

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	177
The Outlook—The By-Elections—Fact and Fiction—North Shropshire—Attempts at Explanation—Our View—A Liberal's Letter—Hyde Park—3,000 Posters—Mr. Stanger's Bill—Protests at the Albert Hall—Features of this Issue	177, 178
Principle versus Programme. By Laurence Housman ..	179
Contributions to the £20,000 Fund	179
History of the Suffrage Movement	180
Progress of Women	181
To the Married Women Textile Workers. By Annie Kenney	182
Map Showing Demonstration—Special Trains	183
The Tramp of Many Feet. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence ..	184
Political Notes. By Christabel Pankhurst	185
Answers to Correspondents	186
Programme of Events	186
The By-Elections:—	
Montrose Burghs	187
Salop (Newport)	187
Stirling Burghs	188
Scottish Notes	190
Yorkshire Report	191
Local Notes	191
How England Will Come to Hyde Park	192

The By-Elections.

Since the last issue went to press the results have been declared in two by-elections—Montrose and North Shropshire. In the former the Liberal retained the seat, but with a reduced majority. Owing to the fact that the contest on this occasion was three-cornered, and in 1906 was a straight fight between the Liberal and Conservative, it is impossible to draw any comparison between the figures; owing to the shortness of time during which the suffrage campaign was held, the Women's Social and Political Union had less influence than at other elections, but undoubtedly made considerable headway.

Fact and Fiction.

An amusing illustration of the difference between fact and fiction, as portrayed in the London newspapers, is presented by the account of the scenes outside the polling booths on the day of the election. According to the London Press, the women were driven from the steps by the police, supported by an angry mob. According to the local Press, which reports the true facts of the case, the Provost, who was a strong Liberal supporter, endeavoured to use his influence to get the police to drive the women away, but after an altercation, in which the crowd entirely supported the women, the police allowed the members of the Women's Social and Political Union to occupy a stand more favourable than that which they had originally taken.

North Shropshire.

The result in North Shropshire showed a remarkable diminution in Liberal support in the locality, and the Liberal Press are quite at a loss to explain the result. It was well known that Mr. Neilson, the Liberal, was an exceedingly good candidate, and had been nursing the constituency with great care. As the vacancy occurred through the death of Col. Kenyon-Slaney, preparations on the Conservative side were very largely lacking, and it was the general opinion everywhere during the election that the Conservative organisation and activities were not of a very vigorous kind. In fact, several of the Liberals anticipated a Liberal victory; but instead, the Conservative majority was increased from 166 to 951.

Attempts at Explanation.

The only explanation that can be found by the Liberal Press is that the largeness of the majority was due to the out-voters; thus the "Morning Leader" says:—

The Shropshire result is disappointing, and we are very sorry that Mr. Neilson, a representative of the very best type of Liberalism, who made a splendid fight under difficult circumstances, did not win the victory which he so well deserved. Apart from the personal issue, the figures are by no means discouraging. With the out-voters, of whom there are 600, of course overwhelmingly Tory, in the division, hastening to his aid, with the brewers, the sectarians, and the suffragists all fighting tooth and nail in his favour, the new Tory member's majority is still considerably below what before 1906 would have been considered the normal strength of the party.

and a similar note is struck by the other papers. With regard to this explanation, we would remind our Liberal

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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.

We have great pleasure in presenting to our readers the first number of the new series of 1d. issues of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The great and increasing popularity of the paper has enabled us now to place it on a purely popular basis, and, judging from the congratulations we have received from a very large number of friends, we look forward to a future of still further extended activity.

friends that there were out-voters in elections previous to the present one, and if out-voters are usually Conservative, they were Conservative then. We would also point out once more that a return to the state of things before 1906 would mean a return of the Liberal party to a time when they were in a position of numerical inferiority similar to that held by the Conservative party to-day.

Influence of the Women.

The true explanation of the Liberal defeat in Shropshire is the overwhelming interest which the electors had in the Suffrage campaign, and no impartial critic of the situation could fail to recognise the enormous influence of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union who were taking part. Thus the special correspondent of the "Daily Mail" of May 13, in a special edition in the locality, speaks of the Suffragette triumph as being the real feature of the election, and concludes by saying:—

Shropshire, slow, solid, and conservative, is captured and bound for all time to the cause of the women; and if the women can capture a place such as this the conversion of the remainder of the country is near at hand.

True, it started by catching the fancy of the men, but conviction, deep and strong, has followed with amazing rapidity. Whatever the issue of this election may be it will go down in local history as the election which converted Shropshire to the women's vote.

Again, the "Shrewsbury Chronicle," prior to the polling day, stated categorically that the Suffragettes "have undoubtedly injured the prospects of the Radical candidate."

A Liberal's Letter.

As an example of the feeling aroused in the constituency, Mr. Hocknell, of Whitechurch, has favoured us with a copy of a letter which he sent to Mr. Asquith, and which we have the pleasure of reproducing here:—

Dear Sir,—I am an earnest supporter of the principles of Liberalism, and on that account find myself obliged to vote against the Government in the present election in Shropshire.

In my opinion, the principles of Liberalism involve the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to qualified women. The refusal of the Government to grant citizen rights to the women of the country is, in my opinion, a grave mistake, and in order to bring the necessary pressure to bear, I have resolved, after much consideration, to vote against Mr. Neilson, the Liberal candidate. Much as I regret the necessity for taking this course, I recognise that to every true Liberal principle must come before party.

We wonder how long it will take the Liberal Government to realise that they cannot continue to pursue anti-Liberal policy and retain the confidence of the country.

Hyde Park.

We publish to-day the fourth of our series of articles dealing with the Hyde Park demonstration. This is in the form of a letter written by Miss Annie Kenney to the women textile workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, pointing out to any of them who are still wavering the necessity of doing their utmost to make the great demonstration on June 21 an unprecedented success. We also publish a map showing how the different towns in England will be served by special trains by the different railway companies. We also give a list of agents from whom excursion tickets may be obtained.

3,000 Posters.

A great deal of attention is being attracted by the great posters which are being put up on the hoardings in London and throughout the country. The portraits of the 20 women who are occupying the platforms, and the map of London, showing the route of the processions, and the par-

ticulars that are given regarding the demonstration are a source of great interest. In our last issue the treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union appealed for friends to present some of the great banners, which are to lead the seven processions, to the Union. We are pleased to be able to announce that that appeal has been generously responded to. All the seven great banners are promised, and three other special great banners are being prepared for some of the local W.S.P.U.'s. In addition, there are to be 600 standards bearing various mottoes. The ceremony of unfurling will take place in the Queen's Hall on Wednesday, June 17, and is already attracting great interest.

Mr. Stanger's Bill.

As we go to press Mr. Asquith is meeting a deputation of Members of Parliament, who are inviting him to afford facilities for the passage of Mr. Stanger's Bill through the House this session. On receipt of his reply the women Liberals who are meeting in their federation, will debate their attitude towards the Liberal party having regard to the line which the Government takes up on the suffrage issue. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in her "Political Notes," deals with this question at length, and shows that success is not very far off, because the women are now strong enough to bring effective political pressure to bear.

Protests at the Albert Hall.

Members of the Women's Social and Political Union took the opportunity of the recent demonstration at the Albert Hall in favour of the Licensing Bill to make a protest for Votes for Women.

The Liberal Press was greatly grieved that at a "non-party" meeting of this character the women should have seen fit to interrupt. But it should be evident to anyone not biased by party that the Licensing Bill is one which is by no means non-party, and that it especially affects women, in that it proposes to deprive women of one of their employments, and that while women are still voteless. The right to protest is one which the women will continue to use until they are permitted to employ the constitutional weapon of the suffrage.

Features of this Issue.

One of the most interesting features of the present number is the article by Mr. Laurence Housman, who is taking such an active part in furthering the great Hyde Park Demonstration, on "Principle versus Programme," in which he exposes many of the shibboleths which have long received popular adherence. Mrs. Lawrence's article on "The Tramp of Many Feet" will also be read with great interest. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst completes the story of the Liberal betrayal of the women in 1884. We also publish a page specially contributed by the Scottish W.S.P.U., as well as a number of items of local intelligence, which show the amount of work which is going on all over the country.

BANNERS.

The National Women's Social and Political Union are making arrangements on a very large scale for supplying banners for the great demonstration. They will be either white, green, or violet, so as to be in keeping with the colours of the Union. The co-operation of all members and friends of the Union are invited to assist.

Materials for the making of banners can be obtained at special cheap rates from the Union. Application should be made at once to the Banner Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., from whom all particulars can be obtained.

PRINCIPLE VERSUS PROGRAMME.

BY LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

There is in Democratic Government, with all its faults, one great note of idealism; it is the concrete expression of faith in humanity. In its acceptance of the representative system Democracy goes one further than Matthew Arnold, and sets forth as the main article of our social creed a belief in "something *within* ourselves which makes for righteousness."

It substitutes, that is to say, as the ultimate force in politics, the bulk for the individual, and asserts that right judgment is to be found in the last resort not in the minds of kings and leaders, but in the combined will of those far less efficient items of humanity which make up a majority. In a word, we have "pooled" the national conscience, and it is impossible for us now to restore it to the keeping of oligarchy or king.

The Great Act of Faith.

By the extension of the franchise we have dispensed with all idea of a mental or personal qualification: the right to vote of the most insignificant member of the electorate lies not in his individual capacity, but in the fact that, backed by a certain material qualification, he forms one part of a kindred whole. We do not ask whether he can fight; we do not ask whether he can read, or write, or do arithmetic; we do not even require that he shall be able to think or speak sensibly on the affairs of life; we only require him to secure his place upon the register by residential proof; and, if his father, or his mother, or his wife can out of their own means secure it for him, his claim is equally good. And by all this levelling-down we make one great and profoundly important assertion—that we can trust humanity better in the bulk, as the ultimate referee in affairs of State, than the most carefully-selected few,—that the safety of the community lies in the responsibility of that community as a whole. It is a great act of faith in the human race—in, that is to say, one-half of it, the male half—and we cannot to-day go back upon it; we can only go forward and give it completion.

The Party System.

Let us see now how it actually applies in the carrying on of the government. The doctrine, though fully established in principle, does not work without hindrance when applied to current politics. We have "pooled" the national conscience; but we have not yet devised means for giving it full working efficiency. Between national conviction and national action impediments are constantly interposed; and it sometimes seems as though our party system had been specially perverted by those in power to insure a certain amount of delay before giving effect to the popular will. For let it be remembered that the party system has no place in the actual constitution, and that the artificial impediments which it sets in the way of legislation have, therefore, no higher sanction than that of convenience and custom.

Under present conditions general elections are not only time-wasting and costly, they are also, as a rule, extremely complicated. We appeal to the communal conscience on two or three main issues, with half-a-dozen subsidiary issues thrown in. It is, therefore, very difficult to get a definite answer on any one particular point that does not happen to occupy a front place; and, lacking the referendum, we should be held up interminably in the prosecution of reform if our political instinct had not long since devised the party system. The party system has, when rightly applied, a great economic use—

it represents embodied in rival organisations certain principles, and on the lines of those principles it puts forward a programme.

The Theory of a Mandate.

But note what is happening: those who hold the administrative power in this country are endeavouring more and more to exalt programme above principle, and by that device to avoid, on coming into office, the logical application of those principles which form the very basis of their political faith, if so be the application of principle is for any reason inconvenient. So long as they can hustle any particular question out of their programme during a general election—though they may restore it immediately afterwards—party leaders are claiming the right to treat it with absolute negligence during all their years of office. And still more can this juggling with the constitution be carried out and prolonged when the principle governing a certain question belongs equally to both parties, but is welcome, in its particular application, to neither of them. Then more than ever do we hear the sacredness of programme exalted above the sacredness of principle,—then do our new constitutionalists apply that fine-sounding word "mandate" in support of their carefully-organised inactivity.

That is one of the obstacles with which the women's question is faced to-day. There is, scarcely a reputable statesman in this country who dares to argue against the principle of Woman's Enfranchisement; but so long as they can avoid inviting a direct mandate at the polls, our legislators claim justification for their refusal to act. They are endeavouring, in fact, to substitute convenience for conscience; and one special value of the claim for immediate legislation presented by the Women's Social and Political Union lies in the fact that it reasserts for the Government of the day that larger liberty of action upon principle which is its constitutional right, but which the party wire-pullers, with their Americanised system of programmes, are assiduously endeavouring to destroy.

Democracy cannot deny the law of its own being, and the Government has no need to wait for a general election in order that democracy may reaffirm a principle without which it would not be alive.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

May 13, to May 19.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	11,145 17 0	Miss A. Potter (Hyde Park)	0 11 0
Mrs. Ivory (per the Edinburgh Nat. Soc. for Women's Suffrage)	15 0 0	Miss S. E. Hall (Hyde Park)	1 1 0
Miss J. McLeod	0 1 6	Miss Elliott (donation)	0 2 6
C. L. Hodgkinson, Esq. (By-Elec.)	1 1 0	Mrs. E. Zangwill	5 0 0
Scottish W.S.P.U. (half collection at meetings at Glasgow and Edinburgh)	13 14 6	Miss Turner (Hyde Park)	0 5 0
Miss Margaret Smith (ros.Gd. Hyde Park)	2 2 0	Brighton W.S.P.U. (Hyde Park)	1 10 0
Miss F. Harris	0 1 6	Miss Mona Caird (Hyde Park)	10 0 0
Mrs. Margaret L. Woods (Hyde Park)	2 0 0	N. D. G. (Hyde Park)	0 5 0
Miss Pauline Hull (Hyde Park)	14 14 0	Hon. Mrs. E. Haverfield	5 5 0
Miss Alice Heale (Hyde Park)	7 7 0	Miss Dorothy Pethick	20 0 0
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THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XI.—The County Franchise Bill.

In last week's chapter we saw how Mr. Gladstone, as leader of the Government, had taken up an attitude of the most determined hostility to the cause of women's enfranchisement.

The debate was continued on June 12, two days afterwards, and the speaker who followed Mr. Gladstone was Lord John Manners, who spoke from the Opposition front bench, and other Conservative and Liberal speakers. They pointed out that in refusing either to oppose or to support the principle of this clause the Prime Minister had treated it as though it had been an entirely new one which had been suddenly sprung upon them, and upon which Mr. Woodall was trying to entrap the Committee into a hasty and ill-considered decision. Yet, as a matter of fact, there was no subject which had been more thoroughly threshed out than this one during the last 17 years. The Conservative speakers exposed Mr. Gladstone's statement that the inclusion of women within its scope would endanger the Reform Bill. From what quarter was the danger to be likely to come? It was not from the Conservatives, they could assure him of that, nor from the House of Lords, for the inclusion of women would make the entire measure more acceptable to them. No, the determined opposition to the women's vote, which had threatened to wreck the whole franchise measure if this clause were carried, sprang from no section of members of the House of Commons or of persons outside, but from the Prime Minister himself and the Government of which he was the head.

Principle or Party?

Liberal supporters of the clause protested strongly against the position in which the Prime Minister had placed them, for they must either rest under the imputation of being willing to risk this great measure of enfranchisement, or to deny their principles and to break their pledges.

The concession that the Prime Minister had held out to them was in reality no concession. He had said that when this question was "taken out of the vortex of political contention and strife," the supporters of his Government would be free to vote on it according to their convictions. In 1871 Mr. Gladstone's own Government had left this question open, and some of those who were there to-day had voted for it; but more than that had been done by the Conservatives, for when in 1867 their own Reform Bill was under discussion, they had left John Stuart Mill's amendment to the unbiassed decision of the House, and the Government tellers had not told in the division.

But in any case Mr. Gladstone's concession was entirely worthless, for what did it mean? At the most that they might vote for the principle embodied in this clause when it came up in the form of a private member's Bill, which everyone knew was unlikely to go beyond a second reading.

Legislation on a subject of this kind was only possible

by making it a Government measure, and even in the form of a private member's Bill Mr. Gladstone would probably say it had entered into the vortex. Mr. J. Stanfeld said that these words of the Prime Minister's would drive and compel the friends of the clause to a division. If they responded to his appeal they would be guilty of the dishonesty of deserting their principles or the dishonour of concealing their views. "I desire and I intend," he concluded, "to do what I can to bring the question within the realm of practical and even party politics, and as an earnest of that intention I shall insist upon recording my vote in favour of the clause."

Liberal Betrayal.

Then Sir Wilfrid Lawson and other Liberals followed, saying that they should do the same. Now several Liberal members, whilst declaring themselves to be friends and supporters of women's suffrage, announced their intention of betraying the women whose trusted leaders they were, and voting against the clause.

Mr. John Morley, although he was pledged to vote for women's enfranchisement, was one of those who announced his intention to vote against it upon that day.

The debate was wound up by Sir Stafford Northcote (leader of the Opposition), who spoke strongly in support of the clause.

The result of the division on the proposal that Mr. Woodall's clause should be inserted was:—

Ayes	131
Noes	271

Hostile majority..... 136

One hundred and four "known friends" of women's suffrage voted with the Government against the clause.* Among these were Mr. Hugh Mason, who had been the women's Parliamentary "Leader," and had had charge of their resolution in the previous Session, and Mr. H. H. Fowler, who had been one of the speakers in its favour on that occasion.

Mr. Leonard Courtney (Financial Secretary to the Treasury) and Mr. Henry Fawcett (Postmaster-General), who had been amongst the most trusted of the Suffragists' advisers, sat on the front bench during the discussion, but neither spoke nor voted.

Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. John Morley, Mr. S. Buxton, and Mr. Joseph Chamberlain (then Liberal President of the Board of Trade) were among those who voted against the clause that would have given us Votes for Women.

Thus, so far as the House of Commons was concerned, the Government had triumphed, and the women were defeated. But the question was soon to be fought out again in the House of Lords.

(To be continued.)

* The cowardly behaviour of the so-called supporters is the more apparent in view of the fact, as many of the speakers pointed out, not long before this Government had declared in the most uncompromising manner in a similar case with regard to another measure, that if a certain amendment were carried they would throw up the whole Bill. But when this amendment was carried there had been a meeting of the Cabinet to discuss the question, and the Bill had then gone on as before. Had the supporters of woman suffrage shown similar firmness, the Government in spite of their announcement might have given way.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

The colours of the Women's Social and Political Union are green, purple, and white, and a special ribbon containing these colours can now be bought from the literature department, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., at 10d. a yard. Special badges in these colours suitable for wearing on the dress can be bought at 1d. each.

Progress of Women in France.

The women's movement in France is making rapid strides. At the recent meeting of the National Council of Women of France, Mme. Weill announced that she had succeeded in obtaining permission for women to be members of Committees for the Inspection of Prisons. Mme. Peronneau and Mme. Claire Bauer have been elected members of the Committee of Inspection of Moulins Prison, and a further development is that the Minister of Fine Arts has just signed a decree authorising the appointment of women as attendants in the public museums and libraries.

Again, the hospital connected with the military medical school at Val-de-Grace, near Paris, is to be equipped with women nurses. If this experiment is found to work satisfactorily, the other military hospitals in France will be supplied with women nurses.

Woman's Suffrage in Finland.

One of the first laws passed through the instrumentality of the women members of the Finnish Parliament, raises the marriageable age of girls from 15 to 18 years of age. As will be remembered, the same result came about directly women were enfranchised in Australia; the first law to be passed raised the age of consent for young girls.

Synagogal Suffragists.

Echoes of the "Votes for Women" question have penetrated into Jewish circles. At the annual election of the Brondesbury Synagogue (a constituent of the United Synagogue), the question arose as to whether or no women seatholders in synagogues should have the right of voting at such elections. Mr. S. H. Dupare, a member of the Board of Management, carried a resolution in favour of the women being allowed to vote, and the United Synagogue has been asked to alter its laws accordingly.

Woman's Suffrage in Canada.

The Woman's Suffrage question in America is not confined to the United States. In East Toronto, a woman—Miss Clara Martin—is standing as an Independent Candidate, against Mr. Pyne, the Minister of Education. Miss Martin was the first woman to be admitted to the Bar in Ontario.

Farm Training for Women.

Among the many occupations now open to women, one of the most interesting is agriculture. Last Friday, the new Home and Colonial College for ladies was inaugurated at Arlesey, near Hitchin. This college is intended to supply a thorough training to women desiring to emigrate, and also to those remaining at home who want to understand the management of

their own property or small holdings. An address was given by the Principal—Miss Turner, F.R.H.S. (late superintendent of the Glynde School of Gardening), describing the life of the students, and explaining the aims of the College.

Women and the Home.

The Hampstead Managing Committee do not intend to fall into the same errors that a certain Corporation fell into not long ago. Through sheer thoughtlessness and inability to grasp domestic details, these gentlemen arranged a block of "model" dwellings with the washhouses in the most inconvenient places that could well be imagined. At Hampstead, however, where a woman is on the Council, they realise that it is wiser to obtain the advice of woman on these matters, and have accordingly appointed two women on their managing committee. They will advise on the domestic economy of the villas which are springing up so rapidly in the suburb, and will settle such details as the best kind of cooking-stoves and the position of cupboards in the new houses.

Women's Suffrage in America.

Mrs. Lydia Kingsmill Commander, recently spoke on behalf of the Progressive Woman Suffrage Union, before the Central Federated Labour Union of New York. The Union adopted a resolution endorsing the objects of the Progressive Woman Suffrage Union, and offering "full sympathy and support in the courageous open air campaign for political liberty." The secretary of the Labour Union was instructed to write to the Police Department for proper police protection for the women speakers at their meetings.

Municipal suffrage has just been granted to the women of Still Pond, Maryland, U.S.A.

The women of Ohio, U.S.A., are waking up to the necessity for political freedom. During the visit of Mrs. Borran Wells, a most successful open-air meeting was held in Cincinnati, the largest town in the State. This was the very first open-air meeting to be held in Cincinnati, and was attended by an enthusiastic crowd. A great many questions were asked, and long after the meeting was ended and the meeting declared closed, little groups of people lingered, eagerly discussing the subject. The Ohio Legislature has recently passed a Bill, appointing ten women factory inspectors.

Kensington Borough Council Election.

Miss Picton, who stood as a candidate in the recent Borough Council election in Kensington, did not succeed in being elected. She obtained, however, 522 votes, as against her opponents' 617.

Another Lady Councillor.

Last year Hampstead had the honour of electing the first woman Borough Councillor. Now they have returned the second. Last Monday was the last day for receiving nominations in the Kilburn Ward, and as there was only one candidate, Miss M. E. Balkwill, she was duly elected. Miss Balkwill is a well-known social worker in the district, and was supported by men and women of all classes.

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TO THE MARRIED WOMEN TEXTILE WORKERS.

AN APPEAL. By ANNIE KENNEY.

Women of Lancashire and Yorkshire, I feel that it is my duty, because I lived and worked amongst you in the cotton trade for many years, to point out to you as clearly as possible the danger which threatens your right to work. Whatever your work may be in the factory, whether you are weavers, card-room workers, ring spinners, winders, or reelers, if you are a married woman, you are in danger of being turned out of your employment.

A member of the Government, Mr. John Burns, has announced that, in his opinion, the Liberal Government ought to pass a law to prevent married women from going to work in factories. Mr. Burns and the supporters of this proposal say that you ought not to be allowed to go out and work; you ought to stay at home. They say that you are neglecting your children. Do you not think that Mr. John Burns and the supporters of the Liberal Government ought to find out what women think, and what women have to say upon this question, before they make these public statements, and before they take away your right to earn your livelihood?

Women Know Their Own Business.

I say that we women know our own business best. I am sure that you mothers will agree with me when I say that married women do not go into the factory because they wish to leave their home or to neglect their children. They go because force of circumstances impels them to go, and because their earnings are needed in order that their children may be better fed and better clothed, and that the home may be a better place for the children to live in.

The Married Women's Property Act, passed nearly forty years ago, gave you the right to your own earnings, and now Mr. Burns wants to make it illegal for you to have any earnings. He wants to take away the possibility of you married women earning decent wages by forbidding you, by law, to work in the factory.

Now what are you women going to say to this, and what are you going to do to prevent such a law being passed? You must consider the question very seriously before it is too late. If you do not wake up and bestir yourselves, some day you will realise that every married woman in the textile factories has been given notice that after a certain date she will be turned off and not allowed to come any more. It will be no use if you are turned off at one factory to try to find employment at another, because the law of England will forbid any employer to give you work. What will you do then? What will you do when your husband is ill or out of work, or for any reason he is unable or unwilling to support you and your children? What will you do when your children are starving? Where will you turn for help? For Mr. John Burns and his friends do not dream of making your husband's wages secure; they do not promise to support you and your children when he is out of work; they have no intention of maintaining you if your husband cannot or will not maintain you. What will happen to you? You will perhaps be driven to take in home-work, which is the worst paid of all the work in the country. In London, in Leeds, in Manchester, and in all our great towns there are women working from morning till night for 5s. a week.

Skilled or Sweated Labour?

I am writing this in Bristol, where there are thousands of married women who work in the sweated home trades. I have just been visiting the Sweated Industry Exhibition in this city to see the work of these women who do not go out to a factory to work, but who work in their own homes. I compared the wages we were able to make for ten hours' work a day with the wages these poor women could make with often fourteen hours' work in the day.

The first stall showed women beading shoes; they worked fourteen hours a day and earned 6s. a week, and from December to June they have slack time and can scarcely earn anything at all. Then I saw the women who make matchboxes; they work twelve hours a day and they consider themselves lucky to earn 5s. a week. Then I saw the women who put hooks and eyes on cards. It is mostly married women and widows who do this work. They have to fetch the work or

pay 3d for it to be sent. They work an average of fourteen hours a day, and I saw a mother and daughter who together could only earn 3s. 4d. a week when work was plentiful; and if all the children help they can earn 6s. a week. Then I saw the women who make ready-made costumes, and they get 1s. 1d. for working from nine o'clock in the morning till twelve o'clock at night.

I could go on telling you what I saw at Bristol and in London at the Sweating Exhibition in Queen's Hall, and what I have seen while working in the East-End of London. I cannot tell you how my heart aches for these poor, depressed, sad women—the mothers of our people, and how I dread to think of the Lancashire and Yorkshire women being driven out of the textile factories where they earn a comparatively good wage, and thrust into competition with these underpaid, over-worked, sweated women. I know, and you know, that if you women did not go into the factories you would have to go out charing or to take in washing, or, saddest of all, you would have to fall back upon this terrible sweated home-work.

Are you women going to stand silently by while your right to work in the trade, which has been built up by your skill and industry, is taken away from you by men's laws? I am sure that you will not submit quietly and tamely if you realise what is going to be done. Once more, I must impress upon you that the men who want to take away your right to work do not intend to compensate you for your loss of wages. Neither do they say that they will so regulate labour that your husband shall never be unemployed. Neither do they say that you and your family shall be looked after by the State. Neither do they propose to make it a law that men shall give a certain part of their wage to the wife at home. No promise has been made to you factory women that when you are about to bring a child into the world, which is the greatest service that a woman can render to the State, that they will see that there is a doctor and capable woman to attend to you, because you have been unable to save up to get these for yourself. Am I not right in saying that if your labour is taken away from you women, your home conditions will suffer, and you and your children will be far worse off than they are to-day? I ask you plainly, will you be able to give your children as much good and nourishing food? Will you be able to keep the home so comfortable and so bright? Will you be able to have any enjoyment or recreation? Will you be able to take your brief holiday once a year, or to have any enjoyment, or to give your children the little pleasures that you are sometimes able to give them now?

Women Must Get the Vote.

We women must put a stop to this legislation before it is too late. When it is once done we shall be helpless. It will be no good then to waste our tears on unavailing regrets. It will be done then, and we voteless women will not be able to undo it.

It is a sad thing that women have no vote. They cannot send men to Parliament who will represent their point of view, or who will fight for their interests. You must realise that this law to forbid you to work will be discussed in Parliament. It was in Parliament that the Factory Acts were made, and all the other laws which regulate our industry. I have been fighting for the last two years, and fighting very hard to get the vote for women, so that women may say what laws they want to have, and they may protest against laws that are unjust and unfair to them. And the men who are in Parliament say that you do not want the vote, that you do not care; that it is only a few women who care about it. Now, I believe when you know what the vote means, and what is going to happen to you if you do not get the vote, you will care. I believe you will feel as I feel, and as thousands of other women feel about it. If women had the vote to-day like the men, Mr. John Burns would never dream of turning women out of factories. He would never dare to mention such a thing even, for he would know that such a threat would lose him his seat in Parliament at the next General Election, and if he lost his seat in Parliament his power to harm us would be gone. If the women had the vote to-day they could combine,

and by their vote they could throw out of Parliament any man who threatens to interfere with their right to work.

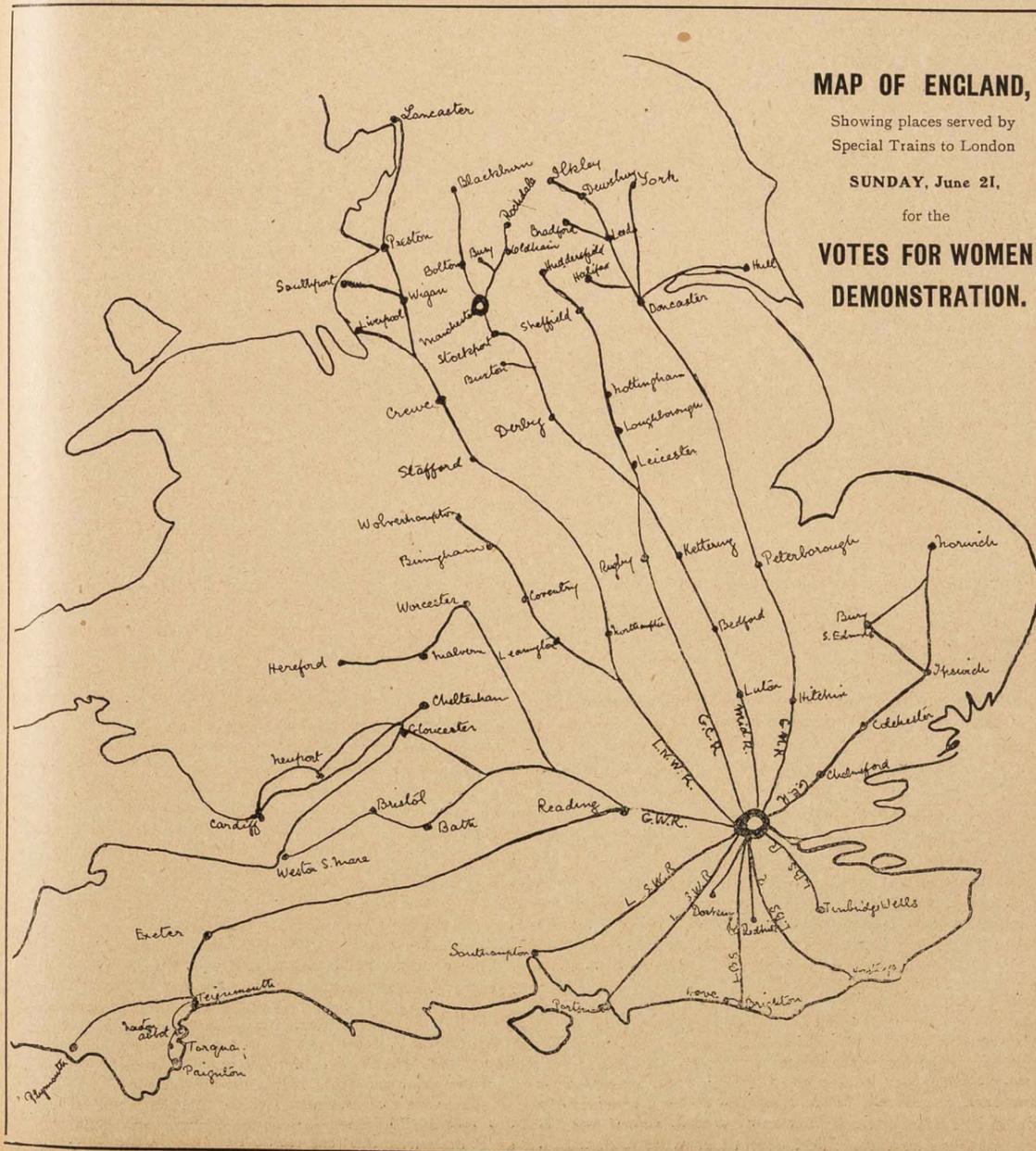
I have also a plan to put before you. We are holding a very great meeting of women to demand that women as well as men shall have the protection which a vote can give. On Sunday, June 21, a very great demonstration, the greatest demonstration that has ever yet been held, will be made in Hyde Park, London. There will be twenty platforms, and all the speakers on the platforms will be women. There will be hundreds of thousands of people listening to them, and when a bugle is sounded, a resolution demanding votes for women will be put to those great crowds of people from all the twenty platforms, and a great shout will go up from the heart of London, which is the heart of the whole country, demanding justice for women. You must be there.

We have arranged that cheap trains are to be run from Manchester and other places, and on the hoardings you will see posters announcing the demonstration, and telling you about the arrangements. If you want more particulars, write to me at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C. Begin at once to

save money. Put something aside every week. You can save 11s. That is about what the railway ticket will cost. A special train will bring you to London on Sunday morning and take you back again in the evening. All arrangements will be made for you. Processions will march to Hyde Park from every station in London.

Come out and join us. It lies with you to win this great battle for your own freedom; your fate is in your own hands. The Women's Social and Political Union is fighting in your interest. But you must save yourselves. If you come out and join us on June 21 it will let people know what you feel about this matter; it will tell them that you are determined not to let your liberty to work be taken from you without a struggle, and there are thousands of women who will stand by you, and who will help you, and who will take your messages to Mr. John Burns and the members of the House of Commons.

Let us be true to that motto which we have in our trade unions: "United we stand: Divided we fall." If the womanhood of the country wants to be free, it must stand united. We women must be true to each other.



The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone 5550 Holborn.

Committee:

Mrs. PANKHURST, <i>Founder and Hon. Sec.</i>	Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, <i>Hon. Treasurer.</i>
Mrs. TUKE, <i>Joint Hon. Sec.</i>	Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, <i>Organising Sec.</i>
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Miss ANNIE KENNEY.	Mrs. N. A. MARTEL.
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THE TRAMP OF MANY FEET.

"Rebellion to tyrants is obedience to God."

Oh! women—you women with the heart of courage, love, and faith—are you listening? Hark! do you hear that sound? What is it? It comes from the far distance—that muffled rhythmic beat, like the sound of distant waves upon the sea shore.

But it is not the beat of the tide flowing up from the main. Listen again! It is the beat of trampling feet—marching, marching on. It is the trampling of the thousands who are coming to join with us in our great procession on Suffrage Sunday.

I hear it. I know that thousands are coming. From the North they come, from the South, and the East, and the West, to march like an army with banners through the streets of the greatest city in the world to proclaim that the forces of oppression and wrong are challenged, and that the standard of hope and deliverance has been raised for the womanhood of the race, so long defrauded of their heritage of freedom.

Our great day! It is going to live in history. It is going to be the greatest day in our lives—yours and mine. Years will come and years will go, but that day will be a landmark always. And when we call to our side the children whom we have loved, and perhaps their children's children, that we may bid them for the last time "fight the great fight of faith" (which is what all true life on this earth is), we shall say, "Give thanks for my life, which was not lived in vain. I struck my blow for freedom, and held aloft the standard of equity and right. I was rebel to wrong, but a knight of God."

Oh! women, you who are bound with us all in this great bond of fellowship and service. You will not spare, I know you will not spare, your thought, your time, your strength, your energy, your money to the furtherance of the great scheme of organisation which is to result in this wonderful demonstration, on Sunday, June 21.

It is a demonstration of the steadfast resolve and determination of this Union to break the fetters that keep one half of humanity in subjection to the other half. Nothing will ever move us from our purpose. You know that. No Government, however obstinate in its wrong-doing, can succeed in defrauding us of our human rights, if we stand to defend them. With right on our side, we are stronger unarmed than the armed oppressor—if we defy him. It is the coward who gives the tyrant his only chance of success. That is why we are quite sure of victory. In the justice of our cause, and in our own right arm, in these we have faith. By these we shall prevail.

That is the meaning of this great demonstration. That is the message that will be delivered to the Government and to the people of this country on Suffrage Sunday. We count upon you. We need every woman into whose hand this VOTES FOR WOMEN paper may fall. "What can I do?" you say. That is a question for which you must find the answer.

Can you give yourself, your personal service? That is what we want most of all. We have just been counting up how many women we want as actual officials with definite responsibility on the great day. We have put the tasks down on paper with the number of women necessary for the fulfilment of each. The total number of women required is 3,000. Will you volunteer? If so write to Mrs. Drummond, W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's Inn. She will enrol you in this special force.

If you have no leisure, no physical strength to give, then give the equivalent. The equivalent of labour is money. Money is stored up labour. It is leisure and physical strength in another form. We will release the labour, and transform cold coin into ardent human love and service, which will be your gift. As treasurer of this Union, I have started a special Hyde Park Demonstration Fund.

For organisation upon the scale upon which this demonstration is conceived expenses are necessarily heavy, although every detail of expenditure is carefully weighed and considered. The "Record Posters" (as the Press calls them) which are put up this week in 70 towns cost over £1,000.

The special trains have only been arranged by the payment of well over £1,000 to the railway companies. We hope to see this last returned in sale of tickets. But we have to take all the risk. A special office had to be taken, a large staff of secretaries had to be engaged to cope with the work, endless detail expenses in connection with the organisation have to be met.

We need immensely extended financial support—widespread national support is essential. I do not doubt for one moment that we shall get it. The women of Britain will do their duty. They will show to the world that women, comparatively poor as they are, can and will support their own political movement.

Last week I asked that the seven great banners which head the seven processions should be given to the National Union. Seven women immediately claimed this privilege. These magnificent banners will be unfurled on June 17, at the Queen's Hall by Mrs. Chibnall, the Misses Alice and Juliette Heale, Miss Pauline Hull, Miss Mordan, Miss Gray Allen, Miss Hechels, Mrs. Kerwood, of Birmingham, and myself. Three equally beautiful great banners will be unfurled by the City Union, the Bradford Union, and the Kensington Union.

A large number of standards have been given, but there are two or three hundred still for sale. These cost 8s. 6d. with material, poles, straps, and everything (except motto) complete. The motto can be painted upon the standard for 7s. 6d. extra, or even less if the words are few and short. But some people prefer to work their own design. One lady (Miss Everest) has presented each of the seven processions with a standard. What a splendid idea! She has chosen her own message, which will be given all over London—wherever the processions move.

The children of Suffragists want to give one of the standards. About twelve have given sixpence each. They want to find 20 more children who will give the same. I hope that the children who want to help will write to me, enclosing six stamps.

Twelve girls engaged in our office are giving another standard. They contribute each one shilling, and will do the lettering themselves. Orders should be given in at once, otherwise they cannot be executed in the time.

Then there are the bands. Seven great bands will head the seven processions. These cost £13 each. There will be in addition 20 smaller bands. These will cost £5 each. The banners have been given. Who will give the bands? How proud we should be if the banners and the bands were all special gifts representing special personal love and thought and service. I should like to think that they had cost the general funds of the Union nothing at all.

However that may be, I know that everyone will go to the limits of possibility, and my heart is full of acknowledgment and appreciation of the generosity and unselfishness of the women in this movement.

I said that I could hear the feet of tramping thousands marching on. I hear something more as I sit in the silence of the night time. The sound that I hear is the sound of millions of feet that beat this way—the feet of those who shall come after us when we have passed by. The men and women who will forget us, as we have forgotten those to whom we owe the best gifts of civilisation. We are beating out the track for them. We are leading them into the land of fuller life. We are securing to them their birthright and their heritage of freedom.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

POLITICAL NOTES.

By Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

At the moment of going to press, Suffragists are awaiting the Prime Minister's reply to the deputation of members of Parliament who will ask the Government to provide facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

At the second reading stage, though Mr. Asquith voted against the Bill, Mr. Herbert Gladstone announced that the Government would leave the matter to the decision of the House. The Bill passed the second reading by a large majority, but since then has progressed no further for want of the necessary Government support. This support Mr. Stanger's deputation intend to claim. What Mr. Asquith will have to say in reply depends entirely upon the extent to which the Government are persuaded of the power of the women's movement. As Mr. Herbert Gladstone admitted when the Bill was under discussion, the establishment of *force majeure* is necessary to the success of this as of all past movements for the franchise, and not until the Government find that women suffragists can exert irresistible political pressure will they carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. It may be that Government still feel strong enough to be at war with the women of the country, but that cannot be the case much longer. The militant suffrage movement grows in numbers and influence from day to day. Amongst the Liberal women there is widespread tendency to bring pressure to bear upon the Government by discontinuing the patient and unquestioning service they have hitherto rendered to their party.

During the North-West Manchester by-election the most influential Liberal woman in the city refused her support to Mr. Winston Churchill, and publicly announced her intention of working no more for the Liberal party until Woman Suffrage is granted.

The agenda for their annual council meeting bears witness to the growing determination of Liberal women to stand for principle and the emancipation of their sex, even at the temporary sacrifice of mere party advantage. A resolution standing in the name of the Executive Committee demands the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women, and expresses grave dissatisfaction at the absence of any pledge from the Government that in the course of this Parliament a measure for Woman Suffrage will be carried. Then follow resolutions dealing with the policy to be observed by

Liberal women in order to bring about a change of attitude on the part of the Government.

Of these proposals not all are well judged. For example, one is to the effect that Liberal women shall work for Liberal candidates on condition that those candidates will pledge themselves to support woman suffrage when elected. This policy has long since been proved to be futile. Some months ago, Mr. Lloyd George informed a deputation that merely to secure such pledges from individual members of Parliament cannot be expected to have any practical result in legislation. And it should be obvious to everybody with political experience that those desiring reform must treat with Party leaders, and not with the rank and file. Suffragists will find no election policy effective which does not aim at bringing pressure to bear upon the Government.

Every Liberal candidate, of course, attempts to parry the suffragist attack, of which, in consequence of his leaders' failings, he is in these days made the victim, by professing strong personal sympathy with the political object women have in view, because if his assurances are accepted as satisfactory, his election to the House of Commons is assured, and the pressure upon his leaders is relieved. But it is the Government programme alone which has any practical importance, and the unauthorised programmes of individual candidates should be ignored.

Women Must Vote at the Next Election.

From another quarter comes the more practical proposal that "unless the Government has introduced a Women's Enfranchisement Bill before the dissolution, or has given a pledge to do so on returning to power, the time will have come for Liberal women to give a definite refusal to work at Parliamentary elections."

The weakness of this plan, however, is that the authors of it, instead of insisting upon the admission of women to the franchise before the dissolution, would offer the Government the alternative of postponing the concession of their claim until after the General Election. It may be assumed that Mr. Asquith would greatly prefer, of these two courses, the latter, as it would give him the opportunity of delaying, and perhaps, by the aid of some fortuitous turn of events, altogether evading the settlement of the question. No Liberal women, whose belief in Woman Suffrage is profound, whose interest in politics is genuine, can possibly be content that the many national issues of the next General Election shall be determined without the aid and counsel of women voters. To propose or assent to the postponement of women's enfranchisement until the next Parliament is not only a mistake in tactics, but is a sin against principle.

A third and very much wiser suggestion appearing on the agenda is that Liberal women shall refuse here and now to work for the party at elections until the Government deal with Woman Suffrage. The adoption of this policy by the Women's Liberal Federation would have great influence upon the Government who apparently still rely upon the accustomed display by Liberal women of docility and obedience to party. The consideration of this all-important question of policy is to be postponed until Mr. Asquith's statement is in the hands of the Federation.

Whether or no the Women's Liberal Federation decide to do battle with the Government for political enfranchisement, the Women's Social and Political Union will continue the militant campaign which has already brought success within measurable distance. Not content with denying support to the Government, the W.S.P.U. pursues a policy of active opposition to them, which is only to come to an end when the Parliamentary vote is granted to women.

The attack upon Government nominees at by-elections is making it, broadly speaking, impossible for them to secure return in any English constituency. In the recent election

in Shropshire the defeat of the Government nominee, who had in his favour personal popularity, a long and well-conducted campaign, the Old Age Pension scheme, could not well be traced to any cause save the opposition of the W.S.P.U. Reports from Scotland show that although progress may prove slower there, support for the women in their fight with the Government will certainly be forthcoming before long. A parliamentary vacancy in Pudsey, a Liberal stronghold, is expected. Preparations for the women in their contest are already in the making, and an early opportunity will be taken in laying before the electors of that constituency the woman's case against the Government.

Sure of their own strength and of the support of the country, we of the Women's Social and Political Union are ready to deal with the Government on their own terms. If Mr. Asquith's reply is favourable, then we shall rejoice at the end of a hard-fought battle. If he proves to be still hostile to our cause, we shall be able to appeal to the country against him and his colleagues with greater effect than before.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to June 4 (as far as at present arranged).

May	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur. 21	Clapham, Aristotle Road School	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Conolan. Chair—Miss A. K. Williams	8 p.m.
	Dunfermline Theatre	Mrs. Martell and others	3 and 7.30
	Kensington, Cheniston-gardens	Miss Macaulay, Miss Conolan, Mr. A. Scaife	
	Plymouth, Four Corners, Dock-yard Gates	Miss Annie Kenney	12.30 p.m.
	Plymouth, Market Square	Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 22	Camberwell New Road, S.E., Masonic Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others	8 p.m.
Sat. 23	Harrowgate, Open Air Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Glasgow	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Fawcett	
	Ealing, Open Air Meeting	Miss M. D. Home, Miss Jessie Kenney	
Sun. 24	Keighley, Victoria Park, Open Air Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney, Miss A. Pankhurst	3.30 & 6.30
	Hyde Park	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond	3 p.m.
Mon. 2	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
	Bradford, 61, Manningham-lane, "At Home"	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	3 and 7
	Wood Green, Higher Grade Schools	Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
Tues. 26	London, St. James' Theatre, St. James, S.W.	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
	London, Nurses' Lodge, Regent's Park	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Wed. 27	Kensington, "At Home"	"The Committee" of Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6
	Hammersmith, Broadway Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Brackenbury	8 p.m.
Thur. 28	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Hendon	Mrs. Eates, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Naylor	
	Walthamstow	Miss Conolan, Miss New	
Sun. 31	Bradford, Shipley Glen Demonstration	Mrs. Pankhurst, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Hyde Park	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	3 p.m.
June	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
Mon. 1	Cleckheaton, Town Hall	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Tues. 2	Ealing, Victoria Hall, Public Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Sharp, Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
	Dulwich, Debating Society	Miss H. Lightman	
	Sheffield	Mrs. Pankhurst	
Wed. 3	Wolverhampton	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	
	Stratford, Nurses' Club, 12, Buckingham-street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	2.30-3.30
Thur. 4	London, Portman Rooms, Miss Maud's Concert	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

June	Queen's Hall	Banner Unfurling	3 p.m.
Wed. 17	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3.30 p.m.

A Suffragist Bishop.

Mr. Arnold Harris Mathew, the author of "Woman Suffrage," has recently been made a bishop of the "Old Catholic Church," which aims at the unification of all the churches of Christendom. He is giving a course of lectures at the small Queen's Hall, particulars of which are given in another column.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents."

8. Are you in favour of married women having the vote?

The demand of the Women's Social and Political Union is that women should be enfranchised just on the same terms as men are enfranchised. A man does not have the vote because he is married, nor because he is unmarried. Marriage has nothing whatever to do with the question. He possesses the vote because he possesses the voter's qualification under conditions of the property, household, lodger, or service franchise. That, and that only, we demand also for women. We do not ask that a married woman shall have the vote because she is married, nor do we see why a woman who has the qualification should not have the vote simply because she is married; just as in the case of men, marriage must have nothing whatever to do with it.

9. Why do you fight against the Liberal Government? Do you expect that the Conservative Government, if returned to power, would give you the vote?

We fight against the Liberal Government, not because it is Liberal, but because it is the Government of the day. The Government alone can give or withhold votes to women. There are 420 members in the House of Commons pledged to vote in favour of Women's Suffrage. The Women's Suffrage measure has been carried at the second reading by a large majority, but the Government refuses to give an opportunity for it to be read a third time, and with the consent of the majority of the House of Commons to be sent up to the House of Lords. It is this moderate concession of the Government that the women of the country demand. If this reasonable demand is conceded, the women will withdraw their opposition at by-elections. If the Liberal Government persists in its opposition to Women's Suffrage to the end of its term of office, and the Conservative Government is returned to power at the next General Election, the women will require a definite pledge from the Conservative Government that they intend to bring in a measure of Women's Suffrage, and failing this, they will fight the Conservative Government at by-elections as they are now fighting the Liberal Government.

10. Is not woman's place in the home?

Exactly. Therefore, as the State is only the larger family, and the country the larger home, woman must be admitted to her share in the management of the country.

Manchester W.S.P.U.—At our meeting on Wednesday a novel plan for advertising the Hyde Park Demonstration was proposed by Miss Morsden and adopted by the members. It was resolved that every Saturday members should go out armed with a placard and a collecting box, and stand at crowded corners in the City, advertising the demonstration and soliciting help for those who wish to go and cannot afford to pay.

On Thursday I lectured in the small Memorial Hall on "The Emancipated Woman." Miss Hilda Bruce Potter took the chair, and we made several new members. On Friday we had a capital good open-air meeting in Stevenson-square, where Miss Capper took the chair and Miss Drummond and I spoke.—ARNOT E. ROBINSON.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS.

MONTROSE BURGHS.

Mr. Robert Vernon Harcourt (Lib.)	3,083
Mr. Joseph Burgess (Lab.)	1,937
Mr. A. H. Briggs Constable (Con.)	1,576

Majority 1,146

The figures at the General Election were as follows:—Rt. Hon. John Morley (L.), 4,416; Lt.-Col. Alex. Sprot (C.), 1,922.

While the electors of Dundee were still recording their votes last Saturday, we were holding meetings in Montrose Burghs. At Brechin, Mrs. Martel and Miss Macaulay held a very enthusiastic meeting, and I also spoke to a large gathering in Montrose.

On Monday morning our whole force was at work throughout the constituency. By the kindness of a friend who lent me a motor-car, I was enabled to visit most of the centres during the day. In every one of the Burghs, Montrose, Arbroath, Brechin, and Forfar, our members canvassed and held meetings from morning till night.

Miss Keegan gives a description of one of the meetings in Arbroath as follows:—

The charm of the day lay in a meeting which the fishermen had specially invited us to give them at Skate End. The time arranged was seven. It was an evening of exquisite light effects. We were much astonished to find on our arrival not only the expected crowd of suggested fishermen against a background of tarred boats and blue sea, to whom we had expected to speak to from our waggonettes, but a spotless lorry arranged for us, covered with a new sail and a wonderful strip of new green carpet. Standing in this was a table draped with a red cover and on it two bowls of primroses and a vase of daffodils, a very large glass of water and a tumbler! There were three cushioned chairs, and waiving on this a flag and a banner. Our appreciation was evident, and they were well pleased with it.

On Tuesday, the polling-day, excellent work was done at the polling stations, and with the exception of Montrose, the greatest good humour prevailed. At Montrose the Provost acted as the Liberal candidate's election agent and so far forgot his duty as chief official of the town as to use the power his position gave him to cause the police to illegally remove Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Crocker, and Miss Parker from their position outside the polling-booth.

In doing this they used very great violence. However, we upheld our legal rights, and after an unpleasant scene were finally allowed to take up a position even more favourable than the one from which we were at first removed. Much indignation was afterwards expressed locally and in the Press at the treatment of the women.

At Brechin, Mrs. Martel had a long conversation with the Liberal candidate, Mr. Harcourt, at the polling station, in the course of which she asked him to tell her to whom the joint pension of 7s. 6d. per week for old married couples in the Old Age pension scheme of the Government was to be paid. He confessed he had not considered the matter, but supposed it would be to the man as the "superior"! When asked what guarantee the old women would have as to their share, he replied: It was a matter for consideration.

Everywhere throughout the constituency we realised that just as in Dundee, so in Montrose Burghs, the people were in full sympathy with our demands.

Even the Liberal men who could not bring themselves to vote against their party, told us "it will not be long before you get it." The women were most enthusiastic. "It's time some one spoke up for us," was constantly on their lips.

The result of the election with its greatly reduced Liberal majority shows that even in Scotland, the stronghold of Liberalism is being shaken to its foundations. When will the Government see the handwriting on the wall, and understand its meaning?

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Incidents of the Campaign.

The importance of the Dundee by-election in which a Cabinet minister was standing before the electorate, had obliged us to withdraw practically all our fighting force from the Montrose Burghs; so that after the declaration of the Dundee poll we had but two days, and this including the polling-day, to introduce the spirit and active campaigning after the fortnight of quieter work.

In Montrose itself Miss Crocker and I three times during the

day had our large demonstrations continually disturbed by a gang of youths who rang bells at us, and who plainly were determined to be as great a nuisance as ever they could be. As we had reason to believe that the police were not merely allowing the disturbance to proceed, but were actually encouraging it, I made this charge to the chief officer, who confessed himself unable to quell the disturbance! When we know how many women have during the past two years been arrested for far less provocation than was being shown by these silly youths, an answer like this speaks for itself; and when we learned after these rowdy incidents that the Provost of Montrose was actually the political agent for the Liberal candidate, we needed to know no further.

Next day, being polling-day, this political tyranny was again brought to bear against us, and efforts were made to have us removed from the polling booth. Miss Crocker, Miss Parker and I knew perfectly well that we were quite within the rights of electoral law and refused to be bullied; with the result that although we were shockingly knocked about by the police in the presence of chief and Provost, we won the day, and finally got a much better position than we had previously taken up.

The "Dundee Telegraph" gave the following account of the later scenes:—

Miss Gawthorpe, jumping on to the pavement, again took up her station as undaunted as ever.

"You are," she cried to the police, "being incited by the Provost in the interests of the Liberal. We know what it means, but we will lay a complaint against him and all the men whom he has placed against us. (Cheers.) Let there be fair play. We have as much right here as the other side has to stand opposite." Cries of "Lock the women up!"

Meantime the ladies were once more the mistresses of the situation. An angry altercation now ensued between a Unionist and the Provost. The former complained that the women were not getting justice, and there were shouts from behind of Liberal tyranny.

Provost Foreman's reply was lost in the general noise. Chief Constable Marr then asked the ladies to move inside the piazza, and stand close to the staircase clear of the traffic. This was a favourable stance, and they accepted it at once. "Keep the Liberal out," cried Miss Gawthorpe, as she and her friends formed into line.

This is a very different thing from the account given in the London Press, and illustrates the kind of misrepresentation which so often takes place—a comparatively truthful account for local needs, and a distinctly garbled one for publication at a distance.

As usual, we gained tremendously by this unjust treatment, and the Scottish Press has made much capital out of the partisan Provost's behaviour, whilst scores of Montrose lukewarm sympathisers are now active ones. One of these having previously passed by Miss Parker's polling booth bill came back after the "attack," and said, "I will certainly take one *now*."

The result of the election, considering the shortness of our campaign, was very satisfactory, and it was significant that the two candidates at the top had both made declarations on women's suffrage.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

SALOP (Newport).

Mr. Beville Stainer (Con.)	5,328
Mr. Francis Neilson (Lib.)	4,377

Majority 951

The figures at the General Election were: Colonel Rt. Hon. W. Kenyon-Stancy (Cons.) 4,848; Mr. F. Neilson (Lib.), 4,682.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Saturday, May 16.

The last week of the election in N. Shropshire has been one of feverish activity; the number of meetings held each day has exceeded all previous records. The women Suffragists of the National Women's Social and Political Union have, to quote from the "Manchester Guardian," "been working with their characteristic energy in the division." They have been holding a double series of meetings from each of their two centres. I was present at a crowded meeting for women in Whitchurch last Tuesday; Miss Douglas Smith was in the chair, Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Keevil were the speakers. A great deal of enthusiasm was roused, and I noticed most of the women purchased badges.

The announcement on the part of the Government that Old-Age Pensions will shortly be passed, caused a wave of Liberalism to sweep over the constituency. The women Suffragists met this with their usual acumen "Don't show your gratitude too soon, show a little dissatisfaction and then the Government will give you more not less." "Keep them up to the bit," was the advice of Miss Keevil, one afternoon; the large audience cheered appreciatively.

Returning in the evening to the Market Drayton Station, they were met with an ovation which quite drowned the angry boosing of the Liberals. Here, men, women, and children wore the badges, nor was the Conservative candidate behindhand in displaying the most popular buttons. As they left the station, the cheering crowd followed them down the street. "You have a busy time just now," I remarked to a sergeant of the police, as we watched the enthusiastic crowd. "Yes," he replied, "but a Suffragist speaking is worth more than a dozen constables in keeping order."

Undoubtedly the women have won in N. Shropshire, the unexpected defeat of the Government nominee has been in very great part their work.

Do you admit their share in this, I asked a thoughtful-looking man who was watching the crowd cheering two Suffragists who were reading the declaration of the Conservative majority—we don't admit it, we know it, he answered, with quiet conviction. "We hope the Liberals don't give it to them, because our party will the minute we have a chance, and then we shall get the advantage." "We shall do it yet," said a Liberal, and this seems to be the general opinion. The women have certainly found a splendid method of turning the screw on the Liberal Government in their by-election policy. When the defeat of the Government nominee was declared, a vexed Liberal remarked to me, "It's them their wimen as has done it wi' their talk about old age pensions!"

On polling day the Suffragists visited the great majority of the polling stations in a motor car, the funds for obtaining which were generously subscribed by the people of Market Drayton, on the back of which was displayed a large white banner bearing the words, "Votes for Women: Keep the Liberal out." I was privileged to visit some of the stations in company with the Suffragists. They seem to have friends everywhere at Newport and Whitchurch. People wearing "Votes for Women" buttons met us on every hand. In Shrewsbury a number of people quickly gathered, in spite of the rain, hoping for a meeting, but they only received a leaflet asking them to vote for the women this time by voting against the Government. In one village they had an unusually enthusiastic reception, and I learned that it was here the Government candidate was unable to get a hearing. "Have you brought a pledge for the women?" they demanded. This not being forthcoming, the candidate was treated to electioneering missiles and hooted from the village.

STIRLING BURGHS.

Committee Rooms.

44, Murray-place, Stirling.

Liberal Mr. Arthur Ponsonby.
Unionist Mr. W. Whitelaw.

At the General Election in 1906 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was returned unopposed. In 1900 the figures were: Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.), 2,715; Col. O. T. Duke (C.), 2,085.

Central Committee Rooms—St. Margaret's Hall, Dunfermline.
Port-street, Stirling.

Evening of the Poll.—Thursday: Demonstrations Dunfermline, Stirling, Inverkeithing, S. Queensferry, and Culross.
Friday.—Polling-day.

The election in Montrose Burghs was on Tuesday. On Wednesday morning the pavements of the city of Dunfermline, the largest of the Stirling Burghs, were decorated with chalk-written announcements of a first meeting to be held that same afternoon in the Lecture Hall of St. Margaret's. The Lecture Hall holds some 500 people. At 2.45 the room was so crowded that it became necessary to transfer our audience to the large Hall seating 2,000. This also was quickly filled with men and women, and a very successful and enthusiastic gathering was held. The meeting was very well reported in the local Press, and a very satisfactory start was made. The same evening an indoor meeting was held at Inverkeithing by Mrs. Martel, and I addressed a very large open air meeting in Dunfermline.

We are now hard at work all over the constituency, some of our members being in Stirling, and the rest of us in this im-

portant industrial and mining centre. Many meetings have already been held, and many more will be held before next Friday, when the election takes place.

Our policy of opposition to the Government is well understood, and meets with much support from thoughtful men and women. What the result will be we cannot tell, but our opponents realise that we are making a dangerous attack upon the Liberal majority.

The Liberal candidate has held special meetings of Liberal women at which he declared his support of women's suffrage, and tried to prove that it is not possible for the Government at present to yield to our demands. There are signs, however, that the Liberal women of the Stirling Burghs do not accept these excuses so readily as did the Liberal women of Dundee. Much anxiety is felt as to the result of the deputation of M.P.'s to the Prime Minister on Wednesday next, and I believe many votes depend on the answer he will make to the deputation. We tell our audiences here that we are ready to accept an honourable truce, and that if a definite promise of legislation is given we will suspend hostilities until the Government has had ample time to carry its promise into effect.

As in the other Scottish constituencies, so in this one, the women are taking the keenest interest in the contest. Our great meeting on Saturday night in the St. Margaret's Hall was filled two-thirds by women. There is a great harvest to be reaped in Scotland when the elections are over. Scottish women may be slow to move, but once roused they are steadfast, and every day one realises that in Scotland there will be a day of reckoning before very long for Liberal men politicians who persist in infidelity to their highest principles. Did this election depend on the women, there is no doubt how it would go.

As the end of the election comes nearer we who are fighting in it grow impatient for it to be over so that we may return to our work to make our June demonstration a triumphant success. We are watching with keen interest all that our comrades in England are doing. Let us make that gathering so enormous and convincing that no Government, however obstinate, can any longer resist without complete disgrace so complete a manifestation of the will of the people.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Monday, May 18.

A constituency held in the Liberal interest, as this has been, for 30 years by the late Premier, is certainly one which the Government has no desire to lose. There are signs, however, that, as the by-election policy of the women is getting so well understood among Scottish voters, the necessary 300 votes may be turned against the Government.

So far, their campaign grows apace, and every centre has been well opened up. As in Montrose, the burghs are five in number, but much more uneven, so far as voting strength is concerned.

Dunfermline, with close on 4,000 voters, Stirling, with over 3,000, are by far the largest centres, and on these they are concentrating. Inverkeithing and South Queensferry have some hundreds between them, and Culross has less than a hundred, but considers itself a very important place, being no less a burgh than the others.

The women's campaign in Dunfermline opened with an early closing day meeting in the largest hall, St. Margaret's, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Gawthorpe being the speakers, and although they had only got into Dunfermline the previous day, there was a crowded audience. The few irrelevant interruptions but enabled Mrs. Pankhurst to get in her points with still greater effect, and I learnt that after the meeting there was a general feeling that the women had not only made their *début*, but had obtained a real footing in Dunfermline. Since then they have held two other great hall meetings, while two others are in prospect next week. In addition to these, they have the popular open-air gatherings at all available points of the city, and dinner-hour meetings daily everywhere. I notice that some of their most interested hearers and keenest critics at these latter are the hundreds of women who work in the linen factories. They never miss a dinner-hour meeting in their neighbourhood if they can help it, even though it be not at their own factory gate.

There is a different atmosphere about Stirling. Not so "Liberal" as Dunfermline—equally a Royal burgh—it has all those points one associates with a Royal city having a strong military interest. It looks "better off" than Dunfermline.

That is, of course, as you walk along the main streets. Up the back alleys and the "closes" there are, we know, many as yet untried votes. They belong to a new section of the industrial community in consequence of the opening up of new mines. The women are watching these votes, for they number nearly a thousand, and they find the miners at Dunfermline are friendly to their cause.

Miss Macaulay, Miss Lamb, and Miss Gye are conducting regular propaganda meetings throughout Stirling, and the first large indoor meeting addressed by Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Fraser, and Miss Dugdale in the Albert Hall was reported as the largest meeting ever held in Stirling. So anxious was everyone to see and hear, that Miss Macaulay and Miss Davis held an overflow almost as large as the indoor meeting.

Inverkeithing was "opened up" by Miss Crocker and Mrs. Martel. It will be a very important place one day, as here we have the beginnings of a great naval port. A little preliminary opposition was soon put down by Mrs. Martel, and when the two speakers came away it was with yells of delight and approval in lieu of the preliminary ones of derision.

At South Queensferry (the Dalmeny district) Mrs. Pankhurst had a similar experience, and carried her audience with her, the Provost moving a vote of thanks at the close of the meeting.

Culross, the smallest burghs, has also had its first Suffragette meeting, and by no means comes last in the interest and enthusiasm aroused therein.

Throughout the boroughs the feeling is with the women as to their aims and claims, but the average Scottish voter still believes that in voting for his beloved Liberal Government he may get "votes for women" this session.

Still I see signs that the policy of the Women's Social and Political Union is getting hold of the people.

MR. PONSONBY ON VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Speaking to the Stirling and District Women's Liberal Association, Mr. Ponsonby, the Liberal candidate gave his views on votes for women. He expressed himself in favour of woman suffrage, as he believed women were capable of doing good work. On these points he was at one with the suffragettes. But they were asking him to go further, and they were asking what was really an impossibility. The suffragettes wished him to pledge that he would persuade the Prime Minister to give time for the private member's Bill on woman's suffrage. It was a well-known fact—a regrettable fact—that the members of the Cabinet were not united in opinion on the matter. The Prime Minister himself was not altogether in favour of women's suffrage, and since this was so, it would be an absurdity for him to pledge himself to get time for the passing of the Women's Suffrage Bill. The suffragettes had joined hands with the brewers, publicans, and Tariff Reformers to keep Liberal candidates out—(A Voice: "Disgraceful!")—and he was sure that such a method of advertisement of their cause was anything but a good one. It was a matter of great regret that these ladies of such high capacity and remarkable powers of oratory should side with agencies who wanted to prevent the very reforms that would be most beneficial to women.

The "Glasgow Evening Times," May 11.

(From the article by Esa Grievé.)

It is supposed to be woman's first aim to be pleasing. But this is not always so. One of the achievements of the Suffragette has been to make people angry, and she has not achieved this result by accident, but set out to do it in a very deliberate way. Other women may wail about her anger-waking activity. In truth some of them do. But she is not moved. The railing of the men whom she opposes may become unnecessarily vehement. The Suffragette is perfectly content. She is willing to meet all the anger that is aroused, and to welcome it. By comparison with the forces she had to face before she caused this present political eruption, anger becomes the symbol of progress and carries the certainty of victory. The old forces arranged against women's suffrage were the forces of death—indifference, contempt, and indifference. Anger is a living force. It may blind the eyes for a while and quicken the passions, but it is a tribute to strength. It is alive, and with life there is always hope and promise.

The Suffragette at the House of Commons has aroused anger enough. The Suffragette on the Cabinet Minister's doorsteps has aroused more. But the Suffragette at the by-elections has aroused the hottest anger of all. This anger is not aroused because she, a woman, dares to take a share in political warfare. Far from it.

Women have been familiar workers and partisans in election contests for a very long time. They have canvassed, and slaved, and spoken on behalf of every political party, and have been equally loved in every camp. Soft words of gratitude have rewarded their efforts. Gentle words of flattery have egged them on.

But the Suffragette has set to work with a difference. She has refused to enter any camp. She has declined to work for any candidate. She has entered into the fight as an independent anti-Government worker. For she wants the vote, and she attacks the Government that, having the power, refuses to give it to her. She carries all her weapons into the fight. She does not fire at random. She has fixed her mark—the law-making body of the land—the Government that can and won't give her justice. She takes no notice of the non-essentials. The candidates are mere puppets to her; behind them she sees the forces that matter—Government, and opposition to the Government.

She goes into every by-election with the same cry. "The Government is on trial," she says, "and I bring a serious indictment against it. It claims to govern by certain principles, but it does not apply those principles to me. It has the power to remove this wrong—and it refuses." She made this indictment in Kincardineshire. She made it in Peckham, Manchester, Dewsbury, Wolverhampton, and Dundee. She is making it in Stirling and Montrose. She turns up at every street corner, at every work's gate. She comes in all weather and at all times. Early morning or late night are all the same to her. She means to make everyone understand. She means to move votes.

She chalks her meetings on the pavements, and the audience is there. It is not only that she is eloquent; it is not only that her methods are startling, although these things count. It is that she has a message to deliver, and that she is delivering it in a living, practical way. And as this truth spreads among the people the Suffragette gets ever bigger audiences and wins ever more numerous bodies of friends.

There is humour in the contests, although the party politicians and the Suffragettes both work in deadly earnest. But the British people prefer their politics dressed and seasoned. And they get their desire. The Suffragette makes many a dull contest lively. The heavy polls, the crowded meetings, are in no small degree the result of her presence. She is new and alive and fearless, humorous and pertinent and emphatic, unwearied and unconventional. The zest of the contest always hangs about her. She carries war into the enemy's camp. Her weapons are always unsheathed. And as all true Scots love a fight, the interest and movement of the fray centre in her—the woman in rebellion, the woman who has at last arisen to fight for herself.

Everyone comes out to hear her, and goes away talking of her. She is given ungrudging applause and unstinted abuse. She is heckled mercilessly at first, and then with becoming respect. She bears upon her shoulders the burden of unceasing misrepresentation. But she moves steadily on against the Government to win her vote.

There are some women who put party first and their own right of citizenship second. But they are now old-fashioned. The message they have to give to the electors is mere mild repetition of the message of the party men. It does not attract, for it is old-fashioned! What the Suffragette offers is new—new matter, new ideas, new methods, and new light upon old conditions. The world is tired of old wonders. It is wearied of the old lines of work, of the old threadbare arguments. It seeks something new, something born of this present age, and necessary to it, something that the past did not and could not produce. So the present welcomes the Suffragette, even while those who cling to the past condemn her. And the future is hers. She is forming it with her hands.

She is the best advertising agent in the country. Chalk and pipe-clay, sandwich-board women, poster-decked cars, and the indispensable hand-bells—with these weapons she awakens town and villages, and calls together the crowds that come to hear her speak. But all her advertising would be vain if she was not herself a product of the age, and did not bear to it a living message. A cause cannot be made by advertising, though many a good cause has been spoiled for the need of it.

But people are growing less angry. Even the party in power is being slowly driven to understand. The by-election work is winning its promised results. Before very long the Suffragists will combine to take other action that is taken only by their brothers now—for they will be voters. The by-election pressure will have secured its end.

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SCOTTISH WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Convener of Committee: MRS. JOHN HUNTER.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS BURNETT, 2, St. James Place, Hillhead, Glasgow.

Joint Hon. Secretaries: MISS GRACE PATERSON, MRS. I. D. PEARCE.

Organising Secretary: MISS HELEN FRASER.

COCKBURN BUILDINGS, 141, BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Telegraphic Address: "SUFFRAGE, GLASGOW."

The work of the Scottish W.S.P.U. really began its life with the opening of the central offices in Glasgow, and with the formation of the committee on which are women who for many years have taken a lead in public affairs in Glasgow, and whose names are well known to the citizens as having served the city well.

Since our start in January there has been a steady growth of membership. The weekly "At Homes," held at the office on Saturday afternoons from four to six o'clock, have been much appreciated as a convenient meeting-place, to which friends could be brought for information and "conversion"—conversion usually being the result of an intelligent introduction to the question of "Votes for Women." Seldom, if ever, has a Saturday afternoon passed without additions to our roll, and many and varied have been the discussions which have helped to bring new converts in, while at the same time confirming the convictions of old supporters. We do not always arrange for special speakers to address us, but we never find time hang heavily, for there is always an eager desire shown to take part in the "talk." An opportunity is thus given for exchange of thoughts and ideas and the removal of difficulties.

All the public meetings that we have held, whether in Glasgow or elsewhere, have brought new members to our ranks.

The work done at the Scottish by-election campaigns by the National and Scottish W.S.P.U. workers has been most effective, and Miss Fraser's good work is bringing us many Scotch members.

Our new union lately started in Edinburgh has given us an enthusiastic band of workers, starting out to enlist Edinburgh and Mid-Lothian into the ranks of the Scottish W.S.P.U. We hope Scotland bids fair to be successfully roused.

On Saturday afternoon, May 23, there will be no "At Home," owing to our meeting in Charing Cross Hall, when Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., is to be the chief speaker. Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who has not as yet been heard in Glasgow, will also speak. We have been fortunate in securing Dr. Margaret Todd (Graham Travers), who is at present visiting Glasgow, so we are rich in celebrities, and a large audience, we expect, will be the result. Dr. John Hunter has kindly consented to preside, which will still further help towards securing success. He has always been an advocate of Women's Suffrage, and we women owe him a debt for his recent public championship of our "cause."

The hour of the meeting at Charing Cross Hall is 3-30. Tickets, 2s. and 1s., can be had at the hall or from our office.

Our Paper.

We want our Scottish members to notice that our own paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN, is to appear for the first time on Thursday, May 21, as a *weekly penny paper*. The price will put this paper in the reach of all, and it is hoped each of our members will do her best to "push" the paper and increase its circulation among friends. As a penny paper it will be of immense value to us in Scotland as a means of letting our members know about our work. Everyone, therefore, must do what she can to make the paper a financial success.

Communications about Scottish work should be sent to our central office, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow, *not later than Friday of each week*, so as to ensure insertion in the forthcoming number, and should be marked: "For VOTES FOR WOMEN."

It is hoped that members will also endeavour to secure suitable advertisements for the paper.

Since our start in January, we have endeavoured to relieve the national headquarters at Clements Inn of the financial responsibility for Scottish work, and to pay our own way. As our "Funds" are low we shall be glad to receive help from Scotch members for our work North of the Tweed. Subscriptions to be sent to our treasurer, Miss Burnett.

Hyde Park Demonstration.

Several requests have come from our Scotch members asking if we intended to take part in the Hyde Park demonstration. The expensive railway fares make it more difficult for our Scotch friends to take part, but if we can get 200 members to promise to go we shall endeavour to get a special train and cheap rates. Friends, therefore, who think they can go might send their names without delay to 141, Bath-street, Glasgow, so that we might have some idea of the number wishful to go.

Stirling Burghs By-election.

Committee Rooms—44, Murray-place, Stirling.

The campaign here will only extend over ten days—which is quite long enough. The five burghs, Stirling, Dunfermline, Inverkeithing, South Queensferry, and Culross, are far apart and difficult to get at.

Great interest is taken in our campaign in every part of the constituency—our meetings are record ones.

At South Queensferry, on Wednesday, we had the largest meeting ever held there, and Miss Dugdale and myself, who were the speakers, had a splendid reception. Badges, post-cards, and literature sold excellently, and there were requests all over for more meetings.

On Thursday, in Stirling, a crowded meeting was held in the Albert Hall, and an overflow meeting of a thousand.

Miss Burn-Murdoch was chairman, and the speakers were Miss Una Dugdale, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and myself. In the opinion of the townspeople this meeting was one of the most successful political meetings ever held in the town. There was some heckling on our policy, and one could feel the Liberal element present, but it was an inspiring and enthusiastic meeting.

On Friday we spoke in Dunfermline, and this week we go to Inverkeithing and Culross, and have meetings in Stirling and in St. Ninians. Breakfast, dinner-hour, and evening open-air meetings have been arranged, and the constituency will be thoroughly worked before the polling-day.

The "Stirling Burghs" is a Liberal constituency, but it is the only one of the four Scotch by-elections in which there could be any hope of defeating the Government, and we can only hope that in addition to the educational value of our propaganda work we may succeed in our political demand to the electors:—"To vote against the Government."

Stirling, May 16.

HELEN FRASER.

The Late Miss Louisa Stevenson, LL.D.

By the death of Miss Louisa Stevenson, Edinburgh has lost a lady well known for her interest and work in the women's cause. One of the subjects which she often said was nearest her heart was Women's Suffrage, as she always felt that that question was the foundation for women's advancement, and, therefore, her name will be found for very many years past on the committee of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage.

Owing to ill-health she retired some years ago from public life, but while she was able she took a most prominent part in women's University education, especially by her pioneer work in medical teaching for women, and her efforts, along with other ladies, eventually met with success after a long and laborious fight, the University granting a medical degree to women.

She was one of the principal movers also in the establishment of the Association for the University Education of Women, which was strongly opposed for a long time, but Miss Stevenson, while acting as secretary, saw the association's premises recognised as a sort of "college," where women could receive university instruction, and eventually had the satisfaction of seeing women admitted to the universities themselves.

She was the first lady to be elected to a parochial board in Edinburgh, and did much to improve nursing accommodation in the city poor houses. To the Scottish branch of the Jubilee Nurses' Institution and Edinburgh Royal Infirmary Board Miss Stevenson gave valuable services. She was also one of the founders of the School of Domestic Economy in Edinburgh.

In April, 1906, she received the degree of LL.D. from Edinburgh University. In presenting Miss Stevenson for the degree, Sir Ludovic Grant said: "The admission of women to University privileges was the culminating point of a long and laborious movement, and Miss Stevenson has been deemed worthy of academic recognition to-day because of her signal efforts in directing this movement to a successful issue."

She was the last of her family, and outlived her sister, Miss Flora Stevenson by two years, who had been head of the Edinburgh School Board. This sister likewise received the LL.D. degree, and also the freedom of the city of Edinburgh.

E. C. H.

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

The "At Homes" held at 61, Manningham-lane, on Monday afternoons and evenings, continue to be very successful and well attended. Miss Kenney and I, with Miss Hartland in the chair, addressed two large open-air meetings at Gomersal last Sunday. A few questions were asked, but the entire audience was with us after we had made our policy clear.

Our opponents came in force to the Bradford Moor Schools on Tuesday evening, and, with the exception of two or three, went away converted.

A very successful women's meeting was held in the Idle Co-operative Hall on Thursday, May 14, over which Miss Doris Fogg presided. The hall was quite full, and the audience most enthusiastic.

"At Homes" were held in Leeds and Bradford on Friday, May 15, and Saturday, May 16. In Leeds the lecture room at the Arts Club was quite full. A number of new members were made, and it was decided to hold a meeting for professional women on May 29, and to organise a campaign against Herbert Gladstone, beginning June 24.

In the Hanson School Art Room, on Saturday afternoon, May 16, we had a good gathering of head teachers. Several members were made. On Saturday evening I spoke at the invitation of Mr. Stewart at the Lofts Arts Club, Bradford.

ADELA PANKHURST.

LOCAL NOTES.

Bowes Park W.S.P.U.—I had the pleasure of addressing a meeting of the Bowes Park Union on Wednesday evening, May 13, which was very well attended. After I had spoken there was a bright and animated discussion, in which men and women took part equally. A striking feature of the meeting was the presence of a number of workers from the neighbouring screw factory. It is gratifying to know how quickly work in Wood Green has borne fruit. The women were all newcomers, but they were apparently ready to become enthusiastic workers in our cause. They had first heard of it from Mrs. Baldock, at her factory-gate meeting on May 7, and already, in a short week, they had done a good deal of propagandist work among their companions by wearing badges, distributing handbills, &c. When I arrived on Wednesday evening they were busy discussing ways and means of attending the Hyde Park Demonstration with Mrs. Neal and the Bowes Park contingent.

AGNES A. KELLY.

The Hammersmith W.S.P.U. is arranging a meeting at the Broadway Hall (263, Hammersmith-road, close to the railway stations) on Wednesday evening, May 27, when we are to be so fortunate as to have Miss Gawthorpe—a rare visitor to London—as well as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, with Miss Brackenbury in the chair. The hon. sec. hopes that all members reading this will encourage their friends, especially doubters and waverers, to take the opportunity of coming to hear such particularly good speaking on our subject. Hammersmith has many factories and laundries where women are employed, and members wishing to speak in the open air may do good work and also get practice in speaking at these dinner-hour meetings.

F. E. ROWE.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Sunday afternoon, May 17, we had again a very large audience on Blackheath. I took the chair, and Miss New kept the unruly element, which is generally strongly represented at our Sunday open-air meetings, in check by her ready wit and cleverness of repartee. She made a strong appeal to men and women to join the Lewisham contingent for the Hyde Park Demonstration. Handbills were distributed, literature and buttons sold and a collection taken. On Tuesday next an "At Home" will be held at Mrs. Billingham's, preceded by a committee meeting, which will chiefly deal with the Hyde Park Demonstration. On Wednesday next, at 7 p.m., an open-air meeting will be held at Deptford Broadway.

J. A. BOUVIER.

The Leicester W.S.P.U. held their fortnightly meeting, Thursday, May 14, at the Welcome Restaurant, Welford-road. The members were very enthusiastic over the Hyde Park Demonstration. We decided to order our banner from the Hyde Park secretary, and many members gave their names in for tickets and promised to get as many friends as possible to come with them. Arrangements were made for distribution of handbills announcing the demonstration during the Lifeboat procession, which took place on Saturday, May 16. This was a grand success; we caused quite a sensation among the people. We all wore our buttons, and as we distributed the bills we told the women all we could. Many said how they should like to go to London, and would have to ask their friends about it.

I visited the village of Enderby, Sunday, May 17, and did good

propagandist work among the women of the village, and I had quite a good meeting. Many of the women were very eager to hear all about the votes for women movement. I am going again in a fortnight to try and get some of them to come to London. We are eagerly awaiting Miss Barrett's visit to Leicester to help us rouse the apathetic women here.

We shall hold open-air meetings wherever possible this summer, and hope to have our revered leader with us very soon, if at all possible that she can be spared, for a special demonstration, for we mean to have a large contingent to follow the Leicester banner to Hyde Park Sunday, June 21. Everybody is looking out for the great posters. We are glad VOTES FOR WOMEN is to be a penny weekly, as it will get into the hands of the working women.

(MRS.) ALICE HAWKINS.

London City W.S.P.U.—On Friday evening, May 15, a business meeting was held at Clements Inn specially to discuss arrangements for the Hyde Park Demonstration and for the summer campaign. The committee decided that the London City Union ought to have a fine 14-guinea banner of its own for the demonstration. The idea caught on at once, and half-a-guinea each towards the cost was at once promised by the following members: Miss Jessie Smith, Mrs. Keevil Turner, Miss Cooke, Miss Jessie Stephenson, Mrs. May, the Misses Auld, Miss Hughesdon, Mrs. Macdonald, Miss Marsh, and Mrs. Julius Singer. A members' contribution of 6d. per head produced an additional 14s. towards the cost of the banner.

During the last six months the London City Union has collected £30 9s. 7d. Of this sum £4 has been spent in working expenses, £7 10s. given to the Self-Denial Fund, £4 to the National Fund, and £10 15s. contributed towards by-election expenses. We sent Miss Lambert to help at the Leeds by-election, and Miss Lauria to North-West Manchester, Shropshire, and Wolverhampton. We also sent Miss Lauria to Southampton for propagandist work. During the past months the Union has held several well-attended open-air meetings in Westminster.

Members have decided to devote their efforts specially towards helping Mrs. Drummond in her open-air campaign. We ask all members to try and be present at our Thursday evening "At Homes."

JESSIE KENNEY.

Streatham and Brixton W.S.P.U.—The Streatham and Brixton Union have been most active of late. There have been three meetings—the annual and two for propagandist purposes.

At the annual gathering, held last week at Mrs. Robertson's, 19, Loughborough-road, S.W., the first year's report, presented by the hon. secretary (Miss McArthur) stated that the membership at the end of the year was 38, being an increase of 13. In all, 28 meetings had been held, including three public meetings, and also meetings on the invitation of the club committees, at the Liberal and Conservative Club rooms. The hon. treasurer's report showed a satisfactory balance in hand. The statement of the hon. literature secretary stated that literature to the value of £3 had been sold in the course of the year.

The following officials were re-elected:—Hon. secretary, Miss McArthur; hon. treasurer, Mrs. Freke; hon. literature secretary, Mrs. Robertson. Mrs. Tanner was appointed chairman of committee.

Among other routine business transacted, rules were discussed and adopted, and it was agreed that the minimum annual subscription should be a shilling.

As for the propagandist meetings, one, a drawing-room meeting, was held at Mrs. Chandler's, 20, Stockwell-park-road, Miss McArthur in the chair. The chairman opened the meeting with a brief address on the tactics of the Union, and a vigorous speech on the general aspects of the question of women's franchise was delivered by Miss Nancy Lightman.

The second propagandist meeting was held at Miss Willson's studio, 134, Ambleside-avenue, Streatham. Miss Willson herself presided, and in an excellent and telling speech urged the necessity of unity on the part of women who desired to have the vote. Mrs. Eates spoke upon the status of women, and asserted that they should play a more important part in the education of the children. Mrs. Eates also referred to the protests at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers, and declared that these protests educated the Ministers on the votes-for-women question.

Three ex-prisoners—namely, Miss McArthur, Miss Richardson, and Miss M. Smith—related their experiences in Holloway Gaol.

Walthamstow W.S.P.U.—A crowded meeting was held in Con-way Hall, on May 13, at 8 p.m., every available seat, and, indeed, all standing room being taken within twenty minutes of the opening of the doors. Miss C. Pankhurst and Mrs. Baldock were the speakers, whilst the chair was ably and tactfully filled by Miss Conolan. There were interruptions from a few lads in the gallery, but the good humour and splendid courage of Miss Pankhurst delighted her audience, and silenced the noisy element. The conduct of these rowdies resulted in procuring for us a large amount of sympathy and interest.

On May 28 a special meeting of men and women teachers will be held at Queen's-road schools at 7-30 p.m.

LOUISA HART.

HOW ENGLAND WILL COME TO HYDE PARK.

Below is given a list of towns which are being served by special trains on Sunday, June 21, for the Votes for Women Demonstration in Hyde Park. Tickets can be obtained either from the local Union Secretary or from the special agent included in the accompanying list.

On the G.N.R., G.C.R., and G.W.R., refreshment cars are on the trains, which will sell lunch at 2s. a head and tea at 9d. a head.

On the other railways no meals are provided on the up journey, and passengers are recommended to bring food with them. A special tea at 9d. a head will be served at the London terminus after the demonstration before the departure of the trains.

- BATH.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 11 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agent: S. W. Sims, bookseller, 3, Bridge-st.
- BEDFORD.**—Leave (Mid.) 11.25 a.m. Return fare 4s. 3d.
Agent: F. Hockliffe, bookseller, 86 and 88, High-street, and 68, St. Loyes.
- BIRMINGHAM.**—Leave (L.N.W.R.) 7.45 a.m. Return fare 7s.
Agents: Stanford and Mann, booksellers, New-st.; James Pass, music warehouse, 48, Cherry-st.; C. Combridge, 4 and 5, New-st.
- BLACKBURN.**—Leave (Mid.) 7.13 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: A. Astley, stationer, 57, Church-street.
- BOLTON.**—Leave (Mid.) 7.42 a.m. R. fare 11s.
Agent: W. R. Walker, bootmaker, 1, Crook-street.
- BRADFORD.**—Leave (Gt. N. R.) 8.25 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: Wood and Marshall, newsagents, New Ivegate; F. Power, Market Hall.
- BRIGHTON.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) 10.25 a.m. Return fare 3s.
Agents: Lyon and Hall, music warehouse, Warwick Mansions, East-street.
- BRISTOL.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 10.38 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agent: T. Thatcher, 44, College-green.
- BURY.**—Leave (Midland) 7.13 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: E. M. Taylor, 16, Silver-street.
- BURY ST. EDMUNDS.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 10 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agent: H. A. Cornish, newsagent, 26 and 89, St. John's-street.
- BUXTON.**—Leave (Midland) 8.25 a.m. Return fare 9s.
Agent: Bates' Library, Colonnade.
- CARDIFF.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 9.25 a.m. Return fare 7s.
Agent: Ed. Dobbin, 8, St. John's-square.
- CHELMSFORD.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 11.43 a.m. Return fare 3s. 3d.
Agent: J. M. Green, 34, High-street.
- CHELTENHAM.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 10.47 a.m. Return fare 6s.
Agents: J. J. Banks and Son, Imperial Library, Promenade.
- COLCHESTER.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 11.15 a.m. Return fare 4s. 3d.
Agent: F. J. Ellis, printer and stationer, 111, Bramford-road, Ipswich.
- COVENTRY.**—Leave (L.N.W.R.) about 8.15 a.m. Return fare 6s. 6d.
Agent: David Burdett, newsagent, 55, Cross Cheaping, Coventry.
- CREWE.**—Leave (L.N.W.R.) 8.20 a.m. Return fare 9s. 6d.
Agent: E. Barnett, 85, Mill-street.
- DERBY.**—Leave (Mid. R.) 9.35 a.m. Return fare 7s. 6d.
Agent: Chas. H. Foster, bookseller, 21, St. James-street.
- DEWSBURY.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 8.30 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: F. N. Lucas, 14, Bond-st.
- DONCASTER.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 9.15 a.m. Return fare 9s.
Agent: T. Smith, 56, St. Sepulchre-gate.
- DORKING.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) 9.41 a.m. Return fare 2s. 6d.
Agent: C. T. Bond, 83, High-street.
- EXETER.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 9.55 a.m. Return fare 10s.
Agents: A. Weaton and Co., stationers, 223, High-street, and 143, Fore-street.
- GLOUCESTER.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 11.10 a.m. Return fare 6s.
Agents: Minchin and Gibbs, Westgate Library.
- HALIFAX.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 7.45 a.m. Return fare, 11s.
Agent: B. Beverley, Victoria Music Rooms.
- HASTINGS.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) Warrior-square 10.8 a.m.; West Marina 10.10 a.m. Return fare 4s.
Agents: King Bros., 2, Queen's-road.
- HAYWARDS HEATH.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) 10.45 a.m. Return fare 2s. 6d.
Agents: Lyon and Hall, Warwick Mansions, East-street, Brighton.
- HEREFORD.**—Leave (G.W.R.) Barr's Court 10.7 a.m. Return fare 7s.
Agents: Jakeman and Carver, High Town.
- HITCHIN.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 12.5 a.m. Return fare, 3s. 3d.
Agent: R. A. Kingstone, Station-road.
- HOVE.**—Leave (L.B.S.C.R.) 10.25 a.m. Return fare 3s.
Agents: Lyon and Hall, 22, Church-road.
- HUDDERSFIELD.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 8.30 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: Wm. Wheatley, stationer, 9A, Northumberland-street.
- HULL.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 8 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: A. Brown and Sons, 26 and 27, Saville-street, and 6 and 8, King Edward-street.
- ILKLEY.**—Leave (Leeds, G.N.R.) 8.58 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: Miss Adela Pankhurst, 6, Manningham-lane, Bradford.
- IPSWICH.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 10.48 a.m. Return fare 4s. 3d.
Agent: F. J. Ellis, 111, Branford-road.
- KETTERING.**—Leave (Mid. R.) 11 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agent: Day's Stationery Stores, Gold-street.
- LANCASTER.**—Leave (L. and N.W.R.) 7 a.m. Return fare 12s.
Agent: J. Hodkinson, George-street.
- LEAMINGTON.**—Leave (L. and N.W.R.) 8.35 a.m. Return fare 6s. 6d.
Agent: Birch's Music Store, 104, Parade.
- LEEDS.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 8.58 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: Messrs. Johnson, Duncan-street, Corn Exchange; Mrs. Titterton, 345, Kirkstall.
- LEICESTER.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 11.5. Return fare 6s.
Agent: M. A. Sidwell, 7, Granby-street.
- LIVERPOOL.**—Leave (L.N.-W.R.) 7.25 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: Henstock and Foulkes, 42, Lord-street, Liverpool; Samuel Reeves, 316, Derby-road, Bootle.
- LOUGHBOROUGH.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 10.43 a.m. Return fare 7s. 6d.
Agent: John E. Lee, 30, Cattle-market.
- LUTON.**—Leave (Midland) 11.40 a.m. Return fare 2s. 9d.
Agents: Atkins and Son, stationers and booksellers, 54, George-street, Luton.
- MALVERN.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 10.43 a.m. Return fare 6s. 6d.
Agents: S. Hermitage and Sons, music warehouse, Church-street, Malvern.
- MANCHESTER.**—Leave (Midland) 8 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: Sharrett and Hughes (two shops), 34, Cross-st., and 27, St. Anne's-st.; Mr. Sam Hague, United Trades and Labour Council, 5, Hyde-road, Gorton.
- NEWPORT.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 9.55 a.m. Return fare 7s.
Agents: W. H. Smith and Sons, newsagents, 15, Commercial-street, Newport.
- NEWTON ABBOT.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 9.18 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: T. Knott and Son, 4, Bank street, Newton Abbot.
- NORTHAMPTON.**—Leave (L. and N.-W.R.) 9.30 a.m. Return fare 5s.
Agents: Lea and Co., Limited, Gold-street, Northampton.
- NORWICH.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 9.40 a.m. Return fare 6s. 6d.
Agent: Mr. Councillor Fred Easton, 82, Pitt-street, St. Augustine's, Norwich.
- NOTTINGHAM.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 10.28 a.m. Return fare 7s. 6d.
Agents: W. Fosterjohn, 47, Mansfield-road; P. Barnham, 27, Alfreton-road.
- OLDHAM.**—Leave (Midland) 7.20 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: Allen's, stationers and tobacconists, 28, Mumps, Oldham.
- PAIGNTON.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 8.10 a.m. Return for 11s.
Agent: G. Crookall, 3, Torbay-road.
- PETERBOROUGH.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 11.18 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agent: W. H. Pentney, stationer and newsagent, 9, Narrow-street, Peterborough.
- PLYMOUTH.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 8.23 a.m. Return fare 12s.
Agent: John Smith, stationer, 69, Old Town-street, Plymouth.
- PORTSMOUTH.**—Leave (L. and S.-W.R.) 10.50 a.m. Return fare 4s.
Agents: Mr. Alfred Rough, 49, Fawcett-road, and 5, Highland-road, Southsea; Mrs. Alfred Baxter, 338, Fratton-road, Portsmouth.
- PRESTON.**—Leave (L. and N.-W.R.) 7.35 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: J. H. Platt, 36, Fishergate.
- READING.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 12.30 p.m. Return fare 3s. 6d.
Agents: Farrer and Sons, newsagents, 39, Broad-street, Reading.
- REDHILL.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) 9.30 a.m. Return fare 2s. 1d.
Agent: T. K. Pearce, 21, Station-road.
- ROCHDALE.**—Leave (Midland) 6.55 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: Mr. H. Ellis, stationer and fancy goods dealer, Drake-street, Rochdale.
- ROMFORD.**—Leave (G.E.R.) 12.10 a.m. Return fare 1s. 6d.
Tickets from Clements Inn.
- RUGBY.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 11.30 a.m. Return fare 6s.
Agent: E. Andrews, 48, Station-road.
- SHEFFIELD.**—Leave (G.C.R.) 9.29 a.m. Return fare 9s.
Agents: H. Turner, High-street (corner George-street), Sheffield. (Tickets to be sent to Bank-street, Sheffield); Wilson Peck, Limited, Pinstone-street, Sheffield.
- SOUTHAMPTON.**—Leave (L. and S.W.R.) 11.15 a.m. Return fare 4s.
Agents: C. W. Moor, newsagent and stationer, 16, London-road, Southampton; G. Buxey, printer and stationer, Holy Rood Printing Works, Bridge-street, Southampton.
- SOUTHPORT.**—Leave (L. and N.W.R.) 6.45 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: "Goffs," newsagents and stationers, 69, Eastbank-street, Southport.
- STOCKPORT.**—Leave (Midland) 8.5 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: T. Nield and Son, Limited, music warehouse, 14, Great Underbank, Stockport; H. Ashworth, newsagent, stationer, and fancy goods dealer, 61, Castle-street, Stockport.
- TEIGNMOUTH.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 9.29 a.m. Return fare 10s.
Agent: W. H. Day, Royal Library, Teignmouth, Devon.
- TORQUAY.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 8.16 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: C. Heaviside, 27, Torwood-street.
- TUNBRIDGE WELLS.**—Leave (L.B. and S.C.R.) 8.32 a.m. Return fare 3s. 5d. Tickets from Clements Inn.
- WESTON - SUPER - MARE.**—Leave (G.W.R.) 10.2 a.m. Return fare 5s. 6d.
Agents: Lawrence Bros., High-street.
- WIGAN.**—Leave (L. and N.W.R.) 8 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agents: W. Grime and Sons, music warehouse, The Arcade, King-street, Wigan.
- WOLVERHAMPTON.**—Leave (L. and N.W.R.) 7.15 a.m. Return fare 7s. 6d.
Agent: J. W. Lazenby, L. and N.W.R., 5, Princes-square, Wolverhampton.
- WORCESTER.**—Leave (G.W.R.) (a) Foregate-street, 10.55 a.m.; (b) Shrub-hill, 11.1 a.m. Return fare 6s.
Agents: Deighton and Co., stationers, 53, High-street, Worcester.
- YORK.**—Leave (G.N.R.) 8.30 a.m. Return fare 11s.
Agent: Arthur Anderson, stationer and printer, 44, Coney-street, & 8, New-street.