

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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JOY DAY IN THE FUTURE



[With acknowledgments to Nestlé Milk]

LITTLE GIRL: "Why are you so thin?"
LITTLE BOY: "My father is a Government employee, so my mother was refused maternity benefit when I was born."

(The Fabian Research Committee, in their Report of the Working of the Insurance Act, point out that wives of Government employees are excluded from Maternity Benefit.)

CONTENTS

Our Cartoon	373	Some Novels	379
The Outlook	373	Women under the Insurance Act	380
The Grave. By Carbon-dioxide	374	Should Women Ride Astride?	381
The Insurance Act at Work	375	The True Endowment of Motherhood. By T. O'Meara	381
The Plight of the Voteless Widow	376	Prisons and Prisoners	382
The Case of Mrs. Savage	376	Comparison of Punishments	382
Voteless Women and the State	377	The Rokeby Venus	384
Actions of the Revolutionary Party	378	Forcible Feeding	385
		General News	386
		News of Other Societies	387

DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom; to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

There has been no essential change in the political situation during the past week. It is still uncertain whether agreement will be reached over the Irish question, and whether there is likely to be a general election during the present year.

Mr. Asquith's Own Position

Mr. Asquith made a statement on Wednesday in

last week with regard to his own personal position, which confirms the view taken all along by this paper that the date of his retirement is not far distant. The *Daily News* reports his speech as follows:—

Mr. Asquith, in reply to the toast of "His Majesty's Ministers," said the proposer seemed to have implied at some moments a fixity of tenure in regard to some Ministers. (Laughter.) He was the last person to desire fixity of tenure. Having been now for eight years in the discharge of important and responsible duties, and for nearly six years—six years next month, if he lived so long—at the head of the Government, he was sure they would sympathise with the desire which one who had been exposed to that experience would welcome for some measure of relief.

The view generally prevailing is that Mr. Asquith proposes to retire at the dissolution, provided the Home Rule question has by that time been settled.

The Labour Party in Parliament

Many supporters of labour up and down the country who are themselves keen suffragists often express their astonishment at the opposition which we, in common with other advanced suffragists, show to the official Parliamentary Labour Party. Our explanation that our attitude is based not on our opposition to Labour as such, but to the Labour M.P.'s as allies and supporters of the Liberal Government, fails to convince them, because they have not yet fully realised the extent to which the Liberal Government

is dependent on the docile support of the Labour Party for its retention of office.

How They Saved the Government

We hope, therefore, that they will take due note of the division list on Thursday in last week in the House of Commons, when the Labour Party, having put up one of their own men to support a motion by Mr. Worthington-Evans on the question of the wives of soldiers, all voted against the motion on a division being taken, and thereby saved the Government from defeat by the narrow margin of 37 votes. We are aware, of course, that the Labour M.P.'s will defend themselves by contending that Colonel Seely, on behalf of the Government, promised what was required, but anyone who reads his speech carefully will see that this is exactly what he did not do; he gave honeyed words and any amount of sympathy, but no effective promise. It is on account of actions similar to this in the past that we came to the conclusion that the Labour Party in Parliament was not really an independent party, but a wing of the Liberal Party, and must therefore be held responsible for the hostile attitude of the Government to woman suffrage.

Scottish Women Liberals

The Scottish Women's Liberal Federation, at their annual meeting last week, carried a resolution, by 110 to 86, calling upon the Government to put woman

suffrage on its programme at the earliest opportunity. One of the speakers said that some of the best Liberal workers were leaving the party as the result of its attitude to this question. A further resolution condemning militancy was also carried

The "Rokeby" Venus

The sensation caused by the attack on the famous "Rokeby" Venus by Miss Richardson as a protest against the re-arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, has not in any way subsided during the week. All the principal galleries remain closed, and questions have been asked practically every day in the House of Commons. No workable solution of the difficulty has been discovered by the Government, though Mr. McKenna has tickled the ears of members of Parliament by describing Miss Richardson and other women who have carried out other acts of destruction as "feeble-minded or otherwise mentally deranged."

The Real Tragedy

The real tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that these women are by no means feeble-minded—as anyone reading Miss Richardson's speech in Court can verify for himself. They are determined women, who, whatever view others may take of their actions, have come to the conclusion themselves that by such methods, and by such methods alone, can they drive into the minds of the British public the fact that women are totally dissatisfied with the present conditions.

Who is Responsible?

For this state of affairs—ugly as it is—the Government are absolutely responsible. If they had not first of all ignored the constitutional agitation for woman suffrage, and inflicted outrageous punishment on women for the mildest forms of militancy, if they had not tricked women by false promises, if they had not adopted barbarous and medieval methods in dealing with political prisoners, and if finally they had not put into operation the Cat and Mouse Act, with its provocative public arrests, none of these things would have happened. As it is, we have to thank their folly and incompetence for the state of war which exists to-day between a section of woman suffragists and the community as a whole, a state of war from which there seems no way out except through the defeat of the Government and the passage into law of a woman suffrage measure by a party which start with a clean slate in dealing with this question.

Other Revolutionary Events

A large number of other revolutionary events find a place in the annals of the week. Mr. McKenna's windows were broken by suffragettes on Saturday, and several women were sent to prison for two months for the offence. Birmingham Cathedral was daubed with white paint by women on Sunday night. Dr. Devon, the Prison Commissioner, was attacked by a woman with a whip in Glasgow on Monday. A woman was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment on Tuesday for having been found in the lobby of the House of Commons on the previous day dressed in man's attire, carrying a concealed dog-whip. On Tuesday afternoon several women attempted to address the King and Queen while they were witnessing a performance at the Palladium. Meanwhile both Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter Sylvia have been released from prison as a result of the hunger strike, and are reported to be in a grave condition of health. Other prisoners are being forcibly fed in prison.

The New Naturalization Bill

We print on page 377 the text of the clauses of the new Naturalization Bill, relating to the position of married women. From this it will be seen that British women continue to forfeit their nationality on marrying an alien, and are not reinstated even on the death of their husband. In Australia, where women vote, they do not lose their nationality in this way; but if such married Australian women come to this country they find themselves regarded as aliens. Australian women have accordingly been working to procure a reform in the British law, but the British Government which is responsible for the present Bill has evidently paid no attention to their demand. When women are voters in this country, no laws of this character will be permitted to remain on the Statute Book.

A Half-hearted Bill

We give elsewhere (page 377) the text of the Bill which Mr. Herbert Samuel is introducing on behalf of the Government to alter the conditions of eligibility for municipal bodies. Up till now no married woman (except in London, in Ireland, and, we believe, in Scotland) can be either an elector or

ected to one of these bodies. The new Bill alters this so far as eligibility is concerned by extending it to all residents—men and women—but it still leaves the old restriction as to the right to vote in the ridiculous position of to-day.

The Case of Mrs. Savage

We have received many congratulations upon the success of our efforts to secure the release of Mrs. Savage. Several of the papers reprinted part of our article, of last week, and one devoted its broadsheet on Thursday afternoon to the case. This week our Special Commissioner sends us a short statement of the condition of Mrs. Savage, and supplies us with a complete list of the subscriptions which have been given to her on her behalf to date.

Meeting Next Thursday

We have pleasure in announcing that Mr. Laski, of New College, Oxford, who took part in the Oxford deputation to Mr. Lloyd George last November, and who then challenged him to substantiate his accusations against himself and his colleagues, will speak at the meeting of the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship next Thursday evening, March 26, at Essex Hall, Strand, in addition to Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The meeting is free, and all readers of the paper and their friends are cordially invited. The chair will be taken at 8.30 p.m.

Should Women Ride Astride?

We have decided to open our columns to a discussion of the interesting question, "Should women ride astride?" The matter has been raised by the action of the Kaiser in prohibiting the wives of officers in the German army from riding in this fashion. An attempt is also being made to prove that it is injurious to the bodies of women, but both the doctors who have favoured us with their views on the subject scout this idea.

Our Friends in the Country

We have pleasure in directing the attention of our readers to the fact that we have now included in our advertisement columns the names of several important firms in the large provincial towns of England—Newcastle, Leeds, Bradford, and Bristol. We hope that readers of the paper living in these places will make a special point of transferring their custom to them, so that our boast that VOTES FOR WOMEN is the most profitable advertising medium may continue to be fully justified.

Items of Interest

Enthusiastic meetings have been held by the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship during the past week in Bolton and Birkdale (Southport). Mrs. Pethick Lawrence carrying a strong resolution in both meetings unanimously.

The working of the Insurance Act forms the subject of a special supplement to the *New Statesman*, published last week. We give important extracts dealing with the position of women under the Act, and devote our leading article to a discussion of the subject.

FELLOWSHIP ANNOUNCEMENTS

Fellows are reminded of the free meeting which is being held next Thursday, March 26, at the Essex Hall, at 8.30. The speakers will be Mr. Harold S. Laski, of the Oxford M.P.U., and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

A number of orders have already been received at the offices of the Fellowship for Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners." Fellows are invited to purchase copies for themselves and their friends, as this is a specially valuable opportunity of extending an understanding of the events of the past eight years. Order from the Business Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 3s. 6d. net.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(Up to March 14th, 1914)

Table with 2 columns: Name and Amount. Includes subscriptions from Leeds, Lancashire, Cornwall, and other regions.

THE GRAVE*

Where the stream of the great La Plata Flows down to the ocean wave, In a small and lonely graveyard Is a small and lonely grave, Where lieth an English maiden, Who lived as an English slave.

She was born in a Kentish homestead, She was bred in a Kentish farm, She was loved for her grace and her beauty, For her goodness of heart and charm; And she thought that the world was a heaven Where no one would hurt or harm.

But she went from her home to the city To work for her daily bread, And she met with a polished stranger Who promised to love and wed; But he ruined the comely maiden And shipped her away instead.

From the noisy London dockyards In an emigrant ship she went, And she saw from the deck of the steamer The last of the cliffs of Kent, Where the happiest days of her lifetime, The days of her youth were spent.

They shipped her away to Rio To slave at a loathsome trade In the foulest haunts of the city, Sorrowful, cowed, afraid, And her parents in far off England Lamented their long-lost maid.

She went through a weary existence In a dismal tenement room, Till diseases had broken her vigour And drink had destroyed her bloom; And she passed from the brawl of the brothel To the peace of the pauper's tomb.

Where the stream of the great La Plata Flows down to the ocean wave, In a small and lonely grave, Where lieth an English maiden, Who lived as an English slave.

Carbon-dioxide.

* The above verses are based on a real incident.

EARLY SPRING TAILOR SUITS

The extraordinary demand that has arisen for the new "Poncho" cord material has taken the manufacturers by surprise, and the present supply is practically used up. We, however, anticipated this fashion, and placed such large orders in advance that we have always a large quantity in stock. The newest tailor-mades are made in "Poncho" cords, which are exceptionally smart and dressy and are altogether different from the Tailor Suits of last year.

Smart Suit (as sketch), in the new "Poncho" cords, with waistcoat, collar and cuffs trimmed with tapestry.

Price 5½ guineas.

Debenham & Freebody Wigmore Street, London, W.

THE INSURANCE ACT AT WORK Fabian Report Discloses Grave Injustice to Women—Wives of Government Workers Excluded from Maternity Benefit

In the form of a special supplement to the *New Statesman* for last week, an exceedingly important report has been published concerning the working of the Insurance Act in England. The report is the outcome of enquiries conducted by a Committee of the Fabian Research Department, consisting of 18 medical men, 6 actuaries, 16 Friendly Society officials, 13 Trade Union officials, about 12 barristers, several ex-civil servants, and a number of members of County, Borough, District, or Parish Councils, and of Public Health and Insurance Committees, women as well as men.

From this report we select the passages especially dealing with the position of women. Before doing so, however, we note that no mention whatever is made in the report of the voluntary insurance effected by any home-keeping wives of working men; from which we gather that the number of wives insuring themselves in this way is so small as to be a negligible factor. It remains true, therefore, that some nine or ten million men are insured, and only three or four million women.

Refusal of Sick Pay During Pregnancy The first direct mention of women in the report occurs in reference to pregnancy. "The greatest number of complaints," we are told, "and the most widely felt grievance, have reference to the refusal of sickness benefit to married women insured persons claiming for disablement caused by pregnancy. Pregnancy is not specially mentioned in the Act, and in the few women's friendly societies it was usually excluded by the rules as a ground for sick pay. Thus the Rational Association provides that 'female members shall not be entitled to sickness benefit during pregnancy, except where the sickness is certified by the medical officer of the branch to have no connection with or is not caused by the condition of pregnancy.' And the Newbold Friendly Society lays it down 'that no allowance shall be made for sickness whilst in a state of pregnancy, except for dislocated or broken limbs, small-pox, fever, or other infectious diseases, burns, scalds, and other accidental external bruises, until one month has elapsed from the time of delivery.'"

"It was accordingly taken for granted by many officials accustomed to friendly societies' work that pregnancy gave no ground for claim under the Insurance Act. On the other hand, the Act made no specific exclusion of incapacity caused by pregnancy, and many societies took the contrary view, for which, indeed, they had official authority. Presently, in the alarm caused by the excessive sickness among married women, and perplexed at the contradictory opinions expressed, most societies seem to have made difficulties about admitting claims to sickness benefit where the incapacity to work was certified as due only to pregnancy. Unfortunately, as it seems to us, the Commissioners have not been prompt to guide either the societies or their own inspectorial staff by clear and authoritative decisions, and some of the inspectors have used language which has fortified society officials in a wholesale denial of benefit to married women, amounting, in our judgment, to a disastrous breach of the law.

A Blunder. Pregnancy, it has been repeatedly stated by society officials (and occasionally, as we gather, by the Commissioners' inspectors), is not a disease, but merely a normal function, and as such not entitling to sickness benefit unless complicated by some specific disease. This dictum has, we regret to say, in some societies led to the refusal of a large number of claims. But this is a simple blunder. The statutory ground for claiming sickness benefit is not disease at all, but the incapacity for work, whether caused by specific disease or by bodily or mental disablement. When the incapacity for work exists and is caused solely by the bodily disablement of pregnancy, the claimant is just as much entitled to sickness benefit as if the incapacity had arisen from any specific disease. This was clearly implied by Section 110 of the Commissioners' own handbook to the administration of benefits. Unfortunately, it is still very commonly thought that sickness benefit can be given

only for sickness—that is, for specific disease; and we fear that claims are, in some societies, still being wrongfully rejected on this ground. It is, we learn, now a common practice in some societies to reject absolutely, without further enquiry, any claim in which the incapacity to work, though explicitly certified, is stated to be due to mere pregnancy. If the certificate states the incapacity to be due to anaemia or debility, with or without mention of pregnancy, stringent further enquiry is made, and many such claims are rejected. On the other hand, if the certificate mentions, along with pregnancy as a cause of incapacity, varicose veins or a liability to miscarriage, the claim is usually paid."

"Incapable" of Work The report proceeds to point out that the real difficulty presented by the pregnancy cases lies in the ambiguity of the phrase "incapable of work," which occurs in the Act instead of the phrase "incapable of following his occupation," which had existed in most of the old rules of the friendly societies. The new phrase has sometimes been interpreted to mean "incapable of any work whatsoever." The report proceeds—

"This contention has been pushed to a cruel extremity by—we fear—many societies in the case of claims by married women, whether in connection with pregnancy or otherwise. When the doctor certifies that the pregnant woman is 'incapable of work' he means usually that it is undesirable, in the interests alike of her own health and that of the coming infant, that she should undergo the physical and mental strain of the ten or twelve hours' working day, lifting heavy weights or continually standing in mill or warehouse, amid the noise, the heat, the atmosphere, and the smells of the workplace. She is, in fact, on this very ground prohibited by law from working in a factory within four weeks after her confinement, and often forbidden or discouraged by employers from coming within three or four months of that event. But the woman is not under these circumstances usually incapable of any kind of work—in fact, the doctor usually advises her to occupy herself in light household duties and easy outdoor exercise, as positively advantageous to her health. We do not think that adequate consideration can have been given to these hundreds of thousands of cases either by the Government, the actuaries whose advice it followed, or by the members of the House of Commons—a fact which seems to indicate some drawbacks to exclusively male legislation affecting women."

Many Thousands of Women Refused Benefit. "Most Approved societies seem to have dealt with the matter reasonably enough, objecting if the woman seemed up to a heavy day's work, but not objecting if she did only light household duties, such as a man at home on sick pay might do without comment. Other societies, however—either demurring altogether to sick pay for pregnancy or else alarmed at the extent of their liabilities—have decided that if the woman can be proved to be capable of tidying up her rooms, looking after her children, or even boiling the kettle (the proof being that she is, in her enforced home-keeping, found doing one of these things, perhaps actually by her doctor's advice), she is not 'incapable of work' according to the terms of the Act, and therefore not entitled to sickness benefit. In this way many thousands of women's claims have been, and are still being, rejected in circumstances in which the claim of the home-keeping man is allowed as a matter of course."

Arbitrary Restrictions The report proceeds to deal with arbitrary restrictions enforced by the societies upon their members during receipt of sickness benefit. "The most serious cases of injustice brought to our notice," it says, "are those of women who have (we fear in many hundreds of cases) had their sickness benefit prematurely stopped in some societies because they were found, within their own homes, doing this or that slight household task, or even 'attending to the children,' on the ground that this was in-

fringing the old rule (not 'in the prescribed form') forbidding a member to 'perform any description of work' or 'do any manner of work'—not, as the Commissioners lay it down in respect of benefit during the four weeks' confinement, 'remunerative work.' We recognise that the difficulty of administering sickness benefit in the case of married women is a real one; but Parliament having decided that they should have this benefit, we do not think that they ought to be deprived of it by administrative action."

General Diseases By the Insurance Act societies are permitted to suspend benefits on the ground that "the disease or disablement has been caused by the misconduct of the person claiming the benefit." The Fabian Committee find that "they often definitely withhold sickness benefit on grounds which cannot be considered as covered by the term 'misconduct.'" Thus some societies have rules definitely "refusing sickness benefit to all persons disabled by 'venereal diseases.' It is cruel," says the Committee, "to ignore the fact that many sufferers from venereal diseases are in no sense the victims of their own personal misconduct, which is the only thing the Act penalises; and that no society is empowered to deny sickness benefit to innocent married women, for instance, being themselves insured persons, who have the horrible misfortune to suffer from their husband's misconduct. We cannot refrain from saying that it seems to be the duty of the Commissioners, having apparently formally sanctioned rules of this sort, to take prompt action to get them amended so as to be in conformity with the law."

Another serious injustice is the difficulty which some married women insured persons are finding in getting their maternity benefit, and even occasionally their sickness benefit, promptly paid, the excuse being made that the societies do not feel sure that the claimant intended to resume employment, and thus continue to be insured persons."

Consumption Treatment Turning to the treatment of tuberculosis the report notes that what the Act promised to the insured person in return for his contributions was if he was found to be suffering from tuberculosis, "treatment" in a sanatorium or otherwise, with permission to the Insurance Committee to extend this boon to his dependants. (The wife and children of the wage-earner are all included in the term dependants.) The report states that the accommodation provided has proved totally inadequate for the insured persons, and that the "dependants" who were to come in for what was over, have therefore gone entirely unprovided for.

Maternity Benefit—Excluded Wives The Maternity Benefit, with the improved conditions introduced by the Amending Act of 1913 (by which the payment has to be made to the mother), is, according to the report, the most popular and least unsatisfactory part of the Insurance scheme, and is, it is believed, in the main working well. The Committee note, however, the regrettable fact that, apart from the uncertain effect of the provision as to arrears of contributions, at least half a million women, who would normally be eligible for maternity benefit, find themselves legally or practically excluded from it. "There are first the 'excepted' persons. The Insurance Act allows (First Schedule, Part II) certain classes of persons to be 'excepted' from the whole scheme, provided that it can be shown that they are entitled otherwise to benefit 'on the whole not less 'favourably' than those given by the Act.' But, by what we can only believe to have been an inadvertence on the part of the Government, these alternative equivalent benefits need only be 'such as to secure provision in respect of sickness and disablement.' No mention was made of maternity benefit; and the interest of the wife was apparently entirely forgotten. Under this provision practically all persons employed under the Crown (other than seamen, marines, and soldiers), those employed under nearly 500 of the principal local governing bodies, and the clerks of nearly a hundred rail-

ways and other statutory companies—in all, we believe, nearly 300,000 persons—have been left out of the scheme. The men escape the weekly insurance stamp, and continue themselves to be provided for in sickness and disablement as before. The wives lose the maternity benefit that they would otherwise have received in respect of their husbands' insurance. "The only practicable way to remedy this injustice, unless some entirely new provision for maternity is made, appears to be for the Government to amend the provision for the 120,000 thus excepted clerks, &c., in its own employment by the addition of an equivalent to the maternity benefit; and for it, at the same time, to address a strong appeal to the local authorities (who account for a hundred thousand more of these 'excepted' persons) and the railway companies (who have only a small minority of the cases) to add to the women who are themselves deposit contributors (numbering together certainly two or three hundred thousand), for whom there can practically never be anything to draw for maternity benefit. The offer of maternity benefit to the deposit contributors is, in fact, illusory. Yet a wife cannot prevent her husband from becoming a deposit contributor. Her need of proper care during confinement is just as much a public interest as if he had not neglected to enter or had not failed to get into, or to remain in, an Approved society."

The Taxation of the Poorest "Perhaps the gravest of all the grave facts," says the report, "is that the working of the Act has revealed the terribly low standard of vitality at which millions of our working people are living. Economists and physiologists demonstrate that, with prices and rents as they are, a family maintained on a pound a week cannot possibly obtain enough of the bare necessities of life. It naturally suffers from chronic ill-health. We find, in fact, that the millions of families at or below the pound-a-week level in our great cities are—if we judge by the standard of health that the professional classes expect—practically always ill. One panel doctor with a large East End practice has had through his surgery within the year 81 per cent. of all the people on his list. Another in South London has had 88 per cent. He declares emphatically, and doctors in other towns and in other parts of London bear the same testimony, that what these people are suffering from is essentially want of nourishment, want of warm clothing, want of decent housing, and want of rest—in short extreme poverty. Meanwhile by the Insurance premium the State is abstracting from each of their bare cupboards one loaf of bread a week, thereby starving them still further into illness, in order to pay for their doctoring and sickness benefit during the illness which the State has thus helped to create!"

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will not need to be reminded that a large proportion of these "poorest," on whom the burden of the Act falls so heavily are widows. Summing up the situation produced by the Act the report says:— "It is plain that nearly all the approved societies wholly or largely made up of women are overworked. They cannot carry their present burdens without imminent insolvency. This is not due to any fault of their administrators, but to a blunder of the Government, which took the sickness experience of a million of men as a guide to that of four million industrial women wage earners, and forgot, moreover, as it seems, all about pregnancy! Under these circumstances it will, we think, be impracticable for any Government to attempt to right matters by diminishing the women's benefits or increasing their contributions. We estimate that somewhere between a million and a million will differ largely from society to society, it will be difficult to make the societies even momentarily solvent by any simple grant in aid, whilst no such financial operation will prevent a continuation of the deficits."

In consequence the report recommends that pregnancy and maternity be transferred from Insurance to local Health Authorities, supported by grants in aid. We comment on this proposal elsewhere.

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THE PLIGHT OF THE VOTELESS WIDOW

Better Treatment of Mothers Where Women Vote—How they are Penalised in Our Courts—Mrs. Savage Sees Her Children Again

PENSIONS FOR WIDOWS

Sarah Savage Case Impossible where Women Have the Vote

Now that the case of Mrs. Sarah Savage has drawn public attention to the plight of the working-class widow in this country, it is of considerable interest to note how widows are cared for in countries where women have won the power of the vote.

IN NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand the Widows' Pensions Act (1911) came into operation on January 1, 1912. In this Act the wives of men confined in mental hospitals are also included under "widows." The pensions are further made payable to the guardian of the children in the event of the widow's death.

Table of Widows' Pensions

The following table shows the pensions granted in New Zealand to widows:—

Widow with one child under 14.	£12.
Widow with two children under 14.	£18.
Widow with three children under 14.	£24.
Widow with more than three children under 14.	£30.

She May Work as Well

One thousand three hundred and thirteen widows, according to the latest returns, are in receipt of these pensions. If the widow has an annuity or income of her own over £30, there is a deduction of £1 from the pension for every pound of private income that she has in excess of £30. This does not, however, include personal earnings of less than £100, for it is not supposed that the widow can entirely maintain her children and herself on the pension given; but it enables her to keep the home together, and by working in the mornings, or for two or three days a week, at the present rate of women's wages in New Zealand, she can support the family in comfort.

In addition, if a widow of 55 has one child or more under 14, she is granted her Old Age Pension at that age instead of waiting till she is 60. This amounts to 10s. per week.

"Grass Widows"

The deserted wife and the wife of a convicted criminal are equally well looked after in New Zealand, where the laws are made by women as well as men. Pensions similar to widows' pensions are granted to deserted wives, while no ex-doe-weel husbands are made to work for the State, as are also male prisoners and convicts, and the wages they thus earn are handed over to the wife and children. If they work well, there is a balance that is handed to the prisoner on his discharge. This provision is similar to the Lazy Husband Act, which was passed in Washington State, U.S.A., after women won the vote there.

THE CONTRAST

The Widow in England

A LIVERPOOL REPORT

If we wish to contrast the treatment of the widow in New Zealand with that of the widow in this country we cannot do better than read the admirable report of the condition of widows under the Poor Law in Liverpool, recently presented to the Liverpool Women's Industrial Council by Miss Eleanor F. Rathbone, and now published by them (price 3d., post free). It discusses with perfect fairness the attempts of the Poor Law to deal with the out-relief of widows with children, and discusses the recommendations of the Poor Law Commission for bettering their condition. But as a result of a perfectly independent investigation, conducted by independent social workers of experience who are not Guardians, the conclusion arrived at in this report is that "widows ought not to be under the Poor Law at all, and that Boards of Guardians are not the right bodies to deal with them."

Scale of Relief

With regard to the scale of relief, the W.I.C. investigators found that in the forty cases (taken at random) investigated, the average amount given per child per week worked out at 9s. 9d. Taking Rowntree's estimate (see Seebohm Rowntree's "Poverty: A Study of Town Life") as a guide, they found that in seventy-seven families investigated, fifty-six were below his estimate of the minimum required for the actual necessities of life and twenty-one were above it. "In other words, 72% of the cases have incomes which are insufficient, even if perfectly administered, to provide them with necessities for the maintenance of purely physical efficiency." And if, adds the report, their cases are typical of the whole (in the Unions investigated there are about 1,201 widows, having 3,612 children on out-relief), it follows that about 88% of the women and 2/3 of the children are living under conditions of grinding poverty incompatible with healthy and happy life and almost certain to lead to physical degeneration and industrial inefficiency. (The italics are ours.)

THE PENALISED MOTHER

Legal Parent Exonerated

In three recent cases of child neglect the woman, although in the eyes of the law she is not the parent of her own children and has no legal rights over them, has been severely penalised, while her husband, who is at least equally responsible for their welfare since the law gives him the sole right to order their lives, has been punished with considerably less severity or has been let off with a fine.

The *Derbyshire Times* (February 28) reports one case, that of a man and wife summoned at Chesterfield County Police Court for gross neglect of their children, who were badly clothed and dirty. The woman said she had not had a sovereign since Christmas, she did not want to go to the workhouse, she could work for her soap and the baby. The N.S.P.C.C. inspector said she never attempted to keep the children clean. A police constable said he had seen the man drunk several times, and she had had to fetch him from the public house.

Now, why was the woman sentenced to six months' hard labour, and the man only to two?

The second case, also a N.S.P.C.C. prosecution, is reported in the *Southwest and Devonshire Recorder* (March 6) and is that of Tower Bridge Police Court before Mr. Gill for neglecting their five children, who were dirty and verminous. It was suggested (not apparently proved) that the woman

was addicted to drink, and that the man took no steps to remedy affairs. The woman was sentenced to six weeks' hard labour and the husband was fined £2, and £3 os. costs.

The *Worst Case*
By far the worst case, however, also given in the *Southwest and Devonshire Recorder* (March 7) is that of a *Walworth couple* summoned by the N.S.P.C.C. at the Lambeth Police Court for neglecting their seven children, the eldest of whom was 11. The woman pointed out to the court that she was in a critical state of health and had four babies under the age of five to look after, and maintained it was not her fault they were neglected. Since Christmas her husband had kept the handling of the money because he thought she was extravagant. The man admitted there had been trouble over money matters and that previously to that the children were well looked after. They had always been well fed.

Mr. Baggalay remarked that there had been considerable neglect, principally on behalf of the female defendant. Had he ever tried to look after four babies, the youngest only three months old, and keep a home together without any control over the weekly income? Apparently not, for he sentenced the woman to six weeks' hard labour and bound over the defendant in £5.

It is cases like these that make some women feel they will go to any lengths to win the vote that will alone give the woman the status that is not hers at present.

THE CASE OF MRS. SAVAGE

Considerable interest has been taken in the release of Mrs. Savage, which we were able to announce in our columns last week. Many newspapers reproduced considerable parts of our article, and the *Star* devoted a broadsheet to the fact of her release.

Our Special Commissioner, Miss Neal, into whose care the woman has been committed, and the Editors of the paper, have received many expressions of congratulation on the effective way in which the investigation was carried out, and several additional donations have been sent to the fund. Miss Neal sends us her report of the present situation with regard to Mrs. Savage. She also supplies us with a list of subscriptions received to date, and encloses a copy of a letter she has sent to the National Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children.

THE REPORT

Tuesday.
I have just had a report after the first visit paid to Mrs. Savage in her new home. The visit was unexpected, and my friend was received with a joyful smile, both from Mrs. Savage and her daughter Polly.

Mrs. Savage has settled herself in her home very happily, and had got everything very clean and nice. "I always was a one for a brush, and I shall have the boards as white as snow before I've done with them." Everything was set out to the best advantage, and she is quite house-proud already.

On Sunday she saw her children. They are well and happy, but they want to come to their mother. Through the kindness of her generous friends I am taking them all—Mrs. Savage, Polly, the three children, the married daughter, husband, and children—to the seaside for a week immediately after Easter. We shall be at the Green Lady Hostel at Littlehampton, of which I am one of the Hon. Presidents, and there I hope that in happy surroundings the last shadow on these lives will pass away.

Dear Sir, Will you I hope I shall feel justified in letting Mrs. Savage have her children with her again.

MARY NEAL.

LETTER TO THE N.S.P.C.C.

The letter sent to the Secretary of the N.S.P.C.C. is as follows:—
Dear Sir, Will you kindly, following our conversation, put the points in this letter before your next committee:—

1. That, in my opinion, the case was dealt with in a too sensational manner by your Society. See heading in the *Child's Guardian* to the account of the case, as calculated to give a wrong impression.

2. That no suggestion of adequate help was made to Mrs. Savage, nor any offer made to the magistrate to investigate the mother's life and circumstances further, leaving him no alternative but to convict this woman.

3. That the Society, having no women

SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS

IN COUNCIL

SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS

IN COUNCIL

The annual council meetings of the Scottish Women's Liberal Federation were held last Friday and Saturday in the Queen's Hall, Edinburgh. Mrs. McKinnon Wood, the Hon. President, occupied the chair, and the bulk of the sittings on Saturday was devoted to the question of Woman Suffrage. A resolution was passed calling for a Government measure; a good deal of time was wasted in abuse of militant methods, against which a motion was carried, while an amendment condemning the unnecessary violence of the authorities and the invasion of public meetings by the police, was unfortunately negatived.

OPENING ADDRESSES

Mrs. McKinnon Wood

In her principal address Mrs. McKinnon Wood spoke of Scottish Home Rule, and said that although she supported women's full claim to be enfranchised, she thought that the inclusion of women in the franchise for the Scottish Parliament would strengthen their cause all over the country. She went on to say further that she felt it was not the Prime Minister or local M.P.'s who could give them the vote, but the present electors, the men who had the vote; and if they succeeded in winning the Liberal Associations over to their side, then the victory was theirs.

Sir William Robertson

Sir William Robertson, dealing with the Suffrage question, said he thought Mr. Asquith made a mistake when he refused to receive a deputation from men representing all parts of Scotland—a non-party and a non-militant deputation—and his reason for thinking it was a mistake was that if those who followed constitutional lines were not received, it seemed to play into the hands of the extremists. (Applause.)

Sir Robert Murray

Sir Robert Murray strongly criticised the conduct of the police at the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst in Glasgow. He detested militancy, and he detested brutality. He protested against the conduct of their officials in Glasgow the other night. That day was a black spot on Scotland. They had no business to affect the methods of the London people. They could have taken Mrs. Pankhurst quietly to a roadside station, and asked her to go to Holloway Gaol. The methods adopted were not the custom in Scotland, and they would not have them. (Applause.)

A WARM DEBATE

Militancy Discussed

On Saturday the following resolution was moved by Mrs. Falconer, and seconded by Lady Robertson:—

"This council records its indignant repudiation of the violent and criminal acts committed in professed support of women's suffrage; condemns all such methods as being wrong in themselves and injurious to the cause; reaffirms its adherence to the principle of women's suffrage, and its resolution to support the cause by all constitutional methods."

Mrs. Falconer said she did not wish to say much about the first clause of the resolution, which she only wanted passed in order to make the position of the Liberal women of Scotland perfectly clear. Nevertheless, she took the opportunity to condemn recent militant actions, and the rest of the debate turned on this question.

A Sensible Rider

Mrs. Crosthwaite, while dissociating herself from militancy, moved this rider: "But the council also condemns the use of unnecessary violence on the part of the authorities—(applause)—and protests against the invasion of public meetings by bands of police as likely to cause panic and disorder dangerous to the public." (Applause.) They had had, she said, a recent exhibition of that in Glasgow, and while they all considered militant methods deplorable, at the same time they must consider also as deplorable the inefficient bungling of the authorities, and in Glasgow they had been subjected to what she thought was really an insult to their public life. (Applause.)

SCOTTISH WOMEN LIBERALS

IN COUNCIL

Mrs. Barton (Parkhead) seconded. As an eye-witness of what happened on Monday she could tell them that the authorities really bungled.

Other delegates also spoke against militancy, Mrs. Logan saying, however, that she was against it in the first place, she supposed, because she had not the courage to do what these ladies had done. Mrs. Falconer said she could not accept the rider on the ground that it was too general a statement of the matter, and Suffragists were often indebted to police for their protection at meetings and processions.

The resolution was then adopted unanimously, and the rider, when put as a separate resolution, was directly negatived by Mrs. Falconer, and her motion was carried by a large majority.

THE IMPORTANT DEBATE

Government Measure Demanded

A more statesmanlike tone pervaded the assembly when Miss Grierson (Glasgow Central) moved: "That this council reaffirms its belief in woman suffrage as a principle of Liberalism, is of opinion that a private member's bill for its promotion has little chance of becoming law, and calls on the Government to indicate at the earliest opportunity that they will adopt woman suffrage as a part of their programme in a future Parliament."

Miss Adam, Glasgow, seconded.

A Reactionary Amendment

Mrs. Cowan, Aberdeen, moved an amendment: "That this council is of opinion that while it supports every demand for the grant of the vote to women, it is not possible in view of the present grave position in which the Government is placed, that Liberal women should demand a Government Suffrage Bill."

Mrs. Wood, Kilmacoll, pointed out that the resolution did not ask the Government to bring in a Government measure just now. The Liberal party were going to suffer if they did not do something for this cause. Some of their best workers were joining the Labour party.

A Betrayal of Democracy

Mrs. Crosthwaite said they should avoid the mistake of giving their worship to the ministers of their religion instead of to the religion itself. It was betrayal of democracy for Liberal Government not to enfranchise the women. This was one of the great spiritual movements of their time, and transcended all party, devotion, and helplessness of women in a church work, and in all works of charity, remembering also that in the election of ministers of this Church they have a right to vote, and do vote, and believing that their political enfranchisement would tend to the moral and spiritual elevation of the people, sympathises with women in their desire to obtain the rights and exercise the duties of citizenship in this realm.

BRAVO, PEEBLES!

The following motion was discussed and carried at a meeting of the Presbytery of Peebles on February 26:—

The Presbytery, appreciating the zeal, devotion, and helpfulness of women in a church work, and in all works of charity, remembering also that in the election of ministers of this Church they have a right to vote, and do vote, and believing that their political enfranchisement would tend to the moral and spiritual elevation of the people, sympathises with women in their desire to obtain the rights and exercise the duties of citizenship in this realm.

WOMEN LOSE NATIONALITY

New Naturalization Bill Retains Provisions Against Women

A Bill for Amending the Laws of British Nationality and the Statute of Aliens has been introduced by the Government into the House of Lords and passed through its second reading on Tuesday last in that Chamber. It will be seen that the obnoxious provisions relating to married women are retained in this Bill. They are contained in Clauses 10, 11, and 12, which read as follows:—

10. The wife of a British subject shall be deemed to be a British subject, and the wife of an alien shall be deemed to be an alien.

marriage become an alien, shall not, by reason only of the death of her husband, or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be an alien, and a woman who, having been an alien, has by or in consequence of her marriage become a British subject, shall not, by reason only of the death of her husband or the dissolution of her marriage, cease to be a British subject.

12. (1) Where a person, being a British subject, ceases to be a British subject, whether by declaration of alienage or otherwise, every child of that person, being a minor, shall thereupon cease to be a British subject, unless such child, on that person ceasing to be a British subject, does not become by the law of any other country naturalized in that country:—
Providing that where a widow who is a British subject marries an alien, any child of hers by her former husband shall not, by reason only of her marriage, cease to be a British subject, whether he is residing outside His Majesty's dominions or not.

(2) Any child who has so ceased to be a British subject may within one year after attaining his majority make a declaration that he wishes to resume British nationality, and shall thereupon again become a British subject.

MARRIED WOMEN AS COUNCILLORS

Mr. Herbert Samuel's Bill

The following is the text of the Bill introduced last week by Mr. Herbert Samuel, to extend the qualification for membership of County and Borough Councils:—

1.—(1) Any person of either sex shall be qualified to be elected and to be a councillor or alderman of a county council or

* I am the last person I know of in the family of George.



In an after-dinner speech last week Mr. Asquith said he would be the last person to desire fixity of tenure and the Premiership.

Our artist suggests that the tack in his chair of office is "Woman Suffrage."

of a borough council, if that person has resided within the county or borough, as the case may be, during the whole of the twelve months preceding the election:—
Provided that a woman, if elected as chairman of a county council or mayor of a borough, shall not, by virtue of holding or having held that office, be a justice of the peace.

(2) The qualification under this provision shall be alternative for and shall not repeal or take away any other qualification, and shall not remove or effect any disqualification.

2.—(1) This Act may be cited as the County and Borough Councils (Qualification) Act, 1914.
(2) This Act shall not apply to Scotland or Ireland.

GLASGOW PROTEST

A deputation of prominent local Suffragists waited upon the Glasgow magistrates, on Thursday last week, to protest against "the violence and brutality of the officers" in arresting Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Janie Allan cited several cases of injury to unoffending women from the truncheons of the police, and stated that sworn statements to the effect that she had been arrested by Mrs. Pankhurst by those who arrested her, during her drive in the taxi-cab and against her having been kept at the Central Police Office all night instead of being lodged decently in Duke Street Prison.

"It is discreditably" added Miss Allan, "to the city that a woman like Mrs. Pankhurst should be pursued by such petty and mean refinements of cruelty, and it has certainly aroused the most violent indignation amongst a very large body of both men and women."

LIBERALS AND PRINCIPLE

Speaking at Acton last Friday Mr. F. D. Acland and the enfranchisement of women was one of the things Liberals had got to undertake if they were to pursue their principle, and if they wanted to enfranchise women they would not really have any difficulty with regard to the opinions of particular Ministers.

DEPUTATION TO HOUSE OF COMMONS

A deputation of Suffragists, headed by Mr. Scott-Dickson, came from Glasgow last Tuesday and interviewed the Scottish members with regard to the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst in that city. They were told that the matter was outside Mr. McKenna's jurisdiction, and should be laid before the Glasgow Corporation. Their request to see the Premier was refused.

Will the matter rest with the local authorities, we wonder, when it comes to the next General Election?

JUST IN TIME

Mr. Hemmerle, K.C., M.P., saved himself only just in time from being summoned as a "robber and pillor" under the Edward III. statute, when addressing the Home Counties Union of Women's Liberal Associations in the Portman Rooms last week.

Touching upon Irish grievances, he roused applause by saying that a Government had only got itself to blame if people took the law into their own hands when the law was utterly unfair and unjust.

Then he remembered he was a Liberal, and that some at least of his audience were Suffragists. At the same time, he said hastily, "I should not consider it an effective protest if a smallholder, with a view to showing his indignation, were to go and burn the Town Hall in King's Lynn, or to throw something at the picture of the Mayor."

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Mr. McKenna in the Pillory
Recent revolutionary actions have provoked a flood of questions in the House of Commons. Scarcely a day passes without question time being marked by the spectacle of the Home Secretary in the pillory, the butt of indignant enquiries from both sides of the House, from Suffragists and Anti-Suffragists alike.

Mr. Pankhurst
Last Monday Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether the arrangements for the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst at Glasgow had his assent or approval, if not, by whose authority the platform was raised?

Mr. McKenna replied, referring him to the Secretary for Scotland, and said: No directions were given by me. It was by the duty of the police to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst who was a prisoner convicted of felony and illegally at large.

In answer to a similar question by Mr. MacCallum Scott, he repeated that no directions were given by him. The police, he said, simply carried out the duty imposed on them by the law.

Other Suffragist Prisoners

In answer to Mr. Arnold Ward, the Home Secretary said, last Monday, that he could not say how many undetected crimes had been attributed to militant suffragists. The difficulties had been very great, but in a considerable proportion of the cases the criminals had been traced and brought to justice.

In answer to Mr. Keir Hardie on the same day, Mr. McKenna said: "The number of women now in prison under my jurisdiction for crimes committed in connection with the suffrage agitation is eleven, of these three are being fed artificially. One has been so fed since January 5, but in her case no force is required; she insists on being fed by tube, but offers no resistance. The other two have been fed artificially since February 23 and March 12 respectively."

LAUGHING GAS BEHIND THE GRILLE

The *Times* states that recent attempts to improve the ventilation of the House of Commons have only succeeded in manufacturing a kind of laughing gas particularly noticeable in the Ladies' Gallery. Are the authorities sure that it is the bad air which is responsible for this effect behind the grille? We should have thought there was plenty of reason on the floor of the House for the display of derision behind the grille.

A FREE MEETING

will be held on Thursday, March 26, at 8.30, in the SMALL ESSEX HALL (Strand).

Speakers: Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Mr. HAROLD LASKI (of the Oxford M.P.U.), Mr. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN and friends are cordially invited to be present.

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ACTIONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:

Wednesday, March 11.—An unsuccessful attempt to fire Park House, Edebaston, Birmingham, a large unoccupied house. Suffrage literature found.

Thursday, March 12.—Robertland House, Stewartland, Ayrshire, an unoccupied house belonging to the United Free Church, almost totally destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £1,600. Suffrage messages found.

Friday, March 13.—Package dropped into letter-box at Hatton Garden Post Office, which set fire to postal sack into which it fell, damaged some letters, and was finally extinguished by a postman with the aid of sand.

Saturday, March 14.—Windows broken in Mr. McKenna's house, Smith Square; six arrests. Tennis pavilion, Olton Club, Birmingham, burnt. Suffrage pamphlets found. Damage estimated at £400.

Sunday, March 15.—Interior of Birmingham Cathedral covered with Suffrage messages, such as "Votes for Women." "The clergy must rise on our behalf," in white enamel.

A number of railway coaches, on a shunting of the Midland Railway near King's Norton, burnt. Damage estimated at £1,000. Suffrage messages found. Corrosive fluid in three pillar-boxes in Delfast, considerable damage.

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, March 12.—At the London Sessions, before Mr. Wallace, K.C., indicted for damaging the Rokeby Venus, Miss Mary Richardson, sentenced to six months' imprisonment.

At the Central Police Court, Glasgow, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, charged with breaking two windows, Mrs. Helen Crawford, ten days' imprisonment, and ordered to find surety of good behaviour for six months, in default an additional twenty days' imprisonment; fifteen days allowed to find the surety.

At the Old Street Police Court,

THE LIFE OF EMILY DAVISON

Over a life swift, condensed, and heroic it is ill-ness to spend many words. Emily Davison passed unhesitatingly, the lightning expression of the spirit of a brave movement; and we who remember her know that she lived and died as in her clearest moments she would have chosen.

My first clear recollection of her is in Newcastle Police Station, when, as I was being led away from my comrades, she appeared at the opening in her cell door, and spoke to me rapidly in French. Her only thought was that something unpleasant might be about to happen to me. Of her own situation, in a filthy, insanitary cell, she characteristically seemed to care nothing. She looked as I have always seen her, sunny and brave, with that light on her face which suggested some secret of her nature which in a few years we were all to read. The sketch of her life by "G. Colmore" is brief, but probably contains all that need be known. The clever woman, the loving daughter and friend, the valiant fighter—in each aspect she is put clearly before us; and we learn that as a child she had that same indomitable spirit which enabled her to sacrifice her life for the freedom of all women, and which makes her deed and its memory imperishable. She was happy, and found the fulfilment of her nature in obedience to the motto she had chosen for herself—that "rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God."

J. T. E. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Wealth: A Brief Explanation of the Causes of Economic Welfare." By Edwin Cannan. (London: P. S. King and Son. Price 5s. 6d. net.) "White Slaves of Toil." By W. N. Willis. (London: C. Arthur Pearson, Ltd. Price 1s.) "The Woman With the Pack." By Gertrude Vaughan. (London: W. J. Ham Smith. Price 6d. net.)

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

The London season is approaching and visitors will be coming to town from the country and abroad. Our paper, owing to its international character, should be on sale in the streets everywhere, so that the woman's movement may be explained and spread all over the world. We must have many more sellers to do this special propaganda work. A seller was told the other day of a stranger to the movement who joined the Fellowship through having bought a paper from her "for the pluck."

Men workers have come forward to help at the Oxford Street pitches, where supplies are kept, but we have not enough. Those who can give any kind of help should send in their names or come to see the Hon. Organiser of the paper-selling department, who attends at the office all day on Thursdays to meet workers.

"The Life of Emily Davison: An Outline." By G. Colmore. The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House. Price 6d. net.

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SOME NOVELS

Suffragists, Arthur Schnitzler's clever and ugly picture of Viennese life will suggest to men and women should be placed on an equality—it is not better for women to be an immoral equality with men than aged perpetually by a hypocritical standard assumes that women are naturally moral and naturally immoral, and that laws and customs be framed in accordance with this assumption.

"The Road to the Open," translated by Mr. Horace Samuel, it appears that there is very little tendency in Viennese society to conceal the irregular relations of men and women, and proportionally little tendency to attach any social ostracism to the women. As a novel, his book becomes a little wearisome with its perpetual insistence upon the sex relationship; it is therefore all the more refreshing to find that when George von Wergenthin returns to his mistress, Anna Rosner, secretly bored with the alliance, but trying outwardly to work up a semblance of his old passion for her, it is she who quietly and composedly gives him his dismissal, and calmly prepares to take up her musical career and her home life again at the place where he had entered into both. Besides this main theme, there is a vast amount of detail in the book as to the position of Jews in Vienna, which is valuable and interesting to those who care about the Semitic question.

"Gold Lace," by Ethel Colburn Mayne attacks the same eternal theme of the relations between men and women, but from a different standpoint. She draws a remorseless picture of the petty flirtations that go on among the officers from the barracks and the girls of the town, in a little Irish garrison town; and brings into this trivial surrounding a clever sophisticated London girl, who sees through the whole business and does not leave the place until she has sown the seeds of knowledge in the minds of the girls who, until now, have allowed themselves to be the passive sport of the boys of the regiment, these being, in many cases, engaged to women elsewhere. The results of her visit are very cleverly worked out; and the book is worth reading as a study, if rather a repellent study, of the efforts of a lot of girls, none of them particularly clever, to absorb the new ideas

"The Road to the Open." By Arthur Schnitzler. (London: Howard Lither. Price 6s.) "Gold Lace." By Ethel Colburn Mayne. (London: Chapman and Hall. Price 6s.)

and apply them to the respectably sordid conditions of life in a garrison town.

"The Hat Shop," by Mrs. C. S. Peel, is a pleasantly written account of the business enterprise of a young widow, who sets up a millinery establishment, and after making a success of it passes it on to her chief assistant, and marries the handsome elderly man who has been waiting in the background all the time. The book is evidently written by one who has experienced the ups and downs of business life, and is sympathetically aware of the horrible difficulties that beset women under present economic conditions.

"Crying for the Moon," by Nancy Pain and Winifred Rose, is a very cheery piece of frivolity, making no demands upon the intellect and helping to pass an hour or two very pleasantly. By this we do not mean that the book is not cleverly written. It is very cleverly written, and if, as we suspect, it is the authors' first book, it is full of promise. Though drawn, evidently with intention, only from the outside, the characters of the little group of people, who meet and fall in love and part in a country cottage near the Chilterns, are all admirably drawn; and the touch of pathetic absurdity in Gwen's romantic passion for an actor who is also a bouncer of the first rank, is just what is wanted to add a little balance to the frivolity. If the authors decide to be more serious next time, and to adventure on the history of young women who are not content only with falling in love with the first young man who comes along, we think they will not be altogether unsuccessful.

"The Making of an Englishman," by Mr. W. L. George gives us one of the most finished pieces of work he has yet accomplished. He returns in it to his favourite theme of the psychology of the alien who finds himself in London, confronted with all the ideals and the failings, the vices and the virtues, that have "made England what it is"; and in Lucien Cadorese we have an admirable picture of the modern young Frenchman who is also an Anglo-maniac. Herein lies the real interest, and also the subtlety of Mr. George's book. His Frenchman does not want to be French; he wants to be English, and therefore he sees his England through rose-coloured spectacles, and gives his creator the opportunity to criticize English standards and English prejudices from the point of view of a critic who will not be unfair to either. Incidentally, this involves a certain amount of criticism of the position of women in this country, which is interesting, even where it does not show complete enlightenment.

"The Hat Shop." By Mrs. C. S. Peel. (London and New York: John Lane. Price 6s.) "Crying for the Moon." By Nancy Pain and Winifred Rose. (T. Werner Laurie, Ltd. Price 2s.) "The Making of an Englishman." By W. L. George. (London: Constable and Co. Price 6s.)

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WOMEN UNDER THE INSURANCE ACT

A debt of gratitude is owed to the Research Committee of the Fabian Society for the masterly investigation which they have recently carried out into the working of the Insurance Act. Their interim report has been published by the *New Statesman* in the form of a special supplement to last week's issue, and we reproduce on page 375 the principal parts of the report dealing with the position of women under the Act. The fact that the report is not a political document constructed for the purposes of making political capital against the Government, but a plain record of fact, serves to bring out into all the more startling prominence the glaring injustice with which a Parliament of men responsible only to men electors have treated the women of the country.

The cardinal error of the Act is that though it is called "national" and professes to deal with "national" sickness, it is, as a matter of fact (with a solitary exception), concerned solely with the sickness of persons engaged in money-earning occupations. While, therefore, it provides sickness benefit, disablement benefit, and medical attendance for practically the whole male working population because they are wage earners, it excludes from benefit two-thirds of the female working population, because they give their arduous labour without money payment to the care of the home.

So far as the money benefits for sickness and disablement are concerned, there is at first sight a certain amount of justification in confining them to the wage earners, not because they are paid by the wage earners—for the money really comes out of the family income—but because they are given with the view of replacing the money lost to the family when the wage earner is out of work. It must be remembered, however, that disablement benefit is in reality a kind of premature old-age pension, which in the vast majority of cases will accrue to the individual after the partner of his life is dead. What the Act does, therefore, is to build up out of the savings of the family a fund to provide this old-age pension for the aged widower, while leaving the aged widow penniless to face the world.

So far as the medical benefits—attendance and drugs—are concerned, there is not even this shadow of justification for giving them solely to the wage earner. The effect of the Act is that men receive medical attention, medicine and care in their illness, while the great army of women who as wives and mothers are carrying on a heroic struggle in the homes are left to suffer unvisited by the doctor, without proper remedies, without care or attention. This is strikingly brought out by the Report in dealing with the provision for tuberculosis. The Act, it is true, states that the treatment for consumptives, including the famous "sanatoria," may be extended to the "dependants" of the insured person. As a matter of fact, however, the money has proved in-

sufficient for providing treatment for all the insured persons, and therefore not a single one of the "dependants" has benefited by it—the rule in these matters being that men are to be served first and (if there is anything left over) the women afterwards.

To this exclusion from benefit of homekeeping wives and mothers there is one exception—the provision made for maternity. The Report testifies to the fact that where this is given it is, on the whole, working well, but it calls attention to the grave scandal that over half a million women, through no fault of their own, are at the present time excluded from participation. The principal class are the wives of some 120,000 employees of the Government itself, with regard to whom the Government has substituted for the benefits supplied by the Act a different category of benefits, in which maternity benefit does not figure! Can anyone suppose for a single moment that the Government would have dared to do this if they had been dependent on the votes of women as well as on those of men!

Leaving now the case of homekeeping women and coming to the case of women wage earners who are themselves insured persons, the Report states that

It is plain that nearly all the Approved Societies wholly or largely made up of women are overweighted. They cannot carry their present burdens without imminent insolvency. This is not due to any fault of their administrators, but to a blunder of the Government, which took the sickness experience of a society of men as a guide to that of four million industrial women wage-earners, and forgot, moreover, as it seems, all about pregnancy!

When we have a Government composed solely of men elected solely by men, and rigidly confining all its important positions in the Civil Service solely to men, this failure of the political machine to take into account the cardinal facts of women's life is perhaps less surprising than inexcusable.

In order to make up for this Government blunder, various attempts are being made, with or without the connivance of the Insurance Commissioners, to deprive women of the benefits to which they are entitled. Some Societies are refusing to pay sickness benefit during pregnancy, giving as their reason that pregnancy is not a form of sickness contemplated by the Act. They ignore, as the Report points out, that it is not disease but incapacity to work that forms the true criterion. Others are withholding benefits from insured married women because they have been found, while unable to work at their trade, doing the very lightest work in the home; others have unduly delayed the payment of benefit to women, thereby rendering them unwilling to waste time by applying for it. On the top of all this there are threats of legislative action to deprive women of part of their benefits or to increase their premiums!

The true fact is that the women's side of the account is weighted down by all the expenses connected with child-bearing, which should really be a national charge. The Fabian Report recognises this, and recommends that pregnancy and maternity should be removed from Insurance altogether and dealt with by the Local Health Authorities with the aid of a substantial new annual Grant in Aid. We demur to this remedy, which we think would tend to make the benefit a pauper gift. We consider that these matters have been undertaken in connection with Insurance, and should now be dealt with properly through Insurance. But the women's side of the account has to be assisted by the State. At present the State pays out of national money some five millions a year to the men's account (2d. a week for ten million men) and only some two millions a year to the women's (2d. a week for four million women). By redressing this balance there will be money enough not only to make the woman's side of the Insurance Act solvent, but also to do something for the homekeeping women who have been so shamefully treated.

What prospect there is of this adjustment or of the removal of the other injustices to women in the Act, so long as women remain voteless, we do not know. But until they are removed we shall continue to point to the provisions of the Insurance Act as providing the most damning criticism of a purely male administration which refuses to give women any share in the making of the laws and which treats their interests with such scandalous disregard.

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THE ROKEYBY VENUS

Miss Richardson Sentenced—Panic in the Galleries

In view of the widespread importance attached to the injury of the Rokeby Venus by a suffragette—Miss Mary Richardson—we give her speech from the dock in full. The sentence of six months' imprisonment was inflicted upon her, the maximum penalty for injuring an art treasure, Mr. Wallace adding regretfully that "if it had been a window" he "could have passed a sentence of eighteen months' imprisonment."

"I Plead Guilty"

"As it was a premeditated act I plead guilty," said Miss Richardson, on the indictment being read to her. Mr. Travers Humphreys, prosecuting for the Commissioner of Police, characterised her action as "senseless and wicked," "a dastardly outrage without any sort or kind of sense in it," "doubted whether she could really be in possession of her right senses," but admitted that there was "no medical evidence to show anything other than that she was a person responsible for her actions," and his lordship would have to deal with her on those lines.

The Defendant's Speech

Miss Richardson, looking weak and ill (she had been on hunger-strike since her arrest two days before) was asked if she had anything to say, and spoke as follows in a calm and collected manner but with great feeling:—

"I should like to say, as my act was premeditated, that I thought her it very seriously before I undertook it. I had been a student of art, and I suppose care as much for art as anyone in the gallery on Tuesday morning. But I care more for the men of this country do not at the eleventh hour put out their hands to save Mrs. Pankhurst before it is too late, before a few years are passed they will put their hands out in vain to save the Empire. I know you will sentence me. Your sentence will not really make much difference, not only from the fact that I can only stand a few months' torture, but from the fact that I am really a grateful and happy woman to have been able to live in a century in which Mrs. Pankhurst was, and in some slight measure I have tried to carry out what I believe in. It matters, therefore, not what becomes of me in the future."

say excusable, but it should be understood. I should like to point out, as the prosecution has taken pains to go into the dastardly nature of my outrage, that the outrage which the Government has committed on Mrs. Pankhurst is an ultimatum of outrage—it is murder, slow murder, and premeditated murder. That is how I have looked at it.

A Lesser Crime than Murder

"In view of the fact that the Government permit murder, I think that anything that Suffragettes do naturally falls into a lesser degree of crime than murder. How you can hold them up to ridicule and contempt and put them into prison and say nothing to the Government which sanctions murder, which is an outside crime, I cannot understand; also, when men taxpayers are willing to allow thousands of pounds to be spent in this elaborate and expensive arrangement of injustice. It costs thousands and thousands to keep up this inquisition of women, when a little, simple, inexpensive legislation would stop this matter in ten minutes. It is not looked on in that light. They prefer to spend thousands to provide detectives and in other ways for this inquisition of women, who are fighting for what they believe in. The fact is that the nation is either dead or it is asleep."

"The Nation is Dead"

"I think it has been undoubtedly proved that the nation is dead, because women have knocked in vain at the door of Ministers, bishops, archbishops, and even the King himself; the Government have not opened any doors whatsoever. A state of death in a nation as well as in an individual leads to one thing, and that is dissolution, and I do not hesitate to say that if the men of this country do not at the eleventh hour put out their hands to save Mrs. Pankhurst before it is too late, before a few years are passed they will put their hands out in vain to save the Empire. I know you will sentence me. Your sentence will not really make much difference, not only from the fact that I can only stand a few months' torture, but from the fact that I am really a grateful and happy woman to have been able to live in a century in which Mrs. Pankhurst was, and in some slight measure I have tried to carry out what I believe in. It matters, therefore, not what becomes of me in the future."

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Mr. Wallace having pointed out to her that acts such as hers would never advance any cause, Miss Richardson said quietly:—"I must persist in what I believe in."

Mr. Wallace: I cannot go into these matters. The amount of damage in connection with this charge is immaterial, because the destruction of a picture like this, if the picture were destroyed or mutilated, no money could replace it. Richardson: Do you realise that you cannot replace Mrs. Pankhurst? No money under the sun can replace her. She is being killed slowly. I have seen a difference in the last twelve months. Mr. Wallace: I have nothing to do with that. You have pleaded guilty, and you have gloried in this crime. Richardson: I don't say that. I think it a great shame that I had to think it my duty to do it.

Mr. Wallace: With the greatest regret it is my duty to pass upon you a sentence of six months' imprisonment.

A PRESS VIEW.

The Daily Herald in a leading article on the case says: "It is the Government and the House of Commons which are responsible for the condition of things which produce Mary Richardson and the like. . . . The only way out is for the House of Commons to redeem its own honour, and at once give the necessary time for the passage of a Women's Suffrage Bill." The Irish Citizen comments on the leading article in the Irish Times deploring the injury to the Rokeby Venus, and adds dryly: "We did not notice any leading article in the Irish Times deploring the

inhumanity of the repeated arrests of Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst under the Cat and Mouse Act, both of which have been exemplified, with added brutalities, this week. One must preserve a sense of proportion."

The Priceless P.W.W.

"P. W. W." of the Daily News, lets the cat out of the bag in his ingenious way when he says: "There is no difficulty about arresting these women and securing their conviction and sentence. What Parliament has to face is the subsequent hunger strike."

AT LAST!

Out of a number of M.P.'s interviewed by a Standard representative on the subject of the injured Velasquez, only one is reported in that paper as having made a reply taking a wide view of the situation. Mr. F. Bennett-Goldney (U., Canterbury) took a strong view, says the Standard, of the militant policy, and thought that by making raids on museums the Suffragettes were injuring their cause. "But he held that the remedy should be found not in deportation, but in advancing some distance towards meeting the grievance of the women. He would give female property holders the franchise."

IN BIRMINGHAM CATHEDRAL

Early on Sunday morning it was discovered that Suffragettes had been at work during the night in Birmingham Cathedral, for Suffrage messages had been inscribed in white paint on the Burne-Jones window, on the pillars, floors of the aisle, vestry door, side galleries, and pulpit. The chancel was untouched. "Votes for Women." "Stop forcible feeding." "The clergy must rise in our behalf," were some of the messages thus painted. It is believed that it will cost some hundred pounds to repair the damage, and that the work was probably necessitated by the closing of the Cathedral for some weeks.

THE "DAILY MIRROR" VIEW



[Reproduced from the "Daily Mirror"]

How Our Public Art Treasures will be Viewed in the Future

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

The panic in the museums and art galleries has been reflected in the House of Commons, where question time has been marked day by day by appeals to Cabinet Ministers for greater protection of our art treasures and stern coercion of militant suffragettes. Last Monday, the Prime Minister had to assure Mr. Bennett-Goldney that consideration was being given to the points raised by him in a question respecting the increase of grants to museums and galleries for the maintenance of a more adequate staff of caretakers, and the merits of ex-soldiers for these particular duties.

The Prime Minister had further to assure Mr. Ormsby-Gore on the same day that no warning had been received at the National Gallery of any attempt to be made upon pictures, especially upon the Rokeby Venus, by the Women's Social and Political Union.

Mr. Ormsby-Gore then returned to the charge, and forced from the Prime Minister the admission that the whole question of the adequacy of the precautions against malicious injury to the pictures at the National Gallery was under consideration, including the provision of railings in front of the pictures.

Miss Mary Richardson

Last Monday, Mr. McKenna, in reply to several questions by Earl Winterston, said that Miss Mary Richardson was not of unsound mind when examined last October, that there was no present ground for releasing her, that the danger to the public was never left out of consideration, and that if it were only a "so-called hunger strike" he would certainly hope not to have to release her. In answer to Mr. R. Harcourt, he had observed a statement mocking the inefficiency of the law.

The Limit

No answer was given by the Prime Minister to Earl Winterston, who enquired how it was that a woman "known to be a desperate person" was admitted to the National Gallery without even her muff being searched.

Attacks from Without

Mr. Bigland, M.P., seems to fear that the suffragettes will attack our national art treasures even if shut out from the galleries, for on Tuesday last he asked the Secretary to the Treasury if any precautions were to be taken to prevent stones being thrown from without at the windows of the British Museum. In his reply, Mr. Montagu stated that it is proposed to move some of the collections in the Museum to a gallery in the new building, of which the floor is twelve feet above the street level. The front of the building, he added, will be protected by police.

Pictures "Practically Invisible"

An official interviewed by the Morning Post, somewhat ingenuously remarked that, "Unfortunately, if we adopt fully adequate precautions, the national treasures, especially the pictures, will be practically invisible." So Mr. Haselden's cartoon is not so much exaggerated, after all!

PUNCH'S POETIC JUSTICE

The public indignation against the woman who damaged the "Rokeby Venus" continues unabated, and most inhuman propositions are being made. One gentleman has even been heard to suggest that the woman ought to be made to serve her term of imprisonment in the Royal Academy.—Punch.

FORCIBLE FEEDING DEPUTATION TO THE BISHOP OF MANCHESTER

A deputation from the W.S.P.U. waited upon the Bishop of Manchester, as previously announced, last Friday, to ask for his support in agitating for the repeal of the Cat and Mouse Act, and for the cessation of forcible feeding.

Mrs. Forrester said that in proportion to the intensity of their desire for political freedom was their resolve to resist imprisonment of women. This resistance made those in power face the position clearly. It was simple logic. Militancy would go on. The indomitable spirit of the women who were in the front line of the Suffrage fight would not weaken. Political freedom was the price of cessation of hostilities. Punishment could go no further in any case, and could never be a deterrent to the militant women.

If the Bishops had made a stand in the House of Lords the Cat and Mouse Act would not have been passed, continued Mrs. Forrester. The bishops could secure its repeal, and the doctors could secure the abolition of forcible feeding; and then the Government would be obliged to face the problem of finding the time and the honesty to act according to Liberal principles.

Mrs. Aldridge spoke of the growing unrest and discontent among women that such a state of things should be allowed to continue; and Mrs. Cohen urged that it was a degradation to the nation that such things should be done by a Government rather than that women should be given the vote.

The Bishop of Manchester said he reserved his judgment; but asked if any men had used the hunger strike, how any such had been treated, and whether any man had been treated in the same way as a woman for getting out of prison if it were not a deterrent?

Mrs. Forrester said that Mr. Connolly during the Dublin strike had been released after a hunger-strike, but that the showing of the apparatus to an ordinary prisoner was enough, or just one operation if he threatened to strike.

The Bishop: Do you suppose that Sir Edward Carson would hunger-strike if he were proceeded against?

Mrs. Forrester: Yes, if his patriotism is sincere. The Bishop: Well, I don't express an opinion. Mrs. Forrester: You do on Home Rule, sir. The Bishop: Yes, I express an opinion when I choose.

The deputation then left after the Bishop had shaken hands with its members. The deputation stated that they did not regard the matter as satisfactory, and decided to send a prayer to the Bishop next week, and paper cuttings and sworn statements by those who had been forcibly fed, medical opinions, and so on.

The Bishop's Judgment

The Bishop sent his reply to the deputation later in writing, and said that the process must be as disgusting to those who execute it as to those who suffer from it, but society when attacked by violence has a right to defend itself, and that measures of which you complain as much as you regret them, but even if I were willing to take such a course I could not advise the Government to abandon its only known method of protecting the subject against violence. This is precisely the unpleasant duty for which authority is committed to them, but if you will give me a solid guarantee that all attacks upon property and person will be permanently abandoned by your Union I shall be quite prepared in my place in the House of Lords to advocate the repeal of the Act of which you complain and the immediate release of all prisoners now suffering from militancy."

DRUGGING SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

It will be remembered that recently released Suffragist prisoners who had been forcibly fed showed signs of bromide poisoning and other evidence of having been drugged when forcibly fed in prison. A correspondent, who formed one of a deputation who have been calling upon medical men with a view to rousing them on the matter, informs us none of the doctors thus approached seemed surprised at the suggestion that drugging had been resorted to. They seemed, on the contrary, and several mentioned that it was a common practice in lunatic asylums.

Out of fifteen doctors seen by this particular deputation, "one only was in full sympathy," writes another member of it. "A second was very courteous and to some extent sympathetic, but thinks militancy a mistake, counsels patience, and will not help. Two more were quite civil, but unhelpful. Six were more or less civil, but cared for nothing but the man's point of view. Five were very rude. No one would protest now, but two had done so previously. As a whole, the doctors' mental attitude surprised, angered, and disgusted us. Women are on a low plane in their eyes."

With regard to forcible feeding, "most excused this, some approved, and a few approved drugging also. Three urged the

frequency, benefit, and long possibility of this in asylums. Several said we brought it on ourselves. One would treat militants as lunatics."

LET THEM DIE!

It is some evidence of the opinion held by the Home Office of the hunger-strikers that the Lobby Correspondent of the Evening News should have to admit, in discussing the demand of some excited people that these women should be left to die: "The Home Office authorities are convinced that many of the women would welcome this chance of offering themselves as martyrs to the cause."

INDIGNATION IN VANCOUVER

At a meeting of the University Women's Club of Vancouver, held on January 24, a resolution was passed unanimously and forwarded to Mr. McKenna, denouncing forcible feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act as prejudicial to life and health and a revival of medieval torture, and protesting in the name of humanity against both these practices.

SUFFRAGISTS AND THE CHURCHES

Westminster Abbey on March 22

The following letter was sent to the Dean of Westminster by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst immediately after her release from Holloway Gaol last Saturday:—"A large party of Suffragettes from East London intend to march together to take part in the evening service at Westminster Abbey on Sunday 22nd inst., to pray for the granting of votes to the women of this country, and for the saving of the hunger-strikers, and the speedy conclusion of the present war between the women and the Government, on terms of peace with honour."

"We trust that, as far as possible, the service will be adapted to this occasion and to the great cause for which we shall pray together."

We are informed that the East London Federation of the Suffragettes will march in procession to the Abbey on this occasion, starting from Ford Road, Bow, at 4.15, and halting on the way at Gardiner's Corner, the Bank, Ludgate Circus, and Trafalgar Square.

Last Sunday's Intercessions

Before the sermon at evensong at Westminster Abbey last Sunday a number of women seated near the Poets' Corner rose and chanted a prayer for Mrs. Pankhurst. Suffragist intercessions were also held on Sunday at York Minster, Glasgow Cathedral, and other churches, the women in most cases singing their chant in unison, and then either leaving the building or remaining quietly in their places until the end of the service. At Brighton Parish Church, a woman stepped out into the aisle and chanted a prayer for Mrs. Pankhurst, and on the verge of requesting her to leave, another woman called out, "This is the House of Prayer; let her remain."

A TAX RESISTANCE SALE

Silver belonging to Mrs. C. R. Tolle-mache was sold at the White Hart, Tottenham, on Thursday last week. The goods had been distrained in consequence of Mrs. Tolle-mache's tax resistance. A speech was made in the auction room, and afterwards a successful protest meeting was held at which a resolution protesting against taxation without representation was passed.

SIR ALMROTH WRIGHT'S SON

An unexpected legacy has come to the Suffrage cause in a sum of £500 which has been left to the N.U.W.S.U. by the late son of Sir Almroth Wright, the well-known Anti-Suffragist. This is the second legacy bequeathed to the movement by members of Sir Almroth's family, the first being from Lady Wright's sister in 1912.

AN ATTRACTIVE PROGRAMME

The performance to be given by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Arts' Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., next Tuesday afternoon, sounds particularly attractive. The cast includes, among others, Miss Lilian Revell, Mr. Philip Fonge, Miss Barbara Everest, and that promising young actress, Miss Irene McLeod, who has not been seen too often since her clever performance in "The Eldest Son." And the three one-act plays to be given include a new one called "Which?" by Evelyn Glover, whose "Chat with Mrs. Chicky" has delighted many Suffrage audiences. Tickets must be obtained beforehand from the A.F.L., as no money may be taken at the doors.

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SOUTH AFRICA

The Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Bill

Because there was a chance of making a third-rate joke, some of the papers announced last Friday that the third reading of the Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Woman Suffrage Bill would be taken in the South African Parliament on April 1. But for this chance of displaying the humour of a bygone age with regard to woman suffrage bills, the news would probably not have been thought worthy of publication.

The Bill, which was read a first time on Thursday last week, will, if passed, enfranchise women who possess the qualifications that now entitle men to vote, with a slight reservation in regard to married women who are joint-owners of property with their husbands.

UNION FOR WOMEN SUFFRAGE OVERSEAS

Miss Hodge's Tour

Miss Margaret Hodge, who has just returned from a tour through Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, starts on

Saturday, March 21, for New York, and intends visiting that city and Chicago. She then hopes to spend about two months in Canada, though she will not be able to go further west than Winnipeg. She spent fifteen months recently with her friend, Miss Newcomb, in the British Dominions of the Southern Hemisphere, and a Union for Woman's Suffrage for the British Dominions Overseas was inaugurated in New Zealand, and the idea was cordially received in the Commonwealth and the Union of South Africa.

Miss Hodge hopes to find favour for this Union in Canada, and this is the main object of her visit. Miss Newcomb, as Hon. Sec. of the new Union, will remain in London to prepare the way for the first meetings of the delegates from the different quarters of the world, on July 9, 1914. Miss Hodge is fortunate in having for a fellow traveler Miss Dorothy Pethick, who will represent the Votes for Women Fellowship, and they hope by their united efforts to spread the knowledge of the Suffrage movement in Great Britain, and incidentally to extend the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN.



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FELLOWSHIP MEETINGS

Enthusiasm at Bolton and Southport
The Spinners' Hall, Bolton, was crowded to its utmost limit on Monday night, when Mrs. Petrick Lawrence spoke to a meeting organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship.

On the following day, under the chairmanship of Miss Kate Ryley, Mrs. Petrick Lawrence addressed an enthusiastic audience which filled the Carnegie Hall, Birkdale (Southport) to overflowing.

Miss Phyllis Lovell, the Lancashire organiser, is to be congratulated on the remarkable success of these meetings.

At Cricklewood
Mrs. Petrick Lawrence was the chief speaker at a meeting held in St. Gabriel's Hall, Cricklewood, on March 5. If one can judge by the enthusiasm of the audience and by the numbers who came to hear what Mrs. Petrick Lawrence had to say, one can only say that the tide of opinion in favour of women's enfranchisement is indeed coming in fast.

The resolution moved by Mrs. Petrick Lawrence protesting against the omission of the subject of Woman Suffrage from the King's Speech, deplored the manner in which the present Cabinet had treated that question, and called upon the Government to bring in a Bill for the enfranchisement of women during the present session of Parliament.

The meeting was ably presided over by the Rev. Dr. Macgovern, who in his introductory remarks gave his reasons for believing that the cry of women for liberty - after fifty years of preparation - had the voice of God behind it.

MRS. ANNIE BESANT

Sends Good Wishes to Fellowship
Mrs. Annie Besant informs us that in reply to a request to speak at a Fellowship meeting, Mrs. Annie Besant has cabled as follows: -

"Am in India. Hearty sympathy. Wish success. Besant."

ANTI-SUFFRAGIST DEFEAT AT EXETER

(From a Correspondent)
A recent event of importance at Exeter has been a triumphant Suffragist meeting - arranged by the Antis.

The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage has, in fact, been conducting a west country tour that has brought

out the great progress made during the last year by Suffragism. At meetings held at Exmouth, and at Sidmouth, the Suffrage element was so strong in the audience that the organisers did not dare to take a vote, and so put no resolution. They made a tremendous effort at Exeter, where they are supposed to have a very flourishing branch. Local "Antis" canvassed practically all the principal business houses. Bills were issued broadcast, announcing a "public meeting" to take place in the Barnfield Hall on Friday; speakers: Miss Gladys S. Pitt, Mr. A. Maconachie, M.A., and adding: -

"Electors of Exeter are specially invited to attend and demonstrate their opposition to the swamping of their votes by the addition of millions of women to the Parliamentary Register."

In addition, Mr. H. B. Samuels held a week of open-air meetings to work up interest in the forthcoming event. Parenthetically, one may observe that it would hardly be any Suffragist society which engaged this gentleman officially to come and talk Anti-Suffragism in its neighbourhood. Some idea of the effect of his arguments, they were the stock notes of the Antis, may be gathered from the remark of a shrewd working-man among his audience in the Fountain Square in St. Sidwell's Street. "I used to be against the Suffrage for Women," he said; "but," addressing Mr. Samuels, "I heard you at Gervase Avenue last night, and I've heard you again here to-night, and now I'm for Votes for Women decidedly."

There was a large but not crowded audience in the Barnfield Hall on Friday, but it was soon apparent that a big proportion had Suffrage sympathies. The Chairman said, in effect, that women were all very well in their place, but that all the really important work of the world was done by men. Miss Pitt then took the floor, and was listened to in almost complete silence. The Chairman made no mention of a resolution, but, having presumably tested the audience and come to the conclusion that it might be adventurous, Miss Pitt moved, at the close of her address, that the extension of the Parliamentary Franchise to women was undesirable in their own interests, and would be prejudicial to the State, and that such a change ought not to be entertained unless upon the clearly-expressed opinion of the electorate.

Mr. Maconachie followed, both speakers so dragging out their speeches that it looked as if there would be no time for questions. Several were asked, however. The first was: "If Anti-Suffragists consider that Women's Suffrage would be such a danger to the country, as they say, why don't they hold more meetings against it?" Suffragists outnumbered "Antis" by ten to one. "Antis," Mr. Maconachie replied, "can make more headway with one meeting than Suffragists can with a hundred" - an answer which was quite laughable in view of what followed.

Mr. Maconachie having claimed that the return of Anti-Suffragists at certain recent bye-elections showed how unpopular votes for women had become with men voters, an elector asked if Women's Suffrage was really an issue at elections? The platform fell into the trap at once, and hailed this citizen as a supporter. Suffragism, Mr. Maconachie said, beaming, was never regarded by men voters as of sufficient importance to be an issue at elections. "Then why claim the sending of Anti-Suffragists to Parliament as a victory for your side?" asked the questioner.

The Chairman was by this time growing "nervy," and on another man asking if he might put a second question, said: "I don't know. I must know what it is first."

Voting was by a show of hands, and it was at once obvious that the resolution was lost, the Chairman proclaiming that he thought there was a small majority against. "Not small!" the Suffragists cried, and at their request the vote was taken again, those against the resolution raising in their places. They were then seen to be in a large majority.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings
The Fellowship will hold a meeting for Fellows and friends at the small Essex Hall, Strand, on March 26, at 8.30. Speakers: Mr. Harold Laski and Mr. and Mrs. Petrick Lawrence.

The Ilford Group of the Fellowship are organising a Jumble Sale in aid of their local fund. Fellows are asked to help. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Crouch, 132, Wellesley Road, Ilford.

Lancashire Centre
Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

There will be readings from Olive Schreiner's "Women and Labour," at 15, Houghton Street, Southport, every Monday

evening at 8 p.m. The Lancashire Organiser will be at home to Fellows and friends every Thursday afternoon from 3.30 to 5.30 in Miss Paldaniore's Studio, The Albany, Old Hall Street, Liverpool.

Other Meetings
The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on March 24, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. John Beresford Leathes and Miss Forsyth.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on March 25, at 8.30 p.m. Speaker: Dr. C. W. Saleby. Chair: Miss Otter

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caston Hall on March 25, at 8.30 p.m. Speakers: Miss Nina Boyle, Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc.

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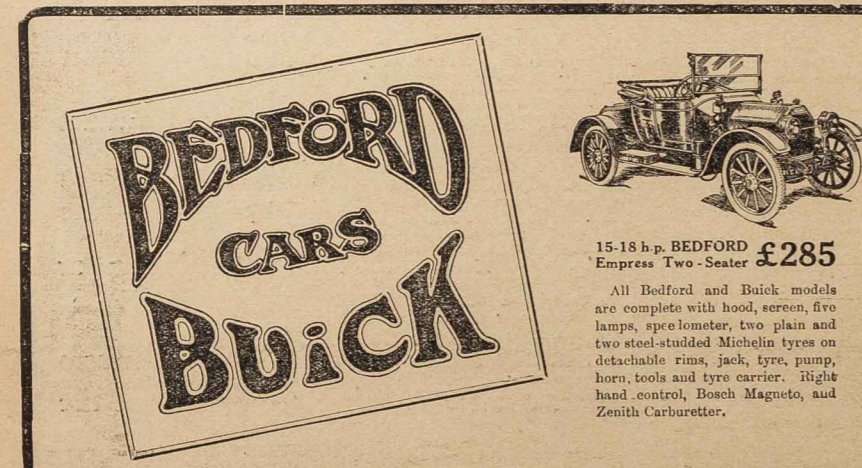
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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

Miss Sydney Keith and Miss Eleanor Elder gave a performance of "A Chat with Mrs. Chicky" at Mrs. Lowy's house in Holland Park on Thursday, March 12. A performance of "How the Vote was Won" and other items, will be given at Mrs. Sudd Brown's on March 20. A Suffrage entertainment fixed for Brighton on the same date has had to be cancelled owing to the regretted death of Miss Martindale.

Rehearsals for the performance at the Arts' Centre on Friday, March 27, are in full swing. In addition to those mentioned last week, Mr. Guy Leigh Pemberton has joined the cast.

The next "Speakers' Class" is on Friday, March 20. This will be the last till after Easter, when it is hoped to resume the course.

Members who feel they would like to undertake "lobbying" in the House of Commons are asked to communicate at once with Miss Mayo, in order that they may join the "Group" now being formed for that work.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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Committee

Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. Gerald Gould, Mr. Henry W. Nevison

Mrs. H. D. Harben, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Evelyn Whelan, Mr. John Sears

Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. Ayton Gould, Hon. Secretary

Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join U.S. (United Suffragists)

To London Readers - Important Notice.

To-night's (Friday's) meeting of members and friends will be held at the Grand Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., at 8 p.m., not in the New Constitutional Society's Hall, as originally announced, this having been found too small in view of the demand for tickets. Owing to the increased accommodation, a few seats are still available for the friends of members. Ring us up directly you read this.

Election Campaign (Walworth Division)
Last week's open-air meeting was most successful. Speakers at this week's, held at the same place and time - corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road, Thursday at 8 p.m. - Mr. Mewett and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Canvassers are coming in, but need so far to be found. Helpers of all kinds wanted, please! Paper-sellers, bill-distributors, chalkers, speakers!

Stroud Division. - A canvassing campaign is being started here at once. Anyone living in the neighbourhood and willing to help should communicate with us at headquarters.

Hatfield (Peffer) (Safron Walden Division) - A similar campaign is being instituted here for which helpers will be welcomed.

Provincial branches of the United Suffragists are in process of formation, of which particulars will be announced shortly. But meanwhile, there is no reason why canvassing campaigns should not be set on foot in any Parliamentary division where two or three members of U.S. are gathered together. Will groups of this kind, however small, communicate with us at once? In view of a possible General Election, this is urgent.

First Public Meeting. - Our first public meeting will be held at the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Thursday, May 21, at 8 p.m. Miss Lena Ashwell will take the Chair; other speakers, including well-known men and women not hitherto identified with the movement, will be announced next week. Tickets can be booked now.

A New Leaflet. - By kind permission of Lady Constance Lytton, an excerpt from her book "Prisons and Prisoners" has been published by U.S. as a leaflet, and is on sale at 3, Adam Street, price 1s. per 100, or 7s. 6d. per 1,000, post free.

SPEECH THAT IS GOLDEN Nursery for Suffrage Speakers
Probably few of our readers know the work that is being done by members of the Actresses' Franchise League in the training of Suffrage speakers. In addition to their own Speakers' Class, Miss Sydney Keith takes a weekly class in elocution for intending speakers in Bow, and one is now being started in Canning Town by Miss Winifred Mayo. Mrs. Perrett has for months past held a most successful Speakers' Class for the New Constitutional Society, both in London and Hastings, and one for the W.S.P.U. in Bexhill; and Miss Ada Moore undertakes others for the Chelsea, Kensington, and Hampstead W.S.P.U., while our readers will be reminded of Miss Rosa Leo's splendid services to the W.S.P.U. and others in this connection. In the Suffrage movement it is certainly speech and not silence that is golden.

SPRING CLOTHES
Messrs. Harvey, Nichols and Co., Limited, have now a complete stock of spring clothes. They have some of the smartest coats and skirts in London, also coats in the new suede cloth. There are to be noticed many styles of shirt blouses, in silk, spandex, and linen. They have published a most attractive and useful catalogue, which should be a great help to prospective buyers.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, 6, International Women's Franchise Club, 2, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 19, Sothby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 321, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 51, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 27, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 13, Broad's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, 10, Watling, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club, 3, Craven Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League, Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League, 20, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 105, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 105, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, 65, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Duncorn, Perthshire, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 24 and 25, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Minister Women's Franchise League, 85, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, 41, 43, Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 3, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Stallio: 6, Stankale Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffrage First Committee, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protect Committee, 21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Broad's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.

Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Marile Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Haverstock Street, W.C.

Women's Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

ETHICAL CHURCH, Queen's Road, W. D. March 22, 11. Rev. J. M. Thompson, of Magdalen, Oxford. "Religion: the Historical Element." 7. "Religion: the Mystical Element."

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army S. Church, Eastcheap, Sundays, 9 and 6. Views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE, Tuesday, March 24, at 3 p.m. New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Behind the Purdah." Mrs. John Beresford Leathe, Miss Forsyth.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, March 25, Miss Nina Boyle and Mrs. Baillie, B.Sc., on "The Century of the Child." 3.30. Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription one guinea. Wednesday, March 25, 8.30. "National Birthday Commission." Dr. C. W. Saleeby Chairman. Miss Otter.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, cleanest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Managers, 4788 Gerrard.

A BOARD-RESID., superior, at 26, Kensington Gardens Square, Hyde Park. Reliable, select house. Private gds. Comfort, cleanliness, quiet. Ex. table. Close Queen's Road Tube. From 25s. Highly recomd.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. From 25s. week. Easter, 6s. per day.—Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

FOLKSTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

LONDON, W.C.—113, Gower Street. Refined home; breakfast, dinner, and full board Sunday; cubicle, 15s. 8d.; rooms, 19s. 6d. to 25s.; gentlemen, 19s. 6d.; bed and breakfast, 3s.

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.—R. Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SUNNY SANDGATE, 1½ miles Folkestone, constant motor service, board residence from 25s. Care of children undertaken; very comfortable house, facing sea. Bathroom, electric light, good, plain cooking.—6, Sunnyside, Sandgate.

WEST HEATH HOSTEL, Lyndale, Hampstead.—Designed to give freedom and comfort to visitors or workers. Lovely garden. Telephone 5497 Hampstead.—Apply, Mrs. Errol Boyd.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

ATTRACTIVE BUNGALOW, comfortably furnished, close golf links, 3 bedrooms, orchard, beautiful country. Suit fowls, bees, 6 miles Birmingham.—Apply, The Leasowes Bungalow, nr. Halesowen.

CHELSEA, OAKLEY STREET—House to let, June on; 8 rooms, bathroom, £60 per annum.—Moslin, agent, 82, Sydney Street, Chelsea.

LADY wishes to meet another to share home in H. G. Suburb. Worker or otherwise.—Box, 520, Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY'S HALL in Knightsbridge to be let for meetings, &c.—For all particulars, apply Secretary, N.C.S.W.S., 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

TWO or three furnished or unfurnished rooms in lady's flat (would divide). Electric, gas, bathroom. Every convenience. Near Tube station.—Write, 1, Belsize Park Gardens, N.W.

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LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.—Boarding School for Girls on Progressive Thought lines. Principal, Miss Richardson, B.A. The school stands in its own grounds, where tennis, hockey, and cricket are played. Home care. Thorough tuition. Entire charge of children coming from abroad.

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MRS MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.), Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing, Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Leamouth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . My voice carried to every part of the hall."

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TO GIRLS seeking a healthful and attractive calling.—Anstey College for Physical Training and Hygiene, Chester Road, near Birmingham. Offers a full professional training in Swedish, educational, and medical gymnastics, dancing, swimming, games, anatomy, hygiene, &c. Health students also received. Special treatment for curvatures, anaemia, &c. Good posts obtained after training.

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COOK-GENERAL required; simple vegetarian cooking; four in family; good outings.—Apply, stating wages, age, and experience, "S," Littlehorpe, Furze Hill, Burgh Heath, Surrey.

LADY SERVANT wanted for small country house; London 25 miles; must be thoroughly trained in domestic work; plain cooking; boy for rough work. £30.—Apply, Box 516, Votes for Women, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

LADY TRAVELLERS (smart) wanted to introduce our portable typewriter. Good prospects for energetic persons.—The Meteor Typewriter Co., 437, Mansion House Chambers, E.C.

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HARP, £3. Erard Upright Piano, £10. Broadwood Upright, £10. Bechstein Baby Grand, new last year, half maker's price. Mustel Organ—MORLEY, 6, Sussex Place, South Kensington.

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GIVE THE FISHERMEN A CHANCE. FRESH FISH, 5lb, 2s.; 8lb, 2s. 6d.; 10lb, 3s.; cleaned, carriage paid; lists free.—The Fishermen's Syndicate, No. 5, Pooton, Grimsby.

PURE CHINA TEA.—The famous "Chang Weng" blend, renowned throughout China for over 300 years; 2s. 6d. per pound; post free.—Sole Agents for the United Kingdom, Li Ling Soo and Co., 24, Aldgate, London.

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