

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 71.

FRIDAY, JULY 16, 1909.

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

## COAT OF ARMS

SUGGESTED FOR THE BRAVE AND CHIVALROUS ESQUIRE,

## HENRY ASQUITH,

Whenever he may be raised to the Peerage, as the reward of his signal services in the cause of political liberty and sex equality.



### HERALDIC DESCRIPTION.

CREATION: (Suggested for) 1st April, 1910.

TITLE: "Baron Bully of Broadarrows-cum-Bars."

ARMS: A shield gules, in centre a woman in prison garb, and charged with prison bars, all ppr. And for honourable augmentation in special allusion to his chivalrous conduct to women, a chief vert, with three broad arrows, all ppr.

CREST: Above the Baron's Coronet, a woman's bust, wearing regalia of W. S. and P. Union, robed in purple, white, and green, and holding in her hand a petition marked "Votes for Women."

SUPPORTERS: Two policemen, rampant, gardant, threatening the woman with their truncheons, all ppr.

MOTTO: "With these I hope to conquer, not with argument."

SEAT: The Castle, Holloway (being a town residence provided for him by the nation in special recognition of his distinguished merit).

(Drawn from a sketch by Mlle Sales, Member of the W.S.P.U.)

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Single Insertion, 1d. a word;  
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COMMENCING

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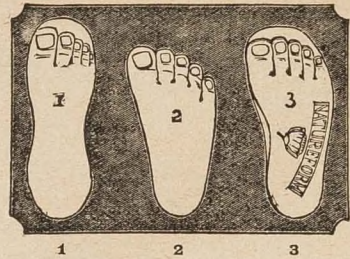
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# Votes for Women!

The very first parcel of "Natureform" Shoes sold in London were for the use of Misses Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst in 1892.

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Sir,  
I enclose you the sum of 8s. 9d. in payment of your bill for the two pairs of shoes for my two little girls.

I am very pleased with the Shoes, and think they are of admirable shape.

I remain,  
Yours very truly,  
EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Mr. Holden.

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The soap with a Way of its own

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BOARD-RESIDENCE, 29/- to 35/-. Photos, full particulars.  
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SEND FOR PRICE LIST, POST FREE. CITY OF GLASGOW DYE WORKS, MARYHILL, GLASGOW.

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Treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union, Chiswick, writes:-

BRAND and MOLLISON, Glasgow.

"I have always been satisfied with the goods sent to you for Cleaning and Dyeing."

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and book-stalls.

For Quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

### DEDICATION.

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

### THE OUTLOOK.

On Friday last the cases of Mrs. Pankhurst and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, adjourned from the preceding week, were heard at Bow Street before Sir Albert de Rutzen. After listening to the speeches of Mr. Muskett for the prosecution, of Lord Robert Cecil for Mrs. Haverfield, and of Mrs. Pankhurst, the Magistrate gave judgment. On the point of law raised by the defence, that the police were exceeding their duty, as the women had a right to be there to present their petition to Mr. Asquith, he decided against the defendants; but in view of the importance of the constitutional issue, he expressed himself as willing to state a case for the higher court, as requested by Lord Robert Cecil.

### A More Suitable Tribunal.

The issue is therefore taken out of the police court into a court more fitted to examine questions of great constitutional usage. There it will be argued out fully and carefully, and the decision, whatever it may be, will be of far greater weight than could possibly be arrived at in the lower court. We understand that there is no likelihood whatever of the case being heard before the autumn, and that it may very possibly be postponed until November or December of the present year. In the meanwhile, it is of the utmost importance that the general public should be made fully aware of the issue involved, so that whichever way the final legal decision may be given they may appreciate the fundamental human right which the women claim.

### The Provisional Sentence.

Pending the hearing of this case, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Haverfield, and all the women charged with obstruction have been set at liberty, and Mrs. Pankhurst has given an undertaking, which will hold good up to the end of 1909, that she will not make any fresh attempt to send a deputation to the Prime Minister. The magistrate, however, passed a provisional sentence upon Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Haverfield of a fine of £5, with the alternative of one month's imprisonment in the second division. It will be seen from this that the Authorities have abandoned their attempt to deal with these disturbances by binding over the women to be of good behaviour. They retain, however, the second division treatment, and Sir Albert de Rutzen, in spite of the protest of Lord Robert Cecil that Mrs. Haverfield was acting in the bona fide belief that she had a right to be there, refused to transfer her to the first division.

### The Stone Throwers.

On the following Monday the cases of the fourteen women charged with special offences were brought before the same magistrate at Bow Street. They were not defended by counsel, but pleaded that their action was a protest against the refusal of Mr. Asquith to see the deputation, and that they had been excited to more aggressive action by the taunts of Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Haldane, and Mr. John Burns. In spite of their protests that they ought to be treated as political offenders, the magistrate sentenced some of them to pay a fine of £5, or one month's imprisonment in the second division, and others to £5 or six weeks in the second division. All the women elected to go to prison.

### The Hunger Strike.

The women sent to prison in connection with the Woman Suffrage disturbances have long protested against the refusal of the Authorities to give them the rights of political prisoners in prison. This protest has been entirely disregarded, and Mr. Herbert Gladstone has actually defended the treatment of the women as common criminals. They have therefore decided to take the law into their own hands. Miss Wallace Dunlop, with heroic self-devotion, struck the first blow. Being refused recognition of her status as a political prisoner, she decided to adopt the drastic expedient of the hunger strike. After allowing her to fast for ninety-one hours the Authorities, fearful of the consequences, gave way and released her. By that splendid action she has made it easier for all the political prisoners who come after her. If she had been a Russian defying the tyranny of the Czar and fighting for political freedom thousands of miles away the Liberal Press of this country would have been full of admiration for her conduct, but because she is an Englishwoman they have been silent as to her merits. But we who see with clearer vision are not ashamed to confess that her action has filled us with intense gratitude, and has furnished us with one more proof of the triumphant power of the human spirit to overcome the obstacles of oppression and tyranny. In her action in fighting for liberty she has enriched the whole history of the world.

### Revolt in Prison.

The women convicted of stone-throwing have determined to follow up her splendid example by refusing to obey the prison regulations unless they are accorded first division treatment. They have declined to wear prison clothes

or to fulfil any of the ordinary duties allotted to prisoners in the second division. As a consequence the punishment of solitary confinement has been meted out to them, and they have been denied chapel and exercise. They have accordingly proceeded to break the windows in their cells, partly as a further protest against their treatment and partly to call attention to the utterly unhealthy lack of ventilation which prevails in the cells. If these actions are not sufficient to gain their ends, we understand that they are prepared to adopt stronger measures.

#### A Silent Protest.

While the Women's Social and Political Union have been carrying on this active campaign the members of the Women's Freedom League have been adopting a course of passive resistance. Pressing forward their demands to present their petition to the King, they were instructed to lay it before the Home Secretary, and they had accordingly an interview with Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who is reported to have said that he recognised that an *impasse* existed in the matter of Woman Suffrage, and expressed his opinion that it would end favourably to women. Members of the League also have kept vigil outside the House of Commons and at the residence of the Prime Minister in Downing Street. For remaining on the steps of Downing Street four of them were arrested on Friday last and taken to Bow Street, and on Monday were sentenced to pay a fine of £5 each or to go to prison for three weeks. Refusing to pay their fine, they all went to prison.

#### The Cleveland Bye-Election.

The Women's Social and Political Union scored a striking success at the bye-election in the Cleveland Division of Yorkshire, where Mr. Samuel's majority, in a constituency carefully nursed for over seven years, was reduced by over 1,000, a result admitted by the Liberal papers to be "very disappointing." Mr. Samuel, at first contemptuous of the women's influence, soon found that he had to fight hard if he wished to retain his seat, and devoted the greater part of his speeches to answering the case which they put forward. Finally, on the eve of the poll, he issued a leaflet, in which he set out what we may take to be the official pronouncement of the Government as to the statements of the Women's Social and Political Union. The principal points of this leaflet and the answers given by the Union to them will be found on page 945 of this issue.

#### High Peak and Dumfries.

In the other bye-elections of High Peak, where Mrs. Pankhurst is busily engaged, and of Dumfries, where Mrs. Pethick Lawrence expects to be present by the time this paper is in the hands of our readers, a very strenuous fight is being made by the Women's Social and Political Union, and there is every likelihood of one or both of these seats going against the Government. As the Liberal candidate in each case is a member of the Government, his defeat will mean a further bye-election, so that the Women's Social and Political Union are looking forward to a continuation of vigorous fighting up to the end of July, and perhaps well into August.

#### The Holiday Campaign.

Many of our members are now thinking of taking their summer holidays. While not wishing to interfere with the rest which they so richly deserve after the vigorous work which they have done, we would remind them that a very great deal of useful propaganda can be carried on very pleasantly in the resorts to which they may go. Among the specially valuable ways in which they can help the Union, we would remind them in particular of the desirability of extending the sale of this paper by selling it in the streets or on the sands, and we would also suggest to them that they should hold occasional meetings in public places, and should lose no opportunity of advocating the cause among their friends and acquaintances. On page 952 of this issue a special paragraph will be found having reference to the arrangements which some of our members have already made, and in subsequent issues we hope to be able to devote considerable space to an account of what they are doing.

#### Features of this Issue.

Among the special contents of this issue is the full account of the trials at Bow Street, including a verbatim report of the speeches by Mr. Muskett, Lord Robert Cecil, Mrs. Pankhurst, and the magistrate. We believe that this will be of the very greatest interest to our readers. Miss Christabel Pankhurst writes on the *impasse* which Mr. Gladstone admits to exist. We also deal with the result of the bye-election in Cleveland and with the other bye-elections now in progress. Owing to the extraordinary pressure on our space, we are again compelled to cut down the Campaign Throughout the Country and the local notes, but we hope that in future weeks we shall be able to devote more space to these events.

### MISS WALLACE DUNLOP RELEASED.

The women who have been sent to prison in connection with Woman Suffrage disturbances have, from the beginning, demanded treatment as political prisoners, and have appealed to the Home Secretary to accord them the rights and privileges to which political prisoners are entitled in every part of the civilised world. They have called attention to the treatment which was meted out to the Irish Nationalist members in the eighties, to Dr. Jameson in the nineties, and to the Irish cattle raiders at the present time. They have shown that the treatment which the Suffragettes receive in Holloway is worse than that which was accorded to political prisoners in the Bastille, and is inferior in some respects to that which Russian political prisoners are receiving to-day. But Mr. Gladstone has remained obstinate, and has refused to use his influence to have them placed in the first division.

The members of the Women's Social and Political Union have, therefore, realised that it is useless any longer to appeal to the sense of justice in the Government, and that a definite blow has to be struck for proper treatment by the women themselves. They do this not only in their own interest and in the interest of all the women who may yet be sent to Holloway in connection with this agitation, but in the interest of all the political prisoners who come after them, because they know that once the rights of political prisoners which they have so hardly won during the centuries of civilisation be taken away from them they will continue to be withheld from all the political prisoners of forthcoming years.

It will be remembered that when Mrs. Pankhurst went to prison in October last she insisted upon the right to talk to her daughter in defiance of the rules attaching to second-division prisoners. In consequence of her refusing to obey the Authorities she was severely punished, but because she persisted in her resistance her right was at last conceded.

#### Ninety-one Hours Without Food.

Miss Wallace Dunlop, sent to prison on Friday, July 2, in consequence of her action in imprinting on one of the walls of the House of Commons an extract from the Bill of Rights, determined to take a still bolder course. Finding that the Authorities refused to place her in the first division and treat her as a political offender, she determined to carry into effect that most terrible weapon of political prisoners, the hunger strike. The terrible nature of this weapon will be understood when it is realised that its object can only be achieved when the Authorities realise that the prisoner is prepared to go through with her protest up to death itself, if necessary, and that if they refuse to deal with her justly they will have her death upon their hands.

Of such heroic stuff is Miss Wallace Dunlop made that she was willing to face this awful ordeal in order to win back for the political prisoners of to-day the rights of which the Government are seeking to deprive them.

On Monday, July 5, she started to carry her project into execution. For ninety-one hours she continued resolute, in spite of the tremendous efforts made by the Authorities of the prison, who placed food constantly before her in her cell. During all this time she continued to keep up her spirits, and thus tells the story in her own words in a letter to the members of the Women's Social and Political Union:—

"I did not eat breakfast on Monday, and I sent my application to Gladstone with a postscript to the effect that I demanded the right recognised by all civilised nations that a prisoner charged with a political offence should be given first division treatment.

"I also said that I should, as a matter of principle, and for the sake of others who might come after me, eat no food till the matter was settled to my satisfaction, and then 'dogged did it.'

"I threw a fried fish, four slices of bread, three bananas, and a cup of hot milk out of the window on Tuesday, that being the only day I really felt hungry. They threatened all the time to pump milk through my nostrils, but never did it. They kept my table covered with food, which I never touched. I only drank water.

"My pulse was felt many times in the day, and I laughed at them all the time, telling them I would show them the stuff the Suffragette was made of; and that they would either have to put me in the first division or release me. 'You may feed me through the nostrils all the month,' I added, 'but suppose you get 108 women in here on Friday all requiring to be fed through the nostrils?' At this the doctor's face was a delightful study."

At last the Authorities had to give way. They saw that Miss Wallace Dunlop's spirit was strong enough to carry out her determination even to a fatal conclusion if that were necessary, and they knew that such an action on their part would bring down upon them the hatred and scorn of the people of the country. On the afternoon of Friday, July 9, Miss Wallace Dunlop was set at liberty, and this showed the hollowness of Mr. Curtis Bennett's boast that he would prove to her that the law was stronger than women.

## BOW STREET POLICE COURT, JULY 9, 1909.

### Adjourned Hearing of the Cases against Mrs. Pankhurst and Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.

The very greatest interest attached to the proceedings at Bow Street on Friday last, when the adjourned hearing of the summonses against the women arrested on June 29 was taken before the court. This interest was very much enhanced when it was known that Lord Robert Cecil was appearing on behalf of Hon. Mrs. Haverfield.

The expectation was formed that the constitutional issue would be raised in an important form, and that whatever the immediate decision of the magistrate, an opportunity would be provided for a further discussion upon the point in a higher court. This expectation was fully realised, and supporters of Woman Suffrage are satisfied that for the first time in the history of the agitation the really political nature of their agitation is being understood and appreciated.

It will be remembered that the case was adjourned on Wednesday, June 30, at the request of Mr. Muskett, who asked for time to prepare an answer to Mr. Henle's speech claiming that the police acted in excess of their duty in trying to prevent Mrs. Haverfield entering the House of Commons to present a petition to Mr. Asquith. The proceedings opened on Friday by Mr. Muskett recalling Inspector Jarvis and Chief Inspector Scantlebury, who testified that they were not aware that Mrs. Pankhurst desired to present a petition.

Mr. Muskett then addressed the magistrate. He said that he did not deny that if the police acted in excess of their duty there was no case against Mrs. Haverfield. But though he admitted the right of petitioning the King or the Houses of Parliament, he refused to admit the right of personal presentation to a member of the House of Commons, and claimed that the case of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid*, which had decided that a private member could not be sued for refusing to present a petition, was applicable, with a slight modification, to the present case.

Lord Robert Cecil then dealt with the whole situation, pointing out that the right to petition the Crown meant the right to petition the source of legislation. He argued that this right involved personal presentation, and showed that the case of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid* did not apply in the present instance, because that turned upon whether a private member of Parliament could be compelled to present a petition to the House, whereas this case turned on the right to present a petition to a private member.

Mrs. Pankhurst, addressing the magistrate, dealt with the reasonableness of the women's demand, showing that Mr. Asquith had never consented to receive a petition from them. She claimed the right of women who were voteless to exercise the rights which men had undoubtedly possessed before the vote had been extended to them.

#### A Case to be Stated.

The magistrate reserved his decision until after lunch, and then read a written judgment on the subject, in the course of which he pointed out that, though he recognised fully the right to petition, he considered that a member of Parliament could not be compelled to receive those who desired to petition him. In delivering this judgment, however, he expressed himself quite willing to state a case, if it were desired, for a higher court, as he felt that the issue that had been raised involved an exceedingly important point of constitutional law. In the meanwhile, he passed judgment upon Mrs. Pankhurst and the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, and, abandoning the old attempt to bind the women over to keep the peace, inflicted a fine upon them of £5 each, or an alternative sentence of one month in the second division. This judgment, however, he explained, would not take effect until after the special case had been tried. A declaration as to her future action being required from her, Mrs. Pankhurst defined her position. This having been accepted, she and the other members of the small deputation of eight were set at liberty pending the hearing of the special case.

It was then further suggested by Mr. Henle that all the remaining cases should be adjourned also. To this Mr. Muskett demurred. It was, however, finally settled that all the ordinary cases of obstruction should be adjourned *sine die* pending the decision of the higher court, while the special cases involving stone-throwing should be tried on the following Monday.

It is understood that the hearing of the special case cannot come on before the summer holidays, and that very likely it will not be taken until November or December of the present year.

### FURTHER EVIDENCE IN THE CASE.

At the opening of the proceedings Mr. Muskett asked permission to recall Inspector Jarvis and Chief Inspector Scantlebury. Permission having been given

Inspector Jarvis said he did not see anything in the nature of a petition, nor was any statement made to him by either of the defendants that they desired to present any petition to anybody. Witness produced the handbill published by the Women's Social and Political Union in connection with the demonstration, stating that a deputation of women proposed to see the Prime Minister to lay before him their demand for the Vote.

At the request of Lord Robert Cecil, Mr. Muskett read the whole of this handbill, including the notice at the foot stating the claim of the women to present a petition to the Prime Minister.

Cross-examined by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. Jarvis admitted that she had asked him to take in a message to the House of Commons, and he had refused.

Chief Inspector Scantlebury was also recalled, and explained that he was in charge of the House of Commons police, and that he took his orders from the Speaker through the Serjeant-at-Arms. On June 29 the intention of the deputation led by Mrs. Pankhurst to wait on the Prime Minister came to his knowledge, and he communicated the fact to the Serjeant-at-Arms. Later in the day he received certain orders from the Speaker, and when the deputation arrived he handed to Mrs. Pankhurst the letter, which had previously been referred to, from the Prime Minister's secretary. She threw it on the ground, and said, "We are going to assert our rights to enter the House." Witness replied that the arrangements were the same as on the last occasion, and he then withdrew. Mrs. Pankhurst did not say anything about a petition. If she had presented one, witness would have conveyed it to the Prime Minister's secretary, a course he had offered to adopt on former occasions.

In cross-examination, the inspector said he was quite sure he did not hear Mrs. Pankhurst say she was there to present a petition, and he did not notice that each member of the deputation carried a roll of paper. But he went back into the House before Mrs. Pankhurst was arrested, and therefore could not swear to what took place after he had left.

By the Magistrate: As a matter of fact the Prime Minister was not in the House at the time.

Mr. Muskett then addressed the Court.

### MR. MUSKETT'S SPEECH.

Sir Albert, I desire, with your permission, as briefly and concisely as may be, to endeavour to answer the legal point raised by my friend, Mr. Henle, on the last occasion. The charge here, as I understand it, is preferred against these two ladies and the other members of the deputation under Section 2 of the Prevention of Crimes Amendment Act, 1885, the words of which are—"the obstruction of the police when in the execution of their duty shall constitute an offence which may be punished with fine not exceeding £5, and, in default, imprisonment"; and in passing, I might just call your attention to the fact that Section 13 of the Police Act of 1839 has a very similar provision in it, to the effect that it is an offence to resist any officer of the Metropolitan Police Force in the execution of his duty, an offence which is punishable in the same way as under the Prevention of Crimes Amendment Act, 1885.

Now, if I correctly appreciate the argument of my learned friend, Mr. Henle, it seems to come to this, that in the circumstances of this particular prosecution, officers of the Metropolitan Police Force may be obstructed, may be assaulted, and the danger of a serious breach of the peace may be incurred without any of the persons responsible for such acts being amenable to the ordinary law of the land. And why does he make that proposition? Because, as he says, the police who effected these arrests were, at the time of so doing, not acting in the execution of their duty. Now, that, upon the face of it, as I think you and everybody else would agree, is a somewhat startling proposition, and the arguments upon which it is based do require somewhat careful and critical examination, and to this task accordingly I propose to set myself, and to be as short as may be under the circumstances.

Of course, I would not dispute, as a matter of law, that if the police officers concerned in these arrests were not acting within the scope of their proper duty, and that resistance were offered to them in making such wrongful arrests, probably this charge could not be

maintained at all. I think there is an authority for that clearly, and I do not stop even to consider that.

The whole foundation, as I gather, of the arguments raised on behalf of these two ladies here is the Tumultuous Petitions Act (as perhaps I may be allowed to call it) of 13 Charles II., chapter 5, and, without wearying you, sir, with any historical retrospect, may I say just a word upon it? That Act was passed in 1661, immediately after the restoration of the Monarchy in the person of Charles II., and it was passed, as Hallam tells us in his "Constitutional History of England," because of the tumultuous assemblies of persons desirous of presenting petitions to Parliament which had taken place in the year 1641, which introduced so much disorder and tumult in the metropolis that the king (then Charles I.) had for a time to withdraw from the capital. It was to prevent a recurrence of such disorderly scenes as took place in that particular year that this Act was passed. I am not much concerned to discuss here whether that Act is repealed or not. There is no question that it cannot be found in the monumental work known as Chitty's Statutes.

[Lord Robert Cecil: It is in the revised edition of Chitty. Mr. Muskett: It was not in the original edition.] But it is clear that in 1781 the judges in the Lord George Gordon Riots prosecution were of opinion that the Act still remained upon the Statute Book, unrepealed, and I see that the late Mr. Justice Stephen, in his book, "The History of the Criminal Law of England," vol. 2, page 291, with regard to this Act, says that the Act cannot be regarded as altogether obsolete (he speaks in a very qualified way, therefore), though part of it, which in certain cases requires the assent of justices to a petition, is now never enforced.

#### Personal Presentation.

I hope I am not going too far in suggesting that if that Statute does stand technically upon the Statute Book, it is to a very large extent, in this year of grace, practically obsolete, but for the purpose of this discussion I am not much concerned to urge that or to argue that particular point. Now, one has obtained much assistance, in looking into this point, from the chief text-book upon the subject of Parliamentary Practice, viz.: Sir Thomas Erskine May's book dealing with the law, and, of course, one accepts at once the law and practice as laid down by so eminent an authority as Sir Thomas Erskine May, and one accepts, without any possible argument, the opening words of chapter 20, in the last edition of his book which he commences by stating that the right of petitioning the Crown and Parliament for redress of grievances is acknowledged as a fundamental principle of the Constitution, and has been uninterruptedly exercised from very early times. And for the purposes of this case, I am quite content to accept the proposition that any number of persons not exceeding ten may present any petition for the remedy of public or private grievances to the King or Parliament. I am quite content to accept that proposition, but I can find nothing, either in the Act of Charles II. or in any authority or text-book upon this particular subject, which would justify the contention that any persons have a right of personal access to a Member of Parliament or to the King's Majesty. But recognising, as I think they rightly recognised, that from the police point of view it was well to regard this ancient statute as still in force, as you will have followed from the evidence, the officers of the Metropolitan Force on duty did give facilities to this deputation of eight or nine ladies to make their way through a very dense crowd at that time collected in the neighbourhood of Victoria Street, and to give them a special conduct, as far as they, the general body of the police were concerned, to the St. Stephen's entrance of the House of Commons.

And what is the state of affairs—and I am bound, even in dealing with a point of law, to base my argument upon the proved facts—what is the state of affairs then arising? Chief Inspector Scantlebury advances from the precincts of the House of Commons to meet the deputation. You have had evidence from him this morning as to what his exact duty is. He is the servant of the Speaker, the representative of the House of Commons, who acts, as we all know, through the Serjeant-at-Arms. Now, you have it that the Chief Inspector had on that same morning, Tuesday, the 29th of June, seen the Speaker and acquainted him of the intended deputation which was to attempt to interview the Prime Minister, and he brought to the knowledge of the Speaker the letter of the Prime Minister's secretary, in which the Prime Minister said he would not receive the deputation, and, therefore, the Speaker gives direct and positive orders to the chief inspector, which he, the chief inspector, at any rate, is bound to obey, having regard to the authority from which such orders came; and when the deputation arrives, the chief inspector, as the executive officer of the Speaker, then informs Mrs. Pankhurst that the regulations for their admittance are the same as on the previous occasion, which, of course, conveys to Mrs. Pankhurst the fact that they will not be allowed to enter the precincts of the House of Commons. Then Mrs. Pankhurst says that she insists on her right to demand an entrance to the House for the purpose of seeing in person the Prime Minister, and after, she proceeds, as the evidence shows, to put in force her demand. She advances towards the police

lines, and she commits a very gratuitous assault upon Inspector Jarvis, for which she is, in fact, arrested and charged.

[Mrs. Pankhurst: I committed no assault until I had been assaulted.]

She assaults the inspector, and is arrested, and her companion who stands beside her in the dock (whose case is taken with hers for the sake of convenience) says, "We will endeavour to obtain admission by force," and proceeds to put that threat in force, and throws herself—ineffectually, of course—against the police cordon, and is arrested for the act of obstruction.

Now, sir, those being the facts, it seems to be solemnly argued here that the members of such a deputation as this are in law entitled to attempt a forcible entry into the Houses of the Legislature. That is the proposition undoubtedly, if it comes to anything at all, and upon that matter I just want to consider one or two legal authorities which may possibly be of some assistance to you in this case in deciding whether the proposition put forward here on behalf of the defendant can for one instant be admitted as sound in law. I have before me, sir, the official reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the evenings of the 30th of June and the 1st of July last, and I find there that this question as to the actions of the Speaker in this particular connection were made the subject of question and answer to the Speaker on both of these nights. I won't stop to refer to what passed, but the official books of reference are here if you want them to assist you. The Speaker took upon himself the direct and absolute responsibility for the instructions which he had given to Chief Inspector Scantlebury with regard to the admission of this deputation to the House on the night of the 29th of June.

Sir, if you wanted any authority as to what the position of the House of Commons and the Speaker is with regard to the general courts of law and the review of their actions by a court of law, I might give you—and I do it only by way of reference and pass from it—the case of *Bradlaugh v. Gossett*, which was decided in December, 1883, and reported in 53 Law Journal, Q.B.D., page 209. It is a case upon this particular point; I only give you that case, which was the suit of the late Mr. Bradlaugh against the then Serjeant-at-Arms, as supporting the general proposition that the courts of law cannot inquire into the regularity of any of the acts of the Legislature, under which I classify the acts of the Speaker in respect of the internal arrangements or discipline of the House of Commons. Therefore I conceive it to be fairly clear law in regard to the directions which the Speaker gave to Chief Inspector Scantlebury, that he was justified in so doing, and that no court in the land can review them so long as they relate to the internal arrangements of the House.

Now, sir, I desire to call your attention to the case of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid* as an authority for the proposition that there is no right in a person desirous of petitioning the House to compel any member to present the petition, and in that case, which was decided on the 26th of October, 1893, and was reported in 63 Law Journal Q.B.D., page 59, it was held that no action will lie against a member of Parliament for refusing to present a petition to the House. I take that as the best authority in support of the proposition, which has never since that decision been disputed, and it is not a very violent submission, I think, to ask you to say that if there is no power to compel a member to present a petition to Parliament, there is no law—and I am certain that no authority can be cited to you for it—that a member may receive a petition. If a member had to receive a deputation whether he liked it or not, it would cause very great inconvenience, and I conceive that my friend Lord Robert Cecil will not deny the suggestion that there is no power legally to compel any person to present a petition to the House.

#### Was there a Petition?

It does not seem to me, on looking at the evidence in the case, that there is fair testimony on which you can say that these persons had any petition to present to Parliament or the King's Majesty. Neither Inspector Jarvis nor Chief Inspector Scantlebury has any remembrance of it, and certainly no petition was offered to either of them with any request that it might be forwarded to the proper quarter, and the only evidence which I see in the case with regard to any petition is that of Mr. Kettle, the member for East Tyrone, who was before you last week, and he said that Mrs. Pankhurst said she was there to assert her right, as a subject of the King, to present a petition to the Prime Minister; that was the substance of what she said, said the witness; and that appears to be the only evidence in this case where the petition appears to have been produced.

The matter stands now upon the evidence which has been adduced in this particular case, and when you see the leaflet which has been put in evidence before you to-day, no one would gather for a moment that the members of this deputation had any intention to present a petition either to Parliament or to the King's Majesty. You have it in terms in that leaflet that the object was to see Mr. Asquith, and to press upon him their demand for the Vote.

Lord Robert Cecil interrupts: I think it is quite plain that the notice was given that the object was to present a petition. If you

read the last sentence or two, in the small print at the bottom, it is quite plain that they say in so many words:—

Mr. Asquith, as the King's representative, is bound, therefore, to receive the deputation and hear their petition. If he refuses to do so, and calls out the police to prevent women from using their right to present a petition, he will be guilty of illegal and unconstitutional action.

Mr. Muskett: I agree, but I was only dealing with the body of the document, which seems to set out the object with which they proposed to attend. I pass from it.

Therefore, sir, I submit that there was nothing in the nature of a petition here of the character which is referred to in Erskine May's book as to petitions to Parliament or to the King. Sir Thomas Erskine May in his book deals with petitions and with the requirements which are necessary to fulfil the rules and regulations which have been laid down from time to time, in the course of years; certainly there is no petition of that nature—at any rate, there is no evidence of it.

Mr. Hemle quoted to you the Bill of Rights of William and Mary. Nobody can doubt that that Act only confirmed the right of the subject to petition the King's Majesty—I think that must be undisputed—and conceding for a moment, for the purposes of argument, that they had had a petition to the King's Majesty which they desired to present to him, it was not through the Prime Minister but through the Home Secretary that they should have presented it. If any authority is necessary as to what should be done with regard to petitions to the King, I quote to you what I believe to be the standard work on the subject, Anson's "Law and Custom of the Constitution," Vol. II., Part 2, "The Crown." Dealing with the duties of the Secretary of State for the Home Department, the text-book states:—

Lord Robert Cecil: Of course, if my friend reads this as part of his speech—but Sir William Anson is still alive, and cannot be quoted.

The Magistrate: Read it as part of your speech.

Mr. Muskett (from Anson): "Whenever the King's pleasure has to be taken, or communicated to an individual or a department, unless the matter is specially appropriate to Foreign, Colonial, Military, or Indian affairs, the Home Secretary is the proper medium of communication. . . . He receives addresses and petitions which are addressed to the King in person, as distinct from the King in Council, he arranges for their reception, their answer, or their reference by the King's command to the department to which they relate; but whether it be a private individual that addresses the Sovereign, or a great corporation such as the City of London, or the University of Oxford, or whether it be one or both of the Houses of Parliament, the matter passes through the hands of the Home Secretary."

That is the practice, sir, that has been laid down for many years, and that is the usage which must be followed if it is suggested that these ladies came to the House of Commons armed with a petition which they desired to present to the King's Majesty. Now, sir, under the circumstances which I have just dealt with, what is the position, and what are the duties of the Metropolitan Police acting under the Commissioner of Police? I refer again to the Sessional Order, which is now part of the evidence of the case, and which it probably is not necessary for me to read again. This Sessional Order was passed at the commencement of the present Session, February, 1909, and again I would call your attention to what the Speaker himself said in the House the other night, that his researches showed him that that Sessional Order, in that form, had been in existence for seventy years.

Lord Robert Cecil: Rather it has been renewed every year.

Mr. Muskett: Yes, and it is interesting to see that the first of the seventy years exactly synchronises with the passing of the Police Act of 1839, and I see in the text-book of Sir Thomas Erskine May that a somewhat similar Order has been in existence since the year 1646. The Speaker said, and most of us probably would agree, that it would be impossible for him to say that an Order which had been in existence for so many years could in fact be regarded as "ultra vires," and he declined to recognise any such proposition.

Now, sir, it is interesting to find that there is a section of the Metropolitan Police Act of 1839, Section 52, and it seems so applicable to the circumstances of the present case, and is the argument that the Police Commissioner is bound to act upon the Sessional Order of the House of Commons, that I will read it:—

And be it enacted, that it shall be lawful for the Commissioners of Police from time to time, and as occasion shall require, to make regulations for the route to be observed by all carts, carriages, horses, and persons, and for preventing obstruction of the streets and thoroughfares within the metropolitan police district, in all times of public processions, public rejoicings, or illuminations, and also to give directions to the constables for keeping in order and for preventing any obstruction of the thoroughfares in the immediate neighbourhood of Her Majesty's palaces, and the public offices, the High Court of Parliament, the Courts of Law and Equity, the police courts, the theatres, and other places of public resort, and in any case when the streets or thoroughfares may be thronged or may be liable to be obstructed.

That, therefore, is the statutory authority under which the Commissioner of Police issues directions and regulations in all cases where the streets of the metropolis may be liable to be thronged

or obstructed. I suppose there will be no denial to the proposition that one of the most elementary duties cast upon the Police Commissioner, in virtue of his office, is to maintain order and to prevent any possible breach of the public peace. The deputation of eight or nine ladies in this case had been refused admission to the precincts of the House of Commons, firstly by the direct orders of the Speaker himself, and secondly, because the Prime Minister refused to receive them (and I pass by a fact which you, sir, elicited yourself from the witness, that the Prime Minister was not in the House at that particular time), and they refuse, as I submit, to obey the lawful orders of the police to move away, and attempted to make a forcible entry into the House of Legislature; therefore, they committed a manifest and clear obstruction of the police in the execution of their duty.

I have no doubt, sir, that the matter could have been more elaborately placed before you, and at greater length, than I have put it (and I wish that the duty had rested on abler shoulders than mine), but I hope I have put it before you in such a way as to enable you to arrive at the conclusion that the case against these two ladies, of obstructing the police in the execution of their duty, is well and truly and legally preferred.

The Magistrate (to Lord Robert Cecil): Do you wish to call any further evidence.

Lord Robert Cecil: I am not prepared to call any further evidence. I was not aware that the witnesses for the prosecution were to be recalled this morning, or perhaps I might have desired to call further evidence.

Lord Robert Cecil then proceeded to address the Court.

#### LORD ROBERT CECIL'S SPEECH.

Sir, this is an important case, which may involve some important principles of constitutional law.

I agree entirely with what Mr. Muskett says, that the whole question turns on whether or not the police were acting in the execution of their duty. I quite agree that if it were once decided that the police were acting in the execution of their duty, then there is nothing that Mrs. Haverfield could have done but to obey their directions, and I could not contend that she was not resisting them sufficiently to amount to a breach of the law, when she did not go away when she was told to do so.

In order to make the position clear, I just want to review very shortly the facts. As I have said, on one or two points there is not any serious dispute. As I understand, there was a crowd in the neighbourhood of Westminster, and the police cleared a space round the Palace of Westminster. They stopped all the traffic, and allowed nobody, except those who had business, inside that cordon, and they kept a space clear all round the House. It came to their knowledge (through that green bill, on which I rely very much indeed; it has a very important bearing on the case, which I desire to direct your attention to later) that a deputation of these ladies desired to approach the House for the purpose stated in their bill—and perhaps you would just allow me once again to read the sentence which set out what the purposes were, because I think that is very important from the point of view that I desire to raise. They say that they desire to lay "before the Prime Minister their demand for the vote," and they go on to state to the public shortly the right on which they rely. They say their right to do this is secured to them by the Bill of Rights, and they quote the well-known sentence about petitioning:—

It is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

And they add:—

Mr. Asquith, as the King's representative, is bound, therefore, to receive the deputation and hear their petition. If he refuses to do so, and calls out the police to prevent women from using their right to present a petition, he will be guilty of illegal and unconstitutional action.

Therefore, I submit to you that, on the face of it, and according to Chief Inspector Scantlebury's very candid and fair evidence, there is no doubt that these women came to present a petition, and he knew that they came to present a petition, because the matter had been brought to his knowledge by that same bill. Now, in point of fact, they were refused access to the House, and, as they thought, to the Prime Minister, and what happened was that they persisted in their attempt to present their petition. They were then ordered to go away, and they refused to do so, and it was in consequence of their refusal, as far as my client, Mrs. Haverfield, is concerned—it was in consequence of her refusal to go away that she was arrested.

Mr. Muskett: She pushed herself against the line of police.

Lord R. Cecil: This is what Inspector Jarvis says in his

examination in chief—"I said to Mrs. Pankhurst, 'You must go away.' She said, 'Will you take this message inside?'" (so that she must have had some message to give). "I asked the others of the deputation, 'Do you also refuse to go away?' They said, 'Absolutely.' They did not move, and they were arrested."

Therefore, as far as they were concerned, I do not think there is any dispute as to what happened. The member of Parliament who came here, Mr. Kettle, gives the same account of it, substantially. He said, "Then Mrs. Pankhurst said she was there to present her petition to the Prime Minister. That was the substance of what she said. Some of the ladies had papers in their hands."

#### Were the Police Right?

It was because they were there to present a petition that they refused to go away. Now, the question then arises, were the police legally right? Of course, I am not making the slightest charge against the police; they seem to have behaved, as they almost always do, with the utmost self-restraint and courtesy. They asked these women to go away, and they refused, and the question really is, as I submit, had they a right to order them away? If they had not a right, then the women were perfectly justified in law in refusing to go away, and in resisting the order of the police.

I want, if you will allow me, to refer to the case of *Codd v. Cave* as a very strong case of that kind. There was a warrant issued against a man, and a policeman came to arrest him some days afterwards not having the warrant in his possession; the man therefore declined to go with him, and seems to have knocked the policeman down and injured him severely. It was held that he was not guilty, because the policeman had no right to arrest him; he was guilty of no offence.

(Mr. Muskett: I admit that proposition, of course.)

Now, my friend has made a great deal of the Sessional Order, and he is quite right; the police seem to have acted very largely on that Sessional Order. But I submit to you that that Sessional Order has no force or effect beyond the House of Commons; it is clear law that no order of the House of Commons has any effect outside the House of Commons beyond the ordinary law. I do not know that I need cite authorities for that, but the great case of *Stockdale v. Hansard* in 1837 would be considered of reasonable authority. From that case it is clear "that it is no defence in law to an action for publishing a libel, that the defamatory matter is part of a document which was, by order of the House of Commons, laid before the House, and thereupon became part of the proceedings of the House, and which was afterwards, by orders of the House, printed and published by defendant; and that the House of Commons heretofore resolved, declared, and adjudged that the power of publishing such of its reports, votes, and proceedings as it shall deem necessary or conducive to the public interests is an essential incident to the constitutional functions of Parliament, more especially to the Commons' House of Parliament as the representative portion of it." And then the Court decided that that was void in law as an answer to an action for libel, and there is a passage, which perhaps you will allow me to read, in the judgment of Mr. Justice Patteson, page 193:—

It is further argued that the courts of law are inferior courts to the Court of Parliament and to the Court of the House of Commons, and cannot form any judgment as to the acts and resolutions of their superiors. I admit fully that the Court of Parliament is superior to the courts of law; and in that sense they are inferior courts; but the House of Commons by itself is not the Court of Parliament. Further, I admit that the House of Commons, being one branch of the Legislature, to which Legislature belongs the making of laws, is superior in dignity to the courts of law, to whom it belongs to carry those laws into effect, and, in so doing, of necessity, to interpret and ascertain the meaning of those laws. It is superior also in this, that it is the grand inquest of the nation, and may inquire into all alleged abuse and misconduct in any quarter, of course in the courts of law, or any of the members of them; but it cannot, by itself, correct or punish any such abuses or misconduct; it can but accuse or institute proceedings against the supposed delinquents in some court of law, or conjointly with the other branches of the Legislature may remedy the mischief by a new law. With respect to the interpretation and declaration of what is the existing law, the House of Lords is doubtless a superior court to the courts of law. And those courts are bound by a decision of the House of Lords expressed judicially upon a writ of error or appeal, in a regular action at law or suit in equity; but I deny that a mere resolution of the House of Lords, or even a decision of that House in a suit originally brought there (if any such thing should occur, which it never will, though formerly attempted), would be binding upon the courts of law, even if it were accompanied by a resolution that they had power to entertain original suits; much less can a resolution of the House of Commons, which is not a court of judicature for the decision of any question either of law or fact between litigant parties, except in regard to the election of its members, be binding upon the courts of law. And it should be observed that, in making this resolution, the House of

Commons was not acting as a court either legislative, judicial, or inquisitorial, or of any other description. It seems to me, therefore, that the superiority of the House of Commons has really nothing to do with the question.

And in the very case that my friend cites, the case of *Bradlaugh v. Gossett*, Chief Justice Lord Coleridge expresses (as I believe every lawyer has expressed) his entire concurrence, namely, that an Order of the House of Commons has no force or effect at all as a legislative Act. It is true that an Order of the House of Commons may be useful, and is generally used, for preserving order in the House of Commons itself, but outside in the streets the Order of the House of Commons carries no force.

I submit to you that the police had to act in pursuance of the Act of 1885, and not in pursuance of the Sessional Order, because I submit to you on that point that the Sessional Order may be put aside altogether; the question is, were these ladies here in the exercise of a right or not? If they were there in the exercise of a right, then I submit to you that there was no offence, and that even if you should be of opinion that they were not exercising their right in the best way, if they were there claiming a right, that relieves them from responsibility. If this is a genuine, honest, authenticated claim of right, then there was no criminal offence, as I submit.

Then the vital question in this case is, was there a right?—and that is where the constitutional part of this case becomes so important. I do not understand my friend Mr. Muskett—and I did not think a gentleman of his experience would do so—I do not understand him to deny that there is a right of petition by the subject. It is one of the constitutional principles of this country that everyone has a right to present a petition. What that right may be I will deal with in a moment, but that there is a right is, I think, undoubted, and I submit to you that the right is a right to bring formally under the notice of the Government of the country any private or public grievance. That is my submission to you. Private or public grievance, so far as I am concerned, includes any political grievance—the right to bring formally under the notice of the Government of the country any political grievance.

#### The Essence of the Right to Petition.

Now, it is quite true, and my friend cited the earlier sentence in chapter 20 of Sir Erskine May's well-known book, that this is primarily regarded as a right to petition the King, but that, I shall submit to you—and I shall give you authority for this—is not the essence of the right. I should say that the essence of the right is the right to petition, not the King, but, if I may so put it, the *kingly power*, the sovereign power of the country. Perhaps I might be allowed to quote the leading authority on the subject—the case of the Seven Bishops. You remember the way in which that arose. The King gave an order to read his Declaration of Indulgence in all the churches in the country. The Seven Bishops, headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, were of opinion that the Declaration of Indulgence was beyond the power of the King, and, therefore, they presented a petition to the King, saying that the declaration of Indulgence went beyond the legal power of the King. King James II., who took a very high view of his prerogatives, said that that was a seditious libel, and the Bishops were brought before the King's Bench. The case is reported at great length in the twelfth volume of the *State Trials*, and it begins on page 183, but I do not propose to go through the immense numbers of discussions that arose on technical points; but when the actual point came to be considered, namely, what was the right of the Bishops to petition, and how far they had the right to present a petition, there was a speech made, in the course of argument, by the then Solicitor-General, and he urged, among other things, that the Bishops had no right to present a petition except during the Session of Parliament, and one of the justices, Mr. Justice Powell, says, "My Lord! This is strange doctrine! Shall not the subject have liberty to petition the King but in Parliament? If that be law, the subject is in a miserable case." And the Lord Chief Justice replies, "Brother, let him go on, we will hear him out, though I approve not of his position." That was the basis of the right to petition. It was an appeal to the Sovereign, because otherwise the subject would have had no remedy for the grievance under which he suffered, and in giving their charge to the jury, another of the judges, Mr. Justice Holloway, says, "So that if there was no ill intent, and they were not (as it is not, nor can be pretended they were) men of evil lives, to deliver a petition cannot be a fault, it being the right of every subject to petition."

Now, that is what I submit was the right so far as the King was concerned, and I agree it dealt only with the King in that particular case, but because it was the only remedy which they might take—there was no other remedy which necessarily belonged to them—it is claimed that the right was just as essential to Parliament and to members of Parliament as it was to the King. Even in those days—and it is a curious instance of the regularity of the British Constitution—even in those days it was recognised that the right extended, not only to the King himself, but also to members of Parliament, and the matter was the subject of a regulation in the Act which has been referred to more than once, the Act of Tumultuous Petitioning, and it contains two paragraphs, the first of which I won't trouble you with, but I should like to read

the second (which is the proviso), because I think there has been a little misunderstanding by my friend Mr. Muskett on it. The second paragraph does not give a right, it recognises the existence of a right, which evidently in the opinion of the legislature existed at Common Law.

Provided always that this Act, or anything therein contained, shall not be construed to extend to debar or hinder any person or persons not exceeding the number of ten aforesaid, to present any public or private grievance or complaint to any member or members of Parliament after his election, and during the continuance of the Parliament, or to the King's Majesty, for any remedy to be thereupon had.

I do submit to you that it is quite plain that under that Statute the right to petition a Member of Parliament and the right to petition the King are put on all fours, no distinction is made. It is not to interfere, the Act says, with the right (which it recognises) to petition a Member of Parliament or to petition the King. Both are left in exactly the same position as they were before, and both are recognised to be the law; and it is only in that sense that the Bill of Rights becomes important, because the Bill of Rights expressly reaffirms, I take it, that right which had been called into question by the Trial of the Seven Bishops—the right to petition the King.

It does not deal with the right to petition a Member of Parliament, but it is of very great importance as recognising the right to petition generally. The right to petition a Member of Parliament was recognised specifically by the Act of Charles II., and the Bill of Rights was regarded as strengthening the authority, if it were necessary to strengthen the authority. But it is on the Act of Charles II. that I rely mainly as evidencing the existence of a right, and if there is the right, to petition the ordinary Member of Parliament I should certainly submit to you that the right to petition the Prime Minister is a very strong case of the right to petition ordinary Members of Parliament.

Sir, I do not know that I need labour that, but it is, perhaps, right to draw your attention to the fact that quite recently the Prime Minister has been recognised as one of the greatest officers in the country. You will remember the Proclamation which gave him a precedence after the Archbishop of York—that is to say, after the great ecclesiastical officers. Therefore he is undoubtedly recognised as a very great officer of the Government, and I respectfully concur in what has been said by Professor Dicey in his "Law of the Constitution." I do not want to use him as an authority, but I think it is the right way of putting it. "The executive of England," he says, "is, in fact, placed in the hands of a committee called the Cabinet," and he goes on, "If there be any one person in whose single hand the power of the State is placed, that one person is not the King, but the Chairman of the Committee, known as the Prime Minister."

Well, I do not say there is a special right to petition the Prime Minister except in this respect, that, evidently, if the right is to present a petition in order to remedy a political grievance, then the right exists more strongly and more clearly in the case of a petition to the Prime Minister than in the case of a petition to any other person. He is the person (according to common knowledge) who has power to remedy a political grievance more than an ordinary member of Parliament can have. Of course, we have nothing to do with this grievance. We in this court know nothing as to the political expediency of Votes for Women or any other proposal, but it may, perhaps, be legitimate to point out that since women have not votes, unless they are allowed to petition they have no constitutional method of bringing their claim before the sovereign power of the country. Therefore, there is a very strong ground to say that if

the right of petitioning exists, it ought not to be cut down or diminished in the case of those who are without political power at the present moment.

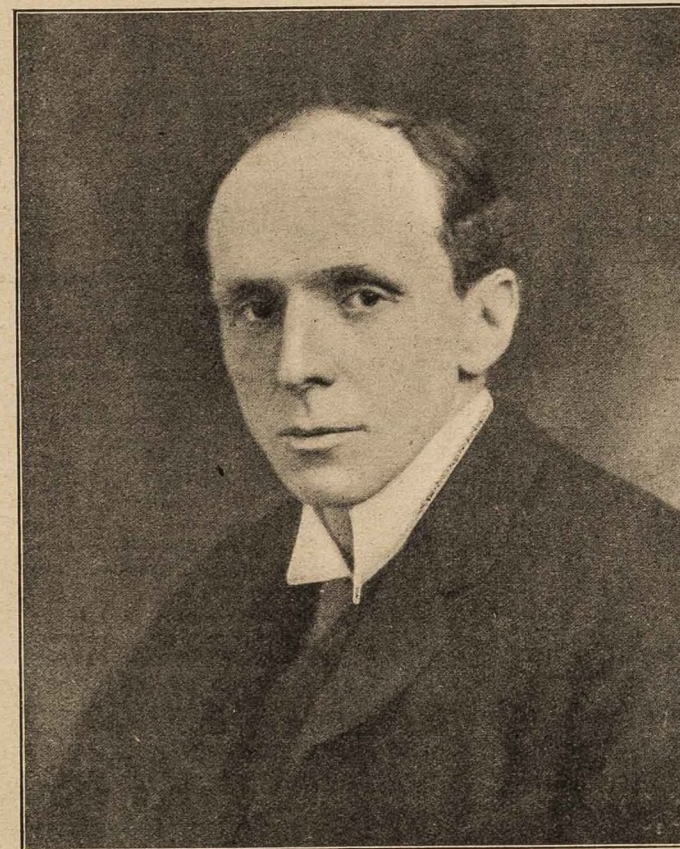
Now, sir, it is for those reasons that I submit that the right exists. But perhaps you, or my learned friend, Mr. Muskett, would say that does not carry you far enough; assume, he says, if you like, that they had a right to petition the Prime Minister, still that does not say that they were right in doing what they did on that occasion. Well, sir, I submit to you that if there is a right to present a petition, you must admit there must be a duty on someone to receive that petition. If you admit the right to petition the Prime Minister, there must be in some way or other the right to bring that petition to the notice of the Prime Minister, and to bring it to his notice in an effective way, and it is in pursuance of that right that they were there.

I notice that my friend said that does not involve the right of seeing the Prime Minister personally. Well, sir, I do submit to you that this right means personal presentation. I do not see, personally, how a right to petition can exist unless there is a constitutional right of laying a petition before the person who is to receive it. It is argued that they ought to have handed their petition to Chief Inspector Scantlebury. But although I have the highest possible respect for Chief Inspector Scantlebury, I do not think he is the constitutional channel from the subject to the Prime Minister. I submit that these ladies had a right to submit their grievance to the Prime Minister. I quite agree it must be exercised reasonably—every right must be exercised reasonably—and if they had been told "This is a very inconvenient moment for you to come; the Prime Minister is not at liberty to see you now; come at some other time and you shall see the Prime Minister in person," that would have been another thing. But all they were told was that they must go away, and the Prime Minister declined to hear them.

Well, I submit that, under those circumstances, at any rate, they had a right to be there. They were committing no offence in trying to exercise their right to petition; they had the right to try and get as near to the Prime Minister as they could. My client, when she was debarred access to the Prime Minister, declined to go away. I do submit to you that she was there in the exercise of a right, and that she had an undeniable right. I ask you to believe that she was there to present the petition, in accordance with the green bill; that that is an important constitutional right, and as long as she was there asserting an important constitutional right, she was not guilty of any offence in doing so.

But there is one other case I ought to refer to. My friend Mr. Muskett quoted the case of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid*. This is quite a different case. This is the head-note of it: "Though it is the right of the subject to petition Parliament, no action can be taken against any particular Member who is asked to present a petition and refuses to do so." That is quite true. But these women are not bringing an action against Chief-Inspector Scantlebury for declining to take that petition; they are charged with a criminal offence because they were taking the means which seemed to them—I put it to you—reasonable. They are charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty. It is quite a different case from that of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid*. The judgment in the case of *Chaffers v. Goldsmid* was:—

This appeal must be dismissed. . . . There is no precedent for such an action as this. . . . That a point which must have arisen many hundreds of times has never before been questioned in this way is a very strong argument against the right of action which is contended for. . . . It does not follow, because it is the right of the subject to petition Parliament.



Lord Robert Cecil.

[Photo by Elliot and Fry.]

that there is a right of action against any particular member who is asked to present a petition and declines to do so.

I quite agree—you will find no suggestion of this in any of the textbooks—it is quite true you have a right to petition Parliament, and you may exercise that right in any way you can, but you have no right to bring an action against any Member of Parliament because he declines to present your case. There is no constitutional right to compel a Member to present a petition, but there is a constitutional right to present a petition.

Mr. Muskett: But all petitions must be presented to the House through a Member.

Lord R. Cecil: That is the reason I have nothing to do with that at all. It is not the petition to the House itself which is the right recognised by this proviso, but the right to present any public or private grievance or complaint to any Member of Parliament—that is the right recognised by the statute of Charles II. It has nothing to do with the right to present a petition to Parliament. I quite agree that since Parliament has the right recognised by the Courts to make regulations inside Parliament, if you wanted to get at Parliament you could only do so inside the House of Commons, and since there is a right within the House of Commons to make regulations for its procedure, then I quite agree that you can only exercise your right by order of the House of Commons. But that has nothing to do with a Member of Parliament. A Member of Parliament has no such protection as Parliament itself. You have a right to petition a Member in any way you can, provided you act in a reasonable and orderly manner; but, provided you do that, you have a right to petition Members of Parliament, but you cannot compel a Member of Parliament to present your petition to the House of Commons.

I submit that in these cases these ladies were there to exercise their right to petition a distinguished Member of Parliament—a Member of Parliament whom it was right for them to petition. They had been brought by the police themselves to that position, and when they brought that petition they were not told to go back, or to take the petition to the official residence of the Premier; they were merely told that they could not be allowed to exercise their right, and were told to go away. I submit, therefore, that Mrs. Haverfield has committed no offence.

The Magistrate: Can you suggest any way in which a Member of Parliament can be compelled to receive a petition?

Lord R. Cecil: I am not quite sure that you could not bring an action, but there is a great distinction between your proper civil remedy to enforce your right, and whether you are guilty of a criminal offence in trying to exercise that right in a proper and reasonable way.

### MRS. PANKHURST'S SPEECH.

I wish to say that this was the thirteenth occasion on which the members of the Women's Social and Political Union had endeavoured to present their petition for the remedy of what we consider the very greatest political grievance before the Prime Minister. We approached the Prime Minister for the very reason which Mrs. Haverfield's counsel laid before you, because we felt he was the person, of all persons, who could deal with the grievance we believe we suffer from. We have on many occasions since he became Prime Minister asked him to receive women who desired to petition him. He has always refused. He has never once since he became Prime Minister received women who desired to show him how very seriously the women of this country suffer from their political disabilities, and although I am not a lawyer and therefore cannot argue so ably as others have done the legal aspect of the case, still, as a student of history, I have felt—and many other women, too—that this great constitutional right—the right of petition—is the only right that the women in this country possess.

Men have political power over members of Parliament; and if members of Parliament do not satisfy them, they can, when an election occurs, change their representatives, and select men who will attend to their grievances. But women have no such remedy. They have really no legal means, if they have grievances—and I think everybody will admit that since women are subject to the laws, and since women have to earn their living, and since women are subject to taxation, they must be liable to have grievances just like other human beings—and so in our endeavour to present these petitions we have been inspired by the very deep and sincere feeling that this was the only way of making known our grievance to the people who govern us.

#### The Unreasonableness of Mr. Asquith.

Now, had Mr. Asquith on any occasion said that he would appoint an occasion suitable to himself to receive us we would,

of course, quite naturally have fallen in with his wishes and his convenience. We should never have persisted as we have done, had he given us a proper opportunity and received us, as he is constantly receiving men who have, as I say, their political remedy in the selection of members of Parliament to represent their grievances in the House of Commons. As an illustration of deputations of men whom he has received I may mention that about the time of the last deputation of women that endeavoured to go to him he received a deputation of men representing working men all over the country on this very question of electoral reform which we desire to press.

Will you allow me, sir, to say at this point that our attention having been called in one of the police courts to the Act of Charles II. we adapted the deputation of June 29 to the requirements of that Act, and we decided that the deputation should not exceed the number allowed by that Act, which, as we claim, curtails, but does not destroy, the rights previously enjoyed. We accordingly limited the deputation to eight persons. The handbill which has been put before you further makes it clear that it was to present a petition that we went. Every member of the deputation had in her hand a copy of the petition which we desired to present to Mr. Asquith if he consented to receive us. A great many women—and a great many men, too—were, I believe, in the firm belief that Mr. Asquith was going to receive us, because, as you have been told by witnesses in this court, escort was given us as far as the door of the House of Commons, and I believe that had we been allowed to enter the House of Commons, as we claim we have a right to do—as at one time women were freely allowed to do—no disturbance whatever would have occurred.

Now I want, if you will allow me, to come to the facts of the case, because witnesses have been recalled, and further evidence has been given, and I have had no opportunity of calling witnesses myself.

We arrived there, each with our roll of paper in our hand. We were met by Chief-Inspector Scantlebury and Inspector Jarvis, and for a moment we stood facing the police quite silently. Then the letter was put into my hand, and I opened it. Now I ask you to try to enter into my feelings when I read, written in the third person, unsigned, a communication—a curt communication—that Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister, declined to receive us. I was there in the firm belief that I was exercising a legal right, and I considered that that letter was most discourteous and a most improper letter for the man who is more than any other man responsible for the good government of this country to give to any one—yes, even to a woman who is not recognised as a citizen of this country for the purpose of representation, although she is recognised as a citizen when it comes to taxation, when it comes to punishment for breaking the laws of the land. The communication was handed to me by a representative of the police. I have a very great respect for the police—in fact, in my opinion, the police throughout the past three years have done their duty—the duty they are compelled to perform—with considerably more courtesy than the Government of this country have thought fit to show to women; and I want here, sir, to say, with reference to the assault upon Inspector Jarvis, with which I am charged, that that assault was not committed upon Inspector Jarvis from any lack of respect for him personally—for I have the very highest respect for him—but because he represented on that occasion the Prime Minister, who had inflicted a very gratuitous insult upon me and the other women who accompanied me. It was my gage of battle, if you like, to the Government; it was my protest against the unconstitutional way in which the Government were treating me and the other women of this country.

#### The Prime Minister—The King's Representative.

Now, when I read this communication, I, as has been said, threw it or dropped it on the ground. Then I spoke the words which were very accurately given to you by Mr. Kettle, M.P., in the witness-box. I think the handbill which has been submitted to you proves that what was in our minds was that we were there making an attempt to exercise our right as subjects; that filled the mind of every woman in the deputation. And although I am not prepared, and should not be prepared if I were on oath in the witness-box, to give you the exact words that I used, I did say, in the clearest way that I possibly could, that I was there to assert and maintain my right, as a subject of the King, to petition the Prime Minister, who, in my opinion, was the King's proxy, the King's representative, so far as I was concerned.

Well, Chief Inspector Scantlebury went away while I was making that statement; he did not hear what I said. I called to him by name to come back, and, as you have also heard, I appealed to the other people who were standing around to ask him to return in order that he might convey to the Prime Minister my message. He did not return, and no one thought fit to ask him to return. Then I appealed to Inspector Jarvis to take in my message, and to anyone who would do it. Then I asked if any message would be taken, and I was told I must go away, and that the other members of the deputation must go away. Then I refused to go away, and I believe the other ladies were asked if they refused to go away, and they said they did. Then Inspector Jarvis took hold of me. Well, I will ask you to remember that we women do not belong to a class who are accustomed to have hands put upon them, or are accustomed to be treated in a very ignominious way. In addition to the crowds of people there were Members of Parliament filling the windows of the House of Commons, there were Members who had brought ladies with them and strangers with them to see the "show," to see eight humiliated women making, in the only way they could, an attempt to assert their constitutional right. It was a show for them. They had come, many of them, to see the humiliating struggle that was inevitable. But we refused to leave the door of the entrance to the House of Commons. I was seized. Standing behind me were two elderly women, one very frail, very much over seventy years of age, and although I have shown, in the course of this agitation, that I do not mind very much what violence is done to me, I did feel for those women who were standing behind me. I knew what the inevitable result would be. I knew that we should be humiliated, and that we should hear Members of Parliament, who thought it consistent with their duties as representatives of the nation to jeer at the women who had no political power, even to jeer at them. I have seen it before. On the last occasion when we went there to do what I tried to do on June 29, Members stood for a very long time smiling at the pushing which was inflicted upon the women.

And I determined, not for my own sake, but for the sake of the women behind me, to cut short the struggle. I did not do it before force was used to make us go away. Inspector Jarvis seized hold of me—I am willing to say that he did it as gently as he could, but the police are strong men, and we are delicate women, and the pushing of the police is not the kind of thing that women ought to be subjected to, especially when they believe that they are acting in accordance with the laws of the land. Well, then I did what I am quite ready to apologise to Inspector Jarvis for doing. I do not think I hurt him. I struck his cheek with my open hand, and he said, "I know why you did that." I think he did. I knew why I did that. But the pushing still continued, and I said, "Must I do it again?" and as far as my memory serves me, and I think I was quite cool, he said "Yes." And I did it again. Then he said, "Take them in," and we were arrested. I do not know what happened after I was arrested. I do not know whether the other ladies of the deputation realised they were arrested when I was arrested, and whatever the other members of the deputation did later on is no doubt due to the fact that they did not know they were arrested at the same time as I was.

Well, sir, so much for the facts of the case to the best of my recollection. I was there to maintain my rights. Now, sir, I do not want to detain you long, but I do want to draw your attention to what I said when I began to address you. It is no longer very necessary for men to maintain this right to petition, for by the development of things in this country men have come to possess very large citizen rights, which are much more important to them than this right of petitioning. They possess the absolute right of governing the country, because they select the men who have to do what they instruct them to do by means of their political power. So the right of petition does not very much matter for men, but it does matter for women. Until we get the same power that men have to elect our representatives in the House of Commons and to protect our interests, it is the duty of us women of the land, if men fail to do it, to maintain the right to petition the King or his representatives.

#### The Duty of M.Ps.

I do not want to say anything unkind about Members of Parliament, but I do submit to you, sir, that had Members of Parliament recognised their duty to the women of this country, it would have been unnecessary for us to make the struggle of the last three years. Many of them owe their election to women to whom they had given their pledges. Yet they have not done as other Parliaments have done, where representatives of the people have gone so far as to take proceedings in the House to rebuke and even to punish heads of Governments who have failed to do their constitutional duty to the people. Well, the members of the present Parliament have not thought it part of their duty to protect the interests of women, and we therefore have thought it our duty to protect our interests for ourselves.

Now, sir, I want to call your attention to the way in which men

defend their liberties, the way in which men have always thought themselves justified in defending their liberties when they thought their liberties were assailed. It is not necessary for me to remind you that in order to get political liberties, when it was not the law of the land that they should enjoy them, they have committed very grave acts of violence, which have brought them in conflict with the law. Now, we women are not asking Mr. Asquith to make any new basis of representation in this country, or to vary the Constitution in any way; we are protesting against what we think is legalised robbery against women. We are protesting against the breach of the Constitution which deprives women of the representation which in the case of men is given to them because they pay taxes. I want you to feel how intolerable this grievance is to us. A member of the Government himself said, not very long ago, that the political disability of women, the voteless condition of women is an intolerable grievance. He used the word intolerable, and still the Government of which he is a member refuse absolutely, not only to take any steps to remedy that intolerable grievance, but even to allow women who suffer from it some way of telling the head of the Government how very intolerable this grievance is.

Well, sir, I appeal to you, as I have appealed to you before, to seriously consider the position in which we are placed. On the last occasion on which women came before you I do not think our position was so clearly brought before you as it has been on this occasion. But I think you must always have been impressed with the fact that the women who have stood in this dock charged as we are charged to-day are not the kind of women who usually come into this Court. I think that their refusing to be bound over gave you some pain—you showed it. I think you felt that they were obeying the dictates of their conscience—that they could not in honour consent to any other course, because they felt that if they did they would be arresting the progress of this agitation, which is to maintain their right, even although women, to lay their grievance before the Government, and to secure its redress.

#### A Determination to be Treated as Political Prisoners.

Well, I do not know how you are going to decide this legal point, but if you decide against us, then will come the time when you decide what to do with me and my fellow defendants. I want to say to you here, standing in this dock, that if you deal with us as you dealt with other women on similar occasions the same experience will be gone through—we shall go to prison to suffer whatever awaits us there. But we have reached a still more serious stage in this agitation. We are not going to conform any longer to the regulations of that prison if we go there. There are 103 of us here to-day, and I do not want to say this to you from any disrespect to you, but just as we have thought it our duty to defy the police in the streets, so, when we get into prison, being political prisoners—and there is no doubt about that to-day, sir—we shall do our very best, when we get in that prison, to bring back in the twentieth century that treatment of political prisoners which was thought right in the case of Cobbett and the other political prisoners of his time. We shall not submit to that treatment, and in the last resort we shall do what Miss Wallace Dunlop did.

Now, sir, I think we ought to be candid with you. We mean to get this question settled, and settled very quickly. We want to know where we stand. We want to know whether women are to have ordinary human rights or not. We claim to be treated in the same way as members of the other sex are treated, whether it be punishments which are being meted out or privileges which are being conferred.

### SIR ALBERT DE RUTZEN.

I was under the impression that I had really heard the whole case, but Lord Robert Cecil has come here to-day, and, of course, I have listened with the greatest attention to everything he has had to say in the matter, and as a matter of fact he has really very strongly endorsed what Mr. Henle said on the last occasion. I am in agreement with what Mr. Henle said on the last occasion, and what Lord Robert Cecil has said on this occasion, upon the constitutional right of everyone, man or woman, to present a petition to the House of Commons, and use any means in their power to rectify a grievance, or to obtain votes, or any other matter which they may desire. It is so laid down by Sir Thomas May in these words:—

The right of petition to the Crown and Parliament to redress grievances is acknowledged as the fundamental principle of Constitution, and has been uninterruptedly exercised for many generations from very early times.

He then points out the way in which petitions can be presented, and he puts under three different heads the existing practice in regard to petitions, as to the form, character, and presentation. He says, and I believe that is the practice, that any Member may present, or refuse to present it; that is laid down clearly. Petitions are to be presented to Members of the House to whom they are

addressed, but a Member cannot be compelled to present a Petition. Then there is the case of Chaffers v. Goldsmid. That has already been dealt with by Lord Robert Cecil, and I will only say there is no right to persons desirous of petitioning the House to compel any Member to present their petition, and that no action will lie against the Member for refusing to do so. That I take to be the rule and practice in the House of Commons.

Now, I will refer to what took place on this occasion. Mrs. Pankhurst and those associated with her had undoubtedly a perfectly legitimate desire to obtain votes for women, and on several occasions have tried to force themselves on the House of Commons and the Prime Minister with that view. Some time prior to June 29 they made known their intentions to proceed to the House of Commons to present a petition, or to force the Prime Minister to receive a deputation, and they also expressed a hope that men and women would come in their thousands. I am now quoting from their own paper, which undoubtedly conveyed an invitation, which most unfortunately was accepted by an enormous number of people, immensely adding to the obstruction and the disturbance which took place on that night.

On the 29th the women had a meeting at Caxton Hall, and a deputation, of which Mrs. Pankhurst was the leader, and consisting of nine (so as to bring themselves within the provision of the Act of Charles II.), started for the House of Commons. No difficulty was placed in their way; indeed, every facility was given them for getting through the crowd, and they were more or less escorted by a body of police, so that they got to the door of the House. Now, the thing for me to consider is what took place when they got there. They found two separate sets of police, one body outside the House of Commons, acting under the Chief Commissioner in accordance with the Sessional Order, and an Act of Parliament, on which it is founded, and which has been in force for a great length of time. The second set of police were represented by Chief-Inspector Scantlebury, who is the head of the police in the House of Commons, and under the order of the Speaker.

Nothing was done to interfere with the deputation when they arrived at the House of Commons. On their arrival Mrs. Pankhurst had a conversation with Inspector Jarvis and asked for permission to see the Prime Minister. Upon that Inspector Scantlebury handed to Mrs. Pankhurst a letter from the Prime Minister. Without reading the particular terms of it, the effect of it was to say that the Prime Minister refused to receive the deputation. After reading the letter Mrs. Pankhurst, as I have got it, dropped it or gave it to Mrs. Haverfield, and she threw it on the ground. She said, "We are firmly resolved to stand here until we are allowed to see the Prime Minister. We shall stand here until we are allowed inside." She, Mrs. Pankhurst, and the deputation clearly, in my opinion, had no right to enter the House against the orders of the police, and upon receiving in writing an answer from the Prime Minister that he declined to receive them—in my opinion, they should have gone away, and have been content with feeling that they had done all they could to obtain an interview, and if the Prime Minister was wrong in not receiving them, in considering what steps they should take which would raise the constitutional questions at issue. If, on the other hand, the deputation were desirous of presenting the Prime Minister with a petition, they clearly, in my opinion, took the wrong course in seeking an interview with the Prime Minister against his permission.

**Petitions to the King.**

Any petition to the King should be presented to the Home Secretary. Quite recently when a deputation of men went to Buckingham Palace and asked to present a petition to His Majesty, he said that they had taken a wrong course, and told them that if they wished to present a petition they should present it to the Home Secretary. They did so, and they were received, and as the Home Secretary, I believe, was not at the Home Office at the time, it was handed to his secretary, and I suppose on his return it was handed to the Home Secretary.

Now, Mrs. Pankhurst was clearly, in my opinion, wrong in assaulting the inspector, and I could not help being struck, when the case first came before me, with the fact that Mr. Muskett had conducted the prosecution in the fairest and most favourable way. He repeatedly said, "If Mrs. Pankhurst is ready to apologise to the inspector for the assault which she undoubtedly made upon him, then nothing more need be said upon that," and I understand that even now he will repeat his words.

Mr. Muskett: Mrs. Pankhurst has already apologised, I think, sir.

Mrs. Pankhurst then repeated her exact words. The Magistrate: Very well, then, I put that matter on one side. Now comes the question as to what ought to be the punishment imposed upon the defendants. The course adopted under somewhat similar circumstances—I am sorry to say on a great many occasions—has been, instead of convicting, simply to bind over those persons in sureties to be of good behaviour, and, in default, imprisonment.

That was not a conviction, and that course has been taken in the hope that it would stop disturbances of a like character. Unfortunately, that has not been the case—the persons absolutely refused to be bound over, and therefore took upon themselves to undergo the punishment which followed. I am now going to deal with this case in a perfectly different way, and I shall fine you £5, and in default send you to prison for one month.

Now that is the punishment which I give, but it will not take immediate effect, because I understand that on this legal point, which I am perfectly willing to admit is of great importance, it is desired that I should "state a case," and this I am quite prepared to do.

**An Appeal for Treatment as Political Prisoners.**

Lord Robert Cecil: We will take all proper steps to expedite matters. I desire to ask, however, on behalf of my client, Mrs. Haverfield, who has never been here before, and who was acting (though possibly in a wrong way) in the exercise of what she conceived to be her political right, that she should be put in the first division as a political prisoner, and not put in the second division like a common criminal.

The magistrate was understood to say that he recognised that Mrs. Pankhurst would be "cross with him" if he did not regard her as the leader of the deputation, and he was prepared to consider whether Mrs. Haverfield's sentence ought not to be less than that of Mrs. Pankhurst.

Lord Robert Cecil: It was only with reference to the second division. I should submit that in all the cases they were trying to carry out a political claim, and I suggest that they all go to the first division.

The magistrate refused.

**Mrs. Pankhurst's Undertaking.**

Mrs. Pankhurst was then asked to give an undertaking pending the hearing of the case as to desisting from similar action.

She said she was prepared to do this. She could, of course, only speak for the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and added:—

I am prepared to give an undertaking to abstain for the present from sending deputations to Mr. Asquith at the House of Commons. As the matter is so urgent, we cannot consent indefinitely to this abstention, but should the case last so long, I am prepared to give the undertaking up to the end of the present session.

Mr. Muskett said he did not consider this sufficient. He thought it ought to extend longer. Mrs. Pankhurst said she knew the law's delays. The case might last eighteen months. Mr. Muskett replied that it would be over before Christmas. Mrs. Pankhurst therefore agreed to amend her undertaking into the following form, which was accepted:—

I am prepared to give an undertaking to abstain for the present from sending deputations to Mr. Asquith at the House of Commons. As the matter is so urgent we cannot consent indefinitely to this abstention, but should the case last so long I am prepared to give the undertaking up to the end of the year 1909.

Mr. Muskett then agreed to adjourn the case of the remaining members of the small deputation of eight women.

He, however, demurred to adjourning the other cases. After some discussion, however, it was finally agreed that the cases of the fourteen women charged with stone-throwing and attempted rescue should be adjourned till Monday, while all the rest should stand over until after the special case had been heard in the Divisional Court.

**THE RIGHT TO PETITION.**

Does the right to offer a petition to Parliament or to the King's Majesty carry with it a correlative duty on the part of Parliament or King to receive the petition? This seems to be substantially the point which is involved in the latest Suffragette case. It is important and interesting; and we are glad that the magistrate, though he himself seems to have felt no difficulty in deciding against the ladies, consented to state a case for the High Court. We may leave the King's Majesty out of the case for the present, and confine our consideration to members of Parliament. The argument for the prosecution starts from the fact that there is no power to compel a member to present a petition to Parliament. This is settled law, as Sir Erskine May shows. Therefore, it is argued, there can be no power to compel a member to receive a petition. It may be so, but the one thing does not necessarily follow from the other. There are cases in which it is the duty of a member not to present a petition which he has received. The fact that he cannot be compelled to present a petition does not, therefore, necessarily imply that he is under no obligation to receive a petition. This is the point which will be argued before the High Court. On the one hand, it may be said, what is the good of a right to petition—a right as old as Magna Charta—if the petitioner cannot make sure of being heard? On the other hand, it may be asked whether the life of a member would be worth living if he were bound to receive petitions when, how, and wherever the petitioners chose.

—Daily Chronicle.

**ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

**The At Homes.**

At Homes will be held as usual at Queen's Hall, Langham Place, on Monday afternoon, July 19, from three to five, and at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, on Thursday evening, July 22, from eight to ten. Miss Wallace Dunlop, who was recently released from Holloway, will be present at Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon, July 19.

**Bye-Elections.**

Should the Government be defeated at Dumfries and High Peak the unsuccessful candidates will have to seek re-election elsewhere, and two more bye-election campaigns will therefore be started. This will be an opportunity for members who will be taking their holidays to devote part of the time to helping, and all offers of help will be gladly welcomed.

**The Summer Holidays.**

Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be very glad to hear from members able to help in extending the cause during their holidays, as to where they are going, and when, so that they may be put in touch with the nearest centre of activity. Particulars of holiday campaigns already arranged for will be found on page 952.

During the holidays special arrangements are being made to supply parcels of VOTES FOR WOMEN to those going to various parts of the country, and these can be had at the usual rates, i.e., on fifty copies and upwards no charge is made for postage.

There are a few copies still left of the Special Deputation Number, July 2, and these can be had on application to the Publisher, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

**"Votes for Women."**

A special effort is to be made to promote the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN in connection with the Fleet Pageant on the Thames, beginning to-morrow, July 17, and lasting for a week. Sellers are wanted daily at Southend, and anyone spending a holiday there, or willing to give a day or more to the work, should communicate with Miss Mills, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Twelve special sellers are being sent to Southend by the W.S.P.U. to-morrow (Saturday), and volunteers ready to go down at their own expense should communicate at once with Miss Mills. Those who live anywhere near the river, between London and Southend, should get a supply of papers from Clements Inn to sell at various points on the river banks. To-morrow, also (Saturday), the Women's Labour Fête takes place at Earl's Court, and volunteers are wanted to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the Exhibition during the whole day. Next Saturday, the 24th, a Budget League procession is announced, and sellers will be wanted along the whole route from the Embankment to Hyde Park. Volunteers are also wanted for the ordinary street selling of the paper, and all who are willing to help are asked to come and see Miss Mills, at 4, Clements Inn, at 10.30 and 2.30 daily.

**PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.**

July	Birmingham, Bull Ring	Miss Laura Ainsworth	3 p.m.
July	Birmingham, Alum Rock Rd., Salfley	Miss Hazel, Miss Neale	7.30 p.m.
July	Birmingham, Church Vale, Handsworth	Miss Laura Ainsworth	7.30 p.m.
July	Birmingham, Salfley College Grounds	..	6.30-10
July	Bristol, Eastville Park	Mrs. Fowler	7.30 p.m.
July	Bury, Circus Ground	Miss Clarkson, Miss Wall-work	7.30 p.m.
July	Buxton, Brunswick Mill	Miss Irene Dallas	12.30 p.m.
July	Buxton, Market Place	Miss Irene Dallas	7.30 p.m.
July	Derby, Market Place, Ashbourne	Miss Cook, Miss Valentine	7.45 p.m.
July	Dartmouth	..	..
July	Fenton	Dr. Fairfield	7.30 p.m.
July	London—Blackheath, 72, Tranquil Vale (women only)	Mrs. Close Shipham, Miss Graham	3 p.m.
July	London—Hammersmith, Down Place	..	7 p.m.
July	Liverpool, O.d Swan, Waver-tree	Mrs. Morrissey, Miss Broughton	8 p.m.
July	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Ashton, Market Place	8-10 p.m.
July	Ashton, Market Place	Miss Lee, Miss Race	7 p.m.
July	Bath, Park Gates	..	3.30 p.m.
July	Bath, Saw Close	..	7.30 p.m.
July	Birmingham, At Home, Mrs. Thompson, Salfley	Miss Annie Kenney Mrs. B. Smith	3 p.m.
July	Birmingham, Rathvelly School Playground	Miss Laura Ainsworth	7.30 p.m.
July	Birmingham, Salfley College Grounds	Miss Hazel	2.30-10
July	Buxton, Hayfield	Miss Irene Dallas	..
July	Catshill, Cycling Scouts	Dr. Helena Jones	2.30 p.m.
July	Liverpool, Rock Ferry, Bedford Road	Miss Flatman and others	6.30 p.m.
July	London—Crouch End, Clock Tower	Miss Kelly, Miss Herbert	7 p.m.
July	London—West Kensington Station	..	7 p.m.
July	London—Wood Green, Open-air Meeting	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	7.30 p.m.
July	Preston, Market Place	..	..
July	Southport, Shore	Preston Members	3 p.m.
July	Salfleybridge, Grosvenor Sq.	Southport Members	3.30 p.m.
July	Salfleybridge, Grosvenor Sq.	Miss Clarkson, Miss Lee	7 p.m.

Sun. 18	Birmingham, Cannon Hill Pk. London—Battersea Park Blackheath	Dr. Helena Jones	3 p.m.
Sun. 18	Brockwell Park Clapham Common Finsbury Park Hampstead Heath Hyde Park	Miss McClelland, Miss Paul Miss L. Tyson, Miss Towns-end, and others	6.30 p.m. 3 p.m.
Sun. 18	Peckham Rye Putney Heath Regent's Park Streatham Common	Miss Pittfield, Mrs. Tanner Miss Atkinson, Mrs. Roberts Mrs. Brindley, Miss M. Dale Miss Hewitt, Miss Kelly Miss Brackenbury, Miss P. Ayrton	3 p.m. 3 p.m. 3 p.m. 11.30 a.m. 3.30 p.m.
Sun. 18	Roehampton, Town Hall Square Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN	Mrs. Cameron Swan Miss Freeman Miss Dixon, Miss C. St. John Mrs. Cousins Miss Rose	3 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 3 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Mon. 19	Birmingham, New Inns, Handsworth	Mrs. Willison, Miss Jennings	7.30 p.m.
Mon. 19	Birmingham, Northfield Road and Station Road	Miss Hazel, Miss Barratt	7.30 p.m.
Mon. 19	Birmingham, Ward End Bolton, Town Hall Steps Buxton, Watford Bridge Printing Works	Mrs. B. Smith Miss Lee, Miss J. Russell Miss Irene Dallas	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 1 p.m.
Mon. 19	Buxton, Market Place Leamington, At Home	Miss Irene Dallas Lady Isabel Margesson, Miss Laura Ainsworth	7.30 p.m. 3 p.m.
Mon. 19	London—At Home, Queen's Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Wallace Dunlop	3-5 p.m.
Mon. 19	Chelsea, World's End Putney, 9, High Street Nottingham, Market Place Wolverhampton	Miss Berlon Committee Meeting Miss Crocker Miss Laura Ainsworth	8 p.m. 6.30 p.m. 6.45 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Tue. 20	Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN Birmingham, Midland Hotel	Miss B. Ayrton, Miss Laura Ainsworth	3.30 p.m.
Tue. 20	Birmingham, Priory Rooms	Miss Laura Ainsworth, Miss Barbara Ayrton	7.30 p.m.
Tue. 20	Bristol, College Green Bulwell, Market Place Buxton, Birch Vale Printing Works	Mrs. Falk Miss Crocker Miss Irene Dallas	12 noon 7.30 p.m. 1 p.m.
Tue. 20	Buxton, Market Place Cardiff, Crush Room, Park Hall	Miss Irene Dallas Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m. 3 p.m.
Tue. 20	Liverpool, At Home, 48, Mount Pleasant	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Ada Flatman	8 p.m.
Tue. 20	London—Walham Green, Effie Road Wood Green, Unity Hall Oldham, Park Gates Torquay, The Strand	Bowes Park W.S.P.U. Miss Clarkson, Miss Helliwell	7.30 p.m. 3.15 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.15 p.m.
Wed. 21	Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN Birmingham, Soho Road, Handsworth	Dr. Helena Jones	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 21	Birmingham, Wood Street and Icknield Road, Ladywood	Miss Burkitt, Miss Dale, Mrs. Smith	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 21	Bristol, Downs Buxton, Brunswick Mill Buxton, Market Place Devopport, Catherine Street Leamington, Obelisk	Mrs. Barrett Miss Irene Dallas Miss Irene Dallas Miss Vera Wentworth Miss Laura Ainsworth	7.30 p.m. 12.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 12 noon
Wed. 21	Liverpool, Queen's Drive, Recreation Ground Newport, Lecture Hall, Central Hall	Miss Flatman	3 p.m.
Wed. 21	Nottingham, Market Place, Carrington	Miss Crocker	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 21	Paignton, The Green Rugby, Trinity Church Stockport, Armoury Square	Miss Laura Ainsworth Miss Helliwell, Miss J. Russell, Miss Lee	7 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Thu. 22	Ashton, Market Place Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN	Miss Rose, Miss Wallwork	7.30 p.m.
Thu. 22	Birkenhead, Haymarket Birmingham, Bell Barn Road Birmingham, Nechells Green Birmingham, Monument Road and Plough and Harrow Rd.	Miss Flatman Miss Laura Ainsworth Mrs. B. Smith Mrs. Bridgwater	8 p.m. 3 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Thu. 22	Bristol, Broad Quay Croydon, Broad Green Edinburgh, At Home, 8, Melville Place	Mrs. Paul	12 noon 7.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Thu. 22	Edinburgh, At Home, 8, Melville Place	..	8 p.m.
Thu. 22	London—At Home, St. James' Hall, Great Portland Street Brixton, White Horse, Angel Road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Tanner and others	8 p.m.
Thu. 22	Finsbury Park Putney, Open Air Meeting Nottingham, Trent Bridge Plymouth, Market Square Salfleybridge, Market Place	Hornsey W.S.P.U. Miss Crocker Miss Vera Wentworth	7 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Fri. 23	Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN Birmingham, Alum Rock Road, Salfley	Miss Hazel, Miss Neale	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 23	Birmingham, Bull Ring Birmingham, Church Vale, Handsworth	..	3 p.m.
Fri. 23	Bristol, Eastville Park Bury, Circus Ground Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate Nottingham, Lenton	Miss Clarkson, Miss Ratcliffe Miss Mary Gawthorpe	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 8 p.m.
Fri. 23	Plymouth, Saltash Totnes Wallasey	Miss Crocker Miss Vera Wentworth	7.30 p.m. 8 p.m.
Sat. 24	Ashton, Market Place Bath, Pageant, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN	Miss Flatman	8 p.m.
Sat. 24	Bath, Saw Close Birmingham, At Home, Salfley Knowle, Cycling Scouts	Dr. Helena Jones	7.30 p.m. 2.30 p.m.
Sat. 24	London—Crouch End, Clock Tower Wood Green, Open-air Meeting	Hornsey W.S.P.U. Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
Sat. 24	New Brighton, Sands Preston, Market Place Southport, Shore Meeting Staines Salfleybridge	Miss Woodlock and others Miss Flatman Southport Members	7 p.m. 3 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Sat. 24	..	Miss Williamson, Miss Helliwell	7 p.m.

FOR SPECIAL BYE-ELECTION MEETINGS, SEE PAGES 946-7.



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

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### AN IMPASSE.

"With regard to Woman's Suffrage, there was an impasse from which none had suffered more than himself—an impasse which, he hoped, would soon disappear." So Mr. Herbert Gladstone is reported to have said. To create an impasse, to block the way of the Government—in every direction save one—is the deliberate aim of the militant Suffragists, and no secret is made of the fact. That is to say, we seek to compel the Government to adopt, as their one way of escape, the course of granting votes to women. Naturally, we are greatly heartened and encouraged by Mr. Herbert Gladstone's admission that the militant methods are having the desired effect upon him and his colleagues.

Let us consider some of the obstacles which we are able to set in the path of the Government. That individual Ministers take their walks abroad in constant fear of being waylaid and interviewed by the Suffragettes is an open secret, and it is rumoured that the Prime Minister never goes out without police protection. We have driven Cabinet Ministers from the public platform, for they speak now not to public meetings, but to "packed" assemblies of men only. The word has gone forth that, by the express order of Cabinet Ministers, to none of the Budget League meetings at which they are to speak must women be admitted. Here we have, in the first place, a tribute to the power of militant Suffragists, a confession that Cabinet Ministers fear their protests and realise that the effect of such protests is to make Liberal meetings a failure. This decision to confine the meetings to men is, in the second place, an education for such women as may still fail to understand the importance of the vote, for it proves to them that Cabinet Ministers, provided they can hide successfully from the Suffragettes, care not at all whether the women of the country approve of the Budget or whether they do not. But the Government do not, by refusing to speak when women are present, achieve their purpose, for the Suffragettes, when prevented from making their protests inside Liberal meetings, adopt another and no less effectual method of expressing their indignation. By holding a counter-demonstration outside they succeed in destroying the interest and enthusiasm of Liberal gatherings.

When a Parliamentary vacancy occurs and the Government are obliged to ask the electors for a vote of confidence in them and in their policy, they are again faced by their Suffragist opponents, who call upon the electors to vote, not for the Government, but against them. Many a bye-election has been lost by the Government as the result of this election policy. At Cleveland, though the Liberal party retained the seat, we have, nevertheless, scored a great success. A member of the Government has there had to fight for his political life. Instead of the walk-over which he expected, Mr. Samuel discovered that only by the most strenuous efforts could he overcome our opposition, and notwithstanding all that he did to parry our attack, his majority, instead of being increased, as he and everyone expected, was reduced to what the *Daily Chronicle* calls a "disappointing figure." There is evidence in plenty that the Woman's Suffrage issue was the cause of this loss of votes to the

Government. Most significant of all was Mr. Samuel's own action. At first, underrating our influence, he contented himself with making jocular remarks about "wild women from Westminster," but soon he discovered that that way lay defeat. His supporters began to spread about the slanders as to "Tory gold," to which Liberals so often stoop when faced by an enemy whose object is to make them carry out their own principles. Mr. Samuel himself was not ashamed to lead the electors to suppose that the Prime Minister had promised to give women the vote. A large part of his speeches he devoted to discussing Woman's Suffrage and to attempting to prove that this cause would not be assisted by his defeat at the poll. With Mr. Samuel's polling-card went out a leaflet, headed "Facts about the Suffragettes," in which appeared the Government's answer to the various charges made against them by the Suffragettes in the course of the campaign. This leaflet closed with the following words:—

You will not take seriously the attempts of these ladies to lead you away from the real issues of the election.

By these means Mr. Samuel succeeded, it is true, in retaining his seat, but we, on our part, have the satisfaction of knowing that his majority was so greatly reduced as to discourage and weaken the Government, and the satisfaction also of having compelled the enemy to recognise openly our existence as a powerful foe. The Cleveland campaign is assuredly the beginning of the end.

At the House of Commons itself militant Suffragists are feared as perhaps no body of reformers has ever been feared before. We announce that a deputation will wait upon the Prime Minister at the House of Commons, and immediately elaborate and costly preparations are made to defend the House and the Government from our attack. Before June 29 the sum of £10,000 is said to have been spent in this way. As to the number of police on duty at Westminster on June 29 the Home Secretary has definitely refused to inform the House of Commons, but none who witnessed the cordons of police and the detachments of constables marching to the scene of action from all parts of London will ever forget the sight. For the purpose of suppressing any protest which might be made within the House a large number of detectives were on duty in the lobbies and the galleries. Thus has been torn away the sham dignity of a Legislature and a Government which pretend to be, but are not really, the representatives of the whole people.

When the militant movement first began it seemed to the Government that imprisonment was an easy means of breaking it down, but coercion has failed to achieve its purpose. The members of the Union now in Holloway are in revolt against the denial of the privileges due to political prisoners. Miss Wallace Dunlop has shown that prison is not strong enough to hold even the body of one as determined as herself. Over 400 militant Suffragists who have preceded them in Holloway have shown themselves not broken but strengthened in spirit by being sent to gaol. Our experience in the country proves that it is this resistance to methods of coercion which has done more than anything else to rouse public sympathy with our cause. In fact, by imprisoning women the Government are injuring and weakening, not the movement which they so much dislike, but themselves.

We are getting the better of the Government at yet another point. The charge of being lawless and unconstitutional, which they have for so long preferred against us, we are now bringing against them. The present legal proceedings will, we hope, result in the decision that the demand for an interview with the Prime Minister, which has resulted in the arrest of more than 400 women, is being made in pursuance of the constitutional right to petition, while the Prime Minister's refusal to receive deputations is an infringement of that constitutional right. Whether or no the court can be induced to take this view, there is no doubt whatever that, in the judgment of the people, we are entitled to lay our political grievance before the Prime Minister and he is in duty bound to receive us and to hear our claim for political justice.

In truth, our deliberate aim and purpose of surrounding the enemy on every side but one, of leaving him but a single way of escape, is being more and more completely achieved. We are glad that the enemy now recognises and admits the fact, for that tells that the end of our fight cannot be long deferred.

Christabel Pankhurst.

## THE BYE-ELECTIONS.

### Great Reduction of the Government Majority at Cleveland.

The opportunity provided by the bye-elections for the electors of three divisions to pronounce their opinion on the policy of the Government is being taken advantage of by the Women's Social and Political Union to press forward the claims of Woman Suffrage. For the members of the Women's Social and Political Union are in the constituencies to urge the electors to vote against Liberal candidates on account of the opposition of the Government to women.

In the present state of politics, the Government, and the Government alone, are capable of getting a Woman Suffrage measure carried into law. This they refuse to do.

Further, they have secured the imprisonment of women fighting for their rights as ordinary criminals, and have refused to have them treated as political prisoners, and are treated in every civilised country of the world. The Women's Social and Political Union are therefore determined to strike at the Government by getting their candidates defeated at the polls.

### The Cleveland Result.

Mr. Herbert Samuel (L.)	.. .. .	6,296
Mr. Windsor Lewis (C.)	.. .. .	5,325
Liberal majority	.. .. .	971

At the last election (1906) Mr. Herbert Samuel was returned unopposed. At the bye-election in 1902 the figures were as follows: H. Samuel (Lib.), 5,834; Geoffrey Drage (Con.), 3,798. Liberal majority, 2,036.

The first of these three bye-elections is already over, and in Cleveland Mr. Herbert Samuel has been taught a lesson which he will not soon forget. In the year 1902, at a time when the Tory Party were still in the heyday of their popularity, Mr. Samuel was returned for the constituency by a majority of over 2,000 votes. At the last General Election his influence was so preponderating that the Unionists did not attempt to contest the seat; and Mr. Samuel has so assiduously nursed the constituency from that day to this, that he was confident of an easy victory. He even anticipated that his majority would be considerably increased, and this belief was shared by many of his supporters, and by not a few among his opponents in the district.

But the actual result has been far different. Instead of maintaining or increasing his majority, Mr. Samuel has found it dwindle by over 1,000, and he has only succeeded in retaining his seat by the margin of 971 votes. This result Mr. Samuel owes to the persistent efforts of the Suffragettes, who kept up a campaign which was admitted on all hands to be most effective, and damaging to the Liberal candidate.

Other forces in this election did not count for very much. Mr. Lewis was a candidate who was far from popular. The Tariff Reformers, as stated by the *Morning Post*, were conspicuous by their absence, and on the only other question, that of the Miners' Eight Hours Act, which played an important part in the fight, Mr. Samuel was enabled at the eleventh hour to promise an amending Bill.

Mr. Samuel was at first contemptuous of the influence of the Women's Social and Political Union. Referring to the members who were present he spoke of them lightly as "those wild women from Westminster," but as the campaign proceeded he found that the impression they were making upon the electors was of increasing importance, and time and again the greater portion of his speeches was devoted to dealing with the arguments of the Suffragettes. Finally, on the eve of the poll, he found it necessary to draw up a comprehensive leaflet and to send it round to every elector in the constituency. This leaflet, we understand, was the only one sent out in this way, showing that Mr. Samuel regarded the opposition of the Suffragettes as the most serious thing which he had to face in the campaign.

It is a striking tribute to the perspicacity of the miners of the district that in spite of the mis-statements and perversions which found their way into Mr. Samuel's leaflet, so many of them still remained faithful to the Woman Suffrage call, and as the correspondent of the *Times* had prophesied they would do a week before, cast their votes in the election against the Liberal candidate on account solely of the opposition of the Government to Woman Suffrage.

As the statements in Mr. Samuel's leaflet may be taken to be the case for the Government against the Suffragettes, it is well to take them point by point, and refute them.

### Points in the Leaflet Answered.

In his leaflet Mr. Herbert Samuel classifies his arguments against the Suffragettes as follows:—

1.—It is not true that women have been imprisoned for demanding the vote.

The women, says Mr. Samuel, are arrested because they cause great crowds to assemble outside the House of Commons and try to force their way into the Houses of Parliament. He adds that the magistrates have not generally imposed sentences of imprisonment on the Suffragettes, but have tried to bind them over not to commit further breaches of the peace. "They go to prison," he says, "because they refuse to give that promise. They can come out of prison at any moment they like by giving this undertaking not to commit acts of violence, and some of them have done so."

In spite of this statement of Mr. Samuel, it is nevertheless true that women have been sent to prison because they have asked for votes, for Mr. Samuel omits to state in his explanation the reason why women have gone to the House of Commons and have refused to go away. The reason is that women demand the right to see the Prime Minister of the country and to present a petition for the redress of their grievances to him.

But though they have a constitutional right to do this, Mr. Asquith, since he has been Prime Minister, has persistently refused to see them. Whether it be the women of the National Women's Social and Political Union or of the older Suffrage societies, or the women doctors, or the women schoolmistresses, or other women, Mr. Asquith has never once admitted a deputation on Woman Suffrage to his presence since he has been Prime Minister. He has, therefore, compelled women to endeavour to get to see him at the House of Commons, and when they have persisted in this the Government have called out the police to arrest them and bring them up before the magistrates. It is true that magistrates have called upon them to consent to be bound over, but to agree to this would mean to give a pledge to desist from such agitation in the future. Realising that such a pledge would be cowardly, members of the W.S.P.U. have refused to give it, and in consequence of that refusal have been sent to prison.

2.—It is not true that the Government are responsible for the Suffragettes not being treated in prison as first-class misdemeanants.

Mr. Herbert Samuel justifies this statement by arguing that the Home Secretary has not the power to override the decisions of the magistrates.

This statement is absolutely false. The magistrates would not carry out a sentence more severe than that demanded by the prosecution, which is conducted by the London police, for whom the Home Secretary is directly responsible. In the second place, Mr. Gladstone has the accustomed privilege of advising the magistrates, and he has himself on several occasions boasted of his action in this matter. In the third place, he has the direct power of the Royal prerogative of mercy, which would enable him in every case to override the magistrate's decision. This he has himself acknowledged, but he has distinctly refused to make use of it, and has justified the sentences imposed by the magistrates, and has commended them as reasonable and proper.

3.—It is not true, as Mrs. Pankhurst has stated in speeches in Cleveland, that Mr. Herbert Samuel used his influence as Under-Secretary for the Home Department to prevent the Suffragettes having better treatment in prison.

Mrs. Pankhurst did not make this statement. She said that Mr. Samuel was responsible as Under-Secretary, in conjunction with his chief, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, for the treatment of the Suffragettes in prison, and this statement is true.

4.—It is not true that the women have a right to enter the Houses of Parliament whenever they choose in order to attend as a deputation before the Prime Minister.

Mr. Herbert Samuel goes on to say that Mr. Asquith has already received a deputation of women on the subject of the Suffrage.

But he omits to state that this was before he became Prime Minister, and responsible therefore for the legislative proposals of the Government. Moreover, women who are not represented by the vote have a distinct right on reasonable occasions to interview the Prime Minister. The legality of this right is at present being fought out in a court of law, but whatever the decision of that court of law, they have certainly a moral right

to an audience of the Prime Minister in order to lay before him their grievances.

5.—What are the methods of the Suffragettes? Mr. Herbert Samuel complains that Suffragettes are in the habit of interrupting Cabinet Ministers and protesting at their meetings, whether those meetings be strictly political or otherwise.

Mr. Samuel omits to mention that it was the members of the Government who, by their refusal to deal justly with women, created the present methods of the Suffragettes. In the early days of the agitation women went to meetings of Cabinet Ministers and put their questions on Woman Suffrage at the end of the meeting. These questions were invariably ignored, and women were flung out of the meeting as disorderly persons for persisting in having their questions answered. Nowadays, therefore, women have decided that they will make their protest during the speech of the Cabinet Minister, and that if they are to be thrown out he, as well as they, shall suffer by the interruption.

6.—Ought the Government to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill in this Parliament? Mr. Herbert Samuel says that the Government ought not to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill because they had no mandate at the General Election.

Here Mr. Samuel is endeavouring to hoodwink the electors, believing them ignorant of constitutional practice; for the Government have not hesitated to deal with many matters during the present Parliament for which they had no mandate, and Mr. Asquith himself, directly interrogated upon this question, refused to be a party to the statement that the Government could not, if they wished, proceed with Woman Suffrage during the present Parliament.

7.—Mr. Samuel is not an opponent of the just claims of women. In spite of this denial by Mr. Herbert Samuel, we know that he is a direct opponent of Woman Suffrage, and the Yorkshire Daily Observer, a Liberal paper, confirms our statement by reporting that during the election Mr. Samuel refused to admit that women were "fit for the vote," but that was not the reason why the Women's Social and Political Union opposed him. It was because he was a member and supporter of the Government which is using its influence against the women of the country.

8.—Remember that Mrs. Pankhurst's organisation opposes every Liberal candidate, whether he is in favour of the suffrage or not. This is the one statement in the leaflet which is correct. The Women's Social and Political Union know that the only means of forcing the Liberal Government to withdraw its hostility to Woman Suffrage is by getting the electors of the country to withdraw their support from the candidates of the Liberal party at the polls, and when the Government recognise that they cannot win any bye-election until they consent to grant Woman Suffrage they will give way.

Mr. Samuel's leaflet ends with the hopeful statement:— You will not take seriously the attempts of these ladies to lead you away from the real issues of the election.

He shows in this way his fear of the effect of the Woman Suffrage campaign—a fear which, as the result showed, was well grounded.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

Apparently a slight weakening has occurred in his belief that the Suffragettes will be unable to alienate any Liberal votes, because he is now carefully combating what he calls the "series of gross mis-statements" they are circulating through the constituency. The statement that the Government sent women to prison for asking for the Vote Mr. Samuel described as a "wicked calumny." Any one of those ladies, he said, could come out of prison any day she liked merely by undertaking not to break the peace. More than once Mr. Samuel has devoted a considerable part of his speech to refuting the statements of the Suffragettes. It may be that he has some mis-giving as to whether they may not, after all, be influencing a few votes. If he takes that view, it coincides with the impression I have formed, not so much from the size of the crowds that gather around the women's platforms as from the conversation of working men who have become convinced Suffragists.

Mr. Samuel has had to meet the direct antagonism of Mr. Windsor Lewis and the cross-fire of the militant Women Suffragists. There have been forty-eight members of the Union in the constituency, with Mrs. Pankhurst at the head. As many as forty meetings a day have been held. This vigorous propaganda will, no doubt, have its effect on the opinion of the electors. Except for the intrusion of the Suffragists and some misgivings among the miners about the working of the Eight Hours Act—which the Conservatives have been trying to turn to account—this would have been a straight fight of Free Trade against Protection. Mr. Samuel's final words on the subject were these:—"If my majority goes up, as I think it will, nobody will say that Cleveland does not want Women's Suffrage, but they will say that you voted in support of Mr. Lloyd George's Budget and of Free Trade. If by some mis-

chance the majority goes down no one but the Suffragists would say it is a great triumph for Women's Suffrage.

The advent of the Suffragists has given a fillip to the holiday season at Redcar and Saltburn. The meetings of the advocates of Votes for Women have been very largely attended, and patient crowds have stood for hours on the sands and elsewhere to hear the political grievances of the fair sex. Wherever Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Adela Pankhurst, and other of the speakers in the movement start meetings, a crowd quickly congregates, and it is said that the ladies are making converts to their principles every day.

The fiscal question has again been the leading topic, and it has seemed to be the one which was most likely to shake Mr. Samuel's position. Next in order of their unfavourable influence upon the prospects of the Liberal candidate I would place Women Suffrage, and the intensely practical matter of the irritations aroused by the working of the Mines (Eight Hours) Act.

Mr. Samuel has made the Budget the main issue in the fight, while the Tory Nominee has concentrated his attention upon "Tariff Reform." Votes for Women have also played some part.

A considerable portion of his campaign has been devoted to refuting the statement of his harassing enemies, the Suffragists.

Suffragists were busy outside the booths urging voters to keep the Liberal out.

The Women Suffragists have everywhere had a splendid reception.

In the Cleveland division to-day the Suffragettes were busily working against Mr. Samuel.

The Suffragettes also did some harm to Mr. Samuel's candidature.

What the Liberal Press Says.

The increase of the Liberal vote from 5,834 in 1902 to 6,296 is a satisfactory feature, but the increase of the Conservative vote has been much larger, and has reduced the Liberal majority by 1,065. We must admit that his majority is not as large as we should have liked, or indeed as large as very competent observers even on the Conservative side anticipated.

Mr. Herbert Samuel's majority at the bye-election in the Cleveland Division, though substantial, is disappointing. A majority of 2,000 had been freely anticipated by Liberals conversant with the constituency. Mr. Samuel was an admirable candidate. He came seeking re-election with all the prestige of a Cabinet Minister, and with a personal record of Parliamentary work of which any man might be proud. He is disappointed that his majority was not larger, and his counsel of work, more work, should be heeded by all the friends of progress.

MR. SAMUEL ON THE RESULT.

Asked by the representative of the Manchester Guardian if the agitation of the militant Women Suffragists had affected the issue, Mr. Samuel replied, "I doubt whether the efforts of the Suffragists have contributed in any considerable degree to the result. The people of Cleveland have been interested in their propaganda, but I think that very few of them cast their votes on that issue, their minds being fixed upon wider questions which are before the electorate."

Derbyshire (High Peak).

Conservative - Mr. Profumo. Liberal - Mr. Oswald Partington.

Committee Rooms: 1, Eagle Parade, Buxton. Polling Day, July 22. MEETINGS ARRANGED.

Table with columns for date, location, speaker, and time. Includes entries for Buxton, Town Hall and New Mills, Market Place.

The fight against the Government candidate is being carried on with great vigour, in spite of geographical difficulties and

very bad weather. The campaign opened with two large and very successful meetings last Thursday, 8th—one in Buxton Market Place and one in Norfolk Square, Glossop—the second centre of the constituency. Since then there have been a large number of meetings daily all over the High Peak Division. Almost invariably good collections are taken, and papers sell as fast as they can be given out at the end of the meetings.

Suffragettes are stationed at the four main centres of the constituency—Buxton, Glossop, New Mills, and Castleton.

We are glad to learn from the Daily Mail that the Suffragettes "are everywhere, in town or village, hill or dale, it seems impossible to escape the familiar purple and green."

Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe have addressed the electors, and Mrs. Massy, Miss Barrett, Miss Ayrton, Miss Dallas, Miss Wylie, Miss Belling, Miss Benson, Miss Canning, Miss Hay, Mrs. Clark, Dr. Fairfield, Miss Joachim, Miss Williams, Mrs. Marshall, Mrs. Corbett, the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, Mrs. Kerwood, and Miss Roe are among the workers.

Barbara Ayrton.

Dumfries Burghs.

Conservative - Mr. J. B. Duncan. Liberal - Mr. J. W. Gulland.

Committee Rooms: 7, Castle Street, Dumfries. Polling Day, July 20. MEETINGS ARRANGED.

Table with columns for date, location, speaker, and amount. Includes entries for Annan, Dumfries, and Kirkcudbright.

Although Miss Haig and I arrived at Dumfries very quietly and unobtrusively on the evening of July 7, the whole town seemed to know we were there before the next morning. We were certainly first in the field, for, although Mr. Gulland had arrived, neither he nor Mr. Bryce Duncan began a formal campaign till a few days later. We announced our arrival to the editors of the local papers and to the police; to the general public we were made known when we chalked our meetings, the first of which we held on Thursday evening in the middle of the town, receiving a most sympathetic welcome and courteous hearing from about a thousand hearers, chiefly electors. The next day some of our audience came into our Committee Rooms and told us how keenly they appreciated our position, one Liberal promising us to abstain from voting, and contributing to our funds. A second meeting was equally crowded and successful, while the audience at a dinner-hour meeting in Maxwelltown was also exceedingly interested and orderly.

On Saturday we went out to Sanquhar, and fixed up a meeting for the next week. Then we went on to Annan, and held a capital meeting in the Market Square. To our great delight our return train contained Mrs. Drummond, Miss Adela Pankhurst, and nine others, who had come straight from Cleveland to the Dumfries Burghs.

The General has divided up the district as follows:—She is at Dumfries herself, with her secretary, Miss F. Macmillan, and as workers, Miss Edgley, and Miss Löwy, while Miss Rona Robinson, M.Sc., is in charge of the Committee Rooms, and is superintending the literature for all the Burghs from Dumfries, as well as sharing in the speaking. Miss E. Cotton Haig is in charge at Annan, helped by Miss Strangways; Miss Dora Marsden at Kirkcudbright, helped by Miss Cecilia Haig; Miss Davies at Sanquhar, helped by Miss Jessie Smith; Miss Ratcliffe at Lochmaben, helped by Miss Gye, who is also helping in the general organisation. The speakers, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Naylor, Miss Cameron, Miss New, and myself, are moving round, and each taking three meetings daily at every one of the above-mentioned places in turn. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has come to Dumfries after addressing meetings in Derbyshire, and we are heartily glad to welcome her. Miss Fraser-Smith has also just arrived.

The electors of Dumfries are giving us the same fair and patient hearing that was accorded to us in Edinburgh and Glasgow, and we feel sure that they will understand our methods and help us in our fight for freedom.

Florence E. M. Macaulay.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

July 7 to July 15.

Large table with columns for name, amount, and total. Includes entries for 'Ar ready acknowledged', 'For Organiser Fund', and various individual names.

## THE CHARGES OF STONE-THROWING.

The cases of the fourteen women charged with special offences were taken on Monday, July 12. Thirteen of them were accused of stone-throwing, and after hearing the evidence the magistrate sentenced them all to fine or imprisonment, the period being one month in the case of those who had broken small windows and six weeks in the case of those who had broken plate-glass windows. One—Miss Florence Spong—was charged with attempted rescue, and was asked to bind herself over. This she refused, and received an alternative sentence of one month's imprisonment. All the women were ordered to be placed in the second division.

Mrs. Bouvier was first brought into the dock, and evidence was given by a constable that she had been seen to break a window of one of the Government buildings in Whitehall, the value of the damage being put at 2s. 6d. Mrs. Bouvier did not cross-examine the police or call any evidence of her own, but made the following statement:—

"I was a member of a small group of women who are working for Votes for Women, and we had decided that the time for political arguments was thoroughly exhausted, and we made up our minds that the time for militant action had arrived. We decided to wait till nine o'clock, when we could be sure that the peaceful deputation headed by Mrs. Pankhurst had been arrested, then we determined to show by our action what we thought of the Prime Minister in refusing these ladies admission to the House of Commons. That was our motive for throwing the stones at the windows. I claim it was purely a political offence."

The Magistrate: In my opinion it is a lamentable thing to see respectable women charged with the same sort of offence which is daily before this Court committed by hooligan boys in the street. There can be no justification for women under any circumstances to break public windows, and therefore I shall sentence you to a fine of £5 and 2s. 6d., the amount of the damage, or in default one month in the second division.

Mrs. Bouvier pointed out that stone-throwing had been done by men in the recent Winchester riots, and these men were not punished for it, but their grievance was righted; and it had been done also quite lately by the miners in Staffordshire to show their displeasure. She refused to pay the fine.

Mrs. Dove Willcox was then brought in and similar evidence was given. She said:—

"I am not in the habit of throwing stones for amusement. I claim it was from a political motive, and having seen Miss Patricia Woodcock imprisoned for three months for doing absolutely nothing, I decided that if Mr. Asquith refused to see Mrs. Pankhurst, the best thing I could do to show my indignation was to put stones through the windows of a house where there was no one (because everyone knows there is no one there at half-past eight in the evening, so that there was no danger to life), merely as a protest, to show my indignation."

A similar sentence was passed upon her and upon several succeeding prisoners.

Miss Mary Allen, when asked if she wished to say anything, said: "No, except that I did it intentionally, and when I saw the women arrested I did it as a protest against Mr. Asquith in refusing our members."

Miss Theresa Garnett said: "I went no further than the Government have made us go, and we shall not go any further than they make us; they are responsible for all that is being done."

Miss Mabel Kirby denied having broken any windows, but said she was in the crowd for a political purpose. "The evidence of the police is not correct," she added, "but I do not propose to call any evidence to disprove it." Sentence, £5 and 2s. 6d., or one month second division.

### Six Weeks for Plate Glass.

Miss A. Corson, Miss Florence Cooke, Mrs. Holtwhite Simmons, and Miss Kathleen Brown were all sentenced to six weeks as an alternative to being fined, the damage in their cases being put at £3 to £6.

All the prisoners demanded treatment as political prisoners, saying that they had acted deliberately.

Miss Cooke said: "I wanted to prove to our Government that women had not got to the end of what they were prepared to do."

Miss Kathleen Brown said: "I threw the stone as a protest and also to show that women were prepared to become hooligans and criminals as men were to gain so great an end."

The Magistrate: "Let me tell you this, that I am sentencing you women very lightly this time, but if there is any further damaging

there will be no more fines by me, but imprisonment without the option of a fine."

Miss Spong did not dispute the evidence of the police as to attempted rescue, though she denied its accuracy. She refused to be bound over, and was sent to prison for a month. Miss McKenzie, Miss Gladys Roberts, Miss Ada Wright, and Miss Carwin, the remaining prisoners, were sentenced to £5 fine or a month.

Miss Ada Wright said: "I am not concerned to dispute the evidence which has been brought against me by the police, because in the main I accept it as correct. I am quite prepared to stand over what I have done. I went to Parliament Square on the night of Tuesday, June 29, determined that if my leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, was again refused permission to present her petition to Mr. Asquith, and was again arrested for insisting upon her right, I would put my protest into a form which could not be forgotten. I do not consider that what I did was morally wrong. On the contrary, I believe I did what was my duty, because it was the means of calling attention to the present disgraceful state of affairs brought about by the obstinate action of the Prime Minister in refusing to act justly by the women of the country. If my action was legally wrong, then I claim that those men who incited me to this act ought to be standing with me in this dock to-day. Mr. Herbert Gladstone ought to be here, who said in the House of Commons that argument was not enough to win the vote, but that women had to show *force majeure* as the men had done. Mr. Haldane ought to be here, who taunted women with using pin-pricks and asked them why they did not do something serious; Mr. John Burns ought to be here, who said that 'working men had forced open the door at which the ladies were scratching.' If they are not to be sent to prison for inciting me, then I ought not to be sent to prison for taking action far more moderate than their words would suggest."

### Taken to Holloway.

Later in the day all the women were driven off to Holloway in the prison van. Before leaving they informed the officers of the Women's Social and Political Union that it was their intention, if denied the rights of political prisoners, to carry out an effective protest in prison. When ordered to take off their own clothes and to put on prison clothes, they intended to refuse to do so, and, standing all together, they would refuse to be put into cells of the second division. If put into their cells by force, and undressed, they would refuse in the morning to get up and dress excepting into their own clothes. They also informed members of the Union that they would refuse to obey the rule of silence, but would talk to one another whenever they liked, and would sing aloud during detention.

### TO BE CHARGED WITH MUTINY.

As we go to press we learn that the prisoners have carried out their intention. On Wednesday morning Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and other members of the Women's Social and Political Union had a conversation with them from the windows of an adjoining house. Through the broken panes of their windows the prisoners waved handkerchiefs and the purple, white, and green colours of the Union. Each one has sent a petition to the Home Secretary, in the course of which they inform him that they refuse to obey the prison regulations until such time as they are placed in the first division and treated as political offenders. They have also drawn attention to the bad ventilation of their cells.

They also declared that they would refuse to submit until their claim to be treated as political prisoners is conceded. Several of them have written on the wall of their cell the clause from the Bill of Rights, which runs—"It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal."

In making this protest the women claim that they are fighting for the preservation of the rights of political prisoners, which were not denied even in the Bastille, and are even accorded to political prisoners to-day in Russia, as well as to those who have been sent to prison in Ireland for cattle-raiding disturbances. In spite of the contradictions of Mr. Gladstone, they know that the Home Secretary is responsible for the treatment accorded to them, and that the second division in which they are placed was not intended for any but ordinary criminals.

Up to the present time, the prison authorities have agreed that they shall retain their own clothing until the arrival of the visiting magistrates. They are then to be brought before the magistrates charged with mutiny.

Meanwhile they are kept in close confinement, without any exercise. But for the fact that they have secured proper ventilation by breaking their windows, and that they are by this means also enabled to converse with one another, they would suffer far more than they do.

## GREAT LONDON MEETINGS.

### At St. James's Hall.

Long before eight o'clock last Thursday St. James's Hall was full, with commissionaires barring the approaches and the manager soothing a disappointed crowd on the stairs; the overflow meeting at Queen's (Small) Hall was full, and those who found it impossible to obtain a place of any kind would have filled a third hall.

The occasion itself was one to be long remembered. The platform of St. James's Hall was appropriated by "prisoners," dressed in white and wearing the regalia. The speakers were Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (in the chair), Mrs. Pankhurst (who was called away to speak at the overflow meeting), and Miss Evelyn Sharp, the two latter fresh from the bye-election at Cleveland and full of stirring tales of the gallant fight being waged there by the members of the Union, and the adherents they had gained to the cause. It was announced that those who remained behind to fight as long as even one voter could be influenced, would come down by the midnight train, ready to take their place at Bow Street on the morrow.

It was interesting to note the various remarks—made by strangers as well as members—on current events, and the shrewd comments and earnest arguments showed what a deep hold the movement has taken upon the public mind.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's first words were the announcement of Miss Wallace Dunlop's release, and the totally unexpected news and the reading of her brave and cheery letter came upon the great audience like an electric shock, and raised a storm of applause and cheering, in which the visitors joined as heartily as the most loyal Suffragette present. Mrs. Lawrence spoke in stirring terms of the ingenuity and magnificent resolution Miss Dunlop had shown in finding a new way of insisting upon the proper status of political prisoners, and of the resourcefulness and energy in the face of difficulties that marked the true Suffragette. It was not violence that counted, she said, in such a movement, but the moral force behind, the utter absence of self, and the willingness so universally shown to give everything freely and cheerfully to purchase the great gift of womanhood—actual freedom in a free land.

### The Cleveland Bye-Election.

Mrs. Pankhurst, fresh from work at the Cleveland bye-election that would have prostrated many a stronger woman, gave an account of the campaign, traced the growing influence of the Suffragettes upon public opinion in Yorkshire, and described how from paying very little attention to the Suffragettes Mr. Samuel finally devoted the greater part of his speeches to attempts at refuting the statements of the W.S.P.U. The fight was, in a word, a fight between the Government and the Suffragettes. Referring to the news of Miss Dunlop's release, Mrs. Pankhurst said that she had paved the way for the proper treatment of political offenders in this country, the treatment that obtained in every other civilised country throughout the world. It had been proved by women prisoners during the last three years that it was not the hardships of prison life that they rebelled against, but the status allotted to them and the degradation to which the cause was subjected owing to their treatment as common criminals. The question of this treatment was being faced and political reform insisted upon, not for their own sake, but for the sake of national honour.

When she thought, Mrs. Pankhurst said, of the bygone years of hopelessness, and the women who had longed for justice, and had gone out of the world without seeing even the beginning of the end; when she dwelt on her privileges in having her own children, her dearest personal friends, and all the rank and file of the W.S.P.U. fighting beside her; when she knew that after the long years of struggle the victory was in sight, then she could stand on that platform and call herself the happiest woman in the world. (A man's voice: "God bless you, Mrs. Pankhurst; God bless you!")

Miss Evelyn Sharp, who said her proudest work was that of special correspondent to VOTES FOR WOMEN, gave a bright and instructive address on events in Cleveland, and the wonderful enthusiasm for the cause prevailing there. Her speech was full of good things. Many Liberal women in the district went out on strike, and refused to work for Mr. Samuel. Clergy and laity cheered on the Suffragettes when they met them abroad, and at Guisboro' sermons were preached in support of the Suffrage movement at both the Parish and the Wesleyan Church. Woman Suffrage was the one and only topic of absorbing interest in Cleveland, and the Yorkshire smile and Yorkshire welcome were instantly in evidence the moment the purple, white, and green put in an appearance.

Promises and collection in the St. James's Hall amounted to over £120.

During the evening one of the deputations sent up a ring to be sold for the funds "in honour of the bravery of Miss Wallace Dunlop," and another member gave a silver rosary with crystal beads.

### At the Overflow Meeting.

In the small Queen's Hall the chair was taken by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who, in opening the meeting, spoke of the tremendous victory which Miss Wallace Dunlop had won over the authorities by her heroic action. Miss Dorothy Pethick gave an account of the progress of the bye-election in Cleveland, and showed up the mis-statements made by Mr. Herbert Samuel in his leaflet. Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealt with the hearing of the case at Bow Street, which was coming on again on the following morning. At the close of her speech she moved a resolution of congratulation to Miss Wallace Dunlop. The Chairman having called upon the meeting to pass the resolution by rising from their seats, an apparently unanimous response was given, but on the contrary being put seven persons were seen to vote against. Mrs. Pankhurst had by this time come into the hall, and in a short speech evoked hearty cheers. Referring to those who had voted against the resolution, she said they had shown their courage by their action, and she was sure that it was only ignorance which prevented them from appreciating the courage of Miss Wallace Dunlop.

On an appeal being made by the chairman for funds, promises to the amount of £118 were forthcoming, and a collection of £7 was taken, so that the combined amounts in the two halls were close upon £250. The number of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold was 2,128.

### At Queen's Hall.

Further scenes of enthusiasm were enacted at Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon, when Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence both gave farewell messages before their departure for the High Peak Bye-election, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst also addressed the audience.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence showed how the demand for political enfranchisement came from all classes of women who were anxious to make use of the Vote for the good of their fellow creatures, instancing the memorial of the women doctors and the head mistresses of secondary schools, recently refused an audience by the Prime Minister.

But of far more importance than the woman's demand was the fact that in the House of Commons there was a majority of two-thirds *nominally* in favour of granting Votes to Women, though they denied it by their actions, and in the Cabinet itself the majority was two-thirds. But surely this question was one that should be decided on its own merits, and not by a mere majority in its favour. Reforms in the past had always been brought about by an earnest and strenuous minority.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst recalled the advice of the late Prime Minister to the Suffragettes to "go on pestering," which they had successfully adopted. Liberal Cabinet Ministers had perforce abandoned public meetings, refusing point blank to speak where women were present. The Government majority in the Cleveland Bye-election had been halved by the efforts of the Suffragettes, and had time permitted, even that majority might have been wiped out. A Government that left women out of its calculations could do no permanent good, and men were showing the trend of public opinion by their increasing sympathy with and support for the question of Votes for Women.

Mrs. Pankhurst said that if members of Parliament had recognised the duty they owed to women, and seriously considered the pledges they had so lightly broken, it would not have been necessary for women to take such drastic measures as had proved unavoidable, but the fact that such things had been necessary showed all the more clearly the tremendous need for continuing the fight for recognition as ordinary human beings, irrespective of sex.

### THE DISMISSAL OF MARRIED WOMEN TEACHERS.

At the Suffrage meeting for professional women, held at the Queen's Hall on Wednesday last week, Miss Roper read a letter from Mrs. Stansfield, of Warrington, who is about to contest in the Law Courts the legality of her dismissal from her headmistress-ship on the sole ground of her being a married woman. Mrs. Stansfield declared that no greater blow had been struck at the teaching profession than this attempt to oust women from positions which they were so well able to fill.

A resolution that "in view of the low wages of women and of the tendency of recent legislative and administrative action to interfere with and displace their labour, this meeting appeals to the Government immediately to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women as a necessary protection for the workers engaged in industry, commerce, and professions" was carried with great enthusiasm.

## PRESS COMMENTS.

## The Premier's Blunder.

There is a very general opinion that the Prime Minister has blundered in refusing to see the deputation. His conduct is not dignified, but childish and stupid. His stupidity is responsible for the scenes and the sufferings of last Tuesday and for the further consequences which may ensue. I am not basing that on any legal claim the women may have to present their request to the King's chief Minister, but on the common sense of the matter. He has never given a sensible reason for refusing to see them. . . . I am amazed that Liberal M.P.'s seem so ignorant of the strength and influence of the Women's Suffrage movement, and even of the amount of sympathy there is with their most extreme tactics. It is common to hear Liberals treat the agitation as if it were but the antics of a dozen hysterical women. Indeed, that is the usual description applied to it. They will have a rude awakening some day, and that day will not be long. These women are not without electoral influence. They have all their sphere of personal as well as, in the case of many of them, a sphere of public influence. The brutal and vindictive treatment of women by the Liberal Party will be remembered to its discredit when the nation has forgotten all about the authors of the "first democratic Budget." I will not believe that the best manhood of the nation is going to watch without remonstrance and without sympathy the best and bravest of our women treated worse than criminals for the laudable efforts they are making to gain recognition as being entitled to the elemental rights of adult human beings.

—Philip Snowden, in the *Christian Commonwealth*.

We hope the Women's Social and Political Union will take note of the fact that the Prime Minister, while refusing to see a deputation on votes for women, actually consented to meet a deputation on a subject so trivial as the reduction of Imperial cable rates for newspaper purposes. Moreover, he gave a sympathetic answer to a purely selfish and masculine series of demands. It will be poor consolation to Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends to learn that Mr. Asquith mingled a little acidity to the sweetness of his sympathy.

—*Electrical Industries*.

Have the Suffragists gained a victory on the question of whether they can claim the right to petition the Crown or the executive representing the Crown? At any rate, the matter will be argued out in the courts of law. That the answer to the question might be in the affirmative is bound to be a source of thought for some members of the Government.

—*Daily Sketch*.

Personally, I regret very much the whole business. I wish Mr. Asquith could have seen his way clear to receive the deputation.—Mr. Arthur Richardson, M.P., in the *Nottingham Daily Express*.

The point of law raised by the Suffragettes, which the Bow Street magistrate has taken a week to consider, seems certainly well worth his attention.

—*Weekly Times and Echo*.

Considerable resentment was shown by the people, particularly when an arrest was made. Cheers were raised as the women were marched away, and groans greeted the police.

—*Manchester Courier*.

## The Protection of Ministers.

Recent action by the Suffragettes in disturbing not only political meetings, but gatherings like the Eisteddfod, has caused the officials of the League to inform the organisers of meetings which are to be addressed by Cabinet Ministers that they insist as a condition of attending that no ladies shall under any circumstances be admitted to the gatherings, unless they be wives, daughters, or relatives of the immediate promoters of the meetings, or ladies personally vouched for by someone well known to them, and who can be recognised by the doorkeepers. The ladies who are admitted are to be accommodated either on the platforms or in parts of the halls specially reserved for them.

—*Daily News*.

## Miss Dunlop's Triumph.

To the Hunger Marchers has now to be added the Hunger Striker—and the Hunger Striker is a Suffragette. Miss Wallace Dunlop by name, she was sentenced to a month's imprisonment for defacing, with the aid of an inoffensive stencil, the august walls of the Houses of Parliament.

After five days of Holloway Miss Dunlop has been released. The five days included a ninety-one hours' fast, and the prison authorities, becoming alarmed at this attempt to rival Sacco, the fasting man, decided that it was time to set the lady free.

—*Daily Graphic*.

Miss Wallace Dunlop, "Votes for Women" printer to the House of Commons, has been released from prison because she refused to eat any food. She was only deceiving the authorities, however, because we all know that Dunlops live on air.

—*Evening News*.

## SUFFRAGE PLAY AT THE COURT THEATRE.

On Friday the newly organised Civic and Dramatic Guild produced Mr. George Bernard Shaw's highly entertaining and witty farce "Press Cuttings," compiled, according to the dramatist, from the daily papers, and banned by the Censor. The introduction of compulsory military service and the ever-rising revolt of the Suffragettes have brought matters to a pretty pass when we are introduced, in his room at the War Office, to General Mitchener (Mr. Robert Loraine). Mitchener is already badly suffering from an attack of nerves when a Suffragette is brought into his room to save still further public commotion. The unwelcome intruder turns out to be the Prime Minister, Mr. Balsquith (Mr. Léon Quartermaine), who, in order to confer with the General, has managed to reach the War Office in a disguise "stolen from a little exhibition we are having in Towning Street." Then two Anti-Suffragets (the spelling is Mr. Shaw's)—Mrs. Banger, Secretary of the League (Miss Alice Beet), and Lady Corinthia Fanshawe, its President (Miss Ethelwyn Jones)—call on Mitchener to offer their services in putting down the Suffragettes by force of arms. Mrs. Banger, a real fighter, considers that a regiment of women armed with sabres would be more than a match for a regiment of men armed with votes. With his usual acumen, in Lady Corinthia Mr. Shaw dives to the depths of the "Anti's" real objection to the votes for women. Only pretending to be martial, Corinthia classes all sensible, able women as "dowdies," and believes that true power belongs by right to the small minority of lovely women (especially to one attractive woman) by means of beauty, a soul for music, etc., and a strong aptitude for wheedling (and corrupting) men in high office. Mrs. Banger, finding Mitchener averse to military women, soon marches off to interview the General's colleague and rival, General Sandstone, leaving Corinthia free to put her theory to the test. The virtuous Mitchener recoils from her wiles. He prefers a preference for the "dowdies," even for Mrs. Banger, and loudly calls on that lady to return. But Sandstone has been so charmed by the soldier-woman that he has pressed his hand and heart upon her. Here Mr. Shaw makes another sly and very excellent hit. With the capable and energetic Banger at Sandstone's elbow, what chance has Mitchener? To square matters, Mitchener offers his hand to Mrs. Farrell (excellently played by Miss Agnes Thomas), the War Office charwoman, whom Mitchener compliments as "the one person in the army who can be trusted to remember an order and to carry it out." Meanwhile Corinthia works on the Prime Minister, who worships beauty, and has a soul for music, etc. But cautious Mr. Balsquith, ever mindful that his position depends on votes, only accepts the fair lady as a non-committal Egeria, a position which Corinthia declares is just what she wants. Crazed by the discontent of a mutinous conscript soldiery, Mitchener insists upon the appeasing of the Suffragettes by immediately granting them votes. One of the best characters is the Orderly (Mr. Ernest Cosham), a thorough Cockney, who hates the "housemaid work" and "humbugging show" of the soldier in peace, and yearns for the little barber's shop in Stepney where he was born and bred. The large audience thoroughly appreciated the wit and humour of the play.

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This up-to-date paper speaks with no uncertain tone about the cause it advocates, and it would seem difficult to find an argument in favour that has not appeared in its columns, or one against it which has not been refuted. Yet each week its readers are provided with something fresh, some new aspect of the question. Its versatility and helpfulness are striking features. —*Wallasey News*.

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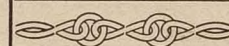
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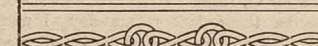


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THE OATINE SPECIALITIES.

### QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

#### Police Duties and Suffragist Disturbances.

July 7.

Mr. George Hardy asked the Home Secretary whether the recent disturbances by persons who demand Votes for Women have necessitated the temporary withdrawal of many police from the London suburbs; whether there has been an increase of suburban burglaries; whether his attention has been directed to the number of offences of this character that have recently occurred in Wood Vale, Forest Hill, and adjacent thoroughfares; whether the inability of the police to detect the delinquents is due to the activities of the force in other places; whether the police protection in the district referred to can be increased; and whether he can state the expense of these operations during the last year?

Mr. Gladstone: Suburban stations contributed a relatively small proportion of the police drafted in to cope with the recent disturbances. As compared with the figures of 1907 and 1908 there has been in the current year no proportionate increase, but a decrease, in the number of suburban burglaries and housebreakings, and there have been improved results in their detection. The police have not been unsuccessful in dealing with cases of this nature occurring in Wood Vale, Forest Hill, and adjoining thoroughfares. It may be added that on the night of the recent demonstration at Westminster there was an entire absence of this class of crime in the district referred to, which, in the opinion of the Commissioner of Police, is adequately policed at present. The cost of moving the police in connection with Suffrage demonstrations during the last year could not be given without a detailed investigation.

Mr. G. A. Hardy: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that there were three attempts at burglaries in this district on that particular day?

Mr. Gladstone: If my hon. friend will give me the information I will supplement it.

#### The Prime Minister and the Freedom League.

Mr. T. M. Kettle: I desire to ask the Prime Minister whether he is aware that eight ladies have been waiting at the entrance to St. Stephen's Hall since Monday last during the sittings of this House for the purpose of presenting him with a petition; whether he thinks their demeanour has not been of a perfectly orderly character, and whether he does not think it wise to recognise this evidence of their sincerity and patience by granting them the interview to which they appear to attach so much importance?

Mr. Keir Hardie: In the event of the Prime Minister being unable to receive these ladies this day, I would like to ask whether he will appoint a day on which he would receive them?

The Prime Minister (Mr. Asquith): I am told the facts are as stated, although I have no personal knowledge of it. I am most anxious to show no discourtesy to these ladies, and I have taken care to intimate to them that the reason why I cannot receive them is, as I have often stated, that I do not think the public interest would be promoted by such an interview as they request.

Mr. William Redmond: Will the right hon. gentleman reconsider his determination not to receive this deputation, in view of the fact that the request is such a reasonable one, and he has been in the habit of receiving deputations on all sorts of subjects?

The Prime Minister: I have received a deputation on this subject, and I have stated perfectly clearly my own views and the views of the Government, to which I have nothing to add.

Mr. Keir Hardie: Is it not a fact that the right hon. gentleman has not received any deputation on this subject since he became Prime Minister?

The Prime Minister: That is so, but I received a deputation on this subject when I was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and they know perfectly well what took place then.

Mr. Kettle: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that hon. members of this House are being deprived of their ordinary right of introducing strangers on account of his action?

The Prime Minister: No, sir.

Mr. John O'Connor (Kildare, N.): Is the right hon. gentleman aware that at two o'clock this morning he passed through the sentries of these women without being recognised?

The Prime Minister: I think the hon. member must put that question to the ladies themselves.

#### LONDON CABMEN SYMPATHETIC.

At the request of the members of the Cabmen's Club and Institute, Miss Ellen Smith addressed them on Thursday. The hall was full, and the audience listened with much interest to the address. From the questions and discussion which followed it was very evident that the cabmen present were in sympathy with the spirit and determination of the militant Suffragists. In a very few minutes the stock of VOTES FOR WOMEN was sold out. The meeting closed with very friendly feelings on both sides. A hearty invitation to come again was given, and another good audience was promised for a future occasion.

#### HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

During the summer the members will be very active at various seaside resorts in carrying out propagandist work, not the least part of which is the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. In response to our paragraph in the "Outlook," in last week's paper, letters are beginning to come in outlining various schemes for holiday work. From them we select a few.

Miss Ada Suffield, 23, Barwick Street, Scarborough, writes as follows:—"I want, if possible, to open a stall for the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN, literature, and colours in our covered-in market every Saturday. I should like the names and addresses of other Suffragists in Scarborough who are willing to help me in this undertaking. I intend to work for the movement in my holidays, and in the meantime, if any speakers are coming to Scarborough for a holiday, I will do all I can by holding meetings or organising."

Miss Daisy Coombs is also going to Scarborough. Miss Maguire is going to Sheringham from July 29 to August 26, and would like to know of other members going there or to Cromer.

Dr. Rosa Ford has been arranging with friends to stay at Caister Village, which is connected by electric car with Yarmouth, and intends to hold beach meetings, drawing-room meetings, etc., in Yarmouth, and to do any other propagandist work which may suggest itself. The ground is well prepared, and with the help of members who may be spending their holidays in this neighbourhood a very successful campaign should be carried out. Dr. Ford proposes the last week in August, namely, from Tuesday the 24th to Tuesday 31st. Miss Winifred Auld has promised to be in charge of the campaign, and two other friends, one an ex-prisoner and the other a lecturer, will also give their services.

Miss Marion Meikleham writes from Ventnor, hoping that a campaign will be opened there. Ventnor, she reminds readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, is not only a charming spot for holiday making, but it is also an open field for propagandist work.

Another suggestion comes from Ilfracombe. Miss G. Rind, 5, Blomfield Terrace, is anxious to undertake the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the town. Will any members or friends staying in Ilfracombe or the neighbourhood communicate with Miss Rind, so that successful sales may be promoted?

Further plans for the holidays will be found under "The Campaign Throughout the Country," page 954.

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West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery).  
Lancashire.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester; 41, Glover's Court, Preston; 84, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale.  
Midlands.—Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham.  
Yorkshire.—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.  
Newcastle.—Miss Edith New, 284, Westgate Hill.  
Glasgow.—Mrs. A. K. Craig, 141, Bath Street.  
Edinburgh.—Miss Florence E. M. Macaulay, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street.  
Aberdeen.—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 41, Union Street.

News from the organisers points to great extension of the work in many new directions. For example, the West of England campaign has reached remote villages in Wales, such as Llangibby, while meetings have been held for the first time in Tavistock and Torre, and next week it is hoped to visit Marychurch. Lancashire is for the first time holding meetings at Stalybridge, Bury, Wigan, and Ormskirk. Miss Gladice Keevil has started two new campaigns—one in Ladywood and the other at Handsworth—while the Rugby campaign recently started gives promise of splendid success. The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN are being promoted with great eagerness by workers in the various localities, and a healthy rivalry exists between the organisers in this matter. Holiday campaigns are being planned, notably along the Welsh coast, both north and south, while as regards London, in addition to sales of the paper at various forthcoming events (see announcements, page 943), the line in which extension may be looked for in the near future is in the way of local shops as rendezvous for the workers and centres of propaganda. From all centres the demand is for more workers, especially as speakers. A campaign is being opened in the Cleveland neighbourhood, and communications should be addressed to Miss D. Pethick, Post Office, Redcar. The Newcastle report is held over, as Miss Edith New is on bye-election duty.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

The result of the special deputation campaign carried out all over London in preparation for June 29 has been to rouse local interest as it has never been roused before, and it has been decided in many localities to continue the work already begun. One of the most effective ways of keeping our campaign before the public has been the opening of W.S.P.U. shops in the local districts. We hope that before long each local union will be able to run a shop of its own. Shops are now open in Kensington, Lewisham, and Fulham, and as an example of what might be done in other parts of London we quote that of Fulham and Putney. The shop has been rented from a photographer, and consists of a window and office on the first floor, with a bow window and balcony useful for displays of flags, posters, etc., a kitchen with the necessary fittings, and three rooms above, which are being fitted up as club-room, dressing-room, etc. Two ladies—Miss Lenanton and Mrs. Roberts—are chief shopkeepers, and about twenty of the members take their turn. A timetable of shop assistants has been drawn up. The stock is checked every morning, and the sales are entered in the sales book. The treasurer attends once a week to receive subscriptions, send out receipts, etc., and the Literature Secretary at the same time orders in new stock, and generally overlooks the literature.

The rent, £1 per week (inclusive), is partly raised by weekly subscriptions from 3d. to 1s. from members, and occasional social evenings are held to add to the funds. A collecting-box is also placed in a prominent position for incidental expenses. A lending library is part of the scheme, books relating to woman suffrage, and presented by members, being lent at 1d. per week. It is estimated that the profits on literature, etc., for the first six weeks will amount to 30s. or £2. Jumble sales are resorted to, to add to the funds, and teas are provided at 3d. per head. The advantages of this scheme are obvious. In addition to the sales of colours, postcards, pamphlets, etc., newspaper cuttings, and leaflets, such as "What Liberal Leaders Say of Militant Tactics," are pasted on the window and renewed frequently. The shop is a rallying ground for members and a centre of communication, thus effecting a considerable saving of postage. It is also a centre from which speakers and workers go out to open-air meetings, thereby saving much unnecessary waiting about, and it is, in addition, a storage place for banners, temporary platforms, etc. A timetable of meetings is pasted in the office, and workers can place their signature against those which they undertake to attend. Then, again, a worker having a spare half-hour knows that her help will be welcome at the W.S.P.U. shop. She can call in for copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and can take them out to sell, or she can distribute leaflets, advertise special meetings, or address envelopes, etc. It may be added that the shop is a rendezvous for speakers from a distance, where they can be supplied with refreshments, and a room in which to rest after a meeting. Mrs. Drummond will be glad to hear from other London workers anxious to start a shop in their locality. A visit might be paid to any of those mentioned—Lewisham, Kensington, or Fulham—previous to making arrangements for starting a shop.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN are still the absorbing topic

among West of England workers. During the summer, while the "At Homes" in Newport and Cardiff are stopped, members will sell the papers in the streets and at the Cardiff Pier head. Mrs. Riggs and others have given most valuable help in Cardiff and Newport respectively, in making a strong appeal at the At Homes last week to take in VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly. One speaker said that she owed her conversion to militant action to the VOTES FOR WOMEN newspaper, and that no one reading it regularly for a few weeks could fail to see how right the tactics were. Among other most encouraging meetings held during the week was one at Llangibby, a small scattered village, nine miles from Newport. Readers are referred to an interesting letter from Miss Eileen Addams-Williams on page 956, who organised the meeting almost entirely free of cost, circularising every house in the parish herself and making her own handbills and posters. The people of Usk, a neighbouring village, are now anxious for a meeting, which will no doubt shortly be arranged. With the close of the special constituency campaign in Bristol some changes have taken place in the distribution of special workers. Miss Mary Blathwayt is helping Miss Wentworth at Plymouth, Miss Mary Phillips is taking up work in Ilfracombe and Swansea, and now that the deputation prisoners are free pending the decision of the Divisional Court, Miss Dorothy Pethick, a member of the deputation, returns to Cornwall. Miss Milly Browne and Mrs. Barratt are helping in the Bristol work. During the holidays help will be wanted at various coast places, in addition to Ilfracombe and Swansea, and Miss Kenney will be glad to hear from members contemplating a holiday anywhere on the Devonshire coast. She also wants help in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN and holding meetings during the Pageant week at Bath, and promises any workers who will come down that they will have a most interesting time. At Plymouth and Torquay successful meetings are being held weekly. Tavistock, Marychurch, and Torre are among the new places being visited, and local ladies, including Miss Baker and Miss Rodway, are arranging for the VOTES FOR WOMEN poster to be shown at a newsagents, and for a guarantee of the cost of meetings. Both these ladies have subscribed towards the cost of the shop awning, etc., and Miss Elsie Howey wishes to thank all who helped Miss Mills so effectively during her absence in Bristol by taking care of the shop and helping at meetings, etc. Miss Mary Phillips, whose headquarters are Tregenna House, Penzance, reports excellent meetings at Penzance, St. Ives, and Falmouth. People are everywhere very enthusiastic, buy VOTES FOR WOMEN eagerly, and on one occasion, when a slight disturbance occurred, were most anxious that the W.S.P.U. workers should understand that the ring-leader was a visitor to the town, and not a Cornishman. A very pleasant meeting has been held through the kindness of Miss B. Powell.

LANCASHIRE.

Although Miss Mary Gawthorpe is absent on bye-election duty, the work in Lancashire goes on with unabated vigour. Excellent meetings have been held by the "Manchester Speaking Corps" in connection with the Eight Towns Campaign at Stockport, Oldham, Rochdale, and Bolton, while good inaugural meetings have also been held at Stalybridge and Bury. Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson has completed her Lancashire tour with meetings at St. Anne's, Manchester, and Liverpool. For lack of time meetings at Buxton and Llandudno have had to be cancelled. It is hoped that Llandudno will be revisited shortly, and Buxton is quite in the thick of events on its own account with the bye-election (High Peak). Miss Forbes Robertson's logic, freshness, and sincerity have charmed and converted people wherever she has gone, and another visit is looked forward to eagerly. Holiday work promises well. Letters are coming in from members planning to spend their holidays at various seaside places, and it is hoped that four holiday centres may be kept going from the beginning of July to the end of August. Miss Gawthorpe asks those who propose visiting the Southport, Blackpool, Llandudno, or Buxton districts to communicate with her at once. The King's visit last week was made the opportunity for a demonstration at the headquarters, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Across the front of the office a device in the colours was shown with the words, "Australia and New Zealand expect Great Britain to do its duty by giving Votes to Women." The passing of the King's motor-car, with Mr. Haldane en suite, was a moment of great interest; Mr. Haldane was, however, allowed to escape militant protest. Several workers in the Lancashire campaign deserve special notice for their tremendous energy in carrying out arrangements for meetings, and in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, etc. Among these are Mrs. Rigby and Mrs. Almond, who organised the first meeting of the kind ever held at St. Anne's, and Miss Millicent Brown, who is giving part of her holidays to the Lancashire work in Southport, and with whose help it is hoped to open up a new district including Wigan and Ormskirk. Inquiries should be addressed to Mrs. Rosling, Corresponding Secretary, 47, Sidney Road, Southport. Miss Stevenson has been acting as chief steward at the Liverpool meetings, Miss O'Callaghan

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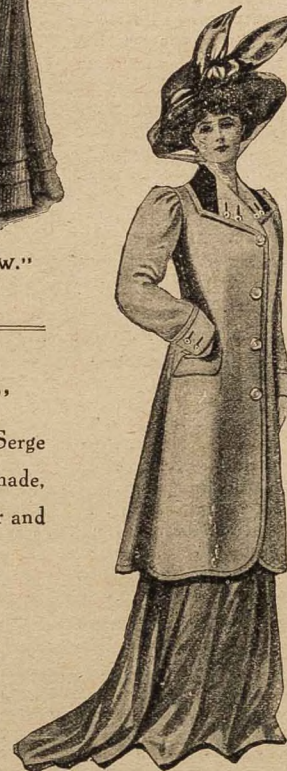
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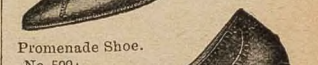
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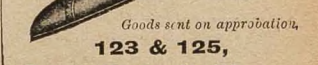
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"turns up at every meeting" selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and Miss Edith Dunn, with whom local workers should communicate at Clare Mount, Wallasey, is acting as captain of workers at New Brighton and Wallasey. Notwithstanding all this help, more and more speakers are nevertheless wanted for meetings, and Miss Gawthorpe promises newly-fledged orators an opportunity of trying their wings if they will put themselves in touch with local captains at once. Miss Lee is taking Miss Tolson's place as Captain for the Eight Towns Campaign *pro tem*.

Miss Flatman reports great activity in Liverpool and Birkenhead. "There is much to be done," she says, "in Liverpool between now and the summer holidays," and members are asked to refer to the Programme of Events, page 943, for the list of open-air meetings being held. "Help," she adds, "is always needed in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, and many other ways." Birkenhead is much interested in the campaign, and the W.S.P.U. workers are frequently sent off with rousing cheers, men taking off their caps and waving as the speakers depart.

#### MIDLANDS.

Excellent sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN are reported by Miss Gladice Keevil from the Midlands, especially at Rugby on the occasion of the King's visit, when a most noticeable feature in the decorations of the town was the purple, white, and green festooning with which the first road of the route was decorated. Miss Gladice Keevil suggests that members going away for their holidays should take the opportunity of increasing the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN. All, she says, should take a certain number of copies either to sell or to distribute among the fresh people they meet. She would be glad also to welcome friends to help with the Welsh campaign. Names should be sent to Miss Louisa Phillips, Imperial Club, Lexham Gardens, S.W. Campaigns have been started in Ladywood and Handsworth, and Sunday meetings are being arranged in Canon Hill Park, at Edgbaston Road, and Russell Road, where people congregate on their way to the park. The Birmingham At Homes are being continued throughout July. The colours have been flying in the town during the greater part of the week, several shopkeepers having offered to display flags themselves. In the principal street of Birmingham, New Street, festoons of purple, white, and green, have been hanging, and on Degreeday at the New University three cheers were given for VOTES FOR WOMEN and Mrs. Pankhurst. Interesting meetings have been held at Olton, where Mrs. Small very kindly arranged a garden meeting, at which Miss Laura Ainsworth was the speaker, and roused much interest in the militant tactics. Mention of the deputation on June 29 met with great applause. At Rugby the people are still anxious to know everything about the militant methods; at Leamington great interest is shown, and fresh people come every week; Lady Isabel Margesson is speaking next Monday at Whitloch Cottage, Leamington. Other meetings have been held at Stoke-on-Trent, where, in spite of the rain, Mrs. Redfern-Wilde and Mrs. Fawcett spoke for three-quarters of an hour to a very interested and attentive audience. At Derby large and enthusiastic audiences gathered to listen to Miss Gladice Keevil, who, after dealing in detail with the militant tactics, was successful in removing much prejudice and rousing the enthusiasm of her audience. Miss Eleanor Dowden and Mrs. Turner, Derby members of the Deputation, gave an account of their doings on that day. At Wolverhampton the W.S.P.U. stall, at a bazaar in aid of St. Philip's Home for Boys, attracted great attention, and a great deal of propaganda work was done.

#### YORKSHIRE.

Workers in the Yorkshire campaign are all very proud of the two Yorkshire women now in Holloway, Miss Roberts and Miss Garnett, who are well known locally, especially in connection with militant work; Miss Roberts has, in addition, done splendid work as Secretary. "I hope," Miss Marsh writes, "that others will come forward to take their places during their imprisonment." Miss Marsh appeals also for contributions towards the Prison Fund, and reports £4 already in hand. Successful meetings have been held at Ingleton and Shipton, as well as in Bradford and Leeds. Holiday campaigns include campaigns lasting a week or ten days in Scarborough and Harrogate; intending workers should communicate with Miss Marsh. The York Pageant (July 26 to 31) affords an opportunity, which will be fully taken advantage of, and workers should communicate with Miss Marsh without delay (63, Manningham Lane, Bradford).

Towards the War Chest 5s. comes from two Leeds schoolgirls, who made money by selling home-made sweets among their friends.

#### EDINBURGH.

Record sales of the Special Deputation Number of VOTES FOR WOMEN are reported by Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, who urges members to keep up the circulation either by selling copies in the streets or by taking a dozen or so on their own account. She especially wants volunteers to help Miss Roberts to-morrow (Saturday) morning, in Prince's Street. The great event to which Edinburgh workers are looking forward is the Autumn Demonstration, Saturday, October 9 (not 23rd as originally announced), in the Waverley Market. Immediately the Dumfries election is over, General Drummond will visit

Edinburgh to inaugurate preparations, and names of intending workers should be sent in at once to the office, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. The At Homes were held last week as usual, and were very speakers. A campaign is being opened in the Cleveland neighbourhood, and communications should be addressed to Miss D. Pethick, Post Office, Redcar.

#### The War Chest.

A reference to the £50,000 Fund on page 947 will show that the W.S.P.U. Organisers are among the most active workers in collecting funds for the War Chest. Miss Mary Gawthorpe is an easy first with £46 7s. 3d. as the week's total; Miss Annie Kenney and Miss Gladice Keevil run each other very close as seconds, and varying amounts are reported from other centres, all helping to find the sinews of war for the campaign against the Government.

#### Coming Events.

Readers are asked to refer carefully to the Programme of Events, page 943, for the meetings being held in the various localities. They are given under the name of the town, and not, as has hitherto been the arrangement, according to the time at which the meetings are held. It is hoped that this new arrangement will facilitate reference.

#### A Successful Village Meeting.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has received a letter from the daughter of the Rector of Llangibby, Monmouthshire, enclosing £2 0s. 5d. as the result of a meeting held at Llangibby last week. Llangibby is a small and scattered village nine miles from Newport; nearly all the people are farmers, cottagers, or labourers. "I am most keen," Miss Eileen Addams-Williams writes, "and should love to spend my whole time working for you, but as I am under age of course I can't do everything I want, so I try to do what I can. No meeting has ever been held here before, and most of the people were profoundly ignorant on the subject. I was dreadfully anxious beforehand lest the people might not turn up well! I went or wrote to every house in the parish, so as to personally ask the people to come, and I need have had no cause to worry, for the club room was absolutely crammed, many people being unable to find seats. About 170 were present, a large number being men. The room was very prettily decorated in the colours by Mr. D. Kennett. Mrs. D. A. Thomas took the chair, and Miss Annie Kenney gave a brilliant and spirited address. The audience was very enthusiastic and the meeting went off splendidly. Very few of the people had ever heard a Suffragette speak before, and it was a great revelation to them to find that they are not the awful unwomanly women that the papers make them out to be. I said a few words at the end. I felt rather nervous, as it was my first attempt, but I managed to get through all right. To my delight, Miss Kenney spent the night with us at the Rectory. I am glad to say that we have had no expenses, as I made all the posters and handbills myself, and the room was given free. The village is ringing with Miss Kenney's praise, and I am sure that her impressive words will have a lasting effect. The people from Usk were so interested that they have asked Miss Kenney to come and hold a meeting there a little later on."

#### THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

In consequence of the Prime Minister's refusal to receive a deputation from the Women's Freedom League, a letter, signed by Mrs. Despard and others, was sent to Lord Knollys, stating that a deputation from the League purposed to attend at Buckingham Palace on Thursday to seek an audience with the King. The claim to petition, it was explained, was based on Clause 5 of the Bill of Rights. In reply, Mrs. Despard received a letter referring the deputation to the Secretary of State for the Home Department, and a deputation accordingly waited on the Home Secretary. Mr. Gladstone, after hearing Mrs. Despard, Mrs. Billington-Greig, and Mrs. Manson, said he regretted the present *impasse*, and thought it would finally end in a way satisfactory to the women. He promised to forward their petition to the King. A deputation from the League waylaid Mr. Asquith as he was returning to 10, Downing Street on Friday, and called out, "Mr. Asquith, we have a petition. Will you receive it?" Mr. Asquith, saying, "I will take the petition," came down the steps, took it from Miss Hicks, and immediately returned, without listening to any explanation. Later on the women were arrested on a charge of causing an obstruction, and taken to Bow Street Police Court. They were defended by Lord Tiverton, and as they refused to give any undertaking they were each ordered to pay a fine of £3, with an alternative of three weeks' imprisonment in the second division. They elected to go to prison.

With the coming of the sunny weather comes also the problem of how to keep the complexion in perfect condition. Both in town and at the seaside the burning heat of the sun often affects the skin to the extent of being decidedly painful. The Oatine Company's new greaseless cream, "Oatine Snow," has been awarded the Grand Prix in eleven exhibitions throughout the Continent, as well as England, during the past year, and readers should apply for a box of samples, which will be sent for 3d. postage from the Oatine Company, 362B, Denman Street, S.E. In writing mention VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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LOCAL NOTES.

**BRIGHTON AND HOVE W.S.P.U.**—Miss Ogston has come to help us for a short time, and successful open-air meetings have been held during the week. A business meeting took place last Monday, when the new Committee was elected.

MARY HARE.

**BRIXTON W.S.P.U.**—Our meeting on Thursday at "White Horse" attracted a very large audience, and a collection was taken amounting to 4s. 5d. We sold two dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN. On Sunday, at Brockwell Park, in spite of bad weather, we had a good crowd, and sold out our supply of papers.

KATHLEEN TANNER.

**CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM W.S.P.U.**—Our meetings on Peckham Rye continue to be very successful. A large number of papers are sold, and the collections are good. On Saturday an excellent meeting was held at the "Triangle," Peckham, when Dr. Gordon Clarke and Miss Maggie Robinson both spoke. We have arranged for a poster to be shown on the platform of Peckham Rye Station, and our paper is now regularly placed in the Camberwell Public Library. Will all local members and friends try to be present at our meeting at the Café, 74, Peckham Rye, on Tuesday, July 20, at 8 p.m.

C. DAWSON.

**FOREST GATE W.S.P.U.**—In addition to our weekly open-air meetings last week, we held one on Monday at Barking, which Miss Jameson arranged and at which Miss Hewitt spoke, and one at Wanstead on Wednesday, which Miss Hoeg arranged for us and at which Mrs. Sleight spoke. We have arranged for our meeting this Friday to take place opposite Leytonstone Station at 8 o'clock. Miss Hewitt will take the chair and Mrs. Sleight will speak. As this is the first meeting to be held by us at Leytonstone, we hope members will turn up in numbers to support us and to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN, our sale of which is increasing each week. We hold our last business meeting before holidays next Monday, July 19, at 62, Harpenden Road, Wanstead Park, at 8. Will members make a point of being present.

**HORNSEY W.S.P.U.**—The Hanley Hall meeting was most successful. Every seat was filled, everybody being eager to hear Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Saturday, July 17, at Crouch End Clock Tower, will be the last meeting for a month, as most of the workers will be away for holidays. We have to specially thank Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for speaking for us, and our thanks are also due to our helpers—Miss Stuart, Miss Hume, and Miss Spender.

KATE JACKSON.

**KENSINGTON W.S.P.U.**—The result of our canvass of newsagents has been most satisfactory. In South Kensington Miss Edwards reports that fifteen stationers already stock VOTES FOR WOMEN, and of these a certain proportion display contents bills either inside or outside their shops. In North Kensington and Bayswater Miss Wylie reports that ten newsagents stock the paper already, another will do so on trial, and several more supply it to order. We have now made arrangements for a bill to be displayed at Gloucester Road Station, in addition to our other two stations, but for three months only; the period can be extended to six months if donations towards the same—£1 more is needed—are kindly sent to the shop for that purpose. Last week we reached our maximum in shop sales, and should like now to draw attention to the knitted golf jerseys we have in stock, in white or in the colours, most suitable for seaside summer campaigns; also to the "Votes for Women" bags, sketching and bicycle bags, in green or purple canvas. A jumble sale, to raise funds for the Kensington campaign, will be held in the autumn. Will those kind enough to contribute clothes, pictures, hardware of all sorts, etc., send them to Mrs. Eates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, N.W. At last week's At Home Dr. Flora Murray gave a most interesting historical speech on the movement. The weekly At Home,

suspended during the holidays, will be resumed, by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Cameron Grant, at Albert Lodge, on Tuesday evening, September 7, particulars of which will be announced later. A Kensington member, Miss B. Wylie, has gone to Mid-Derbyshire to assist at the bye-election. Shop and Committee-rooms, 143, Church Street, Kensington. Tel., 2116 Western.

LOUISE M. EATES, Hon. Sec.

**LEWISHAM W.S.P.U.**—Our warmest thanks are due to those members who responded to our appeal for local help, to Mrs. Knight and Miss Tapley Spurr for holding a drawing-room meeting, to those who are doing needlework and making sweets for sale at the shop, to friends for the loan of chairs, to Mrs. Alexander for her gift of between £2 and £3 worth of goods. Miss Armstrong has canvassed the newsagents, and now our poster is outside many of the shops. An agent in Lee has offered to show a large-sized poster in his illuminated window as a transparency. Still we want more workers to sell the paper, and also speakers and canvassers. Will our members give every hour they can to the work. Our shop, 72, Tranquil Vale, Blackheath, is open each day from 10.30 a.m. until dusk, when either Miss Steele or I will give each one work to do. This week we held a meeting outside Catford Town Hall on Tuesday, when Mrs. Bouvier and Miss Townsend spoke. At our meeting for women only on Friday at the shop Miss Graham gave an address and Mrs. Glazier took the chair. Our monthly At Home for members and friends was held on Saturday afternoon at the shop. Two new members were enrolled. Dr. Ford gave an address, and Mrs. Bouvier took the chair. On Sunday, in spite of the weather, Mrs. Mansell Moulin spoke for us on Blackheath. More helpers are wanted on Blackheath each Sunday at 3 p.m.

R. MAY BILLINGHURST.

**MARYLEBONE W.S.P.U.**—Several members of our speakers' class spoke at Nutford Place on Friday evening. We shall meet each week the same day, time (8.15 p.m.), and place. Members please note. Another good open-air meeting was held on Saturday evening, at Bolsover Place, by Miss L. Blundell and Miss Ecrody. Will all volunteers for paper-selling at the gates of Regent's Park on Sunday afternoons please send their names to our literature secretary, Miss Reinold, 9H, Cornwall Mansions, Baker Street, N.W.

LILY NOURSE.

**PUTNEY AND FULHAM W.S.P.U.**—On Sunday night Miss Gilliat took our meeting. All copies of paper were sold out. Open-air meetings will be held on Sunday, July 18, on Putney Heath, at 3.30; on Tuesday, July 20, at Effie Road, Waltham Green; and on Thursday, July 22, in Putney, at 7.30. Will supporters of Putney meetings please always come first to the shop. The social evening will be held on Friday, July 16, at 8 p.m., at the shop, when we hope to have Miss Marsden with us, and a committee meeting will be held on Monday, July 19, at 6.30.

H. ROBERTS, L. CUTTEN, Hon. Secs.

**RICHMOND AND KEW W.S.P.U.**—We had a large audience on July 5 at the junction of Kew Road and Lower Mortlake Road. We have arranged for an open-air meeting at the same place at 7.30 every Monday evening until further notice. Several dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold during the week. Will members able to assist in selling the paper kindly communicate with the Hon. Literature Secretary, Miss Barnett, 4, Queen's Gardens, Richmond? CLARA T. CLAYTON, Hon. Sec.

**STREATHAM AND DISTRICT W.S.P.U.**—Week by week the audience which gathers around our platform on Streatham Common grows, and shows how popular our movement is becoming here. Last Sunday, in spite of rain, we drew a considerable audience, and Mrs. Cameron Swan spoke for over an hour. I have made a capital banner by stretching our posters on either side of a sheet of calico. This attracts attention to our platform and

advertises our paper at the same time. There will be a meeting on Streatham Common next Sunday at 3 p.m.

LEONORA TYSON, Hon. Sec.

NEWS ITEMS.

A most amusing swimming competition, in which the competitors represented different Franchise Societies, was held at Paddington Baths last week. One of the races, entitled "Suffragettes v. Policemen," provoked much merriment. The policemen, with helmets and clubs, tried to prevent Suffragettes from taking a petition to a dummy figure of Mr. Asquith at the end of the bath. It is interesting to note that two of the races were won by Miss A. E. Bulan, of Birmingham, who represented the W.S.P.U.

The British Medical Association, which admits women as well as men doctors to membership, has always done its best to secure equal pay for equal work, and it will no doubt draw attention to the unfair action of Edinburgh City, Fife and Forfarshire Councils, who are offering £250 a year to male medical assistants, but only £200 and £150 to women for the same work.

A woman's suffrage society on independent lines has been formed in West Essex, with Lady Sybil Smith, Rolis Park, Chigwell, as President, and Mrs. Zimmerman, Woodberry Hill, Loughton, Hon. Secretary. Fifty-two members joined at the inaugural meeting. The chief work of the society will be to give reliable information of the suffrage movement to the various villages.

DINNER TABLE TOPICS.

The Suffragettes and the King. Their longing to petition His Majesty in order that he may permit them to petition the Prime Minister. A constitutional point almost as complicated, in its way, as "The House that Jack Built." May I petition you to let me petition somebody else to petition other people to petition the people to allow me the vote I want? One wants strong coffee to consider the point. Give us coffee.—Daily Mirror.

Women's Labour Day

AT

EARL'S COURT EXHIBITION,

ON

Saturday, July 17, 1909,

11 a.m. to 11 p.m.

SWEATED INDUSTRIES EXHIBITION.

Striking Object Lesson to Women Suffragists. Cradley Heath Chainmakers at Actual Forges.

**SWEATED WOMEN AT WORK.** Clay Pipe Making. Shirt Making. Skirt Making. Boot Making. Matchbox Making. Tailoring. Artificial Flower Making. Blouse Making. Paper Bag Making.

**SUPERB INDUSTRIAL PAGEANT.** Impressive Celebration of Women's Progress in Industry, 5 p.m. Torchlight Procession, 9 p.m.

(Banners and Emblems designed and made by Artists' Suffrage League for the International Women's Suffrage Alliance, and kindly lent to the Women's Trade Union League.)

**GRANT PUBLIC MEETINGS,** in Queen's Palace, 3.30 and 7.30 p.m. Leading Labour Speakers, Men and Women.

RECITALS by Mrs. PATRICK CAMPBELL.

TICKETS SIXPENCE EACH, from Joint Secretaries, Mrs. Middleton and Mary R. MacArthur, Club Union Buildings, Clerkenwell Road, London, E.C.

LADIES ARE ADVISED

On all Business Matters by the Auditor of the Women's Freedom League, Mrs. E. AYRES PURDIE, CRAVEN HOUSE, KINGSWAY, W.C. Certified Accountant and Business Specialist.

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HIGH CLASS WORK ONLY.

SEND A POSTCARD FOR PRICE LIST.

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LLEWELLYN'S CUTICLE FLUID instantaneously removes the superfluous cuticle bordering the finger-nails, without cutting or soaking. It makes the finger tips soft and pliable. Infallible antidote for gouty nails.

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FITTED SUSPENDERS COMPLETE.

Postage 4d. Extra.

WHITE,

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White Silk

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Blue Silk.

Ladies, remember that to ensure a perfect-fitting Dress, it is absolutely necessary that one should wear good-fitting and well-cut corsets. You can obtain perfect fit as well as comfort and durability by going to practical Corsetiers, and ladies who place themselves in our hands may rely on Perfect Fit, Comfort, and Elegance.

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As strong sympathisers with the Votes for Women Movement, though able to do but little giving, we are willing to earn

CASH FOR THE CAUSE

with the assistance of some Lady in the N.W. district who is of like mind. We have a quite workable proposition, under which, via the universal laundry necessity, sympathisers may, for the next three months, assist the finances without loss, inconvenience, or risk. Correspondence or an interview invited by the

IMPERIAL LAUNDRY, 84, Strode Rd., Willesden Green, N.W.

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Agent for Wall & Sons' (Purveyors to the King) Famous Cambridge Sausages. Telephone No.: HAMMERSMITH 563.

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All kinds of Fish Fresh Every Day.

FAMILIES WAITED ON DAILY FOR ORDERS. Orders by Post promptly attended to.

Try 'KATE RORKE' DRY SHAMPOO BURNISHER POWDER for the NO WATER. NO COLDS. (Prepared solely by the Florence Toilet Co.) Invaluable for Greasy or Fine Hair. Perfect cleanser. Excellent dressing. Antiseptic. Depôts: Tins, 1s. each. Post Free, 1s. 1/6. ARMY AND NAVY STORES, S.W., and SELFRIDGE'S, OXFORD ST., W.

YOU NEED A SELF-FILLING AND SELF-CLEANING PEN.

SELF-FILLING and SELF-CLEANING PERFECTION PEN (worth 15/-) for 5/6, fitted with Solid 14-carat Gold Nib.

Special Offer.



As an Advertisement

Non-leakable, fills and cleans in a flash, no screws to turn, no extra filler, no air bubbles, simplest and strongest Pen made, and every part guaranteed for years. Fine, Medium, Broad, or J points, and money returned if not fully satisfied or Pen exchanged until suited.

The 10/6 Diamond Star Gold Fountain Pen, fitted with 14-carat Gold Nib for 2/6. Twin feed and spiral to regulate flow of ink.

Any of our Readers desiring a really genuine article cannot do better than acquire these Bargains.

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Agents Wanted.

No other Pen like it for Reliability. Steady flow and smooth writing.

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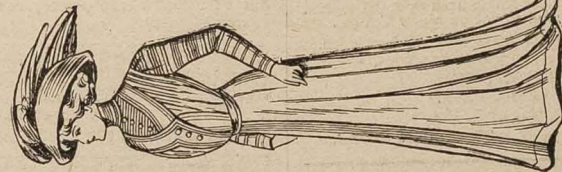
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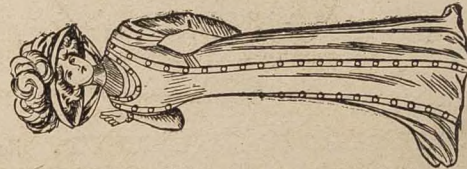
Smart Silk Voile Blouse Suit, Trimmed Lace Insertion Bodice and Skirt, in all Colours. Usually, 59/6. **Sale Price, 39/6**

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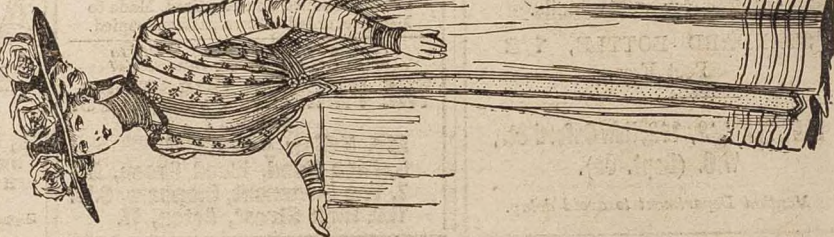
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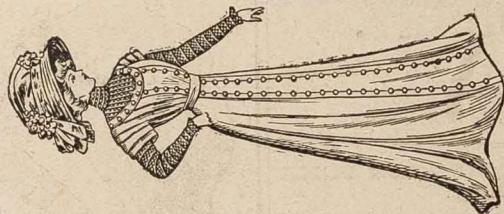
Cashmere Blouse Suits, in Pink, Brown, Green and Black. Empire Style.

28/11

Eolienne Blouse Suits, Empire Style, in Grey, Green, Blue, Helió, Pink and Black.

**Sale Price, 31/10**

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**BLOUSE SUITS**  
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No. 69. Blouse Suit, as sketch, in Plain Zephyr; also in Striped trimmed White Embroidery. Wonderful Value, 12/9. Blouse and Skirt separate.

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50 Slightly Soiled Shaped Skirts (back seam open), with Bodice Piece to match. **Prices 3/11 and 5/11**

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