

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VII. (New Series), No. 312.

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DEPORTED!



BY ORDER OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGISTS

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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

An important deputation of men and women endeavoured to obtain an interview with the Prime Minister on Tuesday last to lay before him a protest against the scandalous process of forcible feeding in prison, and against the operation of the "Cat and Mouse" Act.

A Hundred Strong

Over a hundred men and women of distinction supported the deputation, and ten of their members proceeded to Downing Street in the hope of seeing Mr. Asquith. The Prime Minister, however, who had already written to Rev. Ivory Cripps declining to see the deputation, persisted in his refusal. Three persons only, Mr. Harben, Mr. Nevinson, and Miss Eaton, were admitted to No. 10, Downing Street, and were informed by Mr. Asquith's Secretary that the Prime Minister would not meet them, but that he

would convey to him any message. The three members said that they would give no message except their entire dissatisfaction. They then reported the results to the other members of the deputation who were waiting outside. These presently dispersed, but reassembled later in Parliament Square at the Statue of Richard I., where they found a huge body of police.

The Arrests

A great crowd had gathered also, and Mr. Laurence Housman, the well-known novelist, proceeded at once to address them; the police interfered, but he persisted in the attempt, and was arrested. His place was taken by other speakers, who held the attention and sympathy of the crowd for some time, but finally the police took them into custody. The names of the arrested were: Mrs. D. A. Thomas, wife of the great colliery owner, Mr. Henry D. Harben, who resigned his candidature of Barnstaple some two years ago as a protest against forcible feeding, Mr. Nevinson, the famous war correspondent, Mr.

Francis Meynell, son of Mrs. Alice Meynell, the poet, and Miss Katherine Haig. It is interesting to notice that up till a few years ago nearly all of the arrested men and women were strong supporters of the Liberal Party.

Sentences

Brought up at Bow Street next day (Wednesday), Mr. Meynell was charged with assault and fined 40s. Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Nevinson, Mr. Harben, Mr. Laurence Housman, and Miss Haig were charged with obstruction, and defended themselves on the ground of public duty. The magistrate, sweeping away their defence, ordered them to be bound over to keep the peace. This they refused to do. The magistrate therefore sent for them, and after administering a lecture, discharged them at the rising of the court for the mid-day interval. It is interesting to contrast this result with the heavy sentences of two and three months' imprisonments which were given to women in the early days of the suffrage struggle, as an alternative to being bound over, for similar technical offences. It has taken the magistrates seven years to learn wisdom.

Mr. Masterman's Defeat

The principal political event of the week has been the defeat of Mr. Masterman in Bethnal Green. Mr. Masterman is not only a newly appointed Cabinet Minister, but a special protégé of Mr. Lloyd George, and, like his patron, a thorough humbug on the question of votes for women. Though a professed suffragist, he joined Mr. Crawshay Williams (who was then Mr. Lloyd George's secretary) in opposing the Conciliation Bill in 1912, and in bringing about its defeat by 14 votes on the second reading. He

TO LONDON READERS.

A few tickets still left for the Public Meeting

THURSDAY NIGHT, FEB. 26th,

IN THE

KINGSWAY HALL.

Commence at 8 p.m. Doors open at 7.15.

Chair: **Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.**

Sir Harry Johnston

Mr. George Lansbury

Miss Lena Ashwell

Mr. Pethick Lawrence

Among those on the platform will be Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Nevinson, Mr. Meynell and Mrs. Harben.

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also gave his support to the Cat and Mouse Bill in 1913.

A Comparison With 1911

At the last election in July, 1911, Mr. Masterman had a majority over his Unionist opponent of 184 votes, Mr. Scurr, who also stood, polling only 134. On the present occasion, largely at the instigation of suffragists, Mr. Scurr who, as our readers will remember, is himself a member of the Votes for Women Fellowship, was induced to offer himself again for election, and polled 316 votes. Mr. Masterman was defeated by 24 by the Unionist, suffragists of all societies in the constituency uniting in their appeal to the electors to record their votes against him.

A Lesson for the Government

On these facts we think there are few people who will be bold enough to doubt that but for the candidature of Mr. Scurr, and for the opposition of suffragists, Mr. Masterman would have been elected. His defeat is therefore directly attributable to woman suffrage. It will serve to teach the Government a much needed lesson that their treatment of the suffrage issue is displeasing to the electors of the country. As to Mr. Masterman himself—"deported" from Bethnal Green as our artist has depicted him—he seems to be a little shy of facing another constituency, and proposes, at present, to remain out of Parliament, while still retaining his seat in the Cabinet, an unusual and but not an absolutely illegal position. We recommend him, before standing again, to use his influence in the Cabinet to get Votes for Women placed on the Government programme.

Liberal's Narrow Shave in Poplar

Second only in importance to the defeat of Mr. Masterman in Bethnal Green has been the enormous reduction in the Liberal majority in Poplar. In that constituency Mr. Yeo only escaped defeat by the narrow margin of 278, instead of the handsome figure of 1,829, by which it had been held at the general election. It is true that there was, on the present occasion, a third candidate, Mr. Jones, who polled 893 votes, but whether these be reckoned as given mostly by electors who had not previously voted at all (which seems most likely), or as taken partly from the Liberal and partly from the Unionist, or even wholly from the Liberal, it will, in any case, be seen that there was a considerable turnover. This turnover against the Government was undoubtedly, in a large measure, due to the opposition of the suffrage societies, who combined in opposing the Liberal, and who secured, on all sides, a favourable and friendly hearing in the constituency.

Leith Burghs

Of the recent crop of by-elections only one is still undecided as we go to press—Leith Burghs, where the Liberal majority at the last election was 1,785. In view of the presence of a third candidate in the field, the defeat of the Government candidate is not entirely out of the question. Undoubtedly, the illiberal treatment of the suffrage issue, and the refusal of Mr. Asquith to receive the Scottish deputation, will have an influence upon the electors, and the presence in the constituency of several of the suffrage societies will serve to drive these facts home.

A Widow and Two Wealthy Councillors

We give place of honour this week to a very grave and tragic case reported from North London. It is typical of the middleheadedness amounting to criminal ignorance in which matters appertaining to women are often dealt with. By means of a special investigation carried out by our own commissioner, Miss Mary Neal, a well-known social worker, we have been able to supplement the facts given in evidence in the police court by other facts which disclose the real nature of the terrible story; and in our leading article Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was herself for many years closely associated with the lives of working women in London, illustrates the case from her own experience, and points the irresistible moral. This case should be contrasted with that of two members of the Dublin City Corporation, who are charged in the report of the recent housing committee with owning property unfit for human habitation. No steps of any kind have been taken against these two men.

The Church League and Militancy

Owing to the refusal of the Council of the Church League to pass a resolution specifically condemning militancy, some of the members, including the Bishop of Worcester, have decided to sever their connection with the League, saying that they find it necessary to declare the methods of violence practised by some suffragists a "violation of the principles which the Church exists to uphold." With regard to this, we have two questions to ask. What steps were taken by these churchmen to condemn the violence employed in the South African war, and what steps are those of them who are Unionists taking to-day to dissociate themselves from the men and women who are preparing for violent rebellion in Ulster?

Mr. Joseph Fels

The suffrage movement will be the poorer for the regretted death of Mr. Joseph Fels, which occurred

in America last Monday. Mr. Fels was a warm supporter, both of the principle of woman suffrage and of the agitation conducted to secure it, while his generosity and kindness of heart endeared him to all who knew him. We tender our sincere sympathy to those of his family circle who to-day are mourning their great loss.

Equal Pay for Equal Work

Considerable interest has been aroused by our leading article in last week's issue dealing with the question of equal pay for equal work, and in an adjoining column this week we print a letter which we have received from Mr. Harben on the subject. Miss Gore Booth also contributes an illuminating article on the attitude of men toward women workers in the book-binding trade. We also quote extracts on page 335 from the New Statesman, which had a special supplement last week on the question of women's wages.

Political Militancy in America

Hitherto, the suffrage campaign in U.S.A. has been against individual anti-suffrage candidates, but now, for the first time, we learn that the Democratic Party candidates are to be opposed, en bloc, because of the direct opposition of the Party in the Senate to the appointment of a committee to promote a Congressional Amendment. This policy, following the lines of the forward policy now for several years adopted in this country, is likely to command even greater success than here, in view of the fact that women have already the vote in nine States of the Union, and are therefore in a position to produce direct pressure upon the Party in the federal elections.

Items of Interest

A special message has been received from Olive Schreiner to be read at the Fellowship meeting, which takes place on Thursday after we go to press. The Lower House in New Jersey has again carried the suffrage amendment by 49 votes to 4, thus expressing its condemnation of the dishonest attempt on the part of some of the officials of the State to nullify the previous vote of the legislature by failing to give the necessary notification.

An important discussion took place in the Upper House of Convocation on the use of the word "obey" in the marriage service. It was decided to make no alteration for the present.

As we go to press we learn that Mrs. Pankhurst has despatched her letter to the King asking him to receive a deputation to lay before him (1) the claim of women to the vote; (2) a complaint against the treatment of women in prison. The letter quotes as a precedent the case of the Deputation of Irish Catholics in 1793, which was received by King George III. in person.

WOMEN'S WORK AND WAGES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—The question at issue between Mr. Garvin and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will become yearly more important with the growing demand for the fixing of minimum wages by the State. People are beginning to argue that a sweated industry is, nationally speaking, not worth while, however profitable it may be to the employer, and even though it can command a large supply of labourers who, like most women workers, prefer starvation wages to no wages at all. The nation should, they say, compel the payment of a wage sufficient to cover at least the bare needs of life; one school of economists demanding the fixing of a minimum wage, industry by industry, until all industries are covered, the other school preferring a basic minimum applicable to all industries alike. But in any case, the questions arise, "What do we mean by the bare needs of life? Do we mean the needs of the individual or of the family? Do we mean the same thing for women as for men?"

Mr. Garvin seems to visualise a State in which men will earn a wage sufficient to keep a family, and in which such women as remain in industry at all will receive much smaller wages than the men. This ideal is undesirable in itself, because it would rivet still further on women the shackles of economic dependence; but apart from this consideration a moment's thought must convince us that in this way the needs of life cannot be covered for large sections of the community.

(1) First there are, as Mrs. Lawrence has pointed out, all the dependants of the women workers. Widows, wives with invalid husbands, and single women too, sometimes—all these may have children to keep; and recent inquiries have proved that large numbers of childless women have other dependants. More than half the women workers of the country probably have dependants of some sort or other, and if women are to receive a small wage, merely sufficient to meet their individual needs, some other form of provision must be made for those, otherwise the ground will remain uncovered.

(2) Turning to the case of men, what are the needs

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THE LOST SALMON RUN

A Legend of Vancouver

By E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)

Great had been the "run," and the sockeye season was almost over. For that reason I wondered many times why my old friend, the klootchman, had failed to make one of the fishing fleet. . . . The fleet and the canneries knew nothing of her, and when I enquired of her tribes-people they would reply without explanation, "She not here this year."

But one russet September afternoon I found her. I had idled down the trail from the swans' basin in Stanley Park to the rim that skirts the Narrows, and I saw her graceful, high-bowed canoe heading for the beach that is the favourite landing-place of the "tillicums" from the Mission. . . . As she beached, I greeted her with extended eager hands to assist her ashore, for the klootchman is getting to be an old woman; albeit she paddles against tidewater like a boy in his teens.

"No," she said, as I begged her to come ashore. "I not wait—me. I just come to fetch Maarda; she been city; she come soon now."

"I have missed you, klootchman; you have not been to see me for three moons, and you have not fished or been at the canneries," I remarked.

"No," she said. "I stay home this year." Then, leaning towards me with grave import in her manner, her eyes, her voice, she added, "I have a grandchild, born first week July, so—I stay."

So this explained her absence. I, of course, offered congratulations and enquired all about the great event, for this was her first grandchild, and the little person was of importance.

"And are you going to make a fisherman of him?" I asked.

"No, no, not boy-child; it is a girl-child," she answered, with some indescribable trick of expression that led me to know she preferred it so.

"You are pleased it is a girl?" I questioned in surprise.

"Very pleased," she replied emphatically. "Very good luck to have girl for first grandchild. Our tribe not like yours; we want girl children first; we not always wish boy-child born just for fight. Your people, they care only for war-path; our tribe more peaceful. Very good sign first grandchild to be girl. I tell you why: girl-child maybe some time mother herself; very grand thing to be mother."

We chatted over it a little longer, and she gave me several playful "digs" about my own tribe thinking so much less of motherhood than hers, and so much more of battle and bloodshed. Then we drifted into talk of the sockeye run and of the hyiu chickimin the Indians would get.

"Yes, hyiu chickimin," she repeated with a sigh of satisfaction. "Always; and hyiu muck-a-muck when big salmon run. No more ever come that bad year when not any fish."

"When was that?" I asked. "Before you born, or I, or"—pointing across the park to the distant city of Vancouver, that breathed its wealth and beauty across the September afternoon—"before that place born, before white man came here—oh! long before."

Dear old klootchman! I knew by the dusk in her eyes that she was back in her Land of Legends, and that soon I would be the richer in my hoard of Indian lore. She sat, still leaning on her paddle; her eyes, half-closed, rested on the distant outline of the blurred heights across the Inlet. I shall not further attempt her broken English, for this is but the shadow of her story, and without her unique personality the legend is as a flower that lacks both colour and fragrance. She called it "The Lost Salmon Run."

"The wife of the Great Tyee was but a wisp of a girl, but all the world was young in those days; even the Fraser River was young and small, not the mighty water it is to-day. But the pink salmon crowded its throat just as they do now, and the tillicums caught and salted and smoked the fish just as they have done this year, just as they will always do. But it was wet winter, and the rains were slanting and the fogs drifting, when the wife of the Great Tyee stood before him and said:

"Before the salmon run I shall give to you a great

gift. Will you honour me most if it is the gift of a boy-child or a girl-child?" The Great Tyee loved the woman. He was stern with his people, hard with his tribe; he ruled his council fires with a will of stone. His medicine men said he had no human heart in his body; his warriors said he had no human blood in his veins. But he clasped this woman's hands, and his eyes, his lips, his voice, were gentle as her own, as he replied:

"Give me a girl-child—a little girl-child—that she may grow to be like you, and, in her turn, give to her husband children."

"But when the tribes-people heard of his choice they arose in great anger. They surrounded him in a deep, indignant circle. 'You are a slave to the woman,' they declared, 'and now you desire to make yourself a slave to a woman-baby. We want an heir—a man-child to be our Great Tyee in years to come. When you are old and weary of tribal affairs, when you sit wrapped in your blanket in the hot summer sunshine, because your blood is old and thin, what can a girl-child do to help either you or us? Who, then, will be our Great Tyee?'

"He stood in the centre of the menacing circle, his arms folded, his chin raised, his eyes hard as flint. His voice, cold as stone, replied:

"Perhaps she will give you such a man-child, and, if so, the child is yours; he will belong to you, not to me; he will become the possession of the people. But if the child is a girl she will belong to me—she will be mine. You cannot take her from me as you took me from my mother's side and forced me to forget my aged father in my service to my tribe; she will belong to me, will be the mother of my grandchildren, and her husband will be my son."

"You do not care for the good of your tribe. You care only for your own wishes and desires," they rebelled. "Suppose the salmon run is small, we will have no food; suppose there is no man-child, we will have no Great Tyee to show us how to get food from other tribes, and we shall starve."

"Your hearts are black and bloodless," thundered the Great Tyee, turning upon them fiercely, 'and your eyes are blinded. Do you wish the tribe to forget how great is the importance of a child that will some day be a mother herself, and give to your children and grandchildren a Great Tyee? Are the people to live, to thrive, to increase, to become more powerful with no mother-women to bear future sons and daughters? Your minds are dead, your brains are chilled. Still, even in your ignorance, you are my people; you and your wishes must be considered. I call together the great medicine men, the men of witchcraft, the men of magic. They shall decide the laws which follow the bearing of either boy or girl-child. What say you, oh! mighty men?'

Messengers were then sent up and down the coast, sent far up the Fraser River, and to the valley lands inland for many leagues, gathering as they journeyed all the men of magic that could be found. Never were so many medicine men in council before. They built fires and danced and chanted for many days. They spoke with the gods of the mountains, with the gods of the sea, then 'the power' of decision came to them. They were inspired with a choice to lay before the tribes-people, and the most ancient medicine men in all the coast region arose and spoke their resolution:

"The people of the tribe cannot be allowed to have all things. They want a boy-child and they want a great salmon run also. They cannot have both. The Sagalie Tyee has revealed to us, the great men of magic, that both these things will make the people arrogant and selfish. They must choose between the two."

"Choose, oh! you ignorant tribes-people," commanded the Great Tyee. "The wise men of our coast have said that the girl-child who will some day bear children of her own, will also bring abundance of salmon at her birth; but the boy-child brings to you but himself."

"Let the salmon go," shouted the people, 'but give us a future Great Tyee. Give us the boy-child.' "And when the child was born it was a boy.

"Evil will fall upon you," wailed the Great Tyee. 'You have despised a mother-woman. You will suffer evil and starvation and hunger and poverty, oh! foolish tribes-people. Did you not know how great a girl-child is?'

"That spring, people from a score of tribes came

up to the Fraser for the salmon run. They came great distances—from the mountains, the lakes, the far-off dry lands, but not one fish entered the vast rivers of the Pacific Coast. The people had made their choice. They had forgotten the honour that a mother-child would have brought them. They were bereft of their food. They were stricken with poverty. Through the long winter that followed they endured hunger and starvation. Since then our tribe has always welcomed girl-children—we want no more lost runs."

The klootchman lifted her arms from her paddle as she concluded; her eyes left the irregular outline of the violet mountains. She had come back to this year of grace—her Legend Land had vanished.

"So," she added, "you see now, maybe, why I glad my grandchild is girl; it means big salmon run next year."

There was the slightest whisper of a step behind me. I turned to find Maarda almost at my elbow. The rising tide was unbeaching the canoe, and as Maarda stepped in and the klootchman slipped astern, it drifted aloft.

"Kla-how-ya," nodded the klootchman as she dipped her paddle-blade in exquisite silence.

"Kla-how-ya," smiled Maarda.

"Kla-how-ya, tillicums," I replied, and watched for many moments as they slipped away into the blurred distance, until the canoe merged into the violet and grey of the farther shore.

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* This interesting legend originally appeared in the Vancouver Daily Province, and has since been republished in book form in "Legends of Vancouver." (The Thomson Stationery Company, Vancouver.)

PROTEST MEETING OUTSIDE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

Another Deputation Refused—Indignation Against Forcible Feeding—Six Well-known Suffragists Arrested Outside the House

Last Tuesday evening a magnificent protest was made outside the House of Commons against the Government's treatment of Suffragist prisoners. Following upon Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive a deputation of distinguished men and women on the subject, an indignation meeting was held at the foot of the Richard Coeur de Lion Statue, opposite the Houses of Parliament, as a result of which the following well-known people were arrested: Mrs. D. A. Thomas, wife of the Welsh coal-owner and ex-Liberal M.P.; Miss Katherine Haig, a name widely-known both in artistic and Suffragist circles; Mr. H. D. Harben, sometime Liberal candidate and well-known as a Social Reformer and Suffragist; Mr. Francis Meynell, poet and journalist, and son



(Photo: Lafayette)
MRS. D. A. THOMAS

of the poet, Mrs. Meynell; Mr. Laurence Housman and Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, famous men of letters, whose contributions to VOTES FOR WOMEN have revealed again and again how deeply they feel on the question of the freedom of women. All six were brought up at Bow Street on Wednesday morning; one was fined, and on the others refusing to be bound over, they were released on the rising of the court.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE PRIME MINISTER

The following letter was sent to the Prime Minister by the Rev. Ivory Cripps on January 21.—

Dear Sir,—The present political situation with regard to the question of Woman Suffrage has involved the conscience of many thinking men and women throughout the country, who view the present methods of the Government with great apprehension.

The recurrence of forcible feeding, a method most abhorrent to the best feelings of the nation, cannot be allowed to continue while the administration of the "Cat and Mouse Act," with its unjust differentiation of treatment, is exciting profound indignation as well as jeopardising the moral standard of the country, in the sense that justice must always endanger this and with it the stability of Law and Order.

After careful consideration, a body of men and women, not organised by any Society but acting independently, desire to express in a public and constitutional way their opinions on this matter, and they respectfully ask you and the Home Secretary, to whom they have also sent this application, to receive together a deputation of their representatives in order that they may place their views before you. They feel that their efforts may help to put an end to the present intolerable conditions, and in their opinion are a disgrace to the manhood of the country.

It would facilitate arrangements if you would kindly reply as soon as possible, and state on what day in the week beginning February 16 would be convenient for you and the Home Secretary to receive the deputation.—I am, yours faithfully, (Signed) J. Ivory Cripps.

The Usual Reply

To this letter the usual reply was sent by the Prime Minister's Secretary to the effect that no useful purpose would be served by his seeing the deputation, and he would be glad if they would therefore submit their views in writing.

The Rev. Ivory Cripps, however, wrote again on February 23, stating that the members of the deputation "announce

their humble intention to petition you in an orderly manner on the evening of tomorrow, Tuesday, at 8 p.m., when in pursuance of their intent, which they consider to be in accordance with their constitutional rights, they will call upon you at 10, Downing Street."

The Customary Offer
To this the Prime Minister's secretary replied, making the customary offer to allow ten members of the deputation to enter Downing Street, while three of these would graciously be permitted to interview his Private Secretary.

THE DEPUTATION

As a result of the above correspondence, a large number of Suffragists, who had not been previously connected with any militant demonstration leading to imprisonment, met in the Hotel Cecil on Tuesday evening. The following ten were deputed to go to Downing Street: Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Miss Gertrude Eaton, Lady Isabel Margesson, Mrs. Vernon, and Mrs. Oldham; Mr. H. D. Harben, Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, Mr. Laurence Housman, the Rev. Egerton Swan, and Major Matthews. Three of these, Miss Eaton, Mr. H. D. Harben, and Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, were further deputed to enter No. 10 and deliver a letter to the Prime Minister.

What Followed

What followed is told by Mr. Nevinson himself in the account we print below. We will only give here the fine fragments of the speeches made at the foot of the statue, that were heard above the din of the cheers.

"We are committing only a technical offence in being here, and we do it as a protest against this Government's treatment of women. . . . As Liberals, we cannot endure that this shameful thing shall go on any longer. . . . Women are being tortured in prison, and this Government is responsible. . . . Forcible feeding is an abomination; so is the Cat and Mouse Act; down with such things, I say! . . . The only way to stop disorder is to remedy the cause of disorder. Give women the vote and stop coercing and torturing them. . . . Shame on this Government for its treatment of women!" and so on, and so on.

AT THE FEET OF COEUR DE LION

By Henry W. Nevinson

(From a Police Cell.)

All the deputation assembled in the Hotel Cecil at 7, and the programme for the evening was then arranged. A letter in answer to Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive us in person was read out. This letter in turn refused to accept the refusal. It demanded a reconsideration of the obstinate insult. The immediate cause of our protest was to bring once again before the whole body of Ministers (at whose head Mr. Asquith so unfortunately stands) the atrocious brutality both of forcible feeding and the Cat and Mouse Act. At the same time, deep in our hearts was a burning indignation at the prolonged and repeated injustice with which the Government has tricked and bullied and deceived all the true advocates of the cause.

At twenty to eight the selected body of ten started from the hotel and went along the Embankment, the remainder of the deputation following in a large crowd. Passing the ill-omened doors of the National Liberal Club, that stronghold of our enemies in which a few gallant members still try to keep the flag of Liberalism flying, we issued into Whitehall, and as Big Ben struck eight we reached the familiar and verdant mouth of Downing Street. Lines of police, three deep, were drawn across it, but through a narrow opening the ten were admitted. Mrs. Thomas, Lady Isabel Margesson, Laurence Housman, and others were among them besides Miss Eaton, Harben, and myself, who had been appointed to convey the letter to the Prime Minister.

The knocker roused the dull brain of No. 10. The door opened, and we three passed in. We were shown into a sort of study beyond the hall. Oh, what a change since last I was there! Then it was the study of that real Liberal statesman, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, so genial, open-hearted, and true in his trust of democracy. And now! It is a bitter

thing for a Liberal like me to reflect upon the difference.

No Prime Minister was there to receive us. Only his young private secretary, Mr. Bonham Carter; no doubt a good enough Suffragist at heart, but what hope is there for any man in his unenviable position? I gave leave to open our letter, and he remarked the Premier was now in the House of Commons, but the letter would be laid before him and an answer given us next morning. Expressing our usual dissatisfaction, we withdrew, passing Mr. Asquith's guests in the hall. Unfortunately, I suppose, for them that the Premier was not at home!

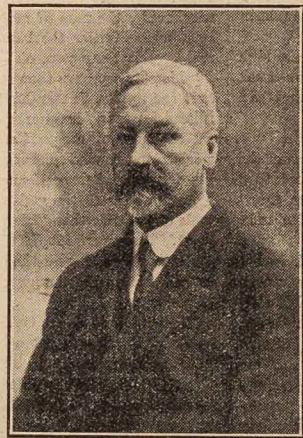
Coincidences

At the end of Downing Street, I explained the situation to the large crowd, including a lot of journalists, who had gathered at the scent of copy, as all good journalists do. They enquired if all was over. And so it appeared to be. This way and that the members of the deputation and other sympathisers scattered to the points of the compass. I found myself quite unexpectedly with Henry Harben in Pall Mall, and what was stranger still, we were drawn almost unconsciously through St. James's Park and down Great Smith Street to the Houses of Parliament themselves. Strangest coincidence of all, we there espied a large crowd consisting mainly of the very people whom twenty minutes before we had left dispersing to their homes.

It seemed a pity that so peculiar an event should remain unmarked and un-employable. Catching sight of Coeur de Lion's statue with lifted sword, I perceived a convenient step or base supporting the pedestal, and from there began addressing the throng that appeared so expectant. Harben began at another side. Suddenly Housman appeared and began as well. Mrs. Thomas gallantly caught up the cry and another lady I don't know. I suppose even Westminster has never echoed to so much eloquence—so concentrated and simultaneous.

No Sense for Splendour in Language

But the police didn't like it. They have no sense for splendour in language. From all sides they swarmed around us, mingled with a cheering crowd that grew larger every minute, and there is plenty of room for a big crowd there. The police obviously had orders not to arrest, and so we got a fine long time for speaking, though I admit that being shoved and beaten and whirled



MR. HENRY W. NEVINSON

about rather upset the balance of the best rhetorical sentence. On such an occasion one cannot realise much more than one's immediate surroundings, and I lost sight of the other speakers, except that Harben was generally near me, and once for a time stood pouring out denunciations of the Government arm-in-arm.

Denounce the Government—that was my one thought, but of course I don't remember a word of what I said. Denunciation for their barbarity, their callous disregard of humanity and injustice, their stupidity, their deceit, their breach of all honour, their betrayal of the principles their party has still the impudence to profess—I sup-

pose that was the sort of thing we all kept repeating, as we were driven up and down, with the crowd and police seething round us.

Again thinking it a pity that any opportunity should be wasted, I continued my speech after two of the police had been ordered to arrest me and drag me off to Scotland Yard. They did their business as quietly as they could, and appeared to be listening to the unaccustomed oratory as we proceeded. But then I had put on my top-hat, my helm of war, the hat that has braved a thousand years the battle and the breeze, and I have often noticed how much a top-hat increases the appreciation of eloquence among a British audience. Even the police are sometimes moved by it.

So we came to that familiar gate, over which should now be written, "Be of good hope for your cause, all ye who enter." And now I sit waiting in a whitened cell. I have read the inscriptions pencilled on the walls, and to my delight I find they are nearly all for the cause: "Liberty for Women," "Down with McKenna," "To Hades with the Government," so they run, and so the very stones cry out. What is to come is still unsure. The only sure thing is victory.

THE ARRESTED SIX

Mrs. D. A. Thomas

Mrs. D. A. Thomas is the wife of the Welsh coalowner, who formerly sat in the House of Commons as a supporter of the Liberal Government. She is well-known among Liberal Party women with whom she used to work, and has been for a long time associated with Suffrage activities, though she has never before taken part in any militant demonstration. It was on her initiative that Tuesday's deputation was formed and carried through.

Miss Katherine Haig

Miss Katherine Haig is the cousin both of Mrs. Thomas and Miss Haig, the well-known Chelsea artist whose name has so long been associated with magnificent work, both militant and non-militant, done for the cause; cousin, too, of the brave woman who gave her life for a couple of years ago, when she died as a result of illness caused by all she had endured on its behalf.

Mr. H. D. Harben

The name of Mr. H. D. Harben is familiar both in Liberal and in Fabian circles. As a Suffragist he first became prominent in the summer of 1912, when he resigned his candidature of the Barnstaple Division as a protest against forcible feeding and against the Cabinet's treatment of the whole question of Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Henry W. Nevinson

This is the first time Mr. Henry W. Nevinson has been arrested, but by no means the first time he has suffered in the cause of Votes for Women. From the earliest days of the militant movement he has stood by the women in their fight for enfranchisement, and when Forcible Feeding was originally started, he (with Mr. H. N. Braithford and Miss Mabel Atkinson) resigned his post of leader-writer on the Daily News because that paper supported the Government in its hideous action. It is scarcely necessary to remind our readers of his separate fame as war correspondent and author of many delightful books, not the least of these being his recently published "Essays in Revolution." But most of all he will appeal to the readers of this paper as the champion all over the world of the enslaved and the oppressed—a championship that, unlike most Liberals (for he has always been a Liberal in the real sense of the word), he extends to women as well as to men.

Mr. Laurence Housman

Mr. Laurence Housman is another distinguished author who has passed much in the cause of Votes for Women. In 1910 he was ejected from the House of Commons for making a public protest in the Lobby against the Government's treatment of the question. He has placed his pen, his store of wit and humour and irony, at the service of the woman's movement, and whether in print or on the platform, the value of his help has been incalculable.

Mr. Francis Meynell

Mr. Francis Meynell is the son of Mrs. Meynell, the poet, and of Mr. Wilfrid Meynell, the well-known journalist, and is himself a journalist and a writer of many charming verses.

SIX MONTHS FOR A MOTHER

NEW LIGHT ON THE CRUELTY CASE

Tragic Story of a Family in North London—Stricken Widow Sent to Prison for Six Months—Cur Special Commissioner Reveals the True Facts—Wickedness and Folly of the Sentence Exposed—How Our Readers Can Help

An awful story of poverty and misery, ending in the tragedy of six months imprisonment for a widowed mother, while her children have been drafted to the workhouse, has been revealed during the past week. But while the Daily Press, with flaming headlines of "Medieval Barbarity" and other sensational expressions, has shown only one side of the picture, we are enabled through the investigations of our Special Commissioner to present to our readers the story complete.

The true facts are pitiable beyond expression; the human drama and awful climax with which we are confronted demand that we strain every nerve to secure redress.

We tell first the story as it has already been told in the columns of the daily Press, selecting the account given in the Daily Telegraph, of Friday, as the most complete.

"MEDIÆVAL BARBARITY"

Children in Locked Room

Not Out for Sixteen Months

At Clerkenwell Police Court yesterday, before Mr. D'Eyncourt, Sarah Savage, of George's Road, Holloway, was summoned, on the information of Inspector Tom Richings, of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, for neglecting three children.

Mr. W. Ricketts, solicitor, appeared for the prosecution, and told a strange story. He said it was the first time he had ever heard that it could be possible for such circumstances to have arisen without having been discovered before. The defendant was a widow and had four children, the eldest of whom (seventeen) went to work. The existence of the other three children upon the premises—in one room—were quite unknown to anyone until the visit of the Society's officer on February 10, yet she took this room in October, 1912, representing to the landlady that her family consisted of the one girl, aged seventeen. Somehow, however, she smuggled the other children in, and from that time until this month their presence had been quite unknown. They never went out, although their ages were from nearly sixteen to seven, until the beginning of February, viz., the 10th, when the officer called, on receipt of a postcard apparently written by someone who had visited the room and discovered the children. The room was on the first floor back, about 12ft by 9ft in area.

Frightened Children

Inspector Richings went to the room, and found it locked. After knocking repeatedly the door was opened by the eldest of the three children. The room was foul and in darkness, a heavy curtain being drawn over the window. There was no fire, and the furniture consisted mainly of a bed, which occupied a considerable proportion of the floor space. The eldest girl was bordering on a state of idiocy. She was inadequately clothed, but was not suffering from want of food. The landlady's daughter brought a light, and the inspector saw that the bed moved. He found a second child, aged eleven, under it. This child was in a worse condition. The officer searched further, and found another child, aged seven, under the bed. She was covered with sores, inadequately clothed, and frightened—almost mentally affected.

Dr. Hands confirmed the inspector's opinion of the condition of the children, and they were sent to the Islington Workhouse. It appeared to have been four years since the eldest of these girls went to school, while the younger ones appeared not to have been at all.

Mr. Ricketts could not understand why all this was so. The woman was sober and worked as a charwoman (earning 10s. a week, as stated in another report), and the children appeared to have been fed

with the broken victuals she brought home. One would have thought the eldest of the three would have gone to work, as well as the girl of seventeen. The only possible explanation must be that the woman was extremely selfish, and was content to let the children remain hidden while she went to work and got sufficient to eat for herself—that she was afraid to disclose the presence of the children to the school authorities.

No Noise Heard

The extraordinary thing was that such was her influence over the children that they had never been heard to laugh or cry or play or make any noise at all. The defendant said the children had been out once—one evening in the park—in six months. But at that time the parks were closed. The second child had been placed in the nursery.

Inspector Richings in his evidence said the woman told him: "I'm a poor widow. I have done my best. They won't have them at school without boots and with sores."

The doctor, describing the state of the children, said the second one appeared to be degenerate. "Mr. D'Eyncourt: I should like to know what that means.—Not an idiot born—degenerate."

The doctor said it would take years for the children to get over the effects of the treatment, if ever they came up to the normal standard. There would remain a certain amount of degenerate issues from want of use.

The Magistrate: We must all be careful. Elizabeth, Rochester, the landlady's daughter, and companion of the girl of seventeen referred to, said she never knew the children were in the house until she brought the light for the inspector. Mr. D'Eyncourt (to the woman): You have kept these children in this way for sixteen months. What have you to say?

Defendant: I had no boots for them. They have never been free from trouble since they were born. I've tried to keep the home going since my husband died, more than two years ago. I've done my best. The magistrate said it was the most extraordinary case he had ever heard, and reminded one of the days of medieval barbarity. "I don't believe it," said the defendant, "are apparently a woman of intelligence. You kept these three children as nobody would keep a dog. You are not a drunken woman, nor actively cruel, but the case is too awful. Six months' imprisonment."

THE TRUE FACTS

Results of a Full Investigation

By Our Special Commissioner

The magistrate described the case as "a medieval barbarity." He said there was no explanation of the woman's conduct except that she was extremely selfish. The details of her life and that lived by her children were horrible—so horrible, as to be almost inhuman; the doctor who was called to the room where the children were accidentally found, read me his report which he had presented to the magistrate, and which had secured the mother a sentence of six months' imprisonment. And the report was inconceivably terrible, revealing a state of degradation and filth and misery, for which the mother was apparently responsible, and to which she had condemned her three girl children for sixteen weary months, with never a breath of fresh air, nor a ray of sunshine.

The Neighbours' Verdict

From the doctor I went on to the S.P.C.C.'s inspector who had had charge of the case, but from him I learned absolutely nothing, as the rules of his society forbade him to disclose the house in which the woman had lived. I talked with three women who lived in the house and who knew the woman. Here came the first illumination. Their verdict was: "Never ought to have gone to prison"; "A respectable, hard-working woman";

"Never said nothink to nobody, went in and out that quiet you'd never know as she was there." And they were full of regret that they had known nothing of her straits or they would have helped. I saw the landlady, and she was so upset to think of the trouble that had been so near and yet unhelped that she and her husband "thought of getting some clergyman to take it up." I saw others who knew the woman, and eventually the young daughter who had lived with her, and a married daughter with two children of her own.

And this is the true story of the woman as told by her daughters and those who knew the real facts of the case.

The husband was a costermonger, and led a very wandering life, drank, and ill-treated her, and they were both constantly in and out of common lodging-houses and dragging the children about from one temporary lodging to another. Two years ago the man died and was buried by the parish. During the whole time they were constantly evading the attendance officer from the schools, as they knew that they would be fined or imprisoned for not sending the children to school.

Left a Widow

When the husband died, the mother was seized with panic lest the school officers or the poor law officials should deprive her of the custody of her children, and it was this fear, and this only, which led her to hide her children, with the disastrous results described in the papers. The woman had worked six years for one employer, and had her references with her in court, but they were neither asked for nor produced. It was no one's business to defend her character, and she herself was too ignorant of procedure to make any attempt at self-defence.

Her married daughter, a gentle, mouse-like creature, so crushed when I talked with her that she could only speak in a whisper, was outside all the time, but as she was not called as a witness she was too timid and too ignorant to ask to go into court. Afterwards a policeman came out and said ("You know 'ow they speak to you, miss?": "Are you the prisoner's daughter? Come in if you've anything to say." I asked her what her mother said: "She only asked me to look after the children and my sister Polly, and not let them fret." The woman worked only to feed her children, and there was no sign of her drinking or wasting money.

I don't believe, from the side-lights which fell on the story as the two daughters talked to me, that the mother earned 10s. a week regularly. "Sometimes a lady would get her to clean a kitchen, and say, 'Ere's a pair of boots for you, or a bit of food.'" Various remarks of this sort showed me that possibly with one exception all her jobs of charring were of the irregular ill-paid sort, which could not yield all told an income of 10s. a week regularly. Polly, too, only cleaned doorsteps and did odd jobs, she told me. "Some days I might earn as much as sixpence, sometimes it might be a shilling." I formed the opinion that five shillings a week was as much as she earned, and half-a-crown was paid for rent. The children were well nourished, and had no marks of violence on them. Polly told me "Mother never laid 'er 'and on any of us." They had not been kept quiet by threats of violence or her practice of cruelty, but by the fear that, if discovered, they would be taken from their mother. The daughter, Polly, is distracted by the separation. "My mother fair doted on

us, and made idols of them children. She was a woman who, if she only 'ad 'alf a crust, would give it to us. It was something to 'ave a mother being you; now, if it wasn't for me sister I don't know 'ow I should get on."

The Catastrophes

Accidentally, the whole tragedy is brought to light, and what happens! The horror which the woman has dreaded comes on her with a crash, her children are taken away, and she is flung into prison, too dazed, too frightened, too crushed to make any sort of explanation or defence.

Never was there a case which so proved the utter inadequacy of our police courts to deal with the tragedy of a woman's life such as this. I have been to school and fed at the free institution, but there is not someone there who could have dealt with this woman with some insight into the real state of things.

The Failure of Civilization

The workman who reported the case did perfectly right. No one could have left the children as they were. The S.P.C.C.'s officer did no more than his duty; the doctor's report erred on the side of restraint, yet all the resources of civilisation could offer no remedy but prison for a mother distraught with fear lest that very civilisation should deprive her of her children because she had not the power to earn enough for their support.

I believe that if the woman had been put into a clean, fresh, larger room, if her children had been cleansed and clothed, if some out-relief had been granted her, if the children had been taken to school and fed at the free institution, and if it had been pointed out to her that these were the results of the community's discovery of her plight, if a careful and sympathetic watch had been kept on her for some months, there would have been no need to break her heart and send her to prison.

As men and women of common sense and good heart, we cannot but rebel against such suffering imposed upon a creature already broken by the intolerable hardships of life.

Looking for a Remedy

Now that we do realise that there is a practical remedy which can be applied to this case, let us lose no time in applying it. There is not the smallest reason why this woman should remain in prison. Every week in prison will add to the crushing load of despair that is killing the soul of this unhappy creature; the brain may give way altogether under the strain of solitary confinement or of hard labour under subjection to an atmosphere of degrading contempt.

I will do my part if other VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellows will do theirs. Let everyone who reads this story write to his or her Parliamentary representative and draw his attention to it. Let those who have experience in lobbying go to the House of Commons and lay the facts before the members. Persuade some well-known champion of the poor to take up this matter and ask questions in the House. If any are personally acquainted with Mr. D'Eyncourt, let them reveal to him the inwardness of this case and secure his good offices with the Home Secretary in the matter.

If the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will get this woman out of prison I am prepared to make myself answerable for the experiment of reinstating her. I will meet her on her release and make satisfactory arrangements to put her into a suitable home and to surround her with friendly sympathy. I will do this if the Fellows will help me, and will entrust me with contributions amounting to about £10. Both the regular situation and the temporary jobs are being held open for the woman by her employers, and the two daughters are in the meantime doing the work—a proof in itself of the stability of the woman's character as a worker, and of the regard felt for her by her employers. I believe this tragic mother, by wise sympathy and practical help given now, may be permanently helped to a better and happier life.

Mary Neal.

NEW BOOKS AND MAGAZINES

WOMEN OF THE EARLY CHURCH*

When the soul is face to face with God, man ceases to be man, and woman to be woman. In the Sacrament, in prayer, in the final dissolution of the unconscious spirit, sex loses its meaning. The cup of life is as dangerous and beautiful, or as consecrated and terrible, to Father Anthony of the desert as to Paphia while she dazzles Alexandria. So at all times where we find the direct application of the mind to essential things, we find also that we have escaped from sex warfare. The fight for goodness makes comrades, not antagonists. We can only be grateful to Miss Ethel Rolt-Wheeler for reminding us attractively of the lives of saintly women—so dauntless and so fragrant. St. Mary of Egypt, Saint Brigid, Santa Theresa, Catherine of Siena and la Mère Angélique of the Port-Royal Convent, St. Clare of the Poor Sisterhood—such names must not be allowed to suggest only mysticism and inertia. Placing the prize of heaven on their horizon, and so being for ever certain of the meaning of life, they turned to their fellow-creatures' benefit, their wonderful common-sense, their humanness—their capacity, as it were, of organising salvation with a clear head. They shrank from no audacity. Popes and kings were to them but common children of heaven; no fear held them and no pity for the human body which we enervate so tenderly to-day. By love and fear they ruled their monasteries. By sheer impact of personal single-heartedness they won their will from potentates. And with the men whose ideals were similar to their own, they worked side by side in natural and equal comradeship.

J. E. M.

"THE MELTING POT"†

Those who have seen Mr. Zangwill's stirring drama on the stage, and equally those who have not been so fortunate, will derive the greatest pleasure from reading it in book form. We have already published our appreciation of "The Melting Pot" (see *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, January 30), and have no more to add now than that Mr. Heinemann's edition of the play is an extremely attractive one, and contains, besides the text, some interesting notes on the "pogrom," and an afterword by Mr. Zangwill himself.

"NEW TRACTS FOR THE TIMES"‡

"The Democratic Plea." By Gerald Gould
The first of an interesting series of woman suffrage "Tracts" has just been issued by that enterprising body, the Oxford University Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement. It is by Gerald Gould, and is an extremely able, witty, and balanced treatise on the democratic, as opposed to the chivalrous, method of approaching the immense problem of poverty in which women have as great a share as men. He makes out an absolute case for the former (and therefore necessarily for woman suffrage), and against the latter, of which he says humorously:—

The weak point of chivalry, even in theory, is that it depends upon submission: to protect may be all very well, but to force protection upon an unwilling fellow creature is to assume an unwarrantable superiority; it may easily be to deteriorate from a protector to a persecutor, to change the rôle of St. George for that of the dragon.

The second half of the tract deals with the political history of the suffrage movement, showing clearly how the women's demand has been treated by the Government; and it ends with an appeal "to all who hate cruelty, who hate injustice, who hate violence as I do, to give their service and their support to the enfranchisement of women."

"THE BALANCE"

The title of the magazine just issued by the Bedford College for Women is well-chosen, for the contents consist of alternate articles for and against the enfranchisement of women, written by prominent suffragists and anti-suffragists. The Lady Betty Balfour leads off, and is followed by Mrs. Colquhoun, Mrs. Fawcett, Miss Gladys Pott, Mrs. Perkin Gilman, Mr. F. E. Smith, Laurence Housman, the Marchioness of Tullibardine, Henry W. Nevins, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Mrs. Ayrton Zangwill. The Editors are to be congratulated on having secured such a characteristic and brilliant set of writers on both sides of the question, and their publication (which may be obtained from the Secretary, Society for the Study of Women's Franchise, Bedford College, Regent's Park, N.W.; post free 8d.) should be of special value to speakers and debaters.

* "Women of the Cell and Cloister." By Ethel Rolt-Wheeler (London: Methuen and Co. Price 3s. net.)
† "The Melting Pot." Drama in Four Acts. By Israel Zangwill. (William Heinemann. Price 2s. 6d. net.)
‡ "New Tracts for the Times": No. 1—The Democratic Plea. By Gerald Gould, Fellow of Merton. (Holywell Press, Oxford. Price 8d.)

WAR AGAINST WOMEN

In the Bookbinding and Printing Trades

By Eva Gore-Booth

The hostile attitude of the men's Union in the bookbinding and printing trades against the employment of women has been steadily kept up through a number of years, and has resulted, not, as was hoped by the Society, in their total exclusion, but in their exclusion from technical education, and from employment in all the more skilled and better-paid parts of the trade, and in their consequent underpayment. Various reasons have been given by the Union for their hostile attitude during the course of the struggle; curiously enough, one of the principal ones is that they object to these very low wages caused by their own hostility. The accusation of undercutting men has been brought again and again by the men's Union against women workers.

Why Women Undercut Men

It is obvious that it is impossible for women to earn equal wages for equal work if they are not allowed the same training and qualifications as men. When the present writer was working in Manchester in connection with a women's union in the book-binding trades, a dispute arose in a large printing firm in the city on the question of female labour. The men went out on strike against the employment of women in any of the more skilled processes. When asked by the women's Union for their reason for this unfriendly action, the general secretary explained that "it was not women as women they objected to, it was only because, by taking a lower rate of wages, women brought down the men's standard, that they were against them."

"Well," said the women's representatives, "the remedy is a very simple one, and it is in your own hands. You know as well as we do that the reason why women are forced to undercut you by taking the lower rate is because your Union will not allow them to be apprenticed, and learn the trade right through like men, and thus be qualified to earn the regular journeyman's rate. If you open the apprenticeship to women, and allow them the same technical training as men, we, on our side, will guarantee that our members will no longer take a lower rate than yours."

The men did not dispute either the truth or the fairness of this proposition, but by their uncompromising refusal to consider such a solution, they showed quite clearly that the wages question was in no way the real foundation of their opposition.

Women and Apprentices

To the "unapprenticed males," who were in the same position as the women with regard to wages and undercutting, they said: "You cannot enter the trade in this way; you must either be apprenticed or not be employed." To the women they said also: "You shall not enter the trade in this way without being apprenticed"; but they made the position impossible by adding: "And we will never allow any women to be apprenticed."

Surely nothing could be clearer than this; and yet, to this day, the story of women's lower rate puzzles the minds of many of those who are even in other ways sympathetic to women's claims for equal treatment, and it has been attributed to various strange causes wholly unconnected with the simple economic fact that a want of the proper qualification must always mean underpayment in every trade or profession. The fact that women have managed, with that wonderful adaptability characteristic of human life, to cut their coat according to their cloth, has given rise to the amazingly fatuous economic doctrine that the female sex has a naturally lower standard of comfort than the male. It is, no doubt, a comforting doctrine to the better off that the fact that you are artificially prevented from earning enough money to pay the rent of a decent house, simply proves that it is in some occult way your nature and happiness to live in a slum; but to those who are striving against fearful odds to make two ends meet on an absurdly inadequate weekly income, it is not so in the coping.

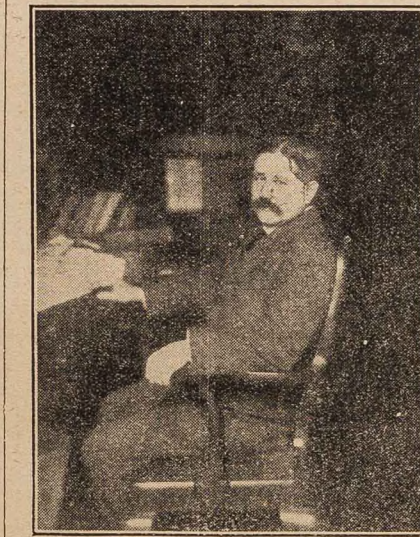
The disastrous conditions which the Unions have been able pretty generally to force on employers with regard to the employment of women are as follows:

1. There is a line of demarcation to be observed between men's work and women's work which means that all the well-paid and skilled work is to be given to men, and the very low-paid and less skilled work may be done by women. (Thus, while a man book-binder earns 36s. a week, a woman may consider herself lucky if she earns 15s. a week at folding and sewing, which are almost the only processes approved by the men's Society for women.)

2. Women are not to be allowed to learn the trade. They may be apprenticed to the poor processes of folding and sewing, but no man is allowed to teach a woman skilled work, even if she is his own daughter. This last regulation is responsible for a great deal of undercutting. For the bookbinders seem to have overlooked the fact that though you may be able to prevent people being taught, if they happen to be clever enough you can never stop them from learning. The women profited in many cases by this happy provision of Nature to pick up some of the forbidden processes. In fact, I have known women who could bind books from start to finish by simply watching and picking up the different processes. But directly the women began to transgress in any direction the rigid limits set on their activities, the struggle came. The Union absolutely forbade them to practise their ill-gotten knowledge, reviled them as blacklegs, and forbade the employers to employ them. It became a matter of risk and inconvenience to employ female labour, and naturally the employers would not do so unless the inconvenience was made up to them in some other way. The women, in their anxiety to get work, took the obvious course. Finding that otherwise the pressure of the Union would prevent them getting work, they had to be content with lower wages, and thus committed the unpardonable sin of undercutting. It will be seen that their much abused action was not original sin on the women's part, but the direct, inevitable, and almost mechanical result of the men's attempt to monopolise everything worth having in the trade. And it seems hard that after deliberately cheapening their labour the Union should blame them for not insisting on higher pay.

The Real Inwardness of It

The struggle is a fierce one, and many trivial excuses have been put forward by the Union to justify their policy. But anyone who wants to understand the real motives of their action cannot do better than read what the men's representative said in putting the case to the employees in the general Scotch strike against female labour in 1913. He said: "I do not think that we can suggest that there are things that males can do, and that females cannot do. I think we must admit that males can do almost anything that males can do." And again: "I know that many of those girls that are referred



[Photograph: J. White & Sons, Littlehampton]
SIR HARRY JOHNSTON
(Who is Speaking at the Fellowship Meeting on Feb. 26)

to are capable of doing work that would stagger the older binders, capable of doing the work better than some of the men, because they have the opportunity. We want to do away with that opportunity. We want to keep the craft to ourselves, and that is simply the end we have in view."

Does not that last sentence reveal quite simply the real inwardness of the bookbinders' and printers' war against "cheap female labour"? Surely it will find an echo in the heart of every anti-suffragist politician. For it is the spirit of "we want the craft to ourselves" amongst men that is making intolerable the position of women, not only in politics, but in every other profession or trade in England.

SET THE PRISONER FREE!

Dear Fellows and Readers,—I commend to your consideration the human story that is told by our special commissioner on page 329, and dealt with in the leading article on page 332. Do not let the matter rest when you have read these articles. I beg you to bestir yourselves, and individually to do your level best to get this poor creature, so crushed by disaster, helped to a better existence.

In the first place, do your best to get her out of prison, because prison can only take the last bit of hope and life out of her. Hers was a crime of ignorance and dazed stupidity and despair, not a crime of intentional cruelty, and it calls for neighbourly care and watchfulness, not for mere punishment.

Take it upon yourselves to get the facts of the case known in Parliament. Send the paper marked to the M.P. of your division, and to every M.P. personally known to you. Ask him to bring by questions in the House the following facts before the Home Secretary:

1. That there was nothing in the evidence to prove that the woman was intentionally cruel. On the other hand, it was admitted that she was sober and hard-working, that the children were well nourished, and showed no signs of having been treated with violence.

2. That her two grown-up daughters were not called as witnesses in the court, though they would gladly have given evidence as to the woman's love and sacrifice for her children. That her employer was not called, who could have given evidence of her character as a worker.

3. That in view of these facts the ends of justice would be better served by the woman being released from prison and placed in the hands of an accredited social worker who would make herself responsible for the woman's good behaviour and for the welfare of the children.

One thing more. There are hundreds of thousands of other widow-mothers in this country in as terrible a plight as this woman. They are stronger in character, better balanced in mind, saner in judgment, that is all. They are not driven by panic to commit this woman's crime. That is the wonder of it. But their case is only by this fact less pitiable than hers. Such misery on the part of the mothers is the effect of our present man-made system of government. There is no need for it; it is hideously unjust and cruel, it calls for immediate remedy. Here again the only hope of getting anything done rests upon the vigour and initiative of the individual and his (or her) power to set moral forces in motion. We must drag these facts with regard to the position of the widow to the attention of the public. Every case that illustrates the condition of things must be brought to the notice of men and women of influence.

Take this paper, then, and send it promptly, not only to M.P.s in order to help this individual woman, but to every magistrate, clergyman, minister of religion, and politician whom you know, with a covering note pointing out that the position of the widow-mother in this so-called civilised country is both a tragedy and a scandal, for which the electors of the country, and specially all Government officials and all leaders of political and religious thought, are responsible, and urging upon them to take up the duty of redressing a grievous social, political, industrial, and human wrong.—Yours in the Fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

"THE THREE ARTS JOURNAL"

The February issue of the "Three Arts Journal," that excellent periodical issued in connection with the Three Arts Club by Miss Lena Ashwell, Miss Cicely Hamilton, and others, is a particularly good one. Besides a very fine piece of criticism in Sybil Matesdorff's article on Paul Heyse's "Maria von Magdala"—we heartily echo her hope that this drama may some day be produced in England—there are some real touches of humour that are truly refreshing, both in the little list of "Do's and Don'ts for the Tenderfoot," and in a perfectly delightful dialogue, by Etna. Who is Etna? She has a delicious sense of humour, anyway, and "The Orchestra," her contribution this month, is alone worth the sixpence charged for the magazine. There are also charming

illustrations; and the Three Arts Club is lucky in having an organ of such high literary and artistic merit.

LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON'S BOOK

We understand from the publishers that Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners," will appear on March 4. A review of it, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, will be given in our next issue.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Remarkable Women of France, 1431-1748." By Lieut.-Col. C. P. Haggard, D.S.O. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 16s. net.)
"Julia: The Story of an Amazing Marriage." By Harold Wimbury. (London: J. M. Osseley and Son. Price 6s.)
"Facts Versus Fancies on Woman Suffrage." By Chrysal Macmillan. (London: King and Son. Price 4d.)

The Regent St. House of Peter Robinson

L.D.

Le dernier cri de la Mode

MADAME LA MODE'S last word finds correct interpretation in the fascinating Fashion Displays in progress at our REGENT STREET HOUSE. Here are now being shown the best of the new creations from Europe's most famous ateliers. These Advance Models for the Spring are well worthy an inspection, for they typify the thought of the world's best designers—are all in excellent good taste—and, to the best of our belief, are exclusive Styles and cannot be seen elsewhere.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS

Bethnal Green Refuses to Have Cabinet Minister—Sensational Reduction in Liberal Majority at Poplar—Electorates Respond to Suffragists' Anti-Government Campaign

Three by-elections have been decided since we went to press last. In two of them, at Bethnal Green and Poplar, where the Suffragists pursued a vigorous Anti-Government policy, the results of the poll were startling. At Bethnal Green a Liberal majority of 184 was turned into a Unionist majority of 24, in spite of the inducement held out to the electors of being represented by a Cabinet Minister in Parliament. At Poplar the Liberal majority of 1,829 was reduced to one of 278.

THE RESULTS

SOUTH DUCKS (FEBRUARY 18)
 Mr. V. B. Du Pre (U.) 9,044
 Mr. Tommas Mosley (L.) 6,713

Unionist Majority 2,331
 Result of last contested election (Jan., 1910), Sir C. A. Chipp (U.), 8,690; T. A. Herbert (L.), 6,134. Unionist Majority, 2,556.

BETHNAL GREEN (FEBRUARY 19)
 Sir Mathew Wilson (U.) 2,838
 The Hon. C. F. G. Masterman (L.) 2,804
 Mr. John Seurr (Ind. Soc.) 316

Unionist Majority 24
 Result of last election (July, 1911), C. F. G. Masterman (L.), 2,745; E. Høgaard (U.), 2,561; J. Seurr (Ind. Soc.), 154. Liberal Majority, 154.

POPULAR (FEBRUARY 20)
 Mr. A. W. Yeo (L.) 3,548
 Mr. R. Kerr Clark (U.) 3,270
 Mr. J. Jones (Ind. Soc.) 893

Liberal Majority 278
 Result of last election (Dec., 1910), Sydney Boxton (L.), 3,577; E. Asinew Bartlett (U.), 2,143. Liberal Majority, 1,433.

WHAT EVERY WOMAN KNOWS

The question naturally arises—What caused these two sensational results in Bethnal Green and Poplar, and why was there this turnover of Liberal votes? We answer unhesitatingly that the stern campaign waged against the Government in both constituencies by the Suffragists opened the eyes of the electors to the way the women's question has been treated by a Liberal administration, and constrained many hundreds of them to cast votes, that in previous elections had been given to the Liberal candidate, against that candidate on this occasion. What other convincing reason can be found?

658 Votes to Account For

The argument that in Poplar a Cabinet Minister (Sir Sydney Buxton) had been replaced by an ordinary citizen as candidate, does not hold good in view of the defeat of a Cabinet Minister (Mr. Masterman) at Bethnal Green. And those who contend that the reduction in the Liberal majority was owing to the fact that in both constituencies there was a three-cornered contest, have still to find some explanation of the two facts that (1) there was a three-cornered contest in both Bethnal Green where a third candidate, coming forward as late as an hour, had no chance, however popular, of winning the seat; and (2) that in Poplar, if every vote given to the Socialist candidate be subtracted from the total number left by the Liberal candidate, 658 votes given to the Unionist on this occasion that at the last election were given to the Liberal still remain unaccounted for.

The Party Press has tried hard to find any solution of the two blows dealt at Bethnal Green and Poplar, but the *Daily News* rather pathetically hints at the true explanation while favouring to give it its true name. "Mr. Masterman," said its leading article on February 20, "was beaten by the elaborate organisation of all who had any grievance against the Government." On the other hand, the most important of those who had reason to oppose the Government were the women whom it had wronged.

The *Daily Telegraph* (also without mentioning the word "women") says: "If a Ministry has managed to incur the mortal hostility of nine or ten separate political and religious movements, that is its own affair."
 "Something Deeper" than Party
 The *Times* gets still nearer the truth, while avoiding with equal skill any definite allusion to What Every Woman Knows in Bethnal Green, and said in its leading article of February 20: "The refusal of a great London constituency, which has been steadily Liberal for over twenty years, except at the war election of 1906, to return the new Chancellor of the Duchy for the seat which he has held since 1911 is a sign that they are moved by something deeper than the everyday questions of party."
 The *Nation*, in its political notes, says

"Mr. Masterman's defeat was due to a concentration of the forces of all who feel aggrieved with the Government upon a constituency where the former Liberal majority only amounted to 184."
 When will the Party Press have done with this ridiculous game of "coffee-pots" and admit openly that the words they are afraid to mention in all their comments on Governmental defeats are—Votes for Women?

EAST END ELECTORS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

An Impression
 (By Our Own Correspondent.)
 At every street corner a lorry, and on most of them a Suffrage flag of some sort or another. That was the impression gained from a tour of the Bethnal Green constituency a couple of evenings before the day of the poll. And round each lorry a listening, interested crowd, for the day of the ignorant Anti-Suffragist heckler is over in that part of the world, and in the East End men do not have to be converted to the elementary principle that women ought to have votes. In the face of all these Suffrage platforms and all these Suffrage Committees' Rooms in the Bethnal Green Road, the rather self-conscious assertions of the Party newspapers that the women made very little effect on the Bethnal Green contest seemed to an on-looker like myself to have reached the point of absurdity.

In Poplar I found that good open-air pitches were fewer in number, also that Committee Rooms were almost impossible to obtain in any central position, so that the work of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes was carried on from Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's own rooms, and that of the United Suffragists from a somewhat dilapidated-looking empty house. But both were in the East India Dock Road, and both were centres of real activity. For in elections it is not the shrewd work that really counts, but the solid canvassing that goes on almost unnoticed in the general turmoil, and it is fairly safe to say that not an elector was overlooked by the men and women Suffragists who were sent out all day long from these two centres to say nothing of the activities of the Women's Freedom League and the N.U.W.S.S., who were also working against the Government candidate at Poplar.

One of the United Suffragists' canvassers to whom I talked told me of actual electors who had always before voted Liberal, but who had told her they were going at least to abstain on the occasion, if not to vote against Mr. Yeo, because of what they heard now for the first time about the Government's treatment of the Suffrage question. This woman (formerly a Liberal Party woman) also told me that two Liberals, one of them old and grey-haired, had just declared to her their intention of helping Mr. Yeo on the subject at his indoor meeting that night. She had met nowhere with any opposition to Woman Suffrage itself.

At the Dock Gates

This was certainly the experience also of the speakers. If open-air meetings at Poplar were rather fewer in actual numbers than at Bethnal Green, they went on longer and were splendidly attended. Especially at the dock gates was this the

case. All day long hundreds of men wait for employment at the dock gates, and here the lorries of the rival candidates, of the Suffragists, of the Free Traders and the Tariff Reformers, of every kind of opposing interest, stood side by side competing for an audience. The day before the Poplar poll the purple, white and orange flag of the United Suffragists waved at the dock gates from 10 till 5, when it was replaced by the purple, white, green, and red banner of the East End Suffragettes. And the largest crowd of all was generally round this lorry. That never did one hear a word against the Suffrage. One man, who asked a mild question of the Suffrage speaker, was with difficulty saved by her from instant ejection by his comrades. Afterwards he came up to her and said, "I'm not against you, no fear! I only asked you a question because I thought you looked tired and wanted a rest!"

A Factory Girls' League
 A little way off a group of factory girls, some half-dressed or so, surrounded a Suffragist of whom they had been asking questions. They were excitedly telling her something, all talking at once. I drew nearer to hear what was all about. They were explaining to her that they had formed a new Suffrage League among themselves. It was a very simple one, and there was only one condition of membership—that no girl was to "walk out" with a young man unless he was a Suffragist. May there be many branches of that League for factory girls! Why not among Liberal Party women, to begin with?

The Womanly Woman's Lorry
 A fairly large crowd, though composed principally of good-humoured hecklers, stood in front of another platform at the dock gates. This one was plastered all over with pink and black posters, proclaiming to the incredulous audience that "Women do not want the Vote." It was the only covered van on the pitch—was this in order to effect a kind of compromise between the platform and the home?—and from it emerged sometimes a man and sometimes a woman, sometimes both at once. The man did not get much enough to be worthy of a better cause, handled her interrupters with skill and good temper, but was naturally out of sympathy by having a poor case. Just as she was explaining that "We women cannot form opinions on wide Imperial issues, we have not had the right education or experience," and so on, and so on—a working woman called out to her—

"But I do want a vote, and I'm no bigger fool than you are."
 When the laughter of the crowd had subsided, she went on to explain that she had four children, and what was more, she had to keep them. Down Poplar way politics that do not take into consideration the women who work and want a vote as much as men do, are not policies that count. Labour-market, are not policies that count.

"No Yeo!"
 Later in the evening, after a Suffrage procession had paraded the streets, the constituency amid the cheers of hundreds of spectators—the banner with the strange device "No Yeo!" exciting the most intense Suffrage demonstration was held at the dock gates, at which Mr. George Lans-

bury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, and many others spoke, the crowd reaching far down the East India Dock Road until it seriously obstructed the traffic.
 Yet, with all this evidence before them, Party newspapers sought every reason but the right one for the amazing drop in the Liberal majority when the poll was declared.

THINGS THAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN EXPRESSED DIFFERENTLY

"There is no likelihood that Mr. Masterman will contest another seat in the immediate future. His state of health necessitates a rest, and, in any case, there is



"Walk out with a bloke what don't think I'm fit to 'ave a vote? Not me!"

no pressing need for him in the House at the present moment."
 No, this was not whispered by the electors of Derby, Salford, Norwich, or Haggerston. It was said in print in the Political Notes of the *Manchester Guardian* last Tuesday.
 Et tu Brute!

LEITH BURGHS

Polling Day: February 26
 Candidates: Provost Malcolm Smith (L)
 Mr. C. W. Currie (U)
 Mr. J. M. Bell (Lab.)

Result of last election (Dec., 1910): R. C. Munro-Ferguson to the Government (L), 7,029; F. A. Macquisten (L), 5,284. Liberal Majority, 1,745.
 At Leith Burghs, where a vacancy has been caused by the appointment of Mr. R. C. Munro-Ferguson to the Government-Generalship of Australia, a vigorous Anti-Government campaign is being waged, both by the W.S.P.U. and the W.F.L. The Scottish correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* said in Monday's issue of that paper—"The Suffragettes have been interrupting both Liberal and Labour meetings, and have had to be carried out by force, but nobody is heeding them." If ejection by force is the Scottish way of ignoring the presence of hecklers, we tremble to think of what would happen to interrupters who were heeded!

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald, M.P., and Mr. Richard McGhie, M.P., were among those who were thus heeded.
 According to the *Times*, two speakers at a W.S.P.U. meeting at Musselburgh advised Suffragist electors to abstain from voting altogether, and write across their voting paper "Votes for women" as a message to the Government. Knowing this to be contrary to the usual by-election policy of the W.S.P.U., we made enquiries at the W.S.P.U. offices in London, and were unable to obtain any confirmation of the report. We have therefore to understand, as we had supposed, that it is not the policy of the W.S.P.U. to advise the spoiling of ballot papers.

Views of the Three Candidates
 The N.U.W.S.S. state that the Labour candidate, Mr. Bell, is an ardent Suffragist, that the Liberal candidate says Woman Suffrage is a question he has never considered deeply, but that if his party took it up he might reason to change his attitude towards it; and the Unionist candidate declines to give any pledges or answer any questions put to him on the matter.

Only Electors Need Apply
 The *Daily Citizen* states that members of the National Union were refused admission to a Liberal election meeting, and were told that only electors were wanted, and that the meeting was "no business of theirs." When women have votes, it will be a very different story!
 Polling at Leith takes place on Thursday in this week, after this issue has been pressed, when the result is expected to be declared about 11 p.m.



ANTI-SUFFRAGIST: "We women are not really sufficiently educated to vote on a great issue like this." SUFFRAGING WOMAN: "I DO want a vote—and I'm no bigger fool than you!"

THE MOVEMENT AT HOME AND ABROAD

THE WAGE-EARNING AGE AND THE AGE OF CONSENT

Child Labour Bill in the House

Last Friday the House of Commons discussed the important question of Child Labour—"so, of course," comments G. R. S. T. in the *Daily Herald*, "the place was practically empty."
 The Bill was introduced by Mr. Denman, and seconded by Mr. Hoare. Its main provisions propose to give all local education authorities power to raise the school age from fourteen to fifteen years, unless, in the opinion of the authority, the child is about to enter employment which will be beneficial to him. It also forbids street trading to boys under seventeen or to girls under eighteen. And the half-time system is to be abolished. There is to be no further attempt to make a child earn a living at the same time as it is being educated.

Where Suffragists Come In
 It will thus be seen that this is not a Bill that ought to be discussed, still less passed into law, until women have the vote and a right to have a voice in legislation that regulates the education of their children, and settles the age at which they may or may not begin to contribute to the family income.

Most of all are Suffragists concerned with this measure now before Parliament (it passed its second reading by 187 to 35) on account of Clause 3, which prohibits street-trading for boys under seventeen and girls under eighteen. This is a characteristic instance of so-called "protective" legislation, which steps in when the limitation of a girl's wage-earning capacities is in question, but remains perfectly indifferent with regard to protecting her person and her honour. As long as the age of consent for girls remains at sixteen, it is arrant humbug to pass a law to prevent her earning her living before she is eighteen.

Votes for women first, and "protective" legislation afterwards, should be the motto of all sincere Suffragists.

THE WORD "OBEY"

Discussion in Convocation

In the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, last Friday, the omission of the word "obey" from the Marriage Service was under discussion. The Bishop of Lincoln had given notice of an amendment to substitute the words, "Wilt thou love him, comfort him, honour and keep him?" for the older form, "Wilt thou obey him, serve him, love, honour and keep him?" Also to assimilate the pledge made by the woman to that made by the man, and to substitute the words, "in sickness and in health to love and to cherish," for the present words, "in sickness and in health to love, cherish, and obey."

Though the Bishop of Lincoln asked and obtained leave to withdraw his amendment on the ground that it was not likely to obtain a large majority in the House, there was some debate on the question raised in it. The Bishop of Winchester said he felt it was a matter which interested a very large and increasing proportion of the public, and he could not help thinking, after what he had heard within the precincts of that House about the traditional position and authority of the word "obey," that it was a regrettable thing that it should continue. It seemed to be part, both of the natural ideal of marriage and the Christian ideal of marriage, that marriage ought to be perfectly compatible with the full and indefeasible spirit of physical equality of the two partners.

The Archbishop's View

The Archbishop said: "I yield to no one in my sense of the immense importance of the questions which are raised by this proposed change, and perhaps of the greater importance of questions which might be raised by such a change, had it been made by us. I venture to think it more desirable that questions such as are here involved should be raised on another occasion and in another way, than as a question in the revision of the Rubrics, which are not primarily concerned with the handling of great social problems. We are face to face, beyond question and doubt, with discussions upon the whole subject of which this is a part, both in the Church and in the State, at no

distant date, and I venture to believe that other opportunities more suitable than the present will arise for handling questions of this far-reaching character."

The Bishop of Hereford

The Bishop of Hereford argued that it was essentially a Rubrical change. The questions in his mind were whether the undertakings of both parties should not to a greater extent be made the same. He was conscious of the great difficulties that might arise if that word were omitted. It was obvious to everyone that it would not be convenient to have two heads, so to speak, of the family. On the other hand, the marriage service was drawn up in accordance with a state of things which was admittedly very different from the present state of things.

We remind our readers that a very interesting article on the history of the word "obey" in the Marriage Service, by the Rev. Dr. Percy Dearmer, appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, September 26, 1913.

WOMEN WORKERS AND THE HOME

Following upon the dissertation in the *Pall Mall Gazette* deploring the doctrine of equal pay for equal work, whether done by men or women, upon which we commented in our leading article last week, comes an interesting Women's Supplement in the *New Statesman* of last Saturday, contributed by the Fabian Women's Group, and dealing with this same subject, particularly in its relation to woman in the home. The supplement, as described in a note in the same issue of the paper, "brings vividly before us, in the extent to which we have departed, in this country as in others of advanced industrialism, from the conception that 'woman's sphere is the home.' More than a third of all the women over fifteen years of age are actually employed at wages. How low these wages usually are, how ineffective Trade Unions are for women (which yet counts 300,000 adherents), and how slowly and imperfectly the Legal Minimum Wage under the Trade Boards Act is working—these things are worth close and serious attention."

Woman's "Place"

In an introductory article to the supplement Mrs. Sidney Webb points out that "the status of working women still differs from that of working men in three remarkable features. Public opinion takes for granted that female wage-earners have fewer needs of body and mind than male wage-earners, and public authorities and private employers alike habitually act on this assumption. The toil of independent wage-earning is, in the case of women, frequently combined with the most exhausting and certainly the most dangerous of all labours—the labour of childbirth—and with customary obligations to rear the children and keep the home. For all her economic independence the working woman has no say either in the taxes that she pays or in the laws under which she works."

Unconscious "Blacklegging"

Mrs. Webb then deals in detail with these three points, telling, in illustration of the first, the story of a Durham miner's wife who, after dividing up a dish of meat between her husband and her sons, dined with her daughters off potatoes and watery gravy. "If we take account," adds the writer, "of all her different handicaps—less to eat, more to do, fewer opportunities for mental and physical development—can we be surprised that women in industry frequently find themselves in a vicious circle of low wages and low productive capacity, a low standard of expectation, and a quite unconscious 'blacklegging' of their male workmates?"

Working Women's Right to the Vote

From all this Mrs. Webb deduces the title of working-class women especially to the possession of the Parliamentary vote. "As an 'employed person' she finds the hours of her labour, the safety and sanitation of her workplace, and, in some cases, even the wages she receives, determined directly by the action of Parliament. As a 'poor person' she lives under special legal compulsion with regard to the education of her children, the sanitation of her home, and the provision for her sickness and invalidity. As a person who is always within sight of destitution

she is perpetually confronted with the Poor Law."

Important Statistics

The Women's Supplement also contains a very useful and interesting article on "Women's Wages," by Mrs. F. W. Hubback. With regard to the low wages of women, she gives a number of statistics of the weekly earnings of women in various occupations, and then goes on to show the bearing upon these of the rise in the cost of living.
 "The probable weekly earnings of a factory worker of all grades," she says, "average about 11s. 6d., while those of the out-worker are very much less. Three-fourths of these women are single women. It is generally acknowledged that, allowing for short times, 12s. per week is very less on which a woman living alone can maintain her health, while less is required to allow for anything but the barest necessities."

Does a Woman Support Others?

One-fourth of women workers are, however, married or widowed, and have generally others dependent on them, while the great bulk of women workers—single or married—probably one-half have others solely or partly dependent on them.
 "Ninety-seven per cent of all illegitimate children are entirely supported by their mother. For all women with dependent children, the average weekly income is inadequate. The recent rise of prices has, moreover, affected women's real wages in common with those of everybody else; all

SUFFRAGE OVERSEAS

UNITED STATES

A VICTORY IN NEW JERSEY

In New Jersey, where women are not yet enfranchised, a decisive step towards a federal question. As the *Suffragist* is the organ of the Congressional Union, represents, it was the Federal Government that extended the franchise to the negro, and also to naturalized foreigners of more national importance than women!

THE CONGRESSIONAL AMENDMENT

Advanced Suffragists Attack the Party in Power

An interesting and important development is taking place in the American Suffrage movement. Hitherto, the method of the Suffragists has been to convert individual members of Congress to Woman Suffrage, and to press in their constituencies those who were against it in order to secure a Suffrage majority in both Houses of Congress. This, it will be remembered, was the method adopted by English Suffragists until the Women's Social and Political Union revolutionised the Suffrage movement in 1906.

The Private Member Ignored

The forward Suffragists in Washington, who comprise the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, are now altering all that. Their method is to ignore the views of the individual Congressman, and to bring pressure to bear only upon the Party in power, in order to force them to carry a Woman Suffrage Amendment through Congress during the present session. It is a precise echo of our own war-cry: "A Government, measure, and keep the Liberal out."
 In the United States the Democratic Party is now in power, and it is the Democratic Party that has vetoed the formation of a Suffrage Committee in the House, which would be the first step towards the adoption of the Amendment. As the editorial in the *Washington Times* (January 25) points out, "there is a Committee on Indian Affairs, though there are more women voters in the country than there are Indians. There is a Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers."
 But somehow we are most doubtful if the waste-paper basket question is any more urgent in this country to-day than the Woman Suffrage issue."

"A Confetti Assault"

How familiar it all sounds! And especially when the same editorial concludes with the words: "The Congressional Union ladies have the argument all on their side. They couldn't do less than they are doing, unless they expect to smile and simper their way to victory in this fight. They will do that about the time Gibraltar is captured with a confetti assault!"

"Not a Federal Question"

The arguments of the Democratic Party in refusing to put the Suffrage amendment

the more as in most cases the money wages of women have remained stationary, or, in some instances, are lower than before."

"The Oldest Trade in the World"

Repeating that a woman's wage is often "less than the very minimum on which she can live" the writer quotes from Smart's "Studies in Economics": "There is one gladly investigation still waiting on the economist. It is the aid to wages which is got from 'the oldest trade in the world.' That this is an economic element in the wage question is beyond a doubt. All of us know it; none of us has yet had the courage to measure it. Not till we do so will the world know the true cost of cheap labour."

Finally, dealing with remedies for the present state of things, Mrs. Hubback says:—
 "But, above all, due recognition should be given to the position of women as responsible members of the community—a recognition which means nothing less than complete political equality."

The Public Conscience Awakened

Other interesting articles in the same paper are "Women in Trade Unionism," by Miss B. L. Hutchins—who says with regard to legislation for women: "The possession of a vote by the adult woman worker will, it is to be hoped, before long place such measures on a democratic basis"; and "A Policy for Women Workers" by Mrs. Pember Reeves and Mrs. C. M. Wilson, Mr. J. B. Mallon writes also on "The Legal Minimum Wage at Work."

IN AUSTRALIA

WHERE WOMEN VOTE

Equal Pay for Equal Work
 The West Australian Arbitration Court recently provided for equal pay for equal work for men and women clerks, the rate being £3 per week for clerks over twenty-one years, for forty-eight hours in retail and thirty-eight hours in wholesale establishments.

Women in the Civil Service

A proposal of importance to women was made at the first conference of Australian Public Service Associations, which was opened in Sydney on December 15. The Inspector of Factories, Victoria, moved: "That women should be eligible for appointment in all divisions of the public service."
 The proposal when put was intended to apply only to the States. It was eventually carried to embrace both Commonwealth and State, and if carried into effect will open many avenues of employment, hitherto closed, to women.

THE PARIS MILITANTS

A Suffragette Scores

One of the Paris militants who have been upsetting the *Juge de Paix* by their demand to be inscribed in the voters lists, scored magnificently, according to the Paris correspondent of the *Observer*, when a jocular official asked her for her military papers. Greatly to his confusion, she produced them, together with an order to join a certain post in the front on mobilisation. She was, in point of fact, an army nurse, and had already been on Indian duty, though there are more women voters in the country than there are Indians. There is a Committee on Disposition of Useless Executive Papers.
 But somehow we are most doubtful if the waste-paper basket question is any more urgent in this country to-day than the Woman Suffrage issue."

The Paris Militants

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MR. and MRS. HARBEN
(From a photograph taken at a Suffrage Bazaar)

SEQUEL TO THE DEPUTATION

The Six Arrested Suffragists in Court—Refusal to be Bound Over—Unconditional Discharge

On Wednesday morning the six Suffragists who were arrested outside the House of Commons on Tuesday evening (see page 328), appeared before Sir John Dickinson at Bow Street. With one exception they were all charged with obstruction, and all ordered to be bound over in the sum of £5, a course of action which they refused to take. They were therefore discharged unconditionally when the Court rose at luncheon time.

The sixth defendant, Mr. Francis Meynell, was charged with assault on a constable, and was fined £2. Mr. Muskett prosecuted on behalf of the police, and described what had taken place the preceding evening. Mr. Nevinston's case was taken first. In reply to his defence, which we give below, the magistrate said that it was his duty to obey the law, and that when educated people broke the law, even with a good motive, they were setting the worst possible example to others. He repeated very much the same words to other of the defendants as they appeared before him one by one, and when they were again brought before him at the end of the morning session, he again took exception to some of them in a similar fashion, pointing out to Mr. Harben that these Suffragist disturbances were undermining the whole system of law and order, and making it exceedingly difficult for the magistrates to deal properly with ordinary offenders.

Mr. Harben in reply said that after careful thought he had come to the conclusion that no other form of protest was open to him, and that the responsibility for undermining law and order did not rest with him, but with those authorities who were having women tortured in prison.

SPEECHES FROM THE DOCK

We give the following extracts from the spirited statements made by the defendants from the dock.

MRS. D. A. THOMAS

I wish to say that I asked Mr. Asquith to see us, and that for some weeks and some months I have been trying to get him to see us constitutionally, and he refused. Therefore I felt it my duty to go out and make that protest. We were a body of constitutional Suffragists, and had no other way to protest but to proceed to Downing Street, and I did it deliberately. I say, knowing that it was the only way my voice would be heard. These laws are most abominable laws, torturing women in prison. And the Cat and Mouse Act is a disgrace to England in the way it is practised. There is Mrs. Pankhurst, a splendid woman, who is an honour to any country, taken up time after time and tortured almost to death. I deliberately, as I say, went out to make my protest. The police warned me several times; I did it because I intended to be taken up.

MISS KATHERINE HAIG

I say we are protesting against the forcible feeding of women and the Cat and Mouse Act. We are not discouraged, rather encouraged, for we know from the

history of nations that to persecute those who suffer for political duty is the most suicidal policy that any Government can pursue.

MR. FRANCIS MEYNELL

I wish to say that the intention of this demonstration was quite peaceful. There was no intention of violence whatever in the whole scheme. It appears in the evidence that I have given that I protested in order to obstruct. If there was any violence whatever I am very sorry indeed, but I thoroughly deny that there was any premeditated blow.

SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

February 19

Mr. Wedgwood asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department the number of male and female prisoners, respectively, who have come under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-health) Act; and how often each has been released and rearrested.

Mr. McKenna: Forty-three women have been released under the Act. Of these seventeen have not been rearrested, one voluntarily returned to prison, eight have been rearrested once, ten twice, one three times, four four times, and two five times. The number of men released under the Act is six. Of these three have not been rearrested, one has been rearrested once, and two twice.

February 20

Mr. Keir Hardie asked the Home Secretary whether he is aware of the assault committed by the police on Mrs. F. E. Smith, who was arrested on the 10th inst., under the mistaken belief on the part of the police that she was Mrs. Pankhurst, and seriously injured whilst being arrested; whether it is proposed to compensate Mrs. Smith for the injuries which she sustained; and whether he will cause to be made into the charges against the police on the occasion referred to, and take such action as may be necessary to prevent any recurrence of further cause for these repeated charges.

Mr. McKenna: The reports I have received show that Mrs. Smith was not assaulted by the police, but that both she and the police were pushed and thrown on the ground by the pressure of an excited crowd. The police were assaulted by Mrs. Smith's friends, who purported to be present as Mrs. Pankhurst's bodyguard, and were armed with small Indian clubs. Mrs. Smith, who was charged with obstruction, was certified by a lady doctor to be unable to attend the

police court next day owing to bruises; but I am glad to say she was not so injured as to prevent her attendance at a meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union a few days later. There can be no question of compensation, and I fear my influence with the Women's Social and Political Union is insufficient to prevent the recurrence of unfounded charges against the police.

PRINCE JOHN AS A MILITANT

The London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian tells a good Suffrage story about Prince John. It appears that his government, a strong Anti-Suffragist, had occasion to reprove him more than once during an early morning walk in St. James's Park. Growing restive under this continuous correction, the King's little son suddenly mounted a bench and attracted a small crowd by shouting "Votes for Women."

History does not relate what means were taken to meet this militant outbreak.

IS MILITANCY ETHICAL?

Are riot and arson ethical? Hardly, but was it ethical to dump the tea into Boston harbour or harry American Tories around about 1770? One cannot, strictly speaking, approve what the suffragettes are doing, but one can understand why they do it. And while the women languish in jail, while they are subjected to forcible feeding, while their newspaper offices are raided, while they are personally punished, they read in the papers that the highest English court says "a woman is not a person." And then we wonder that there's something doing every other day by a very efficient arson squad.—Reedy's Mirror (St. Louis).

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MRS. PANKHURST

Again Eludes the Police

Last Saturday Mrs. Pankhurst again addressed a public meeting under the eyes of the police, and again eluded their vigilance and made her escape afterwards.

A crowd of about 1,000 people assembled in Glebe Place, Chelsea, a little after four o'clock. There was a small hostile element of the hooligan type, but the great mass of the crowd was composed of supporters, and cheers loudly predominated in the warm reception given to Mrs. Pankhurst when she appeared on the balcony of Glebe House. She spoke for some forty-five minutes, and began by describing how she had eluded the police a week before, when they arrested another woman instead of her.

"Excess of Zeal"

Going on to allege that this woman was struck violently on the head, she said: "You know on a dark night accidents will happen, and how convenient it would have been to have got rid of one of the leaders of this movement by an accidental blow on a dark night. The Government would have expressed great regret, some man would have been dismissed for excess of zeal, and there would have been an end of Mrs. Pankhurst."

Twenty Days Out of Three Years

Proceeding, she challenged the Government to make her submit to punishment. She had served twenty days of the sentence of three years' penal servitude, and had been called up to prison five times. How many hundred years would she have to live to serve that sentence at the present rate of progress? She defied them to make her submit. They might kill her, but she would not serve that sentence. "At the close of this meeting they may re-arrest me," she added. "What will happen? They will take me back to Holloway, and in three or four days at the most, either I shall be out again or I shall have had farewell to this hard world altogether."

THE RUSE

At the end of her speech Mrs. Pankhurst withdrew into the house, and a little later a group of women, some of them heavily veiled, came out into the road. Under the impression that Mrs. Pankhurst was among them, a rush was made in their direction, and they were followed to the King's Road, where some of them boarded a motor-omnibus and got away. In the turmoil the police hustled the women a good deal, and two of these, who were armed with small Indian clubs, were arrested on a charge of assaulting the police, and were brought before Mr. Francis at Westminster Police Court on Monday morning. They were fined 40s. or 14 days. (See In the Courts.) They gave their names as Miss Cicely Sewell and Miss Ruth Underwood.

The Second Sortie

For some time after the road was cleared uniformed police were placed in a line at each end of it. Later these were withdrawn, and detectives alone remained to watch the house. It was then, according to the account given by Mrs. Dacre Fox at the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. on Monday, that Mrs. Pankhurst escaped. She came out from Glebe House at eleven o'clock accompanied by a small bodyguard of women armed with Indian clubs, and Mrs. Fox stated that it was through their defence of her that she was enabled to get away in a taxi-cab. Two of the bodyguard, Miss Emily Clark and Miss Nora Neville, were arrested and were charged on the following morning at Westminster Police Court with insulting behaviour likely to occasion a breach of the peace. They were given three days on their refusal to be bound over. (See In the Courts.)

DEPUTATION TO THE KING

It was also announced at the weekly meeting of the W.S.P.U. that Mrs. Pankhurst would shortly lead a deputation to the King. She would send a letter to His Majesty in a few days, and she proposed to go to the meeting-place and lead the women who had promised to go with her. Deputations were also being formed, it was said, to wait upon every Bishop in England.

DISCRIMINATION BETWEEN SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS

Mrs. Pankhurst, replying to Mr. McKenna's answer to a question in the House concerning her imprisonment and Mr. Lansbury's (see last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN), writes in a letter to the Press:—

"May I ask the Home Secretary to explain why he does not forcibly feed me? Since my conviction last May I have been released six times and re-arrested five times under the 'Cat and Mouse' Act. Had the police not blundered a week ago and failed in their attempt to arrest me I should no doubt by this time have again temporarily escaped from the clutches of the Home Secretary, Mr. McKenna. My answer does not cover my case. He cannot pretend that my offence was of a 'minor character,' for I was sentenced to three years' penal servitude (a much heavier sentence than that given to Miss Peace), neither can he pretend that I am not 'likely to repeat my offences while at large,' for an army of policemen, presumably instructed by him, are present to re-arrest me wherever there is a possibility that I may make speeches inciting women to commit breaches of the law. That there is discrimination between Suffragist prisoners there is not a shadow of a doubt."

SUFFRAGIST PROTESTS IN CHURCH AND THEATRES

The King and Queen Addressed
A Suffrage demonstration took place during a performance last Saturday of "The Dating of the Gods" at His Majesty's Theatre, which was attended by the King and Queen and the Prince of Wales. At the end of the first act three women rose at the back of the stalls, and turning towards the Royal box, called out "Votes for women!" They then commenced to protest against "the torture of women by forcible feeding." They created great excitement all over the house, and were immediately ejected.

Objections to Labour Play

At the Manchester Repertory Theatre on the same night there was a series of Suffrage interruptions during a performance of "The Riot Act," by Councillor James Sexton, secretary of the National Dockers' Union. This is the second time of this play. Soon after the curtain had gone up, Miss Jolley, a well-known Liverpool Suffragist, rose in the dress circle and said: "We strongly protest against the performance of this play, an outrage on the women's Suffrage movement." In all six women protested and were ejected.

At St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, on Sunday morning, after the chanting of the Creed, a band of about a dozen women and two men remained standing, and began to sing a Suffrage hymn. At once a quickly as possible a hymn was given out, and the organ commenced. The party were escorted from the building without offering any resistance.

IN THE COURTS

Friday, February 20.—At Blackburn, charged with chalking on the pavement, George Bentley, fined 10s. and costs; refused to pay.

Saturday, February 21.—At the Clerkenwell Police Court, before Mr. Brox, application for bail was made by Miss Mary Lindsay, charged with assaulting Lord Weardale with a whip. The defendant had been on hunger-strike, and was granted bail.

Monday, February 23.—At the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Francis, charged with assault, Miss Cecily Sewell and Miss Ruth Underwood, fined 40s. each or 14 days; charged with insulting behaviour, Miss Emily Clarke and Miss Nora Neville, refused to find sureties for good behaviour, so sentenced to three days' imprisonment.

Tuesday, February 24.—At the Surrey Assizes, Guildford, before Mr. Justice Bray, charged with firing an empty house, belonging to Lady White, last March, Miss Phyllis Brady, sentenced to eighteen months' imprisonment.

Wednesday, February 25.—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Sir John Dickinson, charged with obstruction, Mrs. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Mr. H. D. Harben, and Miss Katharine Haig, refused to be bound over, so discharged when the Court rose. Charged with assault, Mr. Francis Meynell, fined 40s. or seven days.

At the Clerkenwell Police Court, before Mr. Brox, charged on remand with assaulting Lord Weardale with a whip, Miss Mary Lindsay, fined 40s. or 14 days.

RE-ARREST OF A SCOTTISH SUFFRAGIST

Miss Ethel Moorhead was re-arrested under the Cat and Mouse Act on February 18 at Peebles, and was from there taken to Calton Prison, Edinburgh. It is reported that on February 17 two women asked to be shown over the Old House of Traquair, near Peebles. They were refused permission, and their names aroused suspicion. A local gentleman telephoned to the Edinburgh police, who on the following day sent a detective to the hotel in Peebles where the ladies were staying. He identified one as Miss Moorhead, and she was immediately re-arrested.

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES	HEAVY SENTENCES
Killing a Wife The Daily Citizen (February 7) reports case of a hackney cabdriver indicted at Dublin for murdering his wife when she was under the influence of drink. He kicked and beat her brutally, breaking six of her ribs and lacerating her liver. The jury returned a verdict of manslaughter under great provocation! Sentence: Seven years' penal servitude.	Poaching The Daily Herald (February 18) reports case of three men charged before Justice Ridley at the Hants Assizes with poaching. Sentences: Seven years', five years', and three years' imprisonment respectively.
Assault on a Girl The Sheffield and Weekly News (February 7) reports case of a lad of seventeen summoned at the Sheffield Police Court for assaulting a young girl, who annoyed him by refusing to go out with him any more. He struck her on the mouth, making it bleed, and knocked her against the wall. Sentence: To pay the costs, 17s., and be bound over for six months.	Stealing a Barrow The Times and other papers (February 19) report case of a salesman indicted at the Central Criminal Court before Judge Atherton Jones for stealing a barrow containing golf goods, also for being an habitual criminal. Sentence: Five years' penal servitude.

DERBYSHIRE CASE OF ASSAULT

Now and then a judge shows signs of thinking that a girl's person is worth protecting, though not of so great a value as a piece of property, or perhaps a pheasant. At the Derbyshire Assizes, for instance, a minor aged forty was actually sentenced to eight months' hard labour for an attempted assault upon a girl, who employed as a domestic servant. Of course if the charge had been one of forging a cheque, or poaching game, the sentence would have been a long term of penal servitude. Still, there is a glimmering of hope in the Derbyshire sentence that judges are being slowly awakened, through the woman's movement, to a consciousness that this class of offence is not to be dismissed with a mere fine and costs, as has been far too often the case recently.

A FATHER'S PROTEST

A strongly worded letter appeared recently in the Nottingham Daily Express (February 10) pointing out the way that the Courts differentiate between men and women in the punishments meted out for offences against the person. The writer, Mr. E. H. Pope, says:— "I see that at the Assizes on Saturday last a man was awarded a sentence of nine months for what the judge described as a serious case of larceny. As the father of a daughter, I think it, myself, a very serious case. A respectable girl is cruelly deceived, her life utterly spoiled, a child is born with the odium and drawbacks of illegitimacy attached, and—nine months! How cheaply a woman may be ruined! Who can wonder at Suffragette outrages? I do not see how, since women get education, and note these things from time to time, anything but violent protests could be expected.

"I am not defending Suffragettes, and have no connection with their movement, but in the light of judicial awards like this I can see some explanation, if not extenuation. I once read of a judge stating that bigamy was 'rape by fraud,' and he promptly sent the offender down for ten years. That, of course, was some time ago. I should have thought, as we progressed in education and civilisation, our appreciation of the nation's womanhood and the purity of home and family life would be held in higher esteem.

"At the Nottingham Assizes in 1911 a young woman was sentenced to three years'

penal servitude for throwing acid on the man who had betrayed and then discarded her, she having borne him three children, and there being more than the usual contingent of criminal assaults on children at the general assizes of the county about that time. I noted that some inquirer was moved to write to a Sunday newspaper asking very pertinently: 'Is it that when a woman, justly provoked, assaults a man she is heavily punished, but when a man is the assaulter and his victim a girl-child he is leniently dealt with—three to six months?' I could have answered that query by saying: 'Because our judges are males.'

WHY SOUTH AFRICAN WOMEN WANT VOTES

The Bulawayo Chronicle, which may be judged from its general tone to be an Anti-Suffrage organ, comments in its issue of January 5 upon the very serious case of the vicar, who was found guilty on four counts of immoral conduct to his adopted daughter, and who was "deprived of his living and had the sentence formally registered against him."

"It is a sad thing," it goes on to say, "especially for a man of his age, but it is difficult to see what other course could have been taken. . . . The result was demanded in the interests of discipline, if the credit of the cloth was to be maintained at its fortunately high standard."

"In the interests of discipline!" "The credit of the cloth!" Not a word of the interests of morality, or of the credit of womanhood! And what about the young girl who was injured by a man whose age is held by the Bulawayo Chronicle to entitle him, not to special condemnation, but to special pity? And on the same page of the same paper is a tirade against the English Suffragettes, who, we are told, are mostly old maids or childless wives. Does it not occur to the Bulawayo Chronicle that there may be some connection between its indifference to assaults upon little girls and its hatred of the woman's fight for the power to raise the standard of womanhood and to protect girlhood? We do not wonder that South African women want votes if this is the attitude even of one of its newspapers towards women!

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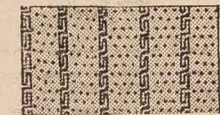


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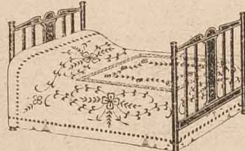


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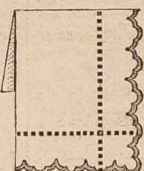
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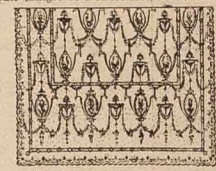
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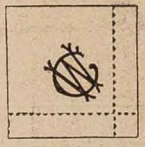
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