

THE VOTE,  
NOVEMBER 22, 1918.  
ONE PENNY.

## OUR MESSAGE TO THE ELECTORS

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

# THE VOTE

## THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE

VOL. XVII. No. 474.

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FRIDAY, NOV. 22, 1918.

**OBJECT: To secure for Women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.**

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### THE GENERAL ELECTION, Saturday, December 14, 1918.

There is now an end of uncertainty about the coming General Election, and, to follow the prorogation of Parliament this week, the following dates were announced by Mr. Bonar Law in the House of Commons on November 14:

Dissolution of Parliament ... .. Mon., Nov. 25.  
Nominations ... .. Wed., Dec. 4.  
Polling ... .. Sat., Dec. 14.  
Counting of votes Sat., Dec. 21, or Sat., Dec. 28.

All over the country the election will take place on the same day, as provided under the Representation of the People Act.

#### Women Candidates.

The General Election will be historic in our annals. For the first time in this country women will have the right both to vote for their representatives in the House of Commons and to stand as candidates. The effect on male politicians is to make women "more of a mystery than ever"; the effect on women is to bring home to them their responsibility in choosing the best candidate to represent them in a Parliament which will have to undertake no less a task than the reconstruction of national life. In such responsible work the best brains and heart of the nation must unite; women

must be returned to the new Parliament. Let men and women electors, putting aside prejudice and inexperience, see that women are able to take their places side by side with men in legislating for the national welfare.

The following is a list of women candidates up to the time of going to press:

NAME.	CONSTITUENCY.	PARTY.
Miss Mary Macarthur	Stourbridge	Labour.
Mrs. How Martyn	Hendon	Independent.
Miss Eunice Murray	Bridgeton (Glasgow)	Independent.
Miss Nina Boyle	Keighley	Independent.
Miss Violet Markham	Mansfield	Lib. Coalition.
Mrs. Janet McEwan	Enfield	Liberal.
Miss Farquharson	Scottish Universities	
Miss Phipps, B.A.		Independent (representing Women Teachers).
Mrs. Edward Pease	Surrey, S.E.	Labour.
Mrs. Hope	Lufness	
Lady Frances Balfour	Glasgow	Liberal.
Mrs. Corbett Ashby	Ladywood	Lib. Coalition.
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	Rusholme (Manchester)	Independent Lab. Party.
Mrs. Dacre Fox	Richmond	Independent.
Mrs. Ogilvie Gordon		Lib. Coalition.
Mrs. Oliver Strachey	Chiswick	Coalition.
Miss Chrystal Macmillan		Liberal.

**I**F you Believe in Equal Rights and Opportunities and an Equal Moral Standard for Women and Men,

**Join the Women's Freedom League.**

Fill in your name and address and send it to the Secretary, Women's Freedom League, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C. 1.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

### Mrs. How Martyn's Campaign.

During the past week Mrs. How Martyn has addressed various meetings in the constituency, and been warmly welcomed everywhere. Her clear statement of how women are needed in Parliament to represent the woman's point of view and to bring their knowledge and experience to the important work of Parliamentary committees, and her insistence on equality of rights and opportunities for women and men in every form of public service make a strong appeal. More workers on her behalf in the constituency will be heartily welcomed. They will find that great interest is felt in a woman candidate for Parliament. Please send names at once to the Secretary, Women's Freedom League, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C. 1.

Mrs. How Martyn will be the Independent candidate at our Parliamentary Election at the Green, White, and Gold Fair on November 23, at 3.45 p.m., and will address the following meetings next week:

- Nov. 25.—The Institute, Stanmore, 8 p.m.
- Nov. 25.—Molo, Langley Park, Mill Hill, 3 p.m.
- Nov. 26.—The Schools, Kingsbury, 8 p.m.
- Nov. 27.—Women's Freedom League, 144, High Holborn (corner of Bury-street), 3 p.m.
- Nov. 27.—Free Church, Hampstead Garden Suburb, 8 p.m.
- Nov. 28.—Waterloo Court, Hampstead Garden Suburb, 8.30 p.m.
- Nov. 29.—Algernon-road School, Hendon, 8 p.m.

### Points of Interest.

As we go to press we hear with pleasure that our friend Dr. G. B. Clark, who is contesting the Cathcart Division of Glasgow as Labour candidate, has stated in his election address that he is in favour of the abolition of all disqualifications based on sex; urges equal pay for equal work, and calls for the immediate withdrawal of the infamous Regulation 40D. We have the satisfaction of knowing that Dr. Clark is prepared to fight strenuously for that of which he is in favour. His record is an exemplary one in the interests of women. He supported the pioneer women who entered the medical profession in face of great opposition; was one of the earliest men in the House of Commons to bring the question of woman suffrage into the region of practical politics; and is an enthusiastic advocate of the whole legal profession being opened to women.

The Liberal candidate for Clapham, Mr. P. H. Thomas, is speaking at a women's meeting on Friday evening, November 22, 8 p.m., at Wirtemberg Hall, Clapham. All women in the district are specially invited to be present and ask questions.

Mr. Holford Knight, who two years ago in the Inner Temple contended his championship of women's claim to admission to the Bar, and has since vigorously supported Miss Normanton's application to become a student at the Inner Temple, has been adopted as Progressive Liberal candidate for Bromley, Kent. His opponent is the Rt. Hon. Henry Wm. Forster, Financial Secretary to the War Office. It was the influence of the War Office in the War Cabinet which was primarily responsible for Regulation 40D. Will our readers in Beckenham, Bromley, and Penge make Regulation 40D a leading question at Mr. Forster's meetings?

### Green, White, and Gold Fair.

We are looking forward to a great gathering of friends at the Caxton Hall to-day and to-morrow to celebrate the women's victory and the coming of peace, and to fill our coffers for urgent work on behalf of justice to women and the welfare of the community. Great interest is aroused in our Parliamentary election as a forerunner of December 14. Mrs. Despard will welcome Mrs. H. B. Irving and Mrs. Cavendish Bentinck, who open the Fair on November 22, and Mrs. Zangwill on November 23, and all our visitors.

## Women's Freedom League.

Offices: 144, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. 1.  
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### FORTHCOMING EVENTS: W.F.L.

**LONDON AND SUBURBS.**  
**Friday and Saturday, November 22 and 23.—Green, White, and Gold Fair at Caxton Hall, Westminster. S.W. 2 p.m. Admission 1s.**

**Wednesday, November 27.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 3 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. How Martyn, B.Sc., on "My Election Policy."**

**Saturday, November 30.—London Branches Council Discussion Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, 3 p.m. Subject: "Free Trade."**

Speaker: Mr. F. J. Shaw. Admission free. Reserved seats 1s. Tickets from Hon. Sec., L.B.C., 144, High Holborn.

**Wednesday, December 4.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 3 p.m.**

**Wednesday, December 4.—Drawing Room Meeting at Melrose, Sharps Lane, Ruislip (by kind permission of Mrs. Harbord), 3 p.m. Speaker: Miss F. A. Underwood on "Why Women should use their Vote."**

**Wednesday, December 11.—Public Meeting, Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 3 p.m.**

**Friday, December 13.—Conference on "Endowment of Motherhood," Minerva Café, 144, High Holborn, W.C. 5 p.m. Women's Freedom League members only.**

**Saturday, December 14.—National Executive Committee Meeting, 144, High Holborn, 10.30 a.m.**

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE SETTLEMENT, 93, Nine Elms Lane, S.W. 8. Daily dinners to children, Guest House, etc.

THE DESPARD ARMS, 123, Hampstead Road, N.W. 1. Good accommodation for residents and visitors; moderate terms. Central position. Public Restaurant.

### PROVINCES.

**Tuesday, December 3.—Manchester.** Political Meeting for women only at Milton Hall, Deansgate, 7.30 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Annot Robinson (Women's International League). Subject: "Women's Problems in the Next Election." Open discussion. Admission free. Silver collection.

**Wednesday, December 4.—Southsea.** Public Meeting, 2, Kent-road, 3.15 p.m. Speaker: Miss Friend, "The Need for Preferential Tariffs after the War, from the Workers' Point of View." Chair: Miss E. F. Maynard.

### SCOTLAND.

**Glasgow.**  
**Friday, November 22.—Postmen's Federation, Central Halls, Bath Street. 7.45. Miss Wilkie on "Equal Pay."**

**Saturday, November 23.—Springburn Divisional Electoral Committee, at Miss Shennan's, 6.30 p.m.**

**Monday, November 25.—Govanhill A.S.E., E.V., Church Hall, Jamieson-street. 8.15. Miss Dorothy Evans on "Equal Pay."**

**Tuesday, November 26.—South A.S.E., 18, Carlton Place. 8 p.m. Miss Wilkie on Equal Pay.**

**Saturday, November 30.—Whist Drive at 212, Bath Street. 3 p.m. Tickets, 2s. 6d. each.**

### OTHER SOCIETIES.

**Saturday, November 23.—National Union of Trained Nurses.** Public meeting, 3, Vere Street, Oxford Street. Speakers: Dr. Saleeby, Miss Helen Pearse on "Ministry of Health." Chair: Rev. H. R. L. Sheppard.

**Sunday, November 24.—Kingston Church of Humanity, Fife Hall, Fife-road, 7 p.m. Speaker: Miss Margaret Hodge (W.F.L.). Subject: "The Divorce Laws of the British Dominions Overseas."**

**Monday, November 25.—Uxbridge Women's Suffrage Society Meeting, at 69, High Street. 7 p.m.**

**Thursday, November 28.—Penal Reform League.** Annual Meeting, Caxton Hall, Westminster. Speaker: Miss Shaw, Warden of Women's Training Colony. Chair: The Duchess of Marlborough. 7.30 p.m.

### We draw special attention to—

**Our Green, White, and Gold Fair at Caxton Hall, Friday and Saturday, November 22 and 23, at 3 p.m.**

**The Public Meeting in the Minerva Cafe, Wednesday, November 27, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. How Martyn will speak on "My Election Policy."**

### REGULATION 40D.

The following letter was sent by the Women's Freedom League on November 14 to members of Parliament who are interested in the question:

DEAR SIR,—There have been several prosecutions of girls during the past week under Regulation 40D (D.O.R.A.). We urge you to press in the House of Commons either that this iniquitous Regulation be withdrawn at once or that the Government shall guarantee that no further prosecutions take place until the House of Commons meets again after the General Election. This Regulation, as you will remember, was issued by an Order in Council as a special War Regulation, and ought to be abrogated now that the war has practically ceased.

### CASES OF THE WEEK.

#### Bullington Petty Sessions (Oxford).

ADA YOUNG, aged 20, charged (November 2) with inflicting F. J. Holmes, of the Royal Air Force. The prisoner said she did not understand the charge, and was bound over and placed under the care of the Police Commissioner for six months.

#### Hull Police Court.—First Case in Hull.

A WOMAN charged (November 12) under 40D. The case was adjourned to await the result of a bacteriological examination.

#### Marylebone Police Court.—Stronger Measures Called For.

A WOMAN charged on remand (November 12) under 40 D. Mr. Muskett said the examination by the prison doctor did not show disease, but he left the case to be dealt with by the magistrate.

Dr. F. E. Forward, senior medical officer at Holloway Prison (of forcible feeding fame), said that the negative result of his examination was not conclusive proof that the woman had not got the disease. He had known examinations made over a good many months to be negative, and then you might get a positive one. It was also quite true that a woman might be diseased without knowing it.

Mr. Dagg, defending, said that 75 per cent. of these prosecutions failed.

The prisoner was discharged. Mr. Dagg asked for costs against the Commissioner for bringing an unfounded charge against her. The magistrate refused, and said he thought the solicitor was very lucky.

A GIRL, aged 18, charged on remand (November 12), was said to have the disease in an acute form. The magistrate (Mr. d'Eyncourt) delivered an affecting homily, and sentenced her to four months' imprisonment, and remarked that of course 40 D was merely emergency legislation, and it was very desirable that a more stringent regulation should be adopted.

### The Northern Men Again!

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage continues its resolute opposition to Regulation 40 D, and will fight to a finish for its abolition and against any legislation which reintroduces the hated and futile Contagious Diseases Acts, abolished as a result of Josephine Butler's great life work. The Federation has held an important protest meeting this week at The Mound, Edinburgh, and has sent to the Prime Minister the following letter, signed by the President and members of the Executive:—

#### 40D and the Coalition Government.

DEAR SIR,—In view of the coming General Election and the resolute opposition of the Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage to 40 D Regulation (D.O.R.A.), the National Executive of the N.M.F. respectfully desire to be informed if it is the intention of the Coalition Government immediately to: (1) Withdraw the Regulation, and (2) forbid the application of its principle in the Criminal Law Amendment and Sexual Offences Bill should the Coalition Government be returned to power.

Mr. R. Ferguson, hon. sec. of the Glasgow Centre of the Federation, makes the following candid comment on the constant attacks on the position and liberty of women:—

"The fight seems to be never-ending, notwithstanding the lavish and in some instances patronisingly nauseating praise bestowed on women for all they have done, and the position of equality which their labours, devotion, and self-sacrifice have assured for them."

### A Deserved Tribute.

We are glad to note that Mr. Maurice Gregory, secretary of the Friends' Association for the Promotion of Social Purity, is the man of the week in the *Christian Commonwealth*, November 13, and warm tribute is paid to his lifelong service in the cause for which Josephine Butler fought, and his resolute opposition to any return to the hated Contagious Diseases Acts by 40D or other legislation.

### Women's Interests in Parliament.

#### Regulation 40D. Government Still Obstinate.

LORD H. CAVENDISH-BENTINCK asked the Prime Minister whether the Government would take steps to withdraw 40D, because it was regarded as offensive by women, was unjust between men and women and between one woman and another, and futile as a health measure.

MR. BRACE could not agree, but a Committee was inquiring into its working.

MR. DILLON: Would not the operation of 40D be, in common justice, suspended till the Committee's Report, or till the House has had an opportunity of discussing the matter?

LORD H. CAVENDISH-BENTINCK: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that this question will militate very largely against the success of the Prime Minister at the next election unless he removes it?

MR. HERBERT SAMUEL asked when the Committee would report.

MR. BRACE could not say, but would see if he could expedite the Report.

MR. DILLON pressed for an answer. *Would 40D be suspended pending the Report, or the House be afforded an opportunity of giving a decision on the matter?*

MR. BRACE: No; I cannot promise that.

#### Women Army Doctors. Bill Refused.

COLONEL THORNE asked (November 12) why the War Office refuse commissions to women doctors, and would action be taken.

MR. MACPHERSON was informed that even if the Government agreed to the proposal there was no possibility of the necessary legislation being introduced this session.

### "Woman As Citizen."

By A. E. Metcalfe, B.S.C.

This is one of the most useful books published for women Parliamentary and Local Government voters. It has also a fund of information for all who are interested in the way we are governed. In a nutshell it deals with the Privy Council, the high offices of State, the new electorate, Parliamentary procedure, the Courts of Law, Juries, Local Government, etc., etc. Indeed it gives women just the information they are seeking on all these matters; and above and beyond all it is furnished with a full index. It is a marvel of brevity and clearness; is only 2s. 6d. (post free 2s. 8d.), and can be obtained from our Literature Stall at our Green, White, and Gold Fair, or from the Women's Freedom League headquarters, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C. 1.

### IN MEMORIAM.

We deeply regret to record the death of Mr. Peters, of Thatcham, Berks, from influenza after a two-days' illness. Mr. and Mrs. Peters were among the earliest members of our Thatcham Group, and both were working hard to transform this group into a flourishing branch. We offer our heartfelt sympathy to Mrs. Peters in her irreparable loss.

It is with sincere regret that we record the death of the artist soldier son of Mr. and Mrs. Philip Thomas, of Clapham, who died of pneumonia in a military hospital in Essex. Readers will remember that their eldest son was killed in action. We offer Mr. and Mrs. Thomas our heartfelt sympathy in the loss of their two sons.

## THE VOTE.

Proprietors:—THE MINERVA PUBLISHING CO., LTD.  
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FRIDAY, November 22nd, 1918.

NOTICE.—Letters should be addressed as follows:—  
To the Editor—on all editorial matters.

To the Advertising Manager—on advertising.

To the Secretary—on all other business, including Vorn orders, printing, and merchandise, etc.

Telephone: MUSEUM 1429

Telegrams: "DESPARD, Museum 1429, London."

### EDITORIAL.

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

### SUBSCRIPTION RATE.

At Home and Abroad ... post free, 6/6 per annum.

## OUR MESSAGE TO THE ELECTORS.

December 14 has been fixed as the date of the General Election, and it is the duty of all enfranchised men and women to record their votes. Democracy does not consist merely in the conferment of equal rights and power on individuals, but rather in the full use of their rights and power by all members of the community. Never in the history of our country was any election of such momentous importance as the one with which we are now faced, and, for the first time, women as well as men will be responsible for the issues. Not only has each elector a stake in his or her country, but has also a direct concern in the politics of the whole world, for on the men and women who are returned to the House of Commons will depend largely the personnel of the Government which, together with our Allies, will have to secure the Peace of the World and lay the foundations of a new order of things which is to replace the civilisation buried on the battlefields of Europe, Asia, and Africa during the last four years.

The task before the democracies of the world is stupendous; no other form of Government could undertake it, and it can only be carried out successfully, without world bankruptcy, if men and women bring into the realm of politics all the enlightenment at their command, and return those candidates to Parliament in whom they have the highest confidence. Parties may come and parties may go, but the great need of our nation and of the world now is that power should be given to men and women of sterling character, of good record, sound sense, and trained minds, men and women who cannot be bribed, flattered, or threatened to depart from those principles for which they stand. Throughout the whole period of the war men and women have together worked, struggled, and suffered. The King has recognised this, and has included women in his thanks to the Navy, the Army, and the Royal Air Force—women having been the auxiliaries of each of these forces; and women must shoulder with men the burden of the reconstruction of the future.

With regard to women candidates, the Women's Freedom League, by a resolution passed at its last National Executive Committee Meeting, has decided to support women of any or no party provided that they support the policy of our League and our programme of work, and provided also that our local members, or our branches in their constituencies, agree to support these women. If women candidates can gain the confidence of our local members, and are prepared to support our policy and work we feel that the League is justified in according to them all the help that it can give.

With reference to men candidates we urge our friends, both men and women electors, to attend all the meetings of these candidates, question them

closely, and, before deciding to vote for them or to help them in any way, to find out what they are prepared to do, if elected, in the way of securing an equal franchise for men and women, the opening of all high offices of State, the higher grade posts in the Civil Service, and all professions to women on equal terms with men, the securing of equal pay for equal work to men and women, and equal opportunities and responsibilities for men and women throughout all branches of our national life. Candidates should also be asked to pledge themselves to work for the immediate withdrawal of the infamous Regulation 40D, and to oppose all sex legislation which in operation is unfair to women as compared with men; further, that candidates should urge the necessity of a woman magistrate on every Bench, and an equal number of women with men on all juries. A record of these replies should be sent to this office, where they will be filed for future reference.

At our Parliamentary Election to be held at Caxton Hall this week the Women's Freedom League will, as usual, be ahead of the times. All the candidates—Conservative, Liberal, Labour, and Independent—will be women; all present over the age of twenty-one will be voters, and the election count will be arranged and carried out under the system of proportional representation, the Returning Officer also being a woman! We have prophesied in the past and our prophecies have come true. Shall we add to our prophecies a further one: That as time goes on women will more and more prominently take their share in public life, and that at no distant date there will be throughout the country an equal number of men and women candidates for Parliamentary honours?

It is a paramount necessity that some women candidates should become members of the next House of Commons. Women's special knowledge and special training are a great asset to the nation, and the nation should have the advantage of realising their value. Parliament itself has recognised the need of women's service on the numerous committees which deal with affairs of national importance; and women especially who have for years worked in the interests of women and children have long been convinced of the urgency of having the women's point of view expressed by women in the House of Commons. We feel sure we can confidently appeal to both men and women electors to secure the return of suitable women to the next Parliament.

As for women electors, we are convinced that they will not fail the country at the present time. Those of us who worked for the vote so strenuously realised the necessity of a constitutional weapon with which to fight for the reforms we demanded. We believed in evolution, not revolution. We knew that the vote alone could bring pressure to bear on members of the House of Commons in the redress of grievances. We have secured the vote, and even before we have had a chance to use it the fact that women were potential voters proved a powerful weapon in securing for women equal pay for equal work with men in various branches of industry, and in opening to women the doors of membership to the House of Commons. Women have now a real power in the land; they can exercise it inside the political parties to which they belong, and even more effectively by working inside their own organisations outside political parties, bringing to bear upon the latter pressure from the outside to secure the consideration of urgent reforms. Women, if they choose, may convert this great nation of ours into a genuine, powerful, and enlightened democracy, in which the freedom of the individual is ensured, and full opportunity of efficient citizenship is granted to every man, woman, and child in the community.

F. A. UNDERWOOD.

## WOMEN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT. THE HOUSE OF LORDS AND THE BILL.

The Parliament (Qualification of Women) Bill was passed without amendment by the House of Lords on November 15, and, with the King's signature, becomes the law of the land. On a division noble lords defeated, by 33 votes to 14, an amendment, moved by Lord Haldane, to enable peeresses in their own right to sit in the House of Lords, and so put themselves into the absurd position of declaring that though a woman may occupy the throne and be elected to the House of Commons the door of the House of Lords is bolted and barred to her. The arguments against the amendment put forward by Lord Islington, the Lord Chancellor, and others, were justly characterised by Lord Selborne and Lord Haldane as lame and futile trifling with the intelligence of the members of the House. Women, who have so often seen how the House of Lords has withstood the will of the people, and afterwards been obliged to capitulate ignominiously, can await the speedy débâcle on this question with equanimity, leaving the recalcitrant lords to the ridicule of the country, while acclaiming the wisdom of those who wished to see justice done. But why were not other champions of equality there to overcome the Die-Hard-Out-of-Dates?

A summary of the debate follows:

### Second Reading.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (LORD ISLINGTON), moving the Second Reading, said: The brevity of this Bill is no indication of its importance in the future constitutional machinery of Parliament. It grants a far-reaching extension of discretion on the part of the electors in deciding who is to represent them in the House of Commons. It removes one of the last sex barriers that now exist in our constitutional system and affirms that women are to have an equal right with men to the primary privilege of citizenship.

It is not only on the floor of the House of Commons that a woman, if successful at the polls, will be of service in the future Parliament; neither will it be only on the public platforms of the country. Your Lordships will, I hope, agree that their influence and advice will be of the greatest value in those Committees which will have to be formed to work out the details of the vast number of questions that will arise in the years to come. Under the present system a woman may be placed upon a Departmental Committee, but until she becomes a member of Parliament she could not be a member of any of our Parliamentary Committees, Select Committees, or Joint Committees of both Houses.

VISCOUNT CHAPLIN: Women do not think, as a rule, that they ought to be Members of Parliament. Then why on earth, if you believe that, did you not postpone this Bill till after the Election and submit the question of women coming into Parliament to the women themselves? I believe we made a great and hurried mistake in introducing controversial legislation of this character at all in defiance of all the pledges and statements, made by man after man occupying leading positions in the Government. I ask your Lordships to allow me to move now, that this Bill be read a second time on this day six months.

### Left High and Dry.

VISCOUNT HALDANE: I feel it necessary to dissociate myself from my noble friend. He presents a magnificent spectacle of one left high and dry upon the beach. The currents are flowing into the ocean, and it is perhaps as well that his bark is not in peril on that ocean. To say that it matters that a woman cannot vote until she is thirty, and yet can be chosen for sitting in the House of Commons at the age at which Mr. Pitt was chosen, seems to me beside the point. I have the very strongest conviction that this Bill is irresistible, and I am glad that the Government have been the interpreters of public opinion in bringing it forward.

LORD BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH: Though I think it an outrage upon Parliamentary procedure, I do not think it would be reasonable for this House to reject the Bill on this Motion, because that cannot be undone without the Bill passing again through the other House of Parliament, and I will not take the responsibility for that.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: It is difficult, when Parliament has given votes to women, for this House to reject a Bill coming from the House of Commons proposing to give the right to sit in the House of Commons to any woman who is returned there by a constituency. I feel that it is very

desirable that we should not have a quarrel with the House of Commons on a matter affecting the constitution of that House, a contest in which I am sure this House would ultimately be beaten.

VISCOUNT CHAPLIN, replying to the appeal of the Lord Chancellor that he would not press his Amendment: I feel I should be departing from my duty if I wavered.

On Question, whether the word "now" shall stand part of the Motion, it appearing that thirty Lords were not present, the LORD CHANCELLOR declared the Question not decided. On the resumption of the debate on November 13 Viscount Chaplin's amendment was negatived without a division.

### Committee Stage.

#### Peeresses and the House of Lords.

VISCOUNT HALDANE: My Lords, my Amendment is to insert, after "Parliament," the words "or from receiving a Writ of Summons to the House of Lords or from sitting and voting in that House." I wish to say at once that I am quite aware that there will be more to be covered than my Amendment covers in order to make it perfect. Therefore, with your Lordships' consent, I propose to move just the initial word to raise the question of principle, because after the principle is settled we can easily, and on the spot if necessary, put in language which will cover all that requires to be dealt with. The nation has decided, and other nations have decided, and the whole tendency of the time is to put women on an equality with men as far as taking part in Parliamentary institutions is concerned. The principle of the country is to remove all sex disability so far as Parliament is concerned.

Your Lordships having, on the Second Reading, given a general assent to the principle, all that remains is to pass it in a form that is not ragged but self-consistent, by extending what is proposed to be extended to the House of Commons to this House also—namely, the principle that sex should not be a disqualification from sitting and voting. That seems to me to be a principle so widely accepted that, coupled with the disposition of your Lordships not to oppose yourselves to anything upon which the nation has clearly pronounced by public opinion. To my mind we should stultify ourselves and put ourselves in an altogether false position if we were to say, "Oh, we are quite ready to allow women to sit in the House of Commons, but we refuse to have them in the House of Lords."

The legal question is a question of principle. It is a question of repealing, as I think the country desires to do, that inrooled principle of the Common Law which forbids a woman to occupy a public office. That is a principle which has been deeply imbedded in our Common Law and which has been gradually changed, and women have been recognised as the equal of men in respect of holding property and in almost every other respect except political rights. Now, it is obvious that the country desires to lay down the principle that in respect of political rights they should be equal also.

THE UNDER-SECRETARY OF STATE FOR INDIA (LORD ISLINGTON): My Lords, I regret that I cannot accept the Amendment. Speaking for myself my action is due to no hostility whatever to the actual proposal that is embodied in the Amendment—namely, that Peeresses in their own right should have the right to sit in the House of Lords.

The inclusion in the Bill of the grant to Peeresses of the right to sit in this House would be inappropriate to the sense and the spirit of this Bill, the object of which is to grant eligibility to women to be nominated for and elected by a constituency to the House of Commons.

[THE EARL OF SELBORNE: No.]

At present there are twenty Peeresses in their own right. Nine of these Peeresses possess Baronies by Writ. In those cases, I am given to understand, it is by no means certain that the removal of the sex disqualification would be sufficient to enable them to sit in this House. There are also eleven Peerages conferred by Letters Patent, and in those cases it is not deemed sufficient merely to remove the sex disqualification, the Letters Patent in each case granting the right to men to sit who succeed to Peerages but exclude women who so succeed. To enable those ladies to sit and vote it would be necessary, therefore, for your Lordships to supply the deficiency at present in the Letters Patent—an operation, I venture to say, beyond the scope of this Bill.

It would be necessary to amend the Statute regulating the election of Scottish Representative Peers—again an operation which would necessitate another Amendment, and one which I think goes beyond the scope of this Bill. If it is desired to grant Peeresses in their own right the privilege to sit in this House, the object will be best effected, and will be effected also in accordance with proper precedent, by a separate Bill, dealing properly and adequately with the whole Constitutional machinery which will be thereby disturbed.

### Why Not Do a Common Sense Piece of Business?

THE EARL OF SELBORNE: The title of the Bill, deliberately chosen, is "An Act to Amend the Law with respect to the Capacity of Women to sit in Parliament." If Parliament does not include the House of Lords, I have to learn what it does include. If this Bill had been meant only to deal with the House of Commons, it would have said so. The title of this Bill is quite deliberately drawn to cover both Houses of Parliament, and, so far as I am aware, your Lordships' House is still one of the Houses of Parliament. If no precedent has been set before, I think it is quite time a precedent was set. I cannot think that the foundations of the Constitution would tumble about our ears if, for the first time, we did an ordinary, practical, and common sense piece of business.

Peereesses in their own right, although they have never sat in your Lordships' Chamber, have fulfilled a position in the State for many centuries. The mere fact of a woman being a Peereess in her own right proves that there was something which in the eyes of the law she could do. She has had a *status*—a very ancient *status*—such as no woman has ever had in relation to the House of Commons. She has continued in her person through the centuries the hereditary right of a man to sit in this Chamber. Therefore if there is any difference between the two, the difference is entirely in favour of the Peereess in her own right. And in what an extraordinary position we should be. A woman may sit on the Throne; a woman may sit in the House of Commons; but the one place where she is not to sit is in the House of Lords. I cannot understand on what grounds of reason opposition can be offered to this proposal if you are going to admit women into the House of Commons.

We are told that the Bill will be jeopardised by these Amendments being put in. That is not the fact. It may be wise or unwise to allow Peereesses to sit here. That is a question on which we have our opinions. But to say that if you do it you will jeopardise the Bill is simply playing with your Lordships.

I submit to your Lordships that, while it is perfectly fair to take a vote on the issue whether in your judgment it is or is not advisable to let Peereesses in their own right sit in your Lordships' House, none of the reasons that my noble friend has given—the inappropriateness of the occasion; the extraordinary difficulties of the Amendments— is an argument worthy of your Lordship's consideration.

VISCOUNT HALDANE: The first and only question is the question of principle, and on that I propose to ask your Lordships to give the sense of the House.

### Some Other Time!

THE LORD CHANCELLOR (LORD FINLAY): The distinction between the seat of a woman in the House of Commons and the seat of a woman who happens to be a Peereess in her own right in this House, is surely very evident indeed. A Peereess in her own right acquires that dignity by descent from a man, or very often by the grant of a Peerage in the case of some distinguished man, who happens not to have a son, having remainder to a daughter. But where a woman desires to enter the House of Commons she must submit herself to the judgment of a constituency, and her title to sit there is derived from the votes of the constituency which has chosen to elect her. Surely that is a very broad and real distinction between the two cases.

Reform of the House of Lords, of which we have heard a great deal of late years, has always proceeded on the line of requiring some qualification other than birth for a seat in this Assembly. Is it desirable to introduce a certain number of ladies—twenty ladies? There may be more, because in many cases there may be Baronies by Writ patent and obscured by the fact that there has been a creation by Patent afterwards. They might merge. There may be more, but I will say twenty. Is it desirable to go to the extent of altering the constitution of this House by saying that these ladies *ipso facto* shall be qualified to sit in the House and shall be deemed to have received a Writ of Summons; or rather to enact that the Crown is to issue a Writ of Summons to such ladies whatever the terms of the grant in the first instance were? I should suggest to my noble and learned friend that any Amendment on anything like the lines of that which he has put on the Paper would be quite insufficient. The matter, if it were ever seriously taken up, would in all probability have to be dealt with by a Committee to inquire into its effect on the privileges of the House, and the way to deal with those past grants which are entirely silent on the question of the right to sit in this House.

The result of the division was:

### CONTENTS.

Chesterfield, E.; Russell, E.; Selborne, E.; Sandhurst, V. (L. Chamberlain); Churchill, V.; Haldane, V. (Teller); St. Davids, V.; Burnham, L.; Colebrooke, L.; Emmott, L.; Muir Mackenzie, L.; Rotherham, L. (Teller); Somerleyton, L.; Stuart of Wortley, L.

### NOT-CONTENTS.

Canterbury, L. Abp.; Finlay, L. (L. Chancellor); Wigan, L. (E. Crawford) (L. Privy Seal); Argyll, D.; Salisbury, M.; Eldon, E.; Howe, E.; Jersey, E.; Lindsay, E.; Lucan, E.; Stanhope, E.; Hutchinson, V. (E. Donoughmore); Knollys, V.; Peel, V.; Armaghdale, L. (Teller); Avebury, L.; Barrymore, L.; Cawley, L.; Clinton, L.; Dinevor, L.; Elphinstone, L.; Fairfax of Cameron, L.; Forester, L.; Gisborough, L. (Teller); Hylton, L.; Islington, L.; Lamington, L.; Oranmore and Browne, L.; Ranksborough, L.; Revelstoke, L.; Saltoun, L.; Shandon, L.; Stanmore, L.

Resolved in the negative, and Amendment disagreed to accordingly. Clause 1 agreed to. Remaining clause agreed to.

Bill reported without amendment, read 3a, and passed.

Among the peereesses entitled to take their seats in the House of Lords are:—

Duchess of Fife (Princess Arthur of Connaught); Countess of Cromartie; Countess Roberts; Viscountess Wolseley; Viscountess Rhondda; Lady De Ros; Lady Fauconberg and Conyers (Countess of Yarborough); Lady Zouche; Lady Beaumont; Lady Darcy de Knayth (Countess of Powis); Lady Berkeley; Lady Wentworth; Lady Lucas; Lady Macdonald of Earncliffe; Lady Amherst of Hackney; Lady Burton; Lady Strathcona; Lady Dorchester.

### SOME OF OUR YOUNG WAR POETS.

By MARGARET WYNNE NEVINSON.

This war has brought us an outburst of poetry comparable only with that of the Elizabethan age amid the turmoils and triumphs of the stormy but glorious reign of the Virgin Queen.

*Aus meinen grossen Schmerzen  
Mach' ich die kleine Lieder*

writes Heine, and it is little wonder that the long-drawn tragedy of the war—the agony and bloody sweat of countless millions of young men—have driven them to find expression in the written word for the many and varied emotions and experiences of the battlefield. Hitherto most of our war poetry and painting has been produced from the inner consciousness in the calm and quietness of the library and studio; the long *Pax Britannica* which gave us Kipling and Newbolt and many others demanded no military service from poets and artists, but the young men of to-day, who answered the call of their country, have themselves been through the hell of modern warfare, and they paint war as they see it, regardless of the squeamish, in all its terror and desolation, its squalor and foulness, the sleepless nights, the weariness, the boredom, the blood and agony, the hideous wounds, the unburied dead, the mud, the stench, the rats and lice, the nerve-racking roar of the great guns, and the intermittent crack of the sniper's rifle.

Others sing in the glad temper of the happy warrior who has thrown up everything in the joy of sacrifice to fight for liberty and justice; they see the vision of a crusade for righteousness when, in the early days of August, 1914, the world stood aghast at the spectacle of a great nation running amok, invading neutral territory in violation of treaties, and slaughtering helpless peasants on their own land. We find this spirit in the sonnets of Rupert Brooke, and in the poems of Lieut. W. N. Hodgson, M.C., Captain the Hon. Julian Grenfell, D.S.O., Captain C. H. Sorley (all, alas! taken from us), Sergeant J. W. Streets, Lieut. E. F. Wilkinson, M.C., and many others.

A few write in the jovial, barbaric spirit of the sportsman, and sing the glories of war as a great game; there is little love-poetry (or perhaps it is not published), but much has been written hymning the joy and love of nature, the passionate home-sickness for the motherland, and the saneness and delight of simple things in keeping men from madness. One may quote as examples: "Fome thoughts in

Laventie" by Lieut. the Hon. E. Wyndham Tennant (killed in action), "As the leaves fall" by Lieut. J. Courtney, "The Beach Road by the Wood" by Lieut. Geoffrey Howard, as well as poems by the aforementioned poets, and, last but not least, those by Lieut. R. Nichols.

You were only their fathers,  
I was their officer—

writes Lieut. E. A. Mackintosh to the fathers of men killed in action. The pride of the officers in their men, the surpassing valour and devotion of the vast host of common, unknown men, the comradeship and affection of all those fighting together in a common cause, a love passing the love of women is beautifully expressed in the verses by Robert Nichols:

Was there love once? I have forgotten her;  
Was there grief once? Grief yet is mine.  
O loved, living, dying, heroic soldier,  
All, all, my joy, my grief, my love are thine!

There rings through many poems the note of bitter regret for dead friends, for the wasted youth and wasted genius of those gone hence, the angry revolt against the cruel sufferings of simple men, the eternal *lachrymæ rerum*. The fear of being afraid haunts many, that nightmare of those gifted with imagination; that "fears were liars" is proved by the long list of honours gained by these Sunday children, and the last and greatest honour of the wooden cross given to only too many; this note rings in the poem "Big Words" of Captain Robert Graves and "Soliloquy" by R. Aldington. There is no bitterness to the enemy, no hymns of hate; "To Germany" by Captain C. Sorley is the poem which perhaps best expresses the large-hearted understanding of the British soldier, and Second-Lieut. C. N. Brand's "Before Battle."

We are told sometimes that the younger generation has little or no feeling for religion, but at least respect for the sixth commandment seems to have been instilled into the minds of many; those of us who have nursed soldiers in delirium or under anaesthetics know well, in spite of the absolution of the Church, the agonised remorse for deeds they had to do which seems to haunt their inmost souls. Wilfred W. Gibson sings of this in many fine verses. I have only space for one:

This bloody steel Has killed a man. I heard him squeal As on I ran.	Though clean and clear I've wiped the steel, I still can hear That dying squeal.
--	---

There are others who are not soldiers by predilection, some of them young men who have left the universities and their school benches at the call of their country; they have kept the open mind and critical faculties of their class and training and do not hesitate to show up the weak places of the military system and the hypocrisies of the civilian. There is great bitterness towards the old men (in some cases even to women) and to the war profiteer. To this category belong Lieut. Siegfried Sassoon, M.C., W. W. Gibson, Captain Sitwell, Richard Aldington, Major H. F. Constantine, "Miles," and others. The first may be called the Juvenal of the great war, and his two volumes, "The Old Huntsman" and "Counter Attack," are a bitter and unsparring attack on the stupidity and unspeakable abominations of war. Captain Sitwell's poems, "The Eternal Club," "Armchair," R. Aldington's terrible verses "The Blood of the Young Men," and the satires of "Miles," "Sheep Song" and "The Modern Abraham," are all written in the same vein.

Some critics question whether this war poetry will live. It is possible that we who have lived through this cataclysm may have our critical faculties dulled by the admiration and passionate pity we feel for

what these sensitive artist souls have suffered in this cruel tragedy to which their mothers bore them, but whilst the youngest amongst us remembers the Great War all that they wrote will be read with deep interest by the few who read poetry, and (if I am not greatly mistaken) much will live on as long as the English language lasts.

In connection with Mrs. Nevinson's lecture and article on "Some of our Young War Poets," readers will be interested to know that the following books can be obtained from the Literature Department of the Women's Freedom League, 144, High Holborn, London, W.C. 1.

POEMS WRITTEN DURING THE GREAT WAR. George Allen, 40, Museum-street. 2s. 6d.

THE MUSE IN ARMS. John Murray, Albemarle-street, W. 6s.

BATTLE, Wilfred Wilson Gibson. Elkin Matthews, Cork-street, W. 1s.

FRIENDS, Wilfred Wilson Gibson. Elkin Matthews, Cork-street, W. 1s.

WHEELS (Collection of Modern Poets (Men and Women)). B. H. Blackwell, Broad-street, Oxford. 2 vols., 3s. 6d. each.

NEW PATHS: Verse, Prose, Pictures. C. W. Beaumont, 75, Charing Cross-road. 7s.

THE HOUSE OF TIME, C. Neville Brand, R.N.V.R. Elkin Matthews. 1s. 3d.

ARDOURS AND ENDURANCES, Robert Nichols. Chatto and Windus. 6s.

FAIRIES AND FUSILIERS, Robert Graves. W. Heinemann. 3s. 6d.

THE OLD HUNTSMAN, S. Sassoon. W. Heinemann. 5s.

COUNTER-ATTACK, S. Sassoon. W. Heinemann. 3s. 6d.

A LAP FULL OF SEED, Max Plowman. B. H. Blackwell, Broad-street, Oxford.

### THE PEACE FESTIVAL.

By S GERTRUDE FORD.

A reconstructed world—  
Women and men together!  
White rose, with what tears pearly,  
Opened in halecyon weather!  
How have we wrought and fought  
Through the long winter days—  
Now Spring, beyond our thought,  
Our hope: give thanks, give praise!  
Sing, for the day is ours!  
Light for Love's larks to hymn in  
With feasts, with flags and flowers,  
Rejoice we, men and women!

Nor we alone: our tread  
Is hushed, our glad hearts tremble,  
Where holier light is shed,  
Where the great Dead assemble.  
Their gift with awe, with pride,  
And with thanksgiving take:  
Earth's nobler since they died,  
For ever, for their sake.  
And while our hearts we lift,  
Their sacrifice saluting,  
O let us take their gift,  
With hands its whiteness suiting!

Conquered, at last, the Night,  
As Israel conquered Edom;  
Ended, the long, long fight—  
Sons, daughters, here is Freedom!  
Up! to keep happy tryst  
Of Peace with Righteousness:  
Up! in the name of Christ,  
To new, still new, success!  
Let all His lambs be fed  
In lands grown strong and stronger,  
And souls be sold for bread,  
White maiden souls, no longer!

Who, being freedom's heir,  
But to fresh heights would track it?  
Let us go forth to share  
The boon with all who lack it;  
With even our foes—the sword  
Is sheathed; its doom is writ,  
This is the day the Lord  
Has made; rejoice in it!  
The rose with leaves yet curled  
Shall crown the primrose weather—  
Sing, and rebuild the world,  
Women and men together!

FRIDAY,  
NOV. 22,  
1918.

# THE VOTE

ONE  
PENNY  
WEEKLY.

Organ of the Women's Freedom League.

## Our "Wednesdays."

On November 13 Miss Margaret Hodge, dealing with "Women as Legislators," contended that whereas men had most frequently proved themselves to be mere opportunists as law-makers, content to formulate temporary measures to overcome immediate difficulties, the comparatively few women who had had the opportunity of framing laws, had proved themselves to be much further-sighted, regarding themselves as trustees for the future. Summarising the work of Theodora, the wife of Justinian, of the Abbess Hilda and Queen Elizabeth, Miss Hodge stated that the legislation of these women was based on a sense of futurity. The laws also of Maria Theresa and Catherine of Russia were models of wisdom and toleration. Coming to later times and newer countries the speaker demonstrated how the women after they had secured the vote in Australia and New Zealand had secured the passing of laws against the possibility of sweating, in favour of a minimum wage, of equal pay for equal work, and of the abolition of child labour.

## City Temple.

Miss Maude Royden preaches in the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, next Sunday, at the 11 a.m. service. (The Work of the Y.W.C.A.).

## BRANCH NOTES.

### Offices: Glasgow, 212, Bath-street.

Emphatic support of the principle of Equal Pay was given at a mass meeting of postal employees in Glasgow on November 15. The main resolution was proposed and seconded by two members of our League and carried with acclamation. Our speakers are visiting trade union branches, and next week they will speak to the Postmen's Federation and two branches of the Engineers (see Forthcoming Events).

Members are reminded that there is to be a whist drive in aid of our funds, on Saturday, November 30, at 3 p.m. We should like at least two more prizes, please. Send to the Office for your tickets, 2/6 each.

### Nottingham.

On her return North on November 12, Miss Evans spent a short time at Nottingham. In the afternoon

she spoke at the Women's Meeting at the adult school, and later at the meeting of the Women's Police Court Association (watch the Courts), held at Mrs. Dowson's house in the park, where she also sold copies of THE VOTE. In the evening a Women's Freedom League meeting was held at Morley's Café, at which there was a crowded attendance. Mrs. Bolton spoke earnestly and with great appreciation of the work of the Women's Police Court Association, started here by the League last April, and which is doing a magnificent work already. The secretary appealed urgently for gifts for the Green, White, and Gold Fair, and for money (£5 is needed. Will someone kindly send it to Miss Petty, 43, Bingham-road, Sherwood?) for the work of the Women's Police Court Association. We have an excellent Woman Probationary Officer, who helps us in our work, and whom we feel we must support with all our might. She needs money for lawyer's fees and for women doctors' fees, especially in 40D cases. Miss Evans gave one of her usual earnest and well thought-out and well-expressed speeches, which roused everyone's interest in "What Women M.P.s have to do." There was an appreciative notice of this meeting in both the Nottingham morning papers the next day.

### Westcliff-on-Sea.

Mrs. Despard spent the afternoon and evening of November 5 at Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex. In the afternoon she addressed a meeting for women only in the Church parlour of the Crowstone Congregational Church (kindly lent for the purpose), explaining the aims of the Women's Freedom League, and giving an account of its history and work. At the close a resolution was passed unanimously that a local branch should be formed. The inaugural meeting was to have been held on November 11, but was postponed owing to the signing of the Armistice. The meeting will be held shortly, when the officers of the Branch will be appointed. In the evening Mrs. Despard addressed a large meeting in connection with the Crowstone Literary Society on "Woman's New-found Freedom and How to Use it." Her address was much appreciated, and interesting questions were answered.

Headquarters wishes the new Branch a most successful and useful career.

## Disarmament of the Nations.

A public meeting to urge a League of *Disarmed* Nations as a practical policy for the Peace Conference will be held at Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, Tuesday, November 26, 7.30 p.m. Speakers: Marion Ellis, Rev. Seaward Beddow, B.A., Jerome K. Jerome, Arthur Ponsonby, Jane E. Strickland (chair), Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d., to be obtained from the secretary, Free Church League, 30, Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, W.C.

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