

THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.)

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ONE PENNY.

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WHAT WE THINK.

Crocodile Tears and Mackintoshes.

Mr. Lloyd George, speaking to the Carnarvon Women's Liberal Association on Thursday last, attempted to explain his action over the Women Occupiers Bill. His explanation was a peculiarly weak one. He began by saying that the political weather was a little uncertain, and that those engaged in Liberal work should carry mackintoshes; but Mr. Lloyd George evidently borrowed Mr. Asquith's mackintosh, for in the rambling course of his disjointed excuses he made use of the Premier's principal objections to this Bill—objections which the Chancellor of the Exchequer has no right to use at this time of day, inasmuch as his original promise—given at the Albert Hall—to support a measure for women's enfranchisement was given unconditionally. There has never been any hint in any of his speeches that he would only support a democratic measure—of the democracy of which he, and not the women, was to be the judge, and, further, that he would have to be assured that a majority of women desired enfranchisement. These were the conditions which Mr. Asquith, an avowed opponent, presented as his ultimatum to the Suffragists. They come ill from the Chancellor, who would have us believe he is our friend. His attack on the provisions of the Women Occupiers Bill was full of impudent inaccuracies. The case of the plural voter is beside the question; if Mr. Lloyd George is so keenly antagonistic to plural voting for party reasons, he can draft a measure which will have Government support, doing away with it, and hurry it through with all the machinery at his command. Because a number of men have more votes than is good for them, and use these against the Radicals, is no reason why a million women occupiers should not have a vote apiece. Then Mr. Lloyd George turned to the question of the married women who would not have the Vote under this Bill. With Welsh naïveté he remarked that women occupiers *qua se* had not got the same strength and backing to resist undue influence as the wife of a working man would have, and in many cases would not be so well equipped. If he wished to make a strong point of this objection to the Bill, the example he chose was singularly unfortunate. He drew a lurid picture of a drunkard's wife anxious to vote for a Bill reducing the number of public-houses, but whose husband would vote against it. "The wife," wailed the Chancellor, "had to face for the whole twenty-four hours the squalid, miserable, impoverished home with its hungry, ragged children. It was she who suffered the

perdition of it, and in such a case she, above all others, ought to have a vote to protect not merely her children but herself as well." When Mr. Lloyd George drew this sad picture he must surely have forgotten, or thought his audience had forgotten, his previous statement that the working man's wife would have strength and backing beyond that of the spinster occupier to vote as she wished. The strength and backing to be expected from the drunkard of Mr. George's picture—unless he were an ideal inebriate—would probably be a kick from a hob-nailed boot if the wife of his bosom ventured to record her electoral view. The drunkard's wife and the other women who are men's victims and drudges throughout the country might look with greater confidence to the million women occupiers for assistance in relieving the horrible conditions of their lives—until such time as they themselves are also free—than they can to the Chancellor and his ilk, who can weep crocodile tears over their misfortunes, but would never put out a hand to help them. Male legislators have made no effort to legislate against marital brutality—they have allowed it to be still a subject of jest and jeer in the magistrate's court and the music hall, and though a woman's distress makes a good electioneering device it never goes beyond that. The nebulous Bill which Mr. Lloyd George will shoulder to the front when all his other projects have reached fruition may be a great and glorious thing—when it comes; but meantime, as practical politicians knowing our Lloyd George, we insist upon the present Bill being given its proper place in the future business of the House. If the autumn session does not prove kind to our Bill the Chancellor will need his mackintosh when he goes to the country.

Invalidity Insurances.

Besides his attempt to defend his betrayal of the Women's Cause, Mr. Lloyd George made to his Carnarvon audiences a definite announcement on invalidity insurance for working men. The Chancellor's own words are: "Within the next twelve months I hope to go even farther by formulating a scheme for securing for every *workman* throughout the country something that will keep him above want should he break down before the age of seventy." We are told that the cost of the plan at its best will mean a very grave addition to our huge national expenses, and if this is to happen we would like to be certain that the scheme, whether it be identical with its Bismarckian model or not, will also apply to the women workers. If the State is to be burdened in this way it will mean that the tax-paying women will be supplying a share of the cost, and it is only fair that those who contribute towards the piper should have something to say in the calling of the tune. The formulating of this scheme—and the idea is an excellent one if both sexes of working people will be included in its benefits—will be full of immense constructive difficulties. It is well at the outset for its proposer to realise that a most jealous watch will be kept upon its clauses, and that any attempt to evade the nation's equal responsibility towards women wage-earners whose wage-earning faculties collapse before they reach the pension age will be strenuously resisted. It is when schemes like this are in the air—ideas that might be drafted on noble and splendid lines—that the unenfranchised women keenly feel their position, with its everlasting and generally well-founded suspicions of the male legislators.

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PROPAGANDA DEPARTMENT.

Outpost Duty.

Never in the history of the Suffrage Campaign has such splendid service been given as at present throughout the country. Members of the W.F.L. and of every other Suffrage Society have taken the cause with them to the four points of the compass, and the fighting line, though scattered, is fighting still. The principal function of headquarters during this vacation month is to support the extended lines of outposts, and this we have been doing, drawing at the same time great encouragement from the glowing reports of our helpers and friends everywhere. Will those on vacation remember how much they can help the cause by spreading a knowledge of the aims and of the ideals of the Suffrage Movement. Nearly all the opposition we have to face arises from misconceptions, and not from malice.

Excursion Propaganda.

We are now forming small bands of workers wherever possible, to avail themselves of excursion train services to holiday resorts, and we ask for volunteers. All local arrangements will be made, and full details can be obtained on application. Fares, where desired, will be paid. This is a good opportunity for pushing the sale of THE VOTE and literature. The first special excursion under this plan was made last Saturday to Southend, and an account of it will be found in another column. It is hoped that local organisations will arrange similar excursions, that they will soon become general throughout the country. Manchester already has several excursions in hand to Blackpool and elsewhere. Those willing to help should communicate with Miss Manning.

Eastbourne Demonstration.

Great efforts are being spent to make next Saturday's demonstration a huge success. Mrs. Despard will speak, as well as Miss Munro and Miss Neilans. All members visiting the South Coast are asked to put in work for this demonstration, which is to be the culminating attack in the campaign so ably conducted for many months past by Mrs. Dilks.

Felixstowe.

A special request is made for support of the campaign which Miss Constance Andrews, of Ipswich, is conducting at Felixstowe. Caravan No. 2 is now located at this town, and members are asked to help make the work a great success.

Caravan.

Volunteers are also wanted for Caravan No. 1, which, after the 25th inst., will be in charge of Miss Munro, who is relieving Miss Sidley.

Forthcoming Events.

Plans are well on foot for a striking and effective autumn programme for London, and among other features may be mentioned a Trafalgar Square Demonstration on novel lines, a series of special lectures, several debates of exceptional interest and importance, and a special social campaign to consolidate and strengthen branch activities.

B. BORRMANN WELLS.

CARAVAN TOUR.

On Monday night fair meetings were held at Woburn and Woburn Sands. At the latter place Miss Roff and Miss Guttridge had in their crowd a somewhat hostile element. The "Bedfordshire Times" says:—"There were good crowds at both meetings, plenty of interjections, and quite a holiday at question time. On Monday rain descended on several occasions, but it did not damp the

ardour of the speakers or listeners; it was good to be there, and the ladies can certainly claim to have borne themselves with honour in the wordy warfare that ensued."

On Tuesday Miss Henderson and I went on to Ampthill to find a pitch, and had six miles to walk in pouring rain, and then we tramped the town till nearly four o'clock before securing even a bit of waste land on which to stand our caravan. We chalked the town, as usual, with the time and place of meeting, much to the annoyance of some of the inhabitants. However, when Miss Roff and Miss Guttridge arrived to hold the meeting, they found a good audience awaiting them. The next day these two workers remained in Ampthill, and held another successful meeting, while Miss Henderson and I proceeded to Bedford. We have here a beautiful pitch on the river bank; our landlord is an "anti," but a very kind one. He gives us flowers, and does all in his power to make our stay a pleasant one. We held our first meeting in Bedford on the night of our arrival. Remembering the first Suffrage meeting in the town—in April, 1908—over which I presided, I was quite prepared for hostility. On that occasion, when the meeting was in the Town Hall, two thousand boys and men besieged the building; they raided a hot-potato van, threw in potatoes, eggs, tin boxes, sulphuretted hydrogen, rats and mice, and many other objectionable objects. The police warned us that whenever a Suffrage meeting had been held in the open, there had been a riot. Arrived at the Market Hill, we found an enormous crowd awaiting us. They listened in patience for a short time, then began a fire of eggs, tomatoes, potatoes, banana skins, granite, pieces of lemon, and refuse of all kinds. Two ladies in the crowd, Mrs. and Miss Colls, climbed on to the cart and stood beside us, to show we had local helpers; a few young men tried to help, but numbers were against them, and one or two got some heavy blows. The Chief Constable, Chief Inspector, and a large force of police were on the spot. They took us back to the Police Station to wait till the crowd dispersed, but the crowd grew larger instead of smaller, so the Chief Constable's sons rowed us up the river in the police boat. On Thursday we received a letter from the Chief Constable, asking us to hold no more meetings. We wrote back, explaining we had come for the express purpose of holding meetings, and were not to be prevented by boys. He was exceedingly kind to us, doing all in his power to help and protect us. This time our meeting was better. For ten minutes in the middle of the meeting I was unable to say a word. Then some men came forward and rushed the rowdies out of the crowd. Peace was restored, and the meeting proceeded well till question time. Once more a storm of missiles came. Again the Chief Constable took us to his office, and we were rowed up the river. Our meeting on Friday was as large as ever. This time we were listened to in silence. However, there was an attempt made to hustle us when we descended from our platform, and again we went to the Police Station. Here the Chief Inspector asked us how long we intended staying in Bedford. When we said till Wednesday morning, he said, "Oh, we're so sorry you're going." When we added that this arrangement depended on the painters (the van is being repainted), and if the work was not completed in time we should have to stay longer, he said, "Tell us who your painters are, and we'll interview them." All the police have been most kind to us.

While chalking on Thursday two ladies came to shake hands with us and wish us well. On entering a café a gentleman came up and expressed his regret that our first meeting had been so disorderly; he said the town owed us a public apology.

The "Bedfordshire Times" says:—"Miss Sidley invited questions, but the crowd was dumb. She then appealed for pecuniary assistance towards the expenses of the campaign, and Miss Henderson went round with a collecting box. It was at this juncture that the small boys commenced a lively fusillade. Miss Sidley stood unmoved, even when an unsavoury fragment struck her in the face, and it was presumably her coolness under fire that roused the men to repressive measures.

"For some minutes the party in the brake bravely

stood like statues, as they were peppered by missiles from the boys who had crowded underneath their noses. As shades of night began to fall, the youngsters on the churchyard wall [the churchyard wall was behind us] set up a shout with voices small, and elders helped with caterwaul."

The "Bedfordshire Standard" says our crowds numbered 2000, and the "Bedfordshire Mercury" estimates the number at 3000.

On Friday Miss Roff and Miss Guttridge went to Kempston, and held a meeting. Here, also, the boys were very troublesome, throwing sticks and refuse. On Saturday they went over to Fenny Stratford, and held another meeting. In Bedford open-air meetings are not possible on Saturdays, so Miss Henderson and I sold VOTES in the afternoon; we soon got rid of our stock. However, a fresh supply came by the last post, and we sold all these out in a very short time. No one said a rude or unpleasant word to us, and many stopped to encourage us and wish us all success. A Norwegian lady and an English friend came to see us in the evening, and we had a most interesting chat with them. The English lady has just returned from India, and tells us that Anglo-Indians abroad have the idea that Suffragettes are women who have lost all self-respect, and who have little or no sense of right and wrong.

Miss Henderson is obliged to leave us on Monday, Miss Guttridge leaves us on Wednesday, and Miss Roff on Saturday, so we need more helpers at once. Will any member who can possibly give a few days or weeks to the van please write me at once to P.O., Kimbolton, Beds. We must have more help; it is impossible for one person to run the campaign. The life is delightful. It gives one a new aspect of Suffrage work.

MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

A DAY AT THE SEASIDE.

The ill-omened thirteenth dawned grey and cheerless, but Suffragists must not yield to pessimism or superstition, so Miss Ethel Fennings, Mr. John Simpson, and myself gaily took tickets for Southend, in accordance with our resolve to convert the people there to the need for whole-hearted service in the cause of women's political freedom.

During the journey the rain descended pitilessly, as only English rain can, but our enthusiasm remained undamped. The train was over half an hour late, and when we finally arrived we saw a leaden sky—water, water everywhere and mud—oh, such mud!

Nothing daunted, however, Miss Fennings and I sallied forth with the laudable endeavour to persuade weary holiday-makers to drop their heavy bags and their dripping skirts and fumble for a copper to buy THE VOTE.

We then made our way to the East Parade and cheerfully pitched our platform on the most inviting spot. Miss Fennings quickly gathered a good crowd when a physiognomist, a vendor of bananas, and the proud owner of the "Saucy Sall" began to dispute with more vigour than politeness our right to the pitch. The vendor of bananas seemed most anxious to engage Miss Fennings in a catch-as-catch-can wrestle, according to Græco-Roman rules. Mr. Simpson met with even less success, the physiognomist planting his easel directly in front of our stand; but this formed a splendid protection from the too close attentions of the vendor of bananas, and, as the speaker's head was easily visible above the easel, he was able to harangue the crowd from this point of vantage, the only result being increased uproar. Finally, realising that the rival claim of physiognomy and Woman's Suffrage could best be settled at a distance, we removed our pitch to the Broad Pavement, only to be met by equally strenuous opposition from the skipper of the "Grace Darling." Luckily, the situation was saved by the timely arrival of Mr. Elven, a prominent temperance advocate and a hearty sympathiser with our movement. He pointed out a pitch where we should be undisturbed, and soon, in spite of the pouring rain, about 150 people were listening attentively, and many questions were dealt

with. After about an hour the weather became quite hopeless, and we thankfully adjourned to enjoy the very kind hospitality of Mrs. Sky, a most enthusiastic Suffragist.

An evening meeting seemed an impossibility, but we determined to defy the elements, and, started to speak in the centre of the town, and soon an interested crowd of about 300 people gathered, and after each speech questions were asked, particularly on the Conciliation Bill.

Considering that this was the first open-air meeting held in Southend in support of Woman's Suffrage, we could not but feel that it was an eloquent tribute to the way in which our cause is commanding attention that such a large crowd should stand attentively for two hours in the pouring rain.

Over three dozen copies of THE VOTE were sold, collections taken, and a resolution approving of the Conciliation Bill, and calling upon the Government to give facilities for its passage into law was passed without a single dissident.

Although the thirteenth had so amply justified its bad reputation, three weary, muddy, but still happy Suffragists returned to town convinced that if those on the spot will only push an active propaganda they can quickly get together a band of men and women in the Southend and Westcliff district pledged to work for Votes for Women. Who will volunteer to help?

KATE D. NORRIS.

THE RIGHT TO LIVE.

The margin of subsistence for women—the minimum wage on which they are expected to live—has become so low that a petted Pomeranian or Pekinese sleeve-dog could not be kept alive on the average wage of the woman worker. A short time ago the suicide of a young girl employed in a toffee factory at a wage of less than 4s. was recorded. Evidence was called at the inquest to exonerate her employers and to prove that she was of unsound mind when she gave up the struggle for life. A verdict satisfactory to the male coroner, the male jury, and the male employer naturally resulted. The Sunday papers recorded another case of a young girl's suicide—this time not of a factory girl, but of a girl clerk. She was paid 8s. a week as cashier at the Cuckfield Branch of the International Stores, and in the note she left before drowning herself she said she was brokenhearted, and "the International people would explain all." At the inquest the foreman of the jury suggested that she had been too young for the onerous position she held, and that the pay of 8s. a week was insufficient. Against the former statement the representative of the company protested, saying that "the deceased kept the books thoroughly well," and offered them for inspection. If he explained her rate of wages the explanation was unrecorded in the Press. The verdict of the jury was the usual one of temporary insanity. We venture to think if a male cashier who endeavoured to sustain life honestly on 8s. a week sought a short cut to end his troubles there would have been little question of his sanity, and the local M.P. would have raised the matter in Parliament and drawn attention to the scandalous sweating of the male clerk. But this 8s. a week is munificent when compared with that received by the home-worker; and in the recent report of the Poplar Lady Health Visitor we find it stated that to earn 5s., out of which their own glue, cotton, and tools have to be provided, is considered "a good week" by the women who make shirts, cardboard boxes, &c., or finish trousers, coats, and vests in their own homes. If there is no connection, as our learned opponents in the House tell us, between the rate of wages and the possession of electoral power we venture to think that it is a strange and terrible phenomenon that those who are unrepresented in Parliament are the worst-paid members of the community and that the suicide of the ill-paid woman—hopeless to wage war on the capitalist—is considered a sign of insanity.

A Russian subscriber, writing from St. Petersburg to renew her subscription, says she would on no account give up her copy of THE VOTE.

MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

A lady with a lamp shall stand
In the great history of the land,
A noble type of good
Heroic womanhood.—*Longfellow.*

In these swift, sweet words Longfellow drew the best picture of Florence Nightingale as the world shall remember her in the future. There is no figure—queen, king or politician, man or woman—which stands out with such heroic force as that of the gentle lady with the practical mind and the great heart who helped us to win the battle of the Crimea and lessened the toll of human lives that war makes. To live till ninety-one and die at a time when evolving woman was about to receive its crown—to see the value of woman's service recognised not only in the splendid individual instance, but in the mass—this surely was a not unhappy passing for this rare woman. As the years passed by the idea of her became a spiritual one—her name was mentioned amongst those whose work had sanctified them and drawn them apart from the less unselfish, and the trained, disciplined nurse of to-day is the result of Miss Nightingale's work. It has been said "Charles Dickens ridiculed Mrs. Gamp, but did not abolish her. It was Florence Nightingale who did that." Incapacity was what she abhorred most whether in women or men, and her fight in the Crimea was against the apathy and incapacity of the Army Medical Corps.

Born on May 12th, 1820, in the city of Florence, the daughter of a wealthy English landowner, she had from her earliest years the means to enjoy life in the way that wealthy, high-born girls can, but this easy mode of life was distasteful to her, and once she had gone through the ordeal of presentation at Court, she fled back to those efforts to relieve the suffering and the unhappy that had been her first ideals in her tender girlhood. Mrs. Elizabeth Fry, the pioneer of prison reforms, had been the first in this country to recognise the work that was being done by the community of Protestant deaconesses at Kaiserwerth, and to them Miss Nightingale went to train herself practically to be useful to the sick. On her return to England she assumed the charge of the Sick Governesses' Home in Harley Street, and interested herself in every question of practical nursing.

Then came the call to the Crimea. In many ways the news of the horrible conditions under which the wounded were housed and tended filtered back to the home country after the battle of Alma. Sir Robert Peel asked for money, but Mr. Sidney Herbert at the War Office did more; he wrote to Miss Nightingale,



[Photo London Stereoscopic Co.]
MISS FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

the only woman in England who had the necessary training and organising power, and he asked her to go out to the Crimea and reorganise the hospitals and tend the sick, promising her an absolutely free hand for her enterprise. She accepted this herculean task, and she went out to undo the man-made muddles of the War Office, to make order out of chaos, and took with her a noble band of women drawn from Roman Catholic and Protestant sisterhoods. In the awful barrack hospital of Scutari she began her war against insanitation, overcrowding, dirt, gangrenous wounds, and faced four miles of sick men huddled in that home of horrors. How she reorganised that terrible state of things, how she made hygiene and cleanliness follow in her footsteps, how in one week she and her noble band of helpers saw to 4000 wounded soldiers would take a volume to tell. She quickly became known as the Lady-in-Chief, and we find an historian of the Crimea writing: "The magic of her power over men used often to be felt in the room—the dreaded, the blood-stained room—where operations took place. There, perhaps, the maimed soldier, if not yet resigned to his fate, might at first be craving death, rather than meet the knife of the surgeon, but when such a one looked and saw that the honoured Lady-in-Chief was patiently standing beside him, and—with lips closely set and hands folded—decreasing herself to go through the pain of witnessing pain, he used to fall into the mood for obeying her silent command, and finding strange support in her presence, bringing himself to submit and endure."

All was not plain sailing, in spite of Mr. Herbert's promise, and she had often to go against the official red tape to enforce her orders and get stores

for her wounded. For two years she laboured there, opening in all eight hospitals, organised with her practical knowledge down to the most minute detail. And it was only when an attack of fever caught in the course of her duties laid her low that Miss Nightingale relinquished her great work perforce into other hands. On her return to England all the hysterical noise of popularity rose around her. The Queen did her honour, the Prince Consort designed a rare jewel for her, the nation voted her £50,000. With that personal humility which all rare women have she hated this publicity, and accepted the nation's tribute only to better the cause she had at heart, the Nightingale School and Training Home for Nurses being founded with this fund in connection with St. Thomas's Hospital. In 1907 the King appointed her to the Order of Merit, that exclusive masculine circle reserved for the greatest in the male professions, mili-

tary commanders, statesmen, and men of letters. Other honours fell to her share, but the grateful love and appreciation of thousands of sick and wounded "Tommys" was the reward she appreciated most.

She was a great feminist in that she believed in women, and she was one of John Stuart Mill's converts to the question of their enfranchisement. Infinite capacity for taking pains and a phenomenal power for mastering details were united in her to a rare love of humanity, a wisdom that saw the brave soul in the fighting beast and an utter intolerance of the flabby or the faint-hearted, whatever their sex. In one of the street ballads often cried in the dark haunts of the old Seven Dials in Crimean days were the words:

"One of heaven's best gifts was Miss Nightingale,"
and her greatest claim to a niche amongst those who never despaired of their country is that her name has inspired faith and courage and brought a desire to imitate her deeds into the strangest places and the strangest hearts.
M. O. KENNEDY.

SUFFRAGE SHEARINGS.

The Man Minister.

Referring to the proposed formation of a Free Church Suffrage League, the Rev. Hatty Baker says: "Should our Churches be out of touch with any section? Ought not our intellectual women to be worth having, worth striving after? . . . Enlightened women are beginning to discern the limitation churches put upon them. They are also commencing to realise that the ordinary man minister has hardly any more understanding of a true woman's nature than had Helmer in Ibsen's 'Doll's House.' 'None but a woman can understand the agony in a woman's heart,' one wrote me lately."

The Suffering Suffragist.

Truth let loose the summer poets on a triumphal ode, celebrating the recent victory in the House. "Scots Wha Hae" was the tune of most of them. We append two samples:—

I.
"Commons' House, which, bent on ill,
Drove you from behind its grille,
Now to sovran woman's will,
Bows on bended knee!

"Vain is Asquith's blatant 'No,'
Vain Lloyd George's backhand blow,
Vain young Winston's playing low,
And his perfidy!

"Hark! the Second Reading's passed!
Suffrage, long sought, comes at last!
Let not woman be downcast:
Let her 'wait and see.'"

II.
"Now's the day, and now's the hour:
See approach wee Winston's power,
See his bluecoat Bobbies glower,
Chains and slavery!

"Wha for wimmen's votes and right
With tongue and hands will brawly fight,
And put the coward foe to flight?
Let her follow me!"

Concentration on Party Lines.

Mrs. Francis Acland (wife of the ex-Financial Secretary to the War Office), writing to the Press last week, considers the present situation full of hope for democratic Suffragists, and considers the moment ripe for a Bill on party lines. In the course of her letter, she says:—"The moral is that we must have concentration, and concentration on party lines. Since this Bill has apparently become only one more occasion for shelving the whole question, adult Suffragists and Liberal Suffragists generally must now go straight on with their two-fold task of pressing the Government for some definite declaration of an alternative policy, and of preparing the country to welcome that policy. The mere promise of electoral reform with the opportunity for the inclusion of a women's suffrage amendment is not sufficient. The enfranchisement of women on democratic lines must be given its proper place among Liberal principles before the party can regain the confidence of Liberal women Suffragists. . . . No woman can be a Liberal without believing in the value of self-government; no woman can really believe in self-government without desiring for herself and for all her fellow-citizens a personal share in its rights and privileges. Hence it is inevitable that a Liberal Government which makes light of that desire should more and more lose hold on the hearts of women and of the friends of women."

Women M.P.s.

"Senex," who avows himself an "Anti," writes in *Truth* as follows in favour of women M.P.s:—"I think you will see my point. A woman who enters the House of Commons or the Cabinet on the present Parliamentary franchise will do so as the representative of men, and by their express desire. This is a totally different thing from the election of either women or men to Parliament by the votes of women. The latter may mean 'petticoat government'; the former bears no relation to it. The

fundamental objection to the enfranchisement of women does not apply to it at all. As I have said, I am an anti-Suffragist; but I know a good many women whom I would vote for, if one of them were contesting my constituency, in preference to the gentleman who represents me at present. I am also a democrat; and, as such, I see no reason why I and my fellow-electors should not choose a woman to represent us in Parliament if we can find one whom we think fit and worthy to do so."

Women's Complementary Qualities.

Mr. Laurence Housman, speaking at a Suffrage meeting at Steep recently, said:—"There was no great question under the sun that did not concern women as well as men. Under the present state of government they had a continual thrusting forward of trade interests as against moral interests, and in the history of Parliaments they would find some of the boldest fights had been for morality. If women were trained, as in past generations, to regard themselves as unfit to deal with matters of politics, then a certain side of their nature did not get developed, and the State lost a point of view which was a very valuable point, and there was a waste of material going on. It was very true that woman was complementary to man, but where did that complementary value come in? It came in by women taking up the same ventures and bringing to them her complementary qualities."

South Australian Franchise.

Adelaide, Aug. 9.
"The standing orders in the South Australian Parliament having been suspended, the Franchise Bill was reintroduced in the House of Assembly to-day, and passed all its stages without discussion. The Bill, which provides for adult suffrage for the Legislative Council elections, and is the principal plank in the Labour platform, was rejected last week on a snap division.—*Reuter.*"—*Standard.*

The Referendum.

Writing to the *Times* concerning the proposed referendum, a correspondent says:—"To submit, at its present stage, the question of extending the franchise to women to a referendum is, from the Constitutional point of view, a most extraordinary proposal; for the question has been already submitted to the House of Commons, who have decided in its favour by a large majority. To the House of Commons the people have entrusted the duty of acting on their behalf; in the opinion of the majority of its members the country is in favour of including us in the Parliamentary franchise, and the opinion of a majority in the House of Commons has hitherto been treated and acted on as representing the will of the country. Is this now to be altered? Are all the decisions of that House to be held in suspense until they have been confirmed or upset by a direct canvass of all the electors? If so, the abolition of the House of Lords would be a trifle compared to the downfall of the House of Commons as the instrument by which the will of the people declares itself."

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the franchise.

29.—The English law allows a man to bring another woman to live in the same house as his wife, to cohabit with that other woman, and to place her in authority over his lawful wife; and permits the wife no redress unless he adds cruelty to this abominable humiliation.

The condition of the marriage laws, and the fact that while the polygamy of other nations is looked upon with horror in this country, a man may humiliate his wife by introducing another woman into the home, and yet will not be liable for his wife's maintenance should she leave his house under these conditions, was one of the points brought before the Divorce Commission recently. That this state of affairs is not uncommon is well known to police magistrates, who are not infrequently in the position of having to refuse a separation to a wife who has been insulted in this fashion, should she not also have been treated with physical cruelty. It must be borne in mind that these laws are made by men and administered by men.

Miss S. H. Fenlon (ex-Secretary, Waterloo Branch) writes: "To the Waterloo Branch and all my fellow-members of the Freedom League I send greetings. I am on the Canadian Pacific Railway bound for the West. Everywhere I find encouragement for the militant Suffragette."



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SATURDAY, AUGUST 20, 1910.

THE MISREPRESENTATION OF THE CONCILIATION BILL.

The provisions of the Conciliation Bill are so simple, the Bill itself is so brief, and its proposed application of the principle of votes for women is upon such well-known and accepted lines, that the need for detailed explanation is not realised. To read the Bill should be to understand it. One reading of the two clauses should suffice to show what is proposed and who is included in the proposal. Previous to the Second Reading debate, one would have said that if any Bill was incapable of Parliamentary misrepresentation this Bill must be. One would have asserted with conviction that those who wished to destroy the chances of the Bill would have to employ other methods than those of deliberate misrepresentation. Misrepresentation, to be effective, must be plausible, it would have been argued, though the degree of plausibility required depends upon the knowledge and intelligence of the audience. This Bill is so easy of understanding that even the ordinary politician could not be deceived.

The standard of knowledge and intelligence of the average politician is not remarkable. But the Second Reading debate showed us that there are some people who regard it as even lower than it is. The amazing misrepresentations of the Conciliation Bill by the Ministerial Radicals argues that these Ministers rate the Parliamentary mind at an even lower level than that deplored by critical outsiders. Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill subjected the Bill to a tirade of misrepresentation, for which they must have assumed in its hearers either an utter ignorance of the terms of the measure, or an utter incapacity to understand the meaning of ordinary words.

The Sex Equality Bill has always been met in this fashion. But the conditions were very different. This Conciliation Bill is a Bill drafted in the Parliamentary atmosphere, and brought down by Parliamentary men to Parliamentary requirements. It is a practical political expedient—a thing beloved of the Parliamentary mind. Such expedients may not be consistent, they may not be well-balanced, they may not always be wise—but they are the measures that pass. Our Statute Book is full of them. The idealist, the reformer, the libertarian, the rebel is bought off with them every time. With our present political machine, and the present Parliamentary conditions, we must expect imperfect products. The products of the present conditions are legislative expedients. These can be drafted, approved, and passed.

The Conciliation Bill is frankly drafted to pass. It satisfied the Parliamentary conditions, and gives us the maximum measure that can pass an open House of Commons, a House free from party dictation. It does not pretend to do more. It does not enunciate the broad principle of sex equality to be applied under all conditions. It does not leave the door open for the wide ranging of fearful fancy, like all broad statements of principle do. It states just what it is intended to do in plain and simple terms. It means just that and no more. Any further step will require a further demand and further consideration.

Of the Sex Equality Bill the direct opposite could be asserted. It did not consider the Parliamentary mind—it rose superior to it. It did not propose any expedient but the establishment of a far-reaching principle. It did not state in plain terms the particular and immediate applications of principle which it involved. It merely stated the principle, and every man filled in the picture for himself according to his own fancy. Under these

circumstances no one could be surprised at the strange and terrible warnings, at the crude contradictions, at the wild improbabilities, and at the utter absence of analysis and rational argument with which the Bill came to be greeted in the House.

In these days the enunciation of principle is left to the protagonist who is in earnest, and to the politician on the platform. It is a useful and sounding weapon for the hours of the fray. But within the House of Commons a principle is always suspected and feared. It is something foreign to the atmosphere of the House, and always at a discount there. The Sex Equality Bill was too good for this atmosphere. It set too high a standard. It stood upon too high a ground. It had to meet in full all the prejudices of sex dominance and all the defects of the present Parliamentary machinery. It not only raised suspicion and fear by its broad statement of principle, but it made a call for knowledge and enquiry, in order that its immediate applications might be understood. This was asking too much of politicians who are generally only voting-machines. And again the Bill suffered. Misrepresentation and abuse ran riot, until the Bill was seriously discredited in the politician's eye. It became a Bill with a bad name.

It says much for the better temper of this House of Commons that the wild flights of fancy indulged in by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill when they applied this same treatment to the new Bill should have been pushed aside as immaterial. This was undoubtedly the case. The House showed that it did not believe the statements of the two Ministers. It showed by giving the Bill a big Second Reading majority that it "wanted this Bill, wanted it as it is, and wanted it now, and was prepared to fight the House of Lords if it rejected it." It showed that it understood the Bill, had considered the possible solutions, and knew which one it approved. It showed that, whatever fear it may have of committing itself to big revolutions by enunciating principles, and however much it may have been misled in the past with regard to the Sex Equality Bill, it had fully determined upon the advisability of giving votes to the women who are heads of households and who have no present avenue through which to express their views upon national affairs.

But while this attack of misrepresentation was defeated in the House of Commons—chiefly owing to the previous good work done by the Conciliation Committee in canvassing and considering the various solutions of the problem—it is not certain that some effect will not be produced among the Radical and Labour forces in the country. Against this we must stand prepared. We must take these two measures, and the requirements laid down by the Liberal spokesmen themselves, and the conditions imposed by the state of parties within the House; with these materials we must expose the hollowness and unreasonableness of the Ministerial attack, and convict its promoters of inconsistency. Already there are signs that our best efforts will be needed to overcome the Government blockade in November. We have to supply to our friends of the Conciliation Committee the ammunition for the last battle. Meetings and resolutions and letters, canvasses and enquiries, and all the ordinary machinery of agitation must be employed. And it will be found that the only argument brought against our plea for urgency, the only excuse offered for the Government action, the only ground of attack, the only claim for postponement, will rest upon the Radical misrepresentation of the Bill. Then for this we must be prepared. It must be exposed and discredited. Speaking politically, there is no argument against the Conciliation Bill. No ordinary Parliamentary forces could compass its destruction. It stands in the strongest possible position as a Bill of compromise accepted and approved by all parties. The shallow Ministerial misrepresentation, the charges of anti-democracy must be exposed without delay. We must leave the Government no excuse for refusing facilities. We must strip it of its cloak of hypocrisy. If the Bill is to be killed the responsibility must lie undoubted and inescapable upon the shoulders of the Government.

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Will all members who have filled their collecting-boxes please return them to the Centre, when the Convener of Finance Committee will be pleased to supply them with another?—KATHARINE M. ARTHUR, Secretary.

Edinburgh.—33, Forrest Road.

Notwithstanding the fact that most of our members are on holiday, we have managed to get volunteers to keep the shop open every afternoon and evening during this month. Heartiest thanks are due to those members and friends who have come forward so willingly for this work. Members are reminded of our annual cake and apron sale, which will be held early in October. All kinds of preserves, cakes, sweets, &c., and especially plain and fancy aprons will be welcomed.—E. B.

BRANCH NOTES.

London Branches Council.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

Central Branch (Open-air Meetings).

A glorious morning brought us together again at 12 o'clock, on Sunday, at Regent's Park. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett was our principal speaker. She carried her audience completely with her. Mr. Cyril Yaldwyn, of the Men's League, also gave an excellent address. There was loud applause after the meeting, and we did not disperse till 2.15. We secured a member for the Men's League. At the request of our Branch President, Mrs. Ennis Richmond has made herself responsible for one meeting a week at West End Green, N.W. Last Wednesday she, Mrs. Hicks, and Miss Morgan-Browne addressed there an audience, who expressed themselves "as come to get information." Last Tuesday, the 9th inst., Miss Bennett and Mrs. Manson held a

splendid gathering at Hyde Park. On Thursday last, the 11th inst., Miss Benett and Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett spoke at Clerkenwell. Several copies of THE VOTE were sold. On Tuesday next Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett will speak at Marble Arch at 7.30 p.m.; and on Friday we hope to have Mrs. Manson, at the Fountain, near the Serpentine, Hyde Park, 7 p.m.—EVELYN DE VISMES.

Crystal Palace and Anerley District—149, Croydon Road.

On Monday, 8th inst., we were again fortunate in the weather, and the rain kindly kept off till we were closing our meeting, when it came down in torrents. After returning the box from which we had addressed the crowd to its owner, four of us took shelter in a doorway, and discussed the idea of forming a committee of men in this neighbourhood who believe in justice for women. We owe this to the fact that Mr. John Simpson had made such a fine speech that a man sympathiser expressed the desire to do something practical to help the cause. The result is that on Tuesday, the 23rd, a meeting for men is to be held to see what can be done. Several have promised to help, but we shall be glad to hear of more. Will those anxious to come please write to Miss Fennings, at the above address?—E. M. F. Hornsey.—8, Church Lane.

On Monday, August 8th, we had a very interested audience addressed by Mrs. Manson on "How to Mind the Baby in Politics." Mrs. Manson quoted some of the brotherly advice we get sometimes—"Go home and do the washing," and "Who's going to get the ol' man's supper?" She stated that we were preferred to do the washing at the beginning of the week, not on Saturday. One man in the audience was enraged about it, and wanted to know "why his wife could not do the washing on Saturday night if he wanted her to." He was also troubled because he thought Mrs. Manson was casting a slur on him by mentioning about "the old man" and his supper. At the close of the meeting the audience was most enthusiastic. Mr. Hawkins chaired, and Mr. W. Hammond also spoke a few words. On Wednesday, August 10th, we held another meeting, at 7.30. The chair was taken by Miss V. Hammond, followed by Mrs. Manson, who was followed by Miss Benett, who was succeeded by Mr. Yaldwyn, of the Men's League. After Mr. Yaldwyn had spoken, a man put forward as an objection to women's suffrage that when in Australia he got three months' imprisonment for accosting a girl in the street. This gentleman was about 5ft. high, and said he had fought for his country and assured Mr. Yaldwyn he could knock him down, but refused to stay and do so. He also accused all Suffragettes of being women who had not been able to get married. We hope to hold extra meetings because of a plebiscite of the electorate being taken here.—M. S. S.

Croydon.—9, Morland Avenue.

On Friday the first of a series of meetings was held at South Norwood Clock. The speakers were Miss Ethel Fennings and Mr. John Simpson. The latter made a splendid fighting speech, which roused the opposition of many of the Liberals there who refused to see that Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, by opposing the Conciliation Bill, were traitors to a cause which they professed to believe in. Question-time was very lively, and we feel that a good start has been made. THE VOTE was sold, and a collection taken. A new and young member of the Men's League gave the most valuable assistance by getting the signatures of fourteen men in favour of giving votes to duly-qualified women. As nearly all our members are out of town, we would again impress upon those who can help the necessity of doing so now, especially with chalking.—E. M. F.

Manchester District.—Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill Sale, Cheshire.

Manchester (Central Branch).—9, Albert Square.

URMSTON AND SALE.—This week has seen the reconstitution of the Sale Branch. At a meeting held at 33, Cross Street, Sale, old and new members gathered on Thursday afternoon, at the invitation of Miss Geiler, full of enthusiasm for the strenuous work of the autumn campaign. The following officers were elected:—President, Mrs. Manning; Hon. Secretary, Miss Geiler; Hon. Literature Secretary, Miss Page; Hon. Treasurer, Miss Hines; Committee members, Mrs. Rutter, Miss Fildes, Miss J. Renshaw, and Mrs. Thompson. The Branch numbers twenty-seven, but, as one member remarked, we could have a membership of over 100 in Sale if each one would undertake to bring in five converts by Christmas-time. Novel methods of propaganda were discussed, and the Branch promises to be a healthy addition to the Manchester organisation.

At the Organisation Committee on Friday it was decided to open the autumn campaign by a social meeting of members on Thursday, September 15th, which all members should make a point of attending. It was further decided to hold a demonstration on October 8th, of which particulars will be announced later.

Our Freedom League Saturday excursions opened last Saturday with a visit to New Brighton, when two good meetings were held on the shore, the speakers being Mrs. Evans (Waterloo), Miss Neal, Miss Heyes, and Miss Manning. Miss Woodall (Chester), and Mrs. Fenton (Waterloo) helped in the organisation of the meeting, and in VOTE-selling, and disposed of a large number of copies.

The following excursions have been arranged:—Saturday, August 20th, Rhyl and Prestatyn, conducted by Miss Heyes. Train leaves Manchester Exchange at 9.40. Fare 4s. Saturday, August 27th, Colwyn Bay and Rhos. Particulars to be an-

nounced next week. September 3rd, Chester. Fare 3s. Members staying in any of these places or able to join the excursions should communicate with Miss Janet Hayes, New-holme, Hazelhurst, Worsley. The Liverpool Branch hopes to arrange meetings at New Brighton on August 20th. Manchester members who can help should communicate with Miss Neal, 96, Deansgate. Train leaves Central Station 1.30 p.m. Fare 3s. Drawing-room and cottage meetings are wanted for the last week in September and first in October, and donations to the funds for the autumn campaign are urgently needed.—M. E. MANNING.

East Anglia.—Miss C. Andrews, 160, Norwich Road, Ipswich.

Felixstowe.

We held a very successful meeting near the Model Yacht Pond last Tuesday, when Miss Elliott and myself were the speakers. A good collection was taken, and much interest evinced. Our meetings on Thursday and Friday were held rather far up on the West Beach, as we were told we might not arrange any more meetings except beyond a certain boundary. This has, of course, been a severe handicap to us. We have already sold six dozen copies of this week's THE VOTE, and are sending for more. Several members of the W.S.P.U. staying in Felixstowe have rendered us valuable assistance. A policeman remonstrated with us for chalking the pavement, saying, "Felixstowe is so very select, you know." But there are things even the "select" must know, and one of these is the necessity for the immediate enfranchisement of women. Miss Elliott is giving up a fortnight of a well-earned holiday to help us in Felixstowe; will not others do the same?—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

Eastbourne.

We have had a busy week, and held some very successful meetings. Four or five new members have joined our Branch. On Monday Miss Munro spoke at the Old Town to an interested audience. Miss Munro was told by one woman that she was a disgrace to her sex, to which remark there were cries of "Shame!" from the men. We are going to hold another meeting in the same place next Monday. We held our regular meetings on the beach on Tuesday, Thursday, and Friday, taking fair collections and selling a fair number of THE VOTE. On Friday Mrs. Cunningham was our speaker. She is going to hold another meeting there on Monday. Miss Munro is to go over on Wednesday, when she hopes to have two open-air meetings, morning and evening, and a drawing-room one in the afternoon. Miss Munro had a capital meeting at Hailsham last Wednesday evening, and next Wednesday Mrs. Dilks and her two daughters are going over to hold another.

On Saturday Miss Munro had a good meeting at Hastings, and is holding two there on Sunday. We have permission from the Town Council for the use of the Recreation Ground, so we have a busy week in front of us, chalking and sandwiching, in order to make next Saturday's meeting a great success, when we are to have the pleasure of having Mrs. Despard and Miss Neilans in our midst. We shall be glad to hear of any helpers, for there is much to do. We hope to have Miss Guttridge with us, and we shall welcome her help gladly. Last Tuesday Mrs. Dilks had a very successful garden meeting, when we took an excellent collection and had an interesting discussion on the present state of affairs. Mlle. Specht, one of our members, is very kindly giving a garden-party for Mrs. Despard next Saturday afternoon, for which we have sent a large number of invitations, and only want good weather to ensure a successful gathering.—A. DILKS.

SUFFRAGE MEETING AT BEXHILL.

The rumour that outdoor meetings were not allowed here acted as a tonic to Mrs. Cunningham. She obtained a grudging consent from the Police, who explained that their charges for attending meetings were from 10s. 6d., plus fares. They were told their services would not be required, and a few handbills and amateur posters announced an impromptu meeting for Thursday last, at 6 p.m., on the parade, by Hank's Institute. An attentive and interested crowd listened to Mrs. Cunningham, who dealt with the whole question of Woman's Suffrage—the need of it, and the good it will do—adapting her address to an audience who had not much previous acquaintance with the subject. Mrs. Cunningham was followed by Mrs. Strickland, of Hastings, Vice-President of the Hastings, St. Leonards, and East Sussex Women's Suffrage Society (N.U.W.S.S.), and President of the Bexhill W.L.A. This speaker, who is so well known and greatly respected in the neighbourhood, very kindly came over from Cooden to support Mrs. Cunningham. At the close of Mrs. Strickland's able address, in which she dwelt very specially on the need of self-supporting women for the protection of the vote, a resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill was put to the meeting and carried, with one dissentient. The audience throughout was most friendly and attentive, and much of the success of the meeting was due to the very kind assistance of Miss Norton, of the N.U.W.S.S., Mrs. and Miss J. Stewart, of the W.F.L., and the Misses Marsden and Misses Löwe, of the W.S.P.U., who sold papers and postcards, wrote handbills and posters, and helped indefatigably to make the meeting known. It is hoped to hold a succession of these outdoor meetings by the various societies at Bexhill throughout the season.—H. E. S.

"MR. AND MRS. SAPSEA."

By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

[Mr. Zangwill has permitted us to reprint this delightful excerpt from one of his speeches, of which he retains the full copyright. Those who had not the privilege of hearing the spoken word will delight in it in its present form.]

The idea that underlies the objection to women's suffrage is expressed with engaging frankness by Dickens' Mr. Sapsea, the auctioneer in "Edwin Drood." Mrs. Sapsea revered Mind, as embodied in Mr. Sapsea. "When I made my proposal," says Mr. Sapsea, "she did me the honour to be so overshadowed with a species of awe as to be able to articulate only the two words 'O Thou!' meaning myself." After years of admiration, Mr. Sapsea tells us, his wife died of feeble action of the liver, still addressing him in the same "unfinished terms," and after her death it occurred to her husband that perhaps his superiority was what she died of. "There have been times," he says, "when I have asked myself the question, what if her husband had been nearer on a level with her? If she had not had to look up quite so high, what might the stimulating action have been upon the liver?" He carved over her grave:—

ETHELINDA,
Reverential wife of
MR. THOMAS SAPSEA,
Auctioneer, Valuer, Estate Agent, Etc.,
OF THIS CITY.
Whose knowledge of the World,
Though somewhat extensive,
Never brought him acquainted with
A Spirit
More capable of
LOOKING UP TO HIM.

Of course, it is very pleasant to be addressed by one's wife as "O Thou," but, like so many pleasant things, it is not good for one. It was not good for Mr. Sapsea to imagine himself so superlatively sage; in fact, it only increased his natural silliness.

To-day Mrs. Sapsea has turned Suffragette. She no longer cries "O Thou." She no longer leaves the phrase unfinished. To-day it is "O Thou Hypocrite!" at gentlest, "O Thou Monopolist!" She no longer cranes her neck looking up so high, and I assure you it has quite a stimulating action on her liver. She is shaking off the lethargy of the ages, and it is making her healthier, brighter, and even prettier. It is in vain that Mr. Sapsea shrieks desperately that he is superior in every department, and that her vote will make a hash of the affairs of the country, which he has been managing to such universal satisfaction.

There is a Heathen Chinese edition of Mr. Sapsea, and he tells us that the women of his country can never compete in walking or running with the men—they are an inferior race. But we tell Mr. Ching Chang Sapsea, let him leave off crippling his women's feet in infancy before he decides that no woman can be a champion pedestrian. And let us Westerners give our women freedom to follow their own genius before we decide they have none.

Those of you who have travelled in the East will be familiar with the strange ghostly spectacle of shrouded and masked women whose faces may only be seen by their lords, and who pass the bulk of their days hidden away in a harem, eating sweetmeats and talking petty gossip.

This shocked you: but will not the civilised observer of the future be equally shocked at the limitations we have placed upon the rights and liberties of our own women? They are only yet half out of the harem. Mr. Sapsea is only a monogamous Turk.

But the Turk's day is over. In our generation women have made their way into almost every department of life. After you have let them work in your factories and workshops, in your gardens and post-offices and counting-houses, after you have let them practise medicine and study law, it is too late to turn them back or to refuse them the rights of their new position. Those who object to female suffrage, who say that woman's sphere is the

home, should have kept her there. Too late to turn the key on her now—she is not at home.

The fact is, that important as is the sex-division in some things, it does not stretch across the whole of life, sex has no meaning in politics any more than in dinner parties.

Men and women pray in the same church and dance to the same music. Both sexes have far more in common than they have points of difference. Why should one sex be shut out of the polling booth? Why is Florence Nightingale's opinion of the candidate for her constituency less valuable than the chimney-sweeper's? We demand votes for women, not because they are women, but because they are fellow-citizens. It is nobody's business to inquire what sex a voter is, any more than what colour the voter's hair is. Once get it into your head that the claim of women rests not upon their being our rivals, but upon their being our comrades, and you will escape tangling yourself in a whole network of fallacies.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S REASONS FOR OPPOSING THE CONCILIATION BILL.

[We give herewith the Chancellor of the Exchequer's excuses as made to the Welsh Liberal women, whose help he will presently require. It is necessarily condensed, but we think an excellent idea of what we may expect from him in the future is here outlined. We call special attention to his adoption of the avowed Anti-Suffragists' arguments and his new imposition of Asquithian conditions.]

Mr. Lloyd George, in the first Ministerial speech since the rising of Parliament, made a statement of his views on the Woman Suffrage Bill. Speaking at a meeting of the Carnarvonshire Women's Liberal Association at Bodnant, North Wales, he said they had had a rather quiet and dull Session. The political weather was a little uncertain. In these circumstances all he could say to those engaged in Liberal work or Liberal organisation was that if they went out for a long walk they had better carry their mackintosh on their arms and be prepared to face whatever befell.

Coming to the question of women's suffrage, Mr. George said this was the first meeting of a Women's Liberal Association he had addressed since a rather famous meeting at the Albert Hall.

"Now," he proceeded, "I have been accused of having gone back on the terms which I then gave, on the pledge which I then signed. I should like to say just a word about that. I adhere in every particular to the pledge I gave at the Albert Hall. In every particular I do not recede from a syllable of it, and inasmuch as that pledge was given after consultation with my chief, the Liberal Prime Minister, I think I can also say that neither he nor the Government to which he belongs recede from it. Well, then, you may say, why did not I vote for that Bill which has been called the Conciliation Bill. Because that Bill did not come up to the conditions under which I undertook to vote for women's suffrage in the House of Commons.

"Now, what were those conditions? The first was that the Bill should be a democratic one, and the second was that there should be some evidence that women really asked for it. To the second condition I attach less importance than I do to the first. I attach supreme importance to the first. I have never voted for a Bill which is not a democratic one, and I never will, and I will tell you why. There are so many artificial obstacles in the way of progress that I decline absolutely to have anything to do with multiplying them.

The Plural Voter.

"Just think of the number of artificial difficulties which the Constitution of this country places in the way of any measure of reform. You have got the House of Lords. Now I do not want to discuss the House of Lords at the present moment, but, at any rate, it is an obstacle in the path of reform. Then there is the congestion of business in the House of Commons, owing to the very cumbrous and rather unintelligent party machinery which we have got in this country. Then you have got,

in addition to that, our Registration Laws, which seem to have been framed as if with the purpose of making it almost impossible to get on the register; and, fourthly, and one of the greatest obstacles of all, you have got the plural voter. . . . Take the present Parliament. Had it not been for the plural voter, who votes several times in the course of a General Election, we should have had a majority at the last election of pretty nearly one million votes, instead of about four hundred thousand, and we should have had a Parliamentary majority of not 100, but we should have had a Parliamentary majority of 200."

Strength and Backing Wanted.

The effect of the Conciliation Bill, the Chancellor proceeded, would be to give a vote to only one-tenth of the working women of the country. If they were going to have a Bill to enfranchise women they must do it all round. He did not want to double the number of plural voters in this country who would be at the command of every Tory organiser to overbear the voice of the electors in a constituency. The working women who under this Bill would get the vote would not really be representative of their class. They were not the best representatives of their class, for the simple reason that they were more dependent. They had not got the same strength and backing to resist undue influence as the wife of a working man would have, and in many respects they were not so well equipped.

"I believe," he said, "in enfranchising the working women. I would vote for it. I have voted for a Bill that would have done so. I will do so again, and not merely that, but I will use the whole of my influence, whether publicly or privately, to get a Bill of that sort through."

The Unfortunate Example.

There were conditions, he proceeded, under which a working man's and his wife's interests were divergent. The husband, given to excessive drinking, would not vote for a Bill to reduce the number of public-houses. His wife, who had to try to keep the home together on the miserable, ragged remnant of the salary which the husband gave her, would be only too glad to have the chance to vote for such a Bill. The man had such gratification as the excitement of drink gave him. The woman had to face for the whole twenty-four hours the squalid, miserable, impoverished home, with its hungry and ragged children. It was she who suffered the perdition of it, and, in such a case, she above all others ought to have a vote to protect not merely herself, but her little children as well. No Bill which did not give the potent weapon of the vote to such a woman would ever get his support. Any Bill which would give that woman the vote would have the support of every influence he could possibly exercise.

There was a consideration imposed by the Prime Minister, that there should be some proof that women really wanted the vote. He thought, on the whole, that was reasonable, not because justice ought not to be extended until people clamoured for it, but there were many things claiming the attention of Parliament, and he thought it was right that it should be given first of all to the most urgent things.

In conclusion, the Chancellor said that whatever the Bill he would not put it in front of a settlement of the House of Lords question. "We have got to get a settlement of that first, and, honestly, I am amazed at the light-heartedness with which some of my Liberal friends were prepared to put even a question like this in front of it. Let us first settle with the House of Lords before we come to Disestablishment, Home Rule, or the women's question."

SOME COMMENTS ON THESE REASONS.

Mr. Keir Hardie's Criticism.

Speaking at a large open-air meeting at Blyth on Sunday, Mr. Keir Hardie said:—"Referring to the question of woman suffrage, women would never get the vote by trusting to the Liberal Party. The speech that Mr. Lloyd George gave at a garden-party of women on Friday last must have convinced any who were in doubt. It was the most heartless and callous speech on the women's question which had been made by any front-rank politician."

The Chancellor's Afterthought.

"The Chancellor of the Exchequer would never have dared to make such a lukewarm and philosophic speech a few months ago without running the risk of personal assault. His studied manner in arguing the case against Mr. Shackleton's Bill, which at the beginning was advanced as an agreed measure between the advanced and the conservative forces in the Women's Suffrage movement, is certainly nothing more than an afterthought."—*Yorkshire Daily Post*.

Borrowed Conditions.

"The unblushing audacity of Mr. Lloyd George, however, was even more openly displayed when he came to his attempt to answer the charge of going back upon his pledge to support the cause of woman's suffrage by his vote in Parliament. Let it be observed that Mr. Lloyd George himself attached no conditions to his promise of such support. But now he adopts the conditions which Mr. Asquith laid down on the subject very late in the day. These were two in number. First, the measure which proposed to confer the vote on women must be democratic; and, next, there must be some evidence forthcoming that the majority of women desired the vote at all. For the word 'democratic' in the first condition should be substituted the phrase 'favourable to the Liberal party.' That is what the Chancellor of the Exchequer means, and it is all that he means. He and Mr. Winston Churchill are prepared to vote for female suffrage, or to pledge themselves to vote for it (because they will always discover some loophole to wriggle out of), so long as they think that their pledge will assist their political prospects, and no longer."—*Morning Advertiser*.

Dread of Showers.

"But possibly he cannot help himself; he is a man who generally carries the sort of mackintosh he recommends for general Liberal wear, and there is no poorer creature than he who lives in a constant dread of passing showers."—*Liverpool Daily Courier*.

WOMEN OCCUPIERS.

THE COMMONS ON THE WOMEN'S BILL. (W.F.L. Penny Pamphlet, Literary Department, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi.)

A new penny pamphlet has been brought out by the Literature Department of the W.F.L., and consists in excerpts from the speeches of supporters of the Conciliation Bill during the debate in the House. In view of Mr. Lloyd George's terminological inexactitudes at Carnarvon, the statements of Mr. Snowden and Mr. Keir Hardie concerning the status of the woman occupier (included in this pamphlet) are of interest.

Practically speaking, the passing of this measure will give the Parliamentary vote to the women who have the municipal franchise at present. Four-fifths of the municipal voters are women who have to earn their own living. The Home Secretary showed his most intimate knowledge of working-class life and conditions by the figures which he gave and misquoted from Mr. Charles Booth's account of the occupations of the women householders in London. In giving the figures to the House, let me say I am inclined to think that there is a larger percentage of women on the municipal register in London who are not of the working class than is the case in most of the large towns of the country. Take the occupiers of London, and you find that 51 per cent. of the women are working for wages, and, according to the Home Secretary, these were the only women who were entitled to be regarded as working women. Another very large and important class of working women the Home Secretary ignored altogether are the 70,000 widows of working men who are housekeepers, women who take in lodgers, women who have grown-up children to whom they act as housekeepers; they account for 38 per cent. of women occupiers, so that in those two classes you have 89 per cent. of the present women occupiers. I come to another large class still to be accounted for. There are 5 per cent. who have only one servant, but in that number there is a very considerable number of lodging-house keepers, and the servant is really a domestic help employed in earning her means of livelihood. So that 94 per cent. of women occupiers in London who earn their living belong to the working classes. . . .

Mr. Keir Hardie, in the course of his speech, said:

Naturally, the class of women who will be enfranchised is according to the class of constituency. My constituency is composed almost exclusively of working people, but so are the bulk of the constituencies in the country. The number of constituencies in which the middle classes and the wealthy people predominate is very small. There are in my constituency 2,686 women municipal electors. These would be mainly enfranchised if this Bill became law, and the highest estimate which had been made on an examination of the register of the middle-class women—I do not speak of them disparagingly at all—does not exceed 1 per cent. Therefore over 2,000 of the 2,600 who would get the vote are working women, widows for the most part whose husbands have been killed at their work or whose husbands have died comparatively young—widows, working spinsters, and others of that type who have the franchise now. It is these who would come on the Parliamentary register if this Bill were to become law. . . .

CORRESPONDENCE.**MOTHERHOOD AND WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.**

To the Editor THE VOTE.

DEAR MADAM,—The lunacy returns just issued show that the greatest percentage of cases is contributed by women mentally affected at child-birth, and that another large percentage is supplied by women at a later period of life, when the nervous system is again placed under excessive strain. This grave condition calls for immediate attention. For generations the working women of this country have been compelled to accept in child-birth the services of women wholly unqualified, or else go without assistance of any kind. Intense anxiety and nerve-wrecking fear have, under these circumstances, come to be intimately associated with the most sensitive period of a woman's life, and as a natural consequence, we have an appalling average of lunacy among the mothers of the nation.

It would be sadly interesting to have expert evidence as to how this shocking average is helped by the excessive toil entailed by our unjust economic conditions on many mothers immediately preceding and immediately following child-birth, and also by the terrors of wife-beating so prevalent under the administration of laws which treat women as inferiors and ignore their point of view. Under the new order of things, only certificated midwives are allowed to practise, and it will be thirty years before the supply, according to present arrangements, can equal the demand. Infant mortality and a dread of maternity are necessarily fostered by these circumstances. During these thirty years thousands more women will annually be sent to that mental chaos which is worse than death. The State will be robbed of their services, and burdened with their support, and their foredoomed, enfeebled offspring will constitute a national weakness and danger, all because such men as Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill are permitted to block the enfranchisement of women, which would open the only sure road to reform of these deplorable conditions.—Yours truly,

AGNES G. MURPHY.

17, Clanricarde Gardens, Hyde Park, London, W.

THE OCTOBER CONFERENCE.

MADAM,—I see in THE VOTE that the branches are asked to elect a member for the N.E.C., to fill a vacancy when they meet in conference on October 29th next. At the same time, it is stated that it is hoped that this conference will take the place of the usual annual conference in January. The question naturally arises, what is going to be done with regard to all the other members of the N.E.C.? Of course, the branches may desire to retain the present (elected and co-opted) members in charge of the W.F.L. for a further fifteen months; but, then again, they may not. In any case, I think I voice a general feeling when I say that the W.F.L. should not be deprived of its constitutional general election, especially since so many changes have occurred in the N.E.C. since its election.

I crave your courtesy, also, Madam, for this opportunity of urging all members who are interested in the welfare of the W.F.L. to attend their branch meetings to discuss resolutions to be placed on the agenda for the October Conference. This Conference has been urgently called, and all members should realise their responsibilities (and make use of their voting powers) now for, in the likely course of events, they will have no further facilities for expressing their opinions (either on policy or officers) for another fifteen months.

Thanking you for the hospitality of your columns.—
Yours, &c.,
SIME SERUYA.
New Reform Club, August 13th, 1910.

Florence Nightingale said:—

"You ask my reasons for believing in women's suffrage. It seems to me almost an axiom that every taxpayer ought to have a voice in the expenditure of the money we pay."

WOMEN AT WORK.

[This New Series will deal with the work of successful Women Suffragists.]

(4).—Mrs. EDWIN HOOPER.



MRS. E. HOOPER.

Initiation and organising capacity are not the birthright of either sex: they are Nature's gift to the individual, and with them she has abundantly endowed Mrs. Hooper, who for over a quarter of a century has been the leading authority on the best schools in the British Isles and on the Continent, and is perhaps the busiest and most important broker of schools in the kingdom. With much of the pioneer spirit and a quickness to realise when a thing was being well done and when it could be done better, Mrs. Hooper started her Educational Agency on novel and straightforward lines twenty-nine years ago, building securely on the foundation of a solid reputation for equitable dealing.

Though just now she concentrates more particularly on the educational side of her business, Mrs. Hooper was also known until a few years ago as one of the most successful organisers of Continental tours. She was the pioneer of the Continental Educational Tours—a mode of travelling which has found many successful imitators. To a representative of THE VOTE she gave a brief interview on the subject of her many interests.

"Travelling was always my greatest passion, and the idea of these Continental tours arose quite naturally. It is much pleasanter to travel with friends than alone, and when some friends were talking over the possibilities of a certain tour abroad and were rejecting it on account of its apparent cost, I said to them it could be done for such and such a figure—mentioning an amount much less than they had thought of. They said it was impossible, but I had been studying ways and means, hotel lists and railway guides, and I knew that I was right. They eventually agreed to let me do all the business side of the trip and pay their shares at the end.

"I took advantage of certain cheap travel tickets issued at that season, booked up hotel and pension accommodation at a reduction for a small party of teachers, mapped out a daily itinerary from my 'Baedeker,' and at the end of the three weeks we found we had not only fulfilled our programme, but the total cost had been just five shillings less each than I had estimated.

"From that experiment emanated the idea of co-operative educational tours. The next year a number of others who had heard of our cheap journey (this was in 1888, before the five guineas to Lucerne day!) wanted me to make up a party, and soon I found myself—on business lines—organising tours all over the Continent. My third party was to Rome, and numbered fifty—gentlemen and ladies.

"Had I any difficulties? Well, such enterprises are seldom altogether plain sailing, but such difficulties as I had I never allowed my party to discover. I rather enjoyed overcoming difficulties. The year the present young Prince of Wales was born I had arranged in the spring a tour in Switzerland for the height of the summer season. It so happened that our gracious Queen (then Duchess of York) was taken by the Duchess of Teck with the infant Prince to Switzerland for her health. This meant that there was a great influx of the wealthy classes to Switzerland, and the prices for everything were doubled and trebled. I had an agreement drawn up months before for carriages and hotels, but I found human nature the same all the world over, resulting in various attempts to break contracts. I had to circumvent these once by having a special corridor carriage actually sent down the line the night before and kept on a siding, to be attached the next morning to a luggage train (the only train passing down the line) to enable me to be at a certain station at a certain time before a certain hour to commence carriage drives on that date and at the hour mentioned in my contract, the hotel proprietor (from whose hotel was the starting-point for the drives) having telegraphed to me the day

before that he was unable to accommodate us according to arrangements made with him some few months before; and yet my party never knew of the contretemps.

"Again, I always felt I had the credit of my sex to maintain, for I had once been asked by a Continental manager what I should do in the event of unforeseen difficulties arising, being, he said (with many apologies) 'only a woman,' whereas a man would treat such 'merely as a bundle of firewood to be consumed.'

"Once when visiting the many objects of interest in the Vatican I found on referring to my watch there was scarcely time to reach, during the hour of admission, the royal stables as arranged. I therefore decided that the party should be conducted over the celebrated Vatican library. Three Oxford Dons in the party I overheard remark, sotto voce, 'Change of programme; this comes of petticoat government.' Later these same three gentlemen were in ecstasies over the priceless MSS., and were heard to declare that 'Such a treat alone was worth a journey to the Eternal City.' I could not resist the temptation to whisper in the ear of one of them that even a woman could sometimes be forgiven for changing her mind."

"Your education business; how did it begin?"

"You mean the school broking. Well, that began through the Governess Agency which I first started. Some of the teachers told me of school principals who were desirous of transferring their goodwill, and others told me of their wish to find suitable schools. I gradually built up the business by exercising the greatest care in all my inquiries and only dealing in concerns which could satisfy the most careful investigation. I bought and sold hundreds of schools for clients, and the future of this business is apparently unlimited."

On looking over some letters from Mrs. Hooper's clients one sentence in an appreciation from a clergyman who had bought a school for boys seemed especially noteworthy. "For business capacity, candour, and courtesy and even-handed justice between vendor and vendee," he says, "your Agency deserves the high place it unquestionably holds." Others spoke of schools bought which had more than justified her opinion of them—and also of her promptness, tact, and integrity. Much of the value of these testimonials lay in the fact that they came from both men and women, and from those who sold schools and who had them to sell.

"You advise parents in the placing of their children in schools?"

"Yes; that forms a very considerable part of my work at present, and certainly a branch that I take the keenest and most personal interest in. Being myself a parent, I am able to enter into another parent's desire when the momentous question of which school to choose is on the tapis. I can do this from my personal knowledge of schools I have been in close touch with for over a quarter of a century, and where I am not only actually responsible for the teaching staff, but have placed many pupils.

"In my Governess and Tutorial Agency I can recommend teachers for private families and schools, secretaries, companions, &c. From all parts of the world I have had applications for these, and amongst the well-known people who have used my Agency are members of the English, Russian, and Continental and Eastern Courts, and well-known commoners."

"A last word, Mrs. Hooper. Do you believe in the business ability of women?"

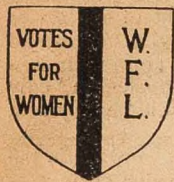
"I believe that ability, whether commercial or otherwise, has nothing to do with sex. And I think judgment of a person's capacity which takes into account their sex is a necessarily faulty one—I believe that as water finds its level so does capacity, whether it is planted in the brain of a woman or a man."

There could be no one more capable of speaking on the subject of capacity than Mrs. Hooper. She has built a business which has a world-wide reputation; she employs a large staff, and notwithstanding the fact that the nature of her business takes her all over the country she gives to each of its details a personal supervision which is the test of the born organiser. Being a woman who foresees and provides against difficulties, she always finds success in her undertakings.

M. O. K.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



DARE TO BE FREE.

Thurs., August 18.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Mrs. Wheatley.
Finchley (Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner), 8 p.m. Miss Norris.
Acton (Market Place), 8.
Fri., August 19.—South Norwood Clock, 8. Miss E. Fennings and Mr. Percy Phipps.
Sun., August 21.—Finsbury Park, 11.30. Miss Norris.
Regent's Park, 12. Mr. Duval, Mrs. Duval.
Victoria Park, 3. Miss Pell.
Brockwell Park, 6 p.m. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett.

Mon., August 22.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8. Rev. C. Hinscliff.
Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, 8. Miss E. Fennings and Mr. Norman Leisk.
Tues., August 23.—Hampstead Heath, 7.45. Miss Coyle.
Highbury Corner, 8. Miss Norris.
Thurs., August 25.—Finchley (Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner), 8. Miss Pell.
Highbury Corner, 8. Miss Neilans.
Acton, Market Place, 8. Mr. John Manson.
Fri., August 26.—South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Miss E. Fennings and Mr. John Simpson.

PROVINCES.

Eastbourne.
Thurs., August 18.—West of the Eastern Bandstand, 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss Anna Munro.
Fri., August 19.—Same time and place. Speaker, Miss A. Neilans.
Sat., August 20.—Demonstration in the Seaside Recreation Ground at 7.30. Mrs. Despard, Miss Anna Munro, Miss Neilans.
Mon., August 22.—Tally-ho, Old Town, at 8 p.m. Speakers, Mr. John Simpson and Miss Munro.
Tues., August 23.—West of the Eastern Bandstand, 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Miss Anna Munro.

Hastings.
Fri., August 19.—1, St. Paul's Place, 3.30. Speakers, Mrs. Darent Harrison and Miss Munro. On the Beach, 7.30 p.m.

Middlesbrough.
Mon., October 3.—Town Hall, 7.30. The Pageant by Miss Cicely Hamilton and Miss Edith Craig.

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