

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 66.

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Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)
1d.

THE STORY OF POOR ASQUITH WHO WOULD NOT GIVE VOTES TO WOMEN.

(WITH APOLOGIES TO STRUWWELPETER.)



1906.

Young Asquith was a chubby lad;
 Fat, ruddy cheeks young Asquith had;
 And everybody saw with joy
 The plump and hearty, healthy boy.

* * * * *
 * * * * *

1909.

How lank and lean poor Asquith grows!
 Yet though he feels so weak and ill,
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 Oh, take the Suffragettes away!
 I won't give any votes to-day."

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DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

On Friday last the House of Commons carried the second reading of the London Elections Bill. The action of the Government with regard to this measure provides a reliable indication of their views as to the real prospects of the vaunted Electoral Reform Bill.

While Mr. Asquith would have women wait for the general measure of electoral reform to obtain the opportunity for extending the franchise to women, he is not prepared himself to wait for this measure where a particular slice of electoral reform which he believes would be of party advantage to himself is concerned. The day for the introduction of the general Electoral Reform Bill may never come, he thinks, and even if it does the Bill may be conveniently rejected by the House of Lords. So the London Elections Bill must be introduced at once and Woman Suffrage can wait.

The time was when such an arrangement might be passed unnoticed by women, or have been received with feeble protest, but to-day women are awake to the perfidy of the Government. They are demanding the withdrawal of the London Elections Bill from the programme of the Government and the substitution of a Bill for enfranchising women. If the Government refuse they will find that the revolt among their followers, and particularly among Liberal women, will assume even more alarming proportions than it has already done. If they go further, and again imprison women rather than accord them their constitutional rights, they will find that the narrow margin of support in the country on which they depend for continuance in office is taken away from them, and they will incur the hostility of the electors from end to end of the country.

Patricia Woodlock's Release.

On Wednesday next, June 16, Patricia Woodlock will be released from her third term of imprisonment, after serving a sentence of three months for seeking an interview with the Prime Minister. Every member of the W.S.P.U. appreciates deeply the courage and self-sacrifice that Miss Woodlock has shown, and three opportunities of welcoming her will be given on that day. In the morning at eight o'clock her friends will meet her at Holloway gates, which is the best welcome of all; at nine she will be entertained to breakfast at the Inns of Court Hotel, and in the evening a

procession will accompany her to a meeting in Hyde Park. Some account of Miss Woodlock and the details of the welcome will be found on page 773. Nothing better illustrates her happy courage than the letter she sent to her father on her first conviction in December, 1906:—"Dear Father,—Don't, whatever you do, pay my fine. I would be furious if you did. It will be a lovely holiday for me"—the "holiday" being two weeks in Holloway in the depth of winter, in the days when the conditions were even worse than now. This is the spirit that will bring our movement to victory.

An Opportunity.

Another event of special importance during next week is the meeting arranged for Tuesday, the 15th, at the St. James's Theatre, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and the Earl of Lytton, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and Miss Gladice Keevil will speak. This meeting has been purposely arranged to give members an opportunity of bringing unconverted friends, for the speeches will deal principally with arguments against woman suffrage, and with difficulties met by those who do not understand the question. It is an occasion that members of the Union should not miss; they must come themselves, and bring as many friends as possible. Full details will be found on page 782.

Two Splendid Meetings.

Large and enthusiastic audiences availed themselves of the splendid opportunities given them by the meetings on Thursday, June 3, and Monday, June 7, to hear two brilliant expositions of the Woman's Cause by celebrated writers. At St. James's Hall Mr. Laurence Housman showed in his speech not only that he understood and entirely sympathised with the demand of the women, but that he realised that militancy was the only reasonable and only possible course of action.

At the Queen's Hall Mr. Israel Zangwill delighted his hearers with a speech that was as full of wit as it was of logic, and dealt with the foolish arguments used against Woman's Suffrage by the "old fogys" who did not realise that no power on earth could now stop the sure coming of justice.

Re-arrangement of Small Advertisements.

A great feature of this movement from the beginning has been the readiness and eagerness of members to help each other. To be a member of the W.S.P.U. was a password to friendship, and more powerful than any Masonic symbol. It is this spirit, combined with a desire to help the paper, that has led members to make a special point of giving their support to those who advertise in our columns. In consequence the number of our advertisers has grown very rapidly and the time has now come when we feel that it will add greatly to the convenience of those making use of the paper for this purpose if a classification of the smaller advertisements be made. Commencing with our next issue, therefore, special pages will be set apart for notices relating to apartments, situations, professional and educational work, etc., and special prices will be charged, particulars of which are given on p. 793. With the approach of the summer holidays, our readers will find this a valuable means of acquainting one another of rooms to be had in different parts of the country, and of making known other requirements.

Special Features.

It will be a great pleasure to our readers to find in this issue a verbatim account of the brilliant speech made by Mr. Zangwill at the Queen's Hall on Monday last. In addition to this most valuable contribution this number contains an article by Miss Pankhurst on the London Electoral Reform Bill, over which the Government spends the time of which it has none to spare for Woman Suffrage, and one by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence dealing with the great deputation of June 29. In connection with this we would draw attention also to the special campaign described on pp. 779, 780.

Next week's number will also be of special interest, and will contain, in addition to the usual features, a dialogue entitled "A Defence of the Fighting Spirit," by Miss Christopher St. John, the well-known writer, and a full account of the release of Patricia Woodlock.

HOW TO HELP OUR PAPER.

BY F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

In my article a fortnight ago I showed the special importance to the Movement of the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and in congratulating members upon working up the circulation to its present figure, pointed out the need for still further progress. The article has already had considerable response, and many readers are writing to know in what way their help can best be given.

One of the questions which is being asked is whether we are specially aiming at selling the paper through the newsagents or by individual sale of our members at meetings and in the streets, etc. The answer to this question is that both methods of sale should go on at the same time. The sale through the newsagents is the permanent part of the sale which goes on continuously in season and out of season. It is the backbone of the circulation, and does not suffer the fluctuations due to holidays and other causes. It is important that newsagents, wholesale and retail, should be encouraged in their work of distribution of the paper, and therefore as far as is possible and convenient all regular readers should obtain the paper through these channels.

The sale at meetings and in the streets and by special canvass, on the other hand, is in the nature of advertisement, and should be constantly going on to introduce the paper to new readers. It is in proportion to the energy and ingenuity which is put into this work that the circulation will increase. As the new readers decide to take in the paper regularly they will learn to get it through the newsagents; then fresh advertisement is required in order to bring it to the attention of a still wider circle.

The most valuable way in which readers can help the paper is by themselves undertaking to be responsible for a number of copies every week, selling them in different ways as occasion may arise and disposing of those that they are not able to sell. I have received a letter from Mrs. Knight, of Mitcham, who has kindly promised to be responsible for 100 copies every week, which reads as follows:—

The work is very educative to an observant person, besides providing a tremendous lesson for the would-be speaker. You hear such a number of ideas both for and against the movement, and you yourself are unknowingly drawn forth, by your repartee, in answering them.

The people you meet with in these journeys may be divided into four groups, viz., (1) the interested; (2) the uninterested; (3) the very poor, but extremely sympathetic; (4) and the jeerer or icy-selfish.

All these groups must be treated in different ways, and one soon learns how to treat them, and has many amusing encounters. The first group are very encouraging, and the second can be roused to interest. The very poor are sympathetic, and would really buy a paper if they had the money. I have often wished that richer members would place a few papers in every paper-seller's hands, to be used at their discretion to give to these people. The sellers soon know them, and would not often be imposed upon.

As to the opponents, they usually look straight into space when I address them, and I alter my message, greeting them with, "Ah, you see the vote coming, but there is no necessity to strain your eyes, as it is much nearer than you think."

Miss Mansel writes from Roehampton:—

I am convinced that the increased circulation of the paper is likely to be one of the most effective means of helping on the cause, not only because this would be a direct way of arousing public attention to a knowledge of the rapid growth of the movement throughout the country, but also because the value of the paper from an educational and propagandist point of view is such that if once it can be got into the hands of fair-minded readers there is little doubt of the influence it will eventually gain upon them.

I hope therefore that your appeal will meet with a hearty re-

sponse, and I write to offer to sell 100 copies every week in Putney and Roehampton. Judging by the rapidity with which we were able to dispose of copies outside St. James's Hall the other evening, I do not anticipate any difficulty. I am only too glad if in this kind of way I can be of any service to the Union, and hope that many others will write to offer to do the same.

I hope that several other members will come forward to copy her example, either by taking the same number, or, if they cannot manage to do that, a smaller number, and to make themselves personally responsible for them every week. This way of helping the paper is specially recommended to those people who live in parts of the country where there is no definite branch of the National Movement. Letters often come to the office from them asking what they can do. There is no sounder method for them of helping the Movement than by looking after the paper and introducing it to new readers.

Wanted Sellers on the River and at Cricket Matches!

Then there are some people who find they cannot be responsible for regularly taking a certain number of copies every week, but who are able to do so on special occasions, particularly when there is some event of importance happening in their neighbourhood. Such an opportunity occurs, for instance, when there is some special meeting or some special sporting event.

Another suggestion which is particularly opportune during the months of boating parties on the river is that members should make use of a river excursion to do a brisk trade in VOTES FOR WOMEN. Any London member who is going up the Thames on a Saturday afternoon will find plenty of time while the boat is passing through the lock to dispose of a large number of copies, and such work not merely assists the paper, but will be found very interesting in itself, and will provide the means of propaganda for the Movement generally. Any London member who is able to do this should communicate with Miss Mills, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Further, what is possible on the Thames by London members may be copied by other members on other rivers in the country.

Then cricket matches provide a special opportunity for sales. Sometimes our members will find they can actually sell in the cricket ground itself; at other times they will only be able to sell outside; but in every case there is ample opportunity for doing a brisk trade. In London one member has already promised to sell outside the Oval when important cricket matches are being played. We want others to undertake the same work outside Lord's cricket ground, and at other cricket matches in London and elsewhere.

Again, members of the Union frequently find themselves discussing the general question of Votes for Women with their personal friends, with acquaintances or with strangers. It is very important that when they do this they should talk, not merely of the Movement as a whole, but should refer specifically to this paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and should introduce it to the notice of those whom they meet. It will be particularly valuable if they follow up these conversations by promising to send the paper regularly for two or three weeks, in the hope that at the end of this time their friends will become regular subscribers.

These suggestions do not exhaust all the ways in which the paper can be pushed. The ingenuity of readers will suggest to them many additional methods, and there is plenty of scope for individual action. I hope they will write to me telling me what they can do in various ways, so that I can give the benefit of their experience to others.

PATRICIA WOODLOCK.

"She is a Liverpool girl, refined, tender-hearted, heroic," wrote a journalist in the *Liverpool Courier* of Patricia Woodlock, who is to be released next Wednesday, after serving a sentence of three months' imprisonment in the second division. She has had a plank bed, poor and wretchedly served food, prison dress, and, worst of all, solitary confinement for twenty-two or twenty-three hours every day for seventy-seven days, even exercising and attending chapel quite alone. "It is like taking a bludgeon to break a butterfly," says the same writer.

But we who know her know that Patricia Woodlock will never be broken. She has not once faltered or looked back since she heard the call of the womanhood of the world more than three years ago. It was in December, 1906, that she tried with other Lancashire women to enter the House that is supposed to represent the people of Great Britain. She was sent to Holloway for two weeks, which entailed spending her Christmas in prison. A few weeks later, in February, 1907, she again formed one of a deputation of fifty-nine women, and rather than give a pledge that was against her conscience, she suffered a month in Holloway. If the authorities thought this would quell her spirit they were entirely wrong, for in March of the same year, after only a few days of the freedom that those who have been in prison can alone appreciate at its full value, she tried again to put the women's demand for enfranchisement before the Prime Minister, and was sent to prison for one month without the option of a fine.

Never has she failed to do the work required of her, whatever the price; in December last, being unable to reach Mr. Lloyd George, who was speaking in Liverpool, she addressed a meeting outside the hall to explain to the crowd the meaning of our demand, an act that led to arrest, but was in this instance followed by immediate release.

Since then Miss Woodlock has done unceasing and enthusiastic work for the movement in Liverpool and elsewhere, her devotion winning her the love and respect of all with whom she came into contact, and bringing to her own heart the happiness that results from a complete abnegation of self for the sake of humanity.

But the call for greater sacrifice came to her again in March last. At a great meeting in Liverpool she was chosen as the representative to take part in the deputation on March 30, and those who heard her speech in the Caxton Hall on that day have not forgotten the impression of brave young womanhood, of ardent self-sacrifice, of reasoned and deliberate conviction that her words made on the audience.

Nor can those who watched the proceedings of the shameful day, when Miss Woodlock and others were buffeted about, and returned again and again in a desperate attempt to carry to the Prime Minister at all costs the message with which they had been entrusted, ever forget the splendid and amazing courage shown on the occasion by a "mere woman"! The imprisonment of three long months which followed did not break her spirit in the slightest, and her face was joyous as ever when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence recently visited her in

Holloway. After that visit her father, Mr. David Woodlock, a well-known painter, who is in thorough sympathy with the cause for which his daughter has given so much, wrote to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence:—

I am very sure that anything that I can put on paper will but inadequately express my feeling towards you and your thoughtfulness on this occasion and throughout the whole time of my daughter's connection with the movement. I was especially touched (who would not be?) at the fine demonstration of comradeship and greatness of heart displayed by you when, on the morning of your own release from prison, your first public utterance—bold, courageous, and in every way worthy of you—was of sympathy and comfort for the one who still remained behind. Rest assured you will not be disappointed in her. I know my daughter well, and her feeling towards the cause she has at heart, especially the two fine souls she has always looked up to as the ensign and embodiment of that cause, Mrs. Pankhurst and yourself; and I think I can safely say that you will always find her ready, loyal, and courageous. But indeed, in these qualities is she not one of the noble band of ladies—young bricks I call them!—whom you have got behind you at this moment? Talk of being a credit to their sex! They are more—they are a credit to the race. "Britons never shall be slaves" indeed! Not much likelihood while we have these young heroines as examples of the prospective mothers of the race!—With all good wishes,

Most faithfully yours,

DAVID WOODLOCK.

For her heroism on that memorable day, as well as for the quieter but even greater heroism of bearing three long months of imprisonment, we are honouring Patricia Woodlock next Wednesday. We know she will come out with hope and happiness in her heart and a smile on her lips. Dauntless, untiring, inspired, she is indeed a fit worker for the greatest cause that has ever been fought in the history of the world.

On the morning of the 16th, at 8 o'clock, the gates of Holloway will open once more, and Patricia Woodlock will be welcomed in the way the members of the

W.S.P.U. always welcome a friend and show honour to a brave woman. A breakfast will be held at the Inns of Court Hotel at 9 a.m., when members will hear from Miss Woodlock something of the effect her experiences have had on her. Those who cannot come in the morning will be glad to know that in the evening a great procession in her honour will start from Kingsway at 6.45 (forming up at 6.15), and march by way of Kingsway, New Oxford Street, Oxford Street, and Marble Arch to the Reformers' Tree, near the Marble Arch, Hyde Park. The order of procession will be:—

Carriage with Patricia Woodlock, drawn by women,
Banner "June 29th,"
Walking Procession.

At 8 o'clock a meeting will be held. There will be four platforms, and the speakers will include Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe.



PATRICIA WOODLOCK.

OLD FOGEYS AND OLD BOGEYS.

By ISRAEL ZANGWILL.

(Speech Delivered at Queen's Hall, June 7, 1909.)

It is told of a little girl who had been brought up in a newly built town in a remote Western State of America that when she was taken to New York and saw for the first time the crowded horse-cars outside the mighty station of the Pennsylvania Railway, she cried out, "How cruel! They are using horses to drag the street-cars! How barbarous!" This little girl had never seen anything but electric cars. Her town, being brand-new, had jumped over this antiquated absurdity of horse-traction.

The position of women offers an exact parallel. In strange, raw regions of America or the Antipodes the march of civilisation has jumped the political disabilities of women, and women from New Zealand, who have never known the want of a vote, come over here—to the capital of the Empire—and cry, "Englishwomen mustn't vote! How barbarous!" The other day, in a London drawing-room, everybody was saying how the vote would degrade and unsex women. A pretty young Englishwoman, exquisitely dressed, stood shyly by, taking no part in the discussion. Presently her opinion was asked. "Well, you see," she said, blushing delicately, and in a soft, musical voice, "I have always had a vote. I used to live in Melbourne."

Ladies and gentlemen, the time is fast coming—coming at motor speed—when in no civilised country will be seen cars without electricity or women without votes. The labours of so many brave and brilliant women for over half a century, culminating in the splendid spurt in our own day, are about to receive the guerdon of victory, and from England the spirit of sex equality will spread all the world over, and England will once again recover her place as the Mother of Liberty.

Beside all these brave and brilliant women who are ready to go through fire and water for their cause the mere man who is in favour of Women's Suffrage cuts, I am afraid, but a poor figure. Indeed, we poor male sympathisers have been described as "men of putty seduced by women of brass." Who invented this delightful description I know not; the Suffragette who reported it to me was too shocked even to mention the author's name in her letter, but she begged me to protest publicly against it. I tried to soothe her by saying that I didn't mind, and that this was the sort of thing one must expect in politics, whereupon she replied that I was no gentleman. You will see, therefore, that my conviction that women should have votes is not based upon any superstition that women are invariably reasonable. But, then, with our great opponent, Lord Cromer, I quote Mrs. Poyser: "God Almighty made them to match the men."

The Absurdity of the Situation.

It is indeed fortunate for us men that no test of intelligence—short of idiocy—bars us from the polling booth, and that we can even commit crimes of every degree without forfeiting our superiority to Mrs. Humphry Ward. Even a man of putty may have a vote. It is only when we men ask ourselves seriously *why* we have votes that the full absurdity of women *not* having them begins to break upon us. We are told—it is the great, crushing argument—women can't have votes because they can't fight for their country. But can I

fight for it? Why, my only chance of shooting an enemy would be by aiming at something else. And yet I have four votes. We are told that women are incapable of understanding the affairs of State. But do I understand them? Does Mr. Asquith? Not according to Mr. Balfour. Does Mr. Balfour? Not according to Mr. Asquith. We are told that Female Suffrage would bring discord between husband and wife. Well, but I had a vote long before I had a wife. This particular argument always reminds me of what Josephus tells us about that old Jewish sect, the Essenes. The Essenes, says Josephus, do not marry "because marriage gives the handle to domestic quarrels."

This bogey of domestic discord is the very oldest of the old bogeys with which the old fogeys are perpetually terrifying themselves. Yet a distinguished New Zealand visitor has just been telling us that in his country the women of the family generally vote with the man, with the result that the married man gets a larger vote than the mere irresponsible bachelor. This is just as it should be, and, indeed, reveals to us what an injustice it is here that the settled man with a family should have no more voting power than the bachelor butterfly. In one point only our New Zealand visitor betrays the old Adam. He did not say that the women vote with the man but with the head of the house. I must confess I know very few men who are the head of the house. For if woman's place is indeed the home, it cannot be man's place too. My observation of life leads me to the conviction that the partner who bears the children and does the housekeeping is really the predominant partner, so far as the house is concerned, and that man's true place in the home built up by women is more that of a paying guest than of a lord and master.

The Final Argument.

Really, the more I think of it, the less I understand *where* my political superiority over the other sex comes in. Why have I four votes and no woman any? It can't be brains—there is Mrs. Humphry Ward. It can't be strength—there is the female Samson in the music halls. It can't be courage—there is the lady lion-tamer, or Mrs. Despard. It can't be money—there was the Baroness Burdett-Coutts. A wild suspicion dawns upon me. Can it be beauty? I see I need say no more. We must fall back on the grand reason given by Mr. Austen Chamberlain at the Woman's Anti-Suffrage meeting in this hall, and repeated by Lord Curzon at that furtive dinner of the Men's Anti-Suffrage League: "It is because men are men and women are women."

"Because men are men and women are women." If this is what the opponents of Female Suffrage are reduced to—and this is what it always comes to in the last analysis—no wonder that the late Lord Salisbury said, "I know no argument against it." There *is* no argument against it; there is only a certain instinct against it due to centuries of custom, but the effort to find reasons for this instinct lands otherwise sensible people in a logic that has never been heard outside "Alice in Wonderland." Austen in Blunderland actually wound up his impassioned speech by urging the women of England to protest against a movement that would impose on them a burden unsuited to their sex. *Impose?* Why, who is going to drag them to the poll? Indeed, if, as Mrs. Humphry Ward contends, the overwhelming majority of women object to Female Suffrage, what finer way is there of checkmating the agitation than by granting women the vote? Parliament gives it to them; the overwhelming majority refuse to use it, and the Suffragettes are squashed. Each polling booth will show a few forlorn female figures,

but the great, sound body of British womanhood will remain safely barricaded at home. Seriously, was there ever anything in Gilbert and Sullivan more paradoxical than the Women's Anti-Suffrage movement—this rush of women into politics to declare that politics is the ruin of womanhood? *Why* Mrs. Humphry Ward should drag these shrinking creatures into the hurly-burly of the platform, unsexing and degrading them, when there is such a short way with the Suffragettes, passes my comprehension. Mr. Austen Chamberlain, too, forgets another reason why it is impossible to *impose* the burden of a vote on any woman who objects to it. The law already sees to that. For a woman who, being given a vote, should refuse to use it, would be an idiot, and, as I have already pointed out, idiots are *debarred* from voting.

Political Support.

"I know of no argument against it," said Lord Salisbury. And his successor in the Premiership, Mr. Balfour, a man who cannot often be accused of definite opinions, pronounced in its favour as far back as 1891. Mr. Balfour's successor, Mr. Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was so violently in sympathy that he actually instigated the militant methods for the conversion of his Cabinet. "Make yourselves a nuisance," he told the ladies' deputation, and they obeyed him like lambs. How is it, then, that with three successive Prime Ministers in favour of a reform whose righteousness was demonstrated by John Stuart Mill fifty years ago Mr. Asquith remains so antediluvian? Fortunately, even in *his* Cabinet there are several Liberals, and the very Home Secretary who treats the Suffragettes as criminals for drawing attention to their demand, has actually signed a declaration in favour of it. Mr. Lloyd George is likewise on the list of signatories, which further include most of the greatest names in English thought. The intellect of England goes almost solid for Women's Suffrage.

Against this phalanx of the intellectuals the rear-guard of reaction has been hastily brought up—men like Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon and Lord Milner. This trio is significant. A new danger has crept into British politics. The great pro-Consuls of Empire, men who have governed dusky Asiatic or African races, come back here with their autocratic notions and their disdain of the masses, and infect our British freedom with their unconstitutional outlook. This is one of the perils of Empire when it is not an Empire of freemen and equals. These great pro-Consuls, despite their brilliant record abroad, may easily become a force for evil at home. Lord Cromer is the chief spokesman of the Anti-Suffragists, but Lord Cromer has been away in Egypt for a generation, not spoiling but improving the Egyptians: spoiling only himself. He has lost touch with the movement of Western civilisation; he is ignorant of the new and splendid breed of women—the noble, free womanhood that has, happily, been growing up in these islands, and that is determined to do battle against the social evils which men have encouraged, or tolerated, or failed to sweep away. Lord Cromer's attitude is the more pitiable since, in his great book on Egypt, he points out that the test of a nation's civilisation is the position of its women. He comes here and talks of Englishwomen being sullied by being dragged from the drawing-room. He forgets that Egyptian women are sullied by being dragged *into* the drawing-room. *They* have to stay in the harem.

I know nothing more demoralising in English thought than the suggestion of the *Times*, so eagerly adopted by the Anti-Suffrage League, that to give our women a vote would undermine our prestige and power over our Oriental Empire, whose millions of dusky subjects would feel outraged to be ruled by women. If this is the price of Empire—to be slaves to our own subjects, to be dragged down to *their* ethical level—well may we ask ourselves the great question: What shall it profit a nation to gain the whole world and lose its own soul?

Lord Cromer tells us that the grant of votes to women would produce a social revolution. But the revolution has already happened. Lord Cromer reminds me of Noah's bear, which, being a hibernating animal, was carried into the ark asleep, and only woke up in the middle of the Deluge to growl that the sky portended rain. The Deluge, with which Lord Cromer gloomily menaces us, is already half over; it has already swept away half the landmarks of the harem stage of civilisation.

And the humour of the situation is that no one has done more to lead women out of the drawing-room and into politics than the chief Anti-Suffragists. Only a few weeks ago we witnessed a great rally of the Women's Unionist and Tariff Reform Association, and on the petticoated platform, amid many other masculine enemies of women's emancipation, was Mr. Austen Chamberlain dragging duchesses from their homes and fostering domestic disagreement with their dukes—for there *are* Free Trade dukes. This association, mark you, occupies itself with those high Imperial affairs which, according to Mrs. Humphry Ward, are beyond woman's brain. And what does Mr. Balfour tell this great union of women? He tells it: "One of the reasons why I so greatly value the co-operation you are giving to this cause of Tariff Reform is that *you* regard it from the national point of view, and still more from the Imperial point of view." And the same evening, on the other side of politics, the Liberal Social Council, a body entirely worked by women, foregathered under the auspices of nearly all the Cabinet, including Mrs. Asquith, while Miss Haldane seconded the motion of the day. And a few days earlier the Women's Navy League, representing both sides of politics, met to consider the high Imperial subject of naval efficiency. And then Lord Cromer talks of the vote causing a social revolution, and Lord Curzon babbles that the place of women is the home. Have the Old Fogeys, then, *no* sense of humour? I am told that at the Women's Anti-Suffrage meeting in this hall Sir Edward Clarke, from this very platform, set thick with Mrs. Humphry Ward and her fellow-women, declared that a platform woman was an abomination. That is a view which I can respect. But the platform *man* who exploits platform women yet refuses them the vote—what sort of name shall we find for him?

No, my dear Old Fogeys.

If you really wish to go back to the old ideal, then make a counter-revolution, like the Old Turks. Take women away from the coal-pit and the factory; dissolve their trade unions; send them back to their little ones; dismiss them from the post-offices and the shops; banish them from their municipal positions, from your county councils and borough councils and parish councils and royal commissions, from your school boards, your boards of guardians, and your education committees; drive them out of Girton and Newnham; forbid them your hospitals and your picture galleries; expel them from your Navy Leagues and your Primrose Leagues, your National Service Leagues and your Liberal Federations and your Tariff Reform Leagues; stop them from canvassing at your elections; put back the movement of evolution and the march of civilisation, and then you may begin to talk of woman's place being the home. But if you will not, or cannot, do this, then neither can you deny our noble professional women the dignity of a vote, nor our sweated factory women its protection. The Suffrage is not the begetter and forerunner of an impending revolution, but the seal and consecration of a revolution that has already succeeded.

And what is this vote that carries with it so much danger? What is this politics whose touch is so pestiferous? Woman, turning from the foolish fashion papers, is to study real questions; she is to be lured from the clubs where she plays bridge to the stimulating atmosphere of public meetings, from the school for scandal to the school for study. Our absurd party system makes politics sound like the prize ring.

In reality, politics has more to do with the nursery. A woman studying politics—studying, that is, the best measures for the health of the State—is only attending, in a larger spirit, to her home and her children.

Cynics and preachers agree that women are unbalanced and hysterical, fond of luxury and finery, swayed by persons instead of by principles, yet we refuse them the one thing that may rationalise and spiritualise them. A modern Greek poet recently sent me his poems (fortunately there was a French translation). They were all about woman—woman the monstrous, voluptuous, fitful, inconsequent, Satanic sphinx, at once man's delight and his destruction. I told him that was not how woman appeared to us in England, and he replied that he had noticed it himself with surprise. These queer Cleopatras are, in fact, a morbid product of the hothouse theory of womanhood. The cure for them is fresh air and Female Suffrage.

The Statesman and the Politician.

"Yes, we will grant Female Suffrage," says Mr. Haldane, "as soon as the will of the people declares for it. I have always voted for Female Suffrage myself." What a strange remark for a man who has hitherto shown more signs of being a statesman than a politician. A statesman leads; it is only a politician that is led. That was not the way Richard Cobden brought Free Trade to England. This is not the way Joseph Chamberlain has tried to bring back Protection. Nay, on the very evening that Mr. Haldane made his time-serving remark, Mr. Winston Churchill, speaking in Manchester, announced the intention of the Government to promote compulsory insurance against unemployment. This policy, he said, was a new departure, and involved an element of compulsion and regulation which was unusual in happy-go-lucky English life, but he would work for such a policy because he knew no other way by which the stream of preventable misery could be cut off, and he would try to carry it through, even if it were a little unpopular at first, and he would be willing to pay the forfeit of exclusion from power in order to carry it through. That is an utterance which puts Mr. Haldane's utterance to shame. A man who has always voted for Female Suffrage must use his powers in the Cabinet to carry it through.

"I know of no argument against it," said Lord Salisbury; and I, who have heard every argument that the champions of stagnation have been able to scrape together since, even under the spur of their impending defeat, I can only repeat with Lord Salisbury: "I know of no argument against it." One-half of the so-called arguments may be brushed aside at the very start. They are the arguments involving in this or that shape the idea that Female Suffrage would lead to an increase in the illiterate vote and to mob rule. These arguments would prove, not that the vote should not be given to women, but that it should be taken away from the majority of men. These are the old, defeated arguments of 1832, the arguments against every Reform Bill before and since. These are the old *male* bogeys dressed up again in female clothes. One imagined they had been finally laid to rest in historical museums in 1867, when it was the Conservative and not the Liberal party that extended the franchise to the working man and the lodger. But, no; as the Old Turks continue their subtle, sinuous opposition against the Young Turks, so the Old Fogeys with their Old Bogeys seize the chance of vamping them up afresh. "The results will be disastrous," says Lord Cromer. "You may as well put up the shutters of the British Empire," said Lord Curzon. Who can fail to be reminded of the old Duke of Wellington before the Reform Bill of 1832? Yet, despite the Iron Duke, government by the people is such a success—with all its shortcomings it is so superior to government by peers or princes—that the demand for it is spreading like wildfire among races of every

creed and colour. There is not a newspaper in Europe but supports the Young Turks. The very Czar of Russia orders the Shah of Persia to consent to a constitution. And do you suppose this movement for constitutional representation is going to stop short at that most subject of all subject races—the race of women? No; the movement for Female Suffrage is only one wave of a universal agitation. And therein lies the certainty of its success.

The reasons why representative government is in such demand are not far to seek. I see, indeed, that the other day Mr. Balfour, presiding over a philosophical lecture by Professor Masterman, concurred with him in the view that no Hobbes or Locke had yet appeared to explain the philosophic basis of modern democracy into which the world had drifted without precisely knowing why. But I venture to think it requires no great philosopher to explain it. The ideal ruler should be all-knowing, so as to be aware of all social facts, all wise, so as to understand how to better them, and all good, so as to wish to do so. Such a combination cannot be found on earth in any man, be he King or Pope, nor even in any group, be it noble or plebeian, but the nearest approximation to it lies in the whole people. Nature has confined political wisdom to no class, and by allowing every class to rise to leadership—a John Burns or a Lord Salisbury—we secure the best talent in the country. By allowing every class to be represented in Parliament we provide a network for collecting all possible knowledge of social needs, and we obtain a guarantee against legislation in the interests of any one class. Democracy is thus aristocracy (or government by the best) equipped with knowledge and armed against injustice. And if it is not *all-wise*, *all-knowing*, and *all-good*, it compensates for its inferiority to the ideal autocrat by promoting a healthy spiritual and educational activity among the ruled, instead of turning them into perfectly governed puppets.

If only for the spiritual profit of this activity Women's Suffrage would be desirable. But it is desirable also on material grounds. Man as a legislator for women may be all-wise and all-good; he cannot be all-knowing. Have not generations of men confessed or complained that they couldn't understand woman? And yet they have coolly gone on legislating for her. Even when the legislators have been chivalrous they have not been competent, and when they have protected their own interests at her expense—as in France—they have sullied their statute-books with abominable facilitations of cowardly immorality.

The Real Foundation of Society.

And then comes the *Spectator*—England's great Christian organ—and tells us that all this is right and proper because women have no power to enforce their wills, and the foundation of society is brute force. The trouble with the *Spectator* is that it does not *spectate*. It is as blind to the real structure of society as it is to the real position and character of modern womanhood. I deny that society is held together by force. Society is held together by love. For what power, pray, has the male half of the population to enforce its will upon the female half? None at all. True, in theory, men can turn their guns on their mothers, sisters, and wives, but only in theory. In practice not only would they never wage such war, but, carried to its bitter end, it would, in exterminating the female sex, exterminate their own as well. And women have exactly as much compulsive power over men as men have over women—that is, none at all. Women, too, in theory, could exterminate mankind by simply ceasing to have children. But in dealing with a real issue like Female Suffrage, the bogey of a sex-war is too fantastic for consideration. Force must be dismissed altogether from both sides of the equation. No social aggregate is held together by force. It is the mutual sympathy of its atoms that makes them cohere into a group. Even the Anti-Suffragists are held

together by the sympathy of stupidity. Force is only necessary when hostile atoms—whether from within or without—try to destroy your group. Force may be the preservation of society; it cannot possibly be the foundation. And to this force that makes for the self-conservation of society the male and female atoms contribute equally.

"Nonsense!" shriek the *Times* and the *Spectator*. "Women contribute nothing to the State's safety. They cannot be soldiers or sailors." What a shallow view! As if the stability and security of a country rested solely upon its fighters! To imagine that our safety depends only on the man at the front is as crude as to imagine it rests on the dead piece of iron called a gun. And as important as the man behind the gun is the country behind the man—the country, with its resources and its *morale*—aye, and the woman behind the country, the woman who is the source and replenisher of its life. We cry out that without more Dreadnoughts the country must go under. But who pays for the Dreadnoughts? The common labours and sacrifices of the men and women who sit at home weaving the daily fabric of the Empire. A million soldiers and sailors will not save a country if it cannot equip or provision them, or if it lacks the temper to struggle and endure. The wars of Sparta were waged as much by the Spartan mothers, who told their sons to return with their shields or on them, as by the sons themselves. Men at least may see the glory and glitter of the battle, enjoy the noise of the captains and the shouting; but the mother, who has already risked her life to bear her soldier son, must endure a longer agony when he fades from her vision to the sound of the drums and the trumpets.

The Hidden Workers.

Deep down in every Dreadnought, far from the panoply and pageantry of war, far from the flags and the guns, is a stokehold, where grimy, perspiring figures for ever shovel coal on blazing furnaces. Above may be the roar and splendour of battle; they must go on shovelling coal. This is the centre of the ship's life, without which your Dreadnought would drift and flounder at the foe's mercy. Yet whoever thinks of the stokers? Not for them the thrill of the combat; theirs but to shovel coal, though shells shatter the bunkers around them, though they go down with the ship like rats in a cage. Not altogether unlike theirs is the part played by women in the protection and conservation of the State. In the actual fighting they may take no part; but because their work is not on the surface, because, unseen, they feed the fires of life, they are treated as clinging parasites, creatures who contribute nothing to the State's stability.

This barbaric blindness must cease. There is a division of functions. Who denies it? "Men are men and women women." But greater than the sex difference is the human oneness. Men and women are alike citizens of the State, alike contributors to its strength and security, and alike entitled to a voice in its destinies and their own.

Next Week's Number will contain
A Dialogue, specially written for

"VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

entitled—

A DEFENCE OF THE FIGHTING
SPIRIT,

By CHRISTOPHER ST. JOHN,

Part Author of

'How the Vote was Won.'

PROCESSIONAL.

On hearts which dwelt benighted
A glorious light hath shined,
For, lo! the East is lighted,
And dawn comes up behind;
And out of toils which bound them,
A host exceeding strong,
Their proofs and trophies round them,
Go forth with sword and song.

Now rings throughout the nation
A sound unheard before—
The Hearts of Consolation
Have nerved themselves for war:
To bid all chains be shifted
And dark oppression cease,
Now come, with arms uplifted,
The hands that wrought for peace.

O ye that are the daughters
Of hearts which now lie still,
Like streams of living waters
Go forth and work their will.
To fields of destitution
Give increase fresh and green,
To cities of pollution
Give power to make them clean.

Because our right wrongs no man,
Because our wrong wrongs all,
For this, while stands the foeman,
We raise the rallying call.
O ye that shall be mothers
Of nations yet to be,
Now strike your best where others
Have struck to make you free!

From cruel habitations,
From dwellings dark and cold,
We come to free the nations
Whose bonds were forged of old;
Where'er in land or city
The weak are borne to wall,
We come with power and pity
To raise up them that fall.

New morning shines before us,
Old darkness lies behind,
So lift in welcome chorus
Your songs for all mankind!
There rings throughout the nation
A sound unheard before:
The Hearts of Consolation
Have armed themselves for war.

SOME QUOTATIONS FROM GEORGE MEREDITH.

Among the nobler order of women there is, when they plunge into strife, a craving for idealistic truths, which men are apt, under the heat and hurry of their energies, to put aside as stars that are merely meant for shining.—"Vittoria."

There is no freedom for the weak.—"The Egoist."

Wandering in the vast realm which they are exhorted to call their own, for the additional attractiveness it gives them, an unsatisfied heart of woman will somewhat audaciously cross the borderland a single step into the public road of the vast realm of thinking. Once there, and but a single step on the road, she is a rebel against man's law for her sex.—"Lord Ormont and His Aminta."

She (Diana) saw the existing posture of women clearly, yet believed, as men disincline to do, that they grow. She says, "Men desire to have a still woman, who can make a constant society of her pins and needles." They create by stoppage a volcano, and are amazed at its eruptiveness.

As to the sensations of women after the beating down of the walls, she owns that the multitude of the timorous would yearn in shivering affright for the old prison-nest, according to the sage prognostic of men; but the flying of a valiant few would form a vanguard. And we are informed that the beginning of a motive life with women must be in the head, equally with men.—"Diana of the Crossways."

REVIEW OF THE WEEK.

The Interdependence of Votes and Wages.

"There's no good talking as if men and women were equal in industry, because the fact is they are not. Their labour is subject to all sorts of legal disabilities. The law handicaps women, and you've got to accept that to begin with."

With these words, quoted from the utterance of a Government official, Miss Gore-Booth commences a singularly convincing article in the June number of the *Englishwoman*, entitled "No Trades for Women." Her object is to show the interdependence of economic conditions and votes, and no one who follows her argument carefully can fail to admit she proves her case.

She selects as a particular example the florists' trade, to which the Factory Acts have recently been extended. This means that overtime for women employees is limited to thirty days in one year—an impossible condition in this particular trade owing to the fact that every time one person works overtime it counts one of the thirty occasions for overtime for every person working in the shop. This is a law of the Medes and Persians, and the Home Secretary himself cannot alter it. It renders the thirty days' overtime, which is sufficient for the cotton trade, wholly insufficient for an industry like the florists, where everybody does not begin and end at once, as they do in a mill, but all depends on the liberty of individuals to go out occasionally after eight o'clock and finish decorating a room.

The particular section of the Act has not yet come into operation, and the women designers, who know the effect that it will have upon their means of livelihood, have appealed to the Home Secretary for exemption from its provisions. But the Home Secretary, backed by the ignorance of those well-meaning people who are rejoicing that the florists' assistants should have applied to them the benefits of "protection," has turned a deaf ear to their petition.

And what, asks Miss Gore-Booth, will be the economic result of these women's "protection" and the resulting displacement of their labour? The florists' trade will cease to be a skilled trade for women; all above the position of simple shop assistants and young irresponsible workers will be thrown out of employment. The shop assistants and young girls will go on as ever, but the skilled designer, or "first florist," or manageress will have to go. Now, beyond the cruelty involved to individuals, we have to realise the effect of the added competition of these workers, whose labour, hitherto absorbed in this very good trade, will now go to swell the supply in an already overcrowded market. If wages are, in the main, a question of supply and demand, will it help matters, from the workers' point of view, to increase the supply and lessen the demand in this wholly artificial and legal manner? This question is a very interesting one, because it is here you have a glimpse of the connection so strong, and yet so often denied, between wages—especially women's wages—and politics. By an application of the Factory Act the florists' assistants are turned out of work. The florists' demand for English labour is thereby artificially and politically stopped, the supply is in the same manner increased, and lower wages in other trades is the result of the increased competition caused by unemployed skilled florists trying to get unskilled work in other trades. Thus, in this concrete instance, we see the action of the two great artificial disabilities of women, the absence of political power to protect them from arbitrary interference, and the limiting of their field of labour by restrictions and disqualifications.

In the face of these facts, it is strange that people do not more fully realise that the sweating of working women and their terrible industrial struggle is in reality but one of the experiences of their subjection. People nowadays have their consciences awakened more or less on the subject of extreme poverty, but they do not seem able to see that it is only the practical side of subjection and injustice. All attempts to deal with poverty that do not include an effort for justice and liberty for the oppressed in the industrial struggle are doomed to failure. Philanthropy without fair dealing is the kind of compromise that appeals to English people, but it is a most mischievous doctrine in practical things. People feel vaguely sentimental and uncomfortable about the conditions of women

workers, so they feel they must do something. And it is so easy to do things. You can't force unwelcome restrictions down working men's throats, because they have votes. But women have no share in the resisting power of the nation. So when you vaguely think it must be horrid to be a barmaid and spend your life in a public-house, or it must be dreadful to walk on a tight-rope, or sort coal at the pit-brow, or hammer chains in a forge, you gather your friends together and start a society to do away with or "abolish" barmaids, or circus-riders, or acrobats, or pit-brow workers, or chain-makers, or whatever it may be, quite oblivious of the fact that your efforts, if they succeed, will result in an act of tyrannous cruelty by which many thousands will lose their livelihoods and many other hundreds of thousands will find it harder in consequence to earn their livings.

The conclusion to which Miss Gore-Booth arrives by this cogent reasoning is that women must have not the artificial "protection" provided by men which makes them economically helpless, but the real protection provided by the Parliamentary vote, which enables them to protect themselves.

F. W. P. I.

ELIZABETH DAVENAY.*

A French Suffragette.

Elizabeth Davenay calls herself "Feministe," but we in England should call her "Suffragette," and give her a warm welcome to our ranks. There is an amusing description of a soirée given in Paris by the staff of the Women's paper *La Révolte*, of which Elizabeth is a prominent member. Opinion is rife in leading Paris circles as to what kind the entertainment would be.

Some of the most fervent opposers of "Feminism" came with an idea that the staff of the paper—"a set of unsexed 'trousered' females," as they dubbed them—would seize the opportunity for making harangues from a platform wreathed in flowers, but these guests were greatly astonished to find the ladies of the staff were all young, good-looking, and particularly well dressed.

And Elizabeth herself is "très femme," in spite of her belief in "Votes for Women." The opponents of the "Feminist" movement in France discover this fact with as much surprise as the opponents of the same movement in this country are astonished to find that the Suffragettes are "ordinary women." Men fall in love with her because she attracts and stimulates them. She is infinitely generous to women. She recognises herself as the intermediate type, the link between "the serf-woman" of the past and "the free-woman" of the future. She is loyal to both, though her own heart is torn between the two elements of past and future which are at war within her. Brave and smiling she comes as conqueror through her troubles, and when in the last chapter she decides to come to England to help forward the woman's movement here, we are ready, in the true spirit of the "Entente Cordiale," to welcome her as a comrade and wish her all success in her new life.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"A Fair Suffragette." By Adrienne. (Henry J. Drane. 6s. net.)
 "Girl Life in the Harem." By Annie Reichardt. (John Ouseley, Limited. 3s. 6d.)

"Makers of Our Clothes." By Mrs. Carl Meyer and Clementina Black. (Duckworth. 5s. net.)

"The Burden of 1909." By Eldon Lee. (Stanley, Paul and Co. 6d. net.)

"Brotherhood," June issue. Edited by J. Bruce Wallace. (Alpha Union, Letchworth. 1d. monthly.)

"The Trials of Five Queens." By R. Storry Deans. (Methuen. 10s. 6d. net.)

The *Woman's Journal* (Boston), after quoting very fully Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech on her release from Holloway, says:—"No thoughtful person can read her words without seeing that the spirit which animates these women merits something very different from the shallow and vulgar ridicule poured out upon the 'Suffragettes' by the American Press."

* "Elizabeth Davenay." By Claire de Pratz (Mills and Boon). 6s.

THE DEPUTATION ON JUNE 29.

On June 29 a large number of women, many of them formally chosen representatives from great meetings of women all over the country, will seek to put before the Prime Minister, in a constitutional manner, their demand for the rights of citizenship. To form one of such a deputation is, as the members of the W.S.P.U. know, a privilege and an honour, and the fact that it may entail misunderstanding and suffering makes it the greater opportunity for showing the Government and the people that nothing deters the militant Suffragists in their struggle for justice. The names of those eager to do their part are coming in by every post, and the provinces are no whit behind London in their answer to the call. Only those names which are definitely sent in by letter are being entered, and as time is short members should write at once to Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

Three out of many letters received will show the spirit of the members in this matter. One lady, an ex-prisoner, writes that she has arranged to take part, as her sister (another ex-prisoner) will carry on her work if it should be necessary. Another writes:—"After overcoming many difficulties, I am able to offer myself for the deputation. I am engaged in business in the daytime right up to the 29th, but after that, if necessary, I can spend my summer holiday in Holloway, and am only too pleased to do it." How quickly this movement appeals to women when they really understand it is shown again by another letter from a lady who signed the visitors' book as a stranger at the Exhibition, and has already sent her name to be added to the list of the deputation. The deputation will, as before, be sent from a meeting to be held in Caxton Hall, at 7.30 p.m., on June 29. Tickets must be taken beforehand, and can be had of the ticket secretary, prices 1s. and 6d.

The members of the W.S.P.U. never fail to do their part; meantime all our energies in London are devoted to explaining to the public at countless meetings the exact meaning of the deputation, why it is obliged to go, and why it is not only morally but constitutionally right in going. Judging by the demeanour of the audiences, the people of London are fully prepared to give their sympathy and support on the 29th.

As we announced last week, London and its environs have been divided into districts, each under the charge of a special organiser, and an enormous amount of work on what are practically bye-election lines is being done. Committee Rooms are being opened, and open-air meetings held each evening, also dinner-hour meetings at factory gates, drawing-room meetings, and special meetings for women. Notices are chalked broadcast on pavements, and a band of paper-sellers is hard at work in each district. The Drum and Fife band will give a display in several districts, and immediately before the 29th great open-air demonstrations will be held in the parks. There is still a great call for workers, and those who cannot offer themselves for the deputation may be glad to give the no less important help which is appealed for again and again below. For speaking, chalking, distributing literature, selling the paper, help is wanted, and volunteers are asked to send in their names to the district organisers.

Among the many meetings, some arrangements of special interest will be noted. Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak at Rotherhithe on June 15 and at St. Pancras (Working Men's College) on June 17. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Kensington Town Hall on June 22, at 8 p.m., and again, with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on June 24, in Regent's Park. Miss Pankhurst is also speaking on Clapham Common on June 25.

All who can help in any of the ways mentioned above are asked either to communicate with the organisers, whose names appear above, or to call at the office, 4, Clements Inn, at 10.30 every morning. As the time which remains to work up these meetings is very short, it is hoped that all members and friends who can possibly do so will come forward at once and help to make a successful beginning to the great London campaign.

Another way in which most efficient help can be given is by members acting as hostesses to the various delegates from the country. They will probably arrive on Monday, the 28th, and any members living within easy access of the House of Commons will be aiding the cause in a way that will be very highly appreciated, as the meeting will be a late one, and those of the deputation to whom London is not familiar will be glad of a short journey at the end of it.

No one who has not acted in this capacity on previous occasions can understand the inspiring and educating effect of intercourse

with those who are taking part in militant action. The woman who cannot enter into active service herself can show her sympathy in no better way. Will any who feel that they can do their part in this way send in their names to Miss Dallas, 4, Clements Inn, at once, and let her know whether they can offer either one or two nights' hospitality.

ORGANISERS' REPORTS.

BATTERSEA.—We have opened a shop at 312, Battersea Park Road, and it is already a centre of much interest in the neighbourhood. We are greatly in need of workers, who can spare any time, to take charge, especially in the morning and evening. We are holding dinner-hour meetings and evening meetings every day; these are announced daily in the shop window, and we shall be glad if members residing in the district will make a point of attending these to sell the paper and distribute bills. There will be a meeting for women only every Friday afternoon at 3 p.m. in the Free Library, Lavender Hill, and on Friday, the 18th, Mrs. Leatless and Miss Ogston will be the speakers. Our open-air meeting in Battersea Park on Sunday was well attended, in spite of the bad weather, Miss Joan Dugdale being the principal speaker. Will members willing to help in any way kindly write to me at 23, Sugden Road, Lavender Hill, or call at our shop before 11 a.m.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 312, Battersea Park Road, S.W.

A. D. Corson.

CHELSEA.—I have secured Committee Rooms at 91, Fulham Road, and am greatly in want of helpers for sandwiching, chalking, and selling VOTES FOR WOMEN. Meetings are being held at World's End, Orange Square, Pimlico, and Sloane Square, and I am very anxious to have open-air meetings outside S. Kensington Station and outside the jam factory in Royal Hospital Road, but we want other speakers. For a list of open-air meetings please refer to page 783. We want to have a sandwich parade to advertise the Hyde Park meeting on the 16th, and one before the Chelsea Town Hall meeting, so I appeal specially for workers—wanted urgently, and at once!

Committee Rooms: 91, Fulham Road, S.W.

R. Barwell.

CLAPHAM.—We started an energetic campaign in this district on the 6th with a most successful meeting on Clapham Common. Mrs. Mayer was the speaker, and Mrs. Roberts was chairman. Nearly one hundred VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and a most satisfactory collection taken. We are helping to work up the Battersea Town Hall meeting on the 8th by giving out leaflets, chalking pavements, and advertising. We are arranging nightly meetings in Clapham, Balham, Tooting, and Streatham, up to June 25, when we have our mass meeting on Clapham Common, with Miss Pankhurst as one of the speakers. We want speakers and workers in all departments. Will anyone wishing to help please communicate with me at 21, Cavendish Gardens, Clapham Park, S.W.

J. Roberts.

DEPTFORD, LEWISHAM, AND GREENWICH.—The campaign here opened on Friday with a meeting outside our shop which has now become our committee room at 72, Tranquil Vale. Meetings have been held daily since then, and to-day (Friday) we have a meeting at Stockwell Street, Greenwich, when Miss Kelly is the speaker. To-morrow, Saturday, there is an At Home for members and friends at the committee rooms at 7.30 p.m., preceded by a committee meeting at 6.30. On Sunday, at 3 p.m., Mrs. Mayer will speak at Blackheath; on Tuesday, at 7.30 p.m., Miss Mordan will speak outside our committee rooms; and on Wednesday Mrs. McKenzie and I will be at the Brockley Tops, at 7.30 p.m. Members are urgently requested to attend the meetings for the purpose of selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, distributing handbills, and taking names and addresses of those likely to be interested. Will all who can help in any way call at our committee rooms between 10.30 a.m. and 7 p.m.

Committee Rooms: 72, Tranquil Vale, Blackheath.

J. A. Bouvier.

FULHAM AND PUTNEY.—The W.S.P.U. have taken permanent Committee Rooms at 9, High Street, Putney. They are now busily engaged in organising a meeting in the Fulham Town Hall, on Tuesday, June 15. The speakers will be Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Miss Helen Ogston.

Committee Rooms: 9, High Street, Putney.

HAMMERSMITH.—I have taken committee rooms at 12, Ravenscourt Avenue, just off King Street, and therefore in a central position. Three open-air meetings are being held every night, and there will be a special meeting for Post Office girls next Monday (14th) at 5.15, in the Broadway Hall, when Miss Mary Gawthorpe will be the speaker. There will also be a meeting on the 24th in the Congregational Lecture Hall, Addison Bridge Road, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst and others will speak.

Committee Rooms: 12, Ravenscourt Avenue, King Street,

G. Roe.

HOLBORN AND FINBURY.—We started our campaign in this neighbourhood on Thursday, June 3. Two good meetings were held that day, one in Soho Square during the dinner-hour for Crosse and Blackwell's employees, and an evening one at Clerkenwell Green, when Mrs. Tanner spoke.

Eleanor Wyatt.

KENSINGTON.—A vigorous campaign is being organised from our headquarters, the "Votes for Women" shop, 145, Church Street, where all helpers willing to chalk, distribute bills, work up open-air meetings, arrange drawing-room meetings, are asked to apply, and where a map of the district may be seen with open-air pitches marked.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 145, Church Street, Kensington.

Louise M. Eates.

LAMBETH, SOUTHWARK, AND BERMONDSEY.—We opened our campaign on Monday, June 7, by holding meetings in each of the three districts. The meetings in Bermondsey are being held by Mrs. Mayer, who is helping us to work up for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting at the Town Hall, Rotherhithe, to be held on Tuesday evening, June 15.

Committee Rooms: 310, Kennington Road, Lambeth.

Elsa Gye. Margaret Hewitt.

MARYLEBONE.—The campaign has started in earnest, and a large number of most successful open-air meetings have been held by Mrs. Penn Gaskell, Miss Freeman, Miss Myers and others, at various points. The people are most interested in our militant methods, and ask eagerly for the time and place of our next meeting, frequently following our speakers to the next pitch.

Committee Rooms: 64, Blandford Street.

Elspeth McClelland.

ST. PANCRAS.—Preparations for a vigorous campaign have begun, and our Committee Rooms, situated en route for Holloway, have aroused the sympathetic interest of the neighbourhood. Will anyone with even an hour to spare come to us there between the hours of 10.30 to 12.30, 3 to 5, and 6 to 7, and get to work speedily.

the list of meetings below, and send us a postcard as to which they can attend as helpers? We are booking the Working Men's College, Crowndale Road, for June 17, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Stewards will be needed.

Committee Rooms: 14, Kentish Town Road, Camden Town, N.W. N. Crocker.

WESTMINSTER.—I am urgently in need of more workers to distribute bills and sell papers in the streets, at railway stations, etc., and particularly on Fridays and Saturdays to advertise meetings and sell papers at them. We must make a special feature of selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, so that everyone may have a chance of really understanding our movement before June 29.

Barbara Ayrton.

Table listing meetings across districts: CHELSEA, KENSINGTON, LAMBETH, SOUTHWARK, AND BERMONDSEY, and ST. PANCRAS. Columns include date, location, speaker(s), and time.

OUR POST BOX.

CONTRASTS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—To me, who till lately led an ordinary commonplace existence, there has come through my enrolment as a militant Suffragette the most wonderful broadening out and enriching of life. Through my humble work in this noblest of all causes I have come into a fulness of joy and an interest in living which I never before experienced.

Another scene that stands out in my memory is one in which I took part only a few days after my release from Holloway Gaol. The occasion was the presentation of degrees in connection with the University of London, and before a very august assembly.

My whole view of life had changed. I had acquired a power to look beyond the outward appearance of events, to see right into their hidden meanings. And this is the power which is gradually permeating all our land, and filling its women—the mothers of the future race—with that old love of liberty and justice which has made our men so splendid and our land so world-swaying.

AN APPEAL FOR HOSTESSES.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Since the W.S.P.U. was first started I have been the Hospitality Secretary, but as I am now going to devote my time to other work for the Union, I am handing over this department to Miss Irene Dallas.

We have many old and faithful friends of the Union who have been hostesses from the beginning, but many of these members live so far out of London that we cannot avail ourselves of their kindness. There must be many of our members who live in or near inner London who would give in their names to put on our list of hostesses.

BUST OF MARY GAWTHORPE.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—As many members of the Union felt that the bust of Mary Gawthorpe, by Jessie Russell, which was on sale at the Exhibition, ought not to pass into private hands, it was suggested that the purchase price (20 guineas) be raised by private subscription, and the bust be formally presented to Mary Gawthorpe by the subscribers for representation to the public later.

This course was only decided upon two days before the close of the Exhibition, and I consented to act as Hon. Treasurer for the fund, and store the bust in the meantime. During those two days over 100 members subscribed, and many others promised varying amounts.

whom are unknown to me, and whose addresses were not given, and any other friends who would like to be enrolled on the list of subscribers, to forward their contributions to me without delay? The minimum subscription is one shilling; nearly half the total is already in hand.

Dorset Hall, Merton, Surrey.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Please permit us to express our thanks through your columns to the many kind friends who sent cakes and provisions to the Refreshment Stall at the Exhibition; also our especial gratitude to Mrs. John Arbutnot, Mrs. Bagallay, Mrs. Potter, and Mrs. Tuckwell for their untiring work in the management of the stall-holders' lunches, teas, and the refreshment stall upstairs.—Yours, etc.,

M. E. EDWARDS, UNA S. DUGDALE.

13, Stanhope Place, Marble Arch.

P.S.—The tea-sets will be forwarded in a short time to all purchasers.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—May we through your columns thank our many kind friends for their most generous help to the Farm Produce and Flower Stall during the Exhibition.

It has been impossible to acknowledge individually every gift, so we hope that they will accept our thanks now. Amongst those who contributed were the Misses Beck, Mrs. Edmunds, Miss Le Lacheur, Miss Parker, Messrs. Fowler, Lee, and Co., of Reading (bottled fruits), and many others.

The prizes for the best butter sent to the Exhibition were won by Miss Le Lacheur and Mrs. Sanguinette. Those for the best eggs by Mrs. M. E. Preston, Miss Park, Mrs. C. Fox Edwards, Mrs. Mary Service, Miss Nettie Kirkaldy, and Lady Johnston.

The judge was Miss McConnell, N.D.D., B.D.F.A., to whom we owe a debt of gratitude.—Yours, etc.,

E. K. MARSHALL.

HAMPSTEAD MEMBERS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—As two or three ladies have spoken to me about social intercourse for Hampstead members, and expressed their desire for such, I should like to offer our drawing-room for the evening of Tuesday, the 15th, to discuss what could be done. I shall be pleased to welcome any Hampstead members who like to come to the address below at 8 o'clock on that date. Trusting you will find space to publish this letter.—Yours, etc.,

DULCIE PEARSE.

MISS PATRICIA WOODLOCK'S RELEASE.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—To show our detestation of the sentence of three months' imprisonment imposed on Miss Woodlock for her action in going to the House of Commons on March 30 last we are anxious, as members of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, to take part in the procession to be organised by the N.W.S.P.U. on Wednesday, the 16th inst., from Kingsway to Hyde Park. We wish not only to protest against the extremely harsh sentence, but also energetically to condemn the imprisonment of women political offenders in the second division.

All members of the Men's League and other men sympathisers are urged to attend and join in a citizens' protest against the harsh and arbitrary imprisonment of women for asserting their right to approach the Prime Minister.

Will all those who can attend send a card to Captain C. M. Gonne, 9, Fernshaw Mansions, Fernshaw Road, Chelsea, S.W., and assemble at the south end of Kingsway at 6.15 p.m.?

All members of the Men's League should wear the colours of the League (yellow and black). There will be a special Men's platform in Hyde Park.—Yours faithfully,

Alfred Baker, Joseph Clayton, C. V. Drysdale, E. Duval, Laurence Honsman, Herbert Jacobs, John Manson, F. M. Overy, M. Wilks.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (three lines)

Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

Colours: Purple, White and Green.

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Organising Sec.

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, inside the United Kingdom, 8/8 and 2/2 abroad, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE PRESENT DEMAND.

Early in the present year deputations representing the Women's Social and Political Union went to the House of Commons to demand that the Government should carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill this Session. The Government's answer to this claim was to throw the members of these deputations into prison. A more diplomatic reply was accorded to those men Liberals who, troubled by the unconstitutional and tyrannous action of their leaders, urged privately that a disgraceful chapter in Liberal history should be closed by the immediate enactment of a measure giving Votes to Women. They were told that to carry such a measure this year was an utter impossibility, because of the heavy claim made upon the time of Parliament by the business of finance. This statement, it appears, sufficed to convince these gentlemen that the Government must be excused from removing the Constitutional grievance of women, and that the imprisoned Suffragists must be left

to their fate. But the members of the Women's Social and Political Union now, as always, refuse to accept the plea of lack of time as a reason why their claim to the Vote should not at once be dealt with. If there were time for nothing else, time ought to be found to give their right of representation to the women taxpayers, upon whom this year a heavier burden than ever is to be laid.

Every Session, past, present, and future, is, in the nature of things, very fully occupied by business of one sort or another, and Parliament is never in any particular Session able to meet all the claims made upon it. All that can be done is to deal with these claims in the order of their importance. Upon this principle, women's enfranchisement would long ago have been an accomplished fact, for it is the biggest question now before the country, concerning as it does the elementary rights of that half of the community which has hitherto been left behind in the march of political progress.

In every Session since the present Government took office, though we have called for women's enfranchisement, we have seen measures far less necessary dealt with to the exclusion of this one. The moment has arrived when we must insist more vigorously than ever upon immediate attention to our claim. Though the Government seem anxious to defer as long as possible their next appeal to the electors, Mr. Churchill, in his reply to a deputation of Manchester Liberals, said that "it would not be very useful for us to speculate at this moment upon the course of events in the year 1911." Certainly, a General Election at the close of next Session is more than probable, and it may take place even earlier. The enactment of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill must not be delayed if women are to vote at the next General Election, to achieve which result members of this Union are prepared to make any and every sacrifice.

The Government have themselves proved how perfectly easy it would be to carry in the present Session a measure of women's enfranchisement, for they have introduced another electoral measure, known as the London Elections Bill. It is surprising that those Liberals who support our cause have not suggested to Mr. Asquith that he should substitute for this measure the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. That is the demand which the Women's Social and Political Union are now making. No one will be found to deny that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is infinitely more important than the London Elections Bill, which is a measure of the most trivial nature, and is of a very limited application, since it concerns only London. It is also true that the demand for women's enfranchisement is incomparably greater than the demand for the measure which the Government have introduced; indeed, the demand for their Bill can be said to be entirely non-existent. It arouses no interest in the country, and the fact that the second-reading debate took place in a thin and listless House shows that Members of Parliament also are indifferent to its fate.

The audience which assembled in the Queen's Hall last Monday carried a resolution which will be submitted to meetings all over the country. It runs as follows:—

That this meeting protests against the introduction by the Government of the London Elections Bill, which is a measure of trifling importance, and far less popular than the measure for granting Votes for Women.

This meeting calls upon the Government to withdraw the London Elections Bill, and to devote the time thus saved to carrying the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

A mass meeting of Mr. John Burns's constituents has adopted the resolution, and there is no doubt that men and women all over the country will support the reasonable and moderate claim which it embodies.

This claim it is which our deputation will seek to lay before the Prime Minister on Tuesday, June 29.

Christabel Pankhurst.

NO THOROUGHFARE (?)

"Is it honourable to pursue a Cabinet Minister upon private ground, and to put to him a political question when he is enjoying a holiday as a private person?" This is a question which is occupying the mind of many excellent people to whom a breach of the social conventions is more shocking than any violation of the principles of right and justice.

This question that has been asked is capable of being satisfactorily answered in two ways. First it may be answered on the point of fact. In the particular case referred to the women who questioned Mr. Asquith were not trespassing on private grounds. The grounds of Clovelly Court, including the Golf Course, are open to the members of the general public on the payment of one shilling. Tickets were purchased, and the only instruction given was that visitors should not cross the windows of the house. This instruction was faithfully obeyed. Again, there was no attempt in the first instance to embarrass Mr. Asquith in any way. The three Suffragettes introduced themselves to him on Sunday morning quietly and unobtrusively, and politely asked him to give them an interview for two or three minutes, as they had something of importance to say to him. It was not until Mr. Asquith had himself violated the rules of courtesy by rudely refusing to listen to them at all that they told him that they should be obliged as an alternative to force an interview upon him.

How Men are Dealt with—and Women.

In the second place, we would confront the questioner with a question. When is the proper time for women to approach a public Minister with a question or a petition? Not at a public meeting, for when at the close of his speech they attempt to put a question to him in proper form as men do, no answer is vouchsafed to them, but they are "ruthlessly" flung out of the meeting. Neither can they approach with impunity the Prime Minister as men do upon a duly appointed deputation. Since Mr. Asquith became Prime Minister he has received countless deputations of men, but has persistently refused to receive a deputation of women who are seeking their citizenship. When women seek to approach him in a constitutional manner, availing themselves of constitutional liberties expressly affirmed in the Bill of Rights, Mr. Asquith sets the police upon them. But he does not deal in this way with men, not even when they seek an interview which is inconvenient to him.

When the unemployed men of Woolwich announced their intention of sending a deputation to Mr. Asquith on a certain evening, he replied that he could not see the deputation owing to the fact that he was engaged to dine with the Colonial Premiers. The men sent a reply that the deputation would wait upon him nevertheless and would remain outside the House of Commons until he should find it convenient to receive them. His reply to these men was that he would receive them at 10 o'clock that night. His invariable reply to women is, to call out the police to forbid them approach the House of Commons and then on the trivial and trumped-up charge of "obstruction" to have them thrown into prison, denying them the right to be tried by jury, in violation of the spirit of the constitutional law of the realm.

The fact that the Government are determined to prevent us from being tried by jury was exposed during the recent debate in the House of Commons on the Brawling Bill.

Yet there are well-meaning people who are aroused to indignation that a public Minister should be annoyed while playing a game of golf, but accept with complete equanimity the fact that a woman of honourable reputation, guiltless of

all crime, denied even the elementary right of a fair trial, is imprisoned for three months as a common criminal.

If women are deprived of all constitutional and conventional means of expression, they must and will find means that are unconstitutional and unconventional. Women flung out of a meeting for asking a question at the proper time will choose a time convenient to themselves. Women debarred from approaching their public Ministers in the manner duly accredited in public life will find means of approaching them by other ways, even if they have to lie in ambush or make tracks across private precincts.

In vain Mr. Asquith bars to women the public road in the hope of arresting their progress.

A Women's Revolution.

This is the answer which goes to the root of the whole question. It must be frankly recognised that the woman's movement to-day is a revolution. People do not like revolutions, but it must be remembered that it is those who check the process of evolution who are responsible for the revolution. It is a revolution, but it is not a men's revolution this time: it is a women's revolution. Men's revolutions are fought with bombs and bloodshed. The women's revolution is fought by persistence even to the point of the setting aside of social conventions. Those who are opposing the modern evolution of women have to learn, and indeed are gradually learning, that nothing will avail to stop us or to turn us back. Again and again we shall return to the attack. We shall persist in asking the inevitable questions: Why women are taxed but not represented? When the Government intends to make restitution for its "legalised robbery"? We shall ask it again on June 29. On that day we shall approach Mr. Asquith, not by any private paths or byeways, but upon the public road which he seeks to close to women. We shall go not by twos or threes, but by the score and the hundred. Once more in duly recognised form, in accordance with our constitutional right to petition the King or his proxies for redress of our grievances, we shall seek to lay before the Prime Minister in the manner in which men would lay their claim the claim of taxpaying women to due representation. We shall do no violence. That is not a part of the programme of the women's revolution. It may be that the Government will once again do us violence as before, and seek to crush this movement by a direct violation of the constitutional law of this country. Our "militant" action consists in this, that we force the Government to do us justice or to do us violence. But let there be no mistake. We have deliberately chosen this course of action, not because we have a taste for martyrdom, but because we know it is the way to win. We do not refrain from violence because we prefer suffering to effective resistance. If we felt that methods of violence were necessary to secure the triumph of justice, honour and liberty, we should not hesitate to take up arms and fight our battles just as men have done in the past. The reason why hitherto there has been no violence on our part is because we know that we are winning all along the line. There is no need for violence. The violence of men in the past has been born of their despair. If ever a time had come in this movement when the shadow of a doubt had been felt of our speedy success, when a feeling of despair at our political helplessness had taken possession of our mind, the women of this movement might have had recourse to the methods which men have always used in fighting for their liberties. But we know that we are on the right lines. We know that we must succeed. We accept suffering because it is the channel of success; because we have every proof to assure us that the way we have chosen is the way of sure and speedy victory.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

HECKLING CABINET MINISTERS.

A DUMMY MINISTER.

The most elaborate precautions were taken last Friday evening in Birmingham, when Mr. Sydney Buxton spoke at the Grand Hotel, at the Postmen's Federation banquet. Detectives and police lined the passages and street, and a door leading to the banquet room was locked, so that the two members of the W.S.P.U. who had engaged a room the night before were unable to make a personal protest. Mr. Buxton received a telegram, however, on the subject of Women's Enfranchisement, and was handed a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN by a man sympathiser. For several hours afterwards the women waited in the lounge, and, after being ejected, in the street, encouraged by a quiet and extremely friendly crowd. An amusing feature of the evening was that, finally, a gentleman of Mr. Buxton's stature emerged, and, bowing to the crowd, drove away in a carriage, and a police inspector said, "Here he is"; but, as one of the policemen said, "You can't fool the Suffragettes," and at one o'clock in the morning, as Mr. Buxton, rather than face the music, had evidently changed his plans and decided to stop the night, the "lady stalwarts," as the *Birmingham Gazette* calls them, went to their well-deserved rest. The *Daily News* devoted the whole of its poster to the incident.

A SPOILT GAME.

A member of the W.S.P.U. writes:—

I thought you would be interested to hear that on Whit Monday I interviewed Mr. Herbert Gladstone on the way to the Littlestone (New Romney) Golf Links. Having questioned him as to why he still punished Patricia Woodlock, and also refused us the vote, together with other matters affecting our deputation on the 29th, his only reply was, "Go away, this is no time for politics, I am having a holiday." I replied: "Holiday! You are paid by the State for such luxuries, and this makes no difference to our women who suffer in Holloway under your orders." To which he replied: "You have quite spoilt my game of golf." I might add that one policeman is stationed in New Romney, but four were requisitioned to see Mr. Gladstone off by the train the same evening.

THE REASON WHY.

Mrs. McKeown writes:—

"Mr. John Burns was to have been at a cricket match here in Preston Park on Whit Monday. The match was suddenly played at Southampton instead. Brighton Suffragettes know why."

MR. CHURCHILL'S MANCHESTER MEETING.

Mr. E. G. Taylor writes:—

On page 9, bottom of third column, of the *Manchester Guardian* of the 24th ult. will be found the following words with reference to the conduct of Mr. Churchill's meeting:—

"There was not one interruption during the whole of the meeting. The whole of the arrangements for the meeting and for the admission of women worked with great success, and there was no disturbance at any time in the hall."

This is untrue. There was a great disturbance and excitement near where I was sitting caused by the stewards and the police while, with violence, expelling a gentleman from the hall. He was merely asking a question. For the same offence I was threatened to be put out, and others likewise. What can be the motive of the writer in making such false statements as those above quoted? Is it a deliberate and direct attempt to deceive the public? If so, for what useful or moral purpose? I cannot imagine what his reply can be. If there was no "interruption" and no "disturbance," surely this expulsion was illegal, and the steward or stewards, or those responsible, should be prosecuted.

PRESS COMMENTS.

Mr. Asquith's unhappy experience with the Clovelly importation of the Suffragette will compel him in future to keep from public knowledge the locality he may favour for a holiday. He invariably adopts this plan when taking a week-end exeat during the session. "Mr. and Mrs. Asquith have left London for the week-end," or "The Premier and Mrs. Asquith will return to Downing Street from Wiltshire on Monday," is the usual intimation given the "intelligence department" of the Political and Social Union, and as a result the Premier enjoys his few hours' rest in peace. At Clovelly he has been hounded down and tracked even on a private golf links, to be put off his game. Any irritation he may have shown is justifiable in view of the exceptional handicap—a Suffragette holding him by the arm—of his match.

—*Bristol Times and Mirror*.

Yesterday morning the Premier and the other members of the house party found the grounds dotted with "Votes for Women" bills and Suffragette literature.

Every bush in the terrace had the Suffragette badge upon it, the flower beds were covered with bills, and the sundial was draped with a towel on which was painted "Votes for Women."

Distributed about the grounds were fifty copies of a Suffragette journal, which had as a frontispiece a cartoon with an extract from a speech of Lord Cromer, who is one of the house party at Clovelly Court. —*Globe*.

THE IMPIOUS SUFFRAGETTES.

Despite elaborate precautions, three Suffragists followed Mr. Asquith to Clovelly, and sat opposite him in church on Sunday. They caught him outside, and reminded him of Miss Woodlock in prison. He said, "It's very wrong of you to question me after church," and urged them to go away.—*News Item*.

In church he sat, with contrite air
And sweet, staired-glass emotions
And chastened mood;
A halo fluttered o'er his hair
And lightened his devotions:
He felt quite good.

He passed outside with stately stride,
When (exit exaltation)
Those women stood
Importunate! The sanctified
One burned with indignation:
They were so rude.

"My breakfast, lunch, and dinner, too,"
He said, "bring indigestion;
I cannot sleep.

In fact, life wears a sultry hue
Since first this deuced question
Made my flesh creep.

My nerves, thanks to your most abrupt,
Unwomanly gyrations,
Are far from strong.
Women, how dare you interrupt
My pious meditations?
Damme—it's WRONG!"

—C. L. E., in *The Labour Leader*.

THE HOOLIGAN IN SKIRTS.

There will be a very general feeling of indignation at the latest form of annoyance practised by the vote-seeking women upon the Prime Minister. Three of them seem to have invaded the grounds of the country house where Mr. Asquith is enjoying a few days' rest from his public duties, and littered the whole place with their bills and other printed matter, making the scene almost as hideous as a London common after a Bank Holiday. An outrage of this kind adds nothing to our knowledge of the debased temperament that underlies the Suffrage movement, but it will make all decent-minded people demand that this personal persecution shall be brought to an end. It is simply monstrous that any one who carries the responsibilities of a Prime Minister should be liable to have his footsteps dogged and his scanty hours of rest and privacy invaded by a band of disgusting creatures, organised and instigated on behalf of a political campaign. Tolerant is carried to the limits of absurdity when this kind of hooliganism is permitted to infest the environs of public life. —*Pall Mall Gazette*.

THE "MONSTROUS REGIMENT."

"*Furens quid femina.* . . . !" The Suffragettes will not let Mr. Asquith alone. Our unfortunate Premier has been staying at Clovelly Court. But the Suffragettes have followed him there. Three of them sat opposite him at church on Sunday, caught him after the service, and forced him to take refuge at the Court. Nor could the poor gentleman even play golf on the private links without being confronted with Suffragettes rising from behind bushes and demanding the franchise. Considering all the trouble that lies before Mr. Asquith when he returns to Westminster from the West, it is hard, indeed, that he should not be allowed to enjoy his holiday in peace. Decidedly, as our French friends would say, "*C'est un homme à plaindre.*" —*Pall Mall Gazette*.

Around Clovelly Court are numerous bills stuck on every available spot, inscribed "Votes for Women," and "Release Patricia Woodlock." —*Exeter Express*.

AT ST. JAMES'S HALL.

A large and enthusiastic audience gathered at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, when Mr. Laurence Housman spoke in favour of the militant tactics.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst was in the chair, and in introducing Mr. Housman said the beginning of the present session would not be allowed to pass without another vigorous demand for the passing of a Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. Again and again women had been told that this particular time was not appropriate for the consideration of such a Bill—that something more important was under discussion—but the Budget called upon women as well as men to pay the expenses of national government, and the right of representation ought to be inseparable from the financing of Government projects. The Government had plenty of time. They were bringing forward the London Elections Bill—a trivial reform without which London had got along very well up to the present. But the Government were not guided by the will of the people; their one desire was to play their own game. Although everyone knew that the woman's movement was a very big thing, even yet the Government did not realise that they were being beaten by the militant methods. They lived in hopes of wearing women down, but when they saw that militant women were increasing and becoming more and more in earnest, they would recognise the futility of continuing their resistance. The deputation of June 29 must be the biggest thing the women had yet done, and the memory of that day must go down in history as a glorious example of what earnest and determined women could do. It was simply a trial of strength—a tug of war—and the women would win.

Mr. Housman's Speech.

Mr. Laurence Housman, in a vigorous defence of the militant methods, said militancy was not a petition for a favour, but a demand for rights, and a refusal to accept any denial or delay in the granting of those rights. It was a question of right of way. Others were being defrauded, and women must hold their ground for the sake of others. Those who placed a barrier to a right of way must expect to have the adjoining property trespassed upon; the Government had barred the public road, and must not complain if women took the only course open to them. They had been reasoning to deaf ears for forty years; now, therefore, it was unreasonable to go on reasoning, and better to fall back upon logical actions.

Commenting upon the different ideals of womanhood prevailing at different periods, Mr. Housman drew a parallel between Milton's description of perfect womanhood in the person of Eve and that of George Meredith—each one of the greatest writers of his time. He did not wonder that Adam fell if he had a woman for a companion with the qualities of Milton's Eve.

The triumph of women was certainly coming. Nearly all the women doctors, women teachers, and other workers were in favour of the suffrage. The forces of the future were with the women, and with those forces the women were building. The vote was only the symbol—what women were fighting for was not merely politics, but that the soul of the nation might come to light.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who had just returned from Cornwall, said the campaign had been extended to Land's End, and was going like wildfire through the country. Garbled accounts had been heard there, but at Penzance she had been able to put things in their proper light, and then the Cornish people became enthusiastic supporters. The militant Suffragists had done nothing morally wrong. They took the legal course of sending a deputation to the Prime Minister to tell him what they wanted; he refused to hear them, set the police upon them, and threw them into prison. They were accused of bad manners, but when a great object was at stake, surely a little question of convention could be brushed aside. Looking below the surface, the earnestness, sincerity, and conviction of the women, and the great need of the community, justified their breaking through these rules of convention, which could not apply at such a time. To paraphrase the old Cornish song, if he would not receive the women on the 29th, "Twenty thousand Suffragettes would know the reason why."

A great deal was made in the Press of an incident at the Royal Academy, when a label with the words "Votes for Women" was found to have been gummed to the glass in front of the portrait of the Prime Minister. The size of the label varies in the different accounts from "about 8 ins. by 6 ins." to "6 ins. by 1 in.," but all the accounts agree that the words were printed in purple ink. More than one daily newspaper exhibited a poster with the solemn announcement, "Premier's Portrait Defaced"; while another headed its account, "Outrage at the Academy," and made special mention of the position of the label—"On Premier's Waistcoat."

MARS AND VENUS.

[Mr. Haldane, while occupying the chair at a lecture by Professor Masterman, had occasion to speak of the "general will as embodied in the State and its institutions." A Suffragette interposed with the remark that "the general will included the will of the women." Mr. Haldane expressed a hope that "the ladies would be silent, otherwise it would be his obligation to interpret this general will." Subsequently he had the police called in, and, after the fifteenth and final ejection, declared that he had always voted for Women's Suffrage.]

"You speak, Mr. Haldane," a Suffragette said,

"Of the Will of the People, wholesale,
But has the idea ever entered your head
That 'the People' are not only male?"

"The People are those," Mr. Haldane replied,
"Whom the Vote has endowed with a Will;
And until to extend it to you we decide,
You have no right to ask it—Be still!"

"You incline to our part—or you say that you do—
And our wrongs you profess to deplore,
Yet when we endeavour to ask if it's true—
We are promptly put out at the door!"

"I owe to my office this difficult task—
By the General Will to abide;
But I sympathise deeply with all that you ask—
So long as you're safely outside!" —*Punch*.

An interrupting Suffragist is a nuisance to the Cabinet Minister but a great blessing to an audience, and when I say that Mr. Haldane, who never spoke for less than three hours whenever he was dealing with the territorial question, has now reduced his speeches to ten minutes as a result of persistent interruption, you may gather that these harmless and sometimes beautiful little creatures, whose noisy buzzing is sometimes heard in public places, are performing a really useful service. —*Manchester Sunday Chronicle*.

There is something about Suffragists that seems to rouse the worst feelings in the bosoms of responsible legislators. John Burns, a worthy soul, but somewhat given to Baboo verbiage, calls them "female hooligans," and Lord Curzon, that polished man of letters and erstwhile god, calls them "howling female dervishes." So far as Mr. Burns is concerned, one allows for a certain crudeness of speech, because he is a man of the people, and his language is the language of his class, but from that very superior person George Nathaniel Curzon one looked for more epigram and less vulgarity. To call people, however abominable their views may be, "howling dervishes" is not dignified, and ill becomes one of Lord Curzon's high parts. —*Manchester Sunday Chronicle*.

The opportunity of heckling a Cabinet Minister was made the most of by a number of Suffragists, whose frequent interruptions made it almost impossible for Mr. Burns to speak until they had been, one by one, removed from the hall. As Mr. Burns left the building and drove away in a motor-car there was a good deal of hooting by a crowd of men. —*Standard*.

The four [Bristol] constituencies are being simultaneously attacked. In face of the prospect of hot weather the women of the Union are nothing daunted. They have taken committee rooms in each division, and the East and the West, as well as the North and the South, are to be vigorously worked from these centres. Not Mr. Hobhouse, Mr. Birrell, nor Sir Wm. Howell Davies are to be spared. Sir William, it is reported, is going to Germany. . . . Hadn't he better stay at home and try to make peace with the women there? —*Bristol Times*.

"How I deal with noisy Suffragettes" would provide a good subject for a Cabinet Ministers' competition. The problem is tackled by each Minister in a different way.

—*Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury*.

We learn that a resolution has been passed by the Committee of the Sheffield Liberal Federation regretting "the extraordinary action of the Suffragettes" on the occasion of the Prime Minister's visit to Sheffield on May 21, and directing that the sum of five guineas be paid to the Police Fund for the "splendidly successful and tactful behaviour of every member of the force engaged in preserving order."

AT QUEEN'S HALL, JUNE 7.

An unusually large audience gathered at the first At Home held at Queen's Hall after the Exhibition and the Whitsuntide holidays.

In her opening speech, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who presided, commented with pleasure on the presence of many strangers, and hoped that they would continue to come and bring friends until they fully understood the aims of the N.W.S.P.U. and the high ideals it is striving to attain. Dealing with two popular misconceptions regarding the Union, Mrs. Lawrence said one was that the N.W.S.P.U. was composed of people who disliked the Liberal party and were doing all they could to fight against it. As a matter of fact, the Union was not connected with or in opposition to any party, but for the sake of the cause it had cut itself adrift from every party until men and women were placed on an equal footing as regards the franchise. Logically, N.W.S.P.U. members were better Liberals than the Government, for while the Government maintained in words that taxation and representation should go together, they denied it in their actions. Another misconception was that the members of the Union were very extreme persons, demanding all kinds of drastic changes and political upheavals. Quite the opposite was the case. They were the most moderate, constitutional, and reasonable people that could be imagined. They did not ask for any revolutionary changes; they had not quarrelled with or criticised the rules of the existing franchise; they simply asked that all who paid taxes should have due representation, and claimed that if women fulfilled the same obligations as men they should also enjoy the same privileges.

This great movement had always appealed strongly to men and women of genius, and many had foreshadowed it in their writings long before any steps were taken to bring it to actual reality. George Meredith spoke long ago of the new claims that women would make upon life, and this was echoed by other writers. Olive Schreiner, in a letter received only that morning, said she knew that her best dreams of life for women were being fulfilled. And on that very platform they welcomed another prophet who in years past foresaw this great movement of women's work for women, and exemplified the principle that if anyone—man or woman—had a great inspiration or ideal, he must work it out himself against all opposition, strong in the certainty that earnest and strenuous faith would reap its due reward.

Mr. Israel Zangwill's speech on "Old Fogeys and Old Bogeys," delivered in his own inimitable style, was punctuated by hearty applause and rippling mirth, with now and again an outburst of indignation as Mr. Zangwill touched with keen satire on the evils against which the N.W.S.P.U. is waging so staunch a warfare. The speech is reported verbatim on pages 774-777.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Zangwill, said that she personally thanked him most heartily for his delightful and refreshing speech. The flashes of wit and wisdom with which it was illumined would be long remembered, and would in the future serve as shafts to plant in the bosom of the enemy.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst in a short speech dealt with the various questions handed up during the afternoon, and a resolution was carried unanimously protesting against the action of the Government in bringing forward the London Elections Bill to the exclusion of a Woman's Franchise Bill, and calling upon them to withdraw the former and to devote the time thus saved to carrying out a measure for the enfranchisement of women.

A SUGGESTION FOR THE SUMMER CAMPAIGN.

A member of this Union informs us that a houseboat is to let for the summer months or to be sold, and is offered at a very reasonable figure. It is a large boat, with three double and one single bedrooms, large saloon, kitchen, etc., and splendid upper deck. The suggestion has been made that some of our well-to-do members might like to form a club among themselves, and carry on a summer campaign from this boat. It offers great possibilities, and would be a most delightful way of extending the campaign. All particulars will be given on inquiry. We have also heard of a well-fitted caravan, which can be seen near London, and is very moderate in price.

MEETING AT PENZANCE.

[By Our Correspondent.]

The Penzance public are fully awakened to Votes for Women. "All the town is talking of it," said a working man to me on the afternoon of our meeting, and in the evening his words were verified by the splendid gathering, full of interest and welcome, which assembled in the St. John's Hall to hear Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady Constance Lytton, Miss Annie Kenney being in the chair. Our meeting happened to be on a great day for Penzance—the Lord Mayor of London was coming to open an infirmary bed, and the whole town was *en fête*. Red, white, and blue flew from every window and across every street. Excellent for our meeting. Of course, the townsfolk meant the welcome for our Suffragette leaders too! But we thought the scheme of colour was not complete without the purple, white, and green, and so we hung our garlands about the front of our hall, and floated our banner from a top window of the building. After some little manoeuvring, we managed to have our banner half exposed at the psychological moment, while one of our members waved our tricolour flag vigorously from the window.

This incident proved an excellent advertisement—the general feeling of the crowd was with the Suffragettes, and the success of our evening meeting was assured. The hall was splendidly filled, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was at home in her own county on a Cornish platform, talking to Cornish folk. How eagerly the audience followed every argument, enjoyed every quick turn, and responded to every appeal on the moral and ethical side of the question, and with what deep interest they listened to the account Lady Constance Lytton gave them of her own conversion and arrest! The fruit of that meeting will be seen for many days to come, and already one volunteer has come forward to join the deputation to Mr. Asquith. We hope she may not be the only one!

MISS PANKHURST AT NORWOOD.

A very successful meeting was held at the Stanley Hall, South Norwood, on Friday evening, June 4. Mrs. Cameron Swan took the chair, and made an appeal to the audience to certify their sympathy with the cause by signing membership cards, an appeal to which many responded at the end of the meeting. Mrs. Tyson gave a very interesting account of her recent prison experiences, and Miss Evelyn Sharp followed with a short speech dealing with the history of reform agitations, and showing the futility of attempting to stop any movement towards progress by coercive measures.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst made the speech of the evening. She had a fine reception, and was presented with a charming basket of flowers in the colours of the Union. Her speech dealt principally with the political situation, and in touching upon the reasons for militant tactics she showed how free speech consisted not in allowing a speaker to say what he liked, but in allowing an audience to express disapproval if it wished to do so. Later, when this form of free speech was indulged in by a militant young gentleman in the gallery, who rose armed with a paper of questions which he proceeded to fire off before the speaker had finished her address, Miss Pankhurst, with the utmost good-nature, carried out her own precepts, and gave a lesson to Cabinet Ministers by dealing with the interrupter calmly and convincingly, both then and afterwards at question time, when he again rose and attempted to heckle her.

Miss Pankhurst spoke also very stirringly of the approaching deputation to the Prime Minister, and appealed to the women present to form part of it, and to the men to back up the women on June 29 in Parliament Square.

We are asked to announce that in view of the widespread feeling that the sentence of three months' imprisonment passed upon Miss Patricia Woodlock was unduly severe, the *Christian Commonwealth* of next week (June 16) will contain a special article by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on the case, together with a portrait of Miss Woodlock.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

Office: 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The campaign preparatory to the Deputation to the Prime Minister on June 29 is occupying most of our time. I shall not give details here of the work in the various districts, as a full account appears on pages 779 and 780. Will all London members and friends read these pages carefully, and especially the list of meetings on page 760? All intending workers should communicate without delay with the organiser or the local W.S.P.U. in their own neighbourhood. Workers are needed all over London, and as there is only just over a fortnight before the Deputation there is no time to lose. Those who cannot take part in militant action, and who live in central positions, are invited to act as hostesses to members of the Deputation, and to send in their names and addresses to Miss Dallas, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The At Homes.—The speaker next Monday afternoon will be Miss Gertrude Kingston (see announcements, page 782). The Thursday evening At Home will be held at St. James's Hall as usual, at 8 p.m.

Indoor Meetings.—Among important meetings next week are the Business Men's meeting on Monday at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, at 4.30 p.m., speaker, Mrs. Pankhurst; that at Chiswick Town Hall, on Monday, at 8 p.m., speaker, Mrs. Pankhurst; on Tuesday, at St. James's Theatre, at 3 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst takes the chair, and the speakers are the Earl of Lytton, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and Miss Gladice Keevil. For this meeting workers are asked to apply for handbills for distribution, and to call at the offices to help in advertising it each day.

Outdoor Meetings.—A very large number of outdoor meetings in connection with the special campaign will be held next week; for details see pages 779 and 780. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak in Hyde Park on Sunday at 3.30 p.m.

Votes for Women.—Sellers are wanted every day, to call at Clements Inn at 10.30 a.m. and 2.30 p.m., and ask for Miss Mills.

Please note that all letters, etc., addressed to members at 4, Clements Inn, should bear the Christian name or initial as well as surname. Our membership is exceedingly large, and much confusion arises in the office postal department through the neglect of this very necessary rule.

Flora Drummond.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms.—Bristol: 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

At Homes.—Bristol: Victoria Rooms, every Monday, 3.30 to 5.30 p.m.

Plymouth: Royal Hotel, every Friday, 3.30.

Torquay: Swiss Café, 2nd and 4th Thursdays.

I am glad to be able to report that we have got our organiser for Cornwall. Miss D. Pethick has taken on the work voluntarily, and I hope all Cornish people interested in our movement will put themselves in touch with her at once. Her address is Tregenna House, Penzance. The next thing we want is an organiser for Bath. The meetings are so well attended and the people so interested that I feel the time has come. Meetings are being held every week in the Saw Close Open-Air Bath, and the people are greatly interested in our demand. In Bristol the campaign is going ahead well, and Miss Vera Wentworth and Miss Howey are coming to give their help for a week or two. In Cardiff also progress is most encouraging. The next meeting will be held on June 15 in the Crush Room, Park Hall. Miss Mary Allen is acting as voluntary organiser for Cardiff, and is making all arrangements for the meeting during my absence in Bristol.

Annie Kenney.

Bristol.—Our open-air campaign in Bristol West began with four meetings on the Downs on Whit Monday. The speakers were Mrs. Barrett, Mrs. Massy, and Miss Ogston. Large crowds of people listened most attentively to the addresses. The sympathy of the majority was quite evidently with us, for we sold over sixteen dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN. It was altogether a record day in the Suffrage movement, and has given us the very greatest courage to continue our militant action at all costs and hazards. On Whit Tuesday Mrs. Barrett and Mrs. Massy again addressed a large gathering, who, in spite of the pouring rain, listened to the speeches for nearly two hours, some pressing forward to shake hands and thank the speakers. Miss Mary Phillips continued the work in Bristol West upon Mrs. Massy's departure. On Thursday there was a splendid dinner-hour meeting at Zetland Road tram terminus, and an afternoon meeting in Bishopston. The movement is certainly making huge strides in this constituency, but we want more workers. Mrs. Rooke has again generously given 5s. towards the week's expenses, and Miss Park 1s. 6d. M. Colby, with her usual kindly thought for our comfort, has sent curtains for the windows of 195, Blackboy Hill.

Work started in Bristol North (Mr. Birrell's constituency) with a meeting in St. James's Parish Hall on Tuesday evening, when Mrs. Massy spoke to an interested and enthusiastic audience. After Mrs. Massy's departure on Wednesday Mrs. Baldock took up the work by holding meetings on the Broad Quay in Eastville Park, Portland Square, Armoury Square, Stapleton Road tram terminus, Fishponds, and the Horsetair, the working men being interested listeners. The shop at 76, Bedminster Parade has attracted great attention in the neighbourhood, and we hope to open it directly we can arrange to have some one there regularly.

We are still waiting for a speaker for Bristol East. We managed to fix up an open-air meeting in St. George's Park on Wednesday evening, when Miss Jessie Smith and Miss Mary Phillips dealt successfully with a rather troublesome crowd. Miss Hay is still in need of help. The Misses A. and M. Walters have come to her assistance, but she would be glad if others could give her more regular time. The shop continues to attract an interested crowd.

The tickets for the mass meeting at the People's Palace on June 26 can now be had at any of the four shops, price 3d. and 6d. The meeting commences at 3 p.m. Mrs. Pankhurst is the chief speaker. On Saturday two meetings were held on the Downs, Mrs. Barrett and Miss Mary Phillips being the afternoon speakers, and in the evening Miss Winnie Simmons, Mrs. Barrett, and Mrs. Baldock. A number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold at both. Miss Winnie Simmons, till quite recently our youngest member, shows great promise as a speaker; her maiden speech was splendid. [LILLIAN DOVE-WILCOX.]

Glastonbury.—During the Agricultural Show the Miss Strangways paid for a shop and hotel expenses of workers; Miss Jessie Smith and others did excellent work.

Plymouth.—Our At Homes will be discontinued during the summer months, as we shall direct our energies on a brisk open-air campaign. This will begin when I return from Bristol, where I am going to help Miss Kenney for a week or two. This week we had reason to be very proud of two members of our speakers' class, Miss Millward and Miss Davis. At a Unionist Fête on Whit Monday three prizes were offered for the best maiden speech on Woman's Suffrage. It is thought by most people in Plymouth that the competition was originally arranged to provide amusement for rowdy youths, who were expected to make fun of the subject. Instead, however, to everybody's surprise, not one competitor treated the subject with levity. Miss Millward took the first prize, Miss Davies the second, and a gentleman whose name is unknown to us, and who spoke in favour of Votes for Women, took the third. I should be very glad indeed if any London members could spend some or all of their summer holidays with me in Plymouth. I will see that anyone who comes to me shall have a very good time. Please write to me at 10, Alfred Street, The Hoe.

This week I am sending to the Treasurer: Collections, 17s. 1½d.; subscription, Mrs. Watson, 2s. 6d. [VERA WENTWORTH.]

Cornwall.—The meeting held on Wednesday, June 2, was a splendid start to the work of organising Cornwall. A full account of the meeting will be found on page 788, but I should like to say here how splendidly it was organised and worked by local ladies. Mrs. Powell, as President of the Committee, was managing director, and with her able assistants, Mrs. Bache, Mrs. and Miss M. Howey, Mrs. Moir and Miss Duncan, Mrs. and Miss Bowker, Miss Powell, Miss Booth Scott, and Miss Bertram, decorated the room in the tricolour, and made a great success of the meeting. The waiting audience was charmed by the beautiful singing of Miss White, and by the assiduous attentions of our literature sellers, £1 7s. 6d. worth of literature being sold. The platform was generously decorated with plants and flowers in the colours by Mr. Fox, and Miss Robinson lent us pretty screens, in addition to the service of selling £9 19s. worth of tickets. We are very appreciative of these services, but know that the cause itself is their best thanks. Mr. Charles Worsnop rendered us invaluable service in decorating.

I am sending to the Treasurer £17 13s. 6d. for ticket money received; £1 4s. 9d. for collection; and 4s. 10d. for collection at a Falmouth open-air meeting held on Saturday. I have already sent £15, the gifts of Mrs. Turner Farley and Miss Turner Farley, of Falmouth. Before Miss Kenney left us we held a committee meeting, and mapped out a campaign in South Cornwall to last until June 29. We started on Saturday in Falmouth, and had an excellent reception. We intend to visit each place in the neighbourhood once a week, and as our speakers increase we hope to be able to hold two meetings a day.

The Cornish people have a bedrock love of justice and righteousness, so that it is not difficult to make them our friends directly they see the truth of our movement. For meetings arranged see the programme, p. 783.—[D. PETHICK.]

Mrs. Drummond and Miss Canning, with the same object in view, held a meeting of the Glasgow workers, and urged them all to do their utmost to help forward the demonstration.

A. R. Craig.

Edinburgh.

Shop and Office: 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. At Homes.—8, Melville Place, Thursdays, 3.30 p.m. and 8 p.m.

We are now setting to work in earnest to prepare for the great autumn demonstration, in which we hope every Scottish Suffragist will take part.

We began our campaign last Friday, when Miss Haig and I went to Haddington. We notified our arrival to the police, chalked the pavements, and got a splendid advertisement of the demonstration gratis in the local papers.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Corps, represented by Miss Roberts, set to work valiantly in Prince's Street on Saturday morning, and met with a sympathetic reception.

The financial results of Mrs. Pankhurst's two meetings are as follows:—Synod Hall ticket money, £61 5s. 6d.; Women's meeting, £5 5s.; collections and donations, £18 10s. 10d.

Will everyone please do her best to make our weekly At Homes at 8, Melville Place, on Thursday afternoons and evenings, widely known and well attended?

Florence E. M. Macaulay.

Aberdeen.

Offices.—Aberdeen: 413, Union Street. Dundee: 124, Nethergate.

New members and sympathisers are coming in well. A very successful meeting was given last Friday by Mrs. Thompson and Miss Hall, when about twenty-six ladies were present.

In view of Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Scotland in August I am writing to the papers saying that I shall be glad to hear from any of their readers who are spending their holidays in Scotland and would like to help.

Dundee.—Our campaign in Dundee closed with two successful meetings on Thursday. Miss Canning came over from Glasgow, and was of the greatest assistance to me.

At the afternoon At Home at Mather's Hotel we had a good gathering, and everyone was much interested.

At our evening meeting a list of excellent names was added to our roll of Dundee sympathisers.

Next week we hope to arrange a meeting in Peterhead (North of Aberdeen).

Important Event.—Mrs. Pankhurst is to visit the Highlands in August, and will also hold meetings in Aboyne and Braemar.

Financial Report.—Garden party, £2 8s.; Mrs. Lyon, 5s.; Mr. Brown (Dundee), £2; Mrs. Shepherd (Dundee), 10s.; collections (Dundee), £1 10s., 2s., and 9s. 1d.—£2 1s.; At Home (Aberdeen), 6s.; Teachers' At Home, 7s.; total, £7 17s.

Adela Pankhurst.

THE TREASURER'S NOTE.

Our Campaign Fund reached last week the splendid figure of £40,000, this sum representing all the money raised by the National Women's Social and Political Union (apart from the funds raised by local Unions, and accounted for by local Treasurers).

The Union at the present moment has to meet an expenditure which amounts to a ratio of £30,000 a year. That is to say we are now spending considerably more than £2,000 a month.

The Auditors are busy at the present moment making a complete statement of accounts for the quarter ending on May 31, and I shall be able in a week or two to lay an analysis of receipts and expenditure before the members and supporters of the Union in a lengthy Treasurer's Note.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

Table with columns for names and amounts, including entries like 'Miss Ellen Blackledge', 'Mrs. E. M. Parker', etc.

Because she has steadfastly refused to pay her income-tax, Mrs. Despard has had some of her personal property seized. The original debt was about £4, but the sum has mounted up with costs.

BIRKBECK BANK. SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C. ESTABLISHED 1851.

A Medium of Communication.

In order to enhance the value of VOTES FOR WOMEN as an Advertising Medium, it has been decided to inaugurate a scheme, which will come into operation next week (June 18), and provides for the grouping of small advertisements under various headings, such as 'Apartments, Board Residence, Holiday Homes, 'Professional and Educational, 'Situations Vacant and Wanted.'

SINGLE INSERTIONS 1d. PER WORD, with a minimum of 2s. All Advertisements must be Prepaid.

WRITE OR CALL.

Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE NATURE CURE.

An Ideal Holiday for Tired People, with or without treatment.

CURATIVE: Sun, Air, and Water Baths, Barefoot Walking, etc.

RECUPERATIVE: Rest Cure in Air Huts. Non-Flesh Diet.

AMUSEMENTS: Golf, Tennis, Croquet, Beautiful Walks, and Music.

One hour and forty minutes from Waterloo. 500 feet above sea level. Return week-end ticket, 5/6.

For Illustrated Prospectus, apply Manager, BROADLANDS, MEDSTEAD, HANTS.

You can order EVERYTHING by Post from



FREE DAILY DELIVERY by our Vans and Motors throughout LONDON and SUBURBS, irrespective of value of order.

The GROCERIES

Sold under our name are distinguished by their fresh quality, their uniformity, and their standard of excellence. We quote a few items that enjoy a very large sale:

TEAS.

- Three of the Best Blends: The 'Household', per lb. 1/5; The 'Westward Ho!', 1/8; The 'Ludgate' .., 1/11

COFFEES.

Each true to name, and makes the finest cup imaginable (whole or ground as desired).

- Plantation .. per lb. 1/-; Costa Rica .. 1/4; Peaberry, finest .. 1/6; 'Criterion' Special Blend .. 1/10

COCOAS.

Soluble, guaranteed pure, per lb. 2/6. Pure Cocoa Essence .. 1/6. Cocoaene Compressed Pure Cocoa Tablets, one tablet sufficient for breakfast cup; per box of 18 tablets .. -/5

WHOLE FRUIT

YELLOW PLUM JAM. 3 lb. jar -/8

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LOCAL NOTES.

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM W.S.P.U.—Members who are living in the neighbourhood of Battersea and Clapham are specially requested to attend a meeting at the Library, Lavender Hill, on Friday, June 11, from 3 to 5 p.m. Miss Ogston will be present. The chief object of the meeting is to discuss the formation of a local union for Battersea and Clapham.

BRIGHTON AND HOVE W.S.P.U.—We had three good meetings this week addressed by Miss Una Dugdale. On Friday, 4th, 8 p.m., at Queen's Square, Miss Hare took the chair; on Saturday, 5th, at 3 p.m., on the Front, where Miss Denly, one of our energetic members, made an excellent chairman; and in the evening, at 8 p.m., at Rutland Gardens, Hove, where Mrs. McKeown took the chair. We sold a number of VOTES FOR WOMEN and took up collection. To-day (Friday, 11th) we are holding our general annual business meeting at 7 p.m. at 8, North Street Quadrant. As members have already been notified of the urgency of this meeting, we hope that all will be present. On Saturday, 12th, at 3 p.m., on the Front, the speaker will be Miss Hare. In the evening at Rutland Gardens, Hove, Mrs. McKeown will speak and Miss C. Andrews will take the chair. On Monday, June 14, Rutland Gardens, 8 p.m., Mrs. Francis will speak and Mrs. Newsom will be chairman. On Tuesday, 15th, 8 p.m., at Rutland Gardens, Hove, Mrs. McKeown will speak and Mrs. Jones-Williams will be in the chair. On Wednesday, 16th, at 8 p.m., Miss Elizabeth Robins will deliver her famous lecture, "Shall Women Work?" in the large hall, Hove Town Hall, at 8 p.m. Tickets, 2s., 1s., and 6d., to be had from Messrs. Lyon and Hall, Messrs. Potts, at our office, 8, North Street Quadrant, and at the doors. Free tickets are to be had at 8, North Street Quadrant. As well as advertising Miss Robins's meeting in the usual constitutional fashion, we hope to interest the Brightonians with several new methods of our own devising. We are hoping to arrange a meeting for "women only" before the 29th inst. the day of the Women's Deputation to Mr. Asquith. Speakers and details later. I. G. McKEOWN.

BRITTON W.S.P.U.—We rely upon our members to make the demonstration in Brockwell Park on Sunday, June 27, at 7 p.m., a great success. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be our speaker. Our meetings at the White Horse, Angell Road, will be held weekly during the summer, beginning this Thursday, June 10. We hope members will come next Sunday to Brockwell Park at 3 p.m., to help with the collection, sale of papers, etc. May I also remind members of the procession to Hyde Park on June 16. KATHLEEN TANNER.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM W.S.P.U.—Our meetings on Peckham Rye on Sunday afternoons continue to attract capital audiences. Last Wednesday evening Mrs. Tanner addressed a large crowd at the Triangle, Ryb Lane. On Friday evening, June 11, there will be a meeting, for members only, at the Samuel Bowly Coffee Tavern, 74, Peckham Rye, at 8 o'clock. Will all members please make an effort to be present. C. DAWSON.

CHELSEA W.S.P.U.—We have started our campaign for the 29th by opening a shop, with Miss Barwell as organiser. Mrs. Pankhurst is coming to speak for us at the Town Hall on Friday, the 18th, at 8 p.m. The meeting will be free, but in order to make it a success there is a great deal of work to be done, and Miss Barwell is in need of helpers for bill distributing, for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and for help in the shop. Those who can help, if only for an hour or two a day, please send in their names at once. Daily open-air meetings will be held, the notices of which can be seen at the shop, and for these we want speakers and helpers. On June 4, we had the pleasure of seeing the VOTES FOR WOMEN poster displayed on a board, which will be ours for the next three months, at the bookstall at Sloane Square Station. We should like to do the same at Knightsbridge and South Kensington Station, but as this has to be paid for in advance, we shall be glad of subscriptions towards this fund. Will a member also volunteer to see that the manager of the bookstall is supplied each Friday morning with a fresh poster. This is quite easy work, and one way of increasing the sale of our paper. CHARLOTTE BLACKLOCK.

COVENTRY W.S.P.U.—We have now started a VOTES FOR WOMEN corps, which we hope will prove a great success. Two of our members sold the papers on Saturday morning in Broadgate, and decided that, like other things done for our cause, "Ce n'est que le premier pas qui coûte." Several members who are not able to help in the morning have volunteered for Saturday evenings at theatre queues and other likely places.

CROYDON W.S.P.U.—Our meeting at Stanley Hall on June 4, was a great success, in spite of the weather. After paying all the expenses, we have in hand nearly £5. We owe a great deal to the self-sacrificing efforts of our members who helped so loyally with chalking and sandwiching, particularly the two members who sandwiched in the rain right up to the commencement of the meeting. Our next meeting is on Sunday, June 13, at Katharine Street, Croydon, 7.15. Will members come and help to sell papers and collect? Please write to 79, Mayfield Road, Sanderstead. G. CAMERON SWAN.

FOREST CATE W.S.P.U.—We are holding our last indoor meeting before the holidays on Monday, June 14, when Miss Mordan is speaking for us. Will every member please do her best to make this meeting the most successful of all? Mrs. Massey has kindly promised to speak at our open-air meeting on Friday at Sebort Road. M. E. SLEIGHT.

HORNSEY W.S.P.U.—We had very good meetings last Thursday in Finsbury Park and on Saturday at the Clock Tower, Crouch End. At the latter place we are greatly encouraged by the size of the audience and by the

marked change in the attitude of the people from the days when we first held meetings there. We have sold seven and a-half dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN this week, and expect to sell more next week if workers will kindly gather in the Park at 6.45 p.m. on Thursday and at the Archway Tavern on Saturday at the same time. Dr. Constance Long and Dr. Kate Haslam are inviting members and their friends to a garden meeting to be held at West Coombe House, 10, Writersville Road, Crouch Hill, on Saturday, 19th. Tea will be at 4 p.m., and Mrs. Eates has kindly promised to speak for us. We hope members will try to make this meeting a thorough success, especially in the way of bringing others with them. Gentlemen will be welcome. We hope to increase the number of our members and workers at that meeting. June 29 is upon us, and we must take our share in working for it. THEODORA BONWICK.

LETCHWORTH AND HITCHIN W.S.P.U.—On June 4, we held an open-air meeting at Hitchin, and had a very attentive audience. We were pleased to get a request from a lady Anti-Suffragist for indoor meetings, and we hope to arrange these. In Letchworth a speakers' class is to be held weekly. We hope to visit Stevenage during the course of the month and also to extend our propaganda in Letchworth. MILLICENT L. BROWNE.

LEWISHAM W.S.P.U.—Excellent propaganda work is being done at our shop, 72, Tranquil Vale, near Blackheath Station. New members have been enrolled, and several ladies have given their names and addresses as being in sympathy with our movement. A very satisfactory trade in literature, colours, and Exhibition goods has been done. A gentleman has promised to make a trestle table for our shop, but we are still in need of chairs or rout seats and a doormat. Will someone give them? Offers of regular help in the shop for whole afternoons (2.30 p.m. to 7 p.m.) or parts of afternoons will be most welcome. For list of meetings members and friends are referred to the Lewisham paragraph on page 780. J. A. BOUVIER.

MARYLEBONE W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Massey was the principal speaker at our meeting in Regent's Park on Sunday. Miss Peacock also spoke for us, and Miss Löwy was in the chair. Our speakers' class promises to be very useful; the members are doing so well that an open-air meeting, with their help as speakers, is to be held this week, instead of the usual Wednesday evening class. We shall be glad to hear of new members. L. NOURSE.

NOTTINGHAM W.S.P.U.—Miss Ogston, who is very busy in London, cannot give us a whole fortnight, but she will speak at the garden sale on June 24 and probably at a members' meeting on June 21. There will be an open-air meeting in Bulwell Market Place on Tuesday, June 22, and one at Long Eaton on Wednesday, 23rd. Please send all offers of refreshments for the garden sale to Mrs. Coates, 3, Mapperley Road, who is kindly undertaking to superintend the refreshment arrangements. Will members who know people interested please bring them to one of the meetings or send their names to me that invitations for the garden sale may be sent to them? We are hoping to have Dr. Fairfield, of Golders Green, to help us in Nottingham. C. M. BURGIS.

PLYMOUTH W.S.P.U.—Two members of the Plymouth W.S.P.U. gained prizes for speeches in the open air on May 31. A local association, at a fête held in Mount Edgcombe Park, offered three prizes for the best maiden speeches upon Woman's Suffrage. Miss Mabel Millward carried off the first prize. The second prize was gained by Miss Davis. We feel that increased interest of our cause was the result of both speeches. A man sympathiser gained the third prize. (Mrs.) M. BELCHER.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM W.S.P.U.—We are anxious to make our Town Hall meeting on Tuesday, the 15th, a great success. The speakers will be Miss Mary Gawthorpe and Miss Helen Ogston. Miss Naylor will be in the chair. Will all friends who can help by distributing handbills, addressing envelopes, sandwiching, etc., during the next three days please call at the shop, 9, High Street, Putney any time between 10 and 8? On Friday evening an enjoyable At Home, at which Mrs. Mayer presided, was held in the rooms above the shop. Some welcome additions to the weekly guarantee fund were made; loans of two sewing machines and a typewriter were promised. Rugs, tables, and carpet have also been offered for the use of the club, which we hope to start as soon as the weekly fund is large enough to warrant this additional venture. Will friends please help? Any small weekly payment will be most acceptable. Directly after the big meeting a jumble sale will be arranged. Will friends please begin to look out any suitable articles. Two enthusiastic open-air meetings have been held in Putney this week. On Tuesday Miss Naylor spoke in Weimar Street, and on Sunday evening Dr. Fairfield spoke to an enormous crowd on the Putney Embankment. A large number of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and one gentleman bought a dozen copies for distribution amongst the crowd. Other meetings will be held both in Fulham and Putney as often as possible during the next two weeks before the Deputation. Mrs. Massey will speak on Putney Heath next Sunday. We are hoping for a good muster behind the Putney and Fulham banner in Kingsway at 6.45 p.m. on June 16. H. ROBERTS, L. CUTTEN, Hon. Secs.

RICHMOND W.S.P.U.—A general meeting for the election of officers was held on June 4 at 22, Park Road. Will members kindly note that the new secretary is Mrs. Clayton, Glengariff, Kew Road, Richmond. Members will be glad to know that their efforts for the Exhibition produced over £40. This was partly due to the generosity of Mrs. Fergus, who gave £10, and Miss Fergus £2 10s. Several orders were taken at the Exhibition for artists' overalls similar to those shown at our stall. We regret that we are obliged to keep those who ordered them waiting, but they will be made as quickly as possible. EDITH M. WARD.

RUSTINGTON.—On Friday, May 21, at the Lamb Hall, Rustington, a large audience was addressed by Miss Barrett, B.Sc. (Lond.), who spoke convincingly on the need of Woman's Suffrage and the value of the militant methods. The chair was taken by the Vicar of Rustington. Miss Cronance, late Lady Resident of Queen's College, London, proposed a vote of thanks to Miss Barrett, which was seconded and carried unanimously. A collection amounting to 13s. 9d. was taken, the remaining expenses being defrayed by—Rev. G. L. Crosland, 2s. 6d.; E. Witham, Esq., 2s. 6d.; three amounts (under 2s.), 3s.; Miss Parkes, 17s. Two ladies took membership cards.

WIMBLEDON W.S.P.U.—On Sunday afternoon Miss Naylor's address was greatly appreciated by those who, in spite of the rain, waited to hear her speech. The chair was taken by Dr. F. A. Bather, and the banner announcing the Deputation effectively displayed. M. GRANT.

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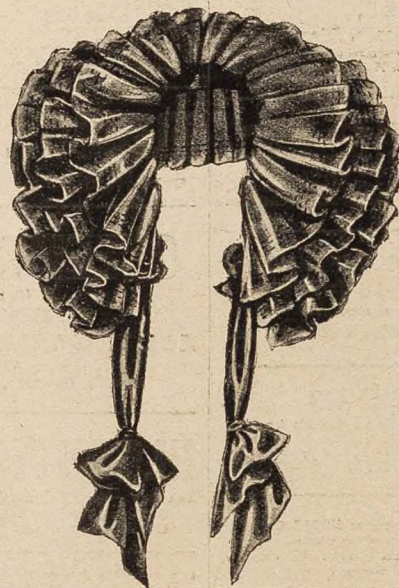
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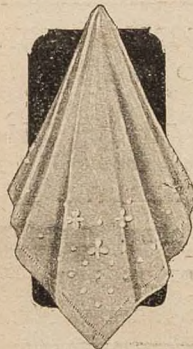
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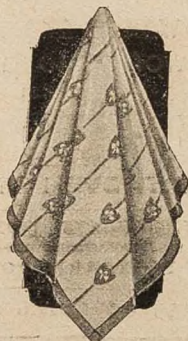
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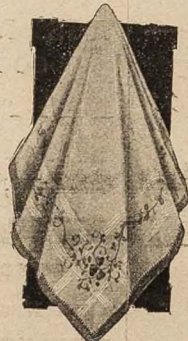
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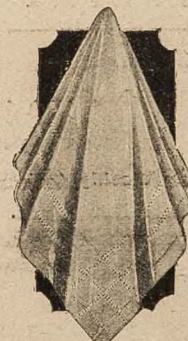
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