

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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MID-TERM.



SCHOOLMISTRESS: Now, boys, don't forget, we shall take Votes for Women directly after Recess.

CONTENTS.

Our Cartoon.....	PAGE. 509	The World We Live In: Classic	PAGE. 517
The Outlook.....	509	Dancing. By A. Spang.....	517
Announcements.....	510	God's Little People. Verses by	517
An Appeal to Churchmen; Re-		Ellen Collett.....	517
part of a Speech by the Rev.		The Parliament Bill. By	
Hugh Chapman.....	511	Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B. 518	
Women's Fight for the Vote.		The Song of the Shirt. By	
Chapter XI. By P. W.		Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	
Pethick Lawrence.....	512	Contributions to the £100,000	
The Great March, Saturday.		Fund.....	519
May 23.....	513	Preparing for May 23.....	520
The Hidden Springs.....	514	Mrs. Pankhurst at the London	
Treasurer's Note.....	514	Meeting.....	520
A "Votes for Women" Clock.....	514	The Scottish Exhibition and	
Schoolites. By "Diasakalos" 515		other News.....	521
A Look into the Past.....	515	The Campaign in the Country. 522	
Book of the Week.....	516	The Campaign in the Metro-	
		polis.....	524
		General News.....	526

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.

Parliament has broken up for a mid-term holiday and will reassemble on May 26. There is no actual change in the situation, but politicians are casting about for some means of avoiding another general election. If, say the Parliamentarians, another general election is likely to give almost identically the same results why have one at all? May not both sides give way a little and a working compromise be arrived at? It is far too early to say yet whether such counsels will prevail, but the fact that they

have been put forward at all is of itself an indication that they may be listened to.

The Opportunity for Woman Suffrage.

Whether there be a general election in the immediate future or not the prospect of obtaining a Votes for Women Bill is unaffected. In either case it remains true that there is no Government programme for the month of June, and that the decision of the House of Lords will almost certainly not be made known until towards the end of that month, and that in the meantime there will be plenty of opportunity to pass a Bill through the Commons for the enfranchisement of women. We believe that it is being steadily borne in upon politicians that this is not only a possible, but a reasonable proposition, that this is the only means of preventing the recurrence of the scenes which took place during the last Parliament.

"Armed Revolt."

Liberal politicians and the Liberal press continue to give expressions of opinion on the crisis between the House of Lords and the House of Commons which entirely belie their assumed horror at the militant actions of women last year. On Wednesday in last week the *Daily News* said:— If they refrained from doing their duty (the creation of peers) they would be destroying the Constitution, because the House of Lords would become impregnable. The one constitutional instrument which could overcome its resistance would have been broken; the only alternatives left would be political slavery or armed revolt. Here are militant views with a vengeance!

Official Inertia.

How great a catastrophe is required to call the official machinery into humane activity! We drew attention last week to the case of two deaths, one of a man and the other of a woman who had recently been subjected to forcible feeding in prison. One would have supposed that these

offered a *prima facie* case for a full enquiry into the employment of this disgusting practice in our prisons. Not so the Home Office. In reply to a request by Mr. Hugh Law for an enquiry, Mr. Churchill refused to admit that these deaths were in any way attributable to the operation and stated that he thought no useful purpose could be served by an enquiry of this kind.

The Scottish Exhibition.

The Scottish Exhibition is over! For months the workers in Scotland and their friends in England have been working devotedly and unstintingly, and to them is due the splendid result which in money value is estimated at over £1,700. This, however, does not, as is pointed out elsewhere, sum up the end of the great Exhibition. It is but the first step to a great extension of the work in Scotland, where the campaign will now progress with increasing vigour. The heartiest thanks are due to the devoted workers, and also to the members of the Actresses' Franchise League and others who arranged the beautiful tableaux and the delightful plays which were so deservedly popular. The generous manner in which they gave their services, not sparing themselves at all, is another proof of the magnificent spirit which is animating women. The openers of the Exhibition—Mrs. Garrett Anderson, Lady Constance Lytton, and Miss Decima Moore, as well as the Chairwomen, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Burnet had a most enthusiastic reception. The Scottish Exhibition, like all other pieces of work undertaken by members of the Union, has been a magnificent success from start to finish.

The Romance of The Woman's Press.

Before this paper is in the hands of our readers The Woman's Press shop at 156, Charing Cross Road, will have

been opened by Miss Evelyn Sharp and Miss Fanny Brough. Some little account of the wonderful story of the growth of The Woman's Press during the years in which it has been in existence will be found on page 514. Commencing in 1906 with a trade of £60 a year, it has grown until at the present time it is doing a trade of about £12,000 a year, an increase of two hundred fold. One of the features of the new shop will be a street clock in which the letters "Votes for Women" will take the place of the ordinary hours. This, it is expected, will be erected on Whit-Monday and will be visible from Oxford Street.

Spreading the Light.

Daily, almost hourly, the Suffrage light is spreading and as new converts are gathered in, they very quickly become workers, and in their turn spread the light still further. During the week the women of Scotland have been spreading the light by means of their magnificent Exhibition. At Strichley, Miss Christabel Pankhurst addressed a large audience chiefly composed of women, and converted many of them by her logical demand for the recognition of women as citizens. An effective result of six weeks' work in Hampstead was attained on Wednesday when a largely attended meeting was addressed by Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Lady Emily Lutynes and Miss Beatrice Harraden. During the six weeks of preparation for this meeting a sum of over £52 was raised in Hampstead for the campaign.

Meetings in London and the Country.

The Scala Theatre, judging by last Monday afternoon, will prove a popular resort for Londoners during the month of May. The regular Monday afternoon meetings, free to the public, which are usually held at the Queen's Hall, have been transferred to the Scala Theatre for this month owing to the concert arrangements at the Queen's Hall. Last Monday Mrs. Pankhurst, who had not been heard in London for some time, had a most rousing reception, and her appeal for the great procession on May 28 was responded to with magnificent generosity, the audience subscribing at once a sum of over £100. The manly appeal of the Rev. Hugh Chapman to men to come out boldly on the women's side was one more of those professions of faith from prominent men which have been so remarkable a feature of the agitation in recent months. The speech will be found reported on page 511. As this issue goes to press Mrs. Pankhurst is conducting a special Mission to Women in the West of England, speaking at Barry on Tuesday, and Newport on Wednesday and Thursday. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is addressing a meeting at Kensington on Wednesday afternoon, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst is at Ipswich on Thursday, the 5th. Next week important meetings will be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst at Warrington, Bowdon, Bury, and Bolton, and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C.

To Teachers.

We commend to women teachers the table on page 521 of the salaries paid by the Government to certificated men and women teachers. It will be seen that when the salary paid is under £50, the proportion stands as 3 men to 226 women. When the salary is under £100, we find that the proportion stands at 4,300 men to 35,000 women. When the salary is over £200, we find there are over 4,000 men in proportion to less than 1,000 women. Precisely the same scale is observed in the salaries paid to uncertificated teachers. One of the most important reasons for removing women's political disability is that the economic disability which goes with it may also be removed. We have it on the authority of the Chancellor of the Exchequer (speaking in the Albert Hall) that equal pay for equal work will be secured from the Government when women have the vote.

Nurses and Midwives Need the Vote.

A most interesting conference in connection with nurses and midwives has been held in London during the past week, and here again, although the Suffrage question was not directly referred to, the urgent need of the vote to protect women workers was manifest in the discussion of several problems. State registration, although it has been fought for by nurses for so many years, is still prevented from becoming law by the position of a few interested individuals, chiefly men. Had women had the vote this important piece of legislation would have been carried long ago as it has been in many other countries. Two other questions also exemplified the helpless position of women. The Bill which has been drafted by the Privy Council as a result of a Departmental Committee on the midwives' question was fully discussed. Although the committee was to consider matters affecting a large body of women workers, no midwife was nominated, and the proposed Bill, which is very defective, was drawn up without reference to the great and increasing number of midwives in the country. It was also pointed out that on the Central Midwives Board, which controls the working of the Act, this large class of working women has no directly elected representative.

Women as J.P.'s.

At the Commission on Justice of the Peace, held last week, Alderman Turner giving evidence pointed out that under a system of popular election the voters would be those on the municipal register, including women, and he considered that women had more political sense, an opinion which Lord Robert Cecil stated he quite agreed. Dr. David Walsh, before the same Commission, said in his evidence—

Another point to be considered in the selection of suitable persons as Justices of the Peace is the sex disqualification, whereby women have hitherto been excluded from holding the office, and whether their inclusion might not lead to a more equitable administration of minor criminal laws as regards property on the one hand and personal safety on the other.

From this it will be seen that men are beginning to realise not merely that women have a right to their own point of view and to express it, but that the introduction of their point of view into the Government of the country will be of the highest value to the community.

The Revolt of the Party Woman.

We have chronicled from time to time the revolts of various Liberal women who were tired of working hard for their Party and receiving nothing in return. It is interesting to find that at a recent meeting of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, Mrs. Prothero, after dwelling on the tremendous work which Unionist women had done for their Party, said that the time had come when women must give up doing everything for nothing. There was no doubt that they were a great asset to the party, which was glad of their help, but if they were worthy of doing good work they were surely worthy of proper recognition, and the only way to recognise women was to give them their due share of interest in the country by means of the power to vote.

The Divorce Law of England.

An interesting article on the divorce laws of Europe, published recently in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, shows that England, of whose advance in civilisation we are so proud, is the only country in Europe that has a different divorce law for men and women. In Scotland adultery or desertion is ground for divorce for either party; in France the law is exactly on the same footing for both sexes, and in that country, too, the law of heritage is much more fair to the wife, for a man must leave her half their united fortunes. In Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia, absolute equality exists between the sexes in regard to the divorce question. A letter in the *Daily News* draws attention to the fact that as soon as women had the vote in Australia, one of the first Bills to be carried was that which did away with the inequalities in the marriage and divorce law in that country.

Women in the Labour Market.

In every branch of work the helpless position of women, due to the want of a vote, becomes evident. In Ireland, enquiry has been made into the pay of women engaged in needlework, and the figures published in the report are an absolute disgrace to a civilised country. These women, many of whom are employed by leading firms to do fine needlework, are paid at such rates as the following:—For embroidering handkerchiefs with a spray of flowers in each corner and a border of French dots, 2s. a dozen, each handkerchief taking 4½ hours' labour. Another worker for similar skilled work earns a halfpenny an hour. Again, for the exquisite embroidering of a silk parasol, which takes three days, the worker receives 5s. The Cradley Heath chain makers, who by the recent work of the Trade Board hope now to receive better wages, have also for many years past been working at such rates that many hundreds of them for this dangerous work receive less than 5s. per week. If women had had the vote, such scandals would have been impossible. In the Potteries district the terrible deaths of two women directly due to lead poisoning are reported. One woman was the breadwinner, as her husband had been unemployed for a long time; the other had a mother and sister dependent upon her. It is these women, who support themselves and their families, who are not only denied the necessary protection of a vote, but are often liable to have their work interfered with by men legislators. What would have happened in the first case if the woman had not been allowed to work because she was married, the reason given for the dismissal of many women teachers at the present time?

Another Injustice.

Still another tale of unfairness to women workers concerns the Edinburgh printers, who are attempting to prevent the employment of women in a trade which has been proved more suitable for them than the trades of hairdressing, haberdashery, &c., are for men. If underpayment is the root of the trouble, the remedy, as the *Wallasey News* points out in an extract quoted on page 521, is for the men to co-operate with the women, and not to throw them out of one trade, and so lead to overcrowding and underpaying in others.

Suffragists in France.

The electoral campaign which women have been carrying on in Paris has left them very hopeful. The speakers who were standing for election pointed out that they were asking for votes not for the candidate personally, as her nomination was not legal, but for the principle of the thing. Madame Durand maintains that the votes that were given for the women ought to be counted, and she intends to bring the matter before the *Conseil d'Etat*. She and her friends are convinced that in the new Chamber men will take up the women's cause and insist on justice for Frenchwomen.

Contents of This Issue.

To this issue Mrs. Pethick Lawrence contributes an article on home needlework, one of the most notoriously underpaid of all the sweated trades. In spite of the stringent representations made by women, backed with the evidence of irrefutable figures and facts, shirt-making and kindred industries were excluded from the influence of the recent Trades Boards Act. Why? Because the interests of the employers who have votes were of more importance in the sight of the Government than the interests of the employed sweated women who are voteless. On page 511 will be found a report of the Rev. Hugh Chapman's very vigorous speech at last Monday's meeting, while in the leading article Miss Christabel Pankhurst deals with the

Parliament Bill and its failure to secure representative government so long as women are not allowed a voice in elections. Full information of the great Procession, Self-Denial Week, and of the enormous campaign going on all over the country will be found on other pages.

Items of Interest.

In Geneva women have been granted suffrage in Church matters.

At Stratford recently, Miss Kathleen Sturt, a shop assistant, was warmly complimented by the magistrates for the plucky way in which she went to the assistance of P.C. Adams, when he was attacked by a gang of forty or fifty roughs. Miss Sturt was wounded on the temple, and P.C. Adams has since died from his injuries.

Dr. Katharine M. Chapman was called recently to give evidence in an action under the Workmen's Compensation Act in the Sheriff Court, Glasgow, the case being that of a girl in a printing office. Dr. Chapman is the first woman medical witness under the Act in Glasgow, and the thoroughness of her examination of the injured girl was favourably commented on by the Sheriff.

During the whole of his recent investigation in Africa of sleeping sickness, Colonel Sir David Bruce had the help of his wife. The work lasted for eighteen months and entailed complete isolation in lonely parts of the shores of Lake Victoria Nyanza.

Miss Clara Bennett, Poor-Law Guardian, in protesting to the Grimsby magistrate recently on behalf of the passive resisters, made an effective point in favour of woman suffrage. The magistrate had previously suggested that the polling booth was the proper place to attempt to amend the law. Woman ratepayers, she pointed out, had no vote, and could only object to unjust laws by disobeying them.

The latest statistics from Germany show that there are now eight millions of women in that country engaged in employment, and a full third of the economic labour of the Empire is carried on by women. It is interesting to note that in agriculture the increase is even higher than in industrial employment.

In Washington the Suffragists have taken to street meetings, and prominent among the speakers are Miss Ray Costello from England and Miss Alice Paul, who was imprisoned in Holloway last year for her protest at the Mansion House banquet.

The male graduates of the University of London have issued a petition praying the Prime Minister to remove the restriction which prevents woman graduates from exercising the Parliamentary franchise.

The list of Licentiatees of the Royal College of Physicians just issued includes the name of one woman, Miss Dossihal Patel, who is the first woman to obtain this degree since it was made accessible to women.

The Leeds General Infirmary has decided to admit women medical students.

Two of the finest pictures in the Royal Academy this year are painted by a woman, Mrs. Laura Knight.

Mr. Clayton has been selected by the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies as a Suffrage candidate for South Salford at the next election in opposition to Mr. Hilaire Belloc.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

For times of Meetings see pp. 522, 523, and 524.

Monday, May 9.—Meeting at 3 p.m. in the Scala Theatre (admission free). Speakers: Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., Dr. Chapple, M.P., H. W. Nevinson, Esq. As the Annual Council Meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation meets next week, there will be in London a number of Liberal women from all parts of the country, and it is hoped that many of them will take the opportunity of attending this meeting. Mrs. Pankhurst at Warrington.

Tuesday, May 10.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Manchester and Bowdon (Cheshire). Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, London; meeting for Civil Servants—**Wednesday, May 11.**—Mrs. Pankhurst at Bury (Lancs).

Thursday, May 12.—Free meeting at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, W. Speakers: Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., Miss Douglas Smith, Mrs. Pertwee. Mrs. Pankhurst at Bolton (Lancs).

Monday, May 16.—Self-Denial Cards to be returned to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Treasurer, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Saturday, May 28.—Women! Bring your friends to join in the great Procession to the Albert Hall. See pp. 513 and 520. A special leaflet (No. 68) explaining the purpose and scope of the Demonstration, window bills, posters for hearings and elsewhere, may be obtained from Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

W.S.P.U. MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability to further the campaign funds of the Union.

AN APPEAL TO CHURCHMEN.

(Report of a Speech delivered at the Scala Theatre, on Monday, May 2, by the Rev. Hugh Chapman, of the Royal Chapel of the Savoy.)

I come to address the meeting as a clergyman of the Church of England because I am anxious to try and make it felt that religion consists of a great deal more than mere services and the fighting about shibboleths. I want you to understand that there are those—and thank God they are not in such a minority as is generally alleged—who believe that religion has to do with the whole conduct of life, and that every minister of God who preaches love and pity to all living things and does not express it in civic action is an anomaly against which all sensible men and women naturally revolt. I have come here purely because I believe that this movement is essentially a religious movement in the largest sense of the word, whereby I suppose is meant the bringing back of man to God and the restoration of human nature to something of the image in which it is supposed to have been created; and I can only say this at the outset, that I owe a lady like Mrs. Pankhurst no small debt for the personal inspiration she happens to have been to me, and for having given me a certain fire, which I humbly believe will not go out, and which I sincerely trust may make a large conflagration.

I think that the Suffragists have been enormously misunderstood. I think that everyone who is engaged in such a movement must suffer misunderstanding at the outset. The Master of my particular faith is an example of that. But the time will come when people realise that the women engaged in this movement have been sent among us with an enormous mission, which their peers at first did not fully appreciate, but which I am absolutely certain will eventually effect its purpose.

Let us consider what is at the back of the movement. There are, in the first place, the principles of justice. I cannot understand anybody calling himself a priest of any Church whatever unless justice is one of the main things which move and express the whole tenor of his life.

Are Men Chivalrous?

We all know anti-Suffragists who tell us that it is the methods, not the cause itself, to which people are opposed. But now that those methods are quiescent they have not come in the numbers which one expected them to do to rally round the cause. Therefore there must be a great amount of prejudice in the human heart; and as for the chivalry which men are supposed to have, my practical experience is this: that when they care for a particular woman, or are in the state known as "in love," they are exceedingly chivalrous, but when it comes to the female *en masse*, I think that men are exceedingly cruel. Indeed, true chivalry, shown towards women as a whole, is so extremely rare that it makes me, as a man, intensely ashamed.

There is no one who knows anything about life but must realise that women suffer from grave disabilities on every side, and it behoves every man to undo this inequality, which I do not believe God ever intended. It is purely human in its origin, and is due to the unfairness and the lordliness and in many instances the indifference of the male creation.

I am exceedingly moved with regard to some of the difficulties in which I find my sisters. For example, when I discover that a woman is divorced for certain things and that a man goes scot free, I think it absolutely and cruelly wrong.

Living in the slums, as I have done for a quarter of a century, knowing the poor not only by reading about them, but by going amongst them, and being their brother—for although I am a royal chaplain at the present moment, I am essentially a parson from my head to my foot—I have come across scenes and troubles amongst women that it is impossible to express. I do not believe in speaking sentimentally, but no man can have lived amongst the poor, no man can have realised the lives of the women of the working classes without coming to the absolute conviction that women should have an equal voice at the hustings. These things have been going on not only for years, but for centuries, yet women have been left without a voice. I do not doubt that very different things would be done, very different laws would be passed as regards women if they were an equal factor with men—if they elected members and sent them to Parliament. I have no idea, ladies and gentlemen, of saying anything at all extravagant, but I want it to be brought home to you that you are not the hub of the universe, that everyone has not got a motor-car, that everyone has not got a band of servants and so forth, that there are thousands of women on the borderland of starvation at this present moment who have to perform arduous and ill-paid labour, as Mrs. Pankhurst has detailed, and who at any time may be offered a five-pound note for the price of their shame, and yet they go back to their work and accept these wages sooner than give their bodies, which they could do at any moment. When Mrs. Pankhurst, and other women like her, work to secure the means of altering these things, believe me, they are initiating something which will go down through the centuries, and will make women proud indeed of being women.

There is nothing very extraordinary, and there is nothing very revolutionary, in women having the vote. It appears to me a very ordinary thing that women should have a voice in sending men to the House where they make the laws for the whole community.

There is another aspect of the case which appeals to me even more strongly than justice itself. Justice is a thing which men have been willing to die for, which they have been burnt for. They have done this in the past and they will always do it to the end of time. But there is another thing which interests me and inspires everybody who thinks of what is at the back of the movement. I mean the re-adjustment of the relations between men and women.

Anyone who helps forward a healthier relation between the sexes is a benefactor to her country, in whose praise enough can never be said for having thus aided in the preservation and restoration of morality. And I think it is well for us to realise that women count from a patriotic point of view, that the end of a woman's life is not so much marriage as the good of the State in which she lives, that she also has a civic side, that the aim of her life is not purely to be peaceful and moral, not purely to get something without labour, not purely to be man's ornament, not purely to sit by his side in a carriage, or as hostess at his table, but that she has got her duties towards the world in which she lives, that she is not man's toy, but his equal in politics. The end of a woman's life is not to be man's temptation, nor purely flirtation; and it is because you women stipulate for that, that some of the women in society dislike you. You are spoiling their game, and I hope you will go on spoiling it. It has been taken for granted—and certainly theology is at fault in this respect—that woman is man's temptation, and there is hardly a book I have read on the subject which has not always told me that she is to be avoided almost as a creature of the lower regions. But I believe that a healthier era is setting in—I believe that men and women will eventually live in a saner way; I believe that, although the vote is no doubt your immediate objective, it includes far more than appears on the surface. There is a certain atmosphere, though it is very difficult for me to put it into words, at your meetings for which I am always grateful, an atmosphere which always sends me away a better man, and reminds me of the best women I have ever known. That is why I gave myself up to this movement. I owe to this influence a debt which, if I use the rest of my life until your movement is successful, I shall not have perfectly repaid.

When women make you feel that they are interested in things intelligent, in things which are broad, in the helping forward of those who are ignorant, and those who are enormously tempted in life; it is then we understand that it is worth while serving such women. When you get that mutual relation between men and women, believe me, a better day will dawn for the country. I want to impress upon you that men and women can work together, and that there need not be something essentially doubtful and uncertain about it. I do not want romance to cease, for it is the very joy of life, but I want it to be coupled with something else, for woman can be, not only the woman you love, but your companion and your friend. I say that if this were more clearly understood there would be fewer unfortunates on the street. Women would not sell their bodies when their brains were developed! Apart from the sin of it, it is a sadly stupid thing to do. Some day it will become impossible. I want you, by the grace of God, to bring about a new type of womanhood, who will be man's helpmeet, and will be able to take a full share in his life. When women have the vote they will realise that they have something to do in the State. Women will then be considered of more importance, and will therefore become more important to themselves. They will begin not to live as mere ciphers, and they will understand that they have got to give a reason for the political faith that is in them. It will help enormously in making them educated women, and I believe that at the back of all the lust and passion in this world is the utter absence of mentality on the part of idle women who are slaves of men. A lady who worked in the East End told me that among 200 children seven articles were missing in five minutes, that they were born little thieves. Do you mean to tell me that it is not time for women to save them from their fate, which is assuredly either immorality or prison? And when you think what could be done by means of the Vote to help children, to help women, I wonder all women do not join the Suffrage movement, and thank God, as I do every hour of the day, that it has been brought into existence. There has been a sort of consensus of opinion that women do not care for women, but you have come to introduce a new era, and to show that there are women who are moved with enormous sorrow for their sisters' wrongs. And when you get a woman with a passion like that, if you will allow me to say so as a clergyman, you have got one of the highest developments in creation. I know no fairer sight, and when I think of Elizabeth Fry, who was a cousin of mine, and of whom I am always proud, and of other women who have this wonderful faculty, I can only say that a movement which gathers up this passion for service—and I know there is more of it abroad than people ever understand—is bringing a new revelation to our country. I ask every one of you to do your best to make this cause triumphant. If it is necessary to raise the flag again, no doubt it will be raised, but I want to show that there is as much enthusiasm among you in peace as ever there was in war.

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WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE.

By Frederick W. Pethick Lawrence.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

Previous articles appeared in our issues of February 11, 25, March 4, 11, 18, 25, April 1, 8, 15, 22, and 29. What women are asking for.—The demand which women are making is simply and solely that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise.

The Meaning of the Parliamentary Vote.—The right to put a cross on a ballot paper which the possession of the Parliamentary vote confers is a symbolic act of citizenship. It is the means recognised by the law whereby the voter exercises his sovereign rights as one of the rulers of the country. Its immediate effect is to enable the voter to influence the selection of the man whom he wishes to represent his district in the House of Commons, and through him to control the legislation, taxation, and administration of the country.

Why Women Want the Vote.—In the first place, they desire to play their part in the life of the nation and introduce their point of view, so long neglected, into the government of the country. Among the matters decided in Parliament are questions of education, infant mortality, sweated labour, the conditions of women's work, the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and the criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes.

When the Law is Unjust to Women.—Those who oppose the granting of the franchise to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him.

Women and the Administration.—In administering the country the Government has set up an entirely artificial difference between the sexes. In the first place, from a very large number of positions (including all the more important) women are excluded altogether, to the disadvantage of women, who are thus denied opportunities of well-paid employment, and to the disadvantage of the community, which is thus obliged to appoint a man where a woman might be more suitable, or have better qualifications.

Forty Years of Ladylike Methods.—Those who see the Suffragettes of impatience forgot the forty years of "constitutional" agitation carried on from 1865 to 1905. At first women tried to get on to the register, and in one district 92 per cent. of the "qualified" women sent in claims. The case was, however, decided against them in the law courts. "Ghorion v. Lings." They then organised petitions, and in 14 years sent in over 9,000 petitions with over three million signatures. Next they held enthusiastic meetings in all the large towns of the country. Nevertheless they were omitted from the County Franchise Bill, and, at the express direction of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., pledged to Woman Suffrage voted against an amendment to include women.

Militant Methods.—It is a mistake idea that submission is a noble virtue. There are circumstances under which it may even be morally wrong. One of these arises when it is a matter of submission to a breach of trust by a co-trustee. And women, to whom equally with men, the interests of other women, of children, and of the race as a whole are confided, would be wrong if they continued to submit to exclusion from their proper place in the nation's affairs. Because they have done so hitherto, a whole set of ideas necessary for the proper evolution of the human race has been crushed out of existence. The commencement of militant methods by women meant that

they were tired of being humbugged by politicians and had found out that pressure had to be adopted. This pressure could not be of the same kind as is used in other walks of life, because those who had no votes had no constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear on the Government.

Origin of the Militant Campaign.—In the autumn of 1905 the general political outlook underwent a change. The sands of the Conservative Government were running out, and Sir Edward Grey came to Manchester to expound what Liberal policy would be if a Liberal Government came into power. The W.S.P.U. then two years old, determined to find out what the Liberal policy would be to women.

The Four Years' War.—The story of the Government's action during the four years which followed was the development of the policy initiated by Sir Edward Grey at Manchester of first ignoring and then treating as mere roddies the women who were determined to have their question dealt with. The only possible answer to be made by women—unless they give up right in—was to try to compel the Government to listen to the woman's case, to force them to argue it out on its merits, to accept violence at their hands rather than submit to remain voteless, and, if the Government proved obdurate, to appeal to a higher power—the electorate—to override them.

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CHAPTER XI. CRITICISM OF THE MILITANT TACTICS. PART I.—ELECTION POLICY.

The Election Policy of the Women's Social and Political Union has been criticised by friends and opponents of woman suffrage. It is argued (1) that it is immoral—or at least unfair; (2) that it is inexpedient; (3) that it is ineffectual.

The essence of the W.S.P.U. policy is that it is anti-Government. It passes right over the individual merits and opinions and pledges of the candidates themselves and attacks the Government candidate solely because he is the nominee of the Government. It does not support any other candidate, and where two or more such are in the field it offers no further advice to the electors as to how they should vote.

"Immoral and Unfair." Critics suggest that it is immoral to call upon Liberals to vote against Liberal principles, and that to ask electors to vote against the Government nominee, whatever his views on the suffrage, is unfair both to the Government, who are not really responsible for the delay in granting woman suffrage, and to the Liberal candidate, who may be an ardent supporter of the cause.

These critics forget that it cannot be immoral to place the greater before the less. The true representation of a people, who have to obey the laws and pay the taxes, is a Liberal principle more fundamental and more vital than any of those for which the Liberal party have contended during the years of suffragette opposition. Nor can anyone acquainted with modern day politics fail to recognise that it is the Government which has been responsible for blocking the enfranchisement of women. It and it alone has the command of the time of the House; no bill can possibly be carried unless directly supported by the Government, or at any rate favoured by it to the extent of being granted "special facilities" in the way of time for discussion. It has been the Government which has persistently refused time for the discussion of a woman suffrage bill, and has aggravated this refusal by its treatment of woman suffragists when they have sought to lay their case before its members. The demand, therefore, that electors shall vote against the Government on this issue is the demand that they shall realise that this issue transcends all others, and that they shall strike a blow at a Government which fails to allow it to be dealt with.

As to the suggestion that it is unfair to deal with a man, not according to his own personal views, but according to those of his party, these critics do not realise that when a man goes down to a constituency as a Liberal nominee he has already abrogated his personal standpoint and accepted

the standpoint of the Liberal Party. He is like a soldier going into battle under a certain flag; by that flag he must stand or fall, and he cannot plead immunity from attack on the ground that he does not approve of the war in which life is fighting. A Liberal candidate has already ranged himself on the side of the Liberal Government by acceptance of party support, and he must expect to gain by the merits and suffer for the demerits of that Government. So long as he elects to serve under the Liberal flag—and no true woman suffragist ought to be willing to place himself in this position at the present day—he cannot escape the odium which attaches to the Government on account of its treatment of women.

"Inexpedient." "But," say the critics, "even if it be not immoral or unfair, it is at any rate inexpedient, because it may lead to the exclusion of a supporter of woman suffrage from the House of Commons and the inclusion of an opponent whereas the true policy would be to support 'sympathisers' and oppose those who declare themselves 'unfavourable,' whatever be their party flag."

Those who argue in this way do not realise that legislation is carried to-day not by the private member but by the Government. The private member is merely a counter of a certain colour; he either is a supporter of the Government or an opponent. Mr. Sidney Low states the case very clearly in his book, "The Government of England."

A Member of Parliament is elected to vote for a particular Ministry or to vote against it; he is the delegate of his constituents. They do not send him to Parliament to exercise his independence. They would be particularly annoyed and irritated if he did, and they scrutinise his votes with jealous care in order that they may take him to task very speedily, and with no superfluous delicacy or reserve, if he shows any dangerous tendency in that direction. And the modern M.P. understands the conditions of his political existence so well that in point of fact he hardly ever does vote against his party on any party issue when his own side is in office.

The rank and file Ministerialist is only in a limited sense a legislator; he has scarcely any power to make new laws, or to prevent them being made, or to amend old ones; he is not consulted when they come from the printers, and then he knows that, whether he likes them or not, he will be expected to support them by his vote in the Lobby.

This being the position of the private member when once he is returned to the House of Commons, the question which is presented to a body of electors at a by-election is not whether they prefer the views of Mr. X. to those of Mr. Y., or Mr. Z., but whether they prefer the views of the party leaders to which Mr. X. belongs to those of the party leaders of Mr. Y. or Mr. Z. They are required, in fact, to pass a vote of "confidence" or "no confidence" in the Government of the day.

In 1908 Mr. Stanger's Bill for the enfranchisement of women passed its second reading by the overwhelming majority of 179 (271-92). It would have made very little difference if that majority had been increased to 189 by the inclusion of a few more nominal supporters in the House or reduced to 169 by the exclusion of a few of those already there; but it would have made all the difference if the Government could have been persuaded to withdraw its opposition to the further discussion of the bill. The only form of persuasion which Governments understand is a hostile vote at an election. The defeat, therefore, of a Government candidate, even if he be a professed friend of woman suffrage, will be a tremendous gain for the suffrage cause if it results in convincing the Government of the unpopularity involved in continued opposition to the enfranchisement of women.

"Ineffective." "That may be so," say some critics, "but as a matter of fact women turn hardly any votes, and the Government do not recognise any of their defeats as due to this cause."

Of course none are so blind as those who will not see, and it may be that the Government are still incredulous of the effect women have had in causing the defeat of their candidates, but it is surely too late in the day to suggest that women do not influence, and influence largely, the votes given by electors! This is a question of fact, and on a question of fact, evidence alone is of any value—evidence covering not merely one by-election, but a series of elections. Such evidence is obviously precluded from the present article by limitation of space, but those who wish can verify the facts for themselves by searching the local newspapers during the elections of the past four years. At the beginning of 1909 I collected the evidence for the by-elections of the year 1908 and published them in a pamphlet ("The By-election Policy of the W.S.P.U." The Woman's Press, 1s.).

showing conclusively the weight attached locally to the women's intervention during that year. In February of the present year I estimated that the W.S.P.U. had been responsible for the defeat of between 30 and 40 Government candidates at the General Election; this estimate received unexpected corroboration in a hostile quarter, where it was stated that in ten per cent. of the constituencies woman suffrage played a prominent part in the election. The strength of the women's opposition is also attested by the fact that it has been by no means uncommon for Liberal candidates or their friends prior to an election to make a "special appeal for mercy" to the leaders of the W.S.P.U., in the vain hope of staving off the opposition of the Union, which they knew would be fatal to their interest.

Critics of the election policy of the W.S.P.U. have entirely failed to shake the sound diagnosis of political strategy on which it is founded or the inexorable logic by which it is built up; and every day that passes sees a more nearly unanimous verdict on the part of friend and foe that this policy, wielded aright, constitutes a formidable weapon in the suffrage cause.

[To be continued.]

THE GREAT MARCH, SATURDAY, MAY 28.

How the Country will be represented in London at the Great Demonstration.

Saturday, May 28th, the day that will one day be known in history as "The Women's Day," is little more than three weeks ahead. Like all the demonstrations organised in connection with this movement, it will be even greater and more successful than the organisers first anticipated. So strong is their desire for justice, that women who have never come forward to take any public action in their lives are at this time breaking through all hesitation and timidity and are coming out into the streets of the Metropolis as an irresistible and invincible army.

Those who will applaud the wonderful success of the demonstration will never be able to realise all the uniring and arduous work to which this result is due. Like the blood which is sent from the heart along the great arteries and then divides into hundreds of smaller blood vessels until every part of the body is reached, so the workers of the Union carry the meaning of the movement through a great system which has its headquarters at Clement's Inn, and branches out in every direction to the great divisions of Britain and again to the towns, and from there to small villages and hamlets. All over the country the Demonstration is being explained to thousands of women by the various organisers. Ways and means of doing this work are many. There are the regular and innumerable meetings and at Homes which are held in every town, there are the street-corner and village meetings of which so many are held that it is impossible to keep any count, and many places are doing work in new and special directions.

How Women are Coming from the Country. So great is the number of those who wish to come even from very long distances to take their part in this great and historical Procession, that special arrangements are being made by nearly all the organisers. Miss Annie Kenney, in the West of England, has made all arrangements for a special excursion train from Bristol on May 28. This will leave Clifton Down at 8 a.m., and will stop at all the local stations and at Bath, returning from London at 8.5 p.m., or 1.15 a.m. A train from Weston-super-Mare will run in connection. The fare is 5/6 return. Nottingham members have arranged an excursion trip which will enable the whole day to be spent in London. The train leaves Nottingham at 8.25 a.m. (Midland), and passengers return either at 6.30 p.m. or 12.30 a.m. The fare is 7/6. Newcastle has not been able to arrange a special train, but it is hoped that a good contingent will come from that town, and that it will be augmented by Northumberland people living in London. Newport, Cardiff and Barry people are anxious to come, and arrangements are being made with the railway company for an excursion train.

In Birmingham arrangements are also being considered and will be announced in due course. In Bradford special return tickets can be had for 15s. 6d., and if enough members take tickets it is possible that a further reduction may be made. Mrs. Baines writes from Hull that if 40 tickets can be taken a special train will be run by the Great Eastern Railway for 11s. return, starting at midnight on the Friday before. She asks those intending to take part to send in their names as soon as possible to her at 1, St. George's Avenue, South Parade, Hull. In Sheffield also, if a sufficient number of tickets can be guaranteed the fare to London will be only 9s. return. Names should be sent in to Miss Adela Pankhurst, 45, Marlborough Road, Sheffield, at once. Ipswich has already arranged for a special train at 4s. 3d. return fare. Edinburgh and Glasgow are arranging for a special train, which Dundee members can join. From Canterbury and the neighbourhood a special train will be run at 4s. and 3s. 6d. return. Those intending to take advantage of this should send in their names at once to the organiser at 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate. Miss Dora Marsden writes from Southampton that she hopes to be able to arrange an excursion train at 11s. return. This would leave Southampton at 7 a.m. and return in the evening, or for 6s. extra the stay could be extended over the week-end. At Rayleigh Mrs. Warren is negotiating with the Great Eastern Railway Company. Derby is fortunate in having an excursion train to London every Saturday of which members will take advantage. An excursion train is also being run from Brighton.

Banners, beautiful in design and colour, will add to the effect of this great line of march. The beautiful banners that have been used on previous occasions will again be proudly carried by representative women, and in addition to this a great many new ones are being made. Local Unions and County Centres are busy preparing standards and tying with one another in the designing of new devices to take their place in the great line.

Band. Our own splendid Drum and Pipe Band, led by Mrs. Leigh as Drum Major, will head the Procession. A very fine sight it will be to see our double band of buglers, fliers, and drummers in their smart uniform, with that erect military bearing which always brings its tribute of admiration from the passers in the street. It is symbolic of the new Movement that women should be led by women upon their great march to freedom. A large number of additional bands have been engaged so that the inspiration of numbers, and of beauty and colour shall be heightened by the inspiration of rhythm and tune. Forty bands will be required for so enormous a Procession. Even this number may be augmented at the last moment; but every one is going to be a special gift to the Union, symbolic of love and enthusiasm. Twenty-three out of the forty have already been promised. There are about seventeen more to give. The generosity of the members of this Union, and their intense pride and delight in their organization, could take no more fitting and beautiful form of expression than the gift of music.

Flower Bearers. The beauty and colour of Continental processions has suggested a significant addition to the Women's March, i.e., that each individual should carry a flowering branch. At that end of May there will be a profusion of flowers to choose from—e.g., May, Hawthorn, lilac, Solomon's seal. This idea will not only carry out the colours of the W.S.P.U., but will symbolise the awakening from the winter sleep and the joy of spring which is at the very heart of the woman's movement. It is hoped that, as far as possible, everyone taking part in the Procession will carry out this suggestion.

Points to Members. Members are asked to be on the Embankment as early as possible on Saturday afternoon, May 28, in order to facilitate the tremendous work of arrangement. They are also asked, as far as they can, to wear the colours of the Union, so that all along the line the beloved tri-colour—purple, white and green—will be in evidence. Those who are taking part in the Pageant of Prisoners should wear white if they can do so with comfort and convenience. It is impossible to carry out a strict scheme in one colour, but we are sure that, wherever possible, members will readily

conform to any suggestion that is put forward in order to enhance the interest or the beauty of the Procession. All costumes worn on this occasion should clear the ground. Nothing is more ugly in its general effect than women marching with one hand holding up a long skirt. It completely detracts from the smart military effect.

Attention is specially directed to the following points:— In the sections and groups devoted to local W.S.P.U.'s friends of members of the Union will be welcome to walk as well as members themselves, and if they prefer they can walk beside their immediate friends. Men will not be excluded from the procession, but as only those men who have special reserved tickets can obtain admission to the Albert Hall, the general public of men are not being invited to take part. Friends of the Union should invite men to come and line the route of the procession and to see for themselves how great is the demand that women are making.

The whole effect of a procession comes from the fact that those taking part in it march on foot. It is most important, therefore, that on May 28 only those shall drive who, by reason of ill-health or advanced age, are unable to walk. Section G for carriages will be confined to private carriages.

Selling the Paper. Some members will have to forego the joy of marching in the great line, in order that they may have the honour of service and may do the very necessary work of selling along the line of route the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN. The streets will be filled with an enormous crowd, whose interest will necessarily be so much awakened that they will be quite ready to buy the paper and learn more about the movement which is responsible for so splendid a demonstration. Hundreds of sellers are wanted in order that thousands of papers may be sold. The opportunity is so exceptional that it must not be missed. Those willing to help in this very important work are asked to send in their names at once to Miss Ainsworth, at the new Women's Press shop, 156, Charing Cross Road. It is hoped also to have six press carts in the Procession, and for this three women drivers are still needed. Volunteers for this should also communicate with Miss Ainsworth.

Advertising the Procession. Local Unions and individuals can obtain window bills and posters to be placed on hoardings from Miss Kerr, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The Albert Hall Meeting. The biggest meeting that has ever been held in the history of the Union will be that in the Albert Hall following the great Procession. For this occasion a full set of the Hall has been obtained, and already of the thousands of reserved seats, so many are sold that only balcony seats remain. Those who wish to secure their position there are recommended to make immediate application to Miss Cooke, the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn W.C. The price of the Balcony reserved seats is 6d. each, and only members of the W.S.P.U. can apply.

Albert Hall Stewards. There are still some vacancies for stewards inside the Albert Hall. Members of the Union sending in their applications to Miss Hambling (W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.) must clearly understand that if they wish to walk in the procession they must walk in the section which will be allotted to them, near the front, so that when nearing the hall they can leave the other processionists and take their places in the Hall before the main body arrives.

Notice to Officers of the Procession. The Ticket Secretary wishes to inform all officers, marshals, captains, paper-sellers, etc., that it has not been possible to arrange any special accommodation for them in the Albert Hall, and they are therefore requested to take reserved seats in the same way as other members of the audience.

[Reports of those who are organising the various contingents of the procession will be found on page 520.]

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“VOTES FOR WOMEN” TEA.

At the request of several W.S.P.U. Shops and many of our private Members, THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C., Has decided to Stock and Supply a Special Brand of

TEA

At 1s. 6d. and 1s. 8d. per lb.

The Tea is of Superior Quality, and will be most carefully selected. Daintily packed in 1 lb. and ½ lb. Packets. It is hoped to have all arrangements ready by the second week in May.

All information from— Mrs. KNIGHT, The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

THE HIDDEN SPRINGS.

How Women are Filling the War Chest.

In the heart of the hills the river is born—in tiny springs that bubble up out of the earth, almost too small to be noticed by human eyes. The grass and flowers are kept green and fresh by these brooklets, which grow and increase in volume until they crash down the rocks and help to make the great river wherein the goodly ships ride out to the sea. These hidden springs are like the humble efforts of individuals during Self-Denial Week. The full story of what women have done to swell the funds of the W.S.P.U. will never be known, but a few examples have been collected here. There are thousands of other stories; these are only a few:—

Leicestershire members were so eager for Self-Denial Week to begin that they hailed Friday as the first day. The shop was cleaned betimes, the window dressed most daintily by Mrs. Pemberton Peake, and the Self-Denial Produce began to stream in. However, as fast as it came in it went out, and never were sellers so busy! The daintiest sweets, Scotch shortbread, luscious Turkish delight, toffee, jams and marmalade, all found ready purchasers. A beautiful artistic poster at the back of the window, made by Master Garth Taylor, invited all to come in and taste, and see the handiwork of "the domesticated mothers and daughters of England." Many stories of Self-Denial have come to the ears of the organiser (Miss Dorothy Pethick), and many more will probably never be known. One tired member, busy all day and every day, made jam and cakes at night; another, teaching all day, made dainty little ties and bows; another made sweets and sold them to her own friends; another has cycled everywhere to save train fares; and all have given of their utmost and of themselves to this great cause. One member began selling at the Pitch as a tribute to Self-Denial Week and a conquest of self; and so the beautiful story might be lengthened indefinitely.

At Brighton the great Demo meeting was being advertised in the midst of Self-Denial Week, and this it is hoped will make a considerable addition to the Self-Denial collection. On Saturday a large crowd at the station awaited the arrival of the W.S.P.U. Drum and File Band, which went down from London, and paraded through the principal streets to the Front, the way being cleared by young men helpers. Many were the interesting remarks made by the bystanders—"They play to win," said one; "Plucky women! Wait, here's another sixpence." While from one side came the remark, "What rubbish!" from a fashionable dame, on the other was heard: "Well, mum, I am only a poor working girl, but here's a penny, and God bless you and the cause." The beauty of the uniforms and the smart military bearing of the women made a great impression. The band was followed by local workers with leaflets and Self-Denial collecting boxes. Good results are also looked for from collecting cards, and there is a sale of home-made sweets at the shop and three members volunteered for a larval organ. Police permission for a woman shoe black was refused.

Collecting Boxes in the Colours.

Sheffield workers are rejoicing that Self-Denial Week was fixed for the beginning of May, as street collecting along the route of the May Day procession was such an excellent opportunity for adding to the funds. Miss Batty's work in making purple, white and green collecting boxes saved the public from any difficulty in distinguishing the Suffragettes, from other workers collecting at the same time. Each collector also carried a board with a forcible Feeding poster on the top, and the words, "See what women are doing for you! Help the funds" below. Miss Challand gave work and Miss Butterworth drawings for sale; Mrs. Stewart and her sister made sweets, Mrs. Irons made sweets and cakes, and these made by Miss Schuster have all been sold.

At Scarborough collections have been made on the sands, while the energies of Mrs. Moten and Mrs. Wardell are being turned to a concert with tableaux.

In Manchester members have been very busy obtaining donations, and for the first time they have had permission for street collections. The collectors report very good results. The pitches allowed are:—Oldham Street and Piccadilly, Whitworth Street and Oxford Road, Exchange Station, St. Peter's Square. A prize is offered for the largest sum of money collected for Self-Denial Week by any member in Manchester and district. Cards, marked "For Manchester Fund," and contributions to be sent to the Manchester office.

Liverpool workers, who have had a very strenuous spring, with many important meetings, are not relaxing their efforts, but are making their own individual schemes to keep ahead of other centres. One member kept the shop supplied with beautiful white flowers, which sold rapidly during the week. Another raised a good sum by palming.

Bolton members are concentrating their energies on collecting cards, and an American tea is being arranged for Thursday evening, May 19, in Talbot's Restaurant, Deansgate, the rules being that everyone must bring something to sell and also buy something. Suitable articles are clothing, food, perfume, &c. Mrs. Ooep has kindly offered to defray the cost of photographs of Miss Ainsworth for sale, and signed postcards of Mrs. Fankhurst will be sold at 6d. each, the extra profit going to the funds.

Freston is arranging a jumble sale. Southport members have organised a Dance and Whist Drive, for which Miss McKay has given the hall and other members have given the refreshments (to be paid for in addition).

Individual members of the Rayleigh (Essex) W.S.P.U. are carrying out ideas of their own. This plucky little Union, only ten weeks old, has held weekly meetings at a hired hall, and has paid its way all along.

Birmingham plans include, in addition to collecting boxes at street corners, a stand with a large collecting box and posters in Victoria Square. Nottingham members are having a Home Produce Sale and an "American Cobweb" to-day and to-morrow, from 3.30 to 9.30 p.m. Anyone in Nottingham would be well advised to attend during those hours, if only to discover what an "American Cobweb" is.

Bristol is proclaiming to the world in general by a large banner outside the shop that this is Self-Denial Week. A barrel-organ and a special collection on the Downs, flower-selling in the streets, and street collections are among the plans, and two members are visiting all the cabstands and collecting from the good-natured cabbies, while other members are visiting hotels and political clubs. A jumble sale will be held the following week, and "stacks of clothes" are expected. All who have anything to give are asked to send it to Mrs. Young, 37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol.

Members at Newport (Mon.) are collecting, and, as their special Women's Mission occurs during Self-Denial Week, it is hoped that much may be done in the way of raising funds at the special meetings. When these are over, street collections will be held.

Reading had a "Cake Auction," which realised £1 3s. 3d., thanks to the kind friends who contributed goods so generously. At Bradford the most notable event has been the Cake and Candy Sale. Members are doing their utmost to collect and save in order to clear off the debt on the work during the past half-year.

Newcastle members, in addition to filling their Self-Denial Cards, are making sweets, knitting ties and gloves, photographing, making children's frocks, street collecting while selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, walking instead of riding, abstaining from theatregoing, and last but not least, giving Self-Denial teas at the shop. At these teas the givers pay to partake of the good things they themselves bring. The tea and sale last Saturday brought in over 30s. Dundee's Self-Denial Week has been postponed on account of the Exhibition, but offers are coming in for street collecting, sweet making, jumble sale, etc.

Some London Unions.

In London, Chelsea street collections took place at Sloane Square and South Kensington Stations, St. George's Hospital, and the Court Theatre, and at the Shop, 308, King's Road, where, through the kindness of Miss Blacklock, things are going ahead, there is a beautiful selection of articles for sale, including some Sussex smocks for children. Thanks to Miss Blacklock also, some beautiful spring flowers have found a ready sale.

Forest Gate's barrel-organ excites much friendly interest, brings additions to the funds, and good sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN. A home-made sale also proved a great success.

Lewisham has hit upon the brilliant idea of a sale of everyday necessities, to be held to-day, Friday, from 11 a.m. to 9 p.m., and members are requested to contribute something, no matter how small, in the way of groceries, cakes, sweets, haberdashery, etc., and to induce friends to come and buy. To-morrow, also, a procession with collecting boxes, handbills, and VOTES FOR WOMEN will leave the shop at 6.30 p.m., and hold short meetings at various stopping-places.

Wimbledon inaugurated Self-Denial Week with a procession of members from the offices through the principal streets, in which colour bearer, timekeeper, Irish bagpipers (of the Bryan Born type), were flanked by six lantern carriers, and followed by members in purple, white and green marching dress, armed with collecting boxes, while lantern carriers and paper-sellers brought up the rear. To proclaim the purpose of the party each member had a dainty heart-shaped card with "Suffragettes' Self-Denial Week," in the colours, hung on her regalia. Five prominent pitches were selected for halting, and the Marseillaise and "Wimbledon songs" were sung in solo and chorus amid cheers from the crowds. Six shillings was raised in pennies alone, and a large number of papers were sold. The special thanks of the Union are due to Mr. Basil Belmont for his services as "Hon. Bagpiper."

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Everything that forethought, and enthusiasm, and devotion can do is being done to make our Procession on Saturday, May 28, the most interesting and beautiful, as well as the greatest, that London has ever seen. We shall have forty bands of music to lead the march. And we are going to have every one of those forty bands paid for by special contributions. Twenty-three have been promised already; seventeen remain to be given. The double bands cost twelve guineas; the single bands cost six guineas. So far, the bands have been given by the members of the London headquarters. We now invite the provincial centres to be represented in the list of special donors. From the West of England, from the North, the South, and the East, from the Midlands, we ask our friends to come forward to take their part in setting the steps of thousands to music on the great day of our National Demonstration.

We rejoice this week in our long Contributions List. And we rejoice also in the great results of the Scottish Exhibition, of which the splendid financial harvest of £1,700 is but one sign. The Treasurer of this Union adds her voice to the chorus of hearty congratulations to the conveners and the organisers of that Exhibition and to all the hundreds of willing workers whose services have been so richly crowned with success.

E. P. L.

A "VOTES FOR WOMEN" CLOCK.

A street clock bearing the letters of VOTES FOR WOMEN in place of the hour numbers will be one of the attractions of the new shop of the Woman's Press at 156, Charing Cross Road. The clock, which is being erected by the Synchronome Company, whose clocks in the central offices at Clements Inn have proved such good timekeepers, will be erected on Whit Monday and will be visible from Oxford Street. Meanwhile, before this paper is in the hands of our readers, the shop itself will have been opened by Miss Fanny Brough and Miss Evelyn Sharp.

The story of the Woman's Press constitutes a veritable romance which would provoke to envy any business house run on ordinary lines, for during the brief space of three years it has multiplied its activities two hundred fold. During the early days of the Women's Social and Political Union in London there was no special literature department, but sales of friendly newspapers, of pamphlets, of postcards, of leaflets, &c., were organised by the staff of the Union. The first year's report records a total sale of £60 in 1906. In 1907 the literature department was put on a distinct basis and its first secretary was Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Wholesale and retail sides were started, and when the offices of the Union were enlarged a special room was allotted to the department and Mrs. Knight was appointed to give her whole time to the work. The progress was such that in the single year the sales rose from £60 to £600.

In 1908 additional rooms were taken and the staff increased. Then came the great Hyde Park Demonstration



and the now famous colours, purple, white and green, were initiated. The Woman's Press was at once placed in charge of the sale of the new colours, and later, when the permanent centres were started all over the country, the Woman's Press supplied them with literature and other articles. In consequence the turnover in 1908 rose to close on £2,000. At the beginning of 1909 the Woman's Press separated its literature and colour department and also took over the publication of the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, a great number of local shops were also opened, and the trade of the year of the Woman's Press amounted to £7,000. At the present time it is about £1,000 a month or £12,000 a year. The Woman's Press employs 25 people, 13 on the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, all of whom are remaining at their old premises at Clements Inn, and 12 on the publication of other literature and the sale of colours, etc., etc., which are being removed to the new premises, 156, Charing Cross Road.

The new premises are very extensive. Book-lovers will remember them as those which were recently occupied by Mr. George Allen, the Ruskin publisher. They consist of a splendid shop and back, with 12 rooms above and a well-lit basement below.

It is sometimes said that facts and statistics are cold, but those who have imagination know how to clothe them with flesh and blood. Figures as to trade may not sound of interest, but when it is remembered that every £1 taken in the sale of Jd. pamphlets means that 240 people are reading about the movement, then a full sense of the propaganda and interest which lie beneath these figures will be appreciated.

Points to Remember.

All communications for the Woman's Press, including letters to Mrs. Knight in relation to colours, literature, or weekly orders from the local W.S.P.U.'s and local centres for VOTES FOR WOMEN should be addressed to 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Miss Ainsworth has also removed to 156, Charing Cross Road, and the London sellers and poster parades are organised by her from there.

The editorial, advertisement and publishing departments of VOTES FOR WOMEN remain as before at 4, Clements Inn. Reports for the paper, advertisements, postage subscriptions, should accordingly continue to be sent to that address.

SCHOLASTICA.

By "Didaskalos."

(Suggested by Merriman's character sketch "Novissima." It may be remembered that young Calamus "fell in love with and married" Edith by preference to Novissima, because she entirely failed to realise what a very clever young man he was.)

She certainly is not like the rest—those whom men fall in love with and marry. For one thing, she is too self-reliant—and this from a man's point of view is a most damnable thing in woman. But then, poor girl, how could she very well help it? It is a characteristic of which her mother is entirely innocent, and when, many years ago, the latter was left a widow with two little girls, one of whom inherited the father's weakly health and the mother's peevish disposition, and the other his brilliant intellectual gifts, to which nature in some wholly inexplicable manner had been pleased to add remarkable energy and executive ability, it was simply inevitable that on this one's brave young shoulders should devolve the main burden of the impoverished little household.

She was fourteen then and would have had to leave the neighbouring high school had it not been for the intervention of the head mistress, a woman of forbidding mien and quite inexpressible head and foot gear, but not devoid of heart for all that, nor of a capacity for recognising what she was pleased to designate as "good material." And so in consideration of certain services rendered, which sapped her young energies more than anyone suspected, while at the same time they developed a somewhat precocious sense of responsibility, Scholastica received a good education free of expense, and was misguided enough to make such use of it as to walk off in open competition with a valuable and much coveted scholarship.

The next three years she looks back upon as the happiest of her life. Relieved not only from various harassing school duties but also from the domestic worries which invariably accompanied her to the front door at home, and there awaited her subsequent return, free in short for the first time to devote all her time and energy to intellectual pursuits, she threw herself with enthusiastic delight into the many interests of University life. To say that she "specialised" sounds bad enough in all conscience, but if more over the faithful historian is bound to admit that she took an easy "First" in the Natural Science Tripos, he does so with the hesitation which is becoming to him when making so fatal an admission. It would be hard indeed to find a fact more damning. And yet again, poor girl, she really could not help it, any more than that she could help being the daughter of a brilliantly gifted but unpractical and improvident father. She is simply a Product-of-the-Age, a Creature-of-Circumstance. But yet not this exactly. For whereas in olden days a woman in her position would have eked out a miserable existence in some dependent and intolerable position, Scholastica has, or at least she—no doubt mistakenly—supposes that she has, risen above circumstances and experienced the joy of overcoming difficulties both practical and intellectual.

But enough has been said to show why she is not the sort of woman men fall in love with and marry. Frankly, she does not understand them in the least, for in the course of her hard working life she has had neither the time nor the opportunity of studying them or the art of pleasing them. She knows quite well that she does not and never will be attractive to them. She regrets it, for even she is not so abnormal as not to share in the old human necessity of loving and being loved. Let us do her that justice. But at the same time she knows quite well that marriage in her case and with her ideas would never do. For would she not wish to apply some of her chemistry in the kitchen, hygiene in the nursery, psychology in the schoolroom, and a little organised common sense, miscalled science, in the household generally? And how could that possibly be tolerated? Moreover she has learnt enough to know how very slight her knowledge is, even of her own "subjects," and how entirely deficient in many another. Still, if she ever had a son of her own, her general culture would undoubtedly be sufficient to enable her to take an intelligent interest in his pursuits, whatever they might be. I am not disputing that it would be an immense drawback to this hypothetical young gentleman if say at the age of ten he could not legitimately feel himself immeasurably her superior in matters intellectual. The contrary might—who knows?—lead to the demand on his part of something more than beauty or rank or wealth, or things less worthy, when the time came for him to choose a wife, which would be greatly to be deplored.

For take the case of young Calamus at the present time. Scholastica knows nothing whatever of his "subject"—and this is surely to her credit. More than that she knows that she knows nothing, which is not quite so satisfactory. But she makes an absurdly intelligent listener when he is kind enough to hold forth. Lastly she is perfectly well able to appreciate his cleverness, which, of course, is a hopeless state of affairs. For young Calamus knows, among many other things, that the real intellectual superiority of his sex, which no one can deny (how could they, given the start it has had?), has all the greater apparent value if venereal at a respectful distance by woman, towards whom under these circumstances his feelings are a fine compound of tolerance and real affection.

Unfortunately Scholastica has some ridiculous ideas as to the possibility of friendship between men and women—she is further so misguided as to think that she (Scholastica) has a right to her opinions! And so, though, as has already been said, she regrets her own shortcomings in masculine eyes, deep down in her heart is the conviction that under

existing circumstances she herself is far happier in the single state, for she could never be satisfied with the usual terms of the marriage contract. Yet, far from wishing to prove, as it is said that she is doing, that woman's mission is something higher than the bearing and bringing up of children, she has conceived so lofty a notion of the sacredness and importance of that time-honoured function as to think that it demands a woman's best—her physical, intellectual, moral, and spiritual best. And a man who does not demand this of her is not the man to whom she can give that whole-hearted allegiance and that wealth of love of which she knows herself to be possessed. At least it is something of this sort which I have her friend Novissima's authority for believing to be her view of the matter, and I am merely repeating it here to show how completely mistaken and ridiculous my poor Scholastica with all her learning is.

As it is, her maternal instincts are not left to atrophy. The world is fortunately full of other people's children, and her sister Domestica, whose pretentious and helpless long since brought young Jones to her feet, has naturally not neglected her duty towards the population. At each new arrival, at each domestic crisis—and both are of frequent occurrence—Scholastica comes to the rescue whenever her professional duties allow of it. A thankless task it is, for she brings the same ruthless thoroughness to bear here as in her own work, but with far less success; and she would certainly fare better if she were more sparing of herself and of the lazy sly-shod servants, by whom indeed she is cordially hated. Jones, who is glad enough when she arrives, is still more glad when she departs; for he despises her as only a man of very medium ability and strictly limited interests (and such men are occasionally to be met with) can despise something or somebody which does not fit in with his established ideas. When, in a jocular mood, he twits her with having allowed a younger sister to secure such a prize as herself, Scholastica makes some flippant rejoinder, and secretly reflects that it took a woman to express the truth as to "the strain upon the affections" which can be brought about by a "difference of taste in jokes." For she too has her taste in this direction, and also, most unfortunately for herself, an abominably well developed sense of the ridiculous. Partly to this, and partly to her training, which has given her an insight into the limitations of human knowledge and the transitoriness of human opinion, is due her singular unwillingness to make herself prominent in conversation or to state her own opinions. Sensible people say this is her one redeeming feature—she mistakenly supposes it to be a weakness and makes an effort (ineffectually, however) to give her tongue more liberty.

An Absurd Aunt.

As for Domestica, she is too much taken up with the absorbing subject of her own health, and of the looks, sayings, and doings of her weakly, and on the whole most commonplace offspring, to give more than the most casual thought to Scholastica. Such an occasional thought takes the form of not unkindly pity, and Domestica feels that she bestows a priceless boon on her sister in affording her the inestimable privilege of her own children's society—as indeed she does. For these children are idolised by their absurd aunt, whom in return they adore. Little Tom is already "appallingly like his father," as a paternal aunt unsympathetically expresses it, and to see the five-year-old Polly administering physio to a family of dolls, who look sorely in need of some stringent remedy, is to see a minute reproduction of the whole Jones ménage. But they are both children, and as such infinitely lovable. Besides, there is Fat Bess . . . But that is another story, which requires a chapter—nay, a volume—to itself.

A no less important place in Scholastica's affections is occupied by her thirty-odd children at the high school—for did I mention that she is a common or kindergarten school marm—a pedagogue, too, as she unblushingly describes herself? When, in the first flush of her college success, she entered the ranks of the teaching profession, an exalted "sixth form" and the privilege of working certain young ladies of very ordinary ability and extraordinary ambition up to examination pitch were her natural reward. Thanks, however, to an occasion when she was called upon to render temporary help with the "babies," Scholastica made the interesting discovery that with them she was in her element, and now nothing will win her from her allegiance. She has even been known to maintain that her own knowledge of the atomic and such like theories is not thrown away in dealing with these small specimens of humanity. She has been caught reading Sully and Spencer in her spare time! She is indefatigable in her efforts to keep herself "up-to-date," forsooth! and if the whole truth must out, really and truly considers her work worth doing. Not from the pecuniary point of view, be it added, for though nowadays some people are beginning to demand that their daughters should have the same preparation for life as their sons, they would be greatly surprised and hurt if asked to disburse the same sums for both purposes. And so a woman who is willing to undertake the difficult and delicate task (as some think it) of educating other people's girls for their men, must do so for a sum which would hardly keep Scholastica in clothes and tobacco. Yet I am told by those capable of judging that

the quality of his work is not immeasurably superior to hers. It is the other way round, they say. As for Scholastica, the demise of a certain uncle, which was somehow connected with young Jones's ability to claim the hand of Domestica, has long since made it unnecessary for her to earn her own living, a fact which her mother takes some pains to make known. She herself glories in a most unladylike manner in being a working woman, and experiences a wholly indefensible feeling of satisfaction when she receives her salary. What she does with it is nobody's concern; but I have been told that some scheme is afoot by which Fat Bess will derive some advantage.

The worst remains to be added. Scholastica has her troubles—who has not? She knows quite well that human beings should by rights hunt in couples and that her own lot is an exception to a good rule. But she is not in the least discontented with it. She is quite preposterously cheerful!

A LOOK INTO THE PAST.

How many of those who read each day the reports of the proceedings in the House of Commons realise that it is only within the last century that those debates have been reported? It is just one hundred years since a fierce controversy arose over this very point. On the motion of a member of the House of Commons of 1810, a standing order was enforced to exclude strangers from the House of Commons, and the Press Gallery was closed. Great indignation and controversy was aroused, during which a well-known Radical speaker was sent (on an Order of the House of Commons) to Newgate Gaol to be detained there during the pleasure of the House.

Sir Francis Burdett, ever to the fore when the subject of the liberties of the people was in question, hurried to the House and moved that the gentleman in question be discharged, on the ground of the illegality of his committal. His motion, however, was negatived by a large majority, and he thereupon wrote and published a letter to his constituents defending his action, and quoting Magna Charta in support of his contention that the House of Commons had no right to imprison any subject of the realm. This letter was construed as breach of privilege and an order was moved committing him to the Tower. The Sergeant-at-Arms promptly communicated with Sir Francis, but received a reply to the effect that he "should be at home to receive the Sergeant at his house in Piccadilly at 12 o'clock the next day (Saturday)." The Sergeant, however, went the same day to his house accompanied by several officers. He received the same answer and retired baffled. The same evening at 8 o'clock he again appeared—this time with a larger force. "Whereupon (saith the old chronicler) Sir Francis Burdett refused to become his prisoner, and in as mild a way as possible put him and his messengers out of the house." Sir Francis at the same time wrote what is called by the chronicler of the day "a saucy letter" to Mr. Speaker, gently pointing out that he considered himself to be the trustee of his constituents, that he owed allegiance to the King and that he declined to admit the authority of the House and accompany the Sergeant-at-Arms. The warrant he pointed out, was, as Mr. Speaker knew, illegal.

To the Tower!

By this time the news of the encounter had spread all over London, and many thousands of people had assembled in the streets in the vicinity of Piccadilly. The authorities called out the Life Guards to disperse the throng, which was hourly increasing; but for the whole of that night and for the whole of Sunday the crowds continued to surround the house, cheering Sir Francis and compelling every man to doff his hat out of respect to him. Early on Monday morning the Cabinet met to discuss what was to be done, and finally gave the order to the War Office that every regiment within 100 miles of London was to concentrate on Piccadilly. Shortly before 11 o'clock on Monday morning the Sergeant-at-Arms, accompanied by a large force, both military and civil, marched up to the house and demanded admittance. They were refused, and were obliged to force their way into Sir Francis's study, where, we learn, "Sir Francis was found teaching his young son to read and translate Magna Charta." Sir Francis was taken by main force, escorted by 50,000 soldiers and about twice as many of his friends, to the Tower. But the electors of Westminster were by no means disposed to allow their Member to remain in the Tower, and for the few weeks during which Parliament continued to sit, petitions were daily presented demanding his release.

When the House finally rose, a great concourse of men and women assembled at the Tower to escort the popular hero back to his house; but the authorities, with the same desire to avoid public demonstrations which their descendants of 1910 exhibit on like occasions, decided to release Sir Francis by another exit. When it was finally discovered that Sir Francis had returned to Piccadilly via the water, the people formed into a procession, marched through London, and paraded the whole of the West End.

A hundred years have come and gone since Sir Francis was committed to the Tower for defending the people's rights, and although political prisoners of 1910 are imprisoned in prison Holloway instead of the Tower, their spirit is still the same. Would that the official nature had changed, and that the eyes of the authorities were open to the futility of attempting to stifle the voices of those who are prepared to do all and dare all for the sake of Liberty!

M. D. H.

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A BOOK OF FOLK-PLAYS.

All over the civilised world to-day can be found signs of the revival of a national spirit in letters and in art, and especially a revival of folk literature, folk music, folk drama, folk dances, and folk songs.

England itself has been slow to move in this direction, but at last the vogue of the Pageant, the popularising of the Shakespearian Drama, the revival of the Peasant Arts and Handicrafts, the practice of The Morris and the restoration of the Folk-Songs that had nearly disappeared, lead us to look forward with confidence to the day when the English national spirit shall express itself once more in the work and play, in the life and art, of the English people.

Ireland has been inspired for centuries by old traditions of country and race. But even in Ireland there has been in recent years a conscious development of this passion for the soil and the folk.

And running alongside the political movement for national existence in Ireland, there has been the movement for the revival of the ancient national language as well as of the national spirit in art and drama, industry and handicraft.

In connection with this movement a volume of "Seven Short Plays" by Lady Gregory (Maunsel & Co., Ltd., Dublin, price 3s. 6d. net) has recently been published. They are Folk Plays. They deal entirely with peasant life and tradition. The very smell of the Irish soil is in them.

The first play, *Spreading the News*, is from beginning to end a comedy, every line is full of humour—humour that would be recognised as essentially Irish if one came across it "running wild in the desert of Sahara!" *Hyacinth Halvery*, *The Jackdaw*, and *The Workhouse Ward*, are also pure comedy, verging to broad farce. *The Rising of the Moon* is full of the romance and underlying passion of the national movement in relation to its political side.

The Travelling Man is a miracle play. I should like to see it acted by children. I have read nothing of the kind so beautiful except *The Saint*, a little play in another book by the same writer. It is very simple and serious. There are but three characters—a mother, a child, and a traveller. It is founded on the saying of an old woman, who sold sweets in a little shop in Galway, "Refuse not any, for one may be the Christ." It ends with a cry from the child's Mother, "He is gone, he is gone, and I never knew him!"

I have left the best till last. By far the strongest of all the seven plays is the one entitled *The Gaol Gate*.

The note of tragedy is struck in the very first stage direction. "Scene: Outside the gate of Galway Gaol. Two countrywomen, one in a long, dark cloak, the other with a shawl over her head, have just come in. It is just before dawn."

MARY CAHEL: I am thinking we are come to our journey's end, and that this should be the gate of the gaol.

MARY CUSHIN: It is certain it could be no other place. There was surely never in the world such a terrible great height of a wall!

Behind that wall is the husband of the younger, the son of the older woman.

A letter from the prison, which they cannot read, and dare not trust to other eyes, has brought them, after much delay, a day's journey over mountain and fen, trembling with inquiry.

The gate opens at last, and the warder is seen with a lantern in his hand. He bids them begone . . .

MARY CAHEL: I got this letter 'ere yesterday. It might be give me leave.

GATEKEEPER (having read letter): You poor unfortunate women! don't you know Denis Cahel is dead . . . Dead since the dawn of yesterday, and another man now in his cell. . . . Along rope and a short burying, that is the order for a man that is hanged.

Slowly, very slowly, it dawns on the women that Denis the guiltless has allowed the death sentence to be carried out upon him because he would not bear witness against those who are known by the neighbours and themselves to be guilty of a political crime of violence and murder.

The natural grief of the women is transformed into passionate exultation and pride in their boy. The wailing of the mourner becomes a song upon the lips of the old woman.

MARY CAHEL: Are there any people in the streets at all till I call on them to come hither? Did they ever hear in Galway such a thing to be done, a man to die for his neighbour?

Tell it out in the streets for the people to hear, Denis Cahel, from Slieve Echtege, is dead. It was Denis Cahel from Daire-Caol that died in the place of his neighbour!

It is he was young, and comely, and strong, the best reaper and the best hunter. It was not a little thing for him to die, and he protecting his neighbour! . . .

I to stoop on a stick through half a hundred years, I will never be tired of praising! Come hither, Mary Cushin, till we'll shout it through the roads, Denis Cahel died for his neighbour!

But every word of this play must be read, and read again and again, before its spirit of poignant passion and of haunting beauty take possession of the mind. The vision of *The Gaol Gate*, once really impressed, can never, one thinks, be wholly obliterated from the imagination. It lives, and it goes on living. E. P. L.

SUFFRAGE IN MANY LANDS.

A new and revised edition of Alice Zimmern's instructive little book, "Women's Suffrage in Many Lands," has just been published. In it will be found the facts which many people are looking for as to the position of woman suffrage in every country of the world. Interesting chapters are devoted to those lands in which the enfranchisement of women is an accomplished fact.

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Blouse in Fine White Net. Embroidered in any Pastel Shade. Mounted over coarse Mesh Netting. 45/6. Lined Children. Made to order same price.



THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

Classic Dancing.

Dancing is one thing to the people of to-day, but was quite another to the Greeks of long ago.

In our so-called highly civilised state dancing is in poor and low repute, fit only for music halls and theatres for a privileged few to do and for a privileged public to pay varying sums of money to see. Partly because those same privileged few dance to please the other privileged public the result is detrimental to both.

Now let us see what the Greeks have to teach, for no matter in what art, science, or philosophy we dip, we find that the ultimate truth is revealed in the classics. We find the Greeks practising rhythmical gymnastics—or dancing—in their everyday lives, on high days and festivals, at funeral rites and religious ceremonies. We find that they considered it a dignified art, a real and great science and an essential part of education. And they were right.

Dancing is expression, like any other art; not only self-expression, but the expression of nature and the universe. Only by conforming to the law of nature are we able to work in harmony with her.

The Greeks of a period about 600 B.C. brought movement in harmony with thought to a very great perfection. That this is true we can all see for ourselves by studying their works in the various museums, as well as in their writings, music and lives.

Let us look at the vase paintings of this archaic period, and we find all the designs conform to the law of balance, order and rhythm. In the later periods this law was discarded, and the designs became decadent.

What is, then, this foundation upon which we presume the Greeks, in all probability, founded their study of dancing—or rhythmical movement in harmony with thought—for dancing is nothing more than that?

We know that every animal has its own peculiar movements—the cat, the dog, the rabbit, the kangaroo, the mouse, and so on; and the human animal has its own peculiar movements—movements that you will still see among natural people, that is those living in rhythm with nature.

Nature says if you are joyful dance and sing; but the etiquette of to-day says you may be joyful, but you must not show or express too much in your demeanour, for what would people think? Certainly, they would think you foolish—almost as foolish as the Militant Suffragettes! What a terrible thing it is to be thought foolish! Well, it may be that they are the foolish ones; for is it not a fact that by suppressing continually a natural instinct that instinct becomes, in time, dull and unresponsive?

For instance, there are certain kinds of movements the human takes when sorrowful. By collecting all the positions expressing "sorrow" we obtain, as it were, a composite photograph, and the result is a design or position expressing the normal "sorrow" of mankind.

Now the system upon which we work is to take these normal positions as exercises in a very exact and geometrical way; then, by adding modifications and variations, keeping each design or position exact, but varying them in quality of time and strength, we obtain a rhythmical sequence of movements expressing sorrow. By this means we are able to express sorrow, joy, battle, etc., with a perfect union of art and nature. In the same way would we practise the natural occupations of mankind, such as sowing, reaping, walking, running, throwing, digging, and so on.

In all occupations and emotions there are three elements—the design, the sequence of designs, and the rhythm governing the whole.

Through this system of practising rhythmical gymnastics or dancing we obtain a natural physical culture and mental culture at the same time, which is of real practical use in our everyday lives. Our awkwardness drops away, and we become more evenly balanced in body and mind, and instinctively become more human.

The benefit of this system to growing children is enormous both physically and morally.

A. SPONGE.

GOD'S LITTLE PEOPLE.

O'ershadowed by dome, spire and steeple,
Languish and pine God's little people,
Their wistful eyes for pity pleading;
The passers-by in haste unheeding.

Sometimes, perchance, the Poor may lead them,
The Hungry fast all day to feed them,
A good Lord Mayor give alms caressing,
A gracious Queen bestow her blessing.

Will these alone uphold their cause?
Lol Mothers help to make the laws
To better this benighted land—
Do men, unaided, understand
The hapless children when they cry?
Alas! they cannot—God knows why.

ELLEN COLLETT.

Muslin Robes
Unmade

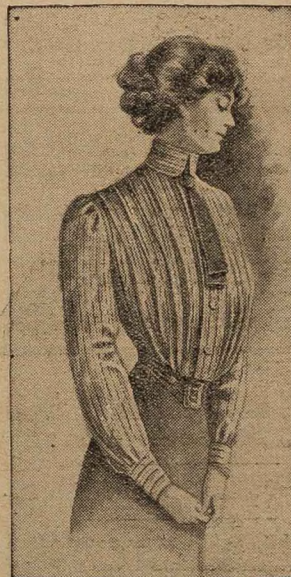


THIS fine Swiss Embroidered Muslin Robe is a representative example of the many new styles we show of the fashionable Tunic design. Can be made up exactly as sketch. Moderately priced—with 39s. 6d. the material for bodice—Robe.

PETER ROBINSON'S
OXFORD STREET.

Ladies' Shirt Blouses

AT JENNER'S.



Jenner's make a speciality of Ladies' Shirt Blouses that are of outstanding excellence as regards cut, fit, style, and material.

The model illustrated (the "Stanley") is a blouse of particularly smart cut, in white with coloured stripes. It can be had in all sizes, from 13 1/2 to 15 inch neck measurement.

In Zephyr 4/11
In Silk Zephyr 10/6
In Spun Washing Silk 16/6

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If you have not already sent a halfpenny stamp for a Specimen Copy of The Onlooker do so TO-DAY.

Every woman finds the "ONLOOKER" the most interesting high-class weekly journal published. Read the paper and judge for yourself.

ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE IN AID OF THE FUNDS Grand Matinee Musicale AT GRAND HALL, Criterion Restaurant.

ARTISTES: LENA ASHWELL, Madame ALICE ESTY, DECIMA MOORE, FANNY WENTWORTH, HELEN MAR, IRENE VANBRUGH, CONSTANTIA COLLIER, BEN WEBSTER, H. V. ESMOND, JAMES WELCH, MAUD HOFFMAN and LAURENCE LEYTON in a Duologue.

The Women's Social and Political Union. OFFICE: 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C. Telegrams: "WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (3 lines)

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

VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, MAY 6, 1910.

THE PARLIAMENT BILL. The Parliament Bill, the text of which has now been published, affords to women an excellent lesson as to their own need of the Parliamentary vote.

cannot for very long stand between the electors and the reforms they desire, whereas the Commons have the power permanently to withstand the will of the women of the country, who, being voteless, have no control over them whatever.

The Government, by means of their Parliament Bill, seek to deprive the Lords of every vestige of power in matters of finance; but, according to the Constitution, the Government and the Commons have themselves no right to levy taxes upon such of the population as happen to be women.

What is it that gives the Commons the right to supremacy over the Lords? Liberals will answer at once that this right belongs to them because they represent the people, but since the House of Commons does not represent women, it is, as far as they are concerned, quite as irresponsible and quite as unqualified to tax and legislate for them as the House of Lords can possibly be.

The fact is, that the most urgent of constitutional changes is to remove the political disability of sex, thus making the House of Commons answerable, not to a section, but to the nation.

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

Should the Government refuse to act upon this demand, their refusal will necessarily have important and far-reaching results.

A room absolutely destitute of furniture except for a sewing machine, a chair, and a pillow on the floor, upon which lies a baby a few months old. A young woman is hemming towels with the machine.

THE SONG OF THE SHIRT.

The curtain rises. In a garret sits a woman, haggard and white, with hollow eyes, plying needle and thread as though life depended upon every stitch.

Now we see her again. The feverish energy has given place to exhaustion. The work has fallen from her hands. The arms are thrown across the table and her head is lowered in uncontrollable weariness upon them.

One more vision—and this the last. It is of a woman done to death by man's ruthless system of civilisation.

"Work—work—work! My labour never flags; And what are its wages? A bed of straw, A crust of bread—and rags!

Slowly the words are spoken in a voice that is beautiful and strangely moving. In the darkness of the auditorium eyes are dimmed with tears.

"But Hood's poem was written years ago. Things are different now!" Are they? No. The conditions in the shirt-making trade are worse than ever they were.

It is midnight. In a small room, dimly lighted, sits an unmarried woman making collars. This is very skilled work. "It has to be done to a thread."

Now it is a grandmother that we see. By her side sits a little grand-daughter six years old. The old lady is holding a piece of dainty cambric close to her eyes.

"We never see flesh meat at all. Sometimes I get potatoes for the child. I have got no clothes since my boy died two years ago.

"A room absolutely destitute of furniture except for a sewing machine, a chair, and a pillow on the floor, upon which lies a baby a few months old.

"We never see flesh meat at all. Sometimes I get potatoes for the child. I have got no clothes since my boy died two years ago.

"O God! That bread should be so dear, And flesh and blood so cheap!" Women are cheap. There is one way only in which their value can be raised.

Many have wondered at the enthusiasm displayed in the Woman's Movement; they consider that it is an enthusiasm more fitting to a great crusade than to a political campaign.

The woman's movement is a great crusade. We are not demanding the Vote as an end. We are demanding the Vote as a means of lifting up the womanhood of our race and redeeming it from the bonds of cruel and degrading subjection.

A room very bare, but clean. A decent looking woman of middle age—unmarried—used to live with an invalid

* Home Work in Ireland. By Margaret H. Irwin, L.L.A. Office of Scottish Council for Women's Trades, 58, Renfield Street, Glasgow. Price 7d. Post free.

sister. She is embroidering handkerchiefs at 1d. and 2d. a piece. Makes about 2s. 6d. a week.

An anemic, delicate looking girl of 22 years of age is decorating a silk parasol with exquisite embroidery in coloured silks.

Living pictures of literal facts! Pictures that are to be multiplied by the hundred and the thousand; figures and facts that are to be found in Government reports of sweated Commissions, and in scores of documents dealing with the social condition of the people in this country!

What has Votes for Women to do with the question of starvation wages and the exploitation of women's labour? Everything! If commercial greed and competition is the nether millstone, the law of the land, made and maintained by men alone, is the upper millstone that grinds down the lives of women to despair and death, as the grist in the mill is ground to powder.

Thirty years ago women were sweated in Australia and New Zealand. In 1889 one of the leading papers in New Zealand published a series of articles about underpaid women's labour, containing an array of facts and figures not quite as bad as those which are published in this country to-day, but bad enough to bring shame upon any civilised State.

Women of the Mother Country! Have you realised what lies behind our demand for the vote? Have you realised that the root and source of the worst evils, the greatest wrongs, the uttermost misery in the world, is the helplessness of women—the helplessness that is the outcome of their political nonentity.

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CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing contributions to the £100,000 fund, including names and amounts. Total: £64,130 5s.

PREPARING FOR MAY 28.

THE COLOURS.

In the glad spring weather!
In the glad spring weather!
In the glad spring weather!

Hues of purple, white and green,
Surely all must love them!
Noble struggles have they seen

To our colours we'll be true,
Right must triumph ever.
And the fight is nearly through

CONSTANCE ALLINGTON.

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Organiser: Miss M. Cameron, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The work amongst elementary teachers is proving most encouraging, and Drawing-room meetings all over London are being worked up.

WOMEN'S MEETING.—At 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Stenographers and Clerks, Wednesday, May 11, at 6.45 p.m.

UNIVERSITY SECTION. Hon. Sec. Arts and Sciences: Miss E. Marsden, 25, Redcliffe Gardens, London, S.W.

THURSDAY EVENING AT ST. JAMES' HALL. "See that ladies' band?" said the bus conductor, as we turned up Regent Street from Piccadilly Circus.

FORCIBLE FEEDING. In the House of Commons on Wednesday last week, April 27, Mr. Hugh Law asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will now favourably consider the holding of an inquiry into the practice of forcible feeding in prisons and asylums?

THE OPENING CEREMONIES. Large audiences were present at the opening ceremonies each day. On Thursday, Mrs. Pankhurst, who presided, said that although many women engaged in the Suffrage movement devoted themselves almost exclusively to politics, yet they did not forget to take great interest in that kind of work which was considered essentially to be woman's work.

MISS PANKHURST AT STIRCHLEY. Miss Pankhurst addressed a large meeting at the St. Nicholas Institute last week, the audience consisting chiefly of women.

THE PAYMENT OF WOMEN TEACHERS. The Blue Book issued by the Government for educational purposes for the year 1908 to 1909, contains the following significant figures of the pay of men and women teachers:—

CERTIFICATED TEACHERS. Under £50 .. 75 .. 226; £50 and under £100 .. 4,375 .. 25,085; £100 .. 1,150 .. 13,711; £100 .. 2,200 .. 6,491; £200 .. £300 .. 3,438; £300 .. £400 .. 494; £400 .. over .. 38

UNCERTIFICATED TEACHERS. Under £50 .. 77 .. 7,160; £50 and under £70 .. 77 .. 15,514; £70 .. £70 .. 1,780; £70 .. £80 .. 1,306; £80 .. £90 .. 423; £90 .. £100 .. 72; £100 .. over .. 48

The Old Country, a special effort is being made to organise all Irish members and their Irish friends in London. Will members and their friends send in their names at once to Miss Lennox, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., to whom applications should also be made for tickets.

PRISONERS' CONTINGENT. A specially interesting group will be that of the ex-prisoners, who will march at the head of the procession. Every imprisonment will be represented by a woman, making just over 450 in all.

OUTDOOR CAMPAIGN. Street-corner meetings in the West End were started last Saturday and are going well. Chalking parties go out every Monday from Clements Inn at 10 p.m., and every Thursday from St. James' Hall at the close of the meeting.

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MRS. PANKHURST AT THE LONDON MEETING.

In contrast to the dark and miserable weather outside, the Scala Theatre was full of life and enthusiasm at last Monday afternoon's meeting, and London members had the too rare pleasure of hearing Mrs. Pankhurst speak.

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THE SCOTTISH EXHIBITION.

The curtain is down, the lights are out; and those who have played their parts in the organising and carrying out of the Scottish Exhibition have gone their several ways with rejoicing.

During the three days' run of the Bazaar, crowds of interested visitors thronged the Charing Cross Halls, and not a dull moment was experienced from the opening of the doors at two o'clock in the afternoon until ten o'clock at night, the hour for closing.

It is no exaggeration to say that this main hall—and indeed the whole of the building—was a perfect revelation, from an artistic point of view, of what an exhibition may look like.

The Rev. Hugh Chapman was heartily welcomed as he came forward once again to profess his faith in the woman movement, and to urge that it was the duty of the Church to support it.

One stall which attracted much attention was the Hat Stall. Here were to be seen one afternoon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Miss Decima Moore, busily engaged as millinery saleswomen!

SOME NOTES ON THE EXHIBITION. One of the most touching and significant features of the work done for the Exhibition was the help from people in outlying villages and hamlets.

THE COMPETITIONS. The prize-winners of the various competitions were as follows—Literary Guessing Competition: Miss Lambert (Edinburgh), Miss J. Wylie, M.A. (Scotounhill).

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AN INJUSTICE TO WOMEN PRINTERS.

Referring to the efforts being made by the Edinburgh Typographical Society to prevent the employment of women compositors, the *Wallsey News* says—This attempt on the part of this men's organisation to shut out altogether women from the compositor's trade is unworthy of all the English traditions of fair play.

MEETING IN HAMPSTEAD. The excellent work accomplished in Hampstead bore good fruit on Wednesday (April 27), when a largely attended meeting was held in the Town Hall.

WHERE TO SHOP. Bootmakers. Debenham & Freebody, 101, Strand; Derry & Sons, 101, Strand; Lilly & Skinner, 101, Strand; London Shoe Company, 101, Strand; Peter Robinson, 101, Strand; William Owen, 101, Strand.

Drapers and Hosiery. Debenham & Freebody, 101, Strand; Derry & Sons, 101, Strand; Lilly & Skinner, 101, Strand; London Shoe Company, 101, Strand; Peter Robinson, 101, Strand; William Owen, 101, Strand.

Dyers and Dry Cleaners. Brand & Moulton, 101, Strand; Clark & Co., 101, Strand.

Florists, &c. Derry & Sons, 101, Strand; Shearn's, 101, Strand; Spiers & Pond's, 101, Strand.

Furnishers. Debenham & Freebody, 101, Strand; Derry & Sons, 101, Strand; Lilly & Skinner, 101, Strand; London Shoe Company, 101, Strand; Peter Robinson, 101, Strand; William Owen, 101, Strand.

Health Foods. Allinson's Breads, 101, Strand; Bragg's Choccolate Biscuits, 101, Strand; Wallace Pool, 101, Strand; Savage's Nuts, 101, Strand.

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House Decorator. Warren, 101, Strand.

Jewellers and Watchmakers. Dent & Co., 101, Strand; Mappin & Webb's, 101, Strand; H. J. Nicoll & Co., 101, Strand; Simmons & Sons, 101, Strand.

Ladies' Tailors and Court Dressmakers. H. J. Nicoll & Co., 101, Strand; Simmons & Sons, 101, Strand.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY.

In great halls all over the country every day enthusiastic audiences gather to listen to speeches on the suffrage movement. In contrast to these there are many smaller meetings in village school-rooms, farmhouse kitchens, and even in barns, reports of which seldom appear in the press. One such is described below—

Clear, cold twilight, the little moon hanging in the white western sky... the barn solid bars of yellow light shot out of cracks in the masonry. It is a building shaped like a church, probably a tithe-barn, dating from the 15th century; in one transept stands the great waggon for the speakers. Three oil lamps are hung on chains over the cross-beams. Above is the open timber roof, the haunt perhaps of owls and bats. Here there is the machine for testing hay, still in use in Somersetshire. Through holes under the eaves rooks will soon come to make their petty threats of building stunts. And here on some hot June afternoon the sheep will be driven in from the hill-side for the shearing; but now we are having a Suffrage Meeting, and all the farm implements and inhabitants of the barn, ows and mice and spiders, are drawn to the darkest corners by this unwelcome invasion.

Careful hands have dusted the cobwebs away and prepared benches, and the chaff makes an excellent carpet. There is a good audience from all the countryside, for this is the first appearance of a Suffragette in their midst. They are chiefly women, but there is a fair sprinkling of men—farm hands and quarrymen—at the back.

Our chairman is an Irishman. He says that woman is a drug to her husband; and that she is a drudge to her father and brothers; grown up she is a drug to her husband, and that is Holy Matrimony! He anticipates questions on methods by telling a story. The vicar of a parish who people would not go to church complained to his Bishop, and suggested that a retreat or a quiet day would be a good thing. "No," said the Bishop, "What they want is an earthquake." There are two women speakers, one deals with common objections, the other with the industrial aspect. One or two women throw in approving remarks. When the speaker refers to the sweated workers in London one calls out, "Think only London where women's got to work for their bread." Discussion follows.

"I don't see," begins a troublesome person; "Well, you'd better go home and think about it," says the chair. Some one lends a hat and the collection is taken at the door. "When will you have another meeting, Miss?" and we promise "very soon." The discussion is continued in groups down the hill; we overhear a few remarks as we ride away on our bicycles, and we know that at least one or two women will go home with uplifted hearts, feeling they may not be such poor creatures after all. R. T.

The Midlands.

Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans. What Birmingham is doing for Self-Denial Week is told on p. 514. Dr. Helena Jones and Capt. Imbert-Tryer roused great interest and an animated discussion on Married Women's Labour, at the weekly At Home. On Saturday, April 30, a performance of "How the Vote was Won" was given by members at the Carlton Theatre, Salford. To-morrow (Saturday), at 3.30, Miss Ward is holding a Jumble Sale at St. Saviour's Girls' School, Salford, and admission to buyers is 1d. At intervals short speeches will be given by Votes for Women by Mrs. Davis and others. Friday, May 6.—Ball Ring, 7 p.m. Saturday, May 7.—Salford, St. Saviour's Girls' School, jumble sale, Mrs. Davis and others. Tuesday, May 10.—Queen's College, At Home, Miss Crocker, 7.30 p.m.

COVENTRY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Dawson, St. Peter's Vicarage. Thursday, May 12.—Pools Meadow, Miss Dale, 7.30 p.m.

LEAMINGTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss M. Bull, Ashton House. In order to extend the work here a fund is being raised among members to cover the expenses of speakers each week. Will all who are willing to subscribe communicate with the Secretary? Offers of Garden or Drawing-room meetings will be gladly received. Workers are announcing the details of May 23 at their weekly open-air meetings, selling papers, and collecting in the streets, and also from house to house.

Wednesday, May 11.—The Obelisk, Miss Jennings, 7.30 p.m. LEICESTERSHIRE. Office—14, Bowling Green Street, Leicester. Tel. 3715 Leicester. Organisers—Miss D. Pethick, Miss D. A. Bowker. The story of Self-Denial Week is told on page 514. Meanwhile new places have been visited. Melton Mowbray and Spaldon have heard the good news for the first time. Spaldon reacted with wonder and amazement. A warm welcome is promised when next the Suffragettes from the Leicester headquarters visit the town. This week Lutterworth and Shepshed will be visited; Quorn also is mentioned. Owing to the kindness of a member, a Drawing-room Meeting in the last mentioned place will be held. Mrs. Impney's straight and serious words on women's duties and responsibility made all at the At Home realise the need of greater effort and self-sacrifice to obtain Votes for Women. Members are greatly looking forward to Mrs. Cannon-Swan's visit next Thursday. Will members note that the shop will be closed from Friday evening to Tuesday morning, May 13-17, and will all Leicestershire members let Miss Pethick have their Self-Denial cards by Wednesday, May 11, at latest? Now that Self-Denial Week is practically over all must concentrate on making Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit to Leicester and Loughborough (May 25 and 26) a great success. Tickets for the evening meetings, 1s. each and out and in good collection was taken. May 13, will be at the door. Handbills will be ready in a day or two. Friday, May 6.—Quorn: Drawing-room meeting, Mrs. Tyler; Humberstone Gate; Open-air meeting, 7.30 p.m. Saturday, May 7.—Auction sale of Self-Denial produce, 3.30 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Lutterworth. Wednesday, May 12.—Leicester: Old Town Hall, Mrs. Cannon-Swan, 4 to 6 p.m.

NORTHAMPTON AND DISTRICT.

W.S.P.U. Organiser—Miss Corson, 10, Holly Road. The open-air meetings announced for last week will be held this week; they were postponed on account of the weather. Will any members follow Mrs. Branch's example and lend a drawing-room for an At Home? The tickets for the Great Demonstration (May 23) have all been sold. The last indoor At Home will be in the Oriental Cafe on May 10. The Speakers' Class will in future be held every Saturday evening instead of Thursdays. After Miss Elsie Howey's address at the Savoy Hotel, new members joined, and many offers of help for Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting were received. Will friends living in the Sten Hill direction get the paper from Miss Aubrey, West Park Post Office? A very successful meeting was held in the Oriental Cafe last week. Mrs. Branch presided, and Mr. Victor Dural was the speaker. Thursday, May 12.—Palm Court, Savoy Hotel, Mrs. Bouvier, 5.30 p.m.

WARRINGHAM.

Hon. Sec.—Miss O. Billinghurst, 16, Grove Place. A crowded and enthusiastic meeting was held at the Warringham Men's Institute, Harpur Street, last Friday, April 29. The chair was taken by Miss Birley, and the audience was much interested in the speeches of Miss Douglas Smith and Miss Maguire. Several new members joined, all copies of Votes for Women sent to all. A meeting will be held every month in order to make the cause more widely known in the town.

CANTERBURY AND THANET.

Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate. All communications for Miss Macaulay should be sent to the above address. The local secretarys are— Broadstairs: Miss Stiel, Lichi, Colli Court Road; Canterbury: Mrs. Tomkins, County Hotel; Herne Bay: Mrs. Kerskock Bowes, 2, Marina Crescent, Mrs. Annesley, Roedean; Margate: Miss Kate Simmons, 3, Cliff Terrace; Sittingbourne: Mrs. Robinson, 44, High Street; Westboro and Sturry: Mrs. Brown, Glenbrook, Bungalow, Westboro. The Drawing-room Meeting given by Mrs. Annesley last Friday at Roedean was a great success. The audience was very sympathetic, and much interest in the movement was shown. The At Home at 2, York Terrace, Ramsgate to open the office, which was notified for April 23, has been postponed until next Thursday, May 12, as the rooms were not quite ready. It is hoped that all members and friends will endeavour to be present. Thursday, May 12.—Ramsgate, 2, York Terrace, Miss Macaulay, 5.30 p.m.

RAYLEIGH.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage. Meetings are held on alternate Tuesdays at the Dell Hall, Rayleigh, and at other private houses. The programme includes refreshments and music at 8 p.m.

ALL WOMEN VOTE

"ARTOX" Wholemeal, because it is honest food. Wheat is a perfect food, but white flour is not. It has been robbed of many vital qualities. Honest bread, etc., should be made from the wheat, the whole wheat, and nothing but the wheat. To ensure this you must use "ARTOX" Pure Wholemeal. It not only makes the finest possible wholemeal bread, but also the most delicious and nutritious puddings, pies, cakes, tarts, biscuits, scones, panades, etc., etc. Try it for a week, and you will give up white flour. It is the most digestible and nourishing flour known, and is a practically certain remedy for constipation. Sold only in 3lb., 7lb., and 14lb. sealed linen bags by Grocers and Health Food Stores, or 28lbs. will be sent direct carriage paid, for 5s.

"ARTOX" IS NOT SOLD LOOSE. Appleyards, Ltd. Dept. 2, Millers, Rotherham.

ASK YOUR BAKER for Artox Bread. ASK YOUR GROCER for Artox Biscuits. FREE for the ASKING. THIS BOOKLET with many recipes and list of local agents, and free if you mention "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street, Tel. 4511. Organiser—Miss Crocker and Miss Roberts. In fulfillment of a promise, a meeting was held in the Market Place, Retford, last Saturday, and aroused the most extraordinary interest amongst the farmers. A hundred Votes for Women were sold in a few minutes, and will be taken into many a country home in the remote districts. Self-Denial Week is referred to on p. 514. Friday, May 6, and Saturday, May 7.—Carlton Street, Home Produce Sale and American Cobweb, 5.30 p.m. to 9.20 p.m. Monday, May 9.—Trinity Square, 7 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Carlton Street, Speakers' Class.

STIRCHLEY.

Keen excitement, which merged into warm enthusiasm, was shown by Stirling and Bourville residents, who met at the Friends' Institute to hear Miss Christabel Pankhurst last Wednesday, April 27. The meeting chiefly organized by Miss R. Mandon and local enthusiasts, was a most pronounced success in every way. A bouquet in the colours was sent to the Hall by a man, who thought not yet converted, but greatly admires the platform of the Militants and their leader. This was presented to Miss Pankhurst by the little daughter of a member.

West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.

Office—27, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 3345. Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney. Open-air work began on Monday with Miss Isabel Seymour as speaker. Miss Elsie Howey gave an interesting address at the Queen's Hall last week. "Stacks of clothes" are asked for for the Jumble Sale next week (see under Self-Denial, p. 514). Parcels should be sent to Mrs. Young, 27, Queen's Road, Clifton, Bristol. Over 414 has been sent to the treasurer this week (total £100 being raised for the Mission. Will all those who have not yet subscribed, and who promised to do so, send in their contributions as soon as possible, as money is much needed. Will all members and sympathisers send in the names of children who would like to join in the dance to Miss Annie Kenney, who is anxious to get a good group together before Miss Florio Warren comes down for the week to teach them.

BATH.

Friday, May 6.—Saw Close, Miss Isabel Seymour, 8 p.m.

CORNWALL.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Powell, Roselagh, Penzance; Miss Edith Williams, Glensaf, Devon, R.S.O. Meetings have been held in the Penzance district by Miss Elsie Howey, Miss Hovey and Miss Edith Clarence. Will members at the following places— Monday, May 9.—Point, 7 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Newquay, Dolphin Hall, 4 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—Devoran, Public Rooms, At Home, 7 p.m.

NEWPORT (MON.).

Office—46, Clarence Place. Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc., and Miss G. Jeffery. The special Mission to Women is being held this week, and members are hoping that, as this occurs during Self-Denial Week, the interest aroused will take practical form. Preparations for May 28 are referred to on p. 513.

PAIGNTON.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Mary Wills, Teandaria, Ousey Crescent, Pailinton. The usual Torquay meeting was very successful, and as a result of Votes for Women Week many people have become regular subscribers to the paper.

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, Northgate House, All Saints' Road, Ipswich. Now that Miss Christabel Pankhurst's meeting in given next week, members are reminded that Saturday, May 28, is the next day that everyone must keep free. Particulars as to railway facilities appear on p. 513. During the week, successful W.S.P.U. At Home has been held in Ipswich and Woodbridge, addressed by Miss Leonard Tyson on Friday, and Miss Catherine At Home at the All Saints' Parish Room at Woodbridge. Members were made at each meeting, and a good collection was taken at the Ipswich At Home. Will every member keep next Thursday, May 12, free, and bring all their "unconverted" friends to the afternoon At Home in the All Saints' Parish Room at Woodbridge. There are still fifty Belodoy Tickets for the Albert Hall Meeting at 6. Thursday, May 12.—All Saints' Parish Room, At Home, 2 p.m.

North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. Office—68, Manningham Lane, Tel. 4036. Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips. During the summer months, when so many members and friends are away, the shop will be closed, while the organiser is conducting a campaign at Harrogate, Ilkley, and other pleasure resorts. This campaign will start with a series of meetings during the Whitsuntide holidays, and all who can help in selling papers or taking the chair at meetings at this time are asked to communicate with the organiser without delay. They will find it a most pleasant and interesting way of spending their holidays in such charming surroundings. All sympathisers living in the districts will be asked to help with refreshments and to be at the meetings. Details of Self-Denial Week and the great Procession appear on pages 513 and 514. A few tickets for the Albert Hall at 1s. 6d. and 1s. are available. Organiser—Mrs. Balnes, care of Miss Harrison, 14, Wabick Street. During the past week meetings have been held in many new places. Will members make the Thursday At Home among their friends? Any who will be pleased to join the Cycle Brigade. Others willing to join should give in their names to the organiser. Meetings for next week are as follows— Monday, May 9.—Paragon Square, Tuesday, May 10.—Waverley Street, Wednesday, May 11.—Fisherman's Monument, Thursday, May 12.—At Home, Friday, May 13.—Cottingham. NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT. Office—77, Blackett Street. Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 201, Westgate Road. Successful meetings have been held during the week, including those at the Socialist Club and at Annfield Plain, Durham, where a debate was arranged by the Liberal Association—this was the first ever held in that town. Will members at the following places— Monday, May 9.—Paragon Square, Tuesday, May 10.—Waverley Street, Wednesday, May 11.—Fisherman's Monument, Thursday, May 12.—At Home, Friday, May 13.—Cottingham. LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT. Office—28, Berry Street, Tel. 3761 Royal. Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman. What members are doing for Self-Denial Week is told on p. 514. The first meeting ever held in Prescott questions, appeared greatly impressed. Next week Dr. Ralph Williams lectures on Medical Inspection, with lantern slides. A most successful meeting was held in Bekington, organised by Mrs. Foster, of Bekington. The hall was full, every ticket being sold. Mrs. Foster presided and Mrs. Archdale and Miss Adela Pankhurst spoke. Thanks and congratulations are due to Mrs. Foster for her work. Tickets for Mrs. Lawrence's meeting are ready, and members are asked to apply for them, as a large number have to be disposed of. Friday, May 6.—Endcliffe Edge, Drawing Room Meeting, Mrs. Archdale, Miss A. Pankhurst. Hostess: Miss Baker, 3.30 p.m. Saturday, May 7.—Hunter's Bar, Open Air Meeting, Mrs. Archdale, Miss Irons, and others, 3.30 p.m. Sunday, May 12.—46, Marlborough Road, At Home, Mrs. Archdale, Miss Patricia Woodcock, Miss A. Pankhurst. Chair: Mrs. Rollo, 2.30 and 5 p.m.

Manchester and District.

Central Office—314, Oxford Road, Manchester. Tel: 3021 Manchester City. Organiser—Miss Mary Gauthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson. A very successful At Home with an excellent address by Mr. H. P. Thompson, of Hale, and an enjoyable social gathering at the office, are among the week's events. Members are wanted to sell Votes for Women in populous parts, to visit newsgroups in new districts to persuade them to take the paper and exhibit posters. Next Tuesday's reception to meet Mrs. Pankhurst will be of a social character, and members are requested to be at the hall at 2.30 in order to act as hostesses. Invitations for friends (lady or gentleman) may be obtained on application at the office. Afternoon tea will be served, and members desirous of helping are asked to send details of contributions as soon as possible. Also, will those who are willing to help with refreshments let the organisers know at once? At the At Home to-night addresses will be given by Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., and Mrs. Herbert Duncan; Miss Rosa Robinson in the chair. The opening social of the Militant Club on April 27 was largely attended by members and friends. New W.S.P.U. members were made and 20 joined the club. The promoters wish to thank Mrs. Smith and other members who have responded so promptly to their request for boards. Friday, May 6.—Oswald Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., Mrs. Herbert Duncan, Chair: Miss Rosa Robinson, 8 p.m. Saturday, May 7.—Votes Corp, 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. Monday, May 9.—Warrington, Parr Hall, Palmyra Square, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, N.S.C., Chair: Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., 8 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Oswald Hall, Deansgate, Reception, Mrs. Pankhurst, 3 to 5 p.m.; Bowdon, Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, N.S.C., Chair: Miss Fitzsimons, 8 p.m. Friday, May 13.—Oswald Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, 8 p.m. LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT. Office—28, Berry Street, Tel. 3761 Royal. Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman. What members are doing for Self-Denial Week is told on p. 514. The first meeting ever held in Prescott

PRESTON, CHORLEY, ST. ANNE'S AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Margaret Hewitt, 41, Glover's Court, Preston; Ellismere House, St. David's Road, St. Anne's-on-the-Sea. The first At Home in St. Anne's was a great success and Miss Mabel Capper gave a most interesting speech. Preston members are making a special effort for Self-Denial Week by having a Jumble Sale, which it is hoped will bring in a large amount for the funds. During Whit Week a large number of Lancashire people go to Morecambe, so a short holiday campaign is contemplated, from Friday till Wednesday. Will any members who are there for a holiday communicate with Miss Hewitt? There are still some seats vacant in the Preston and district Albert Hall boxes; these may be had on application to Miss Hewitt. Members are asked to apply in good time. A meeting has been arranged at Morecambe for May 25, when the speakers will be Miss S. Martin and Miss Hempshaw (chair), Saturday, May 7.—Preston, Market Place, Miss Margaret Hewitt. Wednesday, May 11.—Preston, 41, Glover's Court, Preston, W.S.P.U. Thursday, May 12.—St. Anne's, Cosy Cafe, Miss Margaret Hewitt. Friday, May 13.—Morecambe, Miss Selina Martin, Miss Margaret Hewitt.

BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Laura Ainsworth, 1, Myrtle Street, Bolton. Only five more days between this issue and Mrs. Pankhurst's meetings! Every effort is urged to come forward and ensure their success and to make them worthy of the leader and founder of the W.S.P.U. Much remains to be done, and the organiser knows that members will set up to their responsibility. Some very good meetings have been held during the week, notably at Little Lever, where there was such a demand for the paper that the police came forward and kindly helped the sellers in their task. Members are asked to remember May 19, and bring friends to arrange one on a fortnight later at Home this season. During the summer out-door meetings will be held and members are asked to arrange meetings in their houses. Mrs. Pilkington's, on April 26, was a very great success, and Mrs. Collings at once offered to arrange one on a fortnight later at her house. Will other friends and members willing to do the same communicate with the organiser? Miss Ainsworth will be pleased if all members who have tickets on sale or return will send the unsold ones back, so that she gets them by first post on Tuesday, May 10. Tickets for the Albert Hall meeting can now be obtained from the organiser, 1s. 6d. each. Full details as to railway facilities will be given next week. Bury meetings will now be continued on the Fair Ground every Wednesday at 7.30. Miss Ainsworth will be pleased if friends here will arrange private meetings for their friends, so that interest and enthusiasm for the women's cause may be gained. After Mrs. Pankhurst's meetings, friends will be anxious to carry on the work in Bury; and the organiser will be pleased to hear from any friend who will communicate with her at the above address. Friday, May 6.—Bolton, Town Hall Square, 7.30 p.m.; Saturday, May 7.—Heywood Market Place, 3.30 p.m.; Farnworth Market Place, 7.30 p.m. Monday, May 9.—Bolton, Town Hall Square, 3.30 p.m.; Bury, Fair Ground, 7.30 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Bolton, Mrs. Collings, At Home, 7.30 p.m.; Bury, Lever, 7.30 p.m. Wednesday, May 11.—Bury, Reception to meet Mrs. Pankhurst, 3.30 p.m.; Alkhamun, Meeting, Mrs. Pankhurst, 7.30 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—Bolton, Reception to meet Mrs. Pankhurst, 3.30 p.m.; Temperance Hall, Demonstration, Mrs. Pankhurst, 7.15 p.m. Friday, May 13.—Self-Denial Week begins for Bolton and District.

North-Western Counties.

MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT. Central Office—314, Oxford Road, Manchester. Tel: 3021 Manchester City. Organiser—Miss Mary Gauthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson. A very successful At Home with an excellent address by Mr. H. P. Thompson, of Hale, and an enjoyable social gathering at the office, are among the week's events. Members are wanted to sell Votes for Women in populous parts, to visit newsgroups in new districts to persuade them to take the paper and exhibit posters. Next Tuesday's reception to meet Mrs. Pankhurst will be of a social character, and members are requested to be at the hall at 2.30 in order to act as hostesses. Invitations for friends (lady or gentleman) may be obtained on application at the office. Afternoon tea will be served, and members desirous of helping are asked to send details of contributions as soon as possible. Also, will those who are willing to help with refreshments let the organisers know at once? At the At Home to-night addresses will be given by Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., and Mrs. Herbert Duncan; Miss Rosa Robinson in the chair. The opening social of the Militant Club on April 27 was largely attended by members and friends. New W.S.P.U. members were made and 20 joined the club. The promoters wish to thank Mrs. Smith and other members who have responded so promptly to their request for boards. Friday, May 6.—Oswald Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., Mrs. Herbert Duncan, Chair: Miss Rosa Robinson, 8 p.m. Saturday, May 7.—Votes Corp, 1 p.m. and 6 p.m. Monday, May 9.—Warrington, Parr Hall, Palmyra Square, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, N.S.C., Chair: Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., 8 p.m. Tuesday, May 10.—Oswald Hall, Deansgate, Reception, Mrs. Pankhurst, 3 to 5 p.m.; Bowdon, Assembly Rooms, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss R. Robinson, N.S.C., Chair: Miss Fitzsimons, 8 p.m. Friday, May 13.—Oswald Buildings, Deansgate, At Home, 8 p.m. LIVERPOOL AND DISTRICT. Office—28, Berry Street, Tel. 3761 Royal. Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman. What members are doing for Self-Denial Week is told on p. 514. The first meeting ever held in Prescott

Southport.

Office—13, Nevill Street. Organiser—Miss Dora Maradon. Details of Self-Denial Week and of the London Procession on May 28 will be found on pages 513 and 514.

Scotland.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND. Shop and Office—69, Sauchiehall Street. Tel: 615, Charing Cross. Organiser—Miss G. Conolan. The very encouraging campaign in Paisley ended in a big meeting in the Town Hall, at which Mrs. Pankhurst made many converts. The organised work of the local members, and the successful open-air meetings, have greatly widened the interest in the town. At Helensburgh the hall was crowded, many people standing at the back of the room. With these two meetings the winter campaign comes to a close. It is a very satisfactory one for West of Scotland members to look back upon. The meetings held greatly exceed in size and number those of last winter. The membership has more than doubled since October, several more towns have been added to the organisation, and in spite of the claims of the Scottish Demonstration and the Grand Bazaar, the funds of which are not in such a satisfactory position as they were a few years ago, the financial record of the centre compares very favourably with that of the corresponding months of last year. Miss Conolan wishes to express warm appreciation of the efforts of the members who have helped to make the winter's work a success; and in particular Mrs. Allan, Mrs. Ure, Miss Fisher, Miss Bow, and Miss Dunn, who have done so much to strengthen the movement in the outlying towns; Miss Fraser-Smith, who is beginning to break up the ground in a new district; Miss Melville, who has devoted every afternoon to the office work; the Misses

Edinburgh and East of Scotland.

Office—5, Melville Place, At Home, Miss Wylie, 3.15 and 5 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m. Wednesday, May 11.—61, Nethergate, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m. Wednesday, May 11.—61, Nethergate, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m. Wednesday, May 11.—61, Nethergate, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m.



"Viyella" FOR GARMENTS MADE AT HOME. "Viyella" is particularly pleasant to handle—a point of special interest where garments are made at home. Its softness and lightness, its power of preventing chill, and the delightful colourings of the new patterns make "Viyella" ideal for Spring, for in addition to providing dainty and tasteful wear for this season of the year, "Viyella" guards against sudden weather changes and cold days. Let us send you our booklet, giving full information about "Viyella" and the many uses to which it may be put. WM. HOLLINS & CO., LD. Sole Proprietors of "Viyella", 458, Viyella House, Newgate Street, E.C.

Barrowman, who have given up every Saturday afternoon to the Union; and many others who unfortunately, or fortunately (?), are too numerous to mention by name. May the motto of the centre continue to be that of their banner, "Let Glasgow Flourish."

Thursday, May 7.—Glasgow, 502, Sauchiehall Street, Miss Wylie and Miss Conolan, 3.15 p.m.

Edinburgh and East of Scotland.

Office—5, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Tel: 6182 Central. Organiser—Miss Burns. Although the South Edinburgh by-election occurred during the week of the Exhibition, W.S.P.U. Edinburgh members, with the help of Miss Taylor and Miss Fraser-Smith, made a good fight, and it was interesting to see the response made by the women, who stood in the crowds in quite as large numbers as the men, and with an evident sense of the propriety of being there and showing their interest in political questions. The election was complicated by the opposition expressed by the Conservative candidate, in no respectful terms, to Woman Suffrage, a policy which cost him many votes. Thursday, May 12.—8, Melville Place, At Home, Miss Wylie, 3.15 and 5 p.m. DUNDEE. Office—61, Nethergate. Organiser—Miss McLean. Wednesday's meetings and Saturday's cyclers now claim the attention of members, who have sent 250 worth of goods to the Scottish Exhibition and (thanks to Mrs. Rollo and her helpers) raised over £7 by the jumble sale. Wednesday, May 11.—61, Nethergate, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m. Wednesday, May 11.—61, Nethergate, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, May 12.—High Street, 3 p.m. Saturday, May 14.—Cyclo Parade, 5.30 p.m.; marked Stail, 6 to 9 p.m.

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The Cost of Protecting Ministers.

The Suffragists are highly amused by the action of the East Riding County Council in asking the Home Office to pay for the special police protection which they asked should be afforded to Mr. Winston Churchill on the occasion of a visit to Yorkshire some time ago. They are chuckling over the thought of all that they have cost the country—or "the Government," as they prefer to put it—for extra police services, and hope that this refusal of local authorities to saddle themselves with the cost of special protection for Ministers may serve as another object lesson of the inconvenience the Government are causing themselves by refusing votes to women. Not only have Ministers' houses been guarded day and night by police for quite a long time, but Ministers themselves have been kept under observation—for their own protection, of course—even when they have been abroad. —Darlington Times.

Spiers Pond's STORES QUEEN VICTORIA ST. LONDON, E.C. CHINA TEA. An Infusion of Charm, Beauty and Fragrance. Can be taken by persons of very delicate constitution. Telephone HOBORN 2300. 12. Ichang 1/10. 13. Moning 2/3. 14. Lapsang Souchong 1/11. 15. Lapsang Souchong 2/7. 16. Finest "Honeysuckle" Moning 3/3.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE METROPOLIS. General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

There must be no London members missing on May 23. Possibly such a demonstration will never again be necessary in the history of this agitation. Every member, therefore, must be a Re-energizing...

eloquence delighted a large and sympathetic crowd, and many copies of Votes for Women were sold. Open-air meetings are now being held at new pitches...

Hammersmith. Shop and Office—100, Hammersmith Road. Organising Sec.—Mrs. E. L. Butler.

Jumble sale goods are not coming in fast enough to satisfy the organising secretary, who this week wishes a special appeal to all members and friends...

Lewisham. Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Boulter, 52, Mount Pleasant Road.

Mr. G. Warre Cornish gave a fine educative address on Blackheath on Sunday, and Mrs. Boulter (chair) appealed to the women to join the procession on May 23...

NORTH ISLINGTON. Hon. Secs.—Miss Clara Brown, 11, Gladstone Road, Highgate, and Miss Jackson, 46, Langdon Park Road, Highgate.

meeting in Kensington Town Hall, on May 20, at 3 o'clock, and an evening meeting in the Ladbroke Hall on May 24.

Lambeth. Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 37, Drewstead Road, Streatham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acadia Grove, Dulwich.

Mr. G. Warre Cornish gave a fine educative address on Blackheath on Sunday, and Mrs. Boulter (chair) appealed to the women to join the procession on May 23...

Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 37, Drewstead Road, Streatham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acadia Grove, Dulwich.

Table with 4 columns: Day, Location, Name, Time. Lists various London meetings for the forthcoming week from Friday, May 6 to Saturday, May 28.

Forest Gate. Shop—279, High Road. Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. A. Coombs.

Open-air meetings, including those on Sunday, have brought many sympathisers to the shop. Tickets for the Albert Hall boxes have sold well...

ILFORD. Hon. Sec.—Miss Ethel Haslam, 85, Cranbrook Road. The Whist Drive at the Cecil Hall was a great success...

ISLINGTON. Organiser—Miss F. M. Fagg, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Two members' meetings have been held in this district to arrange and distribute work...

PADDINGTON. Hon. Sec.—Miss Louise Higgins, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The preparatory work for May 23 is progressing satisfactorily and several meetings have been held...

PUTENEY AND FULHAM. Shop—905, Fulham Road. Organiser—Miss Jarvis. Hon. Secs.—Miss Giffin, 31, St. Mark Road, Fulham, and Mrs. H. Roberts.

KENSINGTON. Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2116 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Bates, 7, Wendham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Morrison, B.A.

Now that Self-Denial Week is over workers are reminded that there is an enormous amount of canvassing, bill-distribution, etc., to be done to work up the district for the 28th.

During May the London meetings on Monday afternoons will be held in the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, W.

Self-Denial Cards must be returned to the Hon. Treasurer, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, on Saturday, May 28—PROCESSION. Form up Westminster Embankment at 2 p.m., start 2.35 p.m. Demonstration, Albert Hall, 4.30 p.m.

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