

VOTES FOR WOMEN

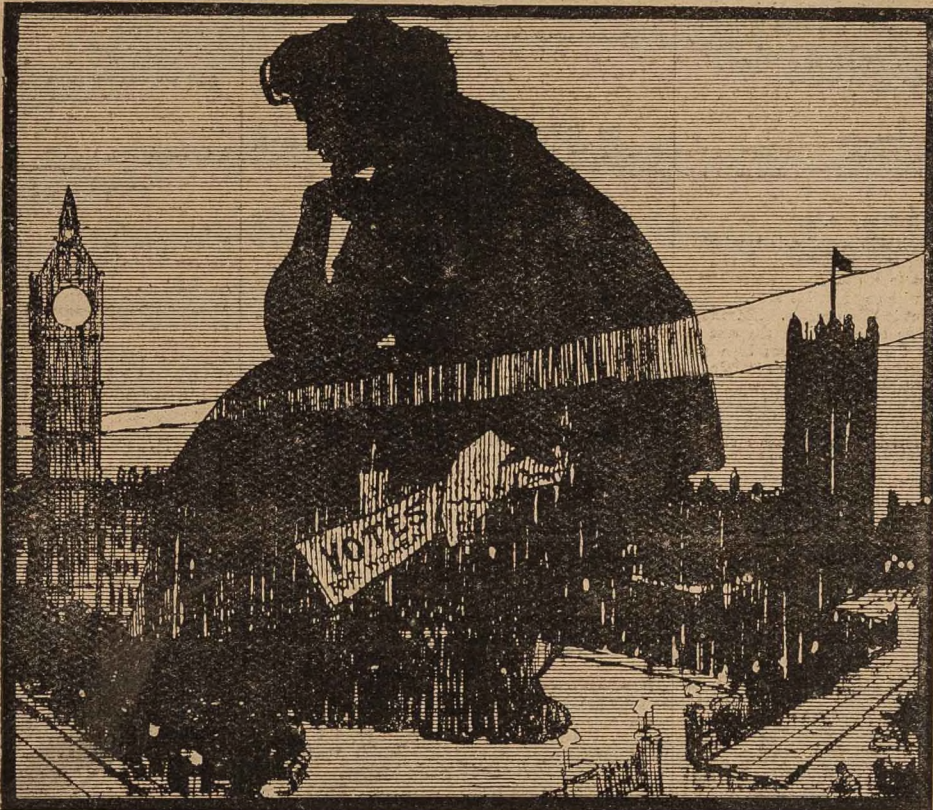
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THE HAUNTED HOUSE.



We reproduce above, as particularly appropriate to the present crisis, the famous Cartoon drawn by Mr. David Wilson which originally appeared in the "Daily Chronicle," and which we were kindly permitted to reproduce on the cover of the early numbers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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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.

Parliament meets on Wednesday next; and the King's Speech will be read foreshadowing the Ministerial intentions with regard to legislation. In former years the question of Woman Suffrage was conspicuous by its absence—in fact none but Suffragists themselves concerned themselves about it. Now all is changed. The suffrage policy of the Government is regarded

by politicians of all shades of opinion as of intense interest. Not merely do they recognise that Woman Suffrage is a living political issue with a genuine prospect of success in the present Session, but they see also that the continued existence of the Government is involved in the correct handling of this question.

A Resolute Army.

The members of the militant organisation of Suffragists, whose views we represent, await with the calmness of absolute determination the issue. They know that a struggle lies before them compared with which all the struggles of the past have been as skirmishes before a battle. They know that it will call for all their energy, all their devotion, all their self-sacrifice. They know that every soldier is wanted to take her place in the ranks, that one or two more or less may make all the difference between victory or temporary defeat. They know that new recruits are of the utmost value. They know that the sinews of war need strengthening. They know that the enemy is powerful, implacable, and unscrupulous. But they know also two things; first that their cause is just and second that God helps those who help themselves. Acting on this knowledge in the years gone by they have by sheer fighting carried the Suffrage flag further and further into the enemy's country, and by sheer fighting in the future they will carry it and plant it triumphant on the citadel itself.

Cabinet Silence.

Up to the time of going to press the Cabinet has not broken silence on the Suffrage question. Though there have been two Cabinet Councils during the week—on

Friday and Tuesday—and at least two "Conferences of Ministers"—on Friday and Monday—no statement of the results has been declared. It is true that Mr. Lloyd George, at the City Liberal Club on Saturday, spoke of the friendly feeling existing between himself and the Prime Minister; and Mr. Hobhouse, speaking at Bristol, referred to the Suffrage Bill of the Government as one for Registration Reform, which would secure the abolition of plural voting; but beyond these vague statements nothing definite has been said.

Points to be Decided.

The points on which the country is entitled to enlightenment are three. Firstly, does the Cabinet adhere to its intention to introduce a Reform Bill open to an amendment to include women? If not, what substitute does it offer to women for the definite pledges given them by the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George? Secondly, does Mr. Lloyd George adhere to his pledge to campaign the country in favour of Woman Suffrage? Thirdly, what attitude do the Cabinet intend to take up with regard to the question of the Referendum? Let us consider each of these points a little more in detail.

Mr. Asquith's Pledge.

In November last, Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George "torpedoed" the Conciliation Bill and gave a pledge that an opportunity would be provided on a Government Reform Bill to introduce a clause enfranchising women, and that if this clause were carried by an open vote in the House of Commons, it would become an integral part of the Government Bill and would receive the support of the Government as a

whole. On the strength of this pledge they secured the friendship of a considerable section of the Suffrage forces. On the other hand, the other section, including the W.S.P.U., declared that this pledge was utterly inadequate and would not secure success to the Suffrage cause in 1912.

Suggested Abandonment.

It has been suggested in the Press that the Government may be contemplating abandoning their pledge. To do so consistently with honour they must put something better in its place. They cannot ask women to go back to facilities for the Conciliation Bill, because by their own admission they have shattered that non-party compromise. The one course that lies open to them is to introduce a Government measure giving to women the same franchise rights as to men. We who refused Mr. Asquith's proposals have all along declared that this alone will satisfy us; and it is difficult to see how those other suffragists who accepted them can be content with anything less than this as a substitute for those proposals if they are now withdrawn.

Mr. Lloyd George's Campaign.

The second point concerns the personal honour of Mr. Lloyd George. When he was engaged in persuading women to accept his championship he promised a great campaign throughout the country in support of Woman Suffrage. So far he has spoken at Bath and at the Horticultural Hall, and he is billed for the Albert Hall. It has been suggested that for fear of splitting the Cabinet he has decided not to continue the great campaign any further. The women of the country are entitled to a statement from him as to the truth of this suggestion.

The Referendum.

The third point on which information is required is with regard to the Referendum. Liberals have been taught by their leaders to see in the Referendum a retrograde step fraught with grave peril to the principles of democratic government in this country. Mr. Lloyd George has condemned it specifically in the case of Woman Suffrage. Yet the suggestion has been put forward by certain Liberal papers, and by Sir Edward Grey, that the Cabinet might connive at the application of the Referendum to Woman Suffrage. An authoritative answer has to be given in the name of the Cabinet as to the course which it intends to pursue on this question.

Mr. Asquith Contrasted with Mr. Gladstone.

Important articles have appeared in the Press during the week dealing with the Woman Suffrage issue. In its leading article of Thursday in last week the Daily Telegraph dealt with "the extraordinary tangle" in which the Government are placed, and proceeded to refer to Mr. Asquith, saying:—

Not the least astounding feature of it all is that he has manoeuvred himself, of his own volition, into the unenviable place he occupies. It was the Prime Minister himself who surprised not merely his opponents, but also his friends and supporters, by making the first announcement of the Electoral Reform Bill, which is to sweep away the existing restrictions on the male franchise. That was entirely his own doing; yet it has added enormously to his personal difficulties and to the embarrassments of those in the Cabinet who share his views on this subject. What his motives were can only be conjectured. The Suffragists at once suspected that it was "a trick" against the cause. . . . It is impossible to conceive Mr. Gladstone in such a situation as that now occupied by Mr. Asquith. Either he would not have permitted the subject to be played with, or he would have allowed his convictions to suffer gradual change until the psychological moment arrived for the proclamation of his full conversion.

The article, which we reproduce elsewhere (p. 294), concluded with the assertion that the Electoral Reform Bill had produced a situation in which everything was dark and confused.

A Cloud no Bigger than a Woman's Hand.

The Pall Mall Gazette of Saturday last in describing the position said:—

The cloud, no bigger than a woman's hand, that heralded a depression which has since overspread the whole Ministerial host, has developed a chilly and paralysing atmosphere that has found its way into the innermost recesses of No. 10, Downing Street.

While the Observer of Sunday remarked:—

We repeat that from the Suffrage imbroglio none but a fuming exit is possible, and that this problem is bound to exert a stronger influence upon political destinies than is yet even remotely realised by most politicians.

And the Globe says that the question of Woman Suffrage is equally dangerous to the Cabinet with the question of Home Rule.

The Medusa Head of Woman Suffrage.

An amusing simile is put forward in the Daily Telegraph:—

They [the Cabinet] are confronted by a troop of spectres, which will keep close to their pillows and trouble their waking dreams all through the year. Home Rule—the Medusa Head of Woman Suffrage.

While the Morning Post in more serious vein denounces the suggestion that Woman Suffrage should be submitted to a Referendum, saying:—

It is inconceivable that the Referendum will please ardent Suffragists any more than it pleased ardent Liberal Reformers. The result of a Referendum is hardly always in the negative, and it is a sort of perforce with which to feed soldiers in a fighting cause. It now appears to be a way out, as it once

THE NEXT PROTEST.

We have received a letter from Mrs. Saul Solomon, in the course of which she says:—"This is the moment when it is our supreme duty—one and all—to offer ourselves body and soul for sacrifice and service. Here am I—send me to the Front," is the cry that bursts from heart and life to answer our Leaders' Call." Who that remembers the sacrifices of Mrs. Saul Solomon and other veterans in the fight can lag behind? Send in your names!

The Labour Party and Woman Suffrage.

A vigorous campaign is being undertaken by members of the Labour Party in different parts of the country in favour of the inclusion of women in the Government's Reform Bill. Speaking at Blackburn, on Friday last, Mr. Philip Snowden said:—

They must have the solidarity of labour on this question. They must have men standing by the women, and saying, "No; we are not prepared to take things for ourselves until the women have had their rights conceded also." (Cheers.) They wanted the Government to understand that there was a demand which was not going to be satisfied with anything except a real democratic measure of electoral reform, one which would recognise citizenship as the basis of the Parliamentary vote, one which would in practice concede the principle that every person of full age and intelligence, every person called upon to obey the laws of the country and pay taxes, regardless of sex, should be given a voice in the legislation of the country and the character of the taxation they were called upon to pay.

Preparations are now complete for the Great Albert Hall meeting organised by the Labour forces for Tuesday next, and all those who desire to be present should lose no time in securing their seats, as no tickets can be obtained on the night of the demonstration.

Russian Women and British Suffragists.

In supporting the British Woman Suffrage movement by her speech at Glasgow, Princess Bariatinski was voicing the view of women in Russia. We learn that the British deputation now visiting Russia has received an address from the Russian women in St. Petersburg which after welcoming the visitors says:—

It will hardly surprise you to learn that the one matter in which we are most deeply and seriously interested is the great movement in your country in favour of female suffrage. It gives us the greatest satisfaction to see that English public opinion appears to be decidedly tending more and more towards recognition of political rights for women on an equality with men. We are aware that this question will have to be brought before your legislative chambers for decision in the very near future, and we therefore venture to express our strong hope that the action of the British Parliament in this important matter will be strictly consistent with that historical extension of political and individual liberty which has hitherto marked the progress of the English people—that in this way the demands of modern life will be met by granting free citizenship to women.

The British deputation are requested to convey the sincerest sympathy and warm-hearted wishes for success from the Russian women to their English sisters.

Under the Government of Men.

A little while ago we drew our readers' attention to the scandal by which the Government of India, while authorising and financing medical attention for native men, not only fails to finance but refuses to give official recognition to the efforts made to give medical attention to Indian women. This week we prefer a still graver accusation. As will be seen from an account in another column the law in India does not recognise any crime in procuring young girls even under 16 years of age for the purpose of concubinage. The Government of Bombay has been appealed to and refuses to take any steps to alter the law on the ground that such an alteration would give offence. The Indian Government is responsible to the British Parliament, and so long as British women are powerless these atrocities will be perpetrated on their helpless Indian sisters.

Items of Interest.

Mr. Alan Macdonnell was due to be released after we had gone to press on Thursday morning, after undergoing two months' imprisonment for his assault on Mr. Lloyd George.

The French correspondent of the Times states that though the woman's movement does not appear to be very vigorous in France, or even in Paris, he has reason to believe that some prominent French statesmen are unable to contemplate without some alarm the influence which would be exercised in France by the success of the British movement.

The Manitoba Grain Growers' Convention has passed a resolution in favour of Woman Suffrage.

The following is a translation of the extract relating to Woman Suffrage from the King of Sweden's speech on opening Parliament:—"Women in matters of vital importance lack the chief rights of citizens. In regard to justice as well as to the real interests of the State this wrong condition of affairs demands alteration. It is therefore my purpose during the present Parliament to submit to you the alterations of the regulations of Parliamentary procedure that women may receive the right to elect and the right of being elected to Parliament on the same conditions as men." We understand that the Conservatives are likely to oppose the extension of the franchise to women; but that the Social Democrats, though in favour of extending the suffrage for men, have undertaken to support a liberal bill for Woman Suffrage.

IN MEMORIAM.

We regret to announce the death of Mrs. Barclay, of Ingagone, Prestwick. Mrs. Barclay was a most enthusiastic member of the Women's Social and Political Union. Her simple goodness and unselfish devotion to every good cause endeared her to all who had the privilege of knowing her.

We also deeply regret to record the death of Mrs. Lecky, of Blairgowrie, at the age of eighty-six, on Saturday, February 3. All her life Mrs. Lecky supported the demand for the enfranchisement of women, and although frail and almost entirely confined to the house during the last years of her life, she became a member of the W.S.P.U., and followed its fortunes with keen interest to the end. We offer our sincere sympathy to her granddaughter, Miss Marjorie Kemp, one of our most enthusiastic workers.

THE NEXT PROTEST.

We have received a letter from Mrs. Saul Solomon, in the course of which she says:—"This is the moment when it is our supreme duty—one and all—to offer ourselves body and soul for sacrifice and service. Here am I—send me to the Front," is the cry that bursts from heart and life to answer our Leaders' Call." Who that remembers the sacrifices of Mrs. Saul Solomon and other veterans in the fight can lag behind? Send in your names!

A volunteer, who has only just been released from prison, writes:—"My imprisonment was the greatest honour ever bestowed on me. . . . I am now ready for any danger duty, even if it means my life."

I do hope I shall be free on the day of your next militant protest, and that you will feel disposed again to let me "list as a soldier," as a volunteer, like last time, when I was so pleased to add a unit towards this thousand. . . . My people have been soldiers for generations, and I ought to know how to take orders and to stand fire. (From a Volunteer.)

Please add my name to the list for the next protest. My week in Holloway only made my convictions the stronger, and my desire the keener, to work for our cause until it is won. I am ready for any action which may prove necessary. (From a Volunteer.)

Will you put my name down for this protest, and for every protest until we get the vote? (From a Volunteer.)

Names should be sent to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

FROM ONE OVERSEAS.

(On hearing of the Deputation of Nov. 21.) The voices of the women are with me night and day. They call me and they lure me, six thousand miles away, 'Midst groves of rustling palm trees, 'neath skies of purest blue.

They rob the peace of summer—they bid me up and do, Adown the long-lost ages I hear the ceaseless tread Of Woman pressing onward, with brave uplifted head, Of Woman staunchly bearing her twofold work and pain, I hear her sigh for freedom breathed to the winds in vain. But now the call has sounded in accents trumpet-clear, The world has heard and wondered—it cannot choose but hear.

Wives, daughters, mothers, sisters—hark! the insistent cry: "Freedom! For Woman's freedom we stand to live or die!"

Across the world your summons comes on the western breeze To isles of endless summer, in spice-bond Southern Seas, Too far to battle for you in that most glorious fray— Women! my heart is with you—six thousand miles away. BELLA SIDNEY WOOLF (Mrs. R. H. Lock), Peradeniya, Ceylon.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Release of Prisoners.

Come to Holloway to-morrow (Saturday) morning at 8 o'clock, and join in welcoming the following:—Miss Evelyn Taylor, Mrs. Archdale, Miss A. Connor Smith, Miss V. Hudson Harvey, Mrs. Frances Rowe, Mrs. Mary Violet Jones, Miss Lelegard Abelling, Miss Jessie Wilcox, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Olive Wharry, Miss Margaret Wallis, and Miss Potbury on their release from two months' imprisonment. The women sentenced on December 13 will be released next Monday, February 12, at 8 a.m. They are:—Miss Grace Stuart, Miss Ethel Slade, Mrs. Evelyn Hudleston, Miss Margaret Robinson, Miss Sarah Bennett, and Miss Georgina Helen Grant.

Welcome to Prisoners.

On Friday, February 16, the two-month prisoners will be welcomed at a special dinner at the Commonwealth Rooms at 7.15 p.m. Mrs. Pankhurst will preside, and as this is the first social gathering since her return from America, a most enjoyable evening is anticipated. Tickets, 6s., to be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. (If Vegetarian, please state when making application.)

In order to meet the desire of members unable to be present at the dinner itself, an arrangement has been made to seat a few additional friends during the after-dinner speeches. Tickets, price 1s. each, may be had from Miss Cooke. No application for tickets can be entertained on the night.

To the Albert Hall!

Do not delay securing tickets for yourself and your friends for the Albert Hall meeting on March 28. Miss Cooke, Ticket secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., will be glad to have all applications in as soon as possible. The prices are as follows:—Amphitheatre, 2s. 6d.; arena, 1s.; lower orchestra, 2s.; balcony, 1s. and 6d.; upper orchestra, 6d., all numbered and reserved; boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Our readers will be glad to know that Lady Stout's articles on New Zealand have been prepared in pamphlet form, and will be ready on Monday next, price 1d. A special sale of goods at reduced prices will be held this week, see page 300.

Don't Forget!

Visitors to the afternoon meeting at the London Pavilion, Piccadilly Circus, W., on Monday next, February 12, at 3.15 p.m., will have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Brasford, who has done so much in the cause of Women's Emancipation. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., will also speak. The evening meeting at the Steinway Hall on Thursday, February 15, at 8 p.m., is of peculiar interest to all women clerks, as Miss Elizabeth Stirling, of the Association of Post Office Women Clerks, will address the meeting. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Leonora Tyson will also speak. These meetings are held weekly, and admission is free. Similar meetings are held throughout the country in all centres where the W.S.P.U. is represented. See pages 296 et seq.

CIVILISATION WITHOUT CITIZENSHIP IS IMPOSSIBLE.

By MR. MANSEL-MOULLIN, F.R.C.S., Vice-President of the Royal College of Surgeons.

A speech delivered at the London Pavilion on Monday last.

Two years ago you did me the honour of inviting me to speak to you on the Queen's Hall platform. At that time I remember I dealt with the reasons why women should have the suffrage, and the arguments that were brought forward against it, or rather the want of arguments. How utterly dry and stale all that is now!

Four years ago your Cause was practically ignored. Your meetings were not reported. I remember once at the Albert Hall, where I think the finest speech I have ever heard was delivered by Mr. Zangwill, it was never mentioned at all. Cabinet Ministers would not receive you, and even private members, who could not very well refuse to see their constituents, suffered with the most extraordinary frequency from bad colds. Now all that is changed. Why, I won't pretend to say. It can have been nothing to do with this Union, because you are always told that the doings of this Union always put back the clock. The curious thing is that while the clock is being put back so steadily the Movement goes on all the faster! Everybody admits that that magnificent procession, which reached from the Strand to the Albert Hall, the finest procession that London has ever seen (or ever will see, until you organise another), had something to do with it, but not your Union. Well, things have changed, and the first step was the institution of the "Woman's Platform" in the Standard, the platform which at first was filled by "antis," and of which they now complain so bitterly, because their one writer and two speakers make such a very poor show upon it. Then the other papers followed suit naturally, quickly enough, and I saw in a Liberal paper only the other day that though there were really vital questions before the country—questions of Home Rule, Welsh Disestablishment, and two or three others that it named—there was nothing heard of but Votes for Women.

Hysterical Outbursts.

Then Cabinet Ministers even have received you, and what is the surest sign of success of all, the "antis" are getting perfectly beside themselves with rage. Those hysterical outbursts of uncontrollable passion, those exhibitions of frenzy and of brutal violence at Gloucester and the Queen's Hall the other day, where the Home Secretary, who was present, made no attempt whatever to control his own supporters, and gave them the approval of his silence, were merely the sign that they have lost all control over themselves, while your own Cause, the success of which has driven them so mad, is advancing by leaps and bounds, because it is the cause of freedom and liberty and civilisation. Thinking over this the other day, I began to wonder whether the distinguished classical scholars in the Cabinet had ever thought out the meaning of the word "civilisation." It is derived from the Latin word, *civis*, a citizen; and civilisation means the realisation of the rights and duties and privileges of citizenship. And yet England, where one-half of the adult population, perfectly as well qualified as the other half, is deprived of its rights of citizenship simply because of its sex, speaks of itself and claims to be spoken of as a civilised country. *Civilisation without citizenship is impossible.* It is a contradiction in terms. No country can be called civilised in which the bulk of its adult population remains without the rights of citizenship.

Our laws are looked upon generally as a product of civilisation. They are nothing whatever of the kind. They are relics of barbarism with a veneer of civilisation over them, and wherever women are concerned that veneer is remarkably thin. They are relics of a time when wives were captured by force or stolen, and there was no limit to the number, and when women were bought and sold like domestic cattle, and treated in very much the same way. I will give you an instance. It is probably known just as well to you as it is to me, and you may have heard it before, but I want to rub it in. A mother, if she is married, is not in the eyes of the law the guardian of her own children. She is in exactly the same relation to her own children that domestic animals are to their offspring. If a mare has a foal, the mare looks after that foal, tends it in every way, but the foal does not belong to the mare, the foal belongs to the farmer, who can dispose of it as he likes. If a mother, who is married, has a child, she may tend that child in every way, but the child belongs to the father. It is the father alone who can dictate what education that child shall have, what religion it shall be brought up in, and who can appoint, in case of his death, what guardian he likes. Let me remind you of the Agar Ellis case, where the husband gave a pledge before marriage that his children should be brought up in the Roman Catholic faith, and as soon as he was married repudiated it, and the law upheld him. This law does not stand alone; there are plenty of others equally bad. The laws, all of them that relate to women in any way, whether they concern marriage or divorce, or illegitimate children, or the employment of women (as we have recently seen with regard to the Pit Brow), or even the latest, the National Insurance Act, all have the same taint running through them; they are all developments of

barbaric law veneered over. The laws of our own country, the administration of justice and the procedure in the courts, have all of them one assumption lying underneath—that woman is an inferior animal, and has been sent into this world for the purpose of looking after man and administering to his wants and pleasure whenever and wherever he likes. It is not so very many years ago since it was seriously debated, chiefly by ecclesiastics I admit, whether women had souls. It is within my memory that it was questioned whether women had minds, and even now our ancient universities hardly admit it. They will examine women; they will teach them; they will take fees from them, but they will not grant them degrees, not knowing in their medieval ignorance the honour that women could do them.

All this ought to be changed. The whole law ought to be changed. It may involve re-writing the Statute Book and altering the customs of every one of the courts. I do not think the lawyers would object. Men and women in the future must stand together side by side on the same plane—on the same plane of rights and privileges and duties, just as they are on the same plane of intellect and mental development. Their brains have grown up side by side. They are like two trees that have grown up together, not identical, but reaching the same height, attaining the same degree of perfection. There is no man living who can tell the difference between a male and a female brain. The difference in size is nothing, because you have to take into consideration the difference in size of the individual. The proportion is the same, and even if it were not, it often happens that an idiot's brain is the largest. They have reached the same degree of perfection. Neither is superior to the other in virtue of sex; neither should be master of the other in virtue of sex. Neither sex can stand by itself; one is but the complement of the other.

The country is beginning to feel this. For the last twenty-six years the country has returned to Parliament a majority in favour of the enfranchisement of women. The political complexion may have varied—has varied from time to time—but the majority in favour of the enfranchisement of women has steadily increased. The majority in the Cabinet is in favour of it; individual members have on many occasions declared that it is only a measure of justice delayed. What then is the obstacle? The sole obstacle is the policy of expediency, the policy of the Party Whip. In the Cabinet they call it loyalty to their chief. Outside the Cabinet men owe a certain measure of loyalty to their consciences and to their convictions. In the Cabinet—well, crack goes the Party Whip, conscience and convictions go to the wall, and, like a well-trained pack, all Ministers come to heel at once. It is not a noble policy, and it is likely to lead to trouble; it has led to trouble, and now the question is, What are they going to do? They cannot ignore the Movement any longer. They tried to do that. They declared that it did not exist until its size has threatened their own existence. They cannot vote against it, because the majority of the Cabinet (we have it on the Prime Minister's authority) are in favour of it. They cannot vote for it because of the Party Whip. What are they to do?

"Pledges like Chickens come Home to Roost."

There is only one thing left, and that is the course they have taken—the policy of delay, evasion, promises, excuses. Take 1910. The question was getting urgent; something must be done. So Mr. Birrell, with his childlike, bland smile, and his soft, smooth-spoken words, was told off to utter some cheerful platitudes. 1911! Something more must be done. Mr. Birrell was no good this time, so the Prime Minister gave some pledges. A month passed, and Mr. Lloyd George showed what his opinion of those pledges was, so the pledges were repeated with emphasis, emphasis connected with the spirit and the letter. 1912! Pledges like chickens come home to roost. Something more must be done, and then the Manhood Suffrage Bill was suddenly sprung upon the country. They say that it fell like a bomb in the House of Commons; that nobody had ever heard of it; certainly nobody had ever asked for it, and nobody expected it. Why it was introduced I think is shown best by the enthusiasm with which it was received by the "anti" party and by our torpedoing hero. They were delighted. It may not have been introduced with the intention of pleasing them, but it certainly had that effect. But then a very unpleasant thing happened. The Labour Party executed what I believe is termed a flanking movement. They declared that they would not have a Manhood Suffrage Bill, but an Adult Suffrage Bill, and now the Manhood Suffrage Bill is half forgotten. It is in a state of suspended animation. Still, something had to be done; so that member of the Government who is a loss to the music-hall stage (he is the best variety and quick change artist that we have got, and he may, such is his versatility, yet adorn that stage) started the Referendum red herring. Personally, I do

not think for a moment that the Referendum is serious. A Cabinet can stand abuse, it thrives on it, it is accustomed to it; it can stand arguments, especially when it has the Closure at its back, but it cannot stand ridicule, and for Cabinet Ministers to spend the whole of one sitting concocting epigrams about the Referendum, and then spend the next sitting advocating it, would be one step too much even for the present Parliament. What, then, is to be done? It seems as if our old friends the Plural Voting Bill and the Conciliation Bill will be coming up again, unless there is some other startling surprise in store; but of one thing you may be certain, that Ministers will never run straight. They have not run straight hitherto, and they are not going to begin to run straight now. That is not a noble policy; it is not a policy that will go down to posterity as the effort of Statesmen. It is a policy of rank cowardice. They are afraid to face the facts. It is a policy of the most stupid folly, because they cannot see that this Movement has come to stay, and that it is growing faster and faster every day; and it is a policy of barbarism, because they are relying upon methods of barbarism to put down a purely spiritual movement. The question is, What are you to do? How are you to nail such shufflers and wrigglers, how are you to nail them to their pledges? Someone in the audience says, Wait and see. It will be too late then. You want to nail them now, and the only thing is to keep straight on for your principle. The one that was laid down at the start. Keep perfectly straight for the principle, "as it is, or may be granted to men." I know what it means, and I am afraid you all know as well as I do. I know the hundreds who have been imprisoned. I know the brutal treatment that so many of you have received at the hands of the police and of prison officials, if not by the direct orders of the Home Secretary, at least with his active connivance. I know that some of you have been maimed for life. I know that some have died; died as directly of the violence they have received as if they had been put up against a wall and shot. I know all this, and so do you, but there is nothing for it but to go on. Your Cause is a sacred one. It is the Cause of justice and liberty and civilisation. It is the finest and the noblest Cause the world has ever known, and it is one that must and will succeed.

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THE CABINET AND THE WOMEN.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND THE CABINET SPLIT.

(From our Special Correspondent.)

On Saturday last, the Chancellor of the Exchequer visited the City Liberal Club, in accordance with the announcement that he would make a speech upon the subject of Finance. The business men, who form the bulk of the members, were keenly interested, and turned up in great force, although Saturday is for most of them a very inconvenient day.

The City Liberal Club is a Liberal oasis in the "one square mile" of solid Conservatism, but if Mr. Lloyd George reckoned upon a perfectly uninterrupted hearing, even in this "holy of holies," he was grievously mistaken. Several men Suffragists were present; and there can be little doubt that, but for this circumstance, the Chancellor would have been glad to avoid altogether touching upon the thorny subject of the disagreement in the Cabinet. However, directly the chairman's introductory remarks were over, and as Mr. Lloyd George stood up to begin his address (not a little while after he had begun, as some of the newspaper reports state), a gentleman arose from a seat between the reporters' table and the platform, not two yards away from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and quietly but emphatically said: "When the Chancellor speaks we should like to hear something in reference to the Cabinet and women's enfranchisement." (Cries of "Order," and "Sit down.") The questioner at once resumed his seat; and the Chancellor, after petulantly waving his arm with a curious movement as if he were chasing invisible chickens along an imaginary fowl-run, plunged into his speech.

Impelled by so timely a reminder that Woman Suffrage is "always with us," even in the City Liberal Club, Mr. Lloyd George felt, I suppose, that he must say something about the Cabinet differences, which it is common knowledge are due to the Suffrage question. In fact he was at some pains to dismiss as an airy phantom the very idea of a Cabinet schism. He had read, he said, that there was a great split in the Cabinet, and that a feud existed between the Premier and himself. It was very odd, though, that at six o'clock the night before "in the most friendly and cheerful manner," The Cabinet knew nothing of a split.

Don't nail his ears to the pump!

At this point another Suffragist, speaking from the middle of the room, asked: "Will Mr. Lloyd George tell us the result of the Cabinet Council's discussion upon Women's Suffrage?" Cries of "Put him out!" followed; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer broke off to say: "Oh no, leave him alone; it is rather odd outside, and if he remains here he will find it very hot." (Laughter.) It is probable that but for this "Don't nail his ears to the pump" sort of advice, the questioner would have been allowed to remain. But an officious personage, ostensibly a "gentleman," took it upon himself, without the Suffragist's reason or excuse, forcibly to eject the Suffragist, who, though the president of a member of the Club, was thrown into the street, without his hat and overcoat, on a day when the thermometer registered ten degrees of frost, a disgraceful proceeding; and the detention of the coat and hat, besides being vindictive, would seem to have been absolutely illegal.

When a vote of thanks was proposed to Mr. Lloyd George and Earl Beauchamp the latter was about to reply, when the gentleman who first protested called out, "Just a few words about the Suffrage question," but he was shouted down, and Mr. Lloyd George shook his head vigorously but would not say a word.

The meeting ended with the usual complimentary speeches, and presently Mr. Lloyd George, wreathed in smiles, sallied forth to his motor car. He wore an overcoat with a huge brown fur collar, and smoked a cigar nearly as large as a torpedo. Somehow, it made one think of the Conciliation Bill, Loud loos and cheers, intermingled with "Pass along, please!" were the Chancellor's send-off. As I passed through the hall on my way out I heard two members talking, not of Mr. Bonar Law, not about finance, not of armament, but of Woman Suffrage. One said to the other: "It would be interesting to know how these men get into these meetings." The only answer was a puzzled grunt. The leaven worketh, even in the City Liberal Club! I am told that one of the protesters, when coming out of the room, was hustled by one or two gentlemen, who tried to find out who brought him in. The protestor called out to Mr. Lloyd George, who was just passing near him at the time,

to reprimand his followers, but Mr. Lloyd George only smiled and said: "You know what to expect under the circumstances," or words to that effect.

[We are informed that the club authorities have refused to give up the coat to the gentleman who asked the question, stating that they will not do so until he discloses the name of the member who supplied him with a ticket. This he has declined to do, and the club authorities are quite illegally detaining his coat.]

WITH THE PREMIER ON THE CHANNEL.

We never planned to cross the Channel that day—it came as a sudden inspiration. The sea was so smooth and the sky so blue—the very day for a visit to Madame La France. So we ran the whole way down the Leas to the boat, breathless with one mission to spare, never dreaming we were sailing out to meet an adventure.

All the while we were exploring Boulogne, it was speeding nearer and nearer in the shape of Mr. Asquith returning home from his holiday twelve hours before his announced time. Cabinet Ministers keep their comings and goings quiet nowadays—in case of accidents, &c. &c.

Certainly the Prime Minister resumed the cares of office sooner than he expected, for he had not been on board ten minutes before they were fastened on to his shoulders again. We met on the main deck just as the vessel started, and I stood opposite him for one paralysed moment, but the next found myself saying "Votes for Women, Mr. Asquith!" in a determined tone, into his ear. He started, pretended he hadn't heard, and walked on followed by his family. But we were coming again. It was the only pleasant part of the ship, and everyone who preferred fresh air to a stuffy saloon was walking up and down too. And each time I passed I gave him the reminder with added courage and aplomb as our own cousin says. Three times he stood it, although one could see his anger was rising. The fourth time my companion joined in. . . . Mr. Asquith despises women; he admits it, but when they are backed up by big burly men, who shout out as though they meant business, his disregard seems to vanish. That last shout sent the Prime Minister of Great Britain scurrying into a private cabin. And he must have minded, for his aide-de-camp, Mr. Edwin Montague, came up to remonstrate and implore. "It was an unheard-of, disgraceful thing to attack the Premier like that; surely his privacy should be respected"; I had insulted him; he felt it deeply, etc. So he was informed that, so long as the Suffragists were paid with public money, he was a public servant, and if he did not do his work properly the public had a perfect right to remonstrate with him, and since he seemed so sorry of meeting them they must take what opportunities they could of telling him their opinion of his conduct. As for insulting him, there could be no question of that, for Mr. Asquith insulted everyone every day he held office.

Mr. Montague was good enough to tell me he was "all for" Woman's Suffrage and hoped sincerely that "our" Cause would triumph, but added that if we did not get it this year it would be on account of misguided militant actions such as mine. So I begged him to tell Mr. Asquith that if he did not bow to Votes for Women this year more violent demonstrations than ever would be employed. Just a lucky chance, but it *sees* rather wonderful when one comes to think of it.

X. Y. Z.

AN OMEN!

Several women met the Prime Minister on his arrival at Charing Cross Station. One of them writes:—

"At last the time, dreaded by Cabinet Ministers, has arrived. Their holidays over, they have to devote their attention once more to matters political, foremost among the questions awaiting settlement being Woman Suffrage. It is an omen of the future, that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues will do well not to trifle with this subject, that almost the first words that met his ear as he stepped from the train at Charing Cross, on his arrival in England on Thursday night, were a reminder from women that they will neither accept a Manhood Suffrage Bill, nor tolerate a Referendum Bill. Asquith was as usual accompanied by detectives, who unsuccessfully attempted to prevent the women from approaching. One of them used considerable violence, and attempted to push one of the women on to the train. In spite of this however the women succeeded in accompanying the Prime Minister to his motor car, into which he climbed as quickly as possible and drove off."

In the morning (Friday) Mrs. Marshall took a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN to Mr. Asquith's house, and attached to it the article from the previous issue on "Catholic Emancipation," by Mr. Clayton.

MR. RUNCIMAN.

Gatherings of farmers, provided the new Minister of Board of Agriculture is present, appear to be marked down to the Suffragists' special hunting grounds! At York recently, members of the local W.S.P.U. were successful in securing a short talk with Mr. Runciman,

one as he left the train, and the other at the "City Arms." Though there was much secrecy as to the time of his arrival, so that it seemed impossible to obtain the necessary information, the Suffragists "got there." At Preston, too, on Saturday last, on the occasion of the Lancashire Farmers' Association's Annual Dinner, Mrs. Rigby entered the Market Hall disguised as a market woman, with a basket of produce. "I succeeded," she says, "in passing into the hall unobserved twenty-five minutes before the time of the meeting, but was found by the vigilant chief stewards, and I consented to leave the building." Mrs. Rigby had previously written on January 30, asking Mr. Runciman to receive a small deputation, in order that the women might place before him the immense amount of labour which falls to women in agriculture, and the inadequacy of their recognition. She pointed out that the Treasurer of the local Union dealt with many Lancashire farmers as travelling agent and chief clerk in a small hay and straw business; that the local Union had in the six years of its existence done excellent work in the locality in showing and spreading the thoughtful demand for women's enfranchisement. The letter contained the following words: "Our work is not achieved," and by this we mean the election campaign come from these women. In the point of view of sincerity, rhetoric, eloquence, marshalling of a case, and pointed and at times personal speech—with the Prime Minister as the objective—the ladies have it."

MRS. PANKHURST AT LIVERPOOL.

A very large company gathered at the Philharmonic Hall, Liverpool, to see the "Philharmonic of Great Women," organised by the W.S.P.U. and produced by Miss Edith Craig, and to listen to a stirring address from Mrs. Pankhurst. "So far as her own section of the Suffrage movement was concerned, they had always worked," she said, "for Votes for Women on the same terms as men, and they would take no less. They were not fighting men, or trying to be like men, but they were trying to share the power of men, so that they might do their part to put straight some of the tangles into which humanity had fallen."

LABOUR AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The following resolution has been unanimously adopted at a business meeting of the members of the London Fabian Society:—

That in view of the Prime Minister's pronouncement in regard to the proposed Reform Bill, this meeting of the Fabian Society declares that no measure of acceptable which does not include both men and women, and which does not provide for the genuine measure of Adult Suffrage, establishing political equality between the sexes. It points out that as the majority of the male workers is already enfranchised, and as this majority is also a majority of our adult males, the introduction of manhood suffrage will make little change in anything except the number of electors and the number of names on the register; and can, therefore, be taken as a measure in reply to their recent agitation. Under these circumstances the meeting declares that it is its duty to support the Standard (Woman's Platform), were the talk of the town, and as correspondence on the subject was going on in the local paper, there were many who flocked to hear the tale from Miss Platman's own lips. About half a dozen of these same young Liberal stewards sat together, and in a spirit of bravado attempted to interrupt Miss Platman, but they were dealt with so effectively by her that they soon collapsed into silence.

Mrs. Petrick Lawrence dealt mainly with the present political position of the Woman Suffrage movement, drawing an analogy between the situation to-day and that created at the beginning of the nineteenth century over the struggle for the emancipation of Roman Catholics. Mrs. Lawrence explained that nothing less than a Government measure giving equal rights to men and women would satisfy the Women's Social and in these days to be practical politicians. Patience, trustfulness, and peaceful persuasion were of no more use to voteless women than they had been in the past. The King's Speech, that the Government intended to bring in a Bill to give equal franchise, she hoped that Gloucester would send representatives to take part in the demonstration of protest which would then be necessary, and would be joined in by women from all over the country.

The resolution calling upon the Government to withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to substitute a Bill giving equal rights to men and women, was carried almost unanimously.

UNIONISTS AND WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

The Lobby correspondent of the Standard says:—"It is not proposed by the Unionist party to raise the question of Women's Suffrage as a single issue by means of an amendment to the Address. It is, however, the intention of the Opposition to challenge the whole status policy of the Cabinet by an official amendment which will on general principles attack a reckless extension of the franchise while electoral areas and values are left so hopelessly unequal, and the Constitution is still in the melting-pot. This amendment will be aimed at the Manhood Suffrage Bill primarily, but it cannot fail to raise the question of Women's Suffrage, and should extract from the Government an explanation of their attitude. Another development on the Address will be, in all probability, concerned with the Referendum itself. I understand that it is the desire of numerous and influential Unionists to elicit an unambiguous statement from the Cabinet on the possible uses to which a poll of the people might be adapted. An amendment to the Address raising this issue will accordingly be framed, and there is every expectation that an opportunity for its consideration will be provided. Here again Votes for Women must assume importance."

A CHILD AND A DOG.

A correspondent draws our attention to the case of Henry Scott, aged 22, of North Street, Hackney, who was indicted at the Middlesex Sessions for stealing at Finchley an Aberdeen terrier dog, value £10, belonging to Mr. Cecil Charles Harrington, of Fawley Road, West Ham, and was sentenced to twelve months' imprisonment with hard labour. Our correspondent draws a comparison between this case and the recent case at Godalming, when a married man of 28 was sentenced to four months' hard labour for assaulting a little girl of seven and a half years of age, "an assault," our correspondent adds, "that had been going on for a period of six months, and which means the moral ruin of the child for life; but then the dog was worth £10."

BY-ELECTION. EAST EDINBURGH.

Table with 2 columns: Name, Votes. Mr. J. M. Hodge (L.) 5,062; Mr. J. G. Jameson (U.) 4,139.

Result in Dec. 1910—Sir J. P. Gibson, Bart. (L.), 6,135; H. M. Cameron (L.U.), 3,782. Lib. Maj., 2,353.

The tremendous fall in the Liberal majority (2,654 to 925) is a striking verdict against the Government. The W.S.P.U. worked incessantly to bring about this satisfactory result, and may justly claim to have materially influenced it. Certainly no other political cause aroused so much sympathetic attention. "From first to last," our correspondent reports, "Suffragists dominated the constituency." Women speakers were everywhere; their cables, decked in purple, white, and green, criss-crossed through the streets. They assembled huge crowds, who listened to their case with earnestness. "The Edinburgh Evening News (Liberal)" said: "Some of the finest orations of the election campaign come from these women. In the point of view of sincerity, rhetoric, eloquence, marshalling of a case, and pointed and at times personal speech—with the Prime Minister as the objective—the ladies have it."

MRS. LAWRENCE AT GLOUCESTER.

Many strangers were attracted to the meeting addressed by Mrs. Petrick Lawrence at Gloucester on Tuesday in last week, on account of the excitement aroused in the town by newspaper accounts of the assault upon Miss Platman at the Liberal meeting addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst a few days previously. As described in VOTES FOR WOMEN last week, two women who attempted to put a question of Woman Suffrage to Mr. Hobhouse were treated with extreme violence by Liberal stewards. These assaults on three residing women, say the Standard (Woman's Platform), were the talk of the town, and as correspondence on the subject was going on in the local paper, there were many who flocked to hear the tale from Miss Platman's own lips. About half a dozen of these same young Liberal stewards sat together, and in a spirit of bravado attempted to interrupt Miss Platman, but they were dealt with so effectively by her that they soon collapsed into silence.

THE ONLY WAY!

If any member of the audience could tell her of any better method than those the Suffragists had pursued to achieve their aim she would be glad to hear of them. Irish Unionist politician and their leaders were providing the Suffragists with excellent principles, and they were telling them how they must act when their principles were threatened. In Belfast the Unionists might, in regard to Mr. Churchill, have adopted the plan followed by the Suffragists when they silenced Mr. Asquith at the City Temple. As to stonethrowing, stones were after all very respectable, and the stones thrown by the Suffragists did not do any harm, as they were not thrown at heads, but at windows. If the tales she had heard were correct, however, windows were beneath their notice in Ulster. (Laughter.) They liked to do much more damage than that. When they considered that the Suffragists had done much more violent things for no greater motive than that which animated the Suffragists, they ought not to criticise the methods of the latter. As the result of five or six years' steady militant action the women had nearly brought about a split in the Cabinet. When they first began to be militant, people said they were very foolish, and that no notice need be taken of them; but now their cause had so far advanced that when the London newspapers took to discussing the Government and their difficulties they gave first place to Woman's Suffrage.

The time had arrived when women must be recognised as human beings. A change was coming over them. The woman of the twentieth century was different from the woman of the nineteenth century. There might be some who did not approve of their methods, but because of what the Suffragists had done they were all the stronger for it. Their point of view had been changed more than they knew, and to-day women stood higher in the estimation of their men folk than ever before. (Applause.) She believed that when the history of this period came to be written the most important question would be the revolution on the part of women, whereby they set themselves free from the subjection of centuries, and as a result of which they won their position as the equals and partners of men in the business and the work of life. (Applause.) At the close the resolution was passed with three dissentients. After the meeting a dinner was given in the Carlton Restaurant in honour of Miss Pankhurst's visit.

LABOUR DEMANDS ADULT SUFFRAGE.

A great meeting was held in Glasgow on Wednesday last week, under the auspices of the Independent Labour Party. The audience of about 2,000 was largely composed of women, and the suffrage question was the chief theme. Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke of the example which the Labour Party set to both Liberals and Unionists by being united on the greatest political question of the day—woman suffrage. There were two points on which they all must insist—First, that the vote should be given to women on perfect equality with men; and secondly, that the Government themselves should take the responsibility for carrying that reform into effect.

Princess Bariatinsky, the well-known Russian actress, said that to her, a Russian woman, it was incomprehensible that the English people, who had always been in the forefront of the struggle for freedom, refused to make women citizens in the fullest sense, while in Russia they were wholly converted to the belief in the great part played by women in the world.

Mr. Kerr-Harris said that it almost looked as though the Government were losing the

NO MANHOOD SUFFRAGE!

The audience which assembled on Saturday afternoon to welcome Miss Christabel Pankhurst on her first visit to Belfast, last Saturday, was magnificent. The meeting was convened by the Belfast Women's Suffrage Society, Mrs. Chambers presided, and moved the following resolution:—"That this meeting calls upon the Government to withdraw the Manhood Suffrage Bill, and to introduce instead a measure giving equal voting rights to men and women." Miss Pankhurst who was received with enthusiastic applause seconded the motion.

Referring to the methods used by the militant Suffragists, Miss Pankhurst said she did not think she need apologise for them in Ireland. (Laughter.) They knew very well what the Nationalists had done in their day and what they might do again. As for the people of Ulster—well, ask Mr. Winston Churchill what he thought of them. (Laughter and applause.) She did not think that after the way they had treated poor Mr. Churchill they ought to say anything about the Suffragists. After all, they could not do worse than prevent a Cabinet Minister from holding a meeting in a hall in which he wanted to speak. She was very much surprised to learn that some of the people of Belfast did not approve of the methods of the Suffragists. They said they were fighting in defence of their principles, and on behalf of the Suffragists who would reply that they were doing the same. (Applause.)

WOMEN HEROES.

The roll of heroines for the year 1911 has been indeed a long and remarkable one, containing as it does a list of old and young who in the presence of great danger have shown wonderful coolness and courage. None has been braver than old Jeanne Monnet, the French nurse, who paid with her life for an act of self-sacrifice on behalf of three children committed to her care. Jeanne was seventy-four years old, and had spent the greater part of her life in the service of the same family. Recently she was looking after her old mistress's grandchildren, and one evening, having given them their supper and put them to bed she began to prepare her own meal. In filling a lamp she spilled some paraffin on a plate which she had left on the kitchen table, and when lighting the lamp shortly after, dropped a burning match into the plate, which instantly blazed. In trying to extinguish it the nurse became enveloped in flames, but throwing herself on the ground, she rolled herself in a rug until they were extinguished. Fearful lest she should frighten the little ones, who were just going to sleep, the faithful servant never uttered a cry, despite the awful pain she was suffering. Crawling back to the bedside she sat crooning songs and baby talk until her charges were asleep, and was found, in silent agony, sitting at the bedside of the sleeping children, so terribly burned that when taken to hospital she only survived a short time.

WHO KEEPS THE HOME?

An article appeared recently in the Daily Chronicle showing clearly that in money matters in the home it is the woman who pays. "It is always the woman who pays," says the long run or in short commons. The widow told the coroner that her husband had been out of work since June, and that she had had to work hard to keep him and her five children. She worked at a laundry four days a week, and said she was paid 2s. 6d. for a day of twelve hours. When the coroner's officer called on Christmas Day she had neither fire nor food in the house.

DR. CAMPBELL AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

It is interesting—especially remembering a notable protest in the City Temple—that the Rev. Dr. Campbell, pastor of that church, declared to an American interviewer that "the only way to get anything you want in politics in England is to make yourself a nuisance." He affirmed his belief in Woman Suffrage, which he declared imminent, and we are told, when asked if the women who went out and made demonstrations on the streets of London were held in great esteem in London, answered: "O dear, yes. The women are all very genteel."

MISS DAVISON'S APPEAL REFUSED.

An application was made on February 5 before the Lord Chief Justice and Justices Hamilton and Lush, in the Court of Criminal Appeal, for leave to appeal against sentence on behalf of Emily Wilding Davison, who was sentenced to six months' imprisonment on January 10 at the Central Criminal Court for two offences—placing in a letter-box on December 8 a certain noxious matter likely to injure letters, and, on December 14, attempting to put fire in a letter-box in Parliament Street.

Mr. H. H. Schloesser, for the appellant, explained that the applicant, being unrepresented by counsel, had failed to put her case in a proper way.

The Lord Chief Justice said that the appellant was an educated woman, who desired to call the attention of the public to the rights of women by doing what was an illegal act. Mr. Schloesser said there was no intention to do injury. He letters. The appellant's desire was to be arrested. On the second occasion she communicated with the Press, and the police were held in consequence of the information given.

The Lord Chief Justice, giving the decision of the court, said that the woman pleaded guilty, and the case was conducted on that plea and eventually she admitted her guilt. They were asked to say that the sentence was too severe for a woman of education, who knew perfectly well the difference between right and wrong. It was now said that she should have a less severe sentence because of the way in which she acted, and because she had allowed herself to be caught on the second occasion; also because she had desired to call the attention of the Government to the necessity of putting women Suffrage on the King's Speech. If it were said that it would have no answer to give to any poor wretched person who had a grievance and tried to call attention to it by committing a criminal act. There was not the slightest ground for suggesting that the sentence was too severe. The application was accordingly refused.

THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL.

Asks for Better Education for Women.

Speaking at the recent Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental Educational Conference to an audience of men, the Begum of Bhopal, the third in succession of a line of women rulers, referred to the position of women in India saying:—"The history of our community as well as daily experience fully prove that it is the neglect and want of due attention of men which are responsible for the ignorance of women, which has done much more harm to men than to women. But, thank God, efforts are now being made to make up for past negligence, and many of those obstacles which stood in the way of female education, most of them were self-created, have now been removed. But many still remain to be overcome and they are most difficult, and if you fail to cope with them with courage and determination you will betray not only your manliness, but of justice as well. At the same time, the signs of the time and the condition of our community afford me full assurance that you will not cease your efforts in this cause unless and until you have succeeded in bringing up the weaker sex to your own level so that they may become your real help mates and useful companions in this life; and with the help of God your resolve is bound to succeed."

UNDER MEN'S GOVERNMENT.

It is sometimes suggested as an argument for the exclusion of women from the franchise that the vote controls not merely domestic, but also Imperial legislation. The following facts cast a lurid light upon how the Government of India, which is ultimately responsible to the British Parliament, controlled by male electors represents the interests of women in that vast dependency.

Some time ago in Poona City Dr. Harold Mann received word that a girl of about fourteen years old, the daughter of nominal Christian parents, had been sold to a Pathan in Poona City, in payment of a debt of few rupees. A member of the Committee of the Society for the Protection of Children immediately went to the spot, and found that this was truly the case; the girl had just been sent into the rooms occupied by the purchaser, and there she was found, in the evening, sitting crying. They were able, after a good deal of trouble, to take away the girl immediately, and a case was almost at once instituted against the Pathan for procuring a girl for immoral purposes. The Poona City magistrate who originally tried the case held that she was taken by the Pathan for the purpose of prostitution. The offender was therefore sentenced to a substantial penalty.

Decision Reversed on Appeal.

The Pathan, however, took the case to the High Courts, and the decision was there reversed; it was held that any man might have a concubine, even if she was a little girl below the age of sixteen, and even though there was every probability of its leading to a permanently evil life.

On this the Society submitted an appeal to the Government of Bombay in which it suggested that an attempt should be made to amend the existing law.

The Government will do Nothing.

The result was that the Government consulted leading members of every community to ascertain whether any objection could be raised against the proposal to make it illegal to obtain possession of a girl below the age of sixteen for concubinage or any other purpose except legal marriage, and came to the conclusion that it would interfere with a number of recognised customs and might lead to resentment and opposition from "perfectly respectable classes." They therefore decided to do nothing.

The Times of India commenting on the case says that any opinions that the Government might have received to that effect are not the opinion of those whose views should carry weight in considering a question affecting the honour and happiness of helpless young girls.

It is evident from what Dr. Mann says that the traffic is a more widely extended one than people imagine.

AN OFFENCE AGAINST A CHILD.

Another case of disgraceful leniency to a man found guilty of an offence against a little girl of nine years occurred at Chippenham on Monday last.

The prisoner was originally sentenced to a month's hard labour, but appealed that he might be allowed to pay a fine. The magistrates, Major Cotes and Major A. M. Stevens, said they were willing to impose a fine only if they were empowered to do so, in view of the prisoner's otherwise good character. In the end a fine of £2 was inflicted, which was promptly paid.

Such cases of men's administration are occurring all over the country. It is only women who see how abominable these crimes are. How much longer is women's opinion to be shut out from the Government of the country?

PENALISING A SUFFRAGIST TEACHER.

On Tuesday, February 6, the Hornsey Education Committee considered the case of Miss Francis Creaton, a teacher who took part in the W.S.P.U. Protest last November. It will be remembered that the Education Committee decided to suspend her without payment till the end of the year, to withhold her annual increment of £5 for that year, and to remove her to another school. Miss Creaton made application for her salary for the period she was under suspension, and the Schools' Staff Sub-Committee recommended the Education Committee to pay the sum of £14 15s. 8d. and to give her a month's notice. Mr. Walter Gaskell said he thought that the committee was taking too drastic a step, and moved the resolution back to the recommendation. He had, however, only two supporters, and the recommendation was carried.

MR. LEWIS HARCOURT.

Following on the report in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN of the deputation to Mr. Harcourt, Miss Annie Kenny writes:—"Funds are urgently needed to help in the work in the Brossendale Valley. The women all over this scattered constituency must be brought into touch with our movement, each elector must be asked to refrain from helping in any way to keep Mr. Harcourt in office, unless he lives up to Liberal principles. All Cheques and Postal Orders to be sent to me at 4, Clementina Inn. Gratefully acknowledged, £5."

Woman at Highgate: I go out to work at 7.30 in the morning and return at 8.30 at night. The Clerk: What does your husband do? Woman: He stays at home, does the housework, and looks after the baby. [Query: Which has the vote?]

BOOKS AND PLAYS.

ABOUT CHILDREN.

As the Rt. Hon. Walter Runciman, M.P., says in his introduction to this useful handbook...

Again, the same child may be fed either by the local education authority or by the Poor-law guardians...

Mr. Runciman, in his introductory remarks, commends the book also to "those who may wish to have some clear understanding of those laws which they are anxious to amend..."

It would be interesting to see what would happen if a mother convicted of cruelty to her child were to plead that she acted only by virtue of the delegated authority of the father...

E. S.

MARRIED MISERY.

In a series of stories entitled "The Blood Moon" (Everet, 2s.), Mrs. Irene Osgood deals mainly with marital unhappiness of greater or less degree...

"In every rank of life the wife is the household drudge. And housekeeping, being monotonous, matter-of-fact, recurrent, uninteresting, is drudgery, and it has often occurred to me that, of the two partners in married life, it should be the one who has ideal, poetry, aspirations, who is constrained to occupy herself entirely with the squalid details of scullery and larder, of store-room and pantry..."

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN."

The Englishwoman for February (Sidgwick and Jackson, 1s. net) contains as usual a large number of interesting articles. Of greatest practical value, perhaps, is that dealing with "Women in the Public Health Service," by M. Meredith...

reader the man midwife is a comparatively recent innovation in this country, and is almost unknown in many parts of the Continent...

It is to be hoped that proper provision for the supply and fair payment of district nurses will be made by the Insurance Commissioners, but when the doctors are so ill-satisfied with their own prospects under the Bill, there seems little prospect of a body of voteless women receiving attention to their claims...

Speaking of sanitary inspectors, the writer points out that women ought to be responsible for visiting common lodging houses where women are received, whereas in many places this duty is given over to the police...

MRS. FRY.

Another of the excellent "Cameo Life-Sketches" by Mrs. Marion Holmes has been published by the Women's Freedom League, at 3d. The two first dealt with Josephine Butler and Florence Nightingale; this one gives the story of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry and her noble work for prison reform...

"Deeds, Not Words" is the motto of the W.S.P.U. Yet words are a necessary adjunct to deeds, and a knowledge of the derivation of language must be helpful to all those who need to use words as a medium whereby they give expression to thoughts and ideas...

A NEW "MEDEA."

On Monday, February 5th, in a matinee at the Kingsway Theatre, the New Players produced the "Medea" of Euripides in the beautiful translation of Professor Gilbert Murray. The performance was not only an event of artistic interest, but was sufficiently real to grip and hold the sympathies of the audience throughout...

Dramatic interest, of course, centres round Medea, and Miss Adeline Bourne may be congratulated on her success in an extremely arduous rôle, the personification of which, in our day, is perhaps unavoidably connected with something of the neurotic. Miss Bourne was a slender, passionate figure, brooding on her wrongs, by turn fierce, cajoling, sneering, but in the scenes with the children tender and graceful.

The Jason of Mr. Philip Merivale was handsome and manly, as it should be, without subtlety. The Argos, too, of Mr. James Hearn deserves praise, as does the excellent dramatic rendering of the Messenger, Mr. Franklin Dyall; Miss Tita Brand declaimed the nurse's lines very finely. May we suggest, however, that her head-dress rather suggested the widow's bonnet? Altogether the New Players deserve the warmest thanks of all who were privileged to witness the performance.

THE DANGER OF IGNORANCE.

One of the most powerful agencies for the teaching of newer and better ideas, as we pointed out last week, is the stage. The woman's movement in one form or another has been the theme of many recent plays by authors who want to make the drama represent real life and progress...

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"How to Start a Women's Lodging House." By Mary Higgs. London: P. S. King and Son. Price 3d. "The Malthusian." London: George Standring. Price 1d. "Of the Emancipation of Women." By Caroline Eccles. London: A. C. Fifield. Price 3d. net. "Songs of the Devon Moors." Words by Edward Teschemacher. Music by Herbert Oliver. London: J. H. Larway. Price 3s. net. "Songs of Womanhood." Words by Christina Walshe. Music by Retland Broughton. London: H. Larway. Price 3s. net. "Infant Care and Housecraft." By Dr. H. Emlin Jones and Rev. J. W. Hayes. George Philip and Son, Ltd. Price 8d. "Blackburn's Study of Words." By E. M. Blackburn, M.A. London: Longmans, Green and Company. 2s. 6d.

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PETER ROBINSON'S WHITE SALE

Oxford Street W. Commences on Monday, Feb. 12th.

HERE are a few of the splendid Bargains we are offering in Lingerie, Blouses, etc. - Many more are illustrated in the SALE CATALOGUE, which will be forwarded on request post free to any address.



W.S. 104. A pretty Nightgown, with hand-embroidered yoke in pretty design, three-quarter length, with long sleeves and durable garment. Price 6/11. W.S. 101 has the yoke entirely composed of insertions of lace and fine tucks, fitted with lace sleeves and finished with insertions. Price 6/11. Pretty Bonnet Cap, with ribbon bows and frills of lace, 4/11.

Bargains in Camisoles and Undershirts. W.S. 148. A useful French Camisole, fitted with hand-embroidery frill. Price 12/11. W.S. 148a. Hand-made Camisole of French Cambric, trimmed with lace and insertion. Price 3/11. W.S. 149. White Cambric Shirt, with fringed trimmings and insertions of lace and edge with same. Price 8/11. W.S. 149a. Pretty French Camisole, hand made, trimmed insertions and lace edging. Price 3/11. Sample Garments sent on Approval.



Typical Blouse Values. W.S. 2. Pretty Maszar Muslin Blouse, finely finished and lined with handsome muslin insertion. The yoke and cuffs are of transparent lace. New three-quarter sleeves. White Sale Price 4/11. W.S. 8. Dainty Muslin Blouse, ornamented with sets of tucks back and front, and inset with muslin insertion and pretty lace yoke. White Sale Price 4/11.



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PRINCESS BARIATINSKI.

"It has struck me as so strange that in a country like England, noted for its love of freedom, and regarded by all other nations as the birthplace of liberty, your Liberal Government will not even talk to women and hear what they have to say."

It was a strange criticism, coming from a native of the land which we associate with tyranny and repression, and it shows us once again how much this country has suffered in prestige through the treatment by its Ministers of the Woman Suffrage question. It was the Princess Bariatinski (who has given us such a wonderful personation of Nora in "A Doll's House," and whose words at the great meeting in Glasgow on Wednesday last brought new inspiration to so many of those who heard them) who expressed this opinion.

We have a nominally Liberal Government, but its attitude to women is barbaric; in Russia the Government may be autocratic and tyrannical, but men and women stand on a more equal plane. When Russia wins a constitution and a franchise, it will be for both men and women equally, for there is in that country no sense of woman's inferiority. In art, science, literature—in every field she has won an equal position for herself, not by indirect influence, but openly by her merits, and there is not a Russian to-day of the intellectual class who regards women as in any way inferior. The Russian woman, even in aristocratic and official classes, receives equal education,



Princess Bariatinski, as Nora.

and if she wishes goes on to the universities and enters a profession. There is camaraderie and mutual respect, not the false chivalry which would treat women as enchanting dolls, and demand of them only that they should be womanly. "What is womanly?" said the Princess to me. "It is ridiculous; they are to be playthings and gain their ends by trickery and in their souls are lies."

This the Princess told me in a short conversation just before a rehearsal. She is one of those busy people who can find time for impossibilities, and she is quite a Suffragette. "I can feel the pulse of this movement," she said. "I was most impressed by it when I first came to England. Lady Knayvet took me to a meeting and I heard three Suffragettes who had just been released describe the hunger strike, which I as a Russian understood. The mother of a friend of mine had undergone it as a protest in Siberia, but they had not attempted forcible feeding. Of course the suffrage will come soon. It is only the people of no imagination who would stop it; who think as things exist they must go on for ever and ever, but they cannot stop progress."

It is not surprising to hear that the Princess likes best the part of Nora, which she interprets so marvelously. "It is so rare," she said, "to find a great part for a woman where the predominating interest is not one of love. People who repeat what is frequently said, that plays cannot thrill the public without a regular love theme, forget 'A Doll's House.' The mighty genius of Ibsen saw deeper into the psychology of women, and in Nora he has created a character where love pales before the desire for independence. In Russian literature this type is much better known: for instance, Turgenev's women burn with the desire to sacrifice themselves for lofty aims." The Princess hopes to bring out by-and-by a play by Sonia Kowalewsky, which will be of particular interest to women.

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PUBLIC RECEPTION Tuesday, February 13, EMPRESS ROOMS, KENSINGTON (High Street Station), from 3.30 to 6 p.m. Chair: The Hon. Mrs. Franklin. Speakers: MRS. F. T. SWANWICK (Editor of "The Common Cause"), MISS GICELY CORBETT, B.A.

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FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1912. BE READY!

For every political party or group the present moment is one of uncertainty and suspense. The opening of Parliament next week is awaited with anxiety. Meanwhile, pledges given on behalf of the Government one day are discounted by official or semi-official voices on the next, with the result that public confidence in the honesty and purpose of the nominal leaders of the country is shaken.

The Women's Social and Political Union finds itself in that position. Rumours do not disquiet us. Promises do not elate or betrayals depress us. For we know that political liberties are won to-day as they have been won in the past, not by the favour and good will of Governments, but by the relentless pressure of political force, which is generated by those who possess a single aim, and the determination to pursue it at all hazards and at every cost.

The immediate success or the temporary defeat of the cause of women's enfranchisement depends to-day not upon the opinions in the Cabinet nor upon the academic views of the individuals who comprise the House of Commons, but upon the spirit and the 'grit' of the awakened womanhood of the country.

We have had occasion recently to draw the attention of Suffragists to the extraordinarily close historical parallel to the present political position supplied by the agitation for Catholic Emancipation. Then, as now, the question for many years cut across both the great parties in the State.

It is not only mean and cowardly for women to hold back now; it is unutterably foolish! For six years you have seen this Movement grow from insignificance to its present position of power. You know it is only by hard fighting that it is within sight of victory.

You cannot count on the health, the strength, or the life of individuals. Have you faced that fact? How long are you prepared to allow this ordeal to continue? A general rising of women would end it. You, individually, could lighten it and help to end it. None need go to prison again. If they do, it is by your hesitation, you by your self-pity and self-indulgence, who are allowing the Government to send them there. You are not without responsibility in the matter.

Unless in the King's Speech a Government measure to give Votes to women is foreshadowed, Mrs. Pankhurst will place herself at the head of a great demonstration of protest which will take place about a fortnight after the opening of Parliament.

Wellington himself, who, when he became, as Prime Minister, responsible for the introduction of a Government Bill to emancipate the Catholics, said that "the Ministry had to choose between concession and civil war."

The story of Catholic Emancipation cannot be too closely studied by those who are concerned with the immediate issue of the Emancipation of Women. It provides a precedent and a moral for the Prime Minister, for the present Cabinet, and it also provides a complete answer to enemies and friends who criticise or who deplore militant methods.

But it provides above all a deep lesson, an example and a warning to Suffragists themselves. It is not enough for us to recognise the success of "The Catholic Association" which definitely pitted itself against the Government in power and won. It is not enough for us to point to the political justification of O'Connell's militant methods. We have to ask ourselves very searchingly the question: Why did O'Connell's militancy succeed? And the answer undoubtedly is: Because the Irish Catholics were ready for liberty.

Because when O'Connell raised the standard of revolt thousands flocked to it, thousands were ready to risk their liberty and their life, and because thousands ran this risk the retaliation of the Government was rendered impossible.

What would have happened had the Catholics hung back, pleading individually the difficulties and dangers of their position? What would have happened had they allowed O'Connell and a few daring hundreds to fight this tremendous issue with the Government, while they, from a position of safety and immunity, gave sympathy and support? We know what must have happened, O'Connell and his little following would have been overwhelmed, the movement crushed, and the brave few visited with severe and cruel punishment.

What will history say of the womanhood of the United Kingdom in 1912? What will it say of the womanhood of the past six years? At a time when all hope of emancipation for women seemed dead, at the darkest hour of the movement, the standard of revolt was raised. A few brave souls responded. The mass of women, inured to subjection and hidebound by authority and convention, held back. For six years—a period of probation incredibly long—they have waited to see the capacity for leadership, the political sagacity, the dauntless courage, the self-immolation of those who initiated the militant campaign proved to the uttermost.

And now a moment of supreme crisis has arrived. Women! You whose eyes are opened, both with regard to the significance of the Woman's Movement and also with regard to the political necessity for organised militant action—what are you going to do? Are you going to respond to the call of your colleagues who have suffered imprisonment again and again for the Cause which is yours as much as it is theirs? Or are you going to leave that little band of heroes to the hazards of the conflict? Are you going to let the issues of this great struggle for your liberty and your honour rest upon their courage and their sacrifice? Or are you going to rise, each one, and come forth in your hundreds to break down by force of numbers the power of the Government to retaliate by police court procedure and prison repression?

I say to every woman who knows that ours is as sacred a struggle for human liberty as any that has taken place in the past: If you let women who have suffered the forsaking of friends, violence and imprisonment time after time, go into danger again without you, go to prison again without you, then you are not worthy of them; you are not worthy of liberty and you do not deserve it; you are not worthy of your womanhood; you are not worthy of your potential self.

It is not only mean and cowardly for women to hold back now; it is unutterably foolish! For six years you have seen this Movement grow from insignificance to its present position of power. You know it is only by hard fighting that it is within sight of victory. You have learnt to depend on the fighters. While you are watching, waiting, counting gain and loss, nursing your individual reticences and scruples and fears, excusing yourself on account of ill-health, or because of the disapproval of relations and friends, those lives which have been kept all these years on the perpetual strain are wearing out.

You cannot count on the health, the strength, or the life of individuals. Have you faced that fact? How long are you prepared to allow this ordeal to continue? A general rising of women would end it. You, individually, could lighten it and help to end it. None need go to prison again. If they do, it is by your hesitation, you by your self-pity and self-indulgence, who are allowing the Government to send them there. You are not without responsibility in the matter.

Unless in the King's Speech a Government measure to give Votes to women is foreshadowed, Mrs. Pankhurst will place herself at the head of a great demonstration of protest which will take place about a fortnight after the opening of Parliament. Let the Union as one woman rise and go with her. Let hesitations, scruples and fears be finally cast aside. Be ready! Let this Government that thinks to trifle with us because we are women, know once and for all that they rob us of the rights of human beings at the peril of social peace and social order. Then and not till then will justice be done.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE POLITICAL SITUATION.

By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

A very few days hence the King's Speech will be delivered, and the fateful Session of 1912 will begin. The question of Votes for Women will arise both in connection with the Government's proposals for Electoral Reform and in connection with their proposals for Home Rule for Ireland. Concerning the Irish aspect of the Votes for Women question, we shall have more to say hereafter, especially when the introduction of the Home Rule Bill draws near. Suffice it at this moment to record the fact that the Women's Social and Political Union gives hearty support to the demand of the Irish Women's Franchise League that the Government shall guarantee to women a share in electing the proposed Irish Parliament.

At this present time our attention is chiefly concentrated upon the Government's proposals for Electoral Reform. Ministers have been remarkably reticent of late, and therefore we do not yet know what is to be their response to the widespread and daily-increasing demand for the abandonment of the threatened Manhood Suffrage Bill, and the introduction of a Government measure giving votes to women as well as to men, upon precisely equal terms.

The Labour Party Conference contemptuously rejected the Government's offer of votes for men only, and called upon the Labour Members of Parliament to inform the Government that no reform of the electoral law will be acceptable which does not include women. This refusal by the Labour Party to accept any measure giving votes only to men applies, of course, as much to a Plural Voting Bill as to a Manhood Suffrage Bill.

When Mr. Lloyd George spoke at the City Liberal Club a few days ago, a determined attempt was made by two men Suffragists to extract from him a statement as to the present position of the Government in general and of the Suffragist Ministers in particular. No statement was, however, made. Yet there is urgent need of statements both from Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, as representing the Suffragist section in the Cabinet. Sir Edward Grey's remarks at North Sunderland concerning the Referendum have created great uneasiness. Unpleasant rumours of all kinds are current concerning the present intentions of the Suffragist section in the Cabinet. The whole country clamours to know where Ministers stand and what it is to expect with regard to the Votes for Women question.

For Suffragist Ministers merely to contradict rumours, and to repeat statements they have already made, will not meet the needs of the case. Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey, and the other Ministers who think with them, have tried to assume an absolutely untenable position, a position from which advancement or retreat is literally a necessity. That is to say, they have arranged to pursue a campaign in favour of women's enfranchisement, and at the same time to support the Prime Minister in his refusal to introduce a measure for the purpose. The event has proved, what was to us evident from the first, that this procedure is impracticable. Ministers who profess to be our friends cannot be both for us and against us. They cannot serve both God and Mammon. Already it has become plain that for the Cabinet to be divided into two hostile sections, and for these sections to conduct a public warfare against one another, leads directly and inevitably to a Cabinet split. Mr. Lloyd George has told us that there is no split in the Cabinet. If that be true, it means that the Woman Suffrage dispute has been settled, and that one-half of the Cabinet has yielded to the other. The question is, Which half has yielded? Have Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey betrayed their principles, or have the Anti-Suffragists surrendered their prejudices?

Very soon we shall know which of these two things has happened, for if the Government announce that the Franchise Bill is to apply equally to men and women, that will tell us that Suffragist Ministers, who form the majority in the Cabinet, have asserted themselves and have won the day. If, on the other hand, we learn that the Government proposals are to apply only to men, then that will be proof that the Cabinet split has been healed at women's expense, and that Mr. Lloyd George and Sir Edward Grey and the other Suffragist Ministers have played the traitor and have gone over to the enemy.

Pending an official announcement on the subject, it is necessary for all who believe in Votes for Women to consider how to act if the Government should persist in bringing forward a Franchise Bill for men only. The Labour Party in Parliament, even if it acts alone, has power to punish the attempt and to prevent its success. It has been suggested that the Labour Members should hold their hand until the third reading stage of the Reform Bill is reached, and should then, if no Woman Suffrage amendment has been carried, vote against the Bill. The comment to be made upon this plan is that it spells failure, if only for the reason that the Government would bring up every available man on that occasion, and that the votes of the Labour Members would not be numerous enough to defeat the Bill. Nor would it be safe to postpone the commencement of hostilities until so late a point in the Session. War between Labour and Liberalism should be declared as soon as either a Manhood Suffrage Bill, or a Plural Voting Bill for men only, has been announced, and Labour Members should oppose the Government, not only when the franchise proposals are being voted upon, but on every other point of their programme, until they have either surrendered or have been thrown out of office.

Mr. Redmond was once moved to declare what would be the result of any attempt on the part of the Government to break faith with him and his followers. "In such a case," said he, "the Irish Party would drive from office within a month, by a sleepless and relentless opposition, any Government guilty of such an act of treachery and dishonour." Such are the only tactics by which the Labour Party can ensure the triumph of the women's cause, and can vindicate their claim to existence as an independent political party in the State. If Labour support were to be given to the Government in spite of a refusal to grant the demand for real Adult Suffrage, then the Labour Members would be indistinguishable from the Liberal rank and file in the House of Commons. They would have surrendered their independence, and while the Irish Members and the Welsh Members would have secured a Home Rule measure and a Welsh Disestablishment measure in return for their support, the Labour Party would have nothing to show for their service to the Government.

But our chief concern as militant Suffragists is with the action that we ourselves shall take if our demand for a Government measure of enfranchisement is not conceded. The policy we shall adopt in that event is summed up in the words of Patrick Henry, the champion of American freedom:—"We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated. Our petitions have been slighted, our remonstrances have produced additional violence and insult, our supplications have been disregarded. If we wish to be free, if we mean not basely to abandon the noble struggle in which we have been so long engaged, and which we have pledged ourselves never to abandon until the glorious object of our contest shall be attained—we must fight!"

THE UNCONQUERABLE HOUR. We are girt with our belief, Clothed with our will and crowned, Hope, fear, delight, and grief, Before our will give ground. Their calls are in our ears as shadows of dead sound. All things come by fate to flower, At their unconquerable hour; And time brings truth, and truth makes free, And freedom fills time's veins with power.

TREASURER'S NOTE. Amongst the many interesting contributions received recently is one from a Suffragist who writes to say that she has ceased to subscribe to various local sports, mostly for men, and is dividing the money formerly spent annually in contributing to hunting and cricket clubs, boys' swimming prizes and gardeners' prizes, amongst the various Suffrage Societies. Many other women are devoting the whole of the funds at their disposal for charitable or philanthropic purposes to the Suffrage Movement.

Will all members of the W.S.P.U. and readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN enter upon their calendars that Self-Denial Week for 1912 begins on Saturday, March 9, and continues till Saturday, March 16, and both the Saturdays are included? The week will be devoted by every brave and loyal member of the Union to calling upon her friends and neighbours and collecting a special fund by her individual effort, which will be augmented by the practice of self-denial and by every faculty for organisation and labour that can be called into play for the purpose of filling the War Chest.

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

January 14 to January 30.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £250,000 fund. Includes names like Mrs. J. J. G. G., Mrs. M. W. G., etc., and amounts in pounds and shillings.

Total £214,651 2 7. Note: Items in Mrs. J. J. G. G. list entered in issue of January 19, as per Mrs. L. Burns' list in error. Mrs. Dale sent the donation direct for general fund.

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

BARNET. Hon. Sec.—Miss Sun Watt, 13, Stratford Road.

BOWES PARK AND DISTRICT. Hon. Organiser—Miss H. Gargett, 4, Sionard Rd., Palmer's Green.

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN. Shop and Office—308, King's Road.

CROYDON. Office—50, High Street, Tel. 929 Croydon (Nat.).

HENDON AND GOLDSBORO GREEN. Shop and Office—26b, The Parade, Golden Green.

ILFORD. Hon. Sec.—Miss Haslam, 68, Cranbrook Road.

ISLINGTON. Office—347, Goswell Road, E.C. Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Cartwright.

KENSINGTON. Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2116 Western.

LEWISHAM. Hon. Sec.—Miss Alice Campbell, Miss C. Townsend.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. Friday, 9. Chelsea, Manor Street.

POLITICAL EQUALITY. NO FRANCHISE BILL WHICH DOES NOT INCLUDE WOMEN!

"That this Conference, in harmony with its previous decisions, is of the opinion that the enfranchisement of all adult men and women should be included in the Reform Bill to be introduced by the Government in the coming Session of Parliament; it further requests the Labour Party in Parliament to make it clear that no Bill can be acceptable to the Labour and Socialist Movement which does not include women."

DEMONSTRATION TO DEMAND ADULT SUFFRAGE

ROYAL ALBERT HALL, LONDON (MANAGER—HILTON CARTER). Under the Auspices of the Labour Party, the Independent Labour Party, and the Fabian Society, ON TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 13th, 1912.

SPEAKERS: WILL CROOKS, M.P. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P. Miss MILLICENT MURBY J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P. Mrs. DESPARD WM. C. ANDERSON ARTHUR HENDERSON, M.P. Miss MARY R. MACARTHUR

Doors open at 7 p.m. Chair to be taken at 8 p.m. prompt by J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P. (Chairman of the Parliamentary Labour Party).

SUPPORTED BY: T. RICHARDSON, M.P. GEORGE N. BARNES, M.P. WILLIAM BRACE, M.P. JOHN HUDSON, M.P. J. R. OLYNES, M.P. CHARLES DUNCAN, M.P. F. W. GOLDSTONE, M.P. JOHN HODGE, M.P. WALTER PIPSON, M.P. J. O'GRADY, M.P. J. PARKER, M.P. J. POINTER, M.P. T. RICHARDS, M.P. R. RICHARDSON, M.P. ALEXANDER HILL, M.P. J. E. SUTTON, M.P. JOHN W. TAYLOR, M.P. J. H. THOMAS, M.P. STEPHEN WALSH, M.P. GEO. J. WARDLE, M.P. ALEXANDER WILKIE, M.P. JOHN WILLIAMS, M.P. W. TYSON WILSON, M.P. And others.

Reserved and Numbered Seats in Boxes, 5/-, 2/6, 2/-; Arena, 1/-; Stalls, 2/- and 1/-; Tickets Free to Gallery (Promenade) on application. Reserved Seats, 6d.

Tickets to be obtained by Members only from the Offices of the Independent Labour Party, St. Bride's House, Salisbury Square, E.C.4.; The Fabian Society, 5, Clements Inn, Strand; The Labour Party, 28, Victoria Street, S.W.1.; and all Branches of the Three Organisations. All tickets must be purchased before night of meeting.

SYDENHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss A. Pollard, Burghill Road, Sydenham.

UXBRIDGE & DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Givens, Winchester Lodge, Copley Hill Road.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT. Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevanta, 25, Bourne Road, Folkestone.

WIMBLEDON. Shop—9, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel. 1029, P.O. Wimbledon.

HASTINGS AND ST. LEONARDS. Organiser—Miss D. A. Bowler, Shop—5, Trinity Street, Hastings.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. Office—57, John Bright Street, Tel. 1443 Midland.

COVENTRY. Office—32, Earl Street, Organiser—Miss Markwick.

WINDSOR. Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans, 1, Windsor Road.

NOTTINGHAM. Hon. Sec.—Miss Miller, 305, Wellington Road.

BRISTOL. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 1345.

NOTTINGHAM. Office—6, Carlton Street, Tel. 4511.

WALSALL. Shop and Office—19, Leicester Street.

WOLVERHAMPTON. Organiser—Miss Gladys Hazel, 610, Rowsell, Albert Road.

BATH. Hon. Sec.—The Misses Tollemache.

WEST HAMPTON. Organiser—Miss Gladys Hazel, 610, Rowsell, Albert Road.

WIMBORNE. Organiser—Miss Gladys Hazel, 610, Rowsell, Albert Road.

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BOURNEMOUTH. Office—211, Old Church Street, Bournemouth.

LEWISHAM. Hon. Sec.—Miss A. Pollard, Burghill Road, Sydenham.

UXBRIDGE & DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Givens, Winchester Lodge, Copley Hill Road.

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Advertisement for Schweitzer's Cocovina. 'SCHWEITZER'S Cocovina THE OLDEST AND STILL "The IDEAL COCOA"'. Produced by the best class of utility birds as yours. For Absolutely Nothing, providing you use our poultry foods. THE MOLLASINE CO., LTD., Model Poultry Farm, Twyford, Berks. 1,000 SITTINGS FREE. OPPORTUNITIES EXIST FOR ALL. NOW IS YOURS. We shall all be losing money if this special offer does not receive immediate attention. EGGS produced by the best class of utility birds as yours. For Absolutely Nothing, providing you use our poultry foods. THE MOLLASINE CO., LTD., Model Poultry Farm, Twyford, Berks. At the members' rally, Saturday, February 17, there will be five minutes' speeches by members dealing with anti-suffrage objections. Members may bring friends. Thanks to Miss Douglas Smith for her interesting speech, and to Mr. Jeddah for coming out on a bitter evening to take the chair for the weekly meeting. Members are specially asked to bring their men friends to hear Mr. Ramsay to-night (Friday). Some delicious marriage has been made by Mrs. Davis for the shop. Fri., Feb. 9.—(Guildhall, the Rev. Geoffrey Ramsay, Chair: Mrs. Knight, 8 p.m. Sat., Feb. 10.—Shop, members' rally, 5.30 p.m. Fri., Feb. 16.—Guildhall, Bristol. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 1345. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove-Wilcock. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Young. Mrs. Price, of Letchworth, was the speaker at the last weekly at Home. A large open air meeting was held in Mr. Hobson's constituency, and a dinner hour meeting at the Dockgate, Avonmouth. Mrs. Price addressed both. A large number of dockers attended and evinced much interest. Mr. Pankhurst will speak at the Victoria Rooms on Tuesday, February 27. Will members do their utmost to sell tickets and get a good meeting? Don't forget the performance of "How the Vote Was Won" on February 28. Mon, Feb. 12.—Victoria Rooms. At Home, 3.30 p.m. Tues, Feb. 13.—Victoria Rooms. Dramatic performance of "How the Vote Was Won," 8 p.m. Thurs., Feb. 15.—Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street. Free meeting. Mrs. Curtis, 8.15 p.m. FALMOUTH AND PENRYN. Hon. Organiser—Mrs. F. Corbett, the Ringland, Lincoln. Hon. Joint Secs.—Mrs. Pascoe, Mrs. English. Members attended Mrs. Pascoe's at Home on Thursday, February 1, where they discussed plans for furthering the sale of Votes for Women and the coming of the postcard and for bill of resolutions. The 22nd refers to last meeting. It has now been allocated as follows: Penzance, 24; men friends to hear Mr. Ramsay to-night (Friday). Some delicious marriage has been made by Mrs. Davis for the shop. Fri., Feb. 9.—(Guildhall, the Rev. Geoffrey Ramsay, Chair: Mrs. Knight, 8 p.m. Sat., Feb. 10.—Shop, members' rally, 5.30 p.m. Fri., Feb. 16.—Guildhall, Bristol. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 1345. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Dove-Wilcock. Hon. Treas.—Mrs. Young. Mrs. Price, of Letchworth, was the speaker at the last weekly at Home. A large open air meeting was held in Mr. Hobson's constituency, and a dinner hour meeting at the Dockgate, Avonmouth. Mrs. Price addressed both. A large number of dockers attended and evinced much interest. Mr. Pankhurst will speak at the Victoria Rooms on Tuesday, February 27. Will members do their utmost to sell tickets and get a good meeting? Don't forget the performance of "How the Vote Was Won" on February 28. Mon, Feb. 12.—Victoria Rooms. At Home, 3.30 p.m. Tues, Feb. 13.—Victoria Rooms. Dramatic performance of "How the Vote Was Won," 8 p.m. Thurs., Feb. 15.—Kingsley Hall, Old Market Street. Free meeting. Mrs. Curtis, 8.15 p.m. FALMOUTH AND PENRYN. Hon. Organiser—Mrs. F. Corbett, the Ringland, Lincoln. Hon. Joint Secs.—Mrs. Pascoe, Mrs. English. Members attended Mrs. Pascoe's at Home on Thursday, February 1, where they discussed plans for furthering the sale of Votes for Women and the coming of the postcard and for bill of resolutions. The 22nd refers to last meeting. It has now been allocated as follows: Penzance, 24;

DERRY & TOMS

KENSINGTON HIGH ST. LONDON-W

Great Sale of Gloves, Hosiery, Underclothing, and Shirt Blouses, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 13, at 9 o'clock.

If you are unable to call, bear in mind that we can serve you quite as satisfactorily by post. Write to-day for what you want and secure the pick of the bargains while these low prices last.



Dainty White Silk Lap Blouse, exact as sketch. Very smart. Bargain Price .. 5/-



Bargain in Dainty White Lawn Blouse, as sketch. Lace and Embroidery. Bargain .. 7/-

An immediate selection is advisable, as some of the lines are limited and the prices so tempting that an early clearance is anticipated.



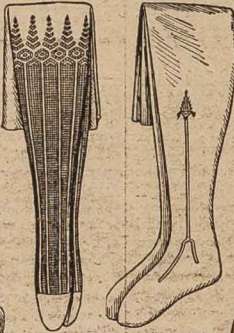
Dainty Nainsook Nightdress, beautifully trimmed Val. lace, fine embroidery insertion. Sale Price 5/4



Bargain. Ladies' fine ribbed Combinations, with open crochet fronts. Will be cleared early in Sale. 1/11 1/2



UC 18. Real Smart Camisole, pretty Ribbon and Embroidery, hem stitched trimming as sketch. Bargain for this Sale. 1/11 1/2



Superior Black Lace Hose, very smart stock-ing. Sale Price this week only 1/6 1/2

Write for 24 pp. Catalogue of Bargains. Post free to any address.



Bargain. Dainty Fine Longcloth Nightdress, Torchon lace yoke and sleeves. For this Sale .. 3/5



UC 20. Very smart Camisole. Embroidery yoke and Ribbons. Real Bargain .. 2/11 1/2



Ladies' Fine Ribbed Combinations full sizes, with pretty fancy crochet fronts. Will be cleared as a Bargain at .. 2/6

A visit to Derry & Toms is always a profitable pleasure. Just now great savings are to be made by visiting this sale.

The Woman's Press,

156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, W.C.,

SPECIAL SALE

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"VOTES FOR WOMEN" BUTTONS, at 1/2d. each.
PHOTO BUTTONS, at 1/2d. each.

PICTURE POSTCARDS (including all the postcards of the leaders and of scenes in the Movement, but not photo cards), at 1/2d. each.

GREATLY REDUCED PRICES,

Bags, Brooches, Belts, Ties, Almanacks, Calendars, Albums, Playing Cards, Stationery, Pamphlets, Blotters, and a few Booklets in Leather Covers.

COMMENCE MONDAY NEXT.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY.

BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY,

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HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.
SEND A POSTCARD FOR PRICE LIST.
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6^d PER BALL
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MRS. PEGG, 158, High Street, Camden Town, N.W. (Seven minutes' Bus ride from Oxford Circus).
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Costumes and Afternoon Dresses from 8 gns. Evening Gowns from 4 gns. Bespoke Blouses a Speciality. Also carried out in the Colours. Models always in Stock. Serge Frocks ready to wear, 35/6.

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EVANS' ANTISEPTIC THROAT PASTILLES
Eulogised in Testimonials from thousands, including the greatest Preachers, Public Speakers, Singers, Actors, etc.
Sold in 1/2 and 4/6 boxes by all Chemists.
All genuine Evans' Pastilles are marked with a bar.
Sole Manufacturers—**Evans, Bost, Lister & Webb Ltd.,** Liverpool & London.
Free sample on receipt of penny stamp and name of paper.

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ROBERTA MILLS and her Hand-Wrought Leather
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Clients' ideas carefully carried out.
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