

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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WILL HISTORY REPEAT ITSELF?



In 1867 the Conservatives carried the Household Franchise Bill, a manoeuvre which was popularly described as "Stealing the Liberal clothes while bathing." Our cartoonist suggests that this is likely to happen again if the Liberals go out without Enfranchising Women.

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DEDICATION

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

THE OUTLOOK

The most important political event of the week has been the Conference of the Labour Party at Glasgow, which had not concluded its sittings when we went to press. Previous to the meeting of the Conference the Parliamentary report of the Party was issued, containing not a single reference to the enfranchisement of women. This is especially noteworthy, in view of the fact that the Labour Party receives the active support of one section of woman suffragists.

Labour Women

On Monday there was a Conference of the Women's Labour League—a body which bears the same relationship to the Labour Party which the women's

Liberal organisations bear to the Liberal Party. Resolutions were passed urging the Labour Party to vote against all franchise Bills unless woman suffrage were included, and inviting them to "take into consideration" the question of moving an amendment to the address. A strong resolution, calling for opposition to all Government measures until women were enfranchised, was put to the vote and lost. From the tone of the speeches delivered at this Conference it is quite clear that the women belonging to this League have not yet learnt the lesson that political enfranchisement must precede political service, and that to be hevers of wood and drawers of water for a party which will not fight for their emancipation is unworthy of their womanhood.

Tweedledum and Tweedledee

The Labour Conference itself held a preliminary meeting on Tuesday to discuss the general question of Parliamentary policy, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, in defending his line of action, said that critics had described the Liberals and Conservatives as "Tweedledum and Tweedledee," and asked if that was so why the Labour Party should trouble to get rid of Tweedledum and put Tweedledee into power? But the criticism that we would direct against Mr. Macdonald is that under his leadership the Labour Party has played Tweedledum to the Liberal Tweedledee. The Liberal Government, which flouts the claims of women to enfranchisement, finds that it is just as much assured of the continuous support of members of the Labour Party as it is of the rank and file of Liberals. We deal with this question at

greater length in our leading article this week. Up to the time of going to press no resolution dealing with woman suffrage had been passed at the Conference.

Pit Brow Lasses Threatened Again

If proof were needed of the fact that the interests of working women are not adequately safeguarded by members of Parliament elected by men, it would be found in the action of the Yorkshire miners' leaders, including Mr. Wadsworth, M.P., in endeavouring to oust women from employment at the pit brow. It will be remembered that this question was fought out in Parliament in 1911, and that it was only after public opinion had been roused by the splendid agitation of the women concerned that restrictive legislation was prevented; on that occasion the Labour Party were against the women, the plea put forward being that the work was injurious, a statement which was subsequently proved to be exactly contrary to fact.

A Sex War

The fresh attempt is taking the form of industrial action; pressure is being brought to bear on the colliery owners. The old argument of injury to women's health is frankly abandoned, and the crude sex argument, "We want to keep the work for men and boys," is substituted in its place. There is considerable danger that the employers may take the easier course and give way to the men and turn the women out of employment. At present the agitation only relates to a Yorkshire Colliery, which is introducing women for the first time; but no doubt if successful the men will push their campaign into the

Lancashire collieries, where the labour of the pit brow lassies has been established for many years.

A Suicidal Policy

We quite appreciate the attitude of the male Trade Unionist who objects to find himself undercut by what he would describe as "blackleg woman's labour."

North-West Durham

Polling takes place to-day in North-West Durham. There are three candidates, Mr. Aneurin Williams, Liberal, Mr. Stuart, Labour, and Mr. Hardicker, Unionist.

South Bucks

In South Bucks, where polling will take place next month, the position is still more simple, because there are only two candidates, Mr. Mosley, the Liberal, and Mr. Du Pré, the Unionist.

Will Mr. Hobhouse Leave the Cabinet?

The Manchester Guardian mentions a rumour that Mr. Hobhouse may succeed Lord Denman as Federal Governor of Australia.

Bishop of London and Forcible Feeding

We are glad that the Bishop of London, in response to the request of a deputation from the W.S.P.U., has promised, if he can get permission from the Home Secretary, to go and see for himself the operation of forcible feeding in prison.

Stealing the Liberals' Clothes

It is a common assumption of Liberals and Labour men that the Unionist Party, if in power, would not give votes to women.

Items of Interest

The Liberal Executive of Coventry has definitely decided against Mr. Mason for the next election.

According to the Daily Citizen the women of Bohemia are to have the vote, an announcement that the Government intend to carry this reform having been made by the Prime Minister.

The Women's Congressional Union in the United States threaten to adopt a militant election policy against the Democratic Party unless it assists them to win enfranchisement.

As we go to press we learn that four women have been arrested for going to Downing-Street during the Cabinet Council.

TO-DAY AND YESTERDAY

By G. Colmore

The man, walking down the street, smiled. He was very happy, very much in love; so much, that he was prepared to sacrifice his bachelor independence, his bachelor privileges, and put his neck, as he expressed it, into the noose of marriage.

He had no wish to pass on now. He admitted, and there was joy in the admission; he even looked forward to joining in the club that he was caught at last.

He laughed softly to himself, hearing in advance the whispered assurance that he was more to her than any cause, foreseeing how her independence would lapse and the forces of her being pour themselves into loving and the longing for his love.

She was very pale, and there were dark lines below her eyes. Poor child! How foolish of her to have insisted upon this waiting time!

He moved towards her with all the tenderness that he was able so well to convey in eyes and voice, but she put out her hands to hold him back.

"No," she cried, "I'm sorry, but—" She broke off and began again. "Marriage between you and me would be a mistake."

"A mistake! But don't you—" He came nearer to her. "Oh, but you do love me!"

"Yes, I love you—in the sense of being in love, and if I were to marry you I should be, for a time, quite radiantly happy. But love—that sort of love—wouldn't be enough—not for always, I mean; and even motherhood doesn't last for ever, in the sense of being an absorption or a tie; children grow up and go out into the world.

So it was the old pose of independence! Easy enough to win her over if that was all.

"Dear child," he said, "you shall do exactly as you like when you belong to me, but I think you will find that love and marriage will give you all the interests you need."

"I would teach you how to forget them."

"Just let me try!" His voice was a caress.

"The trial would mean the sacrifice of my freedom. Oh, I mind the giving it up—my love for you, your love for me. There is a part of me that cries out for you, and I—I have been near to giving in to it. But the other part, the part that is silent

now, would come to the fore again, and I cannot marry a man who would neither acknowledge nor accept it."

"I was looking at her with drawn brows. 'I—I really don't understand.'"

"No, that's just it. And you never would."

"I thought you were a—normal woman."

"So I am. I am typical, not an abnormality. I belong to a type that is not unusual and is becoming more and more usual every day."

"In God's name," he cried, "what is your type?—for I confess I have never met it."

"Or meeting it, have passed it by.—But I am everywhere; there are many of me. I am simply a woman of to-day."

ANNOUNCEMENTS

Fellows Meeting Next Week

A special meeting is being held next Friday evening, February 6, at 8.30, in the small Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, to which Fellows and others are invited.

Speakers at the Kingsway Hall

Sir Harry Johnston, the famous South African explorer, Miss Lena Ashwell, and Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be among the speakers at the great public meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday evening, February 26, organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship.

FELLOWSHIP LITERATURE

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's pamphlet, "Women's Votes and Wages," is now ready, and can be obtained from the Business Secretary, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

HALF-PRICE SALE BURBERRY WEATHERPROOFS

A large stock of 1913 Burberry Top-coats and Gowns in all sizes, for Sport, Travel, Town and Country, to be disposed of, to make room for the 1914 season's models

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BURBERRY SPORING GOWNS in Gamefether and other Tweeds and Homespun. Usual price 8 gns. SALE PRICE 8/4-

ODD SKIRTS in Tweeds. Usual prices 4 and 5 gns. SALE PRICE 3/1/6

BURBERRY HATS trimmed natural plumage. Usual prices 1 and 2 gns. SALE PRICE 10/6

Many other bargains; write for SALE CATALOGUE post free.

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THE EFFECT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN AUSTRALIA

By Margaret Hodge

Part II.—Results in Laws and Social Conditions

I have spoken of the gradual mistrust of party that is growing up among the women of Australia. Non-party political associations of women have already been formed in three out of the six States of the Commonwealth, and in two others the women have separated from the men's associations, and go strongly for measures of social reform, and though they are nominally supporters of the Liberal Party, they are no longer slaves to it.

Legislative Results

Of the legislation, secured by the woman's vote, it is a little difficult to speak, for the prompt return of the Anti's meets us, "post hoc" is not necessarily "propter hoc."

The Universities are free, and readily grant bursaries to any scholars who are in need of pecuniary assistance to take a University career.

The age of consent has been raised in all the States except Queensland, and the women of the Electoral League are making an earnest effort to secure the raising of it there.

How the Vote has Affected Wages

The following table will show how the vote has affected wages:— In 1897 (before women had the vote)— Average wage. Females employed in dress and mantle trade. s. d. Number, 4,164

Reduction of Infant Mortality

The triumphant success of the woman's vote in reducing the terrible toll of infant life is due to a large extent to the excellent training in mothercraft in the schools from women doctors and teachers,

and to the legislation, which secures absolutely pure milk by rigid inspection of dairies. Lecturers on economics are often puzzled to account for the low rate of infant mortality in Australasia, and attribute it to the splendid climate; but the heat, in Queensland especially, is severely tropical, often reaching 100 degrees.

Rate of Infantile Mortality in the Commonwealth

In 1901 103 per thousand. In 1911 68 per thousand.

The Birth Rate

The birth-rate has risen from 25.29 in 1903 to 27.21 in 1911 (per thousand of the population); and is, therefore, now higher than Great Britain.

The percentage of infants born out of wedlock in the Commonwealth has decreased from 6.34 per cent. of total births in 1905 to 5.79 per cent. in 1911, and this in spite of the fact that the Northern Territory statistics are included, where the rate of illegitimate births is 29.03 per cent. of the total births.

The two Houses of the Federal Parliament have twice passed resolutions recording their earnest appreciation of the value of the woman's vote.

Indeed, many leading lights on the Island Continent are beginning to realise, from the results of practical experience of the co-operation of the sexes, that women are wanted in every branch of political, municipal, and judicial work.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Our sellers are rapidly returning to winter work. One fellow, a very busy and not a strong woman, has generously given the one-half-hour a week she can spare to help at a newly captained pitch.

Several Fellows have sent in their names for selling at the opening of Parliament. Those who have never sold before might make a beginning on that occasion; selling with others is a pleasant introduction to the work.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

Table with columns for Name, Amount, and Total. Includes Miss Florence Levy, Mrs. R. D. Tyng, Miss C. D. Tyng, etc.

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.

"NOW'S THE TIME & NOW'S THE HOUR!"

The Northern Men's Federation was formed from the Deputation of Bailies, Town Councillors and others, whom Mr. Asquith refused to receive last July.

Special and CONCENTRATED CAMPAIGNS have been and will be conducted in the Divisions of BRIDGE-TOWN (Mr. McCallum Scott, M.P., Anti-Suffragist and Supporter of Mr. Asquith); ST. ROLLOX (The Right Hon. McKinnon Wood, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith); SOUTH EDINBURGH (Mr. Lyall, M.P., Anti-Suffragist, Secretary to Mr. Asquith); EAST EDINBURGH (Mr. Hogge, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith); and CENTRAL EDINBURGH (Mr. Price, M.P., Supporter of Mr. Asquith).

Numerous letters and articles have appeared from Members of the Federation in the Press, and much publicity given to its activities.

A Deputation was received by SIR EDWARD GREY at BERWICK-ON-TWEED on October 27th last, reports of which appear in "The Times," "Scotsman," "Glasgow Herald," Manchester, Newcastle, and other leading newspapers, the fighting speeches of the men being withheld from publication.

A Deputation of the N.M.F. was received by the LORD PROVOST AND TOWN COUNCIL OF GLASGOW on November 12th last, and subsequently a resolution to petition Parliament, passed by a big majority.

A Resolution to petition Parliament was introduced into the TOWN COUNCIL OF EDINBURGH by Councillor Crawford and seconded by Councillor Bruce Lindsay, on December 2nd, and also passed by a large majority.

SIR JOHN SIMON, on his visit to Glasgow, was approached to receive a Deputation. He refused.

MR. LYALL, M.P. (Anti-Suffragist and supporter of Mr. Asquith) received a Deputation of Members of the N.M.F., and his own Constituents, on December 18th, and his answer being so unsatisfactory the Liberal Members have decided to withdraw their Votes.

Over two hundred letters have been sent to the PRESBYTERIES of the FREE CHURCH and UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND, urging them to appeal to the GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF SCOTLAND, and take up this question in a religious spirit, and the ARCHBISHOP OF CANBURY has also been approached.

On Friday January 10th the GLASGOW TRADES' COUNCIL decided to send Councillors Charlton, Turner and Walker to represent it at the NORTHERN MEN'S MEETING on February 14th. The Speakers have included Bailie Alston, J.P., Councillors Barrie, Cameron, Charlton, Crawford, Colborn, Dolan, Ex-Bailie Gordon, Bruce Lindsay, Murray, Ex-Town Clerk, Ex-Bailie Rae, Councillor Walker, Messrs. J. Bell, Branton, W. Cuthbertson, J.P., Ferguson, The Rev. T. M. Falconer, R.K. Gaul, Ginsberg, Hingworth, Inglis, Loane, MacMillan, J. McMichael, J.P., J. Wilson, McLaren, G. T. MacLennan, J. Romie, J.P., A. M. Service, Thomas Shaw, Trainer, The Rev. Mr. Watson and Mr. Andrew Young M.A., etc., etc.

It is not so much the actual work done by these men that calls for comment, as the spirit in which it has been undertaken—vigorous and determined—they have the courage of their convictions, and they mean, as Councillors Cameron and Crawford told Mr. Lyall, "to see this thing through."

Writing to the Hon. Organizer on October 18th, Mr. Israel Zangwill said:—"The formation of the Northern Men's Federation is the only gleam of hope that has lately appeared on the horizon of our people."

I put great hopes in the North.

Mass Meeting, MEMORIAL HALL, Farringdon Street, Ludgate Circus.

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LABOUR M.P. OUSTING WOMEN FROM EMPLOYMENT

Dispute Over Pit Brow Lassies in Yorkshire—Miners' Leaders Ask Employers to Withdraw Women—Great Agitation of 1911 Recalled

It is not long since the play by M. Brieux, "La Femme Seule," was performed at the Woman's Theatre. The scene in which the men and women contended for employment evoked considerable criticism at the time. We are now faced in this country with a situation bearing very closely on it.

A fresh attempt is being made by the miners and their leaders to prevent women from working at the pit brow. The question has arisen at the Sharlston Colliery, in Yorkshire, where the employers are introducing girls to work at the screens, on the ground that boys are unavailable.

The miners are entering an emphatic protest against the employment of women, and are endeavouring to extract a promise from the management that they shall not be employed. Mr. Wadsworth, one of the Labour M.P.'s, and other leaders of the Yorkshire miners are joining with the men in their representations, and there is reason to fear that the employers are likely to yield.

The conflict recalls the agitation in 1911, when the miners' representatives in the House of Commons endeavoured by legislative enactment to prevent the employment of women at the pit brow, alleging it was an unhealthy occupation for women. They were ultimately defeated in the House owing to the vigorous agitation carried on by the pit brow women themselves, ably supported by the Mayor of Wigan and by Mr. Walsh, M.P., who scattered by the winds the slanders promulgated by those who sought to deprive the women of their occupation.

PIT BROW GIRLS AT SHARLSTON

The first public notification of the trouble was a paragraph which appeared in the *Manchester Guardian* last week:—"Messrs. J. Wadsworth, M.P., and H. Smith, of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, in the course of an interview, strongly protested against the employment of about twenty girls in the screens at the Sharlston Colliery. If their representations to the colliery company were unavailing, they

said, a special meeting of the Council would be called to deal expeditiously with the practice, which should be resisted at all costs. The introduction of girl labour had been persistently opposed, they added, and could not now be tolerated."

Nature of the Work

It appears that the employment of girls in Yorkshire is only a late date, the management having been unable to obtain boys to work at the screens, as at four-year-old boys are eligible for work underground, for which they get considerably more money. The girls are engaged in picking out dirt from the coal as it is carried along the belts from the screens to the waggon. Sharlston is a considerable distance from any factories, and the girls prefer the work at the pit because they can leave home later and return earlier. They actually work only eight hours a day, and the pay is said to amount to the sum of seven or eight shillings a week.

Protest at Mass Meeting of Miners

On Sunday last a meeting of miners working at the New Sharlston Colliery was held to consider the question of the employment of the girls. A resolution was unanimously adopted protesting against the introduction of female labour, and asking for its immediate withdrawal. Addresses were delivered by several officials of the Yorkshire Miners' Association, and Mr. H. Smith, the president, announced that the manager of the colliery had undertaken to stop the employment of girls if the Sharlston miners desired it.

THE COAL MINES ACT

It will be remembered that in 1911 an amendment was carried in Committee on the Coal Mines Act to exclude women from work at the pit brow. A great outcry was raised against this injustice, and a deputation of pit brow lassies was received by Mr. Masterman, then Under-Secretary for Home Affairs. This deputation clearly proved on medical and economic evidence that work at the pit brow was desirable for women, that the work was not nearly so heavy as a good deal of housework, and that the physical condition of the women was much superior to that of factory workers.

The Mayor of Wigan, a member of the deputation, said to Mr. Masterman: I have

resided in Wigan all my life, and been intimately associated with colliery workers during the last twenty-five years. I can, therefore, claim to have some personal knowledge of the case which we are pleading to-day.

No Physical Ill-effects

As to the suggestion of strain or setting up of internal trouble, I have been at some pains to ascertain the opinion of medical men; and Dr. Cooke, of Aspull and Haigh, is here to give you the benefit of his personal experience, which has extended over a period of thirty years in the Wigan coalfield. Messrs. T. and F. Angion, physicians and surgeons of Wigan for the last twenty-five years, have been medical officers of the sickness and accident clubs in connection with the collieries of Messrs. Crompton and Shawcross, Limited, of Sowerthorpe and Co., Limited, the Hindley Field Coal Company, and several others where at least 250 girls and women have been regularly employed. During the twenty-five years in question they have not been called upon to deal with any case of hernia, strain, internal trouble of any kind affecting the bladder, bowels, womb, or other internal organs arising from the work of a pit-brow girl, nor have they ever heard of such a case. I went further than that. I consulted the matron of the Royal Albert Edward Infirmary, Wigan, which has been open thirty-eight years, and which receives outdoor and indoor patients from a radius of seven miles round Wigan, and during Miss McIntyre's twenty-one years' service as matron she does not remember a single case of this character being treated either in the institution or in the out-patient department.

The work has been proved by a long period of years to be quite suitable for women, to be in no way detrimental to their health or unsuitable to their physical capabilities. The women like the work, and view the prospect of being prevented from this employment with great alarm. It has been proved to be healthy and respectable. Those engaged in it will compare favourably with the women workers in any trade or walk of life. Their moral character will bear as keen an investigation as that of any other class of women in the land. Their social and home life and work would be creditable to a class more fortunately situated. The absolute necessity that prevails that they should earn their own living, and the fact that there are not too many suitable occupations open to women, calls for serious thought and consideration before any decisive step is taken to limit their sphere of work.

The Mayor then referred to the mass meeting in Wigan, held at a few hours' notice, when over 2,000 girls and relatives attended and entered their protest against the proposed alteration, and unanimously passed a resolution respectfully asking J.L.M.'s Government to protect them from this attack, to secure them against this unwarranted and unnecessary interference with the rights of a respectable body of women, who only asked to be allowed to earn their living in an honest, healthy manner, and for the assistance of their dependents, as they had been wont to do for many years.

Mr. Masterman's Reply

Mr. Masterman, replying to the deputation, said that if he had to choose between the two he would rather choose the work at the pit-brow than that in the factory. The chief impression of the argument left on his mind was the necessity of Votes for Women, because the question before them seemed essentially to be one for women themselves to decide. And when he found that the Miners' Federation, all the members of which except Mr. Walsh, their member, opposed the employment of women, the strength of that opposition was very greatly weakened in his mind when not one woman had a vote on the Federation. He thought the position was unanswerable. If you have an occupation for women which is acknowledged not to be unhealthy, not to be dangerous, and not to be immoral, a man's Parliament, elected by men, has no right to prohibit women from that occupation.

THE WOMEN'S TESTIMONY

At a protest meeting held at the Albert Hall, Manchester on October 6, a number of the women themselves gave accounts of their work.

Mrs. Disley, who had worked on the brow for twenty-three years, said she enjoyed her work. By turning women away from the brow would be a very serious thing for many families. In some cases there were three or four women of the same family working on the brow, and she did not know what would happen if their wages were cut off.

Mrs. Mollugh, a bent old woman, said to be seventy-three, said she had come "just to show herself," and to let people know that a great-grandmother was able to work among the coal yet.

Worked with their Fathers and Brothers
Miss King May, of Manchester, who is an expert in physical exercises, and who gave up her Easter holiday four years before to work on the pit-brow at Wigan to test the suitability of the employment for women, said that from the physical standpoint she considered it almost an ideal occupation. The pit-brow workers were one of the finest bodies of women workers she had ever met. She had seen nothing whatever to find fault with in their morals, and it was ridiculous for members of Parliament to talk about the danger of their environment when that environment was made up of their own fathers and brothers.

Not Missed a Day for Thirty Years
Twenty-one women spoke at the Colliery at Wigan, on October 25, at another great meeting to protest against the work of women at the pit brow.

Mrs. Isabella Leyland, of Hindley, said she had worked in the pit brow for thirty years, and she had never missed a day. She had never been ill in her life either, and she felt she could work another thirty years if they would let her keep on. "I think I look healthy and strong enough," she added, "and I think I feel it. I have a girl that used to work in the mill, but she was often at home than at work. She has been at home five months at once through ill-health. I took her out of the mill, and she has been on the pit brow now for twelve months, and she has never been ill since. I wish a lot more girls would come on the pit brow. There would not be quite so many doctor's bills to pay. I have had to pay them, and I wish every mother would look at the matter as I have looked at it with my girl."

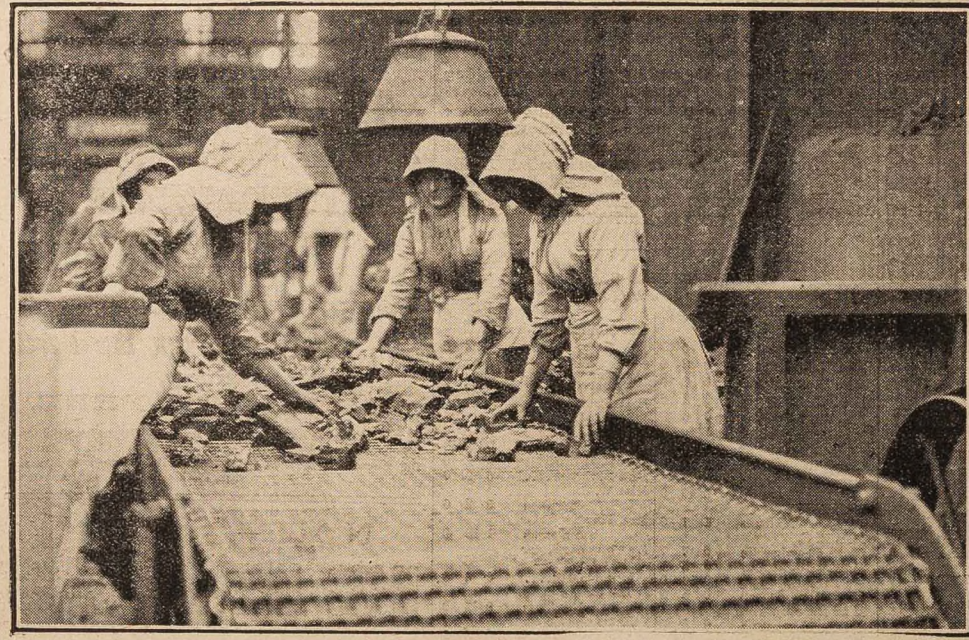
Miss Polly Ward, Pemberton, told how she worked in the mill for twelve months, and how she was never out of the doctor's hands all the time. She had now been working over six years on the pit brow, and never had a day's sickness since. As for the character of the girls working at the collieries, she had never been with "doctors or more respectable people."

Mrs. Heyes, Aspull, had to leave the mill for ill-health. She had a boy nineteen years of age who could not earn a penny, and a husband in bad health, and a girl who had to start at the pit because of bad health, and where was she to go if the pit-brow girls were stopped?

The Clause Deleted
Finally the obnoxious clause was deleted, an amendment substituted, providing that "no boy, girl, or woman shall be employed in lifting, carrying, or moving anything so heavy as to be likely to cause injury to the boy, girl, or woman."

The miners are now endeavouring to bring about by trade methods the exclusion which they were prevented from achieving by Act of Parliament.

COAL SORTERS AT WORK



[Block kindly lent by the "Manchester Guardian."]

The sorting screens are in the form of long belts, which move continually and carry the coal along with them. They are usually some 3 feet wide, and about 3 feet from the ground. On either side of the belts rows of women stand picking out pieces of stone, wood, and other waste stuff from amongst the coal as it slowly moves past. Sometimes they pick out the waste pieces with their fingers, sometimes they catch at them with an iron hook or rake, and sometimes with a hammer they strike off these which may be adhering to the coal itself.

THE LABOUR PARTY AT GLASGOW

Woman Suffrage Omitted from the Report—Mr. Macdonald's Defence of the Party's Policy—Conference of the Women's Labour League

The Conference of the Labour Party has been taking place this week in Glasgow on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, and resolutions are being put forward on a great number of questions of current interest.

There was no mention of Woman Suffrage in the Parliamentary Report, and up to the time of going to press the resolutions dealing with the subject had not been reached on the agenda. It was anticipated, however, that the Conference would reaffirm its support of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and would again instruct the Party to oppose any Franchise Bills from which women were excluded.

During the session of 1913 the bulk of the Labour Party interpreted a similar instruction passed at the last Conference as applying only to Bills extending the franchise, and not to the Plural Voting Bill. It remains to be seen what view the Conference take of this interpretation.

A preliminary sitting on Tuesday was given up to a discussion of the relationship of the Labour Party in the House to the Liberal Government, a theme on which we have from time to time had something to say in the columns of this paper. Mr. Macdonald defended the action of his Party on the ground that there was not much to choose between the two great parties, and that there was no reason why the Labour Party should put their constituents and the country as a whole to the trouble of a General Election.

The only mention of Woman Suffrage at Tuesday's sitting was Mr. Anderson's reference to its omission from the report. Mr. Anderson said he wanted to draw attention to a very serious omission so far as the Report was concerned. At the last Conference there was an important debate with regard to the position of Woman's Suffrage and the attitude of the Party in the House of Commons. Since then had been developments in Parliament, and yet the Parliamentary Report gave them no single reference to that important subject.

At Last Year's Conference

It will be remembered that the resolution relating to Woman Suffrage carried at last year's Conference on January 30 by 850,000 votes to 437,000 was as follows:—"That this Conference reaffirms its previous decisions regarding the enfranchisement of women, deploring the position created by the ruling of the Speaker, considers that the pledge of the Prime Minister can only be adequately and safely redeemed by the Government providing facilities during the coming session for a free vote of the House of Commons on a woman's measure, and should it obtain a second reading the Government becoming responsible for it through all its subsequent stages. It calls upon the Parliamentary party to do all in its power to expedite the passage of a Bill during the coming session giving votes to women on a broad and democratic basis."

Here the Postmaster General had supplied the best of arguments for the enfranchisement of women, and the Holt Report was in itself an everlasting answer to those people who believed that one could do without political support in the industrial world. It was impossible for the present state of things to continue. The need for equality between men and women in the industrial world was urgent, but it was hopeless to expect any reform until women could also apply political pressure, and secure from the House of Commons those benefits which were yet persistently denied.

Another Struggle of Women Workers
The Trade Board has just added a 10 per cent. increase to the earnings of the Cradley Heath women chainmakers, but, owing to the over-cautious provisions of the Trade Board Act, this need not actually come into force for six months. In 1910 a minimum rate of wage for women was fixed under the Act, but owing to certain clauses this only applied to workers whose employers did not obtain their consent in writing to contract out of them. The women struck, and eventually gained a victory, which made the increase in wages apply to all, and came into force without delay.

Last Sunday a large meeting was held in the Workers' Institute at Cradley Heath, at which it was unanimously agreed to ask the employers to meet the women, with a view to agreeing to the new wage being paid forthwith.

The "Fiasco" in January
Mrs. Salter, in her presidential address, declared her attachment to the Labour Party, and said that the women, in helping the men, had shown that they were gaining true insight into the meaning of the Labour struggle.

Referring to the suffrage question, Mrs. Salter said that they felt that those women who had worked through good and evil report since 1895, quietly and patiently building up the movement, had acted with great restraint since the fiasco in the House of Commons last January. The present Government had shown itself sadly lacking in statesmanship. It had had a great opportunity, and missed it. They were warned by the Labour leaders in Parliament, but they took no notice. Mr. Asquith might be considered by his followers to be a wonderful leader, but to them he appeared an unimaginative Prime Minister, who would probably go down to history as the one man who more than anyone else blocked the women's movement when there was every chance of success.

There was an ever-increasing number of men and women in our colonies of Australia and New Zealand who were amazed at the failure of the Liberal Party in the Mother Country to respond to the demand for women for government by consent. They felt that the whole community suffered loss—men no less than women, and perhaps the child life of all—by the denial of the rights of full citizenship to the mothers of the race.

There was tremendous leeway to be made up in all departments of life that affected women. In the change that was coming, and they asked its signs the world over, the women of the working class would have to take a foremost place along with their own men folk. A tremendous transformation was going to take place on this earth. They should make no mistake about that. The injustice of ages, the misery of the oppressed classes, the sorrows of the poor, the tyranny of wealth and rank, were going to be swept away for ever. Nothing could stop this

movement. With the international Labour and Socialist organisation lay the hope of the future.

Women and the Insurance Act
Miss Mary Macarthur, of the Women's Trade Union League, expressed fraternal greetings. The Labour nurses they had known, she said, was as nothing compared with the Labour unrest that was to come. Referring to National Health Insurance, she said that she was a member of a Departmental Committee appointed to inquire into the excessive claims for sickness benefit. They heard from men on all hands that women were malingering. It was true that there was an unexpected drain on insurance funds, but it was not due to malingering, but to the present industrial conditions. The claims were due to the prevalence of sickness among married women who were also factory workers. Instead of being surprised that ill-health was so common, they should be surprised that so many of those women were able to struggle on so long. They had to see that maternity benefit was taken out of the Insurance Act altogether and adequately provided for on a national basis.

At the afternoon session Miss Simm (Newcastle) read a paper on "The Working Women in Politics." She adduced arguments from the women workers' point of view in favour of the subject.

Suffrage Resolutions
Brief discussion took place on a series of woman suffrage amendments. The point at issue was whether Labour members of Parliament should be asked to put Woman Suffrage first next session.

Dr. Ethel Bentham said no one could suggest that she lacked enthusiasm for Woman Suffrage, but she did feel at this

moment that Woman Suffrage was not the most urgent matter to be put forward in answer to the King's Speech. She wanted the treatment of strikers in South Africa and Dublin brought forward first. They were very urgent questions.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier said she regarded the danger of militarism as so terrible that it took precedence just now even of the suffrage. The Conference carried by a very large majority a motion brought forward by the Executive reiterating the demand that the Labour Party shall oppose any Franchise Bill which does not include women, declaring Government can only redeem its pledge by bringing in such a Bill, and requesting the Labour Party to raise the question on the earliest opportunity next session.

After some discussion the Conference also carried by 26 to 11 another resolution that "the time has now arrived when, failing mention in the King's Speech of a measure which will enfranchise adult men and women, the Labour Party should take into consideration the necessity of moving an amendment on the subject."

Mrs. Gilder (Leeds) moved a further resolution urging Labour members to reject any Government measure which did not deal with the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. Bruce Glasier: That means that every sort of work in Parliament—Home Rule and everything else—is to be negatived?

Mrs. Gilder: Yes. The motion was rejected by a large majority.

A variety of other subjects were discussed, and in the evening Mr. Ramsay Macdonald gave an address in the course of which he spoke of his affection for the Women's Labour League.

PURE FOOD

TUBERCULOSIS MILK AND MEAT

A conference was held at Crowe last Monday of the members of the Cheshire Milk Producers' Association and the Cheshire Chamber of Agriculture. Lord Chesham presided, and Mr. Runciman, President of the Board of Agriculture, took part in the discussion.

The principal subject dealt with was the working of the Tuberculosis Order. It was stated that farmers were tempted to sell suspicious cows to butchers rather than incur the trouble and expense of putting the present Order into operation. The best method of selection one of the cleverest men in Manchester had had to wait twenty years for her promotion. The disparity between the wages paid to men and women at present was 2s. a week. The Holt Report would make it 23s. a week. It was a further disadvantage to women that pensions were based on salaries.

The suffrage question entered into this matter, as into so many industrial questions affecting women. The Postmaster General on the 19th inst. took the House of Commons as the final court of appeal, and the men had promptly accepted the challenge and decided to run candidates. They intended to have a critic of the Holt Report on the floor of the House.

The Best Suffrage Argument
Here the Postmaster General had supplied the best of arguments for the enfranchisement of women, and the Holt Report was in itself an everlasting answer to those people who believed that one could do without political support in the industrial world. It was impossible for the present state of things to continue. The need for equality between men and women in the industrial world was urgent, but it was hopeless to expect any reform until women could also apply political pressure, and secure from the House of Commons those benefits which were yet persistently denied.

DISEASED HORSEFLESH AND DYE IN A BUTCHER'S SHOP
The *Daily Citizen* (January 27) reports the case of a Steppney butcher who was summoned at the Thames Police Court for having unlabelled horseflesh for sale on his premises. The Medical Officer of Health for Steppney said that not only was 11oz. of horseflesh found, but in some sausages in the defendant's shop were distinct traces of aniline dye and horseflesh. There was also in the shop, said the doctor, a quantity of horse's liver, upon which was an abcess.

The meat was found in the ice-safe by inspectors. Bones of horses were also discovered in a sink.

The butcher denied that the horseflesh was used in the course of his business, but admitted that he had received horseflesh which was to be utilised by other persons.

The magistrate said it was quite clear that the horseflesh was upon the premises for the purpose of sale. A fine of £20 and £2 4s. costs was imposed. The horseflesh was destroyed.

Twenty pounds odd may seem a rather heavy fine, but surely it was not any too heavy for this particularly revolting case. Assuredly the wives of working men would have something to say to such

shameful imposition, and would insist on politicians making such offences punishable by imprisonment.

CHILLED MEAT LABELED "BEST ENGLISH"

The *Times* (January 22) reports the case of a company summoned for unlawfully applying a false trade description, namely, "Best English," to a piece of beef which was chilled foreign meat.

When challenged, the manager at once admitted that the meat was not English, and said there was no English beef on the premises at the time. On the same day the inspector bought at another of the defendants' shops a piece of beef labeled "English," and this was admitted to be chilled beef.

It was stated the instructions were given to the company's managers not to sell chilled meat as English, and that the price charged was only that of chilled meat. The defendants pleaded guilty, but said they had eighty shops, and this was their first offence. They were fined £5 and £5 5s. costs in each of the cases.

Another butcher was then summoned for labelling a piece of beef "Primo Scotch" when it was not Scotch at all. It was said that the defendant had followed the usual practice of butchers. He used all kinds of labels, and when he had a particularly nice piece of chilled meat he labelled it "Primo English" or "Primo Scotch." He did not know he was committing an offence.

The magistrate said that as the defendant was a respectable tradesman, he would fine him only 40s. and £5 5s. costs.

ADULTERATED MILK

We have also to report two cases of milk adulteration. One was reported in the *Daily Herald* (January 22), and is that of a Finsbury Park dairyman summoned at Highgate for selling milk which had been adulterated by the addition of 8 per cent. of water. It was stated that there were five previous convictions, and defendant was fined £50. Might not imprisonment have been better for such a persistent offender, for as the law now stands, a dairyman is immune from having his milk examined for a certain time after a conviction, during which time he can, of course, recoup himself to the extent of the fine?

An account of the other case appeared in the *Reading Mercury* on January 17. A dairyman was summoned at the Reading Borough Court on January 13 for selling milk that was adulterated with 32.7 per cent. of water. A fine of £10 and 23s. 6d. costs was imposed, and in default one month's imprisonment. The dairyman's father was also summoned for a heavy fine for the abstraction of milk, being 22 per cent.; he was fined 5s. and 12s. costs.

THE ZANGWILL PLAY

It is quite true that "The Melting Pot," performed at the Court by the Play Actors last Sunday and Monday, has no direct connection with the suffrage movement. It was written six or seven years ago, before the movement became the absorbing question that it is to-day. The scene is laid in New York, and the main subject at the back of the human drama is the escape of Judaism from Russian massacre and the trammels of its own ancient ordinances. But one cannot allow a drama of genius to pass unnoticed, least of all when it is the work of so true a suffragist as Mr. Zangwill. Time after time he has proved his devotion by words that were deeds, and by deeds more significant than words, standing gallantly by the cause in the dark hours when other men of his high position hesitated or stood aloof.

The Woman of the Play

It is a human drama, as I said, and as such it must include both men and women, for somehow they have got to live together as humanity, no matter what their opinions of each other may be. There are four types of women in the play, all very distinct: Vera Revendal, the high-born Russian revolutionary, who in England now would have been a leading suffragette, but in New York was conducting a "settlement" for unhappy immigrants, she herself having escaped Siberia through the influence of her father, a typical Russian officer of the Black Hundred order; Baroness Revendal, that officer's second wife—young, worldly, material, caring only for pleasure, but full of natural wit, and refusing to be ordered about like one of her husband's soldiers; old Frau Quixano, the Jewish grandmother, still wearing the black wig of Hebrew custom, still observing every minute ordinance of Hebrew ritual, still abhorring America as a land of darkness inhabited by Hittites, Amalekites, and Jebuzites; and the Irish servant, Kathleen, a model of humorous fidelity, who, after trying to walk away because she couldn't keep up with the Kosher observances, consents in pity to stay, and ends by declaring, "We're all Haybrews here!"

Like the whole of the play, these four parts were acted with extraordinary skill. All are fine acting parts, human and humorous, and Miss Phyllis Relph, Miss Gillian Scaife, Miss Inez Bensusan, and Miss Nolan O'Connor made the utmost of them. One cannot make distinctions by putting one before the other,

but certainly no acting could surpass Miss Bensusan's old Hebrew woman, and we all know how much the suffrage cause owes to Miss Bensusan.

The Great Idea

It is not a suffrage drama, but into every work of genius many meanings may be read. Mr. Zangwill's writing nearly always has behind it a grandeur of idea, a certain "bigness" of conception, that belongs to genius and gives a prophetic note to his work. The bigness of conception here is the vision of a persecuted race escaping from the contempt and cruelty of the Russian house of bondage into America's promised land. There, as in some Divine crucible, heated by the fires of God, the wretched exiles from all the tyrannies of the world may be purified of their ancient dross and emerge as the pure gold of mankind's nobler possibilities. That is the vision. In scenes of ironic humour, understanding pathos, and the deepest tragedy, we are shown the difficulties of its realisation. How can a race shake off the habits of generations—the ritual that has become more precious than faith, the cherished idols of custom that are more revered than God? Even to "the emancipated" how tightly the fetters of tradition cling! How difficult is the exodus from the past, the escape from the long history of oppression, misery, and blood!

Excellent as the first two acts are, the drama reaches its height in the third, when David Quixano, the young Jewish musician, discovers that the woman for whom he had abandoned his people and their Hebrew observances, is the daughter of the Russian officer by whose order his parents, his little brother and his sister had been butchered before his eyes at the hideous pogrom of Kishineff (April, 1903). That was a scene he could not obliterate from his soul—a sin of the fathers that must be visited upon the children for all generations. It is a great situation. In some ways it recalls a similar scene from Sarah Bernhardt's famous part in "Fédora." Nothing on the modern stage has surpassed the pity and terror of the young Jew's words as he recalls that appalling massacre in the presence of the man who ordered it, and the daughter whom he loves. Yet in the end, even that horror of remembrance is melted in God's crucible. Not even a river of blood may bar the road to the future vision.

A Parallel for Us

Our cause also has its vision, and we well know the impediments that stand between us and its realisation—the habits of uncounted ages, the ritual of observances that have become more precious than

faith, the cherished idols of custom more revered than God. How tightly the fetters of tradition cling even to the emancipated! How toilsome is the exodus from the past, the escape from that long history of oppression, cajolery, and lust! Yet we also stand, as it were, in the midst of a crucible, raised to molten heat by Divine fire. From us, too, the dross of out-worn superstitions and immemorial hostilities is to be purified away, so that the future of our country may emerge as finer gold. There is our vision, and not even memory's river of ancient injustice and wrong shall bar our road towards its fulfilment.
H. W. N.

"MARY-GIRL"

At the Vaudeville Theatre

There is a good idea in Mrs. Hope Merrick's clever play now running at the Vaudeville Theatre; indeed, it would be as true to say that there are several good ideas in it, each of which might have been elaborated and followed out to some conclusion. The plot is admirable, and the situation produced by the time the third act opens would lend itself to one of several developments. The line taken by the author is, we feel, not the most interesting at her disposal. The life-passion of Mary's husband, Ezra, the preacher, to see a draughty barn replaced by a brick mission hall, might have been made so convincing in the earlier scenes that his sudden impulse to rush out and burn it down in the last act, because he sees it has destroyed his married happiness and lowered his human standards, would be a really dramatic crisis. As it is, we are left wishing that Mary's rebellion, after years of wifely submission, had rather been the theme chosen for elaboration. It is cleverly suggested in the first act, where Ezra, having trained his wife to rely entirely on his judgment, is humanly annoyed with her when she entirely fails him in a moment of crisis and waits for him to decide what he would far rather leave to her for decision. "You don't help me a bit!" he exclaims pettishly. Of course not. The one thing a master cannot obtain from a slave at the word of command is a free mind. We wish this very promising play had contained more moments like this one. As it is, it is almost irritatingly interesting, because it so often hints at a deeper meaning, and then slides off into conventional stage sentimentality. The acting is admirable in almost every case. Miss May Blayney as Mary is charming; Mr. McKinnel plays Ezra with great cleverness considering the difficulties of the part, and Mr. O. B. Clarence as the Earl is delightful throughout.

BOOK REVIEWS

WHAT IS "WOMANLY" ?

There are still men—and women, too—who appear to have the vaguest notions of what is the real significance of the term "womanly," although no such doubt exists in regard to the corresponding word "manly." Mr. Housman's enquiry and analysis into the matter are really illuminating. He reminds us, for instance, that the conception "manly" has undergone changes. Not long ago it was considered "unmanly" to refuse to fight a duel. In Germany it is still so considered. But in our country we have finally got rid "of the superstition that honour can in any way be mended by two men standing up to take snap-shots at each other."

In the same way "womanly" cannot rest merely on the lines of past convention. Mr. Housman aptly defines "manly" as the "pick and polish of those qualities which enable a man to possess himself and to develop all his faculties, and, if it denotes discipline, it also denotes an insistence on freedom—freedom for development, so that all that is in him may be brought out for social use." The same applies to woman: all that is in her should be brought out for social use. Womanliness should begin in possession of self. The old ideal of her self-sacrifice and subjection must give way to the idea that woman should not sacrifice herself in order that others (husband or children) may over-indulge—

The woman who submits to the starving of herself or her children by a drunken or a lazy husband is not, in any positive sense, "womanly"—for she is not proving herself ineffective for her social task. She is unwomanly if she is knowingly bringing diseased offspring into the world, just as he (the man) is unmanly in the fathering of them.

Further, the Victorian ideal of woman's place in the home, and that she should live unobserved, is giving place to the wider ideal of woman's duties to the social state. But always, as she advances to any extension of her duties or rights as a citizen, the reproach of "unwomanliness" is, and has been, levelled at her. The history of Caroline Norton is a case in point. Her fight for the rights of motherhood—an essentially womanly thing—was condemned as the reverse—

Until convention ceases to make this unequal claim upon woman's allegiance, which it does not dare to make upon a man's, so long will it be her duty to look for opportunities of womanly activity rather in independence than in submission to the generally received opinion as to what constitutes womanliness.

THE STATE AND THE CITIZEN

In his contribution to the Imperial Library Lord Selborne gives a valuable analysis of the present state of party Government. The interest, and possibly the value, of any contribution to political literature must depend on the writer's taking some definite point of view. Lord Selborne writes as a frank partisan of the Second Chamber and the Referendum. On those points, of course, opinions are widely divided. However truly democratic the Referendum may be, its cumbersomeness and its "newness" will always tell against it in this country, and to an onlooker in politics all that is said for or against the retention of a Second Chamber only succeeds in emphasising the unsatisfactoriness of our party system. To most readers the value of Lord Selborne's condensed little book will lie in his analysis of conditions and constitutions. Solidified as it is with appendices, this handy little work will serve as a reference book on many points of foreign and colonial political organisation. But for freshness and interest some readers will prefer the chapters dealing with Cromwell and his curious in-and-out relations with Parliament and King.

One is slightly surprised that Lord Selborne does not discuss Proportional Representation, which is well within the scope of his subject. Surprise changes into disappointed amazement when one finds that in a book which deals with representation and the conditions of democracy, the question of woman suffrage is barely touched upon.

J. E. M.

A CHURCHWOMAN'S SERMON:

On the text, "The greatest fact of modern times is that known as the woman's movement," Miss Willis has written an earnest and high-minded appeal that should find acceptance with members of the Church of England. The purpose of the book, if we understand it aright, is to show the importance of personality and bring out what Christianity has done for the freedom and personality of women. In the chapters on Early Christian Women, the Dedicated Life, and the Evolution of the Home, a good deal of valuable historical information is given, and the author's contention that "the equality of woman with man is inherent in Christianity" is fortified by the

* "What is Womanly" ? By Laurence Housman. The Women's Freedom League. (Price 4d.)

† "The State and the Citizen." By the Earl of Selborne, K.G. (London: F. Warne and Co. Price 1s.)

‡ "Personality and Womanhood." By R. M. Willis, formerly of Somerville College, Oxford. With Preface by B. W. Randolph, D.D., Canon of Ely. (Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Price 6s. net.)

evidence of many witnesses, from St. Paul to the later Middle Ages. Miss Willis does well to remind us that the men who under Henry VIII destroyed the monasteries and convents in England, "instead of using the money gained by dissolving some of the convents in educational institutions for women, applied it all to men's advantage." Jesus College, Cambridge, was established on the proceeds of St. Radegund's Nunnery, and, of course, both at Oxford and Cambridge professorships were endowed with the money of women. Common gratitude has not yet moved these ancient universities to acknowledge their indebtedness by admitting women to degrees or offices. Miss Willis is less satisfactory as an apologist for the continuity of the Church of England with the Catholic Ecclesia Anglicana of pre-Reformation times, and we cannot follow her at all in the declaration that the Catholic Church in England remained "steadfast" in the reign of Elizabeth. The great bulk of the clergy and laity were anything but "steadfast" in the sixteenth century, and anticipated the Vicar of Bray in their willingness to be "law-abiding," no matter what changes were imposed by the Crown and by Parliament. In a very good summary of the awakening of women to public life in the nineteenth century, Miss Willis omits all mention of the "Female Reformers" who took part in the agitation that preceded the Reform Bill of 1830, and, incidentally, she makes the curious mistake of placing the labours of Kinsley and F. D. Maurice antecedent to Keble and Pusey.

But in the wide field covered the general accuracy is remarkable, and the tone is distinctly religious and always urbane. It is essentially a Church of England book, and the present agitation for votes for women is neither mentioned directly nor brought into the narrative. We feel, however, that the author is with us as long as we conform to her notions of "true womanliness," and what more can we expect? J. C.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Wonder Year." By Maude Goldring. (London: Erskine Macdonald. Price, 6s.)

"Cupid's Caterers." By Ward Muir. (London: Stanley Paul. Price, 6s.)

"Crying for the Moon." By Nancy Pain and Winifred Rose. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price, 2s. net.)

"Women Among the Nations." A Short Treatise by Frances Swiney. (London: 25, Victoria Street, S.W. Price, 6d. net.)

"Stories from the 'Children's Realm.'" By George Bedborough. (London: Vegetarian Federal Union, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, E.C. Price, 6d. net.)

"The Magpie." February. (London: 5, John Street, Adelphi, W.C. Price, 4½d. net.)

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MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
For Wimbledon, Merton and Tooting.

A PUBLIC MEETING
will be held in the QUEEN'S HALL, WIMBLEDON, on **TUESDAY, FEB. 3rd, 1914, at 8 o'clock.**

Chair: Dr. P. A. BATHUR, F.R.S. Speakers: Rev. J. M. MAILLARD, Dr. FRANK MOROS, C. V. DUBOIS, Esq., D.Sc., and others.

ADMISSION FREE.

"PROBLEMS OF THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT"
A SERIES OF FOUR LECTURES by
MISS LIND-AF-HAGEBY,
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(Sole Lessees, Messrs. CHAFFELL & Co.)

On THURSDAY EVENINGS in FEBRUARY.

FEBRUARY 5th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Sex and Social Evolution."
FEBRUARY 12th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Psychological Aspects of the Struggle for the Franchise."
FEBRUARY 19th, at 8.15 p.m.—"The Genesis of the New Woman."
FEBRUARY 26th, at 8.15 p.m.—"Feminist Politics and the State."

Tickets 1s., 2/6, and 5s., to be obtained at the Box Office, Queen's Hall, at the International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.; or by letter containing remittance from Miss Schartau, 170, Piccadilly, W.

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"Why do Women say that Votes for Women will mean Better Wages for Women Workers?"

The Answer to this question is contained in the Pamphlet,

Women's Votes and Wages

— By —
F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN
4-7, RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET
Telegraphic Address:—Votwom, Fleet, London.
Telephone:—Holborn 5880 (2 lines).

WOMEN AND THE LABOUR PARTY

The Labour Party are sitting in Conference at Glasgow as we write, and various questions of principle, policy, and tactics are coming under revision. So far the question of woman suffrage has not yet been reached on the agenda, but there is every reason to suppose that the Conference will carry with unanimity a motion in general terms in favour of the enfranchisement of women, and it is not unlikely that a further resolution may be passed on the lines of that of last year, instructing the Labour Party to vote against any Franchise Bill which does not include women.

If this be substantially the result, the situation will remain exactly as it is at present, and one large body of women suffragists will no doubt continue to give their services and their resources in support of Labour candidates at elections. The grounds on which they will do so are, firstly, that the Labour Party is the only party which, as a party, is favourable to woman suffrage; and secondly, that by pledging itself to oppose all other franchise measures unless women are included, the party is striking a practical and effective blow on behalf of women.

These arguments sound plausible enough, but they are, as a matter of fact, fallacious. Putting aside the fact that the Labour Party interpret the expression "Franchise Bill" in such a way as not to cover the Plural Voting Bill—the only franchise measure which the Government have any intention of trying to carry into law before the next general election—they are at fault because they fail to take account of the central fact of the modern political situation. We are confronted to-day not with a Government resting on the support of one party, but with a

Government resting on the support of a Coalition composed of three parties, and one of these is the Labour Party.

Let us first examine the truth of this fact, and then see what it involves. The Parliament elected in 1906 contained 400 Liberals, 83 Nationalists, 30 Labour men, and 157 Unionists. Of these only the 400 Liberals sat on the Government side of the House, and considered it necessary to give regular and consistent support to the Government in the division lobbies. The Labour Party and the Irish Nationalists not only sat on the Opposition side of the House, but they frequently voted against the Government. They had not the power to turn it out, and they had therefore no responsibility for its actions. If that state of affairs had continued up to the present day there would be nothing unnatural in looking upon the Labour Party as a friend of woman suffrage, and in giving it a certain measure of support.

But that state of affairs has not continued. An entirely new situation was reached as a result of the general elections of January, 1910. The Liberals came back greatly reduced in numbers. In consequence they had not by themselves a majority of the House. And from that time to this they have remained in office only with the help of the Irish Nationalists and the Labour Party. The Irish have given their support in exchange for the promotion of the Home Rule Bill, the *raison d'être* of their existence as a Party in the House of Commons. Whether the Labour Party secure a *quid pro quo* in labour legislation for their devoted allegiance is a question which we leave the rank and file of the Party to decide for themselves; but the fact that the Labour Party does give devoted allegiance to the Government is surely outside the pale of controversy. If anyone doubts it, let him produce the record of a single division, likely to prove critical to the Government, in which the vast majority of the Labour Party, in obedience to the Labour Whips, have not been found trooping dutifully into the Government lobby.

Some attempt may be made to argue that the Labour Party cannot be held responsible for the action of the Government, because even if they all voted in opposition they could not overthrow the Government. A precise arithmetical analysis of the parties appears at first sight to support this view. At the present moment there are in the House 263 Liberals and 76 Nationalists (amounting together to 339), and 39 Labour men, 8 Independent Nationalists, and 282 Unionists, who, if added together, would amount to 329. If, therefore, the Labour Party were to vote in opposition, as well as the Independent Nationalists, there would, it is claimed, be still a majority of ten in favour of the Government. No one conversant with political life will fall into this snare, for the argument takes no account of political vicissitudes. In practice, a theoretical majority of ten would often work out into a minority, and the Government would be defeated. The Labour Party, does, therefore, possess the power to overthrow the Government. It deliberately refuses to exercise this power, and actually goes so far as to use its votes to buttress up the Government and keep it in office.

By so doing it earns the opposition of women, for this Government is an anti-suffrage Government. It is a Government which has not merely refused itself to push forward woman suffrage into law, but which has deliberately blocked and prevented the enfranchisement of women. The more advanced suffragists have always realised this fact, and since January, 1913, it has been also realised by all other sections of non-party suffragists (i.e., by all suffragists who are not frankly party women first and suffragists afterwards). It is, therefore, and must be, the supreme object of all whole-hearted suffragists to overthrow the present Government. To the attainment of this object the existence and strength of the Labour Party, are a grave and effective obstacle, since for the purpose of the support or defeat of the Government the Labour man and the Liberal are interchangeable.

In view of this all-important fact, any mere expression of sympathy and friendship by the Labour Conference, and even any decision to vote against hypothetical Franchise Bills, can be of no practical avail. Suffragists must learn to harden their hearts to sympathetic words if they would play a part in political life. By actions alone must they be prepared to judge men. And in action the Labour Party have pitifully failed.

"STEALING THE LIBERALS' CLOTHES"

How a Great Franchise Measure was Carried by a Conservative Government

By S. D. SHALLARD

Speculating in cotton "futures" is held to be a highly risky enterprise, but it has elements of certainty which may be favourably compared with the more common game of speculating on the political future.

One hears folk animatedly discussing whether the Liberals will do this or that—for instance, introduce a measure of Woman Suffrage—unwitting of the fact that in politics one never knows which party will do what, or how long either party will have the chance to do what it contemplates as a "future" item in its programme. Political parties are controlled by events far more than they control them, as a very little reflection will show, and history reveals not a few instances of opposing parties out-bidding one another upon a question which but a short while earlier neither party would admit as practicable. In other cases a party has talked of a certain reform until its opportunity to achieve it has passed for good, as happened in recent times with the Unionists and Old Age Pensions.

The Story of 1867

Perhaps the most striking instance in our own history of two great parties being forced by events to outbid one another in dealing with a problem which the leaders of both parties would only too gladly have shirked—and in a way which they had agreed to regard as impossible—is the case of the grant of the working-class franchise in the sixties. This is the event familiarly known as the "Dishing of the Whigs," or "Stealing the Clothes of the Liberals while Bathing."

Despite the risk of what amounted to a political revolution, the difficulties, the fears of the governing class both for their own property and the stability of the nation, and all other causes for hesitation, the persistent agitation outside had wrung pledges from so large a number of members on both sides that the House was irresistibly forced to handle the situation. The Liberals, from the very nature of their historic position, were bound to look upon any broadening of the base of representation as a question peculiarly theirs to consider, and the "Radicals" were genuinely desirous of franchise reform.

So many new and energetic Liberals of this "Radical" type had entered Parliament in 1859 that Palmerston found it no easy task to burke the subject which was agitating the more thinking section of the working class. Cholera, cattle-plague, the widespread Fenian conspiracy, war threatened between Prussia and Austria, financial disturbances—all these were pathetically urged in turn as reasons why "the hands of the Liberals should not be forced" upon the question of reform, just as at the present moment Suffragists are warned, with bated breath, by many earnest but short-sighted sympathisers that the troubles in Ulster make it peculiarly dangerous to "force the hands" of the Government in the coming Parliamentary Session.

Too Late!

Even before the death of Palmerston in 1865 it had become clear to the Whigs that they were on the point of losing their opportunity to deal with this question on lines either satisfactory to their reputation or their political interests. With the passing of that obstinate and short-sighted old man, the Liberals bestirred themselves to save the situation—too late, as it proved, to effect the desired end.

Lord John Russell went to the Lords as Lord Russell, with Gladstone, the rising power of the Cabinet, as leader in the Commons, confident of his ability to steer an even course between the extremes of his party.

Clearly, it was the game of the Tories to do nothing likely to drive the Government into handling the situation boldly and comprehensively, and by their attitude as far as possible to strengthen the reactionary and timid elements in the Cabinet, and they are known everywhere for their genius and their work. Both have been generous of their sacrifice and doing something to earn the gratitude of a new body of electors to be brought by them into being.

The first step of the Government was halting and unhappy. In the Queen's Speech they promised in round, Gladstonian phrases that "information should be procured" in reference to "the right of

voting in the elections for Members of Parliament," that the attention of Parliament should be called to the result "when complete," with a view to "such improvements in the electoral laws" as might "strengthen our free institutions, conduce to the public welfare," and so forth. This killed all Liberal enthusiasm straightaway, and from that moment the Government, without having conciliated the opponents of Suffrage Reform one wit, had on their flank the Radical Suffragists, urged on by the disappointed and dismayed working-class leaders.

After some further hesitation, the Government found itself forced to plunge hastily on a Bill, and produced one which proposed a County franchise reduced to £14 rental and a Borough franchise reduced to £7. (In the sixties, it must be remembered, this represented a very much higher standard of living than the same amount would now do.) There were other provisions for a Savings Bank franchise and such-like modifications or safeguards. This was an ideal situation for the Tories. If the Government could be defeated—a likely contingency in view of the discontent among the Radicals—the Tories could introduce a moderate measure, which the Liberals must then support, enabling the Tories easily to outvote their own malcontents. That, in fact, is pretty much what happened.

Disraeli Defeats the Government

The unwise trimming of the Government had not prevented Robert Lowe and his friends from resigning office and attacking Gladstone fiercely, rallying to themselves all discontented spirits in what Bright sardonically styled a new "Cave of Adullam." Of this opportunity Disraeli, leading spirit of the Opposition in the Commons, took full advantage, and brought about the downfall of the Ministry.

Lord Derby then formed his famous third Ministry, with the now all-powerful Disraeli as leader in the Commons. The fact that the Tories in Opposition had denounced the proposed Reform project did not prevent Derby from acceding to Disraeli's almost immediate proposals for a move in the direction of Reform. Like the Liberals, the Tory

leaders were divided among themselves, and resignations promptly followed, including that of Lord Cranborne (the late Lord Salisbury). But Disraeli advanced slowly but surely towards his objective by a series of masterly manoeuvres—how far planned out or how far a signal instance of alacrity in seizing the opportunities offered by the blunders of his opponents in the Government it would be difficult to say.

From a Bill the Tory Government proceeded to resolutions, and from obviously futile resolutions back to an impossible draft Bill, which in its turn was thrown over at a Cabinet meeting less than half an hour before the appointed time for introducing it to the House. At this stage Disraeli produced a ready-made Bill, designed to do nothing but commit his colleagues a little further and save the situation whilst he completed the education of the doubters and hesitators. This Bill—known in Parliamentary history as the Ten-Minute Bill because a member of the Cabinet related that it was only adopted ten minutes before its introduction—paved the way for the Tories' final "leap in the dark," a bold plunge into simple household suffrage for the working classes of the boroughs, without respect to rental paid, rateable value, direct payment of rates, or whatsoever.

The plunge was not taken without much further hesitation, and Hyde Park railings had come down before a rush of the mob before the moral was sufficiently obvious to all the Cabinet, but when it was seen that the thing had to be done, it was done quickly and well. What is more, before long there was no one prepared to deny that, alike in their own interests and that of the country, the Tory Government had acted most sagaciously in their manoeuvre.

So far as their own party interests were concerned they had established a claim on the support of the workmen of the Boroughs, hitherto overwhelmingly Radical, and from that time there has always been a considerable Conservative working-man's vote in all the established urban centres.

LETTER TO FELLOWS FROM MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Colleagues in the "Votes for Women" Fellowship!

Parliament meets on February 10. That nearing event is the clarion call to all workers in the Franchise Agitation to bestir themselves. The coming Session will write a new chapter in the history of the Votes for Women Movement. What is it going to be? That answer depends very greatly on ourselves, depends to some extent on every individual in the ranks. The supporters of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons are inert, weak, and vacillating as they have ever been. Energy, strength, and persistence must be looked for in ourselves alone. It is our main business now, before the Session begins and at its commencement, to demonstrate to the Government and to the public that there is a temperature in this movement which must melt down opposition, and a force which must sweep every obstacle from its path.

The various Suffrage Societies have arranged their great meetings, and are now hard at work to ensure their success. Fellows! your great meeting takes place on February 26. Do not for a moment forget that date. Your whole-hearted, practical co-operation is needed to make it a success, and a good augury of the political campaign to come. You are needed as advertisers and ticket agents. There are numbers of men and women hitherto untouched by the Suffrage Movement who would seize the chance of hearing Miss Lena Ashwell and Sir Harry Johnston speak, for their reputation in the great world is made, and they are known everywhere for their genius and their work. Both have been generous of their sacrifice and their service in the Woman's Movement.

It is our business as Fellows to give the outside world a chance of hearing their views on the greatest political and social question of the hour, by doing everything in our power to impress the knowledge of the meeting and its date upon the memory of the public. Handbills are ready and can be obtained

from the office. They should be systematically posted and distributed with a personal word or letter in each instance. They should be used also for local canvassing purposes. An army of volunteers for house to house canvassing is needed. Our paper-sellers should seek to interest every purchaser. The best and most satisfactory help of all is for every Fellow who can do so to purchase at least half a dozen tickets at once and distribute them by gift or by purchase amongst acquaintances. Will you write to me at once signifying what you can do?

A special London meeting of Fellows is called for next Friday, February 6, at the small Essex Hall, Strand (opposite Clement's Inn), at 8.30 o'clock. I shall be glad to meet all who are ready to help in this matter, to report progress, and discuss further plans.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE COMING YEAR

The first weeks of the year are to some extent weeks of winter sleep and forgetfulness. Yet hardly a day passes without new names being added to the Fellowship roll. It is time, however, that all Fellows woke up again, and set themselves to work with serious purpose and persistence. The average of new members was fifty a week during many months last year; this year the aim must be for a much higher average. Will all Fellows start in at once and get new cards signed? These cards may be had on application to Red Lion Court.

We are going ahead in Lancashire and Yorkshire. Fellows will be interested to see in our correspondence columns a letter from Miss Sandilands, of Leeds, describing a successful poster parade in that city, and also a letter from Miss Phyllis Lovell, telling an interesting story of paper-selling in Southport and Liverpool. We commend their enterprise and example to Fellows in all the great provincial towns in the country.

Fellows who have not yet sent in their subscription for 1914 are reminded that by our new rules a subscription to the Fellowship funds (minimum 1s.) is asked from every Fellow at the beginning of each year as a sign of continued support.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES
Assaulting a Wife
The Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette (January 17) reports the case of a man charged at the Berkshire Assizes with wounding his wife with intent to kill and murder her.

Beating a Dog to Death
The Daily Sketch (January 23) reports the case of a gardener charged at Liverpool with beating a dog to death with an iron spade.

Cruelty to a Pit Pony
The Derbyshire Times (January 3) reports case of a man charged at the Chesterfield County Police Court with whistling a pony of an almost incredible character.

SEVEN CHILDREN STARVED TO DEATH
The Daily Citizen (January 26) reports the case of a french polisher summoned at Clerkenwell for neglecting his five children, aged from one to eleven years.

CRUELTY TO WIFE OVERLOOKED
An example of light sentences, or, in this case, it is more correct to say no sentence, where life or cruelty is concerned, is to be found in the following case, which was reported in the Manchester Courier on January 21.

PRINCESS'S GOODS SOLD
The pearl necklace and bangle belonging to Princess Sophia Duleep Singh, which had been taken in distraint for her non-payment of taxes, were sold by auction at the Twickenham Town Hall on Monday last.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS
The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists by the Press during the week:
Saturday, January 24—Pavilion of the Northbrook Cricket Club, Burnt Ash Road, Lee, gutted by fire.

COVENTRY LIBERALISM

Mr. Mason will Stand as Independent
Liberal members moved a resolution refusing leave to introduce the Franchise Bill, and that he, with one other Liberal, voted with the Opposition in the Marconi division.

Why they Rejected Mr. Mason
The meeting of the Liberal Executive of Coventry took place at the Reform Club in that city. Mr. Vernon Pugh, President of the Liberal Association, opened a long speech by saying that the position was extremely painful to him and to the Committee.

Mr. Mason will Fight Alone
Next day Mr. Mason sent the following message to the Press:
"Please inform those whom it may concern that I intend, God willing, to offer myself as Independent candidate at the next Parliamentary election for Coventry."

BISHOPS AND FORCIBLE FEEDING
Deputation Received by the Bishop of London
At the meeting of the W.S.P.U. at the Knightsbridge Hall on Monday afternoon a deputation was made by Mrs. Dacre Fox to the Bishop of London and ask him to protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners.

BISHOPS AND FORCIBLE FEEDING

MISS ANSELL'S STATEMENT
The following is the statement made by Miss Ansell and submitted to the Bishop of London by the deputation of members of the Women's Social and Political Union on Monday last:
On Monday, January 19, Miss Ansell was re-arrested under the "Cat and Mouse" Act, and released on the following Thursday.

SUFFRAGISTS IN DOWNING STREET
During the Cabinet Council on Wednesday a motor-car containing four Suffragists drove into Downing Street. It was stopped by the police, and on the woman who was driving the car refusing to move on, she was arrested.

THE BISHOP OF KENSINGTON CONSENTS
On inquiry of the Bishop of Kensington we learn that he will accompany the Bishop of London to Holloway Gaol if the necessary permission is obtained. He further adds that the arrangements are in the Bishop of London's hands, and that so far no date has been fixed.

THE NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

(Founder and Hon. Organiser: Mrs. ARNCLIFFE-SENNETT)
"NOW'S THE TIME AND NOW'S THE HOUR!"

A MASS MEETING of the MEN OF THE NORTH

MEMORIAL HALL (FARRINGTON STREET) LUDGATE CIRCUS
SATURDAY AFTERNOON, FEB. 14th, at 3 o'clock. (Doors open 2.30 p.m.)
(Book the Time and book the Hour!)

Preliminary list of names of some of those who are coming 400 miles to give a MANDATE for a GOVERNMENT MEASURE for WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE this Session:—

- Baillie Alston, J.P.
Councillor Barric.
Councillor Hamilton Brown, J.P.
Councillor Bruce Lyndsay.
Councillor Cameron, J.P.
Councillor Charlton.
Councillor Crawford.
Ex-Councillor Colbron.
Ex-Baillie Gordon.
Councillor Hamilton.
Councillor Rosslyn Mitchell.
Councillor Murray (Father of the Edinburgh Council).
Ex-Provost Perry.
Ex-Baillie Rae.
Councillor Alexander Wilkie, M.P. (Sec. to the Shipwrights' Federation).
Mr. J. Illingworth.
Mr. W. G. Inglis.
Mr. Alex. Kirkwood.
Mr. J. Lawson.
Mr. Richard Leven.
Mr. Dugdale MacMillan.
Mr. J. McMichael, J.P.
Mr. J. Wilson McLaren.
Mr. Alexander Orr.
Mr. J. Rennie, J.P.
Mr. A. M. Service (Hon. Sec., Glasgow).
Mr. Thomas Shaw.
Mr. T. Traimer.
Mr. W. Twaddle, &c.,

LONDONERS, COME AND WELCOME THE NORTH ON FEB. 14th. SPEAKERS' NAMES WILL BE ANNOUNCED LATER.

ADMISSION FREE.
A few reserved seats at 2/6, to be obtained at the 'Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, the Secretary to Convention, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, and at the Hall.

NOTE.
THE NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

WILL ALSO HOLD A
MASS MEETING IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE,
SUNDAY AFTERNOON, FEBRUARY 15th, at 2.30.
VOTERS, COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS.

"Daily Herald" Suffrage Week

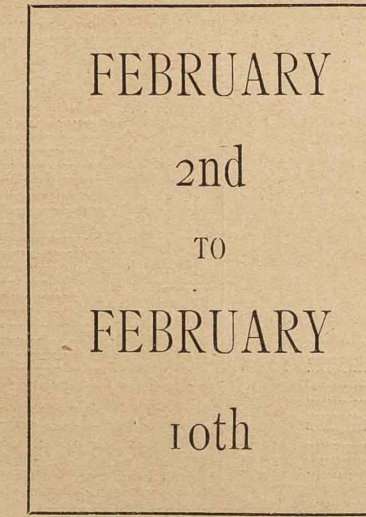
During the week commencing February 2nd and concluding the following Tuesday, February 10th, the DAILY HERALD will direct attention to the Suffrage question on a scale that has never before been attempted by any daily newspaper.

We have engaged the services of a Special Commissioner who will present the true facts of Government torture, and in addition a dozen or more of those best able to speak both from the Women's and the Men's points of view will contribute forcible articles dealing with the present situation.

This campaign has been timed to direct public attention to the subject at the very moment that Parliament is meeting for an eventful session.

What ought Parliament to do?
What can we compel the Government to do?
What can you do?
These and other questions we desire to answer.

12 PAGES
On JAN. 29 and 31,
:: FEB. 2, 3, and 7. ::
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Mrs. DESPARD
Miss NINA BOYLE
Miss CICELY HAMILTON
BEN TILLET
Miss EVELYN SHARP
ISRAEL ZANGWILL
Sir EDWARD BUSK

PROGRESS IN THE UNITED STATES

Militant Election Policy Outlined—Tax Resistance Advocated—£1,800 Raised at One Meeting

The movement in favour of a Congressional Amendment in the United States to enfranchise women throughout all the remaining unfranchised States at one step is making very rapid progress.

An important meeting was held on January 11 at the house of Mrs. William Kent, wife of one of the Californian Representatives, at which over £1,800 was raised for the cause.

The principal speech delivered was that by Miss Alice Paul, well-known in England for the part she played in the militant movement. Miss Paul first announced the constitutional campaign which the Congressional Union was undertaking.

Mr. Lansbury's Meeting

On January 17, Mr. George Lansbury, the former Labour Member of Parliament, would deliver an address in Washington under the auspices of the Union. On February 2, a deputation of working women from every part of the country would go to the White House to lay before the President the need of working women for the vote. On May 2, a demonstration would take place in every State in the Union in testimony of the nation-wide demand for the passage of the constitutional amendment, followed by a procession in Washington the next week, in which delegations from all the States would be asked to participate.

A Fighting Election Policy

"And then," she proceeded, "if the Democratic party, the party in power, the party to whom responsibility has been referred, still refuse to heed the call of the women for enfranchisement, then, in those congressional districts where the political situation is acute, and a few votes one way or the other will decide the issue, our policy will be to use every legitimate means to defeat the Democratic candidate for Congress at the Congressional elections in November."

An outburst of applause temporarily interrupted Miss Paul's announcement of the plan of campaign.

"Of course, we hope," she went on, "that this may not be necessary. We feel quite sure it will not be, because there will be ample time before Congress adjourns for the passage of the constitutional amendment, and with the favourable disposition so clearly manifested in the Senate, and the rapidly-changing sentiment in the House, there is every reason to hope that this action will be taken. But if the party which has it in its power to pass our measure fails to act, then we will send organisers to every State and district where we can do effective work, and do all we can to defeat the representatives of that party."

TAX RESISTANCE IN AMERICA

The proposal of Dr. Annie Shaw that Women Suffragists in America should refuse to pay their income tax, has created very great interest in that country. It has aroused a considerable amount of criticism in the newspapers, and one clergyman fears that the women who begin by refusing to pay their taxes will go on to arson.

The Women's Journal, Boston, however, thoroughly justifies Dr. Shaw's action. In a strong leading article it says: "Ever since John Hampden's day, and even before it, tax-resistance has been a favourite form of protest among English speaking people. To call it militancy is a gross misuse of language. . . . At the time of our Civil War many Quakers refused to pay their war taxes because they were conscientiously opposed to militancy. It has always been classed as a form of passive resistance. . . . In New Jersey more than half a century ago, Lucy Stone let her household goods be seized and sold for taxes—one of the things seized was the baby's cradle. . . . She wrote a protest against taxation without representation, with her baby on her knee. . . . As for the Anti-Suffragists—many of them notorious tax-dodgers—who are crying lawlessness and treason, they should remember that the independence of the United States arose out of the refusal to pay a threepenny tax which was legally due."

TO PREVENT FRAUD

The suffragists of New York, having secured the passage for the first time of the Bill to submit the question to a referendum, are now busying themselves with what they denote a "Watcher's Bill." The object of this measure is to give women the right to be present inside the polling booths when the votes on the Suffrage Amendment are cast. The women have refused to be content

with an amendment to a wider measure covering somewhat of the same ground, preferring that their strictly reasonable proposal should not be complicated with other issues.

RESULTS OF THE VOTE

The Chicago Council have unanimously voted a sum of £2,000 for a municipal lodging house for women. They have also agreed to pay the janitresses' arrears of overtime, amounting in all to £1,700, which had been previously refused.

Miss Jane Addams, the well-known head of Hull House, has been appointed to act as election judge in one of the wards of Chicago.

Dr. Maiz-Schallenberger has been elected State Commissioner of Education for the elementary schools of California. Three other women have been appointed to salaries of £440 a year as children's agents under the State board of control.

AMERICAN MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

A Men's League for Woman's Suffrage has been formed in Jackson, Mississippi. The League, which is the first of its kind in that State, has among its members nine powerful bankers, nine strong lawyers, several leading physicians, and some prominent business men. It has been organised through the work of Miss Belle Kearney. The president, Major R. W. Millsaps, founded the college in Jackson that bears his name, and is the most prominent financier in the State. The vice-president is a judge, and revised the code of Mississippi; he heads the legal profession. A prominent Mississippi woman writes: "The very best material is in this Men's League. It will prove a splendid friend to the State Woman Suffrage Association."

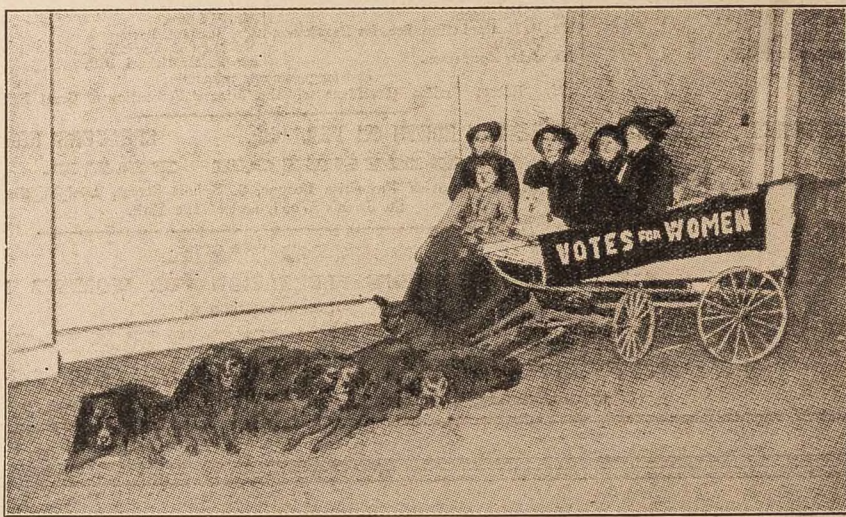
THE WHITE SLAVE TRAFFIC

Mr. Benjamin Badraeh, an attorney, stated in the Chicago Court the other day that in the White Slave Traffic 2,000 women were imported into America yearly, and that he knew of one trafficker in the infamous trade who was making an income of £20,000 a year.

THE SUCCESS OF POLICEMEN

Last summer ten policemen were appointed in Chicago; they have proved such a success that Major Funkhouser, Superintendent of Police, has asked the City Council to allow him to employ fifteen more. The request has been granted, and the great lake city will now have twenty-five women police. They are principally appointed to dancing halls, where the Superintendent of the Police declared they "have done a wonderful amount of good."

THE TRAIL OF THE VOTE



MISS ESTELLE MASON, an Alaska Suffragist, is Travelling with her Dogs and Sledge to San Francisco by way of Europe

BENEFICIAL LAWS WHERE WOMEN VOTE

The following table, taken from the Women's Political World, gives a comparison for full Suffrage States, partial Suffrage States, and non-Suffrage States of the age of consent and the number of hours per day at which children are allowed to work.

It will be seen that the average age of consent for the full Suffrage States is 17.5 for the partial Suffrage States 16.6, and for the non-Suffrage States only 15, while in Kentucky it is only 12.

The average hours of child labour increase from 8.6 per day in the full Suffrage States to 9.5 in the non-Suffrage States.

Table with columns: No., Name of State, Age of consent, Max. hrs. work for child. Lists states like Arizona, California, Colorado, etc.

Table with columns: No., Name of State, Age of consent, Max. hrs. work for child. Lists states like Connecticut, Delaware, Iowa, etc.

Table with columns: State, Age of consent, Max. hrs. work for child. Lists states like New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, etc.

Table with columns: State, Age of consent, Max. hrs. work for child. Lists non-suffrage states like Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, etc.

Further analysis of legislation shows that the woman voter has obtained for herself equal guardianship of her children in 70 per cent. of the Suffrage States, while a woman has this right in only 25 per cent. of the other States.

She has through her vote obtained for herself widows' pensions in 60 per cent. of the Suffrage States, while only 31 per cent. of all the other States award her these. This means that she keeps her children with her instead of having them sent to institutions. She has established a minimum wage in 50 per cent. of the Suffrage States, while only 10 per cent. of the other States have granted this.

FRAU ANNA LINDEMANN

Frau Anna Lindemann, who is a leader of the Suffrage movement in Germany, and vice-president of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, is now in London, and will speak at the Ethical Church, Bayswater, on Sunday next, at 7 p.m. Her subject will be "Women's Suffrage and Marriage."

From an account sent us by Ethel Hill we learn that some time ago Frau Lindemann lived in London, and worked as a Sister of the Poor, in which work she was connected with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. The Suffrage cause in Germany, Frau Lindemann says, is making unexpected headway. And it is important to notice that the Trade Census of 1907 showed that 10,000,000 German women are earning their own living.

When she first came to England she used to feel weighed down with the conviction that English women were enormously ahead of the women of Germany, but upon closer knowledge she has come to the conclusion that there are points on both sides. She believes that the average level of education is higher in her country, but that she has attained more peaks.

There is one thing that has struck Frau Lindemann, and that has been remarked by many distinguished foreigners, and it is our repugnance to speak out on anything relative to sex. A celebrated French woman poet says that everyone in England "porte son sexe ainsi qu'une bête cachée," and she says that in this respect there is no doubt that in the sisterhood of women it is the Englishwoman who is the mute.

For she has a message, a message that ought to make us proud and stiffen our sinews. It is this: "All countries look towards and set their hopes on England, German men say, and it is very logical, in England no single argument against the Suffrage has been left alive. Women possess the municipal vote. They instruct the Parliamentary voter. And yet with their preparation for it, and their experience, Englishmen refuse to grant it to them. How can you expect us Germans to give it to you?"

ROUND THE WORLD VOTES FOR BOHEMIAN WOMEN

The Daily Citizen reported on Wednesday last that the women of Bohemia are to be enfranchised. Count Stürzfeld, it is stated, announced on the previous day to the leaders of the German and Czech parties in the Bohemian Diet that the Austrian Government proposes to alter the Bohemian Constitution in such a way as to enfranchise women.

The women of Bohemia already vote for the elections for the Provincial Diet, and have the Communal franchise except in the towns of Prague and Reichenberg.

IN CANADA

Mr. E. N. Lewis, a Conservative member of Parliament at Ottawa, gave notice last week of the introduction of a Bill granting suffrage to women with the restriction that only mothers should be allowed to vote.

IN NORWAY

At the recent opening of the Norwegian Storting one of the most important reforms mentioned in King Haakon's speech was in connection with the position of illegitimate children. The Chief of the Ministry for Social Reform, Mr. Castberg, proposes to de-stigmatise the child, and to recognise the child, proceedings under the proposed new law are to be taken against him. He is to be made responsible for the maintenance of the mother for three months before and for three months after the birth of the child, and he will be forced to provide adequately for the child in accordance with his social position. Of course Norway is a country where women vote.

POLITICAL RIGHTS AND POLITICAL PRISONERS

Australia's Protest

Two strong resolutions on the women's struggle for freedom in Great Britain and on their treatment by the British Government were passed by the West Australian National Council of Women at their annual meeting held on October 31 last. Copies of these resolutions have been forwarded to the Secretary of State for the Colonies by the Premier of West Australia.

The text of the resolutions is as follows: "(1) The West Australian National Council of Women at the annual meeting assembled send sympathy and moral support to the women of Great Britain in their efforts to obtain political rights, and trust that the day may not be far distant when women subjects of overseas dominions of Greater Britain shall obtain and enjoy their political status in whatsoever part of the Empire they may be domiciled. "(2) This Council views with deep concern any differences being made in the treatment of male and female political offenders in their efforts to obtain constitutional rights of any kind."

WOMEN SCHOLARS IN GERMANY

The University of Munich has conferred the degree of Professor on Fraulein Dr. Marianne Plehn, who is now the first woman Professor on the staff of a Bavarian University. Fraulein Dr. Plehn, formerly a teacher, has been working for years at the biological Institute of Munich. She studied in Switzerland at a time when universities in Germany were still closed to women, and got her doctor's degree in Zurich. She is the fifth woman in Germany who is honoured by the title "Professor." To the first of them, Fraulein Mef-soff, the University of Kiel gave the degree of "Dr. honoris causa." She was director of the Museum for German Antiquities, and died in 1909. The other three with the title of Professor are the Countess Lunden, in Bonn, Dr. phil.; Dr. med. Rabnowich and Dr. med. Hirsch, in Berlin.

DEATHS FROM STARVATION A List of 94 Tragedies

The Local Government Board have just issued their gruesome annual record of Deaths from Starvation, or Accelerated by Privation, for England and Wales. From this record even Anti-Suffragists will be forced to come to the conclusion that this is a country where property is more valuable than life. In the report, which deals with the year 1912, are chronicled the deaths of ninety-four persons, forty of which occurred in the Administrative County of London, and fifty-four in the provinces. Cold and precise official details are given of each tragedy.

A Sweated Worker

One which will be of pathetic interest to Suffragists reads as follows:—A. G., aged fifty-five years, spinster; fancy trimming maker. Parish: Bethnal Green. Verdict: Pneumonia, secondary to poverty in her home.

Remarks by the coroner: Died in infirmary three hours after admission.

Observations of Guardians: Application was made on the 2nd November for medical attendance for the woman, on which date she was admitted to the infirmary on the doctor's advice, and died there on the same day. No application had been previously made by or on behalf of the deceased to the Guardians or their officials for relief.

From what we know of women's sweated work, it does not seem at all surprising that a fancy braid maker should die of starvation.

A Woman Strike Victim

Another report, which shows how strikes press heaviest on women, reads thus:—B. V., aged thirty-six years; wife of a general labourer.

Verdict: Pneumonia, with solid congestion of right lung, accelerated by want of proper comfort and sustenance, due to want of means.

Remarks by Coroner: Husband out of regular work for a long time; due to strike. On wife falling ill, he called in Dr. P., who saw deceased, and prescribed. Doctor did not attend second call, and Dr. C., parish doctor, called in. Deceased on mattress on floor; no bed, sheets, or blankets; five children, none working; place destitute.

The Deaths of Babies

Altogether the deaths are recounted of fifty-six men, thirty women, and eight children. The children were all very young, one fifteen months, verdict, broncho-pneumonia, accelerated by insufficient food. Another was ten weeks old, heart failure from insufficient nourishment.

Surely it is time that something was done to prevent the necessity of publishing this dreadful record year by year, and if men voters cannot do something towards this end is it not time that women who care more for human life were given a chance of seeing what they could do?

RECEPTION OF FAMOUS AUTHORS

Arranged by the Women Writers' Suffrage League

Tuesday, Feb. 3 to 6 p.m., at Caxton Hall, Westminster.

Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell. Among the authors reading their own works will be

Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, Mr. W. L. George, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Mr. Henry Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and many others.

Autograph books will be auctioned. Cakes for tea will be made by Mrs. Steel and other women writers. Tickets 2s. and 1s. each, to be obtained from the W.W.S.L., 12, Henrietta Street, W.C.

ALFORD & ALDER

53, NEWINGTON BUTTS, S.E.

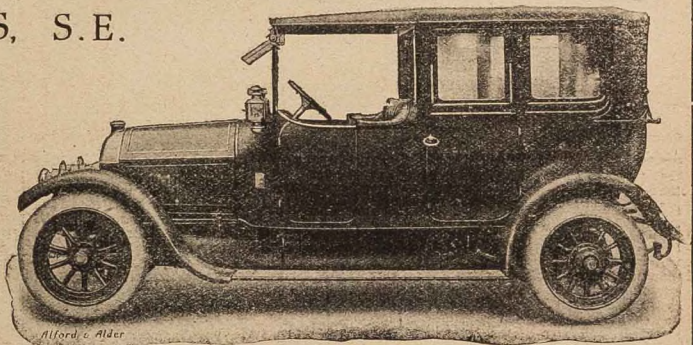
Motor Body Builders

Specialists in bodies designed for ladies' driving. Book of Coupé and Cabriolet Bodies sent on application.

Agents for the sale of the celebrated

"LA PONETTE" CAR

(As supplied by us to F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Esq.)



"A Special Bargain. 14-18 Peugeot, with Cabriolet Body as illustrated above. Ready for Immediate Delivery. £75 less than List Price."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

MEMBERSHIP CARD

Various Forms of Service Open to Members

- 1.—To take VOTES FOR WOMEN each week and read it.
2.—To circulate VOTES FOR WOMEN among friends.
3.—To sell VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets or by house to house canvass.
4.—To obtain new subscriptions for three or six months to the paper.
5.—To deal as far as possible with the firms that advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN.
6.—To canvass newsagents with the purpose of securing the display of VOTES FOR WOMEN posters.
7.—To secure new members for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.
8.—To contribute to the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Fund, for various purposes, including the upkeep of the paper.
9.—To extend by other methods of

service the influence of the Fellowship and the circulation of the paper.

Objects.—To dispel the ignorance that exists in the mind of the public with regard to the "Votes for Women" agitation. To tell the true story of the Movement, both in its constitutional and militant development, and also to show the causes that have produced and are still fomenting the present revolt.

The "Votes for Women" Fellowship is not a Suffrage Society, but an association of friends who desire to work together for the accomplishment of a very distinct and definite purpose. It does not compete in any way with any Suffrage organization. Membership is open to men and women who belong to any of the Suffrage societies, both militant and non-militant, and also to men and women who are not hitherto connected with the Suffrage movement or committed to any Suffrage party or policy.

Please enrol me as a member of the "Votes for Women" Fellowship.

Name (Please state whether Mrs., Miss, or Esq., etc.)

Full Address

The above, in the form of a four-page card, will be sent to any reader of "Votes for Women" on application to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Chapter 10

The Best Friends of Draper Shops

The best friends of draper shops are common soaps, and the women who scrub and rub with them.

A quicker way of wearing out clothes could hardly be discovered.

Fels-Naptha soap was invented to make clothes cleaner and whiter and sweeter than with ordinary soaps.

Not only was the invention successful, but the only right way, the best way of using it, happened to be "the Fels-Naptha way."

So that the best way—"the Fels-Naptha way" happens to be the easiest and the cheapest way.

Fels-Naptha 39 Wilson street London E.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

A SCHEME FOR THE ELECTORS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—I have an idea, and wish your indulgence to put it before your readers in order that they may consider the matter, and if thought feasible, then on the first opportunity put it into practice.

It is in reference to the Women's Suffrage Movement, with which I am in full sympathy. As a matter of fact, I think they do not go far enough in their militant methods.

The idea is this: I am prepared to vote in any Parliamentary election in any way that the women's union may decide, or on the dictates of any individual woman member of that union who may be appointed for that purpose. It would, of course, be better if the person selected were to be a resident of the particular district, or living somewhere near to it.

No doubt thousands of the male voters would be only too glad to assist in such a scheme with some such method, and so to some degree confound its enemies. Imagine the feelings of a fossilised Tory or Liberal canvasser upon knocking at a door to be referred to a well-known Suffragette and told to go and convince this person of the benefits to be derived from the electing to power of his particular party.

Would he get beans? Oh, oh! Probably some male voters would turn their votes over to their wives, daughters, or sisters, but the better plan, I think, would be to distribute them over as wide an area as possible.

Some, of course, will say, of what use will it be? But the disturbing factor in power vested in women despite all their manoeuvring, and incidentally the education which some of the canvassers would acquire without being charged for in any way.

At any rate, I should be pleased if you will see what your readers think of it.—Yours, &c., A. G. PORTER. 52, Sadworth Road, New Brighton, January 20, 1914.

A FELLOWSHIP POSTER PARADE

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—We had an exceedingly successful Fellowship poster parade on Friday last, without the slightest hitch. The evening was glorious, bright, dry, crisp, and just a shade too cold for the comfort of slow walking. However, everybody was quite cheerful, and we had no opposition or interference from the public. The latter, of course, showed many forms of interest in us; some were amused, some shocked, others openly disgusted, some seriously interested, and many seemed to think we were not quite sane. Few troubled to subdue their voices, so that we were not left in any doubt as to their candid opinion.

There were ten in the procession including two men and three women selling. The sellers had a very strenuous time, darting in and out among the people, and trying also to keep up to the poster party, but they were well rewarded for their efforts, for they sold every copy to be had in Leeds, that is, all that were to be had when we set out. The exact number was ninety-three. That means ninety-three more readers than usual this week, for of course the regular customers will have their copies, irrespective of that number.

We are having an afternoon parade on February 3, and an evening parade on February 5, to advertise a lecture by Miss Bremner, of Scarborough, on "Florence Nightingale" to be given on February 6 in the Arts Club.—Yours, &c., BESSIE SANDILANDS. 21, Norman Terrace, Roundhay, Leeds.

"WOMAN—SEE HOMO"

Dear Editors,—Surely the early edition of the "Encyclopaedia Britannica" was right? It defined "woman" as "the female of Man—see Homo." Take a parallel case: "Gander, male of goose—see anser." American women, also, had better turn up to "Adam" before they reject an encyclopaedia which says, "Eve, see Adam"; for if the American encyclopaedia knows what it is talking about it will inform its readers that Adam means mankind. The real objection to all our encyclopaedias is that, like the recent cheap Harmsworth encyclopaedia, a few foolish and ill-informed paragraphs are inserted under a heading which the writers please to include called "Woman," and the highly interesting and instructive history and anthropology of the male man is left unrecorded.

Why? Because for the makers of our encyclopaedias, the male-mankind, the woman, still remains a more or less interesting species, about whom little is understood. The real rubrics in the minds of such persons are: "Male-mankind—no separate heading," "For female, see Woman." And what misleads them and us is just the obsession which makes us confuse the phrase, "female of Man," with "female of the male," and "see Homo" with "see the male, see anser, &c." M. A. R. TRKKA.

THE CHURCH AND WOMEN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—May we not trace the comparative failure of the Church as a spiritual influence upon the world to the fact that she has not carried out her Divine Founder's chief though unwritten injunction, without which He well knew no real progress or evolution was possible. I mean the Church has not continued to raise womanhood as He raised it, and to stand for the perfect equality of the sexes as He by His great example stood for it. We cannot doubt if we read our New Testament with the desire to find out Christ's teaching upon this subject, that in an age when the Oriental conception of womanhood was generally accepted. His teaching of women must have roused the wonder and astonishment of His time and revolutionised the whole status of the womanhood of that age.

Christ's teaching was quite clearly the teaching of the equality of men and women. Did He not to a marked degree treat women with consideration and respect? Women followed Him and were with Him to the last, and to them He appeared first after His resurrection, and He said that Mary had chosen the one thing needful—the good part—thus calling upon woman to develop her spiritual nature, in order that she might fulfil her high destiny as a spiritual influence upon the world and tacitly rebuking the idea that she was mainly created "to serve."

Let the Church now (late in the day as it is) stand for the perfect equality of men and women. Until she carries out her Divine Master's injunction His blessing will not rest upon her.—Yours, &c., CHARLOTTE E. IRELAND. Skelmersdale House, The Leas, Folkstone.

UNIVERSITY BALL AND VOTES FOR WOMEN

A correspondent from Edinburgh University sends us the following account:—"A novel mode of Suffrage advertisement was effected by the Edinburgh University Suffrage Society on the occasion of a Fancy Dress Ball which was held by the students. This took the form of a 'Suffrage Party,' in which three of the ladies represented Suffrage Societies in picturesque costumes of green, blue and white for the University Society; purple, white and green for the W.S.P.U.; and green and red for the National Union; while one of the gentlemen, arrayed as a newsboy, advertised the Fellowship and Votes. The rest of the party consisted of famous women in history or literature, and of men who in some way had furthered the Cause—not forgetting the inevitable policeman. The plan proved most successful, and in spite of the fact that the lady who was representing the Free was overheard to describe us as 'bold hussies,' this may be set down to her as yet unenlightened views on the movement as a whole. Unfortunately, her prejudices led her carefully to ignore this exceedingly picturesque party in her report. Still, we were there to prove that Suffragists are quite normal human beings—able to thoroughly enjoy even a Fancy Dress Ball."

THE LANCASHIRE CAMPAIGN

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has received a letter from Miss Phyllis Lovell, in the course of which she says:—

We have been busy this week selling papers outside meetings in Southport. The B.W.T.A. has held a series of meetings with important speakers, and so we have had a good chance of getting rid of the extra copies we had from London.

On Monday, at the Church Protest Meeting, we had a good sale, and were able under the cover of an envelope to get our leaflet, "Let us Pray for the Church Non-Militant," into the hands of Major Dalrymple White (Conservative member for Southport) and into the hands of over twenty clergy, including the Bishop of Liverpool. I managed, too, to get into the train with the Bishop after the meeting, and had a good talk with him on the folly of addressing a meeting composed almost entirely of women who are helpless to defend their church from a political standpoint. I think he saw my point. We have managed to keep a permanent paper-selling pitch every Tuesday and Friday in Church Street, Liverpool, and we are hoping before long to manage a home-to-home sale.

JOHN BARNES & CO. LTD. 191-217, FINCHLEY ROAD, N.W. LAST WEEK OF SALE.



FASHIONABLE GOODS TO BE CLEARED Regardless of Cost

THIS EXTREMELY SMART SHIRT, in Double Jap, the latest design, with a long roll collar, and set in sleeves. In all sizes. Specially Low Price 11/9.

For quality and value our Sale Bargains are unsurpassed.

DICKINS & JONES' SALE NOW PROCEEDING and will continue THROUGHOUT FEBRUARY



Substantial Reductions have been made on all goods in each department, and those looking for Bargains should not miss this opportunity of obtaining the highest quality goods at the lowest price.

C304.—Country Suit, in All-wool tweed, well cut and tailored, Coat lined Silk. Sale Price 73/6 To measure 10/6 extra.

Sale Catalogue Post Free. DICKINS & JONES LTD. Regent St., London, W.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President: Lady Forbes-Robertson. The Tea Dance at the Empress Rooms is to take place to-day (Thursday), January 29. A great success is anticipated. Tickets (4s. 6d. each) can be had at the door.

On Friday, January 30, at 3 o'clock, Miss Inez Bensusan will give an "At Home" at 8, Lansdowne Road, W. Mrs. Stanbury will be the speaker—on the subject of the Municipal Vote for Women. Miss Bensusan will welcome all friends, who will no doubt be anxious to congratulate her on her brilliant performance at the Court Theatre in Mr. Zangwill's play, "The Melting Pot."

Future fixtures for the League are as follows:—

On Friday, February 6, at 3 p.m., an "At Home" at the Arts Centre, 93, Mortimer Street, W., when Miss Nina Boucault and Miss Cathleen Nesbitt will be the hostesses, and Dr. Mario Stopes, Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Mrs. Kington Parkes, and others will speak on Tax Resistance.

Sunday evening, February 15, from 8 to 11, a Reception at Caxton Hall to the Northern Men's Federation. Tickets, 2s. 6d.

BRAVE ACTRESSES!

Last week we published an illustrated account of what the Actresses' Franchise League were told would happen if their



[Block kindly lent by the "Daily News."] THE ABSENT WAITER

members attempted to take the place of waiters at the League's Tea Dance on January 29 at the Empress Rooms. Like true Suffragists, the actresses were undismayed by the dismal tales of refractory trays and falling crockery, and their clever member, who last week drew the pictures of the actress and the waiter, has now sketched what one is used to with a waiter in attendance, and what may be expected from the actresses.



[Block kindly lent by the "Daily News."] THE PRESENT ACTRESS

SUFFRAGE TALK EVERYWHERE

At a great North County anti-Welsh Disestablishment meeting the other day the Bishop of Liverpool, in calling upon the Dean of Lincoln to address the meeting, remarked that one leading newspaper said that the Liberal Churchmen were the key of their position, so they would now listen to the handle of that key. The Dean rose—and the first words he spoke referred to Woman's Suffrage. He said that if women had votes, and he wished they had, Mr. McKenna would be defeated at the next election.

THANKS

The Advertisement Manager desires to thank the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN who are helping her so effectively in her work by making it a fixed principle to deal as far as possible exclusively with those firms who support the advertisement columns of VOTES FOR WOMEN.—This is an important service that can be rendered by it does not call for sacrifices of money, time, or leisure, but only for thought and a little personal trouble. Nevertheless, it is most valuable to the paper and to the Movement.

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

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

Artists' Suffrage League, 25, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women's Association, 60, International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 45, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

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

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

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 45, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 18, James' Street, S.W.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 2, Salisbury Way, Upper Clapton, E.C.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Walden, Gloucester.

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

International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adonis Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Abchurch Lane, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage, The Queen of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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

Irishwomen's Reform League, 23, Southey Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 143, Balfour Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 22, South Anne Street, Dublin.

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

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 3, Victoria Gardens, W.

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

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

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Dunston, Peckwith, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

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

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

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

Men's Franchise League, 83, Grand Parade, Cork.

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

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

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 11, Gt. South Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

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

Peoples' Suffrage Federation, 21-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Jostell St., S.W.

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

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 10, Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

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

Suffrage Atelier, Office, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Studio, 6, Sinalaks Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

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

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

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

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Brecon Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

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

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

Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

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

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

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

Women Teachers' Franchises Union, 27, Marlow Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Golden Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

"DAILY HERALD" SUFFRAGE

The "Daily Herald" announces a special Suffrage Week from February 2 to February 10. Special articles on the Suffrage movement will appear each day, written by their Special Commissioner, and many leading Suffragists will also contribute articles. Amongst these will be Laurence Housman, H. D. Harben, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Beatrice Harraden, George Lansbury, John Scurr, Mrs. Denham, Miss Nina Boyle, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Ben Tillett, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Israel Zangwill, Sir Edward Busk, and H. W. Nevinson.

COMING EVENTS

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Town Hall, Ayr, on February 2, at 8 p.m. Chair: Rev. Wm. John. Admission free, also reserved seats, 1s. and 6d., to be obtained from Stephen and Pollock, Ayr, and Harris and Co., Prestwick.

There will be a Fellows' Reunion at the Small Essex Hall, on Friday, February 6, 8.30. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others.

The New Constitutional Society announce a meeting at the N.C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on February 3, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, and Mrs. Cecil Chapman. The Society's Speakers' Class will be on Wednesdays at 2.30 p.m., at the N.C. Hall. Instructor: Mrs. Pertwee. Fee to members, 5s., non-members 10s., for ten lessons.

There will be a Reception of Famous Authors, arranged by the Women Writers' Suffrage League, at the Caxton Hall, on February 3, from 3 to 6 p.m. Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell. Many authors will be present, and will read extracts from their own works.

The Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage (for Wimbledon, Merton, and Dorking) will hold a meeting at the Queen's Hall, Wimbledon, on February 3, at 8 p.m. Chair: Dr. F. A. Bather. Speakers: Rev. J. M. Maillard, Dr. Frank Moxon, and others.

At the Suffrage Club, on February 3, at 3.30 p.m., Sir Francis Vane will speak on "Discipline in Politics." Chair: Mrs. Hugo Amos.

At the International Franchise Club on February 4, at 8.30 p.m., there will be a discussion on "Les Femmes Seules." Speaker: Miss Christopher St. John. Chairman: Mrs. Stanbury.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall, on February 4, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Nott Bower and Miss Nina Boyle.

The Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association (Kensington Branch) will hold a Cafe Chantant at the Kensington Town Hall on February 5, at 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. Speakers: Afternoon, Lady Betty Balfour; evening, Miss Margaret Hodgo.

The Northern Men's Federation will hold a Mass Meeting at the Memorial Hall, Farnimond Street, on February 14, at 2 p.m. There will be a Mass Meeting in Trafalgar Square on Sunday, February 15, at 2.30 p.m.

There will be VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship meetings at the following places:— On February 6, New Arts Club, Leeds. Miss Bremner, Scarborough, will lecture on Florence Nightingale under the auspices of the Fellowship.

February 9, at the Clarion Cafe, 30, Lord Street, Liverpool, at 8.15 p.m. Dr. Helena Jones will speak. Miss Phyllis Lovell in the chair. Weekly meeting of members and Fellows in Southport every Monday evening at 8 o'clock, at 15, Houghton Street.

Streatham Town Hall on February 10, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: Lady Isabel Matrecoan. Cheltenham Town Hall on February 12. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Rickmansworth Town Hall on February 18. Speaker: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Hampstead Conservatives, Swiss Cottage, on February 19, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Right Rev. Bishop E. N. Powell, D.D., Mrs. Evelyn Sharp, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Chair: Frank Debenham, Esq., J.P.

Kingsway Hall, on February 26, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Sir Harry Johnston, Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others. (See page 266.)

BARGAIN BUNDLES

Real Irish Linen Remnants—Just What You Need. You seldom get an opportunity of securing such extraordinary bargains in genuine Irish Linen as is offered in these four specially selected bundles of Remnants:— Remnant Bundles of Snow White Pillow Linen, sufficient to make 6 full sized Pillow Cases, 66 per Bundle, postage 5d. Remnant Bundles of Duckback Towelling for Bedroom Towels, sufficient to make six, for Drapery and Work, Tray, Cloths and Afternoon Tea Cloths, 5s. per Bundle, postage 5d. Remnant Bundles of Strong Linen for House Cloths for Pantry and Scullery use, 5s. per Bundle, postage 5d. All four will be delivered free for 2s. Money back if not satisfactory. Postage included in price. Send for your bargain bundle at once.

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Illustrated Prospectus on application to Miss F. RUSBRIDGE, Harley Institute, 141, Marylebone Road, W.

Advertisement for 500 Ladies' Waterproofs Half Price. Includes text: "ALL COLOURS 21/- NEW MODELS Sent on Approval Money refunded if dissatisfied." and "WATERPROOF HATS Will stand a Distinct SHIRK VELVET TWILL 10/6 Write for our Book." Also includes an illustration of a woman in a hat and coat.

Advertisement for HAYFORD'S "SPECIAL" SKIN GLOVES. REALLY WASHABLE. Includes text: "WHITE: 2 Buttons, 1/6X6, to pull on. CREAM: 2/11 & 3/11. 3/11 Elastic Wrists." and "GLOVE STORES, SLOANE ST., S.W."

Advertisement for THE HOME OF ART. Includes text: "Rare Engravings of Early English and French Schools, printed in fine colours; also fine specimens of Old English, Continental and Chinese Porcelains." and "Each article guaranteed as described by Mr. DOUGLAS MANLEY, 22, LBA ROAD, BEXHILL-ON-SEA"

Advertisement for ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY. Includes text: "69, Upper Street, London, N. MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, B.S.S.D., Dental Surgeon. MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, ASSIST. DENTAL SURGEON." and "Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 5, by a Qualified Medical Man. FEE 7s. 6d. A record of 30,000 successful cases. Nurse in attendance. Mechanical work in all its branches. The Best Artificial Teeth from 5s. Send Postcard for Pamphlet, Ed. No. 6318 Central. No Show-case at door."

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Advertisement for E. DAY & CO., FRENCH CLEANING & DYING WORKS. Includes text: "Established 1820. Tel. No. 2850 P.O. HAMPSTEAD. NETTLETON A. & CO. 5, Brecknock Road, and 275, High Street, Camden Town, N.W. Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable shades. Receiving Houses: 10, Russell Gardens, Kensington, W. 66, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W."

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s., 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three)

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

WEST LONDON ETHICAL SOCIETY.—February 1, Woman Sunday, 11, Miss Margaret Ashton, "Service or Servitude"; 7, Mrs. Anna Lindemann, of Stuttgart, Vice-President of the International Women Suffrage Alliance, "Woman Suffrage and Marriage." Seats reserved for both services if requested, but punctual attendance is essential.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Monday, February 2, 8.30 p.m., in the New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Mrs.colm Mitchell.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Tuesday, February 3, 3 p.m., in the New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, Miss Cicely Hamilton, Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds Public Meetings at Caxton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, February 4, Mrs. Nett Bower, Subject, "Reforms Urgently Needed in Criminal Law," and Miss Nina Boyle. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Mustard at 3.30. Admission free.

INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB, 9, Grafton Street, W.—Subscription, one guinea. Wednesday, February 4, 8.30, Discussion, "La Femme Seule," Miss Christopher St. John. Chairman, Mrs. Stanbury.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY'S SPEAKERS' CLASS.—Instructor, Mrs. Periwé. Wednesdays, 2.30, in the New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade. Fee to members, 5s.; non-members, 10s. for 10 lessons.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

VOL. VI. (Oct. 1912—Sept. 1913)

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