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# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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VOL. II., No. 78.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1909.

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

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**THE OUTLOOK.**

Each week brings some new proof of the determined courage of the women who are engaged in fighting for their political liberty. The refusal of Cabinet Ministers to receive constitutional deputations has obliged the women to confront them at their meetings, and exclusion from the meetings leads, in a consistent line of policy, to attempts to force admittance. In this way the heckling of Cabinet Ministers has become a hazardous task, involving actual physical risk, and leading frequently to arrest. Last week we reported four arrests in Glasgow and seven in Liverpool.

**Sequel to the Arrests.**

In Glasgow the women, after appearing for trial and having had their bail forfeited unjustly, decided not to appear again, but to fulfil their various engagements. The authorities have taken no further action. But in Liverpool heavy sentences in the second division were imposed on the women who had protested outside Mr. Haldane's meeting, and as they were not treated as political prisoners they refused to obey prison rules, and one and all—some for the second time—carried out the hunger strike. For nearly six days they refused all food, and even denied themselves water; and when they were at length released they were in a dangerously feeble condition. All of them are under skilled care, and

receiving every attention. On pages 1128 and 1129 will be found a brief account of their experiences, through the lines of which may be easily read the intense suffering undergone, and the magnificent courage with which it was borne.

**The Bye-Election Policy.**

Although the bye-election policy of the W.S.P.U., which has been so successful, is thoroughly understood by every member of the Union, there are sympathisers outside who have not yet grasped the need for a firm and unwavering policy in so great a fight as the woman's fight of to-day. We would draw their attention more particularly to the article on the bye-election policy by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, which explains clearly and briefly the principles underlying the attitude of the W.S.P.U. towards Government candidates.

**The Scottish Demonstration.**

There are two features of the work of the Union to which the special attention of members is called. The great Scottish demonstration is drawing near. It must be made a show of strength and an object lesson, and bring the movement in North Britain to the height of power which it now holds in England. For success two things are necessary—personal help and money. A special appeal will be found in the "Treasurer's Note" on page 1130, and Miss Adela Pankhurst, in her article, deals with the brave women of Scotland's history, and calls upon the Scotswomen of to-day to join the ranks of active fighters.

**Holiday Campaign.**

The other point is the holiday campaign which has been proceeding with great vigour in centres all over the country. Work of this sort gives a great opportunity to members to break up fresh ground and to sow the seed where it may bear fruit a thousand-fold. During September there will be many members of the Union still holiday making, and to these an appeal is made to send in their names to the Holiday Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, so that they may be put into touch with others going to the same place, and with them may organise an effective campaign.

**The Right of Petition.**

The question of the clear right of the subject to petition the King, or his proxy, the Prime Minister, has again come before a court of law—in connection with the trial of Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, and other members of the Women's Freedom League, an account of which will be found on page 1138. In a clever and witty speech, which we abstract, Mr. T. Healy, M.P., K.C., challenged the action of the police in interposing between the Minister and the petitioning subject, and urged that they should rather facilitate a right which has been established for centuries. He claimed that the women were illegally arrested, and that the obstruction, if any, was caused not by women seeking to deliver a petition, but by the man who would not do his duty and receive it—a "casual and ephemeral Prime Minister." The case, which was again adjourned, will be taken to a higher court in the event of an adverse decision.

**The Current Issue.**

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst describes in this issue the beginning of the organised protests at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, and shows how such action was forced upon women by the indifference and flippancy of Ministers towards the greatest political question of the day. On page 1125 will be found an interesting article by Miss Juliette Heale on the symbolism of the great comet which is due to appear next year, and which she believes will herald the dawn of a new era when women will have their rights, and take their share in the government of the world.

## HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By Sylvia Pankhurst. LIV. Protests at Cabinet Ministers' Meetings.

As recorded in last week's chapter, a reconstruction of the committee and constitution of the W.S.P.U. took place in September, 1907. The Union was henceforth entitled the National Women's Social and Political Union. At the same time it became obligatory for all those joining the Union to sign the following pledge:—

"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

It was just a year before this that the W.S.P.U. had first taken London headquarters of its own at 4, Clements Inn. The office accommodation was then but two rooms. In October, 1907, six additional rooms were taken. In the same month this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, was first published.

On October 5 a women's suffrage procession and demonstration took place in Edinburgh. The idea had first been suggested by the Edinburgh branch of the W.S.P.U., but the older Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Liberal Associations, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage had also been invited, and had agreed to co-operate in the organisation of the demonstration. The procession of women from all parts of Scotland that assembled under the shadow of Arthur's Seat on the appointed day, numbered between 3,000 and 4,000, and upwards of 100,000 people had gathered in the King's Park to see the women with their banners march thence to the Synod Hall, where the demonstration was to be held. Both the Synod Hall and the Pillar Hall, which had been taken in case an overflow meeting should be required, were crowded, and the resolutions were carried unanimously amid enthusiastic cheers.

It happened that on that 5th of October the Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, chanced to be in Edinburgh whilst the women's procession was taking place, for he was to address a meeting there that evening. Knowing in advance that the Prime Minister was to be in the city at the time, the organisers of the suffrage demonstration felt that this would be indeed a fitting occasion for the Scottish women to lay their case before him. A letter signed by a large number of distinguished and influential Scotswomen—many of whom were Liberals—was accordingly sent to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, asking him to receive a women's suffrage deputation. His reply to this request was a somewhat curt refusal in which he stated that he did not "see that any good would arise from a deputation."

As the Prime Minister had declined to receive the women's representatives and to hear what they had to say, the militant Suffragists would have retaliated by bringing the question of Votes for Women up at his meeting, and have endeavoured to force from him a declaration as to the Government's intentions in regard to it. Unfortunately, however, they had already given a pledge to the non-militant societies who were co-operating with them in the demonstration that no disorder should occur upon that day. They felt, therefore, that they could not act as they would otherwise have done. But another opportunity was soon to follow.

### The Late Prime Minister Advises "Pestering."

On October 22 the Prime Minister spoke in his own constituency of Dunfermline, where he had perforce to submit to the customary Scotch "heckling," and in spite of his invariable refusal to do so elsewhere, he was here, for the second time, obliged to reply to the questioning of women as well as that of men. On this occasion the question put to him by a Dunfermline woman was: "As the Prime Minister believes in women's suffrage would he suggest some fresh methods which we could adopt in order to gain our enfranchisement soon." Sir Henry's reply was, "I think women ought to go on agitating, holding meetings, and pestering people as much as they can, as all other men and women who are interested in public questions have to do."

Whatever this piece of advice may have been intended to suggest, it certainly sounded very much like a justification of the policy of "pestering" members of the Government at their meetings. As Cabinet Ministers were just then speaking at meetings all over the country, many opportunities occurred of carrying Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's advice into effect, and knowing that during the next few months the work of the forthcoming session of Parliament was to be decided upon, the Suffragettes eagerly seized upon each of these as an occasion for bringing the question of Votes for Women to the Government's notice.

On October 25 Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Postmaster-General, addressed a meeting in his constituency of Poplar, at which Mrs. Drummond and several other members of the W.S.P.U. were present to heckle him both in regard to the Government's inaction and his own declared hostility to the cause of women's enfranchisement. Mr. Buxton refused to reply to any of the questions put to him, but as they were being roughly ejected by the stewards he appealed to the women to "behave decorously like men."

Three days after this, on October 28, Mr. Lewis Harcourt, First Commissioner of Works, had arranged to address a meeting of his constituents in the Rossendale Valley. Mrs. Pankhurst and Annie Kenney had been carrying on a Votes for Women campaign in the district for some weeks previously, and it was arranged by them that a deputation of women representatives from Manchester, Liverpool, Rochdale, Blackburn, Birmingham, Haslingden, Rawtenstall, and Bacup should wait upon Mr. Harcourt.

After the women had laid their views before him he expressed the most uncompromising hostility to their cause, and stated that he did not think it likely the Liberal Government would deal with the matter. When asked definitely why he was opposed to women's suffrage Mr. Harcourt, in spite of the fact that he represents a constituency in which the majority of the wage-earners are women, thought it necessary to give no better answer than "Because I am."

The news of Mr. Harcourt's reply to the deputation spread like wildfire throughout the district. It was received with great indignation by the vast majority of the women, a large number of whom attended his meeting in the evening and protested so vigorously against his attitude upon women's suffrage that Mr. Harcourt's remarks were not listened to, a vote of confidence in him was disregarded, and the meeting was broken up. The departing audience then flocked to a demonstration of protest, addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst from a wagon outside the hall.

On October 29 Mr. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke at Tayport, and here, because this was a Scotch constituency, he, who above all other Cabinet Ministers had refused to vouchsafe the slightest reply to women's suffrage questions, was subjected to some very close questioning and cross-questioning by Scottish Suffragettes. Though he dared not refuse to answer, his replies were, nevertheless, given with a singularly boorish and sulky manner, and openly showed both his detestation of the cause of women's enfranchisement and his impatience at being obliged to treat his interrogators with even a semblance of courtesy. Mr. Asquith stated that he was not prepared to urge the introduction of a women's suffrage measure during the next session of Parliament, because he was of opinion that if the vote were granted to women "it would do more harm than good, both to women and to the community"; that he doubted very much whether the majority of women desired the franchise, and that, in any case, the House of Commons was not based on the principle of universal suffrage, for, as he said, "children are not represented there." With an effort to dismiss the serious aspect of the question he concluded by saying that he hoped the ladies who had questioned him had "enjoyed themselves."

This flippant treatment of the women's claim for just and equal treatment by responsible Ministers will, to their enfranchised sisters in future generations, appear almost too extraordinary even to admit of indignation.

(To be continued.)

## THE PORTENT IN THE SKY.

By Juliette Heale.

Approaching the earth at the rate of several thousand miles a minute is a great luminous body, Halley's celebrated comet.

We all know how Halley, the famous scientist, watched the great comet of 1682, that superb manifestation which heralded to England the final struggle with the Stuarts and the destruction of the "Divine Right" of kings. Halley's observations led him to associate this comet with that of 1607, a period when the unique poet of the world was winding up his series of wonder-dramas. Halley decided also that it was one and the same with the comet of 1531, that "fiery star" which marked the acute stage of the eighth Henry's quarrel with the Pope—a sordid quarrel, perhaps, of no intrinsic importance in itself, had it not ushered into England the immense change of the Reformation. Halley predicted the return of the comet in 1758, a return which might be delayed a few months owing to the position of Jupiter. It *did* appear again, in March, 1759.

### The Herald of History.

And, with the exception of a few unrecorded appearances, we hear of Halley's comet at periods of seventy-five years and a fraction ever since the year 240 B.C. It has been noted by writers both in Europe and China, because its long, brilliant tail is impressive, and it is visible to the naked eye. The most interesting feature, however, of this most interesting comet lies in the fact that its appearance has generally heralded a great historic event, and in many cases has been the portent of a mighty change.

In the year 66 A.D. the comet, "a sword of flame," terrified the Jews besieged in their sacred city, and foretold the fall of Jerusalem before the valour and skill of Titus. In 141 A.D. it hovered over Rome, "a fearful, flaming star," just before the death of the Emperor Macrinus. We hear of it in 451, flashing its light above the stricken field of Châlons, paralysing that ravaging barbarian but unbeaten warrior, Hunnish Attila, the Scourge of God. Attila's signal and unexpected defeat saved Rome. Three quarters of a century later the comet flared over besieged Rome, now a sink of iniquitous injustice; the capital of a cankered, decadent people; a menace to the future of the world. The time for change had come, and the rotted, effete Roman civilisation vanished before the conquering sword of stalwart Totila the Ostrogoth.

In 1066 the famous Bayeux tapestry shows us Saxon Harold quaking on his throne beneath the portent in the sky. The "horrid star," in foretelling the unfortunate result of the Battle of Hastings, heralded a wonderful change for England. Norman William's success meant the forcible grafting of a Continental people's ideal of chivalry, with its superiority in arms and culture, on a still somewhat barbaric island nation. In 1801, when the great comet once more approached and receded from the earth, it terrified a mourning Europe, writhing in the throes of the Black Death. If that fearful scourge slew knights and nobles by the hundreds, the commons and the villeins fell in their thousands. The lessening of numbers in thinly peopled nations increased the importance of the serf, and, with his dawning consciousness of importance, his dreams and efforts for freedom were born.

Halley's comet appeared again in 1456, the most celebrated of its manifestations—save the one which is about to shine upon us. It marked a stupendous change, the sudden close of tottering Chivalry and the Middle Ages, the lusty birth of the Modern Idea.

In 1456 Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Arragon were hardly out of their cradles. They were of little importance then; but their eventual inheritance of the family honours, their marriage, and their combined rule in Spain led to the

shifting of the face of Europe. Only a few years older than this pair of babes, Columbus was at Genoa—he who was to discover a new world under their patronage. In France Louis XI., still Dauphin, but eaten up with the hitherto unknown idea of spreading sovereignty by diplomacy instead of by the sword, was eagerly awaiting the death of his father, Charles VII. In Florence, some four years before the Spanish pair, was born Lorenzo the Magnificent, grandson and still abler successor of that Cosmo dei Medici, the first of great merchant princes and patrons of the arts, fore-runner of those men whose money is mightier than any long pedigree can be. No mere money-bags, like the modern millionaire and Mæcenas, Cosmo and Lorenzo were as cultured and as able as the distinguished men they brought forward, and their monument is the Golden Age of Italy.

Most important event of all, Constantinople had just fallen to the arms of the Turkish Sultan, Mahomet II., and the great comet, hovering over many a besieged city, ushered in the rule of an Asiatic people over Eastern Europe. The Greek Empire fell. Her learned men, with their long-hidden hoards of ancient culture, spread over Europe. The groping, ignorant nations were blessed with the Renaissance, the re-birth in a modern form of classic art, literature, philosophy; and the self-development of nations advanced with giant strides.

### The Renaissance of Woman.

Next year Halley's comet is due to appear again—its eleventh manifestation since the Conquest.

It portends the most stupendous of world changes—more important and far-reaching even than the social and political developments which brought the Middle Ages to an abrupt end. When, in a few months' time, the great comet once more shakes out its golden tail away from the sun, it will proclaim to the world woman's victory, woman's reawakened sense of importance, woman's Renaissance.

On the stricken field woman is fast winning her social and political freedom, and will forcibly graft her ideal of chivalry on the still half-barbarous notions of men. Through the blessing of education and its inevitably increased opportunities has been born to her a full consciousness of her enormous and unique importance as the Bringer of Life—the only *real* asset of the world. What she has already managed to accomplish during her long period of struggle against the most cruel and unnatural restrictions of mind and body makes her certain that her mind is *at least* as capable as man's of evolving the highest and best works.

That certainly will bear rich fruit in the immediate future, and in various arts and sciences woman will rapidly attain great eminence, just as in the long dark years of her degradation man's constant reiteration of her inferiority, of her stupidity, of her slavery, kept her ignorant, timid, self-distrustful, weak, hopeless.

A great change never comes upon a people unless it is needed, not only for development but for bare survival. In England the time for the Renaissance of womanhood is come. The indifference and decadence born of success and wealth have eaten like a dry-rot into the nation, and it needs no great philosopher to realise the marked deterioration of the people, of only too many of the males, who, strangely enough, seem to have receded from excellence the further the females have advanced towards it. The Renaissance of womanhood will bring in fresh blood, and will ward off from England the fate which overtook Rome in the sixth century.

*Ave! Stella Gloriosa!* All women will hail the "glorious star" with joyful hope in their hearts. The twentieth century, which ends its first decade in the light of the great comet, is Woman's Century, her Golden Age.

## PREPARING FOR THE SCOTTISH DEMONSTRATION.

By Adela Pankhurst.

Leaving Edinburgh on a wet, windy morning, our motor runs swiftly over the brown roads, with the soft rain falling, falling down on the dripping trees, the wide, grey, silent river, the rocky moor and mountain by which our way lies.

At Perth the clouds of smoke hang low over the town. The streets are full of women returning to their work. There is an air of peace and prosperity about the little town, by which a wide river winds along, past flat, green meadows known as the Inches. Yet Perth has been the scene of all the evils caused by the ambition, jealousy, and greed of the great Scottish houses which wrought such ill to their country. Scotland united was Scotland free, but only rarely did a leader rise strong enough to hold the Scotch lords—each one a little king in his Highland fastness, with hundreds of armed men at his call—in check. The armies of the clan chieftains wound along the roads, leaving behind them their serpent's track of ruin, homesteads wasted by fire and sword, harvests ungathered, rotting in the rain, and the people drooping from pestilence and want—the glory and pride of Scottish independence lost, too, sold to the English by those who should have cherished it, merely to gratify a personal love of power or to avenge a personal grievance!

### Noble Scotswomen.

In such evil times as these the deeds of noble women shine like lights across the darkness.

At Scone, the ancient capital of Scotland, the Duchess of Buccleuch, recognising in the hunted fugitive a saviour of Scotland, placed the crown on the head of Robert Bruce when no man could be found who dared.

This noble lady followed Bruce into exile, and was hunted, with him and his wife, until the two women were captured and imprisoned in a cage hung outside the city walls, bravely bearing sickness and suffering until Bruce's triumph brought them relief.

In Perth, too, at Greyfriars Abbey, Katharine Douglas, one of that terrible house whose greed for power plunged Scotland so often into war and slavery, did a noble deed for the King's life that will never be forgotten.

James I. was a great leader, a giver of merciful laws to the poor, and their protector against the noblemen who despoiled them. All his boyhood he had been a prisoner to the English, and when he won his kingdom he brought back an English princess, Joana, as his wife, whose wisdom, tenderness, and beauty he sang in the "King's Quair." Katharine Douglas was a waiting maid to Joana, and accompanied her to Perth, where the King stayed in Greyfriars Abbey for one night. So safe did he feel in the love of his subjects that he dismissed his attendants to sleep in the town, and he himself sat beside the fire with his wife and her ladies to sing songs and tell stories. Suddenly the peaceful gathering was startled by the flashing of lights against the window and the sound of armour and heavy feet in the garden below. The ladies rushed to the door, but, finding the locks and bolts removed, knew only too surely the wicked work that had been planned. Nearer and nearer came the armed men, until they knocked upon the door, and Katharine Douglas finally (the iron bar was gone) thrust her arm through the staples, and held it there until it broke. The brave young Queen meantime hid her husband in the vault below the floor, and only his own impatience to get away revealed his hiding-place to his murderers, for, as at his demand the ladies were drawing him up by sheets, his slayers returned, and one Graham leapt into the vault beside him. One of the Queen's women sprang down to him and fought the murderer with her bare and empty hand.

Passing from Perth through narrow mountain passes and over wide expanses of rocky moorland purple with heather, our motor brings us to the Highland town of Inverness, where the statue of Flora Macdonald looks from the heights of Castle Hill over the river and away to the lovely hills. To the west, on the way to Fort William and Oban, we run beside

great lakes stretching from shore to shore connected by the Caledonia Canal, through which a slow, heavy steamer crawls lazily in the sunshine.

It is a wonderful thing to come to a standstill on the roadside, hundreds of feet above the water, when a gust of fragrant rain follows a glint of sunshine, and to watch the clouds chasing across the moorland rock and heather; to look up at the steep mountain behind us with innumerable pine tops climbing to the sky; to gaze again at the silver loch winding under the cloudy sky away among the distant mountains; to hear the lap of the water far below, and the song and twitter of the birds in the trees.

At Fortrose, a tiny town on the blue Cromarty Firth, we found a battleship anchored, and the sailors were on shore. We stopped at Avoch to speak to them from the motor car. They were interested but not a very quiet audience, for they all wanted to talk themselves: one offered us apples, another brought a little grey rabbit, a third wanted to tell us about his mother, and they all wanted to shake hands and to ride in the motor car!

We have had meetings in many a remote village, where the people gather from miles away, tramping along the lonely roads to listen. Two of our workers, whose centre is Oban, held a meeting at Kilmelfort in a barn, to which people came from very distant and lonely places. The Scottish women are learning the need for enfranchisement: will some of those who understand it better even than they do come forward to help them to learn it more quickly?

### HELPERS WANTED.

In order to ensure the success of the great demonstration in Edinburgh on October 9, it is of the utmost importance that friends of the movement, and particularly Scottish friends, should come forward to give all the help that is possible. We want both personal service and financial assistance.

In order that the demonstration may be of a kind worthy of the W.S.P.U. a considerable sum of money will have to be spent in making our plans known, not only in Edinburgh, but in other cities and in the outlying districts of Scotland. Funds for this purpose are urgently needed, and should be sent either to Mrs. Drummond at the Demonstration Office, 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh, or to one of the honorary treasurers, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.; Mrs. Ivory, Laverockdale House, Colinton, N.B.; or Miss Burnet, 2, St. James' Place, Hillhead, Glasgow.

At the great London demonstration in June, 1908, a special feature was the standards coming from every part of the country and bearing special mottoes. We shall be particularly glad if friends will make special banners for the demonstration in Edinburgh on October 9. They may be of any size and shape, but it is convenient to have them uniform, and for this purpose the banners should be 3 ft. wide and 3 ft. deep. Further particulars as to making them can be learnt from Mrs. Drummond.

All those who are able to assist Mrs. Drummond in advertising the demonstration between now and October 9 by holding meetings, displaying posters, giving away bills, etc., are cordially invited to co-operate, and should write to Mrs. Drummond telling her what they can give.

Finally, several hundred women are wanted to be stewards, banner bearers, group captains, banner captains, etc., on the day itself. All those who are able to give time in this way should communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond at 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh.

### Mrs. Pankhurst's Meetings.

Among the many large and enthusiastic meetings held during the week was one at Kingussie, where the chair was taken by Dr. Garrett Anderson, Mayor of Aldeburgh. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke for over an hour, and made an earnest appeal to her audience to support the movement in every possible way. Miss Adela Pankhurst addressed an open-air meeting in the evening, and had an excellent reception. Another large meeting was at Grantown-on-Spey, and Mrs. Pankhurst has also spoken at Oban and at Fort William. Meetings are taking place during the current week at Strathpeffer, Dingwall, Fochabers, Invergarry, and Fort Augustus. A meeting has also been arranged for next Wednesday, September 8, in the music hall at Inverness, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Good collections are being taken, and the lady chauffeur, Miss Vera Holme, attracts much attention, and is described as "equal to all emergencies."

## SOME RECENT BOOKS.

### WOMAN AND MARRIAGE.

Miss Cicely Hamilton's new book, "Marriage as a Trade,"\* will meet with endless criticism and discussion and some dissent. But it will be widely read. Nobody who takes stock of ideas can afford to ignore anything that comes from the pen of the clever authoress of "Diana of Dobsons." We must confess that it was with eager curiosity that we opened the book. And our anticipation of the mental stimulus that we should get from its pages was not disappointed. The style is trenchant and vigorous and admirably adapted to the expression of a new and daring conception of a relationship that is as old as humanity.

There is no attempt to deal with the aspect of marriage as a whole. The love of man and woman culminating in the union of wedlock has been written about since letters were first invented until now. The emotional aspect of the question is, as Miss Hamilton explains in her preface, left out entirely from the account. To millions of women marriage is a condition and means of livelihood. No sentiment can alter this fact. As a means of livelihood marriage is open to inquiry just as other and less important industries. Indeed, the searching light of inquiry and criticism needs to be applied to this industry far more than to any other, for custom and long usage have dulled the mind to the very illogical and unsatisfactory position occupied by women in the economy of the State.

The anomalies of this position are investigated with fearless candour, and are set forth with merciless reason.

We almost shrink at times from the pitiless light that reveals the squalid and ugly facts of women's servile and degraded position in the body politic. But there is no bitterness in the book. It is not a polemic against marriage, nor is there any railing accusation brought against men. As far as it is in any way an indictment, it is an indictment of social conditions, and not of human persons. It is a sign that such a book should be written at the present day, and written by a woman. It is a sign that women are ready for new and better social conditions. They are ready to throw off the yoke that has so long been upon their minds as well as upon their bodies, upon their thoughts as well as upon their wills, upon their very consciences and souls.

The recognition of woman's complete humanity, apart from husband and lover, must mean inevitably the recognition of her right to develop every side of that humanity, the mental and moral as well as the physical and sexual; and inevitably the old aristocratic masculine cruelty which, because she was an inferior, imposed stupidity upon her, and made lack of intelligence a preliminary condition of motherhood, will become a thing of the past.

As women gain economic status, as opportunities of life open to them, so will the status of married women be raised, and marriage itself will become more generally the sacred human relationship that it is to-day when entered into, not for livelihood, but for love.

E. P. L.

\* "Marriage as a Trade." By Cicely Hamilton. Chapman and Hall. 6s.

### AN ADVENTRESS OF THE 'FORTIES.\*

Life should be for every individual an adventure, otherwise it is mere existence. Originality, vitality, initiative, and courage are infinitely valuable to humanity, and that society is richest that can give these qualities the fullest and freest scope in each of its members. It is a tragic position when human society is constituted in such a way that a woman with a great spirit and with all the courage for adventure can only realise herself by becoming what is known by the term adventress. Lola Montez had all the qualities necessary for leadership. As it was, she dominated circumstances throughout her life. In prosperity she never lost her head, nor in adversity her resource and courage. Disaster after disaster left unexhausted her marvellous powers of recuperation. But every position that she won and lost depended upon her power of enslaving men by her physical beauty.

"On the 9th of October, 1846, I was going down Briennerstrasse. I saw coming my way a lady gowned in black, with

\* "Lola Montez; an Adventress of the 'Forties." By B. d'Auvergne. (T. Werner Laurie: 12s. 6d. net.)

a veil thrown over her head and a fan in her hand. Suddenly something seemed to flash across my vision, and I stood stock still, gazing into the eyes that had dazzled me. Then she went on, or rather swept past me. I forgot all my governess's injunctions against looking round, and stood staring after her till she disappeared from view. Like her, I told myself, must have been the fairies in the nursery tales. I reached home breathless, and told them of my adventure. "That," said my father, grimly, "must have been the Spanish dancer, Lola Montez."

This is how one passer-by tells the story of her encounter as a tiny child with this most extraordinary woman whose career beggars romance.

From the cold white pages stamped with printer's ink the vivid personality of Lola Montez radiates her charm and fascination till we who read are caught by the irresistible power of passion and the supreme attraction of beauty. "I know not how, I am bewitched." So said King Louis of Bavaria to one of his ministers two days after his first interview with Lola. And forthwith the destinies of himself and his people were in her hands. Well was it for Bavaria that the woman who could fascinate statesmen and rulers by her beauty and her wit was an ardent lover of liberty and justice and a defender of popular rights.

"Equipped only with the education of a pre-Victorian school-girl, she overthrew the ablest plotters and intriguers in Europe, foiled the policy of Metternich, and hoisted the standard of freedom in the very stronghold of Ultramontane and reactionary Germany."

In all the striking scenes of Lola's wonderful life there are few chapters more interesting than that which deals with the political reaction in Bavaria of 1848. When for a time the clerical influence triumphed and secured her fall from power, confronting the rioting mob alone, she displayed "a courage of which no king or prince has ever given proof in any revolutionary crisis."

Interesting references throughout the book are made to the Women's Movement of the present day. "For half a century," says Mr. D'Auvergne (from the revolution of 1848 to the beginning of the twentieth century), "woman as a political factor almost ceased to be. Only in our own day has a voice been heard demanding in stern, menacing tones her right to a larger, nobler part in the councils of the nations than the Pompadours and Maintenons ever dreamed of."

Sooner or later the attempt to exploit the weaknesses and passions of men is bound to end in humiliation, as it did for this brilliant woman. But "when we prize intellectual worth in women as highly as physical beauty, it will be time," says her biographer, "to protest against the methods of Lola Montez."

### TRADES FOR LONDON GIRLS.\*

This is an excellent compilation of the trades open to girls of the artisan class on their leaving the elementary schools. It gives the best methods of acquiring those trades, pointing out prospects, wages, etc. The facts given are valuable, because they are based on investigations carried out by such a reliable body as the Women's Industrial Council. It is a somewhat heart-breaking compilation to a woman who values and believes in her own sex; it is so obvious that in nearly all skilled trades the best paid, most interesting branches are at present still closed to women. The compilers rightly content themselves with present facts—they do not descant, for instance, on the injustice which prevents women learning to cut (except by stealth) in tailoring or upholstery. Printing is scarcely mentioned; nothing is said of the way women and girls are treated in this interesting, well-paid trade, so suited to women's special gifts. Soon all these cruel disabilities (piled up chiefly by men's trade unions to prevent undercutting of wages) will be swept away, as the professional disabilities of the highly educated woman will vanish in the light of political freedom.

\* "Trades for London Girls, and How to Enter Them," compiled by the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association. Longmans, Green, and Co. 9d. net.

### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Fingerpost." (Central Bureau for the Employment of Women, 1s.)

"The Social Meaning of the New Theology." By Dr. F. W. G. Foat, M.A. (Progressive League, 1d.)

"The Seven that were Hanged." By Leonid Andreieff. (A. C. Field, 6d. net.)

"Britons through Negro Spectacles." By A. B. C. Merriman-Labor. (Imperial and Foreign Company). 6s. net.

## ANOTHER HUNGER-STRIKE.

### All the Prisoners Released at Liverpool.

On August 20 seven members of the W.S.P.U.—Georgina Healiss, Liverpool; Bertha Brewster, Droitwich; Florence Clarkson, Manchester; Rona Robinson, Manchester; Mary Richards, London; Annie O'Sullivan, London; and Mary Leigh, London—were arrested in Liverpool in connection with their courageous protest outside Mr. Haldane's meeting. For three and a half days, while waiting in the cells for their trial, they refused food, so that when they appeared before the magistrate they were in a very unfit condition. But not for a moment did their determination alter. It was on Tuesday, August 24, that they were sentenced to imprisonment for two months and one month; the next day Miss Healiss was released on medical grounds. On Thursday morning the *Liverpool Daily Post* announced that the "starvation plan would not prove successful;" and the same evening the six remaining prisoners were set at liberty. The same paper admits that on Wednesday evening a large



Miss Rona Robinson, M.Sc.

and sympathetic crowd held a meeting outside the gaol, and that the prison inside was kept in a perfect tumult.

So once again indomitable spiritual and physical courage has triumphed. A glimpse beneath the surface, showing the suffering that underlies the triumph, can be caught from the experiences of the prisoners. On their release they had to be helped into cabs, and Mrs. Leigh was too ill to leave the gaol until twelve hours after receiving her order of discharge. The six days' fast has left them all very weak, but they are receiving the best medical and nursing care.

The prisoners were isolated in gaol, so that they were unable to cheer one another, and were unaware of the release of Miss Healiss on Wednesday. They had resolutely kept their determination to fast, and not a morsel of food had passed their lips from Saturday until they were notified of their pending release. They refused to wear prison dress, and the wardresses, who throughout behaved with kindness and forbearance, proceeded to strip them of their clothing, against which operation no resistance was made. The prisoners, however, persisted in their determination not to

don the garb of criminals, and it then became the duty of the female officials to dress them.

The next protest was to decline to do any of the menial work, such as cleaning cells, washing utensils, etc., which was demanded. They also smashed the windows of their cells. For this they were taken to the punishment cells, where they repeated this protest. In response to the repeated efforts on the part of the officials to get them to obey orders and take their food, the invariable answer was that there would be no surrender.

Although no complaints are made against the conduct of the prison authorities, it is alleged that the cells were damp and cold, and that as a result two or three of the women, Mrs. Leigh in particular, were attacked with ague.

### A TERRIBLE FAST.

Miss Rona Robinson has sent a short but graphic description of her experiences:—

When we arrived at Walton Gaol on remand we sang our songs and refused to give any information, to be searched, to submit to prison discipline, or to part with our private possessions, since until proved guilty we were innocent and should not be punished. We spent a quiet afternoon and night, and on Sunday went to church, to be told that the reason we were in prison was that we were "rotten in the middle." A few words to our companions ensued, and after the service the Governor came to my cell and accused me of speaking in church. I replied, "Sir, so long as I am in your prison I refuse to give any pledge whatever with regard to conduct." The Governor left me, and presently the wardress came to take me to exercise. Here I again met my comrades, and we insisted upon walking and talking together. The Governor arrived and refused to allow us to continue, as it was contrary to the prison rules, and unless we decided to conform to the latter we must return to our cells. We went back, after fifteen minutes in the pure air, to the cell, the atmosphere of which was foul. I accordingly mounted my chair and smashed seven panes of glass. Once more I breathed pure air, but not for long. Presently the Matron appeared, and I was told to go downstairs to see the Governor. I went, but no Governor appeared, nor did I see him until the following day. I found that this was merely a ruse to get me down to the punishment cell, and on my refusing to enter this until after the promised interview I was taken in by force. I found myself in the cold, bare cell, with its fixed board and tree stump for seat. Water was brought in an evil-smelling rubber vessel, but I refused to touch it. On Monday I was called to appear before the visiting magistrates, and I warned them that unless some means were found whereby I could have satisfactory ventilation in my present cell I should be compelled to smash more glass. I further asked by what authority the Governor placed a woman on remand in a cold, damp cell and deprived her of necessary articles of clothing, so that for hours she was icy cold. No reply was given, but I was told that the case was adjourned and I was not required longer. Presently I was taken out for exercise, and my cell was left open for ventilation. I was taken alone, and, in fact, spent the whole twenty-four hours in solitary confinement.

What barbarous ideas still prevail in our land! It is thought fit to punish human beings, the minds of many of whom have been darkened by sin, by leaving them alone with their evil thoughts in a dungeon for days. The result is vaguely indicated by the disgusting remarks scratched on the doors of the cell. The evil finds its germinating ground, and I believe prison must become a criminal factory.

On Tuesday we were brought up and sentenced.

At the prison we were taken to tiny reception cells and kept there nearly three hours, at the end of which time I was in a very feeble condition. We helped one another by singing the "Marseillaise," "The Vow is Made," and other songs, and by raising repeated cheers for "Votes for Women."

We were then taken to change clothes, but on refusing were stripped, dressed in the prison garb, and led to the cells. There I took off the clothes and went to bed, where I remained until Thursday noon.

Many visits were paid by the Governor and doctors, and on Wednesday night my condition was so serious that the Governor insisted upon a light being left in my cell throughout the night.

I shall never forget that night of unspeakable horror. The air in my cell became foul, but I had not the strength to get up and break a window. I lay tossing on my bed, but sleep was impossible. Twice I lost consciousness, only to wake up and feel again that the last trace of strength was ebbing away. I was not hungry, but longed to moisten my parched lips. On the table within reach was my mug of cocoa, left from tea, but from that I turned and prayed for the dawn of day which should put an end to that night of pain. Several times the wardresses came to my cell to see that I was still in this world and to give me whatever I should require—nothing. At last daylight came, and I seemed to revive. The doctor, however, ordered me to hospital, and at noon I was told to put on some clothing. I refused, and a prisoner was called in to dress me.

In hospital I became icy cold, and extra clothing was brought, but presently the doctor and Governor arrived, and at 3 p.m., after 123 hours' complete fast, touching neither meat nor drink—not even water—I got the order for my release.

I changed my clothing and was helped to a cab and taken to a home, where by the kindness and loving care of devoted women I am being nursed back to health to take my place once more in the fighting line.

RONA ROBINSON.

### Other Experiences.

Miss F. Clarkson on the fourth morning of her hunger strike woke with a feeling of suffocation, as if the walls and ceiling were pressing in upon her; she therefore broke her window, and the fresh air revived her. The same evening she was removed to hospital in a state of collapse. "Was the game worth the candle?" the Governor asked her. "Was it worth the sacrifice of health and life?" was the doctor's question. "Yes," was Miss Clarkson's answer; "my conscience told me that sooner or later justice and truth were bound to win. "What did my parents think," asked the matron. "My parents think that right will prevail, and if they are anxious about my health, they never try to dissuade me from the path I will follow to the end."

Miss O'Sullivan also remained in bed the whole time. She was too weak to sit up, but found it impossible to sleep, or even lie down in comfort, on the hard mattress. All the prison officials visited her and offered her any food she cared to order, but this, of course, she declined. As she still persisted in the hunger strike in hospital, the Governor discharged her. She writes with gratitude of the kind care she is receiving in the home where she is being nursed back to health.

### ECHOES OF THE HOLLOWAY HUNGER-STRIKE.

The experiences of the other women who went through the hunger-strike at Holloway so bravely were in most respects similar to those that have already been published in detail in this paper. A few extracts are of special interest:—

When carrying out the hunger strike in Holloway one is made to feel that the probability of being allowed to die is a strong one. I felt this right up to the moment when I heard of my release, and I felt that to go on and die would be easy too. The only thought that really made me unhappy was that I should have to fight the doctor if he tried to force me to take food, and I liked him.

MARGARET WEST.

As to ventilation, my first cell was very close, but the punishment cell had a very foul smell, coming in through a ventilator near the floor by the head of the bed. I had no fresh air for six days and six hours while in this cell.

I dared not go to bed the first night for fear of the damp, and presently I got rheumatism in both ankles.

The drinking water brought to me in the punishment cell was at first in an indiarubber mug, sticky and dirty with hairs and dust.

On my complaining, they brought me a dirty mug with grease floating on the water. Till the doctor came next day, and had a clean mug of water sent, I could not drink.

ELSIE MCKENZIE.

In the dark punishment cell, to my delight, I found on my wall Mrs. Dove-Wilcox's name and "Dum spiro spero." I added mine and "Rebellion against tyrants is obedience to God."

E. W. DAVISON.

To me the most painful thing was the absence of a mattress. I lay on a wooden plank all night, and did not get a drink of water till 8 p.m. on Sunday.

J. BAKER.

During the entire time of my imprisonment I performed the ordinary work expected of a prisoner, although during the whole



Miss E. W. Davison.

time (five days, seven hours) I took no food whatever. I tried to bear in mind that my protest was not against the officials of the prison, who had no power but to carry out their instructions, but against the Government. On Monday, while we were exercising, the doctor came up to me and said, "I hear you are not taking your food?" I replied that it was so. He then asked, "Must this continue?" I said it must. From that time forward he made no attempt to persuade me to modify my protest, evidently realising that the protest had not been entered into without full consideration, and all that it implied, and that, therefore, any reasons he might advance would be useless. On Wednesday I sent to Mr. Gladstone a petition asking that I might be placed in the First Division. The only answer to my petition was the information conveyed to me on Thursday evening that orders had been received for my release on the following morning.

ISABEL KELLEY.

### The Farce Continues.

From London the weakness of the authorities towards Suffragette prisoners has spread to Liverpool. The seven women who broke windows and otherwise demonstrated on behalf of their sex on the occasion of Mr. Haldane's visit have now been released from Walton Gaol, simply because they had reduced themselves to a weak condition by refusing to taste food.

—*Pall Mall Gazette.*

Disorderly women have once more prevailed over the resources of social order. . . . We repeat what we said the other day—that it is preposterous folly and nothing short of public weakness to palter with this matter, or to leave unsolved by the Government of the day the grave problem which it creates. Everyone must be conscious that the dangers arising out of the condition of things which the Suffragettes have produced are as insidious as they are flagrant. Anarchy is a dreadful thing for a civilised community to be on the brink of.



Miss Isabel Kelley. [Langflier.]

—*Liverpool Daily Post.*

TREASURER'S NOTE.

In the great political battles that have been fought for freedom and progress in the past the people of Scotland have taken a leading share. They are justly proud of their history—those records of faith and courage put to the test of struggle and sacrifice, that story of loyalty to conviction winning through dogged determination the triumph of popular liberty.

But in the women's war for freedom which is being waged at the present time Scotland has not lived up to its standard in the past. The brunt of the fight has been done by the women of England, and Englishwomen have borne almost the whole of the great financial cost of the national campaign. But though Scottish people are awakening more slowly to the call of the greatest cause in all the world to-day, we are convinced that once awakened they will not allow themselves to be outdone in zeal, in service, nor in the surrender of their substance for the support of this "holy war."

A plan has been conceived for giving Scotland its opportunity that plan is now being carried out. The chief centre of propaganda organisation has been transferred for the months of August and September from London to Edinburgh.

The founder of the Union, Mrs. Pankhurst, is travelling all over the country. Our "General," Mrs. Drummond, who has always seemed absolutely essential for headquarters organising work, has been spared for three months to her native land, and is in command of offices in 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh, which are the centre of organisation for the great national demonstration to be held in that city on October 9.

About twelve of our official organisers are working with her, and a host of voluntary helpers from London, whose place will, we hope, soon be taken by voluntary workers from the towns and villages of Scotland. Now comes the question, "Who is going to support this Scottish campaign?" There can be only one answer to that, "The Scottish people themselves." National pride and national honour would naturally forbid any other suggestion.

At the present moment the ordinary weekly expenditure for offices in the principal towns and for the large staff of officials stationed all over the country amounts to about £80. That is to say, the expenses are about £80, exclusive of the cost of railway fares, printing, hire of halls, and other necessities of an organised propaganda campaign. In addition to this preliminary weekly bill, the demonstration itself will cost several hundreds of pounds. So far London headquarters has had to pay the biggest share of this account, though a portion of the money has been found by Scottish people.

It is estimated that it will be necessary to raise a fund of £1,500 to cover the outlay of the educational mission which will culminate in the demonstration in October.

We call upon women and men of Scottish name or descent, whether they are now residing in their country or in any other part of the world, to come forward and for the sake of honour, right, and justice give open-handedly to the Scottish Campaign and Demonstration Fund.

Meantime the work of converting the entire kingdom and of fighting our adversaries in open warfare must go on apace. Enthusiasm, devotion, the giving of self and of substance, will shortly win the day.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

Table with columns for names, amounts, and dates. Includes entries for August 25 to August 31 and August 25 to August 31.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND (continued).

Table with columns for names, amounts, and categories. Includes entries for 'A Friend', 'G. H. Pethick, Esq.', 'Proceeds of meeting', etc.

[We regret that, owing to a printer's error last week, the contribution from our well-known and generous friend Mrs. Hertha Ayrton was made to read from Mrs. Bertha Ayrton, both in the Treasurer's Note and in the Subscription List.]

THE MILITANT MOVEMENT.

The militant tactics have caused every man and woman in the United Kingdom at least to think; the militant tactics would have been impossible—they would, indeed, have been inexcusable had the Prime Minister exhibited an inclination sufficiently courteous merely to receive a deputation. But, not having given himself the trouble to think about the matter at all, being out of touch with the people, and unable to read in small things the trend of the national psychology, the Prime Minister presented the women with just that dreary opposition that was needed to help their propaganda. For indeed, had he taken thought for a moment, the Prime Minister might have seen that anyone who says that women should be denied the vote on account of their unfitness condemns at once the whole of our history, the whole of our civilisation. For if women are unfit it is our history that has made them so, and it is surely the most dire condemnation of our civilisation to say that more than one-half of the children we bring into the world will be so badly trained that they are unfitted to exercise a right which is granted to innumerable dipsomaniacs, to innumerable semi-imbeciles, to innumerable men who can neither read nor write.

Sir Albert de Rutzen's granting Mrs. Pankhurst leave to appeal has, by a sort of miracle, changed all this, even in the mind of the middle-class man. . . . The Government trembles and is perplexed: Mr. Gladstone receives a deputation of another group of Suffragettes, as if in a shuffling manner to show that the way to get the vote is not Mrs. Pankhurst's way—and the middle-class man is converted.

The reason for this conversion becomes plain after a little reflection. It lies in Mrs. Pankhurst as an object-lesson. For in a very public place Mrs. Pankhurst has proved herself a woman of consummate ability and of a consummate organising power. "If," the middle-class man has said in his heart, "a woman can so thwart a Government, then, indeed, all women have the right to meddle in politics." . . . It is the merest bad faith to accuse these self-sacrificing ladies of personal ill manners when all their actions were so purely non-personal. It would be as logical to accuse one of his Majesty's judges of murder when he pronounces the death-sentence. And it should be remembered that whereas all other revolutions have been accomplished at the cost of suffering to others, the Suffragettes, in this instance, have been the only persons very heroically to suffer. The position of the Government is very plain. Either it will bring in a Bill to confer the suffrage on women on an extended basis, or it will leave its political opponents the opportunity to confer on a limited, propertied, and normally conservative class a measure of franchise. The Government has put itself into a very difficult position. Either it will surrender—and it can only surrender in shame and confusion: it can only surrender expecting very little gratitude from its conquerors—or it will confer upon the country a half-century of Conservative legislation.

—The English Review.

In order to obtain accurate information regarding the "militant" movement for woman suffrage in England and an understanding of the spirit and purposes of the more than 50,000 members of the Women's Social and Political Union, American Suffragists need to read the London weekly journal, VOTES FOR WOMEN. . . . During the last deputation the women behaved magnificently. So did the police, very many of whom are absolutely in favour of the cause. The crowd was very sympathetic, and any attempt to give a contrary impression can only be done by violating the truth.

—Woman's Journal, Boston.

The brilliant women leaders in the English movement, Mrs. Pankhurst; her daughter, Christabel Pankhurst; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Annie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond, and others, ably defend their belligerent stand in their official organ, VOTES FOR WOMEN, which is recognised as one of the cleverest political journals published in Europe.

—The Call (San Francisco).

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Many men and women have been brought into touch with this movement for the first time during the holidays. A cordial invitation is extended to them to attend one of the free meetings of the Union on their return to London, or wherever they may live. These meetings, or At Homes as they are usually called, are held regularly each week. Those in London are held every Monday afternoon at the Queen's Hall, recommencing on Monday, October 4; and every Thursday evening, at the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, recommencing Thursday evening, September 16. Other At Homes in different parts of the country begin again about the same time, and particulars will be found in the Country Campaign pages in this and subsequent issues.

Albert Hall Meeting.

The first great ticket meeting of the autumn will be that in the Royal Albert Hall, Kensington, on Thursday evening, October 7, on which date there will be no At Home in the St. James's Hall. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and the meeting will give a send-off to Mrs. Pankhurst, who is shortly after leaving for America to conduct a lecturing tour. The tickets are now ready, and can be obtained from Miss Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.; stalls, 3s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony, 1s.; upper orchestra, 6d.; and boxes at various prices. All the seats are numbered except the upper orchestra. As the meeting is a women's demonstration, all the seats will be reserved for women only, with the exception of the stalls, boxes, and arena. It is specially desired that all members and friends should obtain their tickets as early as possible, as on many previous occasions there has been considerable difficulty owing to late application for tickets, which has often meant disappointment. Will those members, including the regular stewards, willing to act as stewards at the Albert Hall send in their names and addresses to Miss Hambling, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., as soon as possible?

The Scottish Demonstration.

Mrs. Pankhurst will also speak on Saturday, October 9, at the great Scottish Demonstration in Edinburgh. Preparations have been under way for some time for this great demonstration, and many people from different parts of Scotland are expected to take a share in it. The demonstration will commence with a procession and will end at the Waverley Market, where a meeting will be held and speeches will be made by Mrs. Pankhurst and others.

Liverpool.

As Mrs. Pankhurst sails from Liverpool on Tuesday, October 12, it is hoped to be able to arrange a great meeting on the previous night, Monday, October 11, in Liverpool, at which she will speak.

Bristol Procession.

The procession in honour of the released prisoners in Bristol to-morrow (Saturday) should be attended by everyone who can by any possibility be present. It is of the utmost importance that Mrs. Dove-Wilcox and Miss Mary Allen, who by their heroic action have faced so much on behalf of women, should receive a welcome worthy of their sacrifices. Details of arrangements will be found under "West of England," on page 1140.

Holiday Campaign.

Though preparations are already being made for the autumn, a very large number of members of the W.S.P.U. are still away on their holidays, and are doing valuable propaganda work. Those who are able to help them in their campaign should consult pages 1136 to 1138 of this issue, where a holiday directory will be found. We are specially glad of any reports which reach this paper of the work which is being undertaken.

"Votes for Women."

Among the special activities of those at the holiday resorts is that of selling this paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, and the names of volunteers willing to extend this work will be gladly received, either at headquarters or by those whose names appear in the local directories. Meanwhile, in London there is urgent need of sellers. Will those who are able to assist in this way call at the office some time in the morning or afternoon and inquire for Miss Mills or Miss Ainsworth? Similar assistance will be very gladly received at any of the centres throughout the country.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Table with columns for dates, locations, and names of speakers. Includes entries for Birmingham, Bolton, Bristol, Leamington, Liverpool, Manchester, etc.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Table with columns for dates, locations, and names of speakers. Includes entries for London, Coventry, Redcar, Edinburgh, etc.

## The National Women's Social & Political Union.

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a-half million men who are at present enfranchised.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed immediately.

### OUR BYE-ELECTION POLICY.

The bye-election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union is clear, definite, logical, and has been consistently carried out since its inception. To fight against any Government that refuses to enfranchise women; that is the principle of the militant movement. The only way to fight the Government at a bye-election is to work to bring about the defeat of the Government nominee.

"But suppose that the Government candidate is personally a warm supporter of Women's Suffrage? Is it not in that case both unfair and unwise to attack him? Will you not by so doing turn a friend who might have served your cause at a favourable opportunity into an enemy?" These are the questions which are being asked continually by people who are ignorant of the rules of political warfare.

As a matter of fact, no sincere supporter of Women's Suffrage could stand as a nominee of the present Government, which has signally proved itself hostile to the enfranchisement of women, and has deliberately chosen to attempt to crush women's agitation for votes by extreme measures of coercion rather than to grant their demand for bare justice. Conscience and honour would forbid a sincere man to put himself in so false a position. For every candidate knows that if elected he goes back to the House of Commons to support his party, and that it is only as an obedient follower of his party leader that a political career is open to him.

Indeed, if the question were any other than that of Women's Suffrage everybody would be ready to see and acknowledge this fact without a moment's doubt or argument.

No man, for instance, would dream of entering an election contest as a nominee of the present Government while openly professing sympathy for Tariff Reform. It is expected of honourable men that they will be prepared to take a stand upon their political convictions.

Suffragists who mean business to-day claim for Women's Suffrage a position of political precedence second to no other political issue. We demand from a supporter of our cause the same standard of conduct that Free Traders or Tariff Reformers would demand from a Parliamentary candidate.

If he is sincere then let him get out of his false position at all costs. If he is not sincere what good to us are his pledges or his sympathy? To take account of them is to put a premium on political dishonesty.

All we know or need to know about a nominee of the Government is that he wears the enemy's uniform and carries the enemy's colours. In the stress of warfare it is not for us, as good soldiers of the flag of freedom, to consider whether by attacking him we shall change him from a vague and shadowy sympathiser into a bitter personal foe. With him as an individual and with his personal opinions we have no concern. We have to deal with him as the representative of a hostile force. By all the rules of warfare it is not only fair, but wise and also our bounden duty to attack him.

This point having been made clear there follows often the question, "But why direct this fierce attack upon the Liberal Government when the leader of the Conservative Opposition has given no pledge on behalf of his party to grant women the vote?"

Many people find it exceedingly difficult to understand why at bye-elections we oppose the Liberal in every case as

the representative of his Government, thereby indirectly helping to reinforce the Conservative party, which is not officially committed to women's suffrage, and in the past has been equally guilty in this matter.

"The Conservatives," they say, "are no better than the Liberals. They did nothing for you while in office; they have promised nothing to you should their party be returned at the General Election; they have not helped you in your fight, as they might easily have done." That is true. As between the Conservative and Liberal Governments it has been six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. "Then why draw this great distinction between them? Does it not show that at heart you favour the Conservative party?"

Our reply is, that we are not fighting for the sake of fighting. We are fighting to obtain something that one party has the power to give, and that the other party has not the power to give. Let us change the metaphor from warfare in the field to that other form of warfare that is fought in the law courts. Suppose that two men, rivals in the same trade, owe you an equally large debt for goods received or service done. One of the debtors has made a large fortune and could pay you quite easily if he wished to do so. The other has lost his money, and you know perfectly well that, for the present, it is quite impossible for him to pay his account.

What course would a practical business man pursue? He would bring pressure to bear upon the rich man. If the debtor persistently refused to pay the debt, he would fight him at law. But he would not throw good money after bad by dunning the other man who, he knew for a certain fact, was unable to pay.

Should the rich man, before settling the account, one day lose his whole fortune, and the poor man become possessed of means, he would then turn his attention from the first one and take the necessary action to enforce payment from the other.

As practical politicians who mean business, that is precisely our position to-day with regard to the two great rival political parties. Both have taken our goods and our services and have withheld payment for them. There is not a pin to choose between them. But it happens that one of these parties can pay and that the other cannot pay. The Leader of the Opposition could not at the present moment give women the vote were it the dearest wish of his heart. The Leader of the Party in power can give it to us to-day. We intend to make it as difficult and unpleasant as possible for him to continue in his refusal. If the Liberal Party should by any chance lose its fortune before it settles its account with us, and become powerless to pay its debt, while the Conservative Party comes into its legacy of power, then we should, of course, cease a prosecution which would have become fruitless and turn our attention to the other debtor who would be in a position to discharge his obligation.

The business man does not as a creditor favour one rival more than the other, but he means to get his money, and he has to do it in the one case by fighting for it, while in the other case he sees that his only chance is to wait till the tide of fortune turns for the penniless man and puts him in the position of being able to pay. Our policy is war, but it is also business. We are determined to get the vote, and though as the soldiers and servants of a great ideal, we count ourselves "the children of Light," yet as practical politicians we have to be as wise in our day and generation as are "the children of this world."

Foolish persons have criticised as immoral our strict adherence to the principle of our policy at bye-elections and our refusal to depart from it, or to modify it, from any reason of sentiment or from any respect of persons. Such critics have yet to understand that there is no room in serious political warfare for that surrender to considerations of sentiment which is often admissible in private and personal life. And until that elementary lesson has been learnt, no one is fitted to become trustee for the rights and liberties of fellow human beings or to bear a responsible part in a vitally important and a strenuous political agitation.

**Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.**

## THE PROTECTION OF CABINET MINISTERS.

Protests have been made this week at two meetings addressed by Mr. Runciman; at Rhyl the Suffragettes were arrested, not for committing any offence, but merely to prevent inconvenience to the speaker. They were, however, released a few hours later. Several interesting personal encounters with Ministers are recorded below, as well as Press comments on the amusing measures taken to protect Cabinet Ministers from the Suffragettes whom they dare not face.

### A PROTEST MEETING AT RHYL.

In preparation for Mr. Runciman's meeting in the Town Hall at Rhyl on the 28th we held several successful meetings on the shore. On the night of the 28th we arrived punctually at 7.30 at the Town Hall, to find large crowds awaiting us and many police drafted in from the surrounding county. We got an orange box from a woman, who gave it us with the parting words, "No, don't you pay for it; take it and do your best, and good luck to you!" We started our meeting facing a huge crowd, which filled the Town Hall Square and the surrounding streets. However, before we had spoken for two minutes a force of police came through and arrested us, and marched us off to the police station amid mighty cheers from our supporters and cries of "Well done, women!" The police inspector remarked with a sigh of relief, "If we'd left you there five minutes longer there'd have been a riot." As the police station is exactly opposite the Town Hall, Mr. Runciman must have heard the cheers and cries of "Votes for Women," which continued throughout the evening. At five minutes to ten we were released, as by that time they had got Mr. Runciman safely out of the way.

Margaret Hewitt.

### Mr. Runciman Again Questioned.

Another protest was made on Tuesday outside Mr. Runciman's meeting at Southampton. An account of this will appear next week.

### SOME PERSONAL INTERVIEWS.

In addition to the Budget League meetings at which protests have been made by women Suffragettes during the past week, there have been several occasions on which Cabinet Ministers have been personally approached. One of these occurred on Friday, when Nurse Evans (a snapshot of whom recently appeared in the *Daily Mirror*, showing her selling a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN to Mr. Lloyd George), who was again on duty selling the paper outside the House of Commons, caught sight of Mr. Birrell in Palace Yard. The House had just risen, and Mr. Birrell was entering George Street when Nurse Evans followed him and asked him to buy a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN and to "see that we get Votes for Women quickly." At the same moment Mr. John Burns was seen talking to someone outside the House. On catching sight of VOTES FOR WOMEN, he fled "as if shot from a gun," but finding that he was not followed he returned and continued his conversation, whereupon Nurse Evans approached him and offered him a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. "Get away, woman, get away," said Mr. Burns; but it was Mr. Burns who got away—as quickly as possible!

On Friday also a member of the W.S.P.U., who is an experienced and successful seller of VOTES FOR WOMEN, chancing to see Mr. Lloyd George at Paddington, promptly secured a copy of the current issue from the bookstall and presented it to him. Mr. Lloyd George, who was just leaving by the 11.50 train, accepted the paper smilingly as he stepped into his compartment.

Just before leaving Sheringham, Miss Phyllis Ayrton, Miss Gilliate, and Miss Casserley were busy making out a notice on the sand of the day's meeting at Beeston Hill, when a friendly fisherman informed them that Mr. Birrell was strolling on the promenade with his wife and son. Wasting no time the three at once approached Mr. Birrell, upon which Mrs. Birrell seized hold of her husband's arm. "Will you have a copy of our paper, Mr. Birrell?" said Miss Gilliate, offering the current issue. "With pleasure," Mr. Birrell replied, giving her three pence (which are being kept as trophies). The women then invited Mr. Birrell to their evening meeting, but he replied that he had so many meetings himself he feared he would not be able to come. "Don't you come to my meetings!" was his parting shot as he moved off.

### HOW MINISTERS ARE PROTECTED.

"Afraid of the Ladies."

Mr. Birrell is to be the main speaker [at Manchester on September 4]. To protect the Irish Secretary from the attention of the

ladies who want votes extraordinary precautions are being taken. The strictest regulations that have yet been enforced in Manchester have been trebled in stringency.

The accommodation for ladies is limited, and an intimation is given that if the applications for ladies' tickets exceed the available number of seats, they will be allotted by ballot.

A lady wanting an admission ticket has to get a special application form, which, by the way, has already aroused adverse comment among Liberals themselves. One section of this application form is a "signature and pledge of the lady for whom the ticket is required." This part has to be duly signed, the promise being in the following words:—

I hereby undertake not to transfer the ticket issued to me to any other person, and not to disturb the meeting by interrupting.

This solemn oath sort of declaration is not by any means enough for the organisers. The signature must be written in the presence of the local secretary or other prominent worker.

Furthermore, before any ticket is issued, the applicant's own declaration (it evidently being thought possible that women would make one only to break it) is to be supported by the "signature of a member of the Stretford Division Liberal Association, who will certify that the lady named is personally known to him as a Liberal worker, and that she will undertake to observe the conditions of her pledge."

Finally there is the definite and curt announcement:—

No application for a lady's ticket will be considered unless it is on behalf of a known worker for the Liberal cause, and countersigned by an officer or prominent worker of the Divisional Liberal Association.

—Manchester Evening Chronicle.

### The Suffragettes.

I came across a party of Suffragettes in the Paragon Square last Friday evening. Miss Marsh was speaking. One of Hull's leading journalists murmured, "What a pretty girl!" One could easily have taken the young lady as a pleasing specimen of the English riverside girl, the kind one is often led to imagine paddling in canoes or punting in richly-adorned boats. It seems strange to many to find pretty and attractive women on public platforms. But at last we are beginning to realise the fact that beauty and brains may go together. That reminds me. On Saturday afternoon from two to four o'clock Mrs. Bentham, Miss Adams, and other ladies were sitting in committee, in Bond Street, to pass desirable lady applicants for tickets of admission to the Budget meeting to-night. Although one may deplore the tactics of the militant party, one cannot but be amused at the way the members are allowing women to discriminate for them in that most grave matter of how to keep the Suffragette at bay. The irony of it!

—Eastern Morning News.

It is the rule at all meetings under the auspices of the Budget League which are addressed by a Minister of Cabinet rank not to admit women, and this rule will be enforced at Bingley Hall. Special precautions will be taken to prevent any disturbance.

—Daily News.

Before the arrival of Mr. Lloyd George at Rheims, apartments had been taken for him, as well as for Mr. Winston Churchill and Sir Henry Norman, at a private house, since every scrap of accommodation at the hotels was occupied. On Saturday four women drove to this house in a motor car, and asked the landlord a series of questions as to the position of the Ministers' rooms and the probable hour of their arrival. The landlord grew suspicious and reported the matter to the authorities, who believe that the women are English Suffragettes who are reconnoitring with a view to annoying the Ministers. Accordingly the house is now watched by detectives, who have been ordered to prevent any attempt at a Suffragette demonstration.

—Daily Chronicle.

### "Will You Waik into my Parlour?"

No one can accuse the militant Suffrage party of want of resourcefulness and enterprise. . . . Their persistence and indomitable zeal are so splendid that one grieves the more that these should be directed against the most Liberal Government there ever has been. If this energy were given to helping on the Budget agitation the Suffragettes would be indirectly helping their own cause instead of wearying out rational people. If these enthusiasts would lend their intelligence to understand the questions in which the country is just now really interested, and would cast in their lot with this splendid and reforming Government, the reward could not, and would not, be withheld. Meetings in support of the Budget are being organised in every part of the country. Good speakers are in great demand. No one wants to hear about Woman Suffrage at this moment, however deep their convictions are in its favour. To bring forward subjects inappropriately is distinctly wanting in tact.

—Cambridge Independent Press.

## OUR POST BOX.

## THE HUNGER STRIKE.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I crave a little space in your interesting paper as the father-in-law of a lady whose recent Holloway experiences have been noised throughout the land. Of course, you are well aware that, whilst there is a small section of our people who undoubtedly approve and loudly applaud the tactics of the W.S.P.U., the carrying out of which have brought all this personal discomfort and danger to life on my daughter-in-law, there is a much greater number who reprobate unsparingly the adoption of such extraordinary methods in the attempt to secure something to which the agitators conceive themselves to be entitled. This reprobation is by no means confined to those who make no secret of their aversion to the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women; but it is equally shared by those who believe that, without further loss of time, the demand for the vote should be granted. Amongst the latter class I am to be found. Twenty-five years ago I wrote to the local Press strongly advocating women's suffrage in Parliamentary matters, and I received a letter of thanks from the local Women's Suffrage Committee. With your objects I am largely in sympathy. Did the decision indeed rest with me, I would before the prorogation of Parliament redress the wrong which has so long remained a blot on our British constitution by extending the Parliamentary franchise to women on the same lines as they now enjoy that for municipal purposes. And I would do this despite the awkward and embarrassing circumstance that it would have the humiliating appearance of yielding to what must be described as a very unconstitutional agitation. I would do it because I feel that an act of justice should neither be withheld nor delayed merely because some of the agitators, in their despair, have adopted a plan of campaign which only enthusiasts can do otherwise than condemn.

Having said this, and having, I trust, made it clear that your Union has my full sympathy in the movement for the enfranchisement of women, may I venture to lodge my strongest possible protest against the course of action mapped out for the members of the W.S.P.U. My objection thereto is a very simple one. It is covered in general terms when I point out that it proceeds upon the well-known principle of the Jesuits that the end justifies the means. The same principle was in the world long before the formation of the Society of Jesus, and secured the withering condemnation of the apostle Paul in his famous words concerning the doing of evil that good might come. The forms in which this principle has been recently developed are Protean; and, as I contend, are all of them exceedingly objectionable. Let me name some of them.

1. The continually recurring attempt to break up any meeting where a Cabinet Minister is on the platform.
2. Disorderly scenes in and out of the House of Commons.
3. The breaking of windows whether outside or in the gaol.
4. The assaults on wardresses in the discharge of their duties, and the general rowdiness in the cells.
5. The "hunger strike," which means, in plainer English, deliberate suicide, to be only averted by the humane interference of the Home Secretary in the release of the Suffragettes involved.

Now, I assert it is impossible to say that these methods are ethically correct; they are at variance with the best traditions of English society, and they cannot be justified save on the principles of Jesuitry, and are abhorrent to the law-abiding peoples of all civilised countries.

Without question the most serious of them is the "hunger strike"; and I have asked myself what would be the position if any of the starved Suffragettes should succumb. Could any other verdict be returned by any jury than that of self-murder? And, if not, what would be the legal position of those who by encouraging the hunger strikers in their dangerous abstinence had aided and abetted the poor victims? I am no lawyer; but to a layman the situation appears serious. Moreover, let me point out that suicide is not martyrdom; indeed, though special honour seems to be awaiting the hunger strikers whose lives have happily been spared, it must not be forgotten that suicide is an offence at common law.

Before closing I think I should say a word about my daughter-in-law. Of her pluck, energy, and determination I had no need for any demonstration such as has been recently forthcoming. For eighteen months she fought with a spirit rarely equalled the dread

disease which had attacked my only son; she always wore a smile in the sick chamber, and had a cheery word for the sufferer. Her efforts were unavailing; but the memory of them remains with my loving appreciation, though in the course she is now taking in this movement she is in my judgment utterly misguided, and has my entire disapproval.—Yours, etc.,

W. DOVE-WILCOX.

Brocksholme, Redland Green, Bristol. August 22, 1909.

[Mr. Dove-Willcox is quite incorrect in thinking that the methods of the W.S.P.U. are only to be defended on the ground of doing evil that good may come. They are methods involving inconvenience to those against whom they are directed, and still greater suffering by those who adopt them; but, nevertheless, they are the methods which practically everyone, including the Christian Churches, have invariably approved of in the case of other revolutions against injustice or of wars in a righteous cause. Mr. Dove-Willcox assumes that because so many women have adopted the "hunger strike" it is a policy imposed upon them by the W.S.P.U. This is incorrect. The leaders of the W.S.P.U. have not, and would not, take upon themselves the responsibility of advising, still less imposing, such a course. The unanimity with which this action has been followed is due to the extraordinary heroism of the prisoners, who on their own initiative decided to imitate the example of Miss Wallace Dunlop. Finally, while appreciating the sympathy of Mr. Dove-Willcox for woman suffrage, we would point out to him that his sympathy, and that of others of a similar mind, proved quite ineffective to win "Votes for Women."—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—"Qui a appris à mourir a désappris à revir." Montaigne's remark is receiving a singular illustration amongst us to-day. I feel irresistibly impelled to add my tribute of respectful admiration to the brave women who have again endured to the uttermost in Liverpool gaol and whose dauntless spirit has once more won a triumphant victory.—Yours, etc.,

ADELINE M. CHAPMAN.

Nairn, N.B.

## Women Speakers.

Oratory has long been regarded as something for men only and as an art in which only men could shine. Women, of course, might talk, might talk remarkably well, but rhetoric was far above their abilities. A Joan of Arc or Maid of Saragossa might enter the same field as a Henry V. or a Napoleon and show that military renown and genius did not belong to the male sex alone, but it is only within the last few years that women have appeared seriously on the rostrum, and really the laurels of Demosthenes are already clinging less tightly to his noble brow. For this state of affairs there is no doubt that that wonderful organisation the Women's Social and Political Union is largely if not entirely responsible. Whatever one may think of its policy or of its aims, it must be admitted that its achievements are not only great but wonderful. It has succeeded in gathering to "the colours" an army of enthusiasts. . . . Their originality, their determination, and their demeanour before scorn and lash of words are now household knowledge throughout the English-speaking world and need not be spoken of here. Mrs. Pankhurst was, of course, the speaker of the afternoon, and many prominent M.P.'s might do much worse than attend her meetings and study her style. It is certainly effective. The other speakers also, especially the ubiquitous lady organiser of the Manchester branch, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, showed no common talent. Even they could put many a public man to shame.

—Manchester Weekly Chronicle.

## Women's Social and Political Union.

Not heat or holidays, nor poppy nor mandragora, nor all the drowsy syrups of the East could take the energy out of the Women's Social and Political Union. Their "1909 £50,000 Fund" has exceeded £44,000, and with these practically bottomless funds at their disposal they are running a double summer campaign. One part of it consists of systematic counter-demonstrations at Budget League meetings, the other of seaside and spa propaganda, every health resort in the kingdom having its detachment either "there" or "on the way." I may mention, by the bye, that in promising that there should be no more deputations to the Premier this year Mrs. Pankhurst meant exactly what she said—and no more. The interval is being made full use of, and even now, with half a year to spare, Miss Christabel Pankhurst is collecting names of volunteers who are willing, as early as possible in 1910, to go to prison after the biggest raid on record. Last time there were 108 arrests, and next time this will probably be exceeded.

—Sussex Daily News.

## WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

## MR. HEALY, M.P., ON THE RIGHT TO PETITION.

Mr. T. M. Healy, M.P., K.C., appeared in defence of Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, and six other members of the Women's Freedom League, who were again before the magistrate at Bow Street last Friday morning, charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty outside Mr. Asquith's residence. The hearing had been adjourned from the previous Thursday, when Mr. Rentoul, who defended, said the defendants were acting in accordance with the best legal advice, and were only asserting what they believed to be their constitutional rights. The police were doubtless acting on orders they received from headquarters, but it was difficult to see how they had been obstructed. It was not intended to let the matter rest at this court, and action would be taken against those who were responsible for what had occurred.

Mr. Baker, also defending, said the defendants regarded the conduct of the police as illegal. The police were liable to penalties, and would be brought to trial.

On Friday last Mr. Barker, for the police, denied that the ladies had any intention of presenting a petition; they had merely a copy of a resolution asking Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation.

They had been waiting outside the House of Commons and in Downing Street for weeks, trying to force their presence upon Mr. Asquith. On the afternoon of August 19 the defendants Cranstoun and Lillard stationed themselves on each side of the doorway of No. 10, Downing Street, with cardboard rolls in their hands. They refused to go away and were arrested. Subsequently it became necessary to clear Downing Street and place a cordon of police across the entrance.

Superintendent Wells was cross-examined by Mr. Healy, who asked: Do you say the presence of persons in front of the Prime Minister's residence is illegal?—I do, if it is continuous.

Suppose they were there to serve a writ?—If they were standing there for a legal purpose that might be a good defence.

If they told you they were there to present a petition, would they be allowed to stand?—They were allowed to stand for ten hours.

When did it become illegal?—It was illegal all the time.

Then the view of the police is that they are entitled to interpose between the Prime Minister and the presentation of petitions?—The police have a right to prevent him from being molested.

And you include in molestation the presentation of petitions?—They hadn't a petition.

Did you care what document they had?—Not much.

## The Defence.

Mr. Healy, in addressing the magistrate, said he wished at the outset to make it perfectly clear that none of his clients had anything but compliment for the police for the way in which they discharged what was no doubt a painful duty. What was being contested on behalf of the defendants was the right of a policeman to come between the subject and the Sovereign's chief officer. Until the Bill of Rights was repealed, and until the statute of Charles II. was repealed, there was no such right in any police officer. Nothing more remarkable could be conceived than the recognition of the right to petition by Parliament in the reigns of Charles II. and William and Mary. It was the right of subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning were illegal. He intended to call no evidence in this case; he intended to rely upon the evidence of the police, and upon that evidence to ask the magistrate to discharge the prisoners. The authorities said, "We don't deny the right, but you shan't do it. You shall do it, not as you desire to do it, but as we desire you should do it." There was, however, nothing in the Act of Charles II. saying that subjects should petition the Sovereign at such times as the Metropolitan Police should appoint.

It was the duty of the police to give facilities for the law being carried out. They were dealing with a body of women engaged in a persistent struggle for their rights, or what they conceived to be their rights. Was it the misconduct of those ladies which had led to turmoil in our streets and disorder in front of our public offices, or was it the contumacy and disregard of his high functions of the King's Minister? Would the magistrate determine that? Mr. Asquith proposed to find security and repose for himself by ordering the police to arrest educated women. Imagine the Cabinet sitting round the table in order to oppose the Women's Freedom League, and the whole of their united wisdom could not frame a police charge correctly, because the defendants were not accused of "wilful" obstruction, which was the offence dealt with by the Act. Whose fault was it that they were there at all? Would a British jury say the fault was in them or in the man who would

not do his duty? It was not so long ago in his (Mr. Healy's) country since the King, accompanied by his gracious consort, received in a far western and desolate province a petition from the inhabitants in person, with the result that he ordered the release from an Irish prison of the husband of one of the petitioners. There was an instance of the recognition by the King himself of the right to personal approach. These women were inconvenient. Yes. Everybody seeking justice was inconvenient. The London crowd was inconvenient to Charles I. and James II. Was it the breed of men and women who had prostrated monarchs in the dust who were to be refused access by the puny Ministers of modern sovereigns? They admitted Mr. Asquith had been inconvenienced. He had a large majority. Let him repeal the Bill of Rights, and change the law so that no petticoat should approach within one hundred yards of Downing Street.

Mr. Healy submitted that the charge was bad, and that, even if it were properly made, it had not been supported. If the magistrate thought otherwise he would ask him, on this high constitutional question, to state a case to the King's Bench Division, and then it would be seen what His Majesty's judges thought of the Bill of Rights, and whether the rights and liberties of millions of English subjects were to be swept away at the bidding of a casual and ephemeral Prime Minister.

## The Case Again Adjourned.

The magistrate announced that he would take time to consider his decision, and the hearing was accordingly adjourned for a week. The defendants renewed their undertaking not to go to Downing Street in the meanwhile, and they were released on their own recognisances, as before.

## A Fellow-Feeling.

The lot of the Prime Minister, like that of the policeman, is not a particularly happy one. He occupies a great position which a docile majority in the House of Commons will doubtless enable him to retain for the next two or three years, but outside the four walls of the House his total lack of sympathy with the cause of reform has caused what little popularity he once possessed to be reduced almost to the vanishing point.

Many of the Civil Servants—perhaps the majority—who are struggling for liberty are in full sympathy with the women who are asking that taxation and representation should go hand in hand. Their positions are almost identical; in both cases they are "agin the Government," and the Government is "agin" them, and in both cases they know that victory can only be won by sheer hard work and determination. In neither case is it safe to predict when victory will come but we feel sure it will come some day, and to both we say, "Hope! The future holds in store much that is good for you." The demands of the ladies are, in our opinion, most moderate.

Even the most bitter opponent of Women's Suffrage cannot say that this Bill [Mr. Stanger's], had it become law, would have given women an undue advantage over men, as it simply provided for placing the sexes on equal terms, so far as voting power was concerned. The Bill would have satisfied the members of the Women's Social and Political Union; the "militant" members of the party, who are working on the assumption that the Government will not yield except under pressure, and who are, therefore, applying the necessary pressure by taking an active part against the Ministerial candidates at by-elections, by demonstrations at Westminster and elsewhere, and by entering protests at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers.

Our sympathy for the woman who is fighting for political freedom is only equalled by our sympathy for the Civil Servant who is fighting for a Court of Appeal.

—Civil Service Gazette.

As it is also clear that the Crown cannot now initiate any legislation except by and with the consent of Parliament, which since the accession of George I. has come practically to mean the consent of the Cabinet, it would appear to be useless to petition the reigning Sovereign upon any question touching a change in the law of the country, and that any such petition should be presented to the head of the Cabinet, i.e., the Prime Minister, who is answerable primarily to the House of Commons, and ultimately to the electorate.

—Star.

The Prime Minister's game of hide-and-seek with the "pickets" of the Women's Freedom League has excited much interest and no little amusement among our legislators. The question is how Mr. Asquith manages night after night to evade the eagle eyes of the ladies of the Women's Freedom League.

—Morning Post.



## THE HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN

Letters from workers in the various holiday resorts continue to come in. They show not only the extensive ground that is being covered by W.S.P.U. members, but are full of unconscious evidence of the loyalty and self-sacrifice which is so conspicuous in workers in the great cause of woman's enfranchisement. Some good accounts come from France, where one energetic worker has been spending her holiday on the coast. At the Douane she handed the key of her trunk to the official, who, catching sight of her badge, returned the key with a courtly bow, saying, "Mais non! Madame est Suffragette." Some of the remarks from passers-by as she sold the paper in the streets of a French watering-place are interesting, too. "Bless my soul!" said one man, "there is a bit of old England for you with a vengeance; there is no escaping these intrepid Suffragettes! I believe if I went to Timbuctoo the first object that would catch my eye would be a Suffragette wearing a badge and asking me to buy a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN, price one penny." And when his wife replied, "As they are so energetic as to sell the papers all over the world, do not you think we might buy one just to read what all this fuss is about?" they bought a copy. Another passer-by, referring to the badge, said, "Take it off; take it off; can't you take a holiday sometimes and enjoy yourself?" He also bought a copy, remarking, "Votes for women or no votes for women, sticking to one's colours shows a bit of real English grit." An old English gentleman took off his hat to this Suffragette, saying, "I wish to express my admiration for you, young lady, in having the courage of your convictions."

Miss M. P. Wilkinson, who spent her holiday at a Welsh farm, was much surprised and interested to find that her landlady, a thorough Welshwoman, had collected a number of trophies in the colours of the W.S.P.U., and was a convinced believer in Woman Suffrage. Miss Wilkinson was able to influence chance visitors also at this lonely spot.

At Longhorsley a debate on "Votes for Women" was held in a very novel place last week, i.e., on the top of a haystack. The listeners agreed that Miss Davison had decidedly the best of the argument with the haymakers.

The names and addresses of workers at the following centres may be had on application to the Holiday Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.:—Beverley (Yorks), Bridgwater, Colwyn Bay, Derby, Folkestone, Letchworth Garden City, Lewes, Llandudno, Margate, Morecambe, Portslade, Southport and Birkdale, Bournemouth, and Whitely Bay.

### BEDFORDSHIRE.

Miss M. Wolff Van Sandau, while on a visit to Apsley Guise and Woburn Sands, addressed a drawing-room meeting and distributed copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Her suggestion of regular meetings to study the subject was heartily taken up.

### BLACKPOOL, LYTHAM AND ST. ANNE'S.

Hall, Rev. R. J., M.A., Ansdell.  
Johnson, Miss, The Lytham Hydro, Lytham.  
Owen, Miss, Ashol House, Mount Street, Blackpool.

Hearty support is being given by the Rev. R. J. Hall, who presided over a meeting, of which the *Lytham Times* reported:—"The crowd cheered Miss Gawthorpe at the close, and hooted the lady interrupter, and it was apparent that a lot of Women's Suffrage converts had been made."

### BRIGHTON.

Clarke, Mrs., and local workers, 8, North Street Quadrant. (Office hours 10-1, 3-5, 7-9.)  
Dugdale, the Misses, 8, San Bemo, Hove.  
Golding, Miss Constance A., Woodlands, Cuckfield, Hayward's Heath.  
Payton, Miss.  
Stearns, Miss, Blenheim House.  
Tanner, Miss.

In addition to excellent meetings (at one of which Miss Daisy Fugdale made her *début* as chairman for Mrs. Clarke), the Brighton holiday campaigners attended a performance at the theatre, dressed in the colours and wearing "Votes for Women" sashes. The local papers gave a prominent place to the incident, one (the *Brighton and Hove Post*), under the heading, "From Prison to Playhouse," while the *Brighton Herald* remarked:—"Possibly the ladies

had a dark idea of satire at the back of their minds in choosing this particular piece. They may have considered "The Road to Ruin" as a symbol of the path which is now being trod by their arch foes, Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet."

### BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Casserley, Miss E. M., The Ark, Longdown Farm, Princess Risboro'.  
Clayton, Miss.  
Jacobs, Miss.

Glowing accounts come from Miss Annette Jacobs, who, with Mrs. Keeling, has been organising a fortnight's campaign, which included Chesham, Aylesbury, Great Kimble, High Wycombe, and elsewhere. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold splendidly, the meetings were most enthusiastic, and one new member signed her card in a country lane in the middle of a pool!

### CORNWALL.

Crosby Smith, Mrs., The Homestead, Newquay.  
Hall, Mrs. St. John, 5, Kynance Terrace, Lizard.  
Howey, Mrs., Tregenna House, Penzance.  
Mahr, Mrs., 9, The Parade, Truro.  
Master, Mrs., Beacon House, Newquay.  
Webbe, Mrs. A. G., Kenneck Cottage, Ruan Minor.

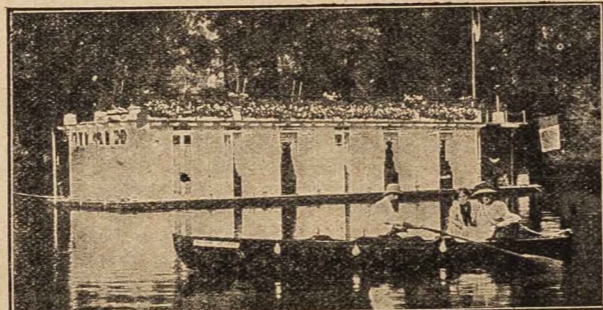
VOTES FOR WOMEN may be obtained in Penzance from Mrs. Howey, and in Truro Mrs. Mahr is taking charge of them in Miss Mary Phillips's absence.

Mrs. Webbe will be pleased to combine with other workers in the neighbourhood for a two or three weeks' holiday campaign.

### HENLEY-ON-THAMES.

Band, Mrs., Houseboat "Patricia Woodlock."  
Cooke, Miss Florence E., Houseboat "Patricia Woodlock."  
Davis, Miss Theodora, Houseboat "Patricia Woodlock."  
Dunlane, Miss Edna, Angel Hotel.  
Morris, Mrs., Houseboat "Patricia Woodlock."

Two large meetings have been held in Henley Market Place following up the success of the Henley Regatta week. Thanks to Mr. Scott's care, the "Patricia Woodlock" is being made as cosy inside as it is attractive externally, and a winter berth has been



The "Patricia Woodlock" at Henley.

secured at Henley. The visit of the Drum and Fife Band had unfortunately to be given up owing to bad weather. Members visiting Henley will rejoice to see a large purple, white, and green flag flying bravely over the Angel Hotel, the favourite hostelry near Henley Bridge.

### ILFRACOMBE.

Pearce, Miss Marion, Rockcliffe, Capstone Parade.

There is an excellent opening for meetings, the town being full of visitors. Miss Pearce and another worker are selling VOTES FOR WOMEN well.

### ISLE OF MAN.

This campaign is now over, and Miss Flatman writes that many thanks are due to Miss Llewelyn, Miss Woodlock, and Miss Geraldine Lyster for the valuable help they have given. During the last week Miss Llewelyn was obliged to leave, so that while Miss Flatman and Miss Woodlock were speaking Miss Lyster had to chalk, sell VOTES FOR WOMEN and tickets, act as doorkeeper, take the collection, etc. Other members will take courage from her example, as this is the first campaign in which she has helped. At Ramsay holiday-making hooligans created some riotous disturbances, which were protested against by residents, but even here good meetings were held, one of which the *Ramsay Courier* remarks was "certainly a triumph for the ladies."

### LLANDRINDOD WELLS.

Hylton Dale, Mrs., Pump House Hotel.

Mrs. Hylton Dale has been doing excellent work, and has thoroughly roused the place. VOTES FOR WOMEN is selling well.

### LOWESTOFT.

Friedlaender, Miss V. H., c/o Mrs. Gray, 43, St. George's Road, Pakefield, near Lowestoft.  
Ramsbottom, Mrs., Waveney House, Bungay.

Thanks to Dr. Ward and others who went over from Yarmouth a good preliminary meeting has been held. The ground is promising,

and if workers are forthcoming some very good results may be expected. Miss Evans, who has been energetically selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, has now left, and other workers are much needed.

### ORKNEY.

Miss M'Neill and Miss Hunter held a meeting in Stromness, when a large crowd gathered, and some of the hotel visitors came out on the balcony to listen, and 117 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN and 41 badges were sold in about three-quarters of an hour. In response to an urgent request from the Stromness people another meeting was held next evening in the Town Hall, which was packed with an interested audience, many who could not get seats sitting on window sills or standing round the walls. The Provost presided, and, with three exceptions, the meeting declared itself in favour of the women. "The Government's treatment of British women has aroused so much wrath," our correspondent writes, "that a Cabinet Minister would have a warm time if he fell into the hands of the hardy Northmen."

### RHYL.

Francis, Miss Edith, Mayfield, Rhyl.

In spite of slight local opposition, two very successful meetings have been held on the shore here, the disturbances being coped with by local men, who ensured Miss Hazel and other speakers a quiet audience. Ladies waited two or three hours on the promenade walls for the meetings to begin.

### RYE, SUSSEX.

Guest, Mrs. Rhuvon, Wood Rising.

Mrs. Guest wishes to be put into touch with other workers in the neighbourhood. She has induced the local newsagents to stock VOTES FOR WOMEN, and is making converts here and at Broadstairs, which she visited.

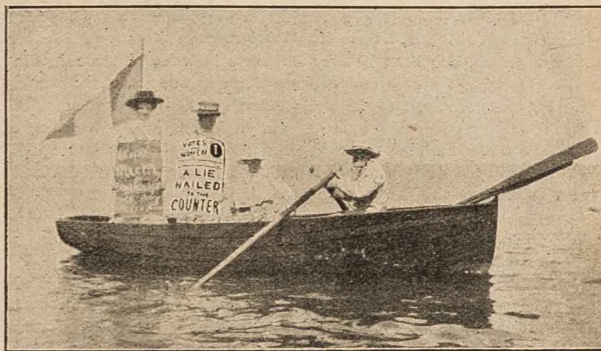
### SCARBOROUGH.

Miss Daisy Coombs and Miss Royston have effected very good sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN, had many talks with interested people, and have met with much sympathy. In response to a request they held a meeting on the sands, but in consequence of the crowds were requested by the chief constable to desist. This called forth a remonstrance from a male sympathiser, and the next time they appeared on the sands, followed by a policeman, the sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN were doubled. Many people are anxiously looking forward to a further campaign in Scarborough.

### SHERINGHAM.

Casserley, Miss, care of Mrs. Johnson, Johnson's Yard, Lower Sheringham.  
Maguire, Miss Cynthia, care of Miss Woolley, Grove House, Beeston Road, Lower Sheringham.

Miss Phyllis Ayrton has done splendid work; 150 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold last week, 60 copies in Cromer alone in two hours. Meetings have been held in spite of heavy rain, and an audience of 200 people listened attentively to the speakers. Miss Ayrton and Miss Hardy have also visited Salthouse, a small village which has never heard the Suffragettes before. A very sympathetic



Advertising a Meeting at Sheringham.

audience of over seventy people listened to them for an hour, cheering the women and asking them to come again. On someone in the audience calling for three cheers for Mr. Asquith there was no response. "This," Miss Ayrton writes, "was most remarkable, as the place is a red-hot Liberal stronghold." The audience fully grasped the idea that Britain is far behind America in its treatment of political prisoners.

### SOUTHWOLD.

During the first week eighty copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold. Miss Hooson and the Misses Webb have visited Southwold from Dunwich on two occasions.

### WEST WALES.

Barnet, Miss J.  
Keevil, Miss Gladice, Cardigan View, West Parade, Pwllheli.  
Phillips, Miss L.

Excellent meetings have been held at Llŷngyryl, Dolgelly, Barmouth, Towyn, and Aberystwith. The sympathy of the women is particularly noticeable. New members have been made, and many questions asked have been answered by Miss Keevil, who, according to the audience, "scored every time."



Patricroft, near Manchester.

A smiling baby is, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, a healthy baby.

A fretful baby is always the reverse; in all likelihood the food is wrong.

TRY MELLIN'S FOOD.

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Sample and 96-Page Book FREE from Mellin's Food, Ltd., Peckham, S.E.

Please mention this paper.

A meeting in Aberystwith produced a very favourable impression on the audience, and the *Welsh Gazette* remarked: "With more ladies of Miss Keevil's charming personality and prepossessing appearance, the movement would commend itself far more favourably to the bulk of the community than it does at present. Several clerical gentlemen who were in the audience were so fascinated by her tact, ability, and good nature, no less than by her good looks, that they were almost persuaded to fall in love with the cause she advocated."

**WEYMOUTH.**

Dowell, Miss Gertrude, Brierley Wood, Wyke Regis, Weymouth.  
Marshall, Miss I. D., Winton Villa, Abbotsbury Road.

Miss Marshall has been holding meetings in spite of the rain—in fact, she reports a bigger crowd if anything in wet weather than in fine. Being challenged to take a woman's vote on the subject of Woman Suffrage, she found twenty-six in favour and one against. New subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN are being made, and much sympathy and help are being obtained. A local paper has devoted over a column to the Weymouth campaign.

**WHITSTABLE.**

Wilkinson, Mrs. Gertrude, Belrapp, Whitstable, Kent.  
Yates, Mrs. Lamartine, The Cottage, Seasalter, near Whitstable.

Mrs. Wilkinson has arranged to stay another week on account of the encouraging nature of the audiences at the meetings addressed by Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Miss Margaret Barry, and Miss Marion Gibson. Mrs. Wilkinson offers hospitality to a Suffragette guest or two. The local regatta is being taken advantage of, and excellent meetings have been held, while the newspaper shops are exhibiting the posters. The principal streets have been paraded with flags, and flags and posters are flying on Mrs. Wilkinson's and Mrs. Yates's cottages.

**WORTHING.**

Bartels, Miss Margaret, Fernleigh, Rowlands Road.  
Close, Miss E., Northdene, Boundary Road.  
Kelly, Miss K., B.A., Fernleigh, Rowlands Road.  
Shipham, Mrs. Close, Northdene, Boundary Road.

Good meetings have been held, addressed by Miss J. S. Dugdale and Mrs. Clarke, from Brighton. The crowd on both occasions was large and sympathetic, and sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN and pamphlets have been good. The poster is shown at the station.

**YARMOUTH.**

Ford, Dr. Rosa, 60, St. Peter's Road, Great Yarmouth.  
Tyson, Miss K., c/o Mrs. Leach, Stradbroke, Gorleston.  
Tyson, Miss Leonora.

The great amount of hard work which has been necessary in the Yarmouth campaign has been fully justified by the results. At the request of Miss Friedlaender a very satisfactory meeting was held at Lowestoft on the afternoon of August 25, and on the evening of the same day, at Gorleston, a large audience listened for two hours with growing interest to speeches by Miss L. Tyson and Dr. Rosa Ford. The sympathy of the audience was won at the outset by the tactful, charming speech of Mrs. Leach, who took the chair, and who has throughout the campaign shown herself a most indefatigable, able, and generous friend of the cause. An appreciative notice of this meeting appeared in the local paper. An afternoon meeting followed upon this, when nearly 100 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and the whole stock of badges, including those worn by the workers, were disposed of to meet an insatiable demand. A meeting was also held at Caister, and on Sunday afternoon, by special invitation from Mr. Dodd, a meeting at the Socialist Camp, Caister, resulted in several new members, a good sale of literature, badges, etc., and a liberal collection. The help granted by Miss Brown, Mrs. Harbord, Mrs. Wenn (who, as well as Mrs. Leach, has extended hospitality to the London workers), and by other Yarmouth friends has been invaluable. In the first five days of last week at least 400 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold.

At Holyhead . . . many people had gathered with the intention of weighing the arguments for the cause, and much annoyance was expressed, by the more responsible people present, at the interruptions. These came from harmless youths, for the most part. At the same time, it will be well for opponents not to carry out their objections to physical force, for we hear that some brawny supporters of the women's cause will make it very hot for the young men if they become too pressing in their objections.

—*Carnarvon Herald.*

The Suffragists are still aspiring. In the course of their aspirations they have even reached the summit of Snowdon, where, standing on the crown, they have impressed upon the tourists the advantages of woman suffrage. If the entire membership of the Women's Social and Political Union would depart to scale Mount Everest, there is no doubt that the Government would gladly pay their single fare, if not by a service vote at least by a private subscription among members of the Cabinet. Then might peace reign for a space at political meetings.

—*Birmingham Evening Despatch.*

**THE PRESS ON THE GOVERNMENT.**

No English Minister has ever publicly and officially behaved quite so scandalously to women as Mr. Herbert Gladstone appears to glory in behaving. There was never at its outset a more rational, orderly, and legitimate political agitation in the world than the agitation by women for the franchise. If the Government had been Plato's guardians the mode of the women's demands could not have been more respectful or seemly. They rested their claim on arguments that could not possibly be controverted and on grounds against which even expediency was dumb. Has anybody yet discovered a single reason for denying women the vote now that they want it? There is to our knowledge only one reason, if it can be called a reason, and it is simply that women do want it. But pure contrariety of this order of obtuseness is more related to mulishness than to political sagacity. We should have thought, at any rate, that members of the Cabinet would have been free from the vice. But no, Mr. Herbert Gladstone has displayed it in quite a quadrupedal degree. He and his partners in the wretched business have bullied, mocked, imprisoned, harried, and lied to the women's representatives until the latter have been converted from the ancient peaceable ways of agitation to methods that expose the scandal of politics in their most blatant form. For this deplorable lowering of tone we have to thank Mr. Herbert Gladstone in excelsis. The women have not our blame, but our highest praise. Thank heaven that in a creeping age of political servitude, when men permit encroachments on their liberty that their forefathers would have died to prevent, the women have had the courage to fight rather than to submit. If England is to be saved, it will be, as Ibsen said of Europe, by women and by workmen.

—*New Age.*

The principle for which the Suffragists are contending is sound, and it is a scandal and an outrage that a Liberal Government should be subjecting educated women, who are distinctly political prisoners, to such treatment as is now being meted out to them at Holloway. In reply to a very pertinent question from Mr. Rothera, Mr. Samuel made the very lame excuse that the Home Secretary has now no power to interfere. As a matter of fact, the Home Secretary could interfere very effectively if he liked. He has, we believe, complete power to put a stop to the present scandal, and the fact that he does not is due to the other fact that he will not. The whole Suffragist agitation, too, could be brought to an end in an hour by a promise to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women, in the same way that the municipal franchise has been extended. Women have not done any harm by voting in the election of town and county councillors. It is really childish to argue that they would do any harm by voting in Parliamentary elections. The objection to Women's Suffrage is due to the meanest and most ignoble of motives. It is merely the fear of the party politician that his own particular party might be a little weakened. And experience has shown over and over again that there are no depths of meanness to which the party man will not descend if he feels that his party interests are in danger. In fact, it almost looks at times as though party feeling in this country was strong enough to overwhelm every kindly and generous sentiment, and even to overcome common sense.

—*Nottingham Guardian.*

It is said that Liberalism stands for fair play and righteousness; but the women of England have not seen much of either of these commodities, in connection with their agitation for civil rights. They have been caricatured, lampooned, maligned, insulted, referred to as the Shrieking Sisterhood, the New Woman, and such-like opprobrious epithets; but they have never been accorded a fair and patient hearing, nor have they ever been received with serious and courteous consideration. If Liberalism stands for fair play and righteousness let us see a little more of it in the treatment which is meted out to the question of Women's Suffrage. Goodness knows there are questions affecting the womanhood of the nation which only womanhood can effectually deal with. . . . If this had been a masculine instead of a feminine movement, the methods would have been drastic enough. Do not let us have any clap-trap talk about bullying until we have ceased the bullying of women ourselves. It is easy enough to say, "Throw her out"; but if it were a man there would be a row first—perhaps two or three. "With what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged; and with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again," and that is true in time as well as eternity.

—*East Berks Gazette.*

No. 1 Ready September 25th, 1909. Price 6d. Net.

# "THE SUFFRAGIST"

(And Her Complaint).

A HIGH-CLASS MONTHLY ILLUSTRATED MAGAZINE DEALING WITH THE LIGHTER SIDE OF THE "VOTES FOR WOMEN" MOVEMENT. IT IS GOING TO BE BETTER THAN ANYTHING YOU HAVE YET SEEN, OR CAN IMAGINE.

The Best Artists.      The Best Writers.  
The Best of Everything.

See the Cartoons representing the Premier as "The Dirty Boy," &c.; "She Won't be Happy till She Gets It"; "The Cabinet Crisis"; "Mr. Pickwick Asquith in the Wrong Room—'Votes!' cried the Lady"; "Say, Inspector, Am I All Right for Downing Street?" "Cherchez la Suffragist," and numerous others, including some really funny "Anti-Suffragist Arguments Answered in Prose, Verse, and Caricature."

You must read "The Latest Reply from Frowning Street," "The Last Chord and the Next," "How the Deputation was received by the Factus Homo," "Hystericisms," &c., &c.

"The Suffragist" will contain no advertisement matter. Each number will consist of 32 pages of the most innocent humour, satire, and banter, and will be printed on good quality paper.

All profits will go toward the cause of "Votes for Women."

Only a strictly limited number of copies will be printed. To enable the Proprietor to obtain some idea of the probable demand, it is requested the attached form be filled in *at once*, and forwarded to the Temporary Office of "The Suffragist."

1909,

The Proprietor, "The Suffragist,"

(Room 68), 49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.

Please send me for  $6^*$ / $12$  months "The Suffragist," for which I enclose P.O. value  $3/3^*$ / $6/6$ .

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Rank \_\_\_\_\_

\* STRIKE OUT ONE OF THESE.

## THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

London.—Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Plymouth: Miss Vera Wentworth, 11, Alfred Street, The Hoe. Torquay: Miss Elsie Howey, Victoria Parade, Cornwall: Miss Mary Phillips, 5, The Parade, Truro.

Lancashire and North Wales.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Liverpool: Miss S. Ada Flatman, 28, Berry Street, Preston: 41, Glover's Court. Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street.

Midlands and West Wales.—Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham. Nottingham: Miss N. Crocker, 6, Carlton Street.

Yorkshire.—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 63, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

Newcastle.—Miss Edith New, 284, Westgate Hill.

Glasgow.—Mrs. A. K. Craig, 141, Bath Street.

Edinburgh.—Miss Florence E. M. Macaulay, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street; Mrs. Drummond, 63, Princes Street.

Aberdeen.—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 41½, Union Street.

Now that some of the workers are returning from their holidays extensive plans are being made for the autumn and winter. This is notably the case in the West of England, as will be seen from the report which follows. In Scotland the ground is being worked in preparation for the great Scottish demonstration on October 9 (see page 1126). Preparations for protests in connection with Cabinet Ministers' Budget League meetings are being made at Manchester, Leamington, Newport, and Birmingham. The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN from all parts of the country are full of encouragement.

### LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

Quiet but effective work has been carried on in London and the environs, and, notwithstanding the absence of a number of regular workers on their holidays, the flag has been kept flying by volunteers who are indefatigable in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and in other ways. As will be seen from p. 1135, London members have let no opportunity slip of approaching Cabinet Ministers, and Mr. Birrell, Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. John Burns have been given the opportunity of purchasing and studying VOTES FOR WOMEN.

There is room for recruits for the Drum and Fife Band, and application should be made to Miss Irene Dallas at 4, Clements Inn, W.C. A band practice will take place every Wednesday evening at 7.30 p.m. at St. James's Hall.

### WEST OF ENGLAND.

The two West of England prisoners, Mrs. Dove-Wilcox and Miss Mary Allen, will be welcomed home to-morrow (Saturday), when many thousands of people are expected to witness the procession. One of the best Bristol bands will muster at Temple Meads Station at 3 p.m., and will play "See the Conquering Hero Comes" as the ex-prisoners appear. Friends of the W.S.P.U. wishing for reserved seats in the carriages should send in their names immediately to the Secretary, 37, Queen's Road, Clifton. The procession will march to the house of Miss Brand, "Henley Grove," where the reception will take place in the garden, weather permitting, and speeches will be made by the ex-prisoners. Tickets, 1s. each, are on sale at 37, Queen's Road. It is hoped that all members in the West of England who can will be present, and members in Bath, Newport, and Cardiff are asked to assemble in a group and take part in the procession, headed by their banners. On September 7 Mr. Forbes Robertson will speak at Cory Hall, Cardiff, and on September 11 Mrs. D. A. Thomas, of Llanvern Park, will hold a reception in her garden for the ex-prisoners. All members wishing to attend are asked to write to Mrs. D. A. Thomas. Largely attended meetings have been held in various places. Miss Annie Kenney is planning an extensive winter campaign for the West of England and some parts of Wales. She would be glad if readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN knowing residents in the following places who are likely to be in sympathy with the women's movement would send names, addresses, and information to 37, Queen's Road, Clifton:—

Aberavon (Mid. Glam.), Ashburton, Barnstaple, Bournemouth, Breconshire, Bridgwater, Chippenham, Christchurch, Dartmouth, Devizes, Dorchester, Exeter, Frome, Glamorgan (South), Glamorganshire (East), Gower, Hereford, Honiton, Ilfracombe, Leominster, Merthyr Tydfil, Monmouth (North, South, East, West), Neath (Mid. Glam.), Portsmouth, Radnorshire, Rhondda, Ross, Salisbury, Southampton, South Molton, Swansea, Tavistock, Taunton, Tiverton, Totnes, Trowbridge, Usk, Wellington, Wells, Westbury, Winchester, Weymouth, Yeovil.

Information as to the above places will also be useful, as it is hoped that large indoor meetings may be held, and, provided contributions to labour and expense are forthcoming, the campaign during the coming winter should be an exceptionally valuable one, both educationally and financially.

From Miss Mary Phillips comes the report of very successful meetings at Launceston and Bude. At Launceston the Town Hall has been secured for October 21, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the speaker. Mr. Malcolm Smith, the artist, has generously given his beautiful miniature of Miss Christabel Pankhurst to the Union. This is to be sold for the Cornish campaign fund. Particulars may be obtained from Mrs. Howey, Tregenna House, Penzance,

or from Miss Mary Phillips at the Cornish headquarters (see above). Miss Mills reports from Torquay that excellent meetings have been held there, at Paignton, Dawlish, and Teignmouth, and that a number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold.

### LANCASHIRE.

Following on their magnificent protest at Mr. Haldane's meeting and the subsequent arrest, imprisonment, and hunger-strike of seven women, the energies of the workers are concentrated on preparations for the White City protest to-morrow (Saturday). The ground has been well worked by open-air meetings. The Stretford Division has been traversed from end to end, and outlying districts, such as Urmston, Sale, Hixton, Irlam, have been included in an extensive campaign. The local Press is full of significant references to the coming of the Suffragists, and the *Daily Despatch* states that "The White City management is making arrangements to deal with any Suffragist outbreak." The Liverpool crowds have been magnificent at the many protest meetings held during the week outside Walton Gaol and at the Wellington Column; they have been addressed by Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Mrs. Baines.

The Autumn Campaign in Liverpool and Cheshire will be inaugurated by the opening of the new shop, 28, Berry Street, Liverpool, on September 25. During Miss Flatman's absence for the next two weeks on a well-earned holiday after her strenuous work in the Isle of Man, Miss Patricia Woodlock has kindly undertaken to keep the work going in Liverpool. Members are asked to support her at the open-air meetings arranged, as well as in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN. Arrangements for the meeting to be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst will be announced in next week's issue.

Miss Dora Marsden reports excellent meetings at Bury, Stalybridge, and at Burnley, where the crowds were so large that two speakers were required to cope with them. VOTES FOR WOMEN has a very ready sale and the entire stock is always sold out. At the Burnley meeting 150 copies were sold from the lorry in a few minutes. Miss Tolson and Miss Jessie Russell have been helping during the week.

### MIDLANDS.

Miss Laura Ainsworth has addressed the students of the Summer School at Halesowen, through the kindness of the principal, Miss Anstey. The audience was much interested in the militant tactics. Energies are concentrated on working up for the Prime Minister's visit to Birmingham on September 17. Factory gate and other meetings for women and large evening meetings are being arranged, and Birmingham is being thoroughly roused. The evening At Homes at the Priory Rooms will recommence on Tuesday, September 7, at 7.30 p.m., when it is hoped that there will be a great rally of members to discuss plans. Birmingham is proud of its Midland worker, Miss Bertha Brewster, who protested so pluckily at Mr. Haldane's meeting at Liverpool last week. In response to a request from the inhabitants of Lichfield, a meeting was held in the Market Square on Saturday, when some hundreds gathered to listen attentively to Dr. Helena Jones, and nearly nine dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold. Miss Crocker reports that the opening of the shop at 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham, and preparations for Mr. Winston Churchill's visit to Leicester to-morrow (Saturday) are occupying the attention of the workers. Miss Helen Ogston will speak in Nottingham (Small Mechanics' Hall) on October 8, and members are asked to keep this date in mind. All communications to be addressed to 6, Carlton Street, Nottingham. The Midlands caravan has been in the neighbourhood of Warwick. Miss Agnes Kelly was chief speaker at Leamington, Bradford, and Evesham, and the sympathy of the women, as well as their kindness to the speakers, was very marked.

### YORKSHIRE.

The office will re-open on Monday (6th). Members who have returned from their holidays are specially asked to give time to helping in the shop. Leeds members are asked to be present on Woodhouse Moor on Sunday (5th) at 3.30 p.m., and Bradford members are asked to assemble in Morley Street on Monday (6th) at 7.30 p.m.

### SCOTLAND.

Glasgow recommences its At Homes to-morrow (Saturday). For details see Programme (page 1131).

Miss F. E. M. Macaulay reports an encouraging campaign in Crail, where two capital meetings have been held. Mrs. Frank Corbett has addressed a large open-air meeting in the Corn Exchange at Stirling, where she spoke for over an hour and answered many questions. A large number of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold. Mrs. Fraser Smith presided. Mrs. Pankhurst has addressed crowded and enthusiastic audiences in many towns. For further particulars of the Scottish campaign see p. 1126.

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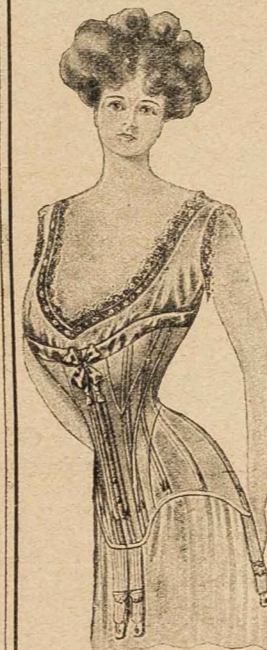
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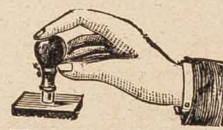
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