THE VOTE

(THE ORGAN OF THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.)

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

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EDITORIAL.

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WHAT WE THINK.

A New Principle.

When crowing recently on his native heath Mr. Lloyd When crowing recently on his native heath Mr. Lloyd George stated a principle for dealing with Bills in the House for which there is no precedent, and which if it were applied to Mr. Lloyd George's own schemes would indefinitely postpone their appearance on the Statute Book. He called attention to the fact that Ireland had not Home Rule yet, though it had been agitating for it for a hundred years, that Welsh Disetablishment had been in the air for seventy or eighty years, and ment had been in the air for seventy or eighty years, and supported by a Welsh majority for forty-two, and that compared with these two burning questions Women's Suffrage had not been long before the country. If there were anything in Mr. George's arguments—leaving aside for a moment the question of Women's Suffrage, he him-self should put Home Rule before Welsh Disestablishment or the destruction of the House of Lords-the latter the youngest of the great political crises. But to our astonishment we find the nimble Chancellor stating in the same speech (at Bodnant) that the annihilation of the House of Lords must come before everything, and Welsh Disestablishment a good second, Home Rule and his characteristics where the second must be a speech making questions. other hobbies subsequent to these epoch-making questions. This inconsistency is not, of course, the only one of which he has been guilty—like Dundreary's bird, it does not flock alone. Of Welsh Disestablishment he said, "We have not got it yet, but we will get it soon." He gave no assurance that the more ancient demand would be granted at an early date. His historical parallel was merely a red herring—and an offensive one at that—to divert attention from the urgent and pressing needs of the woman's demand.

The woman's question is older than any before the House. It was nebulously formulated when the industrial revolution in 1760 brought women into handicapped competition with men, and for well over a hundred years the question of women's rights—of which the vote is but the outward symbol—has been in the air. In 1792 Mary Wollstonecraft published her Vindication of the Rights of Women and gave substance to the growing feeling of unrest. In 1843, ten years after the Reform Bill had impudently and deliberately disfranchised women, "A Plea for Women" was published, voicing genuine indignation that women could vote for the rulers of India (as shareholders of the East India Company), but not for members of Parliament. The agitation grew in

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volume when Richard Cobden, the pioneer of Free Trade, strenuously advocated the cause, and John Stuart Mill, in 1865, as Member for Westminster, mentioned Women's Suffrage in his electoral address, Disraeli promptly coming into line with him. From the first great petition in 1866 to the present day the question has been a burning one in the country. Because it leaves Mr. Lloyd George cold as Welsh Disestablishment does us—is no reason why it should wait his pleasure or be the victim of his historical inaccuracies.

Women Bakers.

At a meeting of the Amalgamated Union of Operative Bakers and Confectioners, held in the People's Hall, Birmingham, it was significant of the times that a motion was carried stating that "the time had now arrived when steps should be taken by the Union to organise females employed in the baking and confectionery trades and bring them in as members." The man who introduced this motion mentioned that there were some 2,000 female workers in bakeries. He was sorry, he said, to state that the majority of confectioners advertised for women, and in many places where one man was employed in the baking there were two or three women at work making confectionery. While recognising the importance of women being admitted to the Union, one can only wonder at the colossal impudence which considers it a grievance that women should be employed in making confectionery. Baking is one of the many women's trades which have been appropriated by men, who prefer that women shall do the dirty drudgery of the house while they seize these feminine industries, which might be expected to prove lucrative as well as light. Now only in self-protection, lucrative as well as light. Now only in self-protection, when the capitalist has discovered that female non-union labour is cheap labour, is she to be grudgingly admitted to the union.

Working Women.

The strike of sixty-two women fancy leather-workers at Messrs. Dewsnap's, Sidney Street, Sheffield, is still in progress, not a single striker showing the slightest inclination to go back except on the terms for which they are fighting. The girls are picketing in a systematic manner the premises of the firm; this is being done peace-—which, if they have any case to make any statement—which, if they have any case to make is entirely to their disadvantage. Mrs. Aldridge, the organising secretary of the Women's Trade Union of Manchester, said that the issue of the present fight, if the girls win-and they have the backing of the trade organisation in the district—would give a big stimulus to the organisation of women workers in the city. We hope the girls will get their rights, and we can only regard the recent frequency of these strikes and their uniform success as the outward and visible sign of the uprising of womanhood against industrial systems which attempt to take advantage of the handicaps of the female sex. At a recent demonstration in Manchester advocating better wages for women, and held under the auspices of the Women's Trades Union Council, the Women's Trade and Labour Council, and the Men's Trade and Labour Council of Manchester and Salford, the need for combination and organisation amongst women workers was insisted upon. At another meeting held in Manchester the same day Councillor Margaret Ashton pointed out that the effect of organised women's labour would never be as powerful as the men's unions until, like the men, they were represented in Parliament.

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Holiday Educational Work.

The educational work of the League at holiday centres has proved very successful, and everywhere we find the holiday crowds willing to give ear to us. Many of them give in their names to our speakers, so that they may join such of our branches as are in their vicinity when they return home. Eastbourne has been one of our most successful holiday centres, and the demonstration there on Saturday, at which Mrs. Despard spoke (described in another column) was most successful. Excellent work is also being done at Bexhill and Hastings.

The newspapers all over the country are glad to give us space during their dull season, and it is our duty to work up interest in every constituency by this means, even if it is not possible to hold meetings in these districts. Any derogatory reference of whatsoever sort to women should be challenged, and the report of any industrial disadvantage to our sex should be made the occasion for letters embodying the reasons why such industrial disadvantages will continue so long as women are denied citizen rights. The political side of our movement is not the only one, and we can take advantage of the open correspondence columns of the London and provincial Press to air the principal disadvantages from which women continually and habitually suffer.

Mary Wollstonecraft Commemoration.

On Saturday afternoon, September 10th, at St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, we are holding a Mary Wollstonecraft Commemoration meeting, and we want a splendid Suffragist rally on that occasion. Local arrangements are being largely made by the Men's League, and a good deal of local interest has been aroused. All men and women Suffragists visiting the South on this date should be present at St. Peter's Hall. Mrs. Despard and Mrs. H. W. Nevinson will be the speakers. It is the first time Mrs. Despard has spoken in Bournemouth, and every effort should be made to ensure a successful meeting.

Pageant of Great Women.

Tickets for the pageant to be held at Beckenham Town Hall on September 24th are now on sale at the office, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi. There will be two performances (afternoon and evening), and the seats will be reserved (5s.) and unreserved (2s. 6d.). Anyone who has not seen the Pageant or who wishes to renew the inspiration received at the first performance should not miss this opportunity. It is a splendid thing to bring "Antis" to, and instead of arranging for theatre matinées during the holidays the money might be put aside and devoted to witnessing and bringing others to witness this educational and stirring sight.

London Branches Council.

On Thursday, September 1st, at 6.45, the London Branches Council begins its winter's work by holding its first meeting at 1, Robert Street, Adelphi. All London branch secretaries are wanted to come up to the head office on this occasion and start on their work for the autumn session in good time.

Open-Air Meetings.

The weekly open-air meetings are in full swing at Hornsey, Acton, Henwood, Highbury, and Hampstead, and anyone who can assist at them, either by speaking or selling Votes, will be welcomed. We are paying particular attention to Hornsey, which is specially in need of propaganda. Sunday meetings are also held in Fins-

bury Park, Regent's Park, Battersea Park, and Victoria

The caravans are doing excellent work, and anyone who can show them any courtesy through friends in the districts through which they are passing should do so.

"Vote" Sellers.

More Vote sellers are wanted for open-air meetingsmembers who will circle round the outskirts of the crowd can do a good business. The recipe for disposing of forty at one meeting by one of our best sellers, who also spoke at the meeting is "Determination and pleasant manners work wonders."

B. B. W.

CARAVAN TOUR.

This week has been less exciting than last. Miss Roff and Miss Guttridge held splendid meetings in Bedford, and were able to walk straight back to their rooms without being followed by any section of the crowd. also held a good meeting at Shefford. I spent Tuesday calling in Hitchin and Letchworth, and Wednesday paying and receiving calls in Bedford. Miss Guttridge left us on Thursday morning, and Miss Roff and I proceeded to Higham Ferrers, where we had an exceedingly sympathetic and interested audience.

The caravan was this time brought along behind a steam waggon, instead of behind a couple of horses. Friday was the first night of the great Fair which goes every year to Higham for a week, so we walked to Rushden, where another good meeting was held. Here a woman came to us and said that ours was the best meeting ever held on the green. On Saturday we came on to Wellingborough. As usual, we made our way direct to the police station, where the superintendent at once recognised us as "the ladies from Bedford." (He had been in the Bedford Police Station one night when we were taken in after our meeting.) We are receiving the same kindness and courtesy here that was extended to us in Bedford. A friendly butcher told us we might take possession of his meadow for as long as we liked, and hold meetings there if we wished. However, this proposal is scarcely practicable, since we are some distance out of the town. We found it impossible to held a meeting on Saturday in the Market Place on account of the market, so we booked the square for three nights next week. We called on Mrs. Parr, an old lady who has left the local Women's Liberal Association, of which she was president, to join the women who will no longer work for parties, but only for their sex. She is a great supporter of the Militant Suffragists. We also called on Mrs. Harley, a lady who, with her nephew, helped to keep order for me at a meeting at Herne Bay two years ago. We hope to have a most successful time here at Welling-Miss Roff left on Saturday and Miss Burleigh joined the van. MARGUERITE A. SIDLEY.

HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN IN THE ISLE OF SHEPPEY.

"If only these women could agree about what they want we might perhaps see about giving it to them." So our not-yet-quite-enough-educated M.P. But if he could have alighted on our island during the second week in August he would have seen members of four Suffrage Societies all working together and apparently all wanting exactly the same thing, viz., the removal of woman from her actual place of slavery, comfortable or uncomfortable, to some position a little nearer the elevated and adored sphere she holds exclusively in print. Village meetings have been held in the island before, though not quite so many as those recorded for the adjacent island of Great Britain, but this time more interest was shown. Mrs. Fagan and Mrs. Berth, of the New Constitutional, and Mr. Sidley, of the Men's League, were the speakers, and aroused the audience at Minster to a sense of the reality of our movement, people crowding round afterwards to talk to us individually and to buy papers.

At Eastchurch (of aviation fame) we showed coloured

announced very gory treatment in store for anyone who should class his mother with lunatics and criminals. "Grown-ups" came gingerly forward when the pictures were well over and put many intelligent questions, and children flocked up to ask for "The Bill in Parliament, please, to take home to my mother.'

Sheerness was, however, the climax of our efforts, and we had boldly chosen "Regatta Day" as providing large crowds ready made. Our waggonette was hardly in position when men, women, and children approached it at a run, and we had the pleasing experience of beginning to a full meeting, whereas in villages we usually have to address as "Friends" a tree, a cow, and one or two people peering out of a lane and trying to appear as if they were not looking at "those Suffragettes." We are pleased with our Sheerness meeting, the first on Woman Suffrage ever held there. K. RALEIGH.

A HOLIDAY MESSAGE.

The holiday season is with us. Not all the workers, alas! nor even a large proportion of them, but some, and, I believe, an ever-increasing number, are able for a time to leave schoolhouse and desk and shop and household cares—are able to turn their backs on big, smoking towns and to dream out a few restful hours in the lap of the great mother.

And you, too, my sisters of our League; you, who have been giving your time and your energy, your heart and your nerve, almost too generously to the Cause which is dear to us, so that it may be some of you are a little exhausted and depressed—you, too, I hope, are enjoying fresh air and rest.

Not only for your own sakes, but for the sake of our movement I hope this. We who are deeply engaged in that movement feel it now as a part of ourselves. For the sake of womanhood we work; for the sake of womanhood we rest. And that rest will be all the sweeter to ourselves and the more profitable for the Cause if we can fill it with brave thoughts. I have a little bungalow in the country, and there I have lately been spending my week-ends. Round it is a garden, and at one end of the garden, on a sloping bank above a tiny stream, is what I call my wilderness. There grow hazel and elder and bramble in their own wild way; there the tall grasses, pink now and yellow and pale red, wave with exquisite grace in the wind, and little flowers hide between their stems, and, here and there, tall foxgloves and willow herb, ragged robin, and purple loosestrife raise their

On a quiet Sunday afternoon a week or two ago I was sitting alone in my wilderness, looking and listening, when suddenly there came to me a strange sense of the growing life in the heart of which I seemed to be. For a few moments it was overpowering. I was swept away by the wonder and awe of it. I had been feeling sad. There had fallen upon me, as may have fallen upon some of you, a questioning mood. We had given of our We had done our utmost. Was it to be all in Tired of the strife some of our friends and former helpers were falling away. Would not more go? Were not our opponents strong in the things that count money and name and distinction—in the eyes of the world? Should we—could we—hold out much longer?

With that draught of life the sadness passed. I questioned no longer. I remembered some words I had read lately from a modern mystic. He, too, had been sad. It had seemed to him that some great world-help had gone, never again to return. "But," he said, "I did not understand the love of the mother, and that there is no decaying of her heroic brood; for, as the seer of old caught at the mantle of him who went up in the fiery chariot, so another took up the burden and gathered the shining strands together.

And then, as was natural, my thoughts flew to our movement and to our League.

Had I for one moment feared? Why, it was folly. Fear? When I see clear as daylight what this miracle electric force is brought to bear through the battery of that is going on before us-this resurrection of woman the ballot box?"

posters and explained them to some children. One boy means! Fear? When I know that there is no decaying of the earth-mother's heroic brood! Nay, if there is any fear, it must be of myself. For you, for me, the great point is that we may be one of them, that we may taste the joy of being used in the mother's ceaseless work. So ran my thought in the wilderness, and I pass it on to you, my fellow-members of the League. We want a little stimulus. The lull in the political world, where things seem to be resolving themselves into the old see-saw, shilly-shally policy; the uncertainty about the future of our movement, the reaction which comes when what had appeared to be almost certainty of an immediate victory recedes indefinitely—these, with some exhaustion after the strenuous work of the last three years, may have, for the moment, depressed us. But already that moment is passing away. We shall return from our holiday full of hope, invigorated for action, if we carry our brave thoughts with us.

Let then those who can rest, and let the rest, like the work, be for service! In our holiday time, as some of us have realised already, we can still keep our League in We can be missionaries. Great Britain is not converted yet. We can keep ourselves in touch with what is going on. We can interest new friends and acquaintances in the work of the League. I heard from a brave Branch Secretary the other day at a seaside resort that, almost alone, she is holding the fort. Helpers in other departments she has, but only herself to speak; and only a few months ago she did not consider herself a speaker. She says, with delightful optimism, "I suppose the practice is good for me."

Then, can we not circulate and sell THE VOTE—our organ. I speak quite frankly. While beginning to be known and appreciated outside, it does not meet with such support as it should from our own members.

I had a joyful surprise the other day. I was speaking at Cromer, not for our League, but for one of the other societies to which I belong. As I was passing out of the hall I saw a familiar face. It was that of Miss Thompson, one of our most ardent workers. She was on holiday, and she was selling The Vote. "Why?" I said, "you and The Vote here. Bravo!"

The directors and the Editor want to enlarge the paper

and so to find room for general and International subjects that concern women. Whether that will be possible or not depends upon you, my fellow-members. We are to have our first birthday soon. Surely then we ought to be able to promise growth and expansion. It has just been pointed out to me by our Editor that "seaside and holiday resorts are good recruiting-grounds for new members. We can do with as many recruiting-sergeants as possible.' And, naturally, we want new members. There will be loud demands presently for workers in all departments, workers in London and workers in the provinces. Help us to find them. And, meanwhile and always, let us bear ourselves, like that one of Browning's heroes, who

Never doubted light would break.
Held, we fall to rise;
Are baffled, to fight better; Sleep, to wake. C. DESPARD.

Miss Nightingale, Suffragist.

Writing to the Manchester Guardian, a correspondent says:-"A feature of Florence Nightingale's illustrious life has been allowed to pass unnoticed—namely, her sense of citizenship. When asked to join the Women's Suffrage Society by John Stuart Mill she at first declined on the grounds that she thought she could further the cause better by excelling in her own special sphere. Owing to his view that 'we owe it to our fellow-creatures and to posterity to struggle for the advancement of every opinion of which we are deeply persuaded,' she joined in the movement and took an active part in it, realising through her deep friendship with Josephine Butler that woman's enfranchisement is absolutely essential to a nation if moral and social progress is to be made."

Frances E. Willard said:

"If prayer and womanly influence are doing so much for God by indirect methods, how shall it be when that

THE REV. HUGH CHAPMAN,

Chaplain of the Chapel Royal, Savoy.

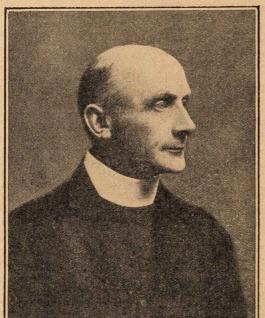
The spiritual side of the movement has drawn the Rev. and women, and it is well to realise that women count Hugh Chapman into the number of speakers on the women's platform. Though now a Royal Chaplain, and a man's toy but his equal." a preacher of wonderful power who makes his appeal equally to the mind as to the heart of a cultured audience, he was for many years a worker in the East End, a friend of the poor and their wise counsellor, and, as must happen to every thinking man or woman who goes East in London, while there the burden of the poor woman in her daily life, her wrongs and her helplessness under present conditions sank deeply into his soul. And this is one of the reasons why Mr. Chapman is so deeply convinced that the woman element in politics will bring in a much-needed change in the conditions of life amongst the poor. Mr. Chapman is a cousin of Elizabeth Fry—a fact of which he is always proud, and his aim and endeavour is to gather into this movement all those, both men and women, who

have passion for service and who are moved with an overwhelming sorrow for women's wrongs.

When the Church League for Women's Suffrage was started it found an immediate supporter in Mr. Chapman, and he has spoken much under its banner at many meetings, and always with that spirit of eloquent conviction which we have learnt to expect from him. The Church League for Women's Suffrage has been formed to band together Church people who are Suffragists for devotional purposes and to further the cause of Women's Franchise—" in the name of God." It is non-party, and its object is to secure for women the Parliamentary Vote as it is or may be granted to men: to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the moral, social, and industrial well-being of the

community. In his private room at the Chapel Royal of as part of the evolution, she is looked upon as something the Savoy Mr. Chapman gave the Editor of THE VOTE extraordinary. Now the normal woman is fighting for

some of his views on the Suffrage movement.
"My own feeling is," he said, "that there is at the back of this movement a strong idea of the religious status of her possibilities. This will have to be said with weariof woman. A woman does not live merely for her power of charming men. She has an independent entity and is answerable to God alone for her creation. Those who see her fulfilling her rôles as mother, sister, or wife must be aware that woman was not meant for man's temptation. Any nation which systematically develops this side of a woman's nature cannot hope that it will achieve a permanent greatness. It was an Oriental idea, and we find in the Bible Balaam's enemies advising his seduction by means of a woman. A nation which regards women in this way is its own worst enemy. What we want in every country is a readjustment of the relations between men



THE REV HUGH CHAPMAN.

You believe then that women are ripe for citizen-

"Yes; but as I believe that women are the political equals of men, I think that those who take up the political side must be prepared for the consequences, and must not regard men as lacking in chivalry when, while demanding citizenship, they are punished as citizens for offences against law and order. Remember, I am not criticising those acts, I am only pointing out that once they are committed the inevitable consequences will follow in the case of a woman as in a man. I do think, however, that militancy has spread the knowledge of the movement in a surprising manner."

'But you dwell more on the spiritual side of the move-

ment than on the political

side of the agitation?"
"Yes; I think that that which will eventually win is the deep moral point of view-that the woman who is self-supporting physically and mentally will be recognised as having a civic side to her nature, and that the aim of her life will not be regarded as necessarily merely to be peaceful and moral. What the normal woman is struggling against is the exploited notions of Circe and Hypatia. She wants to evolve into something sane and not oversexed-into a being who appeals to reason and not to sex. She is struggling against primitive woman and the tradition of primitive woman. The ordinary man finds his evolution into a civilised human being has been taken for granted, but the ordinary woman has always the primitive tradition forced upon her, to believe in, and to live up to. If she goes outside of it, instead of being regarded

her share in progress; she is not abnormal and she has refused to stand still; she is seeking the sanctification some reiteration from many platforms in the way one rams home the simplicities of dogma, before its truth can be realised. But it ultimately will come, and with it a recognition of woman as citizen. It matters nothing whether a majority or a minority want citizenship; if only two women are asking for it, it should be granted. If only two women show their need for it, it should be conferred upon them. The change in the making of the laws must come. Women's rights must not be conferred upon them as grudged concessions, but as rights.' "And the means to this end?"

"The present educative action of the Societies

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appears to me excellent. There is no one who does not feel that in being driven to militant methods and to an attack upon persons that a certain amount of spiritual force must be lost. When one has to fight with the prejudices of a person to enforce a principle, and when one has to fight by means which one dislikes this loss of force is apparent to the combatant. For that reason I am glad that the truce is continuing, and that the subtle power of persuasion is engrossing the attention of your League.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1010.

The spiritual force of which Mr. Chapman speaks he brings into the movement wherever he goes, and he always finds it there because he inspires it. He introduces a new atmosphere into the controversy. It becomes not a matter of persons-Asquiths and Churchills dwindle away when he speaks-it becomes a matter of a great principle. His point of view is best summed up by a passage from one of his speeches:

'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, it is very difficult for me to put it into words, at Suffrage 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. 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." M. O. KENNEDY.

SUFFRAGE SHEARINGS.

The Value of Pledges.

"Mr. Lloyd George, indeed, almost succeeded in persuading the Liberal women at Bodnant that he had not been inconsistent at all, though calm consideration of the case will show that to avow oneself in favour of a principle, and to cast a vote that has the effect of setting that principle into the background under any plea whatsoever, is in effect to go back on a declaration and a pledge."—Newcastle Journal.

Writing from Lincoln College, Oxford, a correspondent in the Nottingham Guardian says:—"We thank Mr. Lloyd George for his kind offer of what spare time he may have left over after smashing the House of Lords, after disestablishing the Welsh Church, after granting Home Rule to Ireland, and after dealing with sundry other causes to which 'he is more committed,' and to which 'he has devoted his life.' Placed as he is no such circumstances, we are anyted at his self-secrification. mitted,' and to which 'he has devoted his life.' Placed as he is in such circumstances, we are amazed at his self-sacrifice in offering even to consider such a cause as votes for mere women! We admire his courage in proving the importance of the suffrage question in present politics by giving a whole speech to its consideration. We are grateful for his statement that we suffragists must 'show restraint, show capacity, show daring.' We know that we have shown forty years' 'restraint.' We trust we have also shown at least as clearly our 'capacity' by our peaceful demonstrations. We now, therefore, will gladly take his excellent advice, and 'show daring.' Only, we request one thing, when we show that 'daring' do not call us 'fatuous,' or Mr. Lloyd George will be condemning his own advice, and that would be most unstatesmanlike!"

At the Abergele Council the application of the Manchester Branch of the W.F.L. for permission to hold meetings once a week during August and September on the promenade at Pensarn was discussed. The application was lost by 7 votes to 5, though some of the Councillors warmly upheld the appeal. Mr. E. P. Morris contended that it was a question of free speech. The Women's Freedom League was not a political organisation. Mr. H. E. Prichard supported the application on the ground that the Council had really no power to stop the people from holding the meetings. Women had their rights as well as men, and they had been kept out of them too long. They should have the same freedom as the men had.

"To Him that Hath!" "To Him that Hath!"

voters in this country,' and he urged, in defence of that position, that but for the plural voters the present Government would have a majority of 200 in the present Parliament. That, of course, is an arguable proposition. The point which is important is that the Chancellor of the Exchequer has made it practically impossible for the Liberal Party to assist in placing on the Statute Book a measure which it was thought would be

A Working Woman's View.

Writing in the Daily News, a working woman refutes Mr. Lloyd George's statements concerning the number of working women who would be enfranchised under the Bill:—"As Mr. women who would be enfranchised under the Bill:—"As Mr. Lloyd George says, the greatest obstacle to democracy in our registration laws is the existence of plural voting. From his remarks yesterday at Bodnant it would appear that Mr. Lloyd George is very hazy in his facts regarding the Conciliation Bill. He must surely know that it is a Bill to give 'one woman one vote,' which is the essence of democracy. He also says that the very few working women who would be enfranchised would not be representative of their class. Here the Chancellor of the Exchequer is certainly wrong. I live in a working-class street in a busy manufacturing town in the North of England. I have looked to-day at the registers of voters for my own street, and find there are fourteen men occupiers and fifteen women occupiers in the street. None of the rents are over 10s. per week, including rates and taxes, and many of the people women occupiers in the street. None of the rents are over ios, per week, including rates and taxes, and many of the people have to take lodgers to help to eke out the rent. There are laundry workers, shop assistants, waiters, one or two shop-keepers, charwomen, men working at trades, and some in receipt of the old-age pension among the electorate. Can it be truly said that the women of this street are not representative of the working class?"

Florence Nightingale.

She was a born reformer, if ever there was one, and, like all reformers, she had to bear the usual ordeal of ignorant or petulant rebuke from authorities bound hand and foot in red tape. No one but a strong woman could have stood the test. No one but a woman of mingled tact and firmness, and enormous capacity, could have in so few months revolutionised from top to bottom the chaotic nursing arrangements at Scutari and the Crimea.—Pall Mall Gazette.

Working Men's Wives.

Working Men's Wives.

"When I was living in a great industrial centre in the North of England, I knew several men who were earning good wages, and regular wages, and yet their wives went out to work. When an inquiry was made it transpired that these men refused to allow their wives a sufficient sum weekly to keep the home going, so they perforce had to turn out to work. Upon comparing notes with women living in other industrial centres, I found that this state of things is not uncommon. There does exist a certain type of man who will insist on keeping a regular sum out of his weekly earnings, for the sole purpose of indulging in his own personal pleasures, and with not the slightest thought as to the possible wants of wife and family."—Priscilla Moulter, in the Daily Chronicle.

HALL CAINE ON THE ETERNAL QUESTION.

One of the plays of the near future which may be expected to raise its full measure of controversy will be by Mr. Hall Caine on the subject of divorce. Writing to the Daily Telegraph concerning this venture, which he is calling "The Eternal Question," he says :-

I look upon this as the eternal question, because it is a question which began to reveal its much-discussed difficulties in the tion which began to reveal its much-discussed difficulties in the Garden of Eden, and seems likely to continue until the crack of doom. It is the heart and soul of the woman question, lying at the back of all the other manifestations of the problem which relates to the difference of sex. Whether women do or do not get the vote seems to me, strong as my sympathies are on the women's side, to be, after all, a little issue in itself. Speaking as a native of a tiny dependency, where women are already enfranchised, and conscious, as I am, that my own election to the little Manx Parliament was chiefly due to the support of women voters, I will say that the millennium will not come to us if women get the vote, and the deluge will not befall us if they do not get it. But the everlasting question, of which the vote is a part, is the question of the relative rights and responsibilities of the sexes in the eye of God and man, and on this depends the whole difficulty of divorce.

The Eternal Question.

"To Him that Hath!"

"With over four million women wage-earners, the industrial problems connected with their everyday lives become urgently pressing. It has been necessary for the law to step in to mitigate some of the worst conditions of their work. But with laws, as with other things, 'to him that hath shall be given,' and it is to the politically strong that advantages flow. It is micros, and not voteless women, who have been the first to secure an eight-hours day."—Margaret Llewelyn Davies, in the North Middlesex Chronicle.

The Plural Voter Bogey.

"In the speech which he delivered at Bodnant, Mr. Lloyd George developed his argument. 'I do not feel inclined,' he said, 'to vote for a Bill that increases the number of plural Here, I see, or think I see, the real heart of the whole compli-

THE VOTE.

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SATURDAY, AUGUST 27, 1910.

THE NEW DEMOCRACY.

If there is one thing more than another to be suspected in a politician it is the loud-mouthed declamation of democratic sentiments. The divorce between the professions and performances of political democrats is complete. They are democrats when other folk's privileges are to be curtailed, when personal or party advantage will follow from democratic action. At other times they are autocrats of the worst type. An ordinary self-convinced autocrat—a man who believes in the divine right of the better type, in the necessary dominance of an aristocracy of some kind—this man can respect Demos even while struggling against him. But the man who prostitutes democracy while professing it is of a lower type. The one is retrogressive in striving to limit arbitrarily the powers of the people; the other is vile, bartering and tricking them. The one may be a statesman; the other is a huckster, a sharp.

To-day it is the profession of democracy that "pays." An ever-growing audience responds to those who will indulge it, and pays them with huzzahs and votes. Hence it comes about that there is no more discredited weapon in the armoury of the politician than that furnished by the sounding phrases of democracy. These phrases have become mere excuses, mere evasions, mere meaningless strings of canting words. They have lost their meaning. They have become threadbare with much use. They have acquired public recognition as euphemisms. When a party politician desires to intimate to his followers that a measure will not advantage his party or personal interests he calls it an undemocratic measure; when he fears it will actively damage them he condemns it as anti-democratic. Only those things may be blessed as democratic which are desirable or expedient for him.

Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George are

politicians of the professional democratic class. They both make great play with the cant phrases of democracy, with appeals to the rights of the people, with clamour for popular control of Government. But both are auto-Neither is a real believer in the principles underlying the doctrines of human liberty. Both make use of these principles for electioneering purposes, and to secure the adherence and support of gullible party workers whom they despise.

Under these conditions the lines of opposition to the Conciliation Women's Suffrage Bill which these two Radical Ministers adopted were obviously determined beforehand. Two professing democrats could not oppose a measure extending the franchise in any direction except upon the grounds of desiring a wider measure. It is only by demanding a larger advance that a small advance can be opposed by democrats with anything approaching consistency. Being determined not to support the Bill they must demand a bigger one, thus cloaking their opposition under a show of virtuous demand for something nearer the ideal. This was the only line of action open to them. The mere fact that they knew that the Bill was not anti-democratic or undemocratic was of no account. They did not desire the Bill to pass; and the only way to stop it from passing was to attempt to rouse a gullible House and a gullible public against it.

In the House this effort was met by the reply it The House rejected the two Ministers, it rejected their interpretation of the Bill, and it replied to their challenge by an emphatic endorsement of the Bill they condemned. It was not so gullible as they expected. But of the public there is still danger. They may be misled. They must be given the same full knowledge of the true conditions, of the terms and purpose of the Bill endorsed by the House, as the members of the House were given by the preliminary work of the Conciliation

Committee. This must be done that they, too, may reject the Radical misrepresentation of the Bill and demand its immediate passing into law in the autumn

The first great argument for our use is the universality of support given to the Bill from all sides of the House. A Bill which has to pass by the votes of all parties must be satisfactory to all parties. That is self-evident. If the Liberals must have a Liberal Bill they must introduce one themselves and give it all the advantages of a Government measure. If they won't do this, they must abide by the conditions, as the Conservatives and Labourists have to do. The Liberals are acting the part of the dog in the manger when they will neither give us a Suffrage Bill nor allow the House to do so. This is what the young Radicals, led by Churchill and Lloyd George, are asking their party to do. This is what their party must

be prevented from doing.

Our second strength is found in the universality of support given to the Bill among Women Suffragists. Every society formed to promote the enfranchisement of women has endorsed the Bill, and several great organisations which have Women's Suffrage on their programmes have done the same. Suffragists, Suffragettes, Co-operative women, Liberal women, Labour women, the men and women of the People's Suffrage Federation, including the Adult Suffrage Society among its constituent parts all these and others have given their support to the Bill of compromise. It is a Bill that has been so carefully drafted, so well weighed and considered that all suffragists are ultimately driven to recognise that it is a practical measure, a Bill certain to pass the House of Commons, if the Government will stand out of the way.

For our third appeal to the public we must use the method of comparison. There are three other courses suggested to us by the obstruction minority. First they suggest that a complete adult suffrage measure is the only satisfactory solution. Yet the Adult Suffrage Society is willing to accept the half-way step! Its members know, even if the party politicians pretend to forget, that full adult enfranchisement is still a very long time off, and a step in that direction is all they can hope for within the next decade. One glance at the composition of the House of Commons disposes of the adult suffrage solution in a moment. It is not practical politics. The next suggestion is that all married women whose husbands are registered as voters should become voters by virtue of their wifehood. This is also not a practical suggestion. It would probably not get more than a hundred votes in the whole House. It would certainly not stand a shadow of a chance of passing the House of Lords. Besides, it is not women's suffrage at all. It does not seek to confer votes upon women, but to endow a man with another vote in virtue of his property in his wife. It would simply mean that women's votes would be under the control of men, and that a new and insidious form of masculine tyranny would be established. I could imagine the antisuffragists working for this suggestion when once they realised its possibilities.

The third suggestion is that we should fall back upon the old Sex-Equality Bill. I am one of those who wish very strongly that we could. But I see, and those who made the suggestion see, that this is under present conditions impossible. The present House of Commons, and the next, and probably the next after that, cannot give a fair judgment upon this measure. So much wild imagining has been indulged in with regard to this Bill that the feeling on all sides of the House is against it. A House built up on the limits and expediencies of the present party system will always be suspicious of a plain statement of a great principle. When that statement of principle has been subjected to years of misinterpretation and misunderstanding it is doubly debarred from receiving fair consideration. These then are the suggestions-contradictory and impracticable. Against these we have the sure, well-supported, carefully drafted, moderate, and yet democratic Conciliation Bill which the House will pass if it is not deliberately prevented. Let these things be understood, that the Radical trick may be exposed and the Bill carried into law this session.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.



BRANCH NOTES.

London Branches Council.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi. Central Branch .- I, Robert Street, Adelphi.

The fortnightly meetings begin again in September. As there will be many important matters to be discussed at the first one, to be held on September 5th, at 7.30 p.m., it is very desirable that all members should make a special effort to be present.—

Crystal Palace and Anerley District-149, Croydon Road. On Monday the Church was represented at our meeting by the Rev. C. Hinscliff, who made an impressive speech which was listened to with deep interest. Unfortunately, he was obliged to rush away and was unable to take any questions. The audience was unusually shy at first, but warmed up towards the finish and would have kept Miss E. Fennings some time longer, but it was nearly 10 p.m. and we had to close. Four or five men sympathisers promised to come to the meeting at which we have arranged to discuss the formation of a committee of men, and forty copies of The Vote were sold.—E. M. F.

Croydon.—9, Morland Avenue.

The second of our meetings at South Norwood clock was most successful. Before 8 p.m. there seemed quite an air of expectancy about the many loiterers gathered near the clock, and in a few minutes four copies of The Vote were sold. This was no doubt partly owing to the fact that the local "News" had announced that Mr. Percy Phipps, a well-known local Liberal, was going to speak. We must also give some of the credit to three new and enthusiastic helpers who chalked in twenty-nine places. Miss E. Fennings took the chair, and a large crowd soon assembled, who listened most attentively both to her and to Mr. Phipps. The latter made an interesting and earnest speech.

assembled, who listened most attentively both to her and to Mr. Phipps. The latter made an interesting and earnest speech, and appealed to the men to come to the meeting we are holding for men sympathisers. His speech made a good impression on the extreme Liberals present, and helped to disabuse them of their usual idea that we are all Tories in disguise, consequently question time was quiet. However, Miss Fennings again spoke, and late-comers were more ready to express their disapproval of the Conciliation Bill, &c. In spite of this slight opposition a resolution in favour of the Bill was carried. All our copies of The Vote (three dozen) were sold out and several of the Conciliation Bill, and ten more signatures of new sympathisers obtained for our book.—E. M. F.

Croydon,-o, Morland Avenue.

Manchester District.-Miss Manning, B.A., Harper Hill, ale, Cheshire.

Sale, Cheshire.

Manchester District—Harper Hill, Sale.

The Saturday excursions are going to be a great success. It is true the Abergele and Pensarn Urban District Councils have refused us permission to speak on the foreshores there, because, as one wise Councillor said, "If we allow one society we shall have the Suffragettes next." (By the way, do any of our members know anyone who would lend a field or a yard for a meeting in Abergele or Pensarn? We want to teach that Councillor the difference (?) between a Suffragette and a Freedom Leaguer!) Other Councils have been more kindly. At Prestatyn yesterday Miss Heyes and Miss Jones sandwiched to announce a morning meeting, and in spite of threatening weather a large crowd assembled at 11 o'clock and listened interestedly and sympathetically. Some unexpected helpers came forward a large crowd assembled at 11 o'clock and listened interestedly and sympathetically. Some unexpected helpers came forward and took the speakers off to dinner, and, more than that, volunteered help for an afternoon meeting in Rhyl. There a large crowd heard Miss A. Haigh, B.A., and Miss Heyes with intense appreciation. Many came as opponents—and went away owning themselves converted. Men promised their help and praised the speakers. All the literature was sold, but the demands for an evening meeting could not be gainsaid, so at 7 o'clock Miss Haigh again took the chair. Nurse Woodall (of Chester), who had arrived during the afternoon, made an excellent speech. had arrived during the afternoon, made an excellent speech, showing how women sanitary inspectors and nurses for school clinics felt their work hampered by the lack of political power;

clinics felt their work hampered by the lack of political power; and Miss Heyes, in spite of a very tired throat, answered many questions and closed a most successful meeting. A large crowd escorted the party to the station, and made earnest appeals for further meetings. Rhyl is awakened. Who will volunteer to continue the good work?

Unhappily, owing to lack of local helpers and the bad weather, the Liverpool Branch could not arrange the meetings they had hoped at New Brighton. We trust they are only postponed till next week. Any members who could help at Egremont or New Brighton on Saturday, the 27th, should communicate at once with me at 96, Deansgate, Manchester. The meetings arranged for Colwyn Bay, of which preliminary notice was given last week, are deferred until September 10th. This longer notice should enable helpers to communicate with Miss Heyes in good time.

Manchester (Central) Branch members held a special meeting on Thursday to consider resolutions for the General Conference. Will any members who were not present and who wish to forward resolutions let me have them before September 1st?

The members of the Urmston Branch are already making pre-arations for a big meeting to be held during Miss Eunice

Murray's visit next month. I shall be glad to have promises of drawing-room or cottage meetings as soon as possible. All members are asked to reserve September 15th for the Social Evening, which is to begin the Autumn Campaign.—M. I. Neal, for MISS MANNING.

East Anglia. - Miss Andrews, 160, Norwich Road, Ipswich.

Last Anglia.—Miss Andrews, 100, Norwich Road, Ipswich.

Ipswich.—160, Norwich Road.

We have found many sympathisers in Felixstowe. Meetings have been held there every day this week except Thursday. Miss Elliott and I have done most of the speaking, but we were relieved on Friday by Mrs. Tippett, who cycled over from Wetherden to help us, and by Miss Jessie Adams, who kindly gave a short address. Also on Saturday we were assisted by Miss Dorothy Matthews, who spoke from a Girton girl's point of view, and by Mr. Edward Fuller, who gave reasons why men should support the enfranchisement of women. We welcomed this timely help and sympathy. On Thursday Miss Elliott and I crossed over to Dovercourt and chalked a meeting there for the afternoon. A large crowd soon gathered, and gave us a most attentive hearing. A band tried to divert the attention of the crowd, but unsuccessfully; they wanted to hear what the Suffragettes had to say. At the close of the meeting I found Miss Helen Levy and her sister amongst the audience; they had generously given up a planned cycle ride when they found we were holding a meeting. Miss Levy and Miss Elliott kindly volunteered to arrange for a meeting the following day, and as a result of this they addressed an interested audience outside "The Retreat" on Friday afternoon, and a good collection was taken. If there are any sympathisers in Dovercourt with some time to spare, will they kindly communicate with me? Miss Elliott during her fortnight's stay with us has rendered invaluable assistance in speaking, selling The Vote, and in many other ways. Now she has to leave us, and other help is urgently needed. Mrs. Pratt and Miss Grant have taken the chair for us, and Dr. Grant has kindly supported us at several meetings. Mrs. Gordon has helped us very much during her stay in Ipswich with the sale of The Vote outside the market. I regret to say we shall lose her services, as she is going elsewhere. Will any friends wishing to take part in the Pageant Ipswich.—160, Norwich Road. I regret to say we shall lose her services, as she is going elsewhere. Will any friends wishing to take part in the Pageant on October 20th send in their names at once? and will all sympathisers in the district please book the date?-Constance E

East Sussex.—Mrs. Dilks, 39, Milton Road, Eastbourne. Eastbourne.

Our activities this week have been concentrated on working up the meeting for Mrs. Despard. Sandwich parades have taken place every day. These have caused quite a sensation here, and one of the local papers gave nearly a column on the novelty. We have also done chalking most nights. Our meet-

ings each evening have been well attended, and our speakers, Miss Guttridge, Miss Munro, and Miss Neilans, listened to with great interest. One evening when questions were invited one of the men informed us that Miss Munro had converted everyof the men informed us that Miss Munro had converted everyone! Mrs. Despard's visit was a great success, in spite of the weather not being as favourable as it might have been. In the afternoon about sixty people availed themselves of Mile. Spechl's kind invitation, and as the weather was doubtful we met in the drawing-room instead of the garden. Mrs. Despard spoke as only Mrs. Despard can speak, enthusing everyone with her magnetic influence. We took a large collection and sold a large quantity of literature and also gained some new members. Alas! the rain came down and prevented the large meeting we otherwise would have had in the evening, but in spite of rain some hundreds gathered round us and were most appreciative, and listened with great interest to our speakers, Mrs. Despard, Miss Munro, and Miss Neilans. A fair collection was taken and many Votes, &c., were sold. We ordered twelve dozen Votes this week, and so far have sold nine dozen and hope to sell the other three dozen before Wednesday. We are holding sell the other three dozen before Wednesday. We are holding our usual meetings this week on the beach, Old Shore, and Hailsham. On Monday a contingent of our members are going over to support Mrs. Despard at Beshill.—A. DILKS.

Bexhill-on-Sea.

Bexhill is roused on Votes for Women. Very great interest has been evinced of late in the great campaign we are holding, which culminates in a large demonstration on Monday, when Mrs. Despard will speak. Considerable opposition was shown at first, but by Wednesday evening the enormous gathering of people were almost entirely with us, and great indignation was expressed when the police moved us at the instigation of the expressed when the police moved us at the instigation of the "Antis." They were circumvented, however, in their endeavour to prevent our holding a meeting by the kindness of Mrs. Strickland, who had engaged a large saloon, where we finished our meeting amid cheers. Our thanks are due to the Misses Marsden, Miss Lowe, Miss Stewart, and others who have helped in every possible way.—A. D.

Hastings.
As in other South Coast towns, the Council and police are exceeding their powers in their endeavours to make free speech impossible within their domains. However, in spite of the fact that all street pitches are prohibited and only a few odd corners that all street pitches are prohibited and only a few odd corners on the beach permitted, good meetings have been held on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Miss Anna Munro addressed the meetings, ably supported by Mrs. Darent Harrison and other friends. On Friday Countess O'Cleary lent her charming grounds to Mrs. Darent Harrison, who presided at a very pleasant afternoon meeting. One lady who came an "Anti" declared herself entirely in accord at the close. Mrs. MacMunn moved and the Countess O'Cleary seconded a vote of thanks to the speaker, Miss Anna Munro.—A. D.

Portsmouth and Gosport Branch,-64, Devonshire Avenue,

A very good meeting was held on Friday, August 19th, at the corner of St. Mary's Road. The audience was most sympathetic and appreciative. A collection was taken and a fair number of Votes were sold. I should again like to remind visitors to Southsea that The Vote can be obtained from Mrs. Crawley, 4, St. Paul's Road.—S. WHETTON.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow Office: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.
Hon, Treasurer: MRS. JULIA WOOD.
Office Secretary: MISS MCARTHUR.
Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Glasgow.

CLYDE CAMPAIGN.—This week, in spite of very bad weather, good meetings have been held, Maybole, Irvine, Prestwick, and Ayr being the places visited. At Maybole a large but somewhat unresponsive audience gathered round the pump, and the only sign of interest they gave was that a fairly large number of VOTES were sold. At Irvine we again had a large audience, and here we had more active support, the Provost attending our meeting and offering to take the chair at any future meetings we might hold there. A somewhat excited gentleman helped to make question time lively by his strongly reiterated belief that I only wanted a million women to have votes, because I'd got hold of all the land. At Prestwick Cross and Ayr we held got hold of all the land. At Prestwick Cross and Ayr we held very successful meetings. On Saturday Miss Semple and Miss Shennan came down from Glasgow and held two meetings on the front at Ayr. Both speakers delighted the audiences with their speeches, and one lady joined the League as a result. VOTES and badges sold well (and would have sold better had it not been for a steady downpour of rain, which cut short the evening meeting), and a good collection was taken up. This week Miss Miller has joined us, and is proving an indefatigable helper. To Miss Meg Calder, to Mrs. Munn, and her wee daughter, who have helped in every possible way from selling Votes to chalking and carrying the banner, heartiest thanks are due; also to Miss Gibson, who has taken the chair at evening meetings often at great personal inconvenience.—MADGE TURNER, Organiser.

Scrimgeour, Miss McArthur, Miss Kirby, and Mrs. Mrs. Scrimgeour, Miss McArinur, Miss Kirby, and Mrs.

Julia Wood were in the gallery of the Council Chamber to hear the result of Councillor Pratt's motion, and Mrs. Wood sends us the following cutting from the Glasgow Herald of 19th inst.:

"Mr. Pratt moved that the Corporation petition Parliament in

favour of the Parliamentary Franchise (Women) Bill. This question, he said, was by no means a party political question. It was a question in which men of all parties and opinions were found both on one side and on the other. Mr. Arthur Balfour said he supported this Bill because he had always understood that the word democracy meant Government by consent. So long as they had a great section of the community, as at present, long as they had a great section of the community, as at present, which while it had all the disabilities of citizenship (that was to say that that section had to pay both rates and taxes) had not obtained the constitutional method of consenting to the way in which they should be governed, their democracy was only a partial and very incomplete one. It was because he believed that the Bill was absolutely true to the essential spirit of democracy that he asked them to support his motion.

"Mr. Cosh seconded, remarking that he looked forward to the enfranchisement of women as a step forward in the direction

the enfranchisement of women as a step forward in the direction of great and good social progress.
"Bailie Campbell said he approved of votes for women, but

why should the Corporation interfere in Imperial affairs? He

moved the previous question.
"Bailie Mathieson seconded.
"Mr. W. F. Anderson said it had always been a puzzle to "Mr. W. F. Anderson said it had always been a puzzle to him to know why women should be permitted to elect representatives to administrative bodies and allowed to become members of such bodies, and yet were barred from having any voice in making laws which they were permitted to administrate.

"Bailie Campbell was asked by several members to withdraw the previous question, and eventually he consented.

"The motion was adorted unanimously several ladies in the

The motion was adopted unanimously, several ladies in the

lery applauding.
The Corporation adjourned."

THE VALUE OF AN ARM.

We quote the following in full from the Sheffield Daily Telegraph, only drawing attention to the fact that the personal disfigurement to the girl is in no way considered, one penny per week being the nominal compensation. We also call attention to the fact that this poor girl, whose dangerous employment has resulted in the loss of her arm, is only paid at the rate of 3s. per week, and we would ask those who say there is no connection between the Franchise and rate of pay to consider whether a young man would suffer this scandalous treatment.

"At Sheffield County Court, yesterday, his Honour Judge Benson was asked by Mr. A. Neal, on behalf of the Swiss Laundries, Limited, of Woodseats Road, to reduce to a nominal amount the award of 3s. per week he had previously given a fourteen-year-old girl named Alice Fletcher, of 21, Aisthorpe Road, who after four days in the company's service met with an accident that necessitated the amputation of her right arm. Mr. Neal based his application on the ground that she was able to earn as much as she did prior to the accident, the firm having actually offered her such employment.

On the other hand, Mr. J. E. Wing, appearing for the girl, applied that the award should be raised to 6s. per week on the ground that she, now being older, would, but for the accident, have been able to earn such sum. He argued that the principle to be followed was not whether an injured person could still earn as much as at the time of the accident, but whether the injury prejudiced his or her value in the open labour market. He had, on behalf

of the girl, rejected an offer of £100 in full settlement.
"The girl, explaining her inability to accept the proffered employment, said that when she entered the laundry since the accident she experienced a feeling of

nervousness, and felt as if she would drop.
"His Honour said that while he could not say that the girl was worth as much as before the accident, he thought that if the employers were willing to find her work at the same wages as before (3s. per week) the liability should be reduced to one penny per week so long as they did find such employment.

The Men's League for Granting the Suffrage to Women in Hungary recently addressed questions to the deputies to the Parliament at Budapest asking whether they were in favour of creating for women either the general or a limited suffrage. The majority of the deputies, including members of all political parties, have already answered declaring themselves as sup-porters of woman suffrage. The league proposes to collect and publish during the autumn all the replies received.

'Dere ain't nobody 'sputin' dat we'se got to scrape up de money to pay de tax collector, even if we does have to go down into a skirt pocket for hit insted of pants pockets, an' our belongin' to de angel sect ain't gwine to keep us out of de jail if we gits in a fight wid anodder lady, or we swipes a ruffled petticote off de clothesline next do'."—DOROTHY DIX at National

THE WOMAN OF THE NOVELISTS. tions. Lately I figured out for myself how many people By FORD MADOX HUEFFER.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ____ My DEAR MRS. -

I should like you to observe that I am writing to you, not on the women, but on the woman of the novelists. The distinction is very deep, very serious. If I were writing on female characters—on the women of the novelists-I should expect to provide a series of notes on the female characters of my predecessors or my rivals. I should say that Amelia (Fielding's Amelia) was too yielding, and I should look up Amelia and read passages going to prove my contention. Or I should say I envied Tom Jones, and again give my reasons for that envy. I should say that Amelia Osborne (Thackeray's Amelia) was a bore. And I should bore you with passages about Amelia. I should flash upon you Clarissa and Pamela; Portia and the patient Grisel; Di Vernon and Lady Humphrey's Daughters (perhaps that is not the right title); Rose (from "Evan Harrington")—I adore Rose and very nearly believe in her-and Mr. Haggard's "She.' should, in fact, try to present you with a series of Plutarch's Lives in tabloid form, contrasting Amelia Osborne with Fielding's Amelia; Rose Harrington with Lady Rose's Daughters (I have got the title right this time), or Portia with the heroine of "What Maisie It would be fun, and it would be quite easy. I should just have to write out a string of quotations, and there would be an end of it.

But the "Woman of the Novelists" is quite other guess work. It is an analysis that is called for—analysis that is hard to write and harder to read. It is a tough job, but I will try to make it as light for you as I can. To put it as clearly as I can, all the women of the novelists that you have read make up for you the "Woman of the Novelists." She is, in fact, the creature

that you average out as Woman.

For you who are mostly women, this creature is not of vast importance as an object lesson. For us men she is of the utmost. I fancy that, for most of us, she is the only woman that we really know. Let me interpolatefor I may be about to say things that will seem disagreeable-that I am sound on the Woman Question. I am extraordinarily sound; I am even madly sound, some of you will say. In politics I am for Miss Pankhurst, right or wrong. In my views of the physical relative values of the sexes I am sufficiently a crank to say that whatever physical disabilities women may labour under, these are quite counterbalanced by the effects of the passions on men. When it comes to the failure of women in the Arts I pretty truly deny it, at any rate as far as my own Artthat of the imaginative writer—is concerned. For I do seriously consider Jane Austen to be the most consummate artist—as a novelist—that England has produced since Shakespeare's day. And I do seriously consider Christina Rossetti to be the most consummate artist—as a poet that England has produced since the days of Donne and Herbert. I state these personal preferences merely as preferences-for what they are worth. And though at another time I should be perfectly willing to maintain these theses at the point of the pen or sword, I introduce them here only to show-what I do not believe you are much inclined to doubt-that I am indeed perfectly sound on the Woman Question. To return to the "Woman of

I have said already that this woman is the only one that the average man ever knows. This may seem to some of you an extravagant statement. Let us examine it a little more closely.

Has it occurred to you to consider how few people you really know? How few people, that is to say, there are whose biographies, whose hearts, whose hopes, whose desires, and whose fears you have really known and sounded. As you are mostly women, and a good many of you are probably domestic women, this will not appear to you as clear as it will to most men. Yet it will be clear enough. Let me put a case—the case I know best my own, in fact. I have a way of putting myself to sleep at night by indulging in rather abstruse mental calcula-

I know, however slightly. The limits I set were that I should know their names, be able to sit next them at table. I could reckon up rather over a thousand—to be exact, one thousand and forty.

But of all these how many do I really know? The figures that I have arrived at may seem a little preposterous, but I have considered them rather carefully. know intimately the circumstances and the aspirations of eight men and two women, and I am bound to say that both women say I do not understand them. Still, for the purposes of my argument, I will say that I do.

In the present-day conditions of life, as I have said, men are more prone to these acquaintanceships that are not knowledge. They go to business and negotiate with great numbers of simulacra in the shape of men. Some have eyes, beards, voices, humours, and tempers; some are merely neckties, waistcoats, or penholders. But as to how these simulacra live, what they really desireapart from their functional desires to outwit us in the immediate business in hand—as to what they are as members of society, we have, as a rule, no knowledge

I meet at my club every day from twenty to thirty men of whose circumstances I have not the least idea. One of them is, for instance, quite good company, distinguished and eminently conversational. I know what his public function is, I know his politics, I know his vices. as for knowing him—why, I have never even looked him up in "Who's Who" to see if he is married.

And, if I am so walled off from men, how much more am I walled off from women? I should say that, out of that odd thousand acquaintances about six hundred are women. Yet the conventions of modern life prevent me from really knowing more than two, and those two, I am told, I do not understand.

I dare say I don't. But who is to blame? Why, the Woman of the Novelists. I trust that by now you know

what I am driving at. For the conditions of modern life are such that for experience of our fellow men we have to go almost entirely by books. And the books that we go to for this knowledge are those of the imaginative writers.

(Thus among novelists—or the greatest of English novelists—I should include Shakespeare. I should also include Chaucer, and, perhaps, the English dramatists up to Sheridan, the dramatists like Congreve-that is, who are read and not performed. I have reasons for making these conclusions that I will not dwell upon.)

I may take myself to be the average man-the man-inthe-street. And you will find that the man-in-the-street. or, rather, the man-on-your-hearthstones-your husbands and brothers—are in much the same case as myself. You will find that they know up to a score or so of men. You will—if you are the average wife—take care that they don't know more than a couple of women, one of them being yourself. And you will all agree with me when I say that your husbands and your brothers do not understand you. They think they do, but they do not. Poor simple, gross creatures; for them two and two will be For you—I wonder how much two and two is?

Yet your man-of-the-hearthstones, will talk about Woman. He will talk about her with a simple dogmatism, with a childish arrogance. He will tread on all your corns. He will say that women are incapable of humour. (Of course, in his mind he will exclude you and his sister and mother, but he will never make you believe that.) He will say that women are changeable. (He will probably include you in that.) He will say that every woman is at heart a rake. do not know where you come in there.) He will say that a certain lane is called Dumb Woman's Lane, because it is so steep that no woman's feet ever carried her up it. Well, you know all about what he will say as well as I do.

But you observe: He is talking about Woman; he talks with the confidence of an intimate. But what woman is it that he talks of? Why is it that you are not torn with pangs of jealousy when he thus speaks? Who is this creature; incapable of humour, steadfastness, virtue, or

reticence? You are not alarmed; you do not suddenly say to yourself: "Are these the women he spends his time with when he pretends to be at his office, his club, his golf-links, or his tailor's?

You are quite tranquil on that account; you hate him for his deceit, but you know you have him safe. This is no woman of prey that he is analysing. Women of prey are more attractive; they bewilder, they ensnare, they do not leave room for dogmatism. No! This is the Woman

I do not mean to say that there have never been men whose views of women were founded upon actual experience, who took lines of their own and adhered to them. There have even been imaginative writers who have done this; there have been, that is to say, misogynists, as there have been women worshippers, and there have been a few men to whom the eternal feminine presents eternal problems for curiosity.

I do not recall at this moment any great novelist who has actually been a misogynist: it would indeed be a little difficult to write a novel from a misogynistic point of view, though there are several novelists who come as nearly as is possible to a pitch of altogether ignoring the (To be continued.)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST.

One of the things which we of the larger faith occasionally ask ourselves is, What are the faculties and manner of mind which go to the making of an Anti-Suffragist? Surely they must have a reason for their creed, difficult though it be for us to decipher it! I allude, of course, to the female "anti," for the male 'anti" standpoint is plain and moreover frankly expressed. It is easy to understand that Lord Curzon, a student of the East, whose Court in India was Oriental in its magnificence, should adopt the semi-Eastern or "modified harem" standpoint, or that Lord Cromer should wish us, if not veiled, at least bridled. A colonel of my acquaintance frankly states his views as follows: "Yes; in justice women should have the Vote, but men will probably have a less good time when they do get it. At present men are having their innings, and as long as I can I shall help them to keep those innings, therefore I am against Woman's Suffrage." Candid but understandable, we say, for it requires a specially wide mind to put aside self-interest and to work for a measure as a measure of justice. All honour, therefore, to those men who stand shoulder to shoulder with us in the fight.

But the women, what of them? What are the causes which have led them to turn against their own sex? First and foremost I think we must place the confusion which has unhappily arisen between the use of the term "womanly" and the term "ladylike." Now womanly qualities are the finest qualities of our sex—joy, pity, tenderness, charity, motherly love, truth, and justice; these are womanly qualities, not ladylike ones. Now the female "anti" in her anxiety to be feminine fears that if she is not ladylike she will cease to be womanly. Man, she thinks, likes a ladylike woman, while she ignores that what man requires for his wife and comrade and the mother of the race is not a ladylike woman, but a womanly

The female "anti" delights in making rules and laws for other women to keep; never for herself, be it observed, for herself she sets apart. Mrs. Humphry Ward, having spoken strongly to women to keep out of politics, did not hesitate to rush into the arena the moment her family interest was involved and to personally issue manifestoes of advice to the electors on behalf of her son. This was not even vicarious politics, but direct action. doubt in so doing she considers she remained ladylike, while if she marked a cross on a voting paper once in four years she would become unwomanly. Speaking on an Anti-Suffragist platform, the "anti" informs us, is feminine and womanly; while speaking on a Suffrage plat-form is unwomanly and unsexed. In her strident platform voice the "anti" advises the Suffragist to stay and mind her home, while at the same time leaving her own in order to carry on a political campaign, for never does the "anti" deign to apply to herself her own reasoning. Her maxims are for others, and "antis" in high places "wire pull" to any extent for male relations.

Looking round a meeting of Anti-Suffragists the intelligent observer is at once struck by the fact that it is a meeting of the financially independent side of womanhood-women who have inherited from, or live on the earnings of, fathers, brothers, or husbands, for rarely does the "anti" earn for herself. An "anti" who insisted most strongly recently that all women should be under men's control and dominated by them was one who herself had never known the control of father, brother, husband, or male employer, and had a comfortable financial com-Absolute ignorance of the conditions of the woman's labour market is a marked characteristic of the 'anti," nor does she stop to consider the effect of the laws made by the dominant male on the sweated tailoress, the woman chain-maker who, working fourteen hours a day at the furnace, can barely earn six shillings a week, the starved machiner of blouses, or the maker of match boxes at twopence a gross and find your own paste. The Vote that would raise the standard of the hunger-wage is not to be theirs; let them tighten their belts, for the "anti" fears that a full stomach might make them un-womanly. The "anti" cheerfully assures the mother of a household that politics are no concern of hers, and tells the wife of a working man that a rise in the price of food or a dearth of employment cannot possibly affect her, as if indirect taxation never made a hole in housekeeping money. Then a certain number of women are "antis because they are afflicted with what the American termed 'tarnation cussedness." They are opposed to all propressive movements, they enjoy sitting in the path of progress, and are by nature obstructionists. They are of the type of mind which has consistently throughout the ages opposed such movements as the Reform Bill, the Catholic Emancipation Act, the Married Women's Property Act, and the Deceased Wife's Sister Act, predicting for the passing of each in turn that revolution which has failed

Lastly there is the "anti" who hopes that by being an anti" men may think her "so nice and feminine" and someone may ask her to transfer the attitude of worship from man in general to man in the singular. That amusing French writer Max O'Rell is credited with a rooted objection to the idea of women doctors. In one of his books he remarks that one of the most beautiful things in the world is to see a woman supporting the head of a dying soldier! A touching picture, no doubt, but if instead of wiping the warrior's clammy brow that woman should by her surgical skill be competent to stop the hæmorrhage and save the soldier's life—oh, how unwomanly! H. L. H.

Jane Addams says:

"City housekeeping has failed partly because women, the traditional housekeepers, have not been consulted as to its multiform activities.





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THE LAW.

The funeral was over, the baked meats consumed, but the mourners still lingered round the polished mahogany table, in appreciative enjoyment of the excellent port and madeira for which the cellar of the late Joshua Goodson

I presume, Mr. Monro," said the chief mourner, Peter Goodson, brother of the deceased, "that you will now read the will." The lawyer rose, adjusted his spectacles, and, drawing a couple of blue documents from his bag, said in a very Scotch accent: "I regret to inform you, sir, that the late Mr. Joshua Goodson, has apparently willed his entire estate away from his wife and family I have here the will drawn up by me shortly after his marriage by which the property is left to his wife in trust for the children, and I also have here a will made about eighteen months ago, drawn up by a lawyer in Manchester, delivered at my office yesterday by special messenger. By this I find this house and the entire fortune has been left to a Miss Hannah Lightman and her two illegitimate children.

A gasp of amazement and horror went round the table. Peter Goodson dropped the cigar he was smoking, and his jaw fell forward.

'Good heavens, man, I shall dispute the will!

'I fear, sir, that will be useless. The new will is quite in order, duly signed and witnessed. I find on inquiry that Mr. Goodson was in good health and attending business regularly: the sum of one shilling is left to the wife. Yes, sir, the law of England allows such though I am thankful to say in my country such a thing could not happen."

The mourners rose from the table in an angry hum of conversation. Relatives from a distance were scandalised and

amazed; local guests expressed little surprise. Leyton- National Health Society. town knew as much of the private life of her citizens as other self-respecting boroughs, and the vices of Joshua Goodson had been in no wise so secret as he thought.

The widow sat alone in the ugly, expensive drawing-She had been crying, for, although her married life had been a nightmare of horror, and she had often prayed for release from her great misery, now that he was dead, the idealising of the departed had begun, the vears of torture were forgotten; she remembered the early days of their courtship, when she had loved and trusted

In a few short words the lawyer told her of the will that cut her and her children off from the wealth and affluence in which they had lived.

"Surely," she said, quietly, "it cannot be. The law of England cannot allow such a wrong. I have been his wife forty years, all the children are in poor circumstances, and money would be a god-send to them. Poor Jem went to New Zealand after that great row with his father, and my poor girls married anyone to get away from home. Surely the law will not permit the whole fortune to pass to a discharged housemaid and her illegiti-

"I deeply regret to have to tell you that English law

WOMAN-THE SPOILT CHILD OF that her husband had only been faithful to her through the first year of marriage, but she remembered well the day when she first became aware that an intrigue was going on in her house, and how after rigid economies in the house-keeping money she had paid the girl a month's wages and bade her begone. The girl at first refused insolently, but the timid little woman had stood firm, and the threat of the police had at length driven her off. She trembled still as she remembered the scene of violence that followed—the swearing, the blows, the crueller words, and the look on her husband's face as he flung from the room.

"You beastly woman, I'll make you smart for this!"
"It is a scoundrelly action," said Peter. "We must see what we can do. Perhaps the woman can be made to feel that something must be paid over to you."

No, no!" cried the widow, shrinking. nothing. I am a good cook and needle-woman. Jem writes that housekeepers are wanted out in New Zealand; I will go out there. Never fear but that I can earn my own living. I will be a burden to no one."

MARGARET WYNNE NEVINSON.

RAILWAY ECONOMY.

The Great Central Railway contemplates the employ-

ment of young women as telegraphists. If the experiment is successful a considerable number of women telegraphists will probably be engaged instead of male operators. The change is being made from motives of economy. For some time past some of the large French railways have employed women booking clerks, and it is suggested that the introduction of female telegraphists in this country may lead later on to the employment of women booking clerks on some of the British railways.-The Times.



CARAVAN (No. 2) AT FELIXSTOWE. MRS. G. PRATT, MISS ELLIOTT, MISS ANDREWS, DR. GRANT, AND MISS GRANT.

The National Health Society, 53, Berners Street, Oxford Street, London, W., is making arrangements for special courses of lectures for women, commencing in September. These courses of training lectures are for women who wish to obtain the certificate of the Sanitary Inspectors' Examination Board or to qualify as teachers of the laws of health and sanitary subjects under the County Council scheme of technical education, or as lady lecturers, or in preparation for hospital training. training course consists of lectures, held in the Society's rooms, on elementary anatomy and physiology, first aid in accident or disease, elementary nursing, domestic and personal hygiene, the care of infants and children, and elocution, in addition to sanitation and public health and the other requirements of the Sanitary Inspector's examination. Full particulars and syllabus can be obtained from the Secretary of the N.H.S.

Alderman Ritchie on Women Doctors.

In dealing with cases of persons found wandering in the City apparently of unsound mind, a woman doctor attended before Sir T. J. Ritchie at the Mansion House to give evidence as to their mental condition. The Alderman remarked, "I am very glad to see a lady doctor here. I am sure they act just as well, and just as efficiently, and Mrs. Goodson was silent. She knew, as wives do know, perhaps more humanely, than ordinary medical men.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

LONDON.



Thurs., August 25.—Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans.
Finchley (Percy Road, Tally ho Corner), 8 p.m. Miss Pell.
Acton Market Place, 8 p.m. Mrs.

Wheatley.

Fri., August 26.—South Norwood Clock, 8
p.m. Miss Ethel Fennings, Mr.
Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. John Simp-

DARE TO BE Sun., August 28.—Finsbury Park, 11.30.
Miss Pell.
Regent's Park, 12. Mrs. Manson.
Victoria Park, 3 p.m.
Mon., August 29.—Hornsey Fire Station, 8 p.m. Miss Neilans.
Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, 8 p.m. Miss Ethel Fennings and Mr. Norman Leisk.
Tues., August 30.—Hampstead Heath, 7.45. Miss Fennings.
Highbury Corner, 8 p.m. Miss Coyle.
Thurs., Sept. 1.—Finchley (Percy Road, Tally-ho Corner), 8 p.m.
Highbury Corner.

Highbury Corner.
London Branches Council, 1, Robert Street, 6.45 p.m.
Acton Market Place. Mrs. Manson.
Clapham Members' Meeting, 31, Rush Hill Road, 8 p.m.
Fri., Sept. 2.—South Norwood Clock, 8 p.m. Miss Ethel Fen-

nings.
Sat., Sept. 3.—National Executive Committee, 1, Robert Street,

Sat., Sept. 3.—National Executive Committee, 1, Robert Street, 11 a.m.

San., Sept. 4.—Finsbury Park, 11. Mrs. Sproson.
Regent's Park, 12.
Victoria Park, 3. Mrs. Sproson.

Mon., Sept. 5.—Hornsey Fire Station.
1, Robert Street, Central Branch meeting, 7.30.

Sat., Sept. 24.—Beckenham Town Hall. The Pageant. Afternoon and evening. noon and evening.

PROVINCES.

Mon., August 22.—Near Kursaal, 5.30 p.m. Mrs. Despard, Miss Anna Munro. Chair, Mrs. Strickland. Thurs., August 25.—Near Kursaal, 5.30 p.m. Mrs. Hicks and

Portsmouth

Mon., August 29.—Town Hall Square, 7.45 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Whetton.

Eastbourne.
Tues., August 30.—The Beach, west of Eastern Bandstand, 7.30 p.m. Speaker, Mrs. Francis.

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRACE.

These points will cover the legal, social, and economic grounds on which women demand the vote, and will call attention to the glaring inconsistencies which demand a change in the present condition of the tranchise.

30.—From the Bible arguments are falsely drawn to prove woman's subservience to man. If arguments from this source are allowed to have weight, it is noteworthy that the beginning of the record says: "In the image of God created He him, male and female created He them, and God said: Let them have dominion over all the earth."

Thus equality was, according to Biblical documents, Thus equality was, according to Biblical documents, the first condition of the two, and only after the Fall is the Creator supposed to have warned Adam that even Nature should rebel against his animal life, and "The earth shall bring forth thorns and thistles," and the woman was told that in this lower life with her husband she would be continually worsted. "Thy desire shall be to thy husband and he shall rule over thee." to thy husband and he shall rule over thee.

"But the whole effort of Christ was to restore to man-kind what was lost in Adam. 'For as in Adam all die, so in Christ shall all be made alive.' If Christianity is completely to restore that which was lost in Adam, how can it stop short of completely abolishing the subordination of woman, which the Bible declares to be the direct result of sin, and of leading us back to that Edenic pro-clamation, 'Let them have dominion over all the earth'?' BISHOP J. W. BASHFORD (U.S.A.).

THE FALLING BIRTH-RATE.

There is a certain class of people who are heard to say that the decrease in the birth-rate has some connection with the emancipation of women. The following paragraph from an article headed "The Children of the Church" has some significance: "It is only necessary, moreover, to glance through the advertisements of any Church paper to see that in religious circles, as in most others, children are all too frequently looked upon as 'encumbrances.' Just at this time of the year vicars who are planning to take a holiday advertise for locum tenens to fill their places while they are away, and the following advertisement will be found to be absolutely typical of them all:—

"Locum Tenens wanted for four weeks. Small church; pretty country; garden. Moderate views. No children.—B. C., Vicarage, &c.'"—Cassell's Saturday Journal.

SUFFRAGIST RALLY IN BOURNEMOUTH.

On September 10th, the anniversary of the death of this authoress, it is proposed to hold a Mary Wollstonecraft commemoration meeting in Bournemouth, at which Mrs. Despard will speak. Will all Suffragists, men and women, who are interested in the matter communicate at once with Mrs. Borrmann Wells, who appeals for donations towards expenses, hospitality for an organiser in the district, and help generally to make the meeting a success. Further particulars appear elsewhere in The Vote.

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