnard Castle that the difficulties in the way of a private Member or of a private organisation under our party system are very great; I do not underrate them. You are always exposed to subterranean currents which have their origin in the Whips' rooms on both sides of the Lobby; you never know what is going on. I feel the enormous advantage of the Bill being in the charge of those who believe in it, I believe that is a tremendously good thing if the House will only treat this subject fairly. If hon. gentlemen who have given pledges in favour of Women Suffrage have changed their opinions, and in heaven's name let them get up and say so.

CAUSES OF MILITANCY. It is all very well to denounce the militancy of militant women and to say that any body of men would have done what they had been treated in the way women have been. It would not have been an immediate outrage. It would have been an insurrection. You would certainly have had riots. It was the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster who pointed out that men under similar circumstances burst down the Statute Book. I have said quite openly the spilling of letters in letter-boxes and the breaking of windows are very regrettable and indefensible, but my objection to them is quite as much that they are utterly silly and futile. I disapprove of violence altogether; I hate lawlessness. But if you are to have it you must have it on the same scale as you have had it when men are suffering under serious political grievances. I am not defending that kind of violence; I hate it, and would do all I could to suppress it; I have never said I was in favour of any form of law-breaking in my life. That being so, and holding that view as strongly and as vehemently as any Member in this House, I repeat that you have no right to treat women in the provocative and treacherous way in which they have been treated, in fact by the procedure in this House. I protest in the strongest possible way against it.

LORD ROBERT CECIL. The hon. Member has made a very powerful appeal to the Government to carry out the full effect and meaning of the pledge of the Prime Minister, and I propose, before I sit down, to say a few words upon that matter. The hon. Member's suggestion that after the Bill has been read a second time it might receive the assistance of the machinery of the Government as well as time, is well worth consideration. The first thing that strikes me about the situation is the extraordinary mess Parliament has got into entirely through the operation of the Parliament Act. But for that, ill-starred and unfortunate as the situation of having to discuss, for the first time, a matter of such vital importance at the end of the session which has already lasted nearly twelve months.

Mr. A. HENDERSON: I venture to say that to ask private members to be responsible for this Bill when, in the present case the Government were themselves going to take the responsibility immediately any one of the three amendments was carried, and would from that time hold that responsibility till the Bill passed, under the Parliament Act, on to the Statute Book. I venture to say that you cannot do that; that they are discharging their pledge by throwing the onus on a private member to see the Bill right through all its stages to the other House, and therefore, the House will recognise that we have a right to press the matter still further, and to ask the Government itself to take charge of the Bill after it has succeeded in getting a second reading. From that point the Government should be responsible for its passing into law.

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I was about to say that those Cabinet Ministers who on the other side of the question had not been working so hard as some of us who are with them with regard to Woman Suffrage would have liked to have seen them work, and who have been making these statements to deputations that this Bill afforded a better opportunity than we had ever had before, expect us to-day to be content with the Prime Minister's statement made in their name, made, I assume, in the name of all the

Members of the Cabinet. They expect us to be satisfied with this fulfilment of the pledge. I was hopeful, in spite of the speech delivered on Friday by the Colonial Secretary, that having a strong desire to carry out their pledge honourably and having denied the women this golden opportunity—I have in my hand speeches by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, by the Foreign Secretary, and by the Solicitor-General—

carried. I never believed it was possible to deal with it in the way the Government proposed. I have always said that it was a wrong way of dealing with the Bill from its introduction until the time it leaves this House is in being they have no chance of receiving that justice which has been so frequently promised them.

Mr. F. E. SMITH. I do not rise with the intention of making any considerable contribution to the debate which has so unexpectedly arisen, but merely with the object, if it be possible, of obtaining a little more light upon the proposal indicated by the Prime Minister in reference to next session. Speaking with relevance to what the Prime Minister has indicated being the intention of the Government, as I understand it, he has stated that in the next session of Parliament an opportunity will be given to private Members to introduce a Bill dealing with this topic. At that point it appears to me that some additional information is desirable. In the first place, it is obvious that a great deal depends upon the form in which these proposals are brought forward. The right hon. gentleman said very clearly, if I understood him aright, that it would be a condition of the concession of the facilities of which he spoke that the Bill should be brought forward by a majority in the House of Commons. All Ministers are equally free thereafter to use such means as conscientiously they believe to be required.

THE PRIME MINISTER assented. Mr. F. E. SMITH: Under these circumstances, I can only say, as a very strong opponent of this proposal, that I believe we have now arrived, almost for the first time, at a real prospect of testing at an early date the real feeling of the House of Commons, and I welcome the statement made by the Prime Minister.

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of the Prime Minister, and I would tell the women that, as far as I am concerned, they have nothing whatever to hope from this Parliament, that they must adopt some other method for achieving their end, that they must proceed to organise effectively their political forces, but that as long as this House is in being they have no chance of receiving that justice which has been so frequently promised them.

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The Government, as a Government, if I understand the Prime Minister aright, were pledged to carry forward a measure, using for that purpose all the strength of the Government and all the resources of the Government, which half the Members of the Government believe to be disastrous to the interests of the country. I hope it is only necessary to state that prospect to show how utterly unworkable it would have been found in practice. Such things cannot be done.

CABINET DIFFERENCES. I listened to every word of the most excellent and witty speech of the Colonial Secretary on the other day with the greatest approval and admiration, and we anticipated with a degree of pleasure not less extreme the reply of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. But if that kind of thing happens in the very first week of the noble position in which we find ourselves, really where should we have been in three months—and this thing has got to go on for two years. As I understand it, what the Prime Minister means—and this is the most important point of all—is that when the Bill is introduced in the next session of Parliament all Ministers are free to go their own way; and if that proposal should be carried by a majority in the House of Commons all Ministers are equally free thereafter to use such means as conscientiously they believe to be required.

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cannot have any effect upon the life of the Government, and it cannot have any effect upon the position of any individual Member of the Government, because they will be perfectly free to vote upon the issue, and to vote as they please. May I also point this out to my hon. friends below the gangway, that even assuming there were a General Election before the Bill eventually went through, this is a Bill which would not be affected by the particular Government that came into power after the General Election. If it were incorporated in the Government Bill, if you had a different Government in power, the Bill would go and the amendments incorporated with it would go with it, but if it is a Bill standing by itself, assuming it is carried in the first or second session, and that sometimes happens—the Government was defeated—there would be a General Election, a different Parliament would come in and a different Government, and the Bill would be reintroduced a third time, and the complexion of the Parliament and of the Government which happened to be in power would not affect its fate in the slightest degree.

THE GOVERNMENT CANNOT TAKE RESPONSIBILITY. One thing is quite clear. You cannot, after the experience of the last few days, ask members of the Government to accept responsibility for a measure on which they profoundly disagree, and my hon. friends may take that into account. The hon. Member (Mr. A. Henderson) says truly that it is not difficult for a private Member to get a Bill through than for a Government. The difficulties are of two kinds. The first is the difficulty which is experienced as far as time is concerned, and it is time that, in the vast majority of cases, defeats the measures of private Members brought forward. The Government assists them by saying, "We will give you such time as is adequate to carry your Bill through."

Mr. A. HENDERSON: In the second session? Mr. LOYD GEORGE: Certainly, the same facilities will be given in the second session, if it is rejected elsewhere, as in the first session. The Prime Minister says in an subsequent session." Therefore the difficulty with regard to time has been disposed of entirely.

PARTY DISCIPLINE. The second difficulty is one with regard to party discipline. With a Government Bill you put on the Government Whips, and there is no doubt that they will be in a position to get the Bill through. There is an advantage in that where you have a Government Bill. But on the other hand, my hon. friends must bear in mind that that is a consideration which militates against the case so far as the Opposition is concerned. It would be rather difficult for very keen suffragists on the other side of the House not to take advantage of the situation if they knew that the effect of a certain vote on a Government Bill would be to bring down the Government. There is an advantage in that where you have a Government Bill. But on the other hand, my hon. friends must bear in mind that that is a consideration which militates against the case so far as the Opposition is concerned. 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and as such we say it would be unfair on the part of the Government to interfere with or deny to the majority of the House of Commons the opportunity of using the Parliament Act, if they so desired, to give effect to the measure as if it were a Government Bill. Of course, it remains, and remains at the last moment, in the hands of the majority of the House to decide whether the Parliament Act shall have effect. That is a perfectly fair position. The House will have the matter in its own hands. But it would be most unfair if we said that after the Women Suffrage Bill has been passed the first and second time by the majority of the House, the Government are going to interfere and prevent them from passing it the third time, and deprive it of the advantage of the Parliament Act.

With regard to the particular question of time which the right hon. gentleman raised, for the different stages of the Bill on its first passage through the House of Commons—I think my phrase is correct—the Government have promised, and the Prime Minister has stated that it shall have the same time as he said time he meant time as effectively as a Government Bill would have time.

It follows that the Bill must have all the time which is necessary to enable to be passed if it has a majority of the House of Commons behind it. If it fails to pass, if it does not complete the journey through the House of Commons, the through the House of Commons, the reason for that must not be want of time. The Government give a pledge that it shall have this time. Probably it will be found, after the Bill has been introduced and read a first and second time, that there is a general opinion in the House as to what would be a reasonable time; but it is quite clear that if the Government allocate a special amount of time to the Bill, and say that it should have that time and no more, then the Government must clearly be responsible for a guillotine resolution which would enable those who are the promoters of the Bill to say that the Bill had not failed in that particular limit for want of time. If, on the other hand, that is not done, the Government, of course, will see when the Bill starts without a guillotine resolution that the time given is such as would be found necessary to secure the passage of the Bill. The right hon. gentleman asks one other question about the special facilities given to private Members' Bills. I understood him to mean that private Members' Bills on Second Reading were given somewhat perfunctory treatment because it was assumed they would go no further if they were controversial. But in this case there would be a controversial Bill going further, and therefore it would not be reasonable that it should have the same perfunctory treatment on the First and Second Reading.

One may differ from the right hon. gentleman on a point of principle, but I think he ought to bear in mind that we are not without experience on the question of time, for earlier in the year a Woman Suffrage Bill passed the Second Reading, for which, I think, two days were considered sufficient; so that this is one of the questions which is not new to the House of Commons, and it is not the first time such a measure has been introduced. But I quite agree that it ought not to receive perfunctory treatment, and it will not receive it; only I think the right hon. gentleman, in turn, ought to bear in mind that when time does come to be allocated for the introduction and Second Reading of the Bill, it will not be quite the same as a new Bill, and we have got to present already for the amount of time to be given on the Second Reading in this particular year. I am convinced, after the experience that has taken place, that it was a mistake to suppose that the attempt to put Women Suffrage into a Government Bill was the way to give it the best chance. I had not foreseen all the machinations of which the hon. Member spoke, and it is to me, at any rate, a relief, and I believe is consistent with the best chance of the measure, that it should be treated as forming a separate Bill, with all the privileges and facilities which I have indicated will be given.

EMBARRASSING SITUATION.

It is felt that to put into a Government Bill something to which many Members of the Government, and notably the Prime Minister, are opposed, is to create a situation which is very embarrassing. Some of us also, who hold opposite opinions, are relieved from the embarrassing situation of being obliged to support an extension of the suffrage to men without anything being done to remove the barrier to Women

Suffrage. Next Session Women Suffrage will be treated purely on its merits. There will be no question of embarrassing the Government if it is carried, but time will be allowed by the Government, and will not be grudged, though it might be fixed. But there can be no question of embarrassing the Government or individual Members of the Government before the Bill is passed, and I would most earnestly reinforce the appeal made earlier in the evening that the House of Commons should bear in mind that its record in regard to Women Suffrage has hitherto not been a good one. It has excited hopes again and again by passing the principle of the Bill on the Second Reading for many years past. It is not fair of the House to encourage those expectations; we have to bear in mind the feeling created outside, and which, in some quarters, has been intensified by what has happened on this question. I think we must bear in mind that the continual delay in bringing to an issue a matter of which the principle has been accepted in past years, is very largely responsible for the feeling which has been created, and which, in some quarters, which the Government has made to give time and opportunity, that this question will be really treated on its merits and in a way which will set at naught the charge against the House of Commons of its having trifled with the question and neglected and refused it opportunity.

MR. KEIR HARDIE.

I find myself, I am sorry to say, in disagreement with the line taken by the noble lord the Member for Hitchin (Lord Robert Cecil) in regard to the attitude now assumed by the Government.

A PRIVATE MEMBER'S BILL USELESS.

He has said, and the Foreign Secretary, who is the Chancellor of the Exchequer, seemed to agree, that a private Member's Bill, brought forward and supported only by those who are in favour of the suffrage, will stand a better chance than a Bill forced upon a Government, the members of which are divided upon the question. One has only to remember the Bill enfranchising women, even on the lines of what I may call, as an example, the Dickinson amendment, enfranchising some five or six millions of women, to see an absurdity to suppose that that measure could ever become law without the power and authority of the Government behind it. I am sorry to have to say that the speeches delivered from the Government Front Bench, both by opponents of the measure and supporters, have shattered my faith in the honesty of the intentions of the Government. The proposal before the House was this, a proposal which women accepted, women of all shades of opinion who support the suffrage; that if the House of Commons carried an amendment to the Franchise Bill we are now engaged in discussing, the Government would then take the amendment, incorporate it in the Bill, and take the responsibility for seeing it would pass into law. That was the position.

WHAT IS THE OFFER?

What is now the offer that is made? The offer is that private Members of the House shall get together, as they have done before, and produce the Conciliation Bill; that the private Members of the House shall get together to make a Bill, and that the Government will give time. What for?

The Prime Minister this afternoon said that he had looked forward with perfect equanimity to the fate of the amendment that was to be voted upon to-night. Was that the reason why facilities were offered and a promise made by the Government? Was it because they knew that by their machinations they could secure the defeat of this proposal, and thereby, whilst keeping the appearance of good faith to the supporters of Women Suffrage, yet also solve themselves from all further responsibility in regard to it. If the Government, or those Members of the Government who are opposed to Women Suffrage, could look forward with equanimity to the defeat of the amendment this evening to leave out the word "male," that they can look forward with still greater equanimity to the fate of the Women Suffrage Bill when it comes forward in the new Session, and, therefore, I want to say this deliberately. In regard to procedure I am not blaming the Government. I am not blaming the Government for what has arisen; I accept their statement that the Bill could not be proceeded with, but, in view of the speeches made and of the levity with

which this, the greatest of all British political questions, has been treated, MERE CHAFF.

I believe the promise now made is mere chaff to deceive the supporters of Women Suffrage outside into the belief that the Government means business when the Government means nothing of the sort. The decision of the Government will cause not only disappointment but will cause despair in thousands of hearts outside the walls of this House to-night.

NOTHING LEFT BUT MILITANCY.

Talk about militant tactics? What else is left to them but militant tactics? It is not only the women of the Women's Political and Social Union who will now feel they have been betrayed again by the Government, but tens of thousands of women hitherto Liberal women who have put their trust in a Liberal Government will find their trust shattered and their faith in their party destroyed. Let the Government say either that they will take this matter up in earnest and in sincerity or that they will drop it altogether. One course or the other would command the respect both of friends and of opponents of Women Suffrage. But to trifle and toy with the question in this manner, will disgust the women outside and shock the confidence in the Government's own good name.

(Other speakers were Mr. Charles Roberts, Mr. Dillon, Mr. Leif Jones, and Mr. Munro Ferguson.)

LORD HUGH CECIL.

I deplored the speech made by the Member for Merthyr Tydvil (Mr. Keir Hardie) in regard to the attitude now assumed by the Government. I say that not only on the ground that militancy had done the cause of Women Suffrage a great deal of harm, he continued, but on the ground that to suggest militant tactics, whether of violence most of all, if they are to be extended, as in one regrettable instance they have been extended, so as to imperil life and limb, as in the outrages in Dublin and the attempt to burn the Colonial Secretary's house, called for, or could be justified, or could excite anything but the utmost loathing and horror among all respectable persons, whether supporters or opponents of the movement, is to lower people's conception of morality as well as to do bad service to the cause of Women Suffrage.

I am not in a position to give advice to say they are being cheated of their opportunity or that they are being placed in a worse position. They are actually being put in a position of great advantage for the purpose of carrying out the view they have at heart. Nor is it reasonable to accuse the Prime Minister of a breach of faith in this matter or to suggest anything of the kind. It would be to carry suspicion beyond the limits of all reason to suppose that the right hon. gentleman really designed what has come to pass.

After Sir WM. BYLES had spoken, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL (Sir Rufus Isaacs) rose in his place, and claimed to move, "That the Question be now put." Question put, "That the Question be now put."

The House divided: Ayes, 283; Noes, 112.

DEBATE ON THE GREY AMENDMENT.

MR. ALFRED LYTTELTON. Beg to move, in Sub-section (1), to leave out the word "male." (Every male person shall be entitled.) I can well imagine an ideal world in which there would be more sharp division of the functions between men and women than there is even in ours. I can imagine an ideal world in which this difference might be emphasized rather than diminished. I

say I can imagine, such a world, but allow me to say it is not the world we live in, nor is it a world following the trend of the evolution of ours.

WOMEN'S ROYAL COMMISSIONS.

On the contrary, I say without hesitation the deliberate action of the State in this country and of the House of Commons has been to ignore this fundamental difference between men and women and to ask for and to obtain women's admission into the very numerous spheres in which fifty or a hundred years ago it was not presumed they would enter. I might give as an illustration the recent invitation of the State to women to assist them in some of the most thorny possible occupations and subjects you can imagine. Take the three Royal Commissions that at once occur to me—the Poor Law Royal Commission, the Feeble-minded Royal Commission and the Royal Commission on Marriage and Divorce Laws which has just concluded its labours. These three great Commissions dealt with very difficult and very dry and dusty subjects, but, if you view antagonistic to mine was taken, the Chancellor of the Exchequer lately announced that he would only support the so-called Norwegian system. He wants, in his own words, "a broad democratic franchise for millions of women," but he proposes Adult Suffrage to men, and something much less than Adult Suffrage to women. This amendment would enfranchise 11,000,000 of women, the Norwegian system would enfranchise only 7,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer wants us to disenfranchise or to keep unenfranchised four or five millions of women. Why? Who are they?

WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE ACT.

On the day on which the Insurance Bill became an Act of Parliament, the right hon. gentleman made an eloquent speech upon this subject. He said:—"Sickness and invalidity had been lifted into the sphere of law. Why should women cease to be interested in them when they go there?"

He said the Insurance Act affected 7,000,000 of married women and 4,000,000 women workers. He proposed his anxiety to consult the opinion of the 4,000,000 of working women, but he favours this proposal, which will give the opinion of only seven out of the eleven millions. Why does he exclude the remaining 4,000,000 of women workers? Surely not because they are mainly female domestic servants. He recently received a deputation of female domestic servants, and he said afterwards that:—"their observations were relevant, emphatic and sound."

Why, then, does he wish to deprive them of the vote? His interests have been lifted into the sphere of law, and he has not hesitated to take their threepeaces. Does he fear to take their opinions? What becomes, then, of all this eloquence on the equality of the sexes? It reminds me of an old epigram, slightly altered, that if there was one thing worse than the cant of equality, it is the recant of equality. I desire to say, at this stage, for my own protection and justification, that if, during its passage, any lesser form of Female Suffrage is engrained on this Bill, I shall feel that the whole principle has been surrendered, that the pass which my friends and I are defending has been sold, and I shall hold myself free, and probably feel myself compelled, at some later stage, to recur to the proposal of Adult Suffrage and to their endeavour to enact that which, after the principle has been adopted, seems to me to be the only policy which is consistent with political honesty or public justice. It is no use hon. Members cringing and shrinking from the logical result of their actions; they have got now to face the music and accept the effect of their principles.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES.

It is, as the right hon. gentleman opposite reminded us, impossible, in considering this question at this time, to divorce our judgment entirely from the methods which have recently been adopted by those who are most clamorous for the vote. The attempt to burn my home—or, rather, the children's wing of my home—has not, I need not say, affected my mind or altered my opinion on the subject. The assumption, indeed, that arson is a substitute for argument is a poor proof of the judgment of those by whom it is made. I do not think that I have ever in my political life allowed the ill-judged violence of those with whom I have been associated to deflect my support from causes in which I sincerely believed. But the adoption, and still more the approval, of methods of violence and

crime by those who are demanding what they consider to be their rights, at least an indication of the type of mental balance we may expect from them if they are to become our electors. If it were a fact, or if it were generally believed that the attainment of the vote had been secured by these methods, then there would be a great temptation and encouragement to women in the future, even after they had obtained the vote, but found themselves in a minority on any public question, to revert to those methods which would seem to them to be bad for the future of the State. It is said by some that if women want the vote they must have it. I do not believe it is true that the majority of women want the vote. Even if they did, that would be a counsel of cowardice. There are many things, too, which men may want, but which we believe them to be bad for the future of the State. It is said by some that if women want the vote they must have it. I do not believe it is true that the majority of women want the vote. Even if they did, that would be a counsel of cowardice. There are many things, too, which men may want, but which we believe them to be bad for the future of the State. It is said by some that if women want the vote they must have it. I do not believe it is true that the majority of women want the vote. Even if they did, that would be a counsel of cowardice. There are many things, too, which men may want, but which we believe them to be bad for the future of the State.

right hon. gentleman opposite and himself clinging to the business end of the wedge, which is so dear to the heart of every timid reformer. Why these counsels of fear?

NO WOMEN AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

The Foreign Secretary has been for more than seven years in absolute control of the Foreign Office. Why holding the views he does, has he not tried some experiments to convince us in the domain in which he reigns supreme? Why have we no women as ambassadors, as consuls, or even as Foreign Office clerks? They might have added to the gaiety of the nations, but his courage seems to have failed when he came to the sticking point. Believing as I do that Women Suffrage is an evil, I must vote against it on all the amendments which are designed to enact it, but I am bound to say that of the three methods which are suggested, this and its supplement which follows next and couples it with Adult Suffrage, seems to be the only one which combine justice and logic. The Chancellor of the Exchequer lately announced that he would only support the so-called Norwegian system. He wants, in his own words, "a broad democratic franchise for millions of women," but he proposes Adult Suffrage to men, and something much less than Adult Suffrage to women. This amendment would enfranchise 11,000,000 of women, the Norwegian system would enfranchise only 7,000,000. The Chancellor of the Exchequer wants us to disenfranchise or to keep unenfranchised four or five millions of women. Why? Who are they?

MR. M'CURDY.

I was rather surprised that at this hour of the controversy the Secretary for the Colonies should have brought up the old question of militancy. Really, it does not seem to be in accordance with the safety of the country.

I could not help looking to the sections opposite to which the right hon. gentleman seemed to be addressing himself. We cannot conceive that the Nationalist party would refrain from casting their votes on behalf of any great measure of political enfranchisement they thought to be just because some of their men were breaking windows. That does not seem to be in accordance with the traditions of that party. On the other hand, what about the gentlemen who are importing arms and ammunition wholesale across the Channel, and threatening civil war if they cannot have their own way in regard to a measure of political enfranchisement to be given to Ireland? Is it for them, whilst importing arms and ammunition, drilling, and threatening civil war, to say that the same thing does not apply to window-breaking, and that because some women break windows, women should have their whole political ambitions brought to naught? It has been hammered upon us that there would be great danger to Home Rule if Women Suffrage were allowed to become part of the Government programme.

Those who, like myself, have been consistent supporters of Home Rule for a quarter of a century, must inevitably look at Home Rule, as we look at other questions of policy, in the light of the political problems and the political principles which thrust themselves upon our attention. The argument in favour of the denial of a measure of Women Suffrage at present on the ground that it might endanger Home Rule has been brought forward in some quarters.

RIGHTS OF IRISH WOMEN.

What are you claiming to do under the Home Rule Bill? You are not merely claiming, but you have already claimed, that you are entitled to make penal laws, to imprison, to punish, and without the need of a million Irish women to be represented in Parliament at all. That, to my mind, is a very large claim, and one to which I cannot assent. Now you are claiming something much more. You are claiming now the right to transfer to a million Irish women as though they were chattels, to the governance and dominion of another body of men to be taxed, imprisoned, and forcibly fed, without representation in this new body. I want to know where, in the history of Liberalism, or of any other political movement, you get your warrant and right for speaking over a million of unrepresented fellow countrymen, that in view of the approval, of methods of violence and

crime by those who are demanding what they consider to be their rights, at least an indication of the type of mental balance we may expect from them if they are to become our electors. If it were a fact, or if it were generally believed that the attainment of the vote had been secured by these methods, then there would be a great temptation and encouragement to women in the future, even after they had obtained the vote, but found themselves in a minority on any public question, to revert to those methods which would seem to them to be bad for the future of the State. It is said by some that if women want the vote they must have it. I do not believe it is true that the majority of women want the vote. Even if they did, that would be a counsel of cowardice. There are many things, too, which men may want, but which we believe them to be bad for the future of the State.

LORD HUGH CECIL.

I do not approach the subject with the intensity of feeling and almost frenzied zeal which marks the utterances of many speakers on one side or the other. There was, I think, in the Colonial Secretary, who spoke just now about this matter with a feeling and bitterness which must have been trying to those who feel very strongly on the other side, but which, I confess, filled me with quite unappealing amusement. I felt, indeed, that the Colonial Secretary was an apostle gone wrong, and if all this talk of the Parliament Act, and the warmth of feeling were turned into happier channels it would have made him a great propagandist of religion, and that he might indeed have been a Peter the Hermit. Peter the Hermit, I felt, had been very much like the right hon. gentleman except in costume and plainness of person. My feelings of amusement were largely caused by the fact that he was making the most amazing speech to the Government which I suppose has been delivered by a Member of the Government. I felt quite at home with all he said about the Referendum and the improper use of the Parliament Act, and it was delicious to listen to.

The most amazing part of his speech was the extraordinary quarrel he appears to have with the female sex generally. He made an expression which I spanked, and he feels so deeply and bitterly as never to have got over the indignity of having been born of woman. The indignation which he laboured led him to make some very curious remarks. He regarded this amendment as virtually involving the question of Adult Suffrage, and he went on to say if Adult Suffrage were not carried, some smaller form of Women Suffrage, he himself would be disposed to vote for.

It is credible that a right hon. gentleman of his ability and position, if he were not almost out of his mind, should have used such an argument as that? Does he really suppose, or does anybody who knows anything about politics suppose, that a Minister in his position, a Member of the Government, could in a fit of temporary anger, in the House of Commons, in the two Houses of Parliament, to take Adult Suffrage, which neither the majority of this House nor of the other men of the House of Commons, and that he should force them to do it against their better judgment? Such threats as that are unworthy of the right hon. gentleman and tend to lower the level of the discussion. It is certainly true that this is a matter involving a great deal of feeling, but it is also a matter which is susceptible of reasoning which need not be either an irritating or passionate character.

One could not help feeling what fun they must have had in the Cabinet lately, and the acidity of the right hon. gentleman's references to the Foreign Secretary and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have made it quite necessary for the right hon. gentleman and the other gentlemen who were sitting on opposite sides of the table to sit on opposite sides of the table to see what fun they must have had in the Cabinet lately, and the acidity of the right hon. gentleman's references to the Foreign Secretary and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have made it quite necessary for the right hon. gentleman and the other gentlemen who were sitting on opposite sides of the table to sit on opposite sides of the table to see what fun they must have had in the Cabinet lately, and the acidity of the right hon. gentleman's references to the Foreign Secretary and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer must have made it quite necessary for the right hon. gentleman and the other gentlemen who were 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SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES DEMAND GOVERNMENT MEASURE.

In consequence of the break up of the political situation due to the Speaker's decision, and the subsequent offer on the part of the Government of facilities for a Private Member's Bill, many of the Suffrage Societies have issued statements containing their views of the situation and their plans to cope with it.

The offer of facilities for a Private Member's Bill next Session cannot be regarded by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies as an equivalent of the opportunity promised by the Prime Minister of proceeding by means of an amendment to the Government Franchise Bill.

It is therefore clear that the offer of a Private Member's Bill is wholly inadequate to meet the situation, and that nothing now can fully redeem the Prime Minister's pledges, except the introduction of a Government measure including women.

At an emergency meeting of the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies the following resolution was unanimously passed:

That this Federated Council of Suffrage Societies desires to place on record its strong indignation at the Government's failure to redeem its pledges, and emphatically reasserts its demand for a Government measure.

At a meeting of the New Constitutional Society in the Caxton Hall on Monday the following resolution was proposed and carried:

That this meeting keenly regrets the betrayal of the women's cause, and calls upon the Prime Minister to redeem his pledge—in the only way now open to him—by introducing a Government measure to give the parliamentary franchise to women.

The following emergency resolution was carried unanimously at the Women's Labour League Conference held at the Caxton Hall on Tuesday:

That this conference of the Women's Labour League, in view of Mr. Asquith's pledge that he would place the issue of Women's Suffrage before the House of Commons this Session and of the unprecedented ruling of the Speaker, demands the immediate introduction of a Government measure containing clauses enfranchising women, and further demands that facilities should be given for the passing of the Bill so that it could come under the provisions of the Parliament Act.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union has written to Mr. Lloyd George, asking him to receive a deputation of Welsh women.

In a statement sent to the Press, the Executive Committee of the Men's League for Woman Suffrage records its emphatic condemnation of the Parliamentary mismanagement of the Franchise question. It pledges itself to do its utmost to obtain a Government measure, and in particular to oppose any further extension of the vote to men until the claims of women are met.

THE EXCLUSION OF WOMEN FROM THE OLD BAILEY.

At the Court of Common Council at the Guildhall on January 23, Mr. Carl Hentschel asked the Lord Mayor:

Whether on the public trial for women for offences under the Post Office Act, on January 8, 1913, all women were expressly excluded from the Court, including the Public Galleries and the body of the Court, and who was responsible for such orders?

What are the powers of the corporation over the judicial officer appointed by them?

Whether it is not the fact that women seeking admission were quite prepared to provide proper guarantees for the preservation of order?

And whether, having regard to the necessity of justice being publicly administered, any steps will be taken to protect the rights of all sections of the public in this respect in future?

The Lord Mayor: I am very much obliged to you for having given me notice of these questions. Of course the first and the third questions depend upon personal observation, and as I was not present of course I cannot answer these questions, but I think I can answer the question generally. The Corporation of the City of London is responsible for the provision and the maintenance of the Central Criminal Court. That is the beginning and the end of their privileges and responsibilities. The administration of justice is entirely in the hands of the Commissioners, who can make whatever orders they choose, or that they may think desirable in connection with the administration of justice. Those orders are passed on to the Commissioners' executive officers, the sheriffs of the City of London, who are bound, under pains and penalties, to properly carry them out.

Mr. Carl Hentschel: I am much obliged

LABOUR CONFERENCE. SUFFRAGIST INTERRUPTIONS.

Realising the blame that attaches to the Labour Party for having acquiesced in the Government treatment of women, Suffragists were present to make their protest at the annual Labour Conference on Wednesday. The following accounts of the protests made show that much was attempted towards recalling the Labour Party to a sense of its duty. Nine stewards took part in the ejection of one woman.

A prominent woman Trade Unionist writes: We went to the Lambeth Baths this morning, and were there in time for the presidential address by Mr. G. H. Roberts, but he had not been speaking

they knew would never give equal suffrage to men and women. The only thing to do was to turn the Liberals out and to fight whatever Government that came into power that did not put Woman Suffrage first before anything else.

Another woman writes: I attended the Labour Conference, and after listening quietly to the very dreary preliminaries I got up and said, "Mr. Chairman, may I ask you when you will get to business? I wish to move as a matter of urgency that you pass a resolution condemning the shameful treachery of the Government to women. I am pretty well known in the Labour world, and you stand for democracy and the uplifting of the masses and of women." They cried, "Are you a delegate?" and I said, "No, but I am a woman who ought to have a vote, who has voting qualifications." A woman then came up to me and said, "Will you please go out? If you are patient you will get it." I walked out without any struggle.

The writer adds: When I got up, a tremor ran through the assembly, and someone murmured very audibly, "There they are!"

THE TRAGIC COMEDIANS OFF THE STAGE.



The London Correspondent of "The Manchester Guardian" states: "On Friday in the House of Commons a blood feud between Mr. Harcourt and his colleagues. At the Cinema Show at the Holborn Empire, Mr. Harcourt and Sir Edward Grey walk in arm-in-arm. They eclipsed the cinematograph in entertaining the audience."

to you for that reply. Does that also infer that the Recorder has full powers on his own behalf to make any particular orders on that occasion?—Yes.

Are you aware that on a previous occasion when this question arose, the Lord Chief Justice stated that it was a public court, and that they, that is to say the women, had a right to be present, and that the Court was perfectly able to protect itself?

The Lord Mayor: Yes, the Court protects itself—the Court, that is the Judge.

Miss Lucy Smith, M.D., of Cork, has just been appointed doctor of the Cork Female Prison. This is the only women's prison in Ireland, and Dr. Smith, who is a keen Suffragist, is the first woman to be appointed for such a post.

more than a quarter of an hour when I interrupted him by asking him how it was that the Labour Party were not standing by the women; that they needed the women on their side in this conference as well as in the country. There were shouts of "Sit down!" but I told them I would not sit down; I was there to tell them the truth, and we Labour women were disgusted with the Labour Party because they did not stand by the women when the Franchise Bill was dropped. At the conclusion of his address, before it could be seconded, I jumped up again and told the Chairman that every word he had uttered affected the women of the country equally with the men, and they would never get the reforms they were out for until they had the women alongside of them. That could only be done by turning out this Liberal Government, which

The Public Service Corporation of New Jersey has established a minimum wage of 36c a week for all women and girls in its employ.

"GO AS YOU PLEASE."

WHY PRIVATE MEMBERS' BILLS ARE FUTILE.

If any proof were needed that no majority can be successfully marshalled in favour of a private member's proposal, it is afforded by the following list taken from The Nation of the opinion and intentions of various M.P.'s as heard in the lobbies, smoke-rooms, tea-rooms, of the House and even in the House itself.

- A. I am in favour of Woman Suffrage, and intend to vote for all the amendments.
B. I am against Woman Suffrage, and intend to vote against all the amendments.
C. All women are none for me! I shall only vote for the Adult Amendment.
D. We must make a cautious start, so I shall only vote for the Conciliation Amendment.
E. I think the Dickinson Amendment really democratic, and yet it does not go too far. I shall only vote for that.
F. Failing Adult, I shall vote for Dickinson, but I shall go no further.
G. I won't touch Adult; but, failing Dickinson, I shall vote for Conciliation.
H. I shall vote for Adult or Conciliation, but Dickinson is neither one thing nor the other.
I. The Conciliation Amendment may mean more Tory votes, so I shall vote against it.
J. The Dickinson Amendment may mean more Liberal votes, so I shall vote against it.
K. I don't like it, but I am pledged to the women in my constituency, so I must vote for something.
L. I am in favour of Woman Suffrage, but I am afraid of putting the Government in danger, so I shall abstain.
M. I am in favour of Woman Suffrage, but I am sure its passage will put the Government in danger, so I shall vote against it.
N. I shall vote against the Third Reading if the women are not in the Bill.
O. I shall vote against the Third Reading if the women are in the Bill.
P. I am not keen about the suffrage, but I think it will embarrass the Liberal Government to have the women in the Bill, so I shall vote to put them in.
Q. I shall vote for Grey's amendment to affirm the principle, but on the other amendments I shall abstain.
R. I trust in Asquith's declaration, so I shall vote on the merits as I believe.
S. I shall vote against all the amendments so as to support Asquith.
T. Harcourt and Churchill will resign, so I shall vote against the women.
U. I should certainly have voted for the women if it had not been for the action of the militants. I shall abstain.
V. The militants' action has made me into an Anti.
W. I put Home Rule before everything. I shall vote against the women.
X. Though I am doubtful, I believe if the women are not in the Bill the Government will hardly be able to survive, so I shall vote for them.
Y. I am getting rather confused. I shall see how the land lies on the day.
Z. I have some pressing engagements which will last from Friday till Tuesday. &c., &c., &c.

A LESSON IN POLITICS.

By G. R. S. TAYLOR.

There are some people who think that the Suffragist women are going a little too far, a little too fast. There is a feeling in the air that it is uncertain where this agitation for votes for women is going to stop. As a mere male person, I attended the militant meeting at the Horticultural Hall, in Vincent-square, on Tuesday night.

Now, I have joined the party of alarmists, and agree with the nervous people who are getting anxious. For it is quite obvious that the women intend to demonstrate much more than the fact that they have as much right to a parliamentary vote as a man. After listening to these militant women at the Horticultural Hall, I am quite convinced that men do not understand politics at all, and scarcely ever have understood that subject. It is getting uncomfortably clear that we men ought not to have votes at all. The women are proving that they alone ought to go into political life.

All this is not idle paradox. It can be supported by solemn facts. Here are some of the differences between men's politics and women's politics, as one learned them at the Vincent-square meeting. A male political meeting is usually a pleasant recreation, sandwiched between a comfortable dinner and a quiet pipe before going to bed. The women finished their evening by being arrested by the police for carrying into practice the intentions they had stated on the platform. The male militants talk like heroes on the platform, and behave like—shall we say philosophers—in private life, especially when the police are about.

It is very strange when one realises that almost all the great revolutionary male speakers, whom one has listened to with such enthusiasm, one and all of them have gone home and slept peacefully in their own beds. No one was in the least afraid that they would do any of the terrible things they threatened on the platform. It never required a half-dozen policemen to guard the British Constitution from anything that the blood-red Labour members might do. Whereas the whole police force of London was under arms because a few women demanded—not to injure the noble British Constitution, oh dear no!—the right to vote in a peaceful, constitutional manner.

I have heard men threatening to stand the British Constitution on its head and pull it middle to where both ends ought to be. Yet not a single policeman was withdrawn from his regular beat. But when Mrs. Drummond and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst announced from the platform of the Horticultural Hall that they intended to lead a deputation of twelve women to see Mr. Lloyd George at Westminster, a couple of thousand policemen were there, ready to sacrifice their lives in defence of a democratic Cabinet Minister's immortal right to defy the democracy. I learned the difference between sham politicians and those who mean what they say.

Then again, one had got accustomed to that unutterably stupid thing called the etiquette of public life. A gentleman on one side gets up and makes a statement which everybody in the place knows to be untrue. Whereupon another gentleman on the other side rises to say that he willingly accepts the honourable gentleman's explanation. I don't call that gentlemanly behaviour. It is nothing more nor less than making oneself ridiculous.

There was nothing of that tomfoolery at the women's meeting. Mrs. Pankhurst read out telegrams and letters from Cabinet Ministers with the curt remark that she had not the slightest intention of trying one word they said. Men will spend their whole careers accepting promises from political opponents. The women—at least, the wise women of the W.S.P.U.—never pay much attention to promises. They only accept fulfilment.

There is no hesitation about the W.S.P.U. women. They do not stop until they have arrived. When men think they are winning they stop to have a drink. But as Mrs. Drummond said at this meeting:—"We have got the politicians on the run. Let us keep them running!"

But my space has come to an end. It is a dismal, uncomfortable moral for a male person. We men have to go to the women for rudimentary lessons in political affairs. Quite apart from the merits of their own demand for a parliamentary vote, the W.S.P.U. members are teaching timid men that if we want to reform this monstrous social chaos, it is childish to accept the silly set of rules and regulations for political life as they have been drawn up by Bishops and Cabinet Ministers and such ponderous persons.

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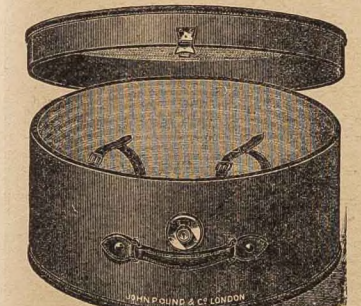
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NO SEX IN ART.

Dr. Ethel Smyth's Compositions.

As illustrating the assertion which is frequently made by women, especially by Suffragists, that work in this country is not judged on its own merits, but according to the sex of the worker, the following correspondence is of interest.

A correspondent writing recently in The Pall Mall Gazette says:—

"The writer of this evening's 'Notes of the Day' does not seem to be aware that the German musical world, the highest authority on musical matters, is roused to enormous enthusiasm over our English woman composer, and regards her as an original creative genius of the first rank. For your correspondent to inform her that because Fanny Davies forsook and other 'interpreters' of men's art got a good hearing in England, therefore her complaint is an empty one—is very much as if Elgar complained in Germany that English works were not given a fair hearing, and the German papers told him that was nonsense, (Clara Butt and Kennerley Rinford and various other artists are well enough received.)"

"The fact of the matter is, we English are so convinced that no woman can be an artistic genius of the first rank that we won't even take the trouble to go and hear her music; hence the difficulty for managers who wish to present her work to the public. Our musical critics, also convinced of the same thing, dare not commit themselves to high praise, or the education of the public in the matter. So it is left to a really musical nation, other than our own, to discover the genius we have at our doors."

Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., writing in The Times with reference to their correspondent's account of Herr Bruno Walter's article on her as a composer says:—

"Few people know how sex-penalty really works out in practice; I think it will surprise your readers to learn that: (1) No work of mine has ever been given at a British festival, though for twenty years I have hoped the frost might yield some day. (2) At no representative performance of English music, whether at home or abroad—saving at one musical congress concert—has my name ever figured on the programme. This notwithstanding the fact that the English Press has treated me always with conspicuous generosity, and that I would rather be listened to by an English audience than any other I realised many years ago that this exclusion is wholly unprecipitated, unconscious, and automatic; consequently it has never embittered though often discouraged me. But to be deprived of the help of the current press is to be crippled in a hundred practical ways; and in the end one's output is affected—I hope only quantitatively. If now, for the first time, I speak of these things, it is, as I think will be believed, in order to point a moral."

A WELCOME TO THE DELEGATES.

The informal gatherings of delegates of the working women's deputation and their friends in the hall of Lincoln's Inn House every day during the past week has done much to cement the bond of comradeship that exists between women—rich and poor—who are fighting in the great cause of women's enfranchisement.

When the serious business of the deputation was over, friends, non-militant and militant, were happy to take the visitors to see the sights of London. Most hearty thanks to Lady Byron, who very kindly took them to the pantomime; to the many other kind friends who lent motor cars to convey them on a round of sightseeing to Miss Janie Allan, who entertained the Glasgow representatives to tea; to Miss A. R. C. Wainwright, who presented a magnificent cake covered with almonds and icing sugar, on which was inscribed "Welcome." The cake was beautifully decorated with violets and maidenhair fern, and was surmounted by a figure of Joan of Arc; to Mrs. Sydney Williams for some delicious home-made cakes. Gratefully acknowledged towards expenses—Miss Janie Allan, £1; Mrs. Marks, 10s.

Most hearty thanks to the members of the Artresses' Franchise League who have so kindly given recitations and musical items at the meetings of the Conference.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ALBERT HALL, THURSDAY, APRIL 10.

Members who have not yet obtained their tickets for the meeting at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, April 10, at 8 p.m., are advised to get a supply for themselves and their friends immediately. Tickets may be had on application to the ticket secretary, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. Prices: Grand tier (to hold ten), 30s.; loggia (to hold five), 12s. 6d.; amphitheatre stalls, 2s. 6d.; arena, 2s. and 1s.; balcony (first six rows), 1s., two back rows, 6d. All seats numbered and reserved. Upper orchestra, unnumbered, 6d.

A SPECIAL APPEAL.

Every member of the W.S.P.U. is called upon to ask herself what she can do with regard to getting this week's issue of THE SUFFRAGETTE into the hands of a wider public up and down the length and breadth of the country. Three ways are suggested: 1. Selling a dozen or more extra copies and buying or distributing them among friends. 2. Giving a couple of hours daily to selling at a pitch, or 3. Being responsible for a house-to-house canvass in some particular street.

Members who are prepared to pledge themselves to do one or other of these things are asked to communicate with Miss Rogers, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS STALL.

Our readers are reminded that the Woman's Press Stall is open daily in the hall of Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, Tea, cigarettes, soap and other articles are on sale, but special attention is given to the Literature Department, where pamphlets and leaflets on Women's Suffrage and other subjects of interest to women can always be obtained. Charming calendars are being sold at greatly reduced prices. Customers and inquirers will be welcome while orders by post will have prompt attention.

LONDON MEETING.

The speakers at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly-circus, on Monday next, February 3, at 3.15 p.m., will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney and others. This meeting at the Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, on Thursday, February 6, at 8 p.m., will be addressed by Miss Annie Kenney and others.

ADVERTISING THE PAPER.

A poster parade leaves Lincoln's Inn House this and every Friday morning at 11.30 a.m. to advertise THE SUFFRAGETTE. Volunteers are needed. Will all those who can help kindly call at the office at the time stated.

THE HONORARY SECRETARY.

During Mrs. Tuke's absence abroad all communications intended for the Hon. Secretary should be addressed to Miss Kerr (Sec. pro tem.), W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

PRESS COMMENTS.

Once it was announced that the Franchise Bill was to be withdrawn the Liberal Press was only too anxious to assure Women Suffragists that a "free vote" on the Grey Amendment would have been impossible. Thus we have the Lobby Correspondent of The Daily Chronicle:

"Personal loyalty to the Prime Minister is an important element in the situation. Since Gladstone's day no Parliamentary leader has won in such full measure as Mr. Asquith has done the confidence and the devotion of his followers. He has led the Liberal Party with superb ability. Small wonder that a leader who has accomplished so much in face of such difficulties has inspired strong feelings of gratitude and devotion. On the question of Women's Suffrage there has been no ambiguity about Mr. Asquith's position. But it must never be forgotten that he has pledged his word that there should be a free vote on this question, and he has undertaken to abide loyally by the decision of the House of Commons. Yet, for all that, out of loyalty to Mr. Asquith, a number of Liberals, more royalist than the King, while friendly to Women's Suffrage, and who would vote unhesitatingly for it as a single uncomplicated issue, meant to abstain on the Grey amendment, even if they did not vote against it."

A leading article in the same paper again

emphasizes the point, though in slightly different language:

"Liberal and Irish Suffragists are placed in a very painful position between the ugly alternative of betraying the Women's Cause and that of putting in peril the life of the Government, upon which depends the further existence of the Parliament Act, Home Rule, and Welsh Disestablishment. So placed they are no more perfectly free agents than a man with a pistol pointed at his head. It is not personal, still less official, pressure that we complain of. The Premier's undertaking in that respect is being properly acted on. But while freedom is conceded by the official leaders and Whigs, the spirit of party loyalty and the menace of circumstances are quietly but emphatically asserting themselves."

The Press is unanimous in declaring that Suffragists have been dealt a heavy blow. The Times, writing on the Speaker's ruling, remarks:

"Meantime there are other persons whose public identities are even more directly involved—the Suffragists, female and male, constitutional and militant. We offer them our sincere sympathy in the new and very uncomfortable position to which they have been brought—not, as we are convinced, by any trickery or partisanship on the part of Ministers or Speaker, but by the failure of the former to grasp the Parliamentary situation in all its bearings."

Says The Daily Telegraph:—

"It has been apparent for some time that the conflict of party considerations with Suffragist opinions would result in many cases in the smothering of the latter, and that the much prized pledge obtained from the Prime Minister a year ago was not all that its recipients dreamed. It is they, of all who suffer by this Nemesis of dishonesty, who have the best right to complain. They are clearly justified in declaring that the last and heaviest blow to their hopes, delivered by the Speaker, ought to have been foreseen. As a matter of fact, it was foreseen; but not by those whose duty it was to foresee it. It is not often that we agree with Mr. Lansbury, the rejected of Bow and Bromley; but when he said last week that those responsible for the measure either had been hoodwinking the women, or were unfit for the positions

they occupied, he said a thing hard to gainsay."

"But we can quite see that it will be difficult for the ardent Suffragist to believe that Mr. Asquith did not foresee what was freely discussed in the Press a year ago. After all, the Speaker's ruling embodies an elementary principle, which is seldom transgressed because it is obvious. But we shall in future have to regard Mr. Asquith as a babe in such matters."

The Referee, in a lengthy article, says:— "It is very difficult to credit the statement that the old Parliamentary hands of the Cabinet are taken by surprise by the Speaker's judgment, and that their upright, honest intentions towards the Suffragists have been utterly confounded by the sudden realisation that the contemplated action would be against the rules of Parliamentary procedure—nay, that it (and this must be an appalling thought to the authors of the Parliament Act) might even be regarded as a breach of Constitutional usage! But can we wonder that the confiding Radicals are galled by the Speaker's 'bomb' explanation of this Ministerial farce when leading Suffragists, who have surely been keenly watching the course of events, are satisfied that Codlin Asquith is their friend, but Speaker Short is their implacable enemy? 'I do not blame Mr. Asquith for the present situation,' says Mrs. Despard, 'because I do not believe it arose from his instigation or that he means to take advantage of it. I blame the Speaker, who, it is known, is a very bitter anti-Suffragist.'"

The Observer also criticises the ignorance of the Government:—

"The Speaker's point was plain when made. It ought to have been obvious before. Ministers have been considering every aspect of the Suffrage question for years. They have Law Officers to help them in preparing their measures. They have the Teutonic profundity of Lord Halsbury; the celebrated acuteness of Sir Rufus Isaacs; the services of that solemn model of a pundit on a monument, Sir John Simon; and the resources of that more cheerful Pharisæe in the cause of party above all things and place at any price, the inexpressible Mr. Ure."

Programme of the Week.

LONDON.

Table listing events in London from Jan 31 to Feb 7, including Chelsea, Finsbury Park, and various meetings.

COUNTRY.

Table listing events in the country from Jan 31 to Feb 7, including Blaenarwr Miners' Federation, Canterbury, and various local meetings.

Campaign Throughout the Country.

Members Combine Enthusiastically to Make Working Women's Deputation a Huge Success.

LONDON.

W.S.P.U. GENERAL OFFICES, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Balham and Tooting. Members please note drawing-room meeting, 64, Hendon-road, Upper Tooting, by kind permission of Mrs. Moore, to-night (Friday), 8 p.m. Speaker, Miss Nancy Lightman. Please bring as many "Anti" friends as possible. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Cocksedge, 12, Oxbourne-road, Balham, S.W.)

Barnet.

Best thanks to Miss Nancy Lightman and Mrs. Reginald Pott speaking at meeting, Thursday, January 23. Members are advised to buy extra copies of this week's SUFFRAGETTE for distribution among friends. Gratefully acknowledged. Donations from Miss Helen Gay and Mr. Pott. (Hon. Sec., Miss Maud Mace, Selbor, Hally).

Bermansley and Southwark.

Camberwell members have cause to rejoice over success of Bermansley campaign, where local union has been formed. Fourteen members joining in one week. Funds are badly needed, also old articles of dress or furniture for jumble sale. Mrs. Clark, Mrs. Teyman, Miss Balchin, Miss Kettle, Miss Warwick, Miss Senter, and Miss Walsh have all been assisting in their efforts, and are especially thanked both for their work and donations to Post Fund. Mrs. Clark, 10s.; Mrs. Teyman, 1s.; Mrs. Welch, 1s.; Mrs. Anon, 1s.; Mrs. 2s. (Hon. Sec., Nurse Evans, Shop, 130, Old Kent-road.)

Bowes Park and District.

The St. John's Hall meeting has given local union a great lift. Everybody in the crowded hall listened with rapt attention to Mrs. Pankhurst's magnificent speech, while the Rev. R. B. L. Eton's opening speech created a marked effect on the audience. Members are asked to attend next Tuesday's meeting, and to bring friends. More paper-sellers are wanted. Will members get their best programmes for sale at the next Tuesday's meeting, and to bring friends. More paper-sellers are wanted. Will members get their best programmes for sale at the next Tuesday's meeting, and to bring friends. More paper-sellers are wanted. Will members get their best programmes for sale at the next Tuesday's meeting, and to bring friends.

Chelsea.

The annual general meeting was held on Friday, January 24, when the Committee for the year was elected. Miss Ada Moore gave a most interesting lecture, at the conclusion of which she kindly volunteered to hold a weekly class of local members for voice production, giving the fees to the cause. The first lesson will be to-day (Friday), at 6 p.m., single lessons 1s., or 7s. 6d. for course of ten taken consecutively. The Treasurer's appeal for funds was generously responded to. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Mina Sheppard, £2; Miss F. E. Haig, £2 2s.; Mrs. Stratton, 5s.; Mrs. Monk Mason, 5s.; Miss A. M. Procter, 5s.; Miss Zoe Procter, 5s.; Mrs. O'Dell, 2s.; Miss Doughton Lodge, 1s.; Miss Carpenter, 1s.; Miss Gourlie, 1s.; Miss Keith, 1s.; Miss Lee, 1s.; Miss E. M. Lloyd, 1s.; Miss G. Naylor, 1s.; Miss W. M. Wolfe, 1s.; Miss F. E. Haig, £2 2s.; Mrs. Wolfe, 2s.; Mrs. Binnie, 3s. 6d.; Miss Hall, 1s.; Miss Cooper, 5s.; Mrs. Priebsch, £1 5s.; Miss Macfarlane, 1s.; Mrs. Kegan, 1s. New members welcomed—Miss Pina, Miss Edgley, Miss Davis. (Hon. Sec., Miss D. D. Solomon, Sec., Miss Watson, Shop, 178, Finchley-road, N.W.)

Hampstead.

Poster parades to advertise Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting, February 13, will leave office 11.15 a.m. Saturday, February 8, and Thursday, February 14. Volunteers are urgently needed, also handbill distributors for various stations in the neighbourhood. A price-list of goods stocked at the shop may now be obtained on application. Will any capable member volunteer to dress the window on Monday mornings? Members are reminded of the library, from which all the latest books on the woman's movement may be borrowed. A shopkeeper is wanted Friday evening, 6.8 p.m., at Mrs. Stratton's, 5s.; Mrs. Monk Mason, 5s.; Miss A. M. Procter, 5s.; Miss Zoe Procter, 5s.; Mrs. O'Dell, 2s.; Miss Doughton Lodge, 1s.; Miss Carpenter, 1s.; Miss Gourlie, 1s.; Miss Keith, 1s.; Miss Lee, 1s.; Miss E. M. Lloyd, 1s.; Miss G. Naylor, 1s.; Miss W. M. Wolfe, 1s.; Miss F. E. Haig, £2 2s.; Mrs. Wolfe, 2s.; Mrs. Binnie, 3s. 6d.; Miss Hall, 1s.; Miss Cooper, 5s.; Mrs. Priebsch, £1 5s.; Miss Macfarlane, 1s.; Mrs. Kegan, 1s. New members welcomed—Miss Pina, Miss Edgley, Miss Davis. (Hon. Sec., Miss D. D. Solomon, Sec., Miss Watson, Shop, 178, Finchley-road, N.W.)

Hornsey.

Members and friends are reminded of the important debate on "Should the Parliamentary Franchise be granted to Women?" which is being held at Park-road, Council School, Crouch End, Thursday, January 30, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Gladstone Solomon will be opposed by Mrs. Pean Gaskell, in place of Miss Hicks. A large number of supporters on both sides is expected, as the meeting has been widely advertised by the workers. (Hon. Sec., Miss Bonwick, B.A., 28, Westons-park, Crouch End, N.)

Ilford.

Miss Harvey and Mr. Jacobs addressed large crowds on Saturday last. The children's party arranged by Miss Wingrove and Miss D. Harvey at Barking on Wednesday was most successful, thanks to all who helped so splendidly. Paper-sellers needed for Ilford Broadway; papers can be obtained from 68, Cranbrook-road. Ticket canvassers for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting required. A few calendars at 4d. are still on hand. (Hon. Sec., Miss Ethel Haslam, 68, Cranbrook-road.)

Kennington.

A fine response was made to Mrs. Drummond's appeal in North Kennington, when over seventy women assembled at 2, Westerton-street to listen to a short speech from Miss Evelyn Sharp. Decorated brakes were provided to take delegates to Holborn Hall meeting. Four deputation members were admitted to Westminster meeting. Thanks to Miss G. Wylie and Miss Martin for their assistance in the committee-rooms, also to

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Miss Mott for canvassing. Among those acting as hostesses to country delegates are Mrs. Morrison, Dr. Murray, Dr. Cortburn, Mrs. Dembar, and others. Members' annual meeting takes place Thursday, February 6, at 8.15, at 2, Campden-hill-square, by kind permission of the Misses Brackenbury. After business is over, 9 p.m., it is hoped that non-members will attend lantern slide lectures. Gratefully acknowledged towards Campaign Fund—Mrs. Sloane, 52; Mrs. Mori, 10s.; Miss Shuter, 10s.; Mrs. Gommersal, 2s.; speaker's travelling expenses, 1s. 6d. From Mrs. Gollie a silver salver (on view at shop), to be sold for funds. Mrs. Gommersal, 2s. 6d., general fund. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Postlethwaite, Tel. 2115 West-ern.)

Kingston and District.

Monthly meeting at office, Feb. 7. All are asked to bring friends. Every member must make special effort to sell the paper. More street-sellers are wanted. All who helped to sell tickets for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting are cordially thanked. Date of postponed meeting will be given at an early date. Office stewards are wanted. More weekly subscribers welcomed. Members are asked not to forget weekly penny fund. Annual general meeting is now due. Will all members kindly send without further notice? Annual general meeting will be held shortly. Notice will be sent when date is fixed. More books are wanted for library. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Burton, 4s.; Mrs. Clough, 4s.; Mrs. Beatty, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Lynn, 2s.; Miss Margrett, 2s.; Mrs. Baker, 1s.; Miss Wilton, 1s. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Deane-Fox, Office, 13, Union-street.)

Lewisham.

Friends are reminded of Mrs. Bouvier's meeting on February 7. Bring as many new people as possible, men and women. Members are also urged to attend Saturday's rallies. A jumble sale will be held as soon as a sufficient number of parcels are received. Subscriptions will be acknowledged next week. (Hon. Sec., Miss C. Campbell and Miss C. Townsend, Office, 1, Lewes-grove.)

North Islington.

Thanks to Dr. Hanson for her extremely interesting speech last Thursday; to Miss Frankend and Mr. Hinchell, and to Madame Kink, hostess. There will be a members' rally at the office to-morrow (Saturday). Votes for Women tea can be obtained, also cocoa, jam, and pickles. Will those whose subscriptions are due please send them to the treasurer? Bicycle is still for sale at office. (Hon. Sec., Miss Constance Bryer, Office, 19, St. Thomas-road, Finsbury-park.)

North-West London.

The brake which left this office on Thursday last for Holborn Town Hall laden with members to join the deputation received a hearty send-off and cheers all along the route. With Mr. Maycock in the chair, Miss Mrs. Brackenbury gave a delightful address in the afternoon of the same day. Many thanks to the kind artists, Miss G. Logan and Miss Dick Green. The next "At Home" will be on Thursday, Feb. 6d. Miss Linnon will recite. Bring your unconverted friends. On Feb. 5, Mrs. Penn Gaskell will speak by invitation to the Annual Union of Gasworkers at the I.L.P. Club, 157, High-street, Hadden. This meeting is public, and women will be welcomed. Thanks to Miss Wilson's active organization and to her hand of helpers the paper sales have again gone up. Congratulations to all who have worked so hard. Many thanks to all who helped the poster parades last Saturday. There is plenty more office and other work for willing hands. The following is the second list of subscribers to £100 Fund: Miss Emily Green, 2s.; Mrs. Hart, 2s. 6d.; Miss Moe and Miss Hartley, 21s.; Mrs. Hewley, 1s.; Miss L. Blythe, 1s.; Miss Hoffman, 4s. 6d.; Mrs. Howard, 2s.; Mrs. and Miss Huggins, 5s.; Miss Isabel Hutchinson, 1s.; Mrs. Jacobs, 2s. 6d.; Miss Annette Jacobs, 8s. 7d.; Mrs. Jenkins, 1s.; Mrs. Johnson, 12s. 6d.; Miss Jones, 1s.; Mrs. A. A. Jones, 21s.; Miss Kidman, 1s.; Miss S. Kidman, 1s.; Mrs. Kohler, 11s. 5s.; Mrs. Kuhler, 1s.; Mrs. H. P. Lancaster, 6s.; Mrs. and Miss Levy, 5s.; Miss Levy, 21s. 4d.; Miss C. Maynes, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Maycock, 2s.; Mazoned College (collected), 18s. 10d.; Mrs. McKay, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Millard, 5s.; M. J. 1s.; Miss Moses, 10s.; Miss Muller, 2s. 6d.; Madame Myers, 14s. 4d.; Miss Edith Myers, 1s.; Miss Julie Myers, 1s.; Mrs. Selim Myers, 1s.; Miss Neale, 2s. 6d.; Miss O'Connell, 1s.; Miss Ogilvy, 1s.; Miss Freda Owen, 15s.; Mrs. Paley, 1s.; Mrs. Perkin, 5s. 6d.; Mrs. Petre, 21s. 5s.; Mrs. Picton, 5s.; Miss Phoebe Rickards, 16s. 6d.; Miss M. Rodgers, 6s.; Mrs. Rogers, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Roles, 1s. 6d.; Mrs. Murray Rust, 6s.; Mrs. K. Searle, 3s.; Miss Sanderson, 2s. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Penn Gaskell, Offices, 310, High-road, Kilburn, N.W.)

Poplar.

Will any of those who have kindly spoken at Poplar meetings, or others in any way interested in Poplar, contribute something towards the founding of a Poplar Local Union? Residents in Poplar are most anxious to start one, and are prepared to run it and support it themselves once it has been given weight. Those willing to contribute even small sums towards initial expenses are asked to kindly send them to Miss Heekin, 28, Campden-hill-gardens, W.

Streatham.

The Saturday night meetings at Glenelg-road will be discontinued for a while. Offers of drawing-rooms for meetings will be eagerly welcomed; please communicate with Mrs. Elcher, 21, Conley-park, who will engage speakers, or Elizabeth Robins's new book, "Where Are You Going To?" is on sale at shop. Members should not fail to read this

work. All the money-boxes due at Christmas have not yet been sent in; members are earnestly asked to send them at once. Some members have not yet called for this quarter's boxes; will they do so now? (Hon. Sec., Miss Robert, 1s., 5, Strubbersburg, Tel. 1575 Streatham.)

Sydenham and Forest Hill.

A shop will be opened at 5, Imperial-buildings, London-road, Forest-hill, on Monday, Feb. 3. Tea will be served that afternoon to members and friends between 3.30 and 5. Offers of help both as regards work and equipping the shop will be welcome. (Hon. Sec., Miss A. G. Metcalfe, 2, Hill-road, Forest-hill.)

Walthamstow.

Miss Jeck addressed a good audience at the first open-air meeting of the New Year. A successful "At Home" was held at the Trinity Schoolroom on Saturday, when Miss Naylor gave a most interesting speech. Members were delighted at having a visit from Mrs. Grew, who kindly presided. Thanks to Mrs. Guyatt and Mrs. Milne for their music, and to Mr. Rabson for donation of public meeting, Feb. 6, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Volunteers for chalking parties and bill-posting should send their names to the Hon. Sec., Miss C. H. Cart, 11, Sylvan-road.

West Ham.

Miss Bonwick's meeting at Workmen's Hall was a great success, the room being crowded. There was an excellent collection. Mr. Lansbury has promised to speak in the large hall in March. Forest Gate pitch is now established, but a few more sellers for Friday and Saturday evenings would be welcome. Hopkins had a good meeting at Maryland Point; paper sales were exceptionally good. Will all who can assemble at the shop (Friday) at 7.30 p.m. for special poster parade to advertise the paper? Gratefully acknowledged: Anonymous, 12s. 6d.; two members' deputation (per Miss Morgan), 5s. 6d.; Miss Kent, 6d. (Hon. Sec., Miss Muriel Brier, Shop, 32, Rontford-road, E.)

Westminster and St. George's, Hanover-square.

The shop was of great use during the past busy week, the address making it their base for the picket and the Woman's Press for paper-selling. Many delegates were entertained. Members have been kept busy with teas, as many as 65 being served on Friday. Grateful thanks to Mrs. Macdonald, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Wilcock, and Mrs. Merryweather for teas. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Corbett, 10s.; Miss Harving, 2s. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Miss Gladys Shelden, Hon. Org. Sec., Miss Gordon Liddle, Shop, 17, Tottil-street.)

Wimbledon.

Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting was an unqualified success, the hall being full to its full capacity. New members were made, new readers obtained, and a great number of people generally awakened. Members and all who assisted in making this success are heartily thanked, and urged to follow up the sale of possible recruits and bring as many as possible to weekly public meetings at Queen's Hall, Broadway, Mondays, 8 p.m. For Thursday, Miss Nancy Lightman's subject will be "Handicapped." Tickets for lantern lecture, Feb. 10, 1s. and 6d., are now on sale. Members are asked to report progress of sales each Saturday at members' tea rally. Handbills and posters should be distributed to best advantage. Two more newspapers have offered to exhibit posters and circulate leaflets. Members should give these their custom unless their own will do likewise. Stewards urgently needed Tuesday, 10-11, and Fridays, 10-11, 3.30-6.30. Who will volunteer? Record paper sales last week suggest possibility of maintained increase. Sellers needed. A call at shop will reveal new stock of literature and picture cards, also dainty stationery. Last week for renewing membership fees. Excellent meeting on Common addressed by Mrs. Hughes and Mrs. Lamartine Yates. Papers sold out. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Offices, 9, Victoria-crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon. Tel. 1410 Wimbledon.)

Wimbledon Park and South Wimbledon. A most successful meeting was held in the Broadway on Saturday night. Mrs. Huggitt in the chair, and Mrs. Dickinson and Miss Bellie were the speakers. Many thanks to Mrs. Dickinson, Mrs. Beatty, and Mrs. Taylor for their kind hospitality to the women workers who came from the North for deputation. Contributions for jumble sale may be sent to the Hon. Sec., Mrs. E. Scarborough, 5, Marguerite-villas, Copse-hill, Wimbledon.

Woolwich.

During the few remaining days will every member do her utmost to secure splendid meeting for Mrs. Pankhurst, Feb. 4. Poster parades start from Arsenal station to-morrow (Saturday), 3 p.m., and on Monday, Feb. 5, 7 p.m. (For meetings see programme.) All those willing to chalk and distribute bills should send in names at once. A large crowd was very interested in Miss Kelly's speech last Saturday. Hon. Secs., Miss Clifford and Miss Gregory, 4, Heathwood-gardens, Charlton.)

HOME COUNTRIES.

Bexhill.

Many thanks to Miss T. Mann for her excellent speech at Tuesday's meeting, and to Miss Stewart for so ably presiding. Will all attend these weekly meetings regularly and do all in their power to help Miss Given, who is taking over the organising of local work? (Org., Miss Given, Shop, Marina.)

Bournemouth.

Will members make a special effort this week to give time for paper-selling? Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Gladys Haze, fully acknowledged; Miss Oiler, 5s.; Miss Morgan Jones, 5s.; Miss Wall, 2s.; Miss Roberts, 1s. (Hon. Sec., Mrs. B. Berry, Shop, 221, Old Christchurch-road.)

Brighton and Hove.

Many thanks to all who helped to make the deputation tea and meeting a success. Miss Pickworth, hon. secretary Free Church League, has kindly promised to speak at next Monday's (Feb. 3) members' meeting. Members are asked to bring friends. (Org., Miss G. Allen, Shop, 8, North-street-quadrant.)

Canterbury.

The meeting in Foresters' Hall advertised for Monday last has been postponed until today (Friday). Members are asked to bring friends. Stewards are needed. Thanks to Mrs. Crosby for a most successful drawing-room meeting. Miss Holsby is canvassing with THE SUFFRAGETTE every week with great success; will others volunteer to do the same? (Org., Miss Evelyn Billing, 6, St. George's-place.)

Eastbourne.

From to-day Miss Goldingham will take on organising work in the town and the organiser hopes that all members will do their very best to help her in every way. Public meetings will be held in every ward. Help is wanted for poster parades, bill distributing, and the selling of a tremendous stock of literature, and can be obtained from Mr. Brown, newsagent, "Fontaine-square, Hanley. Members should buy several copies each week, and either sell them again or pass them on to their friends. Funds are urgently needed. (Org., Miss H. Burditt, 9, Church-street, Hanley.)

Hastings.

The organiser asks all members to give Miss Green (who is taking over the organising of local work) a most cordial welcome. Miss Macaulay's speech on "Women in History" at last Monday's meeting was much enjoyed. The help given by working women who joined in deputation was thoroughly appreciated, also the generosity of those members who by subscribers and canvassers for them to 20. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Papillon, 10s.; Mrs. Parr, 10s.; Miss M. Woodgate, 10s. (Org., Miss Given, Shop, 5, Claremont.)

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at shop. Will members please give as much time as possible to canvassing among friends for this meeting? (Org., Miss Gladys Haze, Shop, 14, Bowling-green-street.)

Northampton.

More members are required to take office either morning or afternoon. This is a very important though easy way to assist in local work. Members who subscribe to weekly fund are asked to send contributions up to date. An important members' meeting will be held at the office to-night (Friday), 8 p.m.; please do not fail to be present. Gratefully acknowledged: Mrs. Gawthrop, 21s.; Miss Parr, 2s. 6d. (Org., Miss Miller, Office, 18, Abington-street.)

Nottingham.

It is hoped that the speakers' class will start on Wednesday, Feb. 5. Members wishing to join should let Miss Marsh know at once. All particulars will then be given. The organiser addressed the Nottingham branch of the Shop Assistants' Union. More paper-sellers are wanted. What drive at office Monday, Feb. 3, 7.15 p.m. Tickets 1s. 6d. (Org., Miss C. A. L. Marsh, Office, 30, Bridlesmith-gate.)

Potteries (Staffs).

Every member is asked to bring at least three or four friends to meeting, Newcastle, Feb. 3. Will all stewards be at the hall at 7 o'clock sharp? If possible, public meetings will be held in Burton, Loughborough, and Tamworth during the coming weeks. Will all who can help in these towns please send in their names to the organiser? The programme can be obtained from Mr. Brown, newsagent, "Fontaine-square, Hanley. Members should buy several copies each week, and either sell them again or pass them on to their friends. Funds are urgently needed. (Org., Miss H. Burditt, 9, Church-street, Hanley.)

Walsall.

Members and friends are looking forward to Friday, Feb. 7, when Mrs. Barnard is kindly giving a drawing-room meeting, at which Miss Gladys Keell will speak. Mrs. Burman will preside. Tickets for them to 20. Ward, Office, 19, Leicester-street.)

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Bath.

Miss Francis gave an impromptu address at a social gathering of the Railway Women's Guild on Jan. 20, arousing much interest and sympathy. There will be a lantern slide lecture illustrating the history of the militant campaign at the Assembly Rooms, Thursday, Feb. 20, 8 p.m. Lecturer: Miss I. Green. Tickets, 1s. 6d. and 3d. Members are requested to sell tickets and do their best to make lecture a success. Will anyone volunteer to sell a few copies of the paper every week either in the shops, amongst friends, or from door to door? There is much work still to be done in getting THE SUFFRAGETTE more widely known. Will some member who cannot help in other ways kindly make a marmalade sale in shop? Gratefully acknowledged, Deputation Fund: Miss E. von Taube, 10s.; gifts for shop: Mr. Drys and Miss Searle, 10s.; Mrs. MacGregor, 10s. (Hon. Sec., The Misses Tollenmache, Shop, 12, Walcot-street.)

Bristol.

Seven working women, with their Bristol banner, went to London for Mrs. Drummond's deputation. Very many thanks for the generous response to appeal for deputation funds. Donations were published in last week's report, but unfortunately the words "for the deputation fund" were omitted. Further contributions to same fund, per Miss Tessie Smith; Mrs. Evans, 6s.; Mrs. Edwards, 10s.; per A. M. Walters, The Misses Startup, 5s. (Org., Miss Pridden, Shop, 37, Queen's-road, Clifton.)

Cheltenham.

At last Saturday's meeting several members agreed to take extra copies of THE SUFFRAGETTE by his speech, quickly won the sympathy of the whole audience. Many thanks to Miss Allan for presiding, and to those members who worked so hard for success. Will all who are free to-morrow (Saturday) come down to South Shields to work up meeting to be held on Tuesday (see programme)? A poster-parade will leave South Shields station at 12.30, and much canvassing remains to be done. Help is also wanted for poster-parading and canvassing at Sunderland for Thursday's meeting (see programme). It is hoped there will be a large turn-out on Wednesday to meet some of the deputation delegates. (Org., Miss L. Mitchell, Shop, 77, Backett-street.)

Newcastle.

Mr. Lansbury received an enthusiastic reception at the Town Hall on Wednesday, and by his speech quickly won the sympathy of the whole audience. Many thanks to Miss Allan for presiding, and to those members who worked so hard for success. Will all who are free to-morrow (Saturday) come down to South Shields to work up meeting to be held on Tuesday (see programme)? A poster-parade will leave South Shields station at 12.30, and much canvassing remains to be done. Help is also wanted for poster-parading and canvassing at Sunderland for Thursday's meeting (see programme). It is hoped there will be a large turn-out on Wednesday to meet some of the deputation delegates. (Org., Miss L. Mitchell, Shop, 77, Backett-street.)

Scarborough.

Gratefully acknowledged, Mrs. Wigney, 21s.; Mrs. Taylor, 10s.; Deputation Fund subscribers from Miss Bremner, Miss King, Mrs. Cooke, Miss Saffell, Mrs. Gill, Mrs. and Miss Piper, Mrs. Barker, amounted to 41s. Will any member volunteer to help the shop open from 11 to 1 on alternate Tuesdays, Tuesday morning or Monday afternoon? (Hon. Sec., Miss Nora Vickerman, 35, St. Nicholas Cliff.)

Sheffield.

A members' meeting will be held on Wednesday, Feb. 5, at 8 p.m. Every member is asked to attend. Jumble sale, Saturday, Feb. 8, at 3 p.m. More contributions and help wanted to advertise sales ready for distribution. Sewing meeting and tea at shop every Tuesday. Will every member promise to make at least one garment of "non-flam" Volunteers for paper-selling urgently

Wales.

Cardiff and District.

The organiser appeals to all those who for various reasons are unable to sell THE SUFFRAGETTE in the streets, to send her occasionally a donation to allow her to send copies to women householders, and prominent officials in Cardiff. An anonymous member often does

this, as she is unable to sell; many might follow her example. Tickets for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting in Gory Hall, Feb. 19, may be had at the office. A real effort should be made by members to dispose of them. Gratefully acknowledged: "A Working Woman" (2nd donation), 2s.; Miss Sarah Higginson, 2s.; Mrs. E. J. Williams, 5s. A sale of work for which the organisers hope members and friends are busily working, will be held at end of April. Miss Gillett (W.S.P.U. member) has a literature stall in the market every Saturday. She would appreciate visits from Suffragettes. (Org., Miss A. Williams, Office, 27, Charles-street, Cardiff.)

EASTERN COUNTIES.

Cambridge and District.

Thanks to Mrs. Gaul, a successful "At Home" addressed by Miss G. Brackenbury, was held on Jan. 22. A crowded and enthusiastic women's meeting was held the same night at the Romney Town Institute, also addressed by Miss Brackenbury. Many thanks to those members who gave cakes, and especially to Miss Pryor, whose indefatigable industry contributed largely to the success of this meeting. Delegates went up to represent Cambridge at the conference held on Thursday and Friday at the Horticultural Hall. Gratefully acknowledged towards Deputation Fund: Mrs. Heath, 2s.; Miss Symphonier, 2s.; Nurse Ward, 2s.; Mrs. Levett, 2s.; A. Friend, 1s.; Mrs. Ford, 1s.; Miss B. L. 2d.; Miss Pryor, 2s. 6d.; A. C. 1s. 6d.; Miss Anderson, 2s.; Mrs. Smith, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Ward, 6d.; Nurse James, 6d.; Mrs. Norman, 1s.; Anon., 6d.; Mrs. Hibbing, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Rice, 1s. 6d.; per Mrs. Ivett, 5s. 6d.; Mrs. "Fontaine-square, Hanley. Members should buy several copies each week, and either sell them again or pass them on to their friends. Funds are urgently needed. (Org., Miss H. Burditt, 9, Church-street, Hanley.)

Manchester.

Particulars for February monthly meeting to be announced later. There will be a committee meeting of the office to-night (Friday) at 6.45 prompt, and a special members' meeting at 8 p.m. A good attendance is expected. (Hon. Sec., Miss K. Wall-work, Office, 32, King-street West.)

Wallasey.

Mrs. John Edwards read a paper on the White Slave Traffic at Monday's meeting. The following friends are thanked for donations towards Deputation Fund: Miss Francis, 5s.; Miss Paul, 2s. 6d.; Miss Foster, 2s. 6d.; Anon., 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Foinquinos, 2s.; Miss E. Coulter,



CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single Insertion 1d. per word, minimum 1s. 6d. (Four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address: The Advertising Manager, The SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MACKENZIE-McMANUS.—On January 17, at Green Edge, Beaumaris, Anglesey, to Marion Mackenzie, wife of James McManus, a son.

LOST PROPERTY.—Miss Kerr is in charge of this Department, and all articles found at meetings, &c., should be sent to her without delay.

GIVEN TO BE SOLD FOR THE FUNDS.

- Gold Pendant and Chain, very old and of exquisite workmanship; pendant of heart shape, set with chain link rings of fine links. . . . . 15 0 0
Ring, set single diamond. . . . . 3 0 0
Turquoise Ring (2 stones). . . . . 3 3 0
Do. (7 stones). . . . . 2 10 0
Turquoise Signet Ring. . . . . 1 1 0
Turquoise and Blue Enamel Chain Bracelet. . . . . 2 0 0
Gold and Blue Enamel Chain Bracelet. . . . . 1 15 0
Gold Charm (lucky bean), set diamond. . . . . 1 1 0
Gold Curb Bracelet. . . . . 2 10 0
Gold Brooch. . . . . 1 1 0
Gold and Mosaic Brooch. . . . . 0 10 0
Two Maltese Silver Bracelets, per pair. . . . . 0 15 0
Gold and Pearl Pin. . . . . 0 12 0
Apply to Mrs. SANDERS, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, cleanest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bed-rooms, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance and lights, from 5s. 6d.; en pension, 8s. Finest English provisions, Terrace, garden, lounge. —MANAGERESS, 4788 Gerrard.

ALBEMARLE COURT HOTEL, 35, 36, and 37, CLEVELAND SQUARE, LANCASTER GATE, W. Reopening with the following attractions:—Handsome new Lounge, Smoking and Drawing-rooms, large airy bedrooms, with telephone, multiplicity of baths, continuous hot water service, exceptional cuisine. Visitors can have use of private sitting-room for receptions, &c. Pension from 2 up. A trial will ensure permanent patronage. Under direct management of Mrs. HORNE. Telephone: Mayfair 3708.

BRIGHTON.—A comfortable HOME at moderate terms. Ordinary or reform diet.—Miss TURNER, W.S.P.U., Sea View, Victoria-road, Brighton. Nat. Tel. 1702.

BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, BOARDING ESTABLISHMENT, 21, Upper Rock-gardens, off Marine-parade. Good table. Terms from 2s.—Mrs. GRAY, Member W.S.P.U.

COMFORTABLE APARTMENTS.—Cooking a speciality, vegetarian if desired. One minute from splendid golf links and 15 minutes from sea.—Miss G. "Alandale," 8, Buchanan-avenue, Bournemouth.

COMFORTABLE RESIDENCE. One guinea full, 18s. partial. Electric light.—Miss DANIEL, Deunigh House, 57, Deunigh-street, Westminster.

LEITCHWORTH, HERTS.—HEALTHY HOME FOR CHILDREN of 2 years and upwards. Reform diet, outdoor life and occupations.—Mrs. OGDEN, "St. Faith's," Required, Lady Helper on mutual terms.

PRIVATE HOTEL FOR LADIES ONLY (quiet and refined), 13, St. George's-square, Westminster. Bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss DAVIES.

RESIDENTIAL CLUB FOR LADIES. Rooms 25s. per week, with board. Cubicles, 18s. 6d. and 19s. 6d. Also by the day.—Mrs. CAMPBELL-WILKINSON, 49, Weymouth-street, Portland-place, London, W.

WORTHING.—APARTMENTS or BOARD-RESIDENCE. Moderate terms. Minute from sea. Good cooking. Well furnished.—Miss CHAPMAN, W.S.P.U., Queen's Lodge, Queens-road.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

CHARMING FLAT TO LET for two or three months. Two sitting-rooms, two bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom, and electric light and gas. Maid can be kept by arrangement. Three guineas a week.—Mrs. WEBB SMITHWICK, 7, Redcliffe-gardens, S.W.

CONVENIENT FURNISHED FLAT. Three rooms and kitchen, suitable for student or lady engaged during day. TO BE LET for three or six months. Good day servant if required. Central position, close Kingsway and British Museum.—Apply Miss KERR, W.S.P.U., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

TO LET, Unfurnished HOUSE, 12 rooms, from March, in Battersea. Piano for sale.—Mrs. ARCHDALE, Studley College, Warwickshire.

VACANT, January 31, SEASIDE COTTAGE (furnished). Three bed, two sitting-rooms, kitchen, &c. Low rent.—Mrs. KNIGHT, Novar, Earlwood, Redhill.

WANTED.

WANTED, 2-PAYING GUESTS, February, Golden Green. References exchanged.—Mrs. E. G. THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

WASHING WANTED by an old-established Laundress. Shirts, 4d. each; sheets, tablecloths, 2d. and 6d. each; towels, napkins, dusters, 9d. doz.; chemise, drawers, 11d. each; servants', 1s. 3d. each.—Mrs. SMITH, York Road Laundry, 65, Osborne-road, Acton. Van in town daily.

SITUATIONS WANTED.

CAREFUL, EXPERIENCED HAND-MADE LAUNDRESS can undertake laundering of a family's linen, nine years' experience.—ANNA JONES, Kathleen Laundry, Palmerston-road, South Acton. Special arrangements for collecting country linen.

MRS. TUKE strongly recommends her late DAILY SERVANT. Good cook, thoroughly trustworthy, quite invaluable.—Further particulars from Miss KERR, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

SECRETARIAL WORK REQUIRED. Half-day. Experienced. Literary and dramatic work.—Address ZOR PROCTER, 308, King's-road, Chelsea.

WANTED, Post as SECRETARY and COMPANION to lady. At home or abroad. Seven years' experience.—Write Box 132, THE SUFFRAGETTE, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

HOUSE-PARLOURMAID WANTED, for flat. Three in family.—Mrs. MARTIN, Lister Institute, Chelsea-gardens, S.W.

WANTED, thoroughly reliable GENERAL. Small flat. Write fully: age, capabilities and experience. Give references.—154, Hamlet-gardens, Ravenscourt-park, W. (Can any member recommend?)

WANTED, LADY NURSE-COMPANION. 6th 10, 10, 7, attending school morning. Churchwoman, Needlewoman, Sutragist preferred. Salary £24-£26.—Write Mrs. COOPER, 5, Warwick-avenue, Paddington.

DRESSMAKING.

PRETTY VELVETWEEN FROCKS, dark purple or green, to own measures, 2rs. 6d.—Madame MOORE, 46, Penbridge-villas, W.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES.—Latest West-End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. NEILSEN, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield-street, Oxford-street, W. (near Waring's).

WORKING.—MADAME EVANGELINE, 27, Chobham-road, makes up ladies' own materials between seasons. Gowns to order, 3 guineas. Estimates free.

YANOVER. 41A, Ebury-street, Grosvenor-gardens, S.W. HABIL MAKER, LADIES' TAILOR, COSTUMIER and FURRIER. Highest workmanship. Fit guaranteed. Recommended by Hon. Mrs. Haverford, Miss Vera Holmes and other members.

LAUNDRY.

A LADY RECOMMENDS GOOD LAUNDRESS.—Shirts, nightdresses, 3d.; sheets, tablecloths, 2d. and 3d.; towels, napkins, dusters, 9d. dozen; chemise and drawers, 11d.; maids', 1s. 3d. Linen returned Fridays.—GARDNER'S HAND LAUNDRY, 33, Osborne-road, Acton.

A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collections; prompt deliveries.—BULLERS' House Laundry, Reynolds-road, Acton Green, W.

OLD OAK FARM LAUNDRY, 3, Bloemfontein-avenue, Shepherd's Bush, W. Tel.: 484 Chiswick. Best family work only. Hand-washed. Electric fittings, preventing fumes and dust. All clothes aired in dry-air cupboards.—Manageress, Mrs. PUDY, M.W.S.P.U.

THE GORDON LAUNDRY, Hanbury-road, Acton, W., will be glad to receive orders. Special terms for large washings. Really first-class work. Table linen a speciality. Fine linen, silks and flannels washed by hand with greatest possible care.

ELECTROLYSIS, Etc.

ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only permanent cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Mrs. MARION LINDSAY, 35, Cambridge-place, Norfolk-square, W. Telephone: Paddington 3307.

CARE OF THE HAIR.—The hair and scalp skilfully treated with massage and brushing by certified Masseuse.—Madame LIS, 124, Regent-street, W. Booklet free on application. Manicure, 1s. 6d.

CERTIFICATED MASSEUSE, visits patients for general massage, reducing weight, and face-massage.

W.S.P.U. MEMBER RECOMMENDS SPECIAL HAIR TONIC. Invigorates, strengthens. Large bottle, 1s. 9d., post free.—Miss ELLIS, 24, Russell-road, Ipswich.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

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