

"Votes for Women," September 17, 1909.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 80.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17, 1909.

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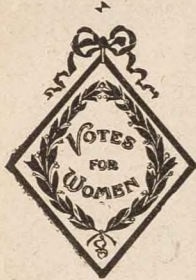
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The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to **The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.**

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

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

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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.

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THE OUTLOOK.

We have pleasure in informing our readers that a further development will take place in VOTES FOR WOMEN with the commencement of the third volume on Friday, October 1. A full account of this will be found on page 1181, to which we would refer our readers for further particulars.

A Roof Entrance.

During the week several vigorous protests have been made at meetings of Cabinet Ministers, the most notable being that of Dundee, where, in spite of the refusal to admit women to the meeting, a Suffragette descended into the crowded thoroughfare through a skylight, causing considerable excitement and consternation among the audience. Outside the hall scenes took place resulting in five arrests of women. Of these two were subsequently released, while Miss New was sentenced to one week, and Miss Burns and Miss Paul to ten days' imprisonment.

Move and Counter Move.

News comes from Manchester of the latest attempt of the authorities to break the spirit of the women in prison. Those who were recently sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment in Strangeways Gaol for the scenes in connection with Mr. Birrell's meeting in Manchester have been subjected to very rigorous treatment as a punishment for the mutiny which

they carried on against the prison officials. Several of the prisoners were handcuffed and one was locked in a strait-jacket. However, the prisoners, with dauntless courage, continued to carry on their mutiny, and also carried through a successful hunger strike, so that at the end of a short time they were set at liberty. Another successful hunger strike was carried out at Leicester, where also all the prisoners have been released.

The Government and the Hunger Strike.

The hunger strike formed the subject of questions in the House of Commons on Tuesday night, when Mr. Masterman gave the reply that the matter was an increasingly grave one, and the best means of dealing with it were now under serious consideration. In utter disregard of Mr. Philip Snowden's published impressions, he characterised as "baseless" the complaints of suffragettes against prison treatment, and omitted any mention of the fact that the hunger strike was undertaken, not as a protest against the details of prison life, but against the principle of treatment of suffragettes as other than political prisoners.

Surrounded by Police.

There was an amusing sequel at Lympe last Saturday and Sunday to the events of the previous week-end. Mr. Asquith's holiday was spent under the watchful eye of a contingent of police from Scotland Yard, who, from various accounts, seem never to have let him out of their sight. The *Daily Mail*, in a humorous account which we reproduce elsewhere, described the Premier's Sunday afternoon at golf surrounded by a posse of police, whereupon an official account was forthcoming of a Sunday spent by Mr. Asquith in a journey to Dover where a further posse of police awaited him, to which the *Daily Mail* has replied by stating that the scenes described by it on the golf ground duly took place on the Saturday afternoon. The amusing part of the whole proceedings was that there was no demonstration planned against Mr. Asquith at all, and the only ladies on the scene were those who had gone to Lympe to spend a quiet holiday, one of whom sends us the account which we give elsewhere.

Tongue in Cheek.

Glowing accounts continue to appear in the Liberal papers of the breaking-up of Budget-protest meetings by organised Radical opposition. These accounts prove conclusively that the writers in these organs must have penned their denunciation of women who interrupted Cabinet Ministers' meetings tongue in cheek. On one occasion we learn that the Liberals forged tickets in order to gain access to a meeting from which they would otherwise have been excluded. We can imagine how the virtuous indignation of the Liberal press would have boiled if such "an outrage" had been perpetrated by women. As it is, it boils to such poor purpose that the printers' ink does not so much as flow from their pens on to paper.

Where Women Need Help.

The report of earnings and hours in the clothing trades recently published should give pause to those who would have us believe that under the present régime women are protected and looked after by men who possess voting rights. When we read that for full time work the average wages for men were 30s. 2d. and only 13s. 6d. for women, we realise that radical amendment is necessary in the conditions of women, for these are the wages of factory workers, while those received by home workers are still worse. Nor can complacent optimists console themselves with the belief that these are pocket-money wages, for it is well known to-day that many of these women are supporting by their earnings not only themselves, but a family or other dependents in addition. Those who doubt the connection between votes and wages we would remind of the simple fact that the

wages of men have risen 50 per cent. since they have had the vote, while women who have remained voteless have remained also miserably underpaid.

Starving for the Franchise.

We cull the following from the *Daily News* of September 9:—

Another man ceases to be a citizen because he has worked on a farm colony; in other words, because, being out of work, he has taken the best work available. He would have preferred starvation and a vote if he had known what he was doing.

And yet they would have women believe that the vote is a small thing to be making such a fuss about.

Women's Liberty.

For tyrannical interference with the rights of personal liberty it would be difficult to beat the following story:— One of the members of the W.S.P.U., a young teacher in a school partially under the control of the Government, has been active lately in her spare time in taking the chair at some W.S.P.U. meetings. She has been informed that if she continues to do so she will lose her position. But this is not all. A garden party was recently given in her district by a friend of the Cause, and to this she was invited. The matter having come to the ears of a member of the School Committee, she was warned that if she went to the party she would probably lose her position! The matter was not put to the test as she was otherwise prevented from attending.

Cut Off with a Shilling.

We commend to the attention of the Anti-Suffragists the case which has just been made public of a Midland tradesman who died worth £7,000, leaving a widow, to whom he left the magnificent sum of 1s. We know nothing of the merits of this particular case, but it should be quite clear that where the caprice of a husband may leave his widow, after years of devoted service to his interest, penniless, women need some other protection than that which is afforded by the present law.

Exclusion of Woman's Labour.

It is interesting to notice that at the Trades Union Congress this year the customary resolution of the Brass Workers in favour of the exclusion of women from the trade was withdrawn in favour of a resolution providing for equal pay for men and women.

Contents of this Issue.

Among the interesting contents of this issue is a special article by Christabel Pankhurst dealing with the present militant activities of the Union. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence contributes an account of the battle for freedom carried out by the Tyrolese hero, Andreas Hofer; while a thoughtful article from the Conservative point of view is contributed by Mr. George Touche, who has been steadily supporting the militant methods of the Union among his own party for the past three years, and whose recent speech at the Queen's Hall will be long remembered by those who had the pleasure of hearing it.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The next great event to which we are now moving is the demonstration in the Albert Hall on October 7, when we are to give our beloved leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, a triumphant send-off to her Suffrage Campaign in America. This meeting will afford the one and only opportunity of hearing Mrs. Pankhurst in London. Our members will be eager to come, but we want to remind them that they must use this opportunity of introducing Mrs. Pankhurst to their friends and strangers who have not yet seen or heard her.

We want every London member to send to the office for six tickets, and to make it her business to dispose of these tickets before the end of this month. The Albert Hall meeting must mark a financial epoch in the history of our Union. It is the great wish of the Treasurer, which is shared by all in the movement, that before our Founder goes abroad she may know that the £50,000 Fund is completed.

We must take the opportunity which the first great meeting of the autumn campaign affords to launch a new financial scheme. Over £3,000 yet remain to be raised. The task to

which we have set ourselves is a great one, but we shall do it as we have accomplished other achievements, through determination on the part of every single member and the co-operation of all. Some of our friends who cannot afford to give cash have brought their art treasures, and have asked us to dispose of them. Amongst other things is a beautiful pearl necklet set in finely wrought gold. Our friend to whom it belongs is willing that it shall be sold for £10. There is a beautiful little group in Dresden china, price two guineas, and many other things in the charge of Mrs. Sanders, the Financial Secretary, at the office, who will show them to anyone who wishes to see them. These treasures can be disposed of to dealers, but for the next few days opportunity will be given to our own members to purchase them.

A most generous gift has also been made by Mrs. Wilson, of Hawick, N.B. She has presented eight beautiful Elswick lady's bicycles, painted in the Elswick green, picked out with purple and white lines, with Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's medallion on the gear case. These perfect little machines are being offered to purchasers at the very low price of £10. We hope to realise the sale speedily.

The needs of the movement are great. The Scottish campaign especially is being carried out on so large a financial scale that the expenditure is necessarily very heavy. We trust that the whole of this financial liability will be met by the people of Scotland, and they have begun to respond most generously to the need.

Rumours of a general election bid us set our house in order all over the country. We already command a great number of constituencies by our organisation, but the need both for extension and development is great.

Never were we so strong as we are to-day. Never did we take up our work with greater energy, greater hope, or greater zeal. Every day brings more support to the Cause. There will be no stint of service or of substance—that we feel sure. But the £50,000 Fund must be completed somehow by the Albert Hall meeting, and everybody must ask themselves the question: "How can I help?"

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

September 8 to September 14.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	46,510	8	6	Mrs. A. Craig	0	5	0
Mrs. Bell	0	10	0	Mrs. Mitchell	0	10	0
Miss F. A. Randall	0	2	6	Miss Kate Douglas	1	0	0
A German admirer, per				Miss Vertue	0	10	0
Miss F. A. Randall	0	2	6	Mrs. Mason	0	2	6
Miss R. Allen-Olney	1	0	0	Mrs. Logan	0	10	0
Miss N. E. Robinson	0	5	0	Mrs. Emily Erskine			
Miss Edith Marsden	1	0	0	Macpherson	2	0	0
Miss A. Edwards & Master				Miss M. McKean	0	2	6
M. G. Bretherton (Dahlia				Scottish Campaign)	47	8	10
Show)	0	2	6	Per Miss Howey—			
Miss M. E. Andrews	0	1	0	"A Friend" (trans-			
"Igneola"	0	2	6	ferred subscription)	2	0	0
Miss G. M. Keys	0	5	0	Needlework (Torquay)	0	5	0
Mrs. Helen Whitten	0	10	0	A Member (collected)	0	8	0
Mrs. Merryweather	5	0	0	Profit on literature	0	7	6
Miss Kate Clark	0	1	0	Per Miss Keevil—			
R. F. Chisholm, Esq.	1	0	0	Miss Lettice Floyd	3	0	0
Mrs. Baynes, per Miss W.				Profit on literature	3	17	3
Adair Roberts	0	7	6	Miss Keevil's auto-			
Miss H. M. Robinson	5	0	0	graphs..... office	0	10	0
H. W. Nevinson, Esq.				Birmingham	0	10	0
(£1 ls. by-election)	3	3	0	Post Office Girls, per			
Mrs. Mona Caird	5	0	0	Miss Bray	0	12	0
Miss MacRae	0	10	6	Mrs. Brewster	0	4	0
Miss Sarah Hume	1	10	0	Per Miss A. Williams—			
Miss Bina Simpson	0	2	0	Anon.	3	0	0
Miss B. Anderson	0	6	0	Miss A. Williams	0	2	0
Mrs. Helen Bonham	0	10	0	Miss E. B. Ross	2	10	0
Mrs. Percy Cottrell, per				Per Miss A. Kenney—			
Miss K. Birnstingl	0	10	0	Miss W. A. Bond (Legal			
"L. B."	0	2	6	Defence Fund).....	0	5	0
Mrs. M. H. Mackworth				Mrs. Channing Wat-			
(transferred subscription)	2	10	0	kins (Legal Defence			
Mrs. L. Luke	1	1	0	Fund).....	0	3	0
Miss Ethel Birnstingl	10	10	0	— Channing Watkins			
F. W. Pethick Lawrence,				Esq.	0	2	6
Esq.	50	0	0	W. S. Hall, Esq.	0	5	0
Per Miss L. Ainsworth—				Mrs. Muschamp	0	2	6
Miss Bennett	0	2	6	Mrs. Paul	0	10	0
Extra given for VOTES				Mrs. Mason (Precious			
FOR WOMEN	0	1	0	Stones Fund)	0	1	0
Miss Midgeley	0	1	6	Per Miss Colby's friend	0	2	6
Per Mrs. Clarke—				Per Miss New—			
Rev. Aathur Ingleyby..	1	1	0	Miss Hardwick (for			
For By-Election Fund—				Newcastle office)....	0	1	0
Mrs. H. Stables	5	0	0	Exhibition (additional)—			
For Organiser Fund—				Stall takings.....	0	14	4
Mrs. M. Gillies	0	4	0	Goods sold at office	1	0	0
Miss Juliette Heale	2	2	0	Goods bought by Mrs.			
For Prisoners' Fund—				E. Pollexfen.....	10	0	0
Miss E. Hughes	0	9	0	Membership Entrance Fees	2	4	0
Miss M. E. Andrews..	0	8	0	Collections, etc.	32	4	11
For Scottish Campaign				Total.....	£46,731	2	4
Fund—							
Miss Corson	0	10	0				
Miss Cecilia Mackenzie	0	10	0				
Miss Eva Mackenzie	0	10	0				

CORRECTION.—The item, Robert B. Drummond, Esq., £1, appearing September 10th, should read Rev. Robert B. Drummond, B.A.

HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By Sylvia Pankhurst. LV.—Taking the Prime Minister's Advice.

In last week's chapter we saw that during October, 1907, many protests at Cabinet Ministers' meetings were made by the Women's Social and Political Union, and that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Prime Minister, had advised the women to "go on pestering people" as much as they could.

On November 7, at a meeting at Batley, Mr. Harcourt was again persistently interrupted by women, and four days afterwards, on November 11, Mr. McKenna, who was addressing a large audience in the Dome at Brighton, was so frequently arrested by questions on Votes for Women that he was forced to exclaim: "It is impossible to get on—absolutely impossible." Next day came a similar occurrence at Mr. Birrell's meeting at Southampton, and on the day following that a demonstration was to have been made at the Prime Minister's meeting in Bristol, but on seeing that Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was unwell the women chivalrously refrained from disturbing him.

On November 16 no less than thirty-one women, of whom Christabel Pankhurst was amongst the number, were thrown out for interjecting and attempting to put questions to Mr. Asquith at his meeting at Nuneaton. The Liberal stewards here behaved with so much brutality that the police intervened several times to protect the women and to warn the stewards that they were using unnecessary violence.

On November 20 Mr. Haldane spoke at the Sheffield University. Both at the station and at the University he was met by deputations of women, who asked him when the Government would be prepared to enfranchise their sex. On both occasions this old self-styled friend to women's suffrage returned evasive replies, and at his meeting in the evening it was made impossible for any woman who desired the franchise to gain admittance. Here for the first time was adopted the illiberal method of issuing special women's tickets and of cross-examining all those who presented them before allowing them to enter the hall. Though the women who wanted votes were denied admittance, however, they were not entirely check-mated, for whilst Mr. Haldane was speaking within they held four great indignation meetings, one on each side of the hall.

Special women's tickets bearing the name and address of the holders were again resorted to in order to protect Lord Tweedmouth from awkward questioning when, two days later, he spoke at Exeter. On this occasion every woman who purchased a ticket was obliged to pledge herself neither to disturb the meeting nor to hand her ticket to a Suffragette. As might well have been expected, these inquisitorial tactics were soon found to have serious drawbacks, for, whilst many Liberal women were offended, at this meeting, at any rate, the unwelcome Suffragette without making any promise, somehow managed to get into the hall.

On November 21 and 22 two meetings addressed by Mr. Herbert Gladstone were interrupted by women demanding a Government pledge to give them the vote. On the latter occasion the women were so actively supported by a large body of men that the meeting was entirely broken up, and next morning the newspapers stated in startling headlines that the Home Secretary had been put to flight.

Mr. Lloyd George at Glasgow.

On November 22 also Mr. Lloyd George was to speak in Glasgow, and on the morning of the same day he consented to receive a deputation from the old Glasgow and West of Scotland Association for Women's Suffrage, who asked for a pledge that the Government would enfranchise the women of the country during its time of office.

In reply Mr. Lloyd George stated that before the Government could bring in a Women's Suffrage Bill the subject ought to have been before the country in a definite and concrete form, and the leaders of the party in power ought to have made it clear to the country that they intended to introduce legislation dealing with it. It was perfectly true, he admitted, that over four hundred Members of Parliament were pledged to women's

enfranchisement, but even these four hundred members could hardly be said to have really consulted their constituents upon the subject. It would be a very serious departure from all precedent if it were possible to introduce a Bill of this magnitude without fair warning to the country that the Government intended to deal with the subject. Therefore he could hold out no hope that the matter would be dealt with during the present Parliament.

After having expressed his disapproval of the tactics of the Suffragettes, Mr. Lloyd George went on to tell the Suffragists that they had not yet done enough to win the vote. When men had desired the franchise, he said, they had begun by convincing those who had votes that those who had not got votes wanted them. Mr. Lloyd George well knew this statement of his to be untrue; he could not fail to be aware that Mr. Gladstone had admitted, and, indeed, that it had been universally acknowledged, that only a small proportion of those who had benefited by the Reform Act of 1834 had really desired it. Nevertheless he went on to elaborate this point and to tell the very women who had so proudly helped to organise the procession and demonstration of Scottish Suffragists in October, that if he were asked for an outward and visible sign of the demand for the suffrage on the part of the women as a whole he would be at a loss to produce a single testimony of its existence. The leaders of the suffrage movement, said Mr. Lloyd George, should appeal to their own sex. When women wanted the vote they would get it. "It would be an intolerable act of oppression on the part of men to deny the demand if women asked for it."

In reply to questions afterwards put to him by members of the deputation, Mr. Lloyd George summed up his advice to women by saying: "Educate your own sex before you start to educate the other," and stated further that he should "oppose very strenuously any legislation that excluded any class of women from its scope," and that when the reform came he hoped it would come as "a part of a great scheme for adult suffrage." Also that women's suffrage must be made a test question at a General Election before it could be carried. All this meant, of course, that Mr. Lloyd George would "strenuously oppose" the Women's Enfranchisement Bill to give women the vote on the same terms as it is or may be granted to men, and it was evident, from the whole tenor of his remarks, that the President of the Board of Trade was only too anxious to put off the enactment of Votes for Women as far as possible into the future.

In spite of his most unsatisfactory declaration, Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at the St. Andrew's Hall that evening was not interrupted by women. To the men who heckled him during his speech upon other questions he gave ready answers, and when protests against a constant fire of interjections by an ardent Tariff Reformer were made by those around him, Mr. Lloyd George cried out good-humouredly, "Oh, don't turn him out. I like to know what is in his mind. Then I can deal with him."

At the close of the meeting a written question was handed to Mr. Lloyd George. It read as follows:—

"As Mr. Lloyd George has replied to a deputation to-day that he would oppose 'any measure that did not give a working man's wife as much voice in the making of the laws of the country as he had himself,' would Mr. Lloyd George also oppose a measure for manhood suffrage if it did not include womanhood suffrage?"

Mr. Lloyd George did not read the question aloud, but said: "This is a question about womanhood suffrage." He remarked that he was in favour of womanhood suffrage, and had spoken of both manhood and womanhood suffrage to the deputation.

It will be seen that this was merely an evasion of the point.

A member of the W.S.P.U. who was in the front of the hall then attempted to put a verbal question. At once there were loud cries of "Suffragette!" and "Chuck her out!" But other voices answered "No, no; fair play!" "The ladies have been so good this time that I think I may answer their question for them," said Mr. Lloyd George, and the question was then duly put. It was:—

"Why does Mr. Lloyd George, as a friend of women's suffrage, who believes it to be a great public question, never refer to it in his speeches? He and other Cabinet Ministers go about educating the public by their speeches on those matters that they believe to be for the welfare of the country. Why is the question of Votes for Women not treated in the same way?"

Mr. Lloyd George's answer, given with a sneering laugh, was: "Oh, this lady wants to know why I didn't speak on women's suffrage instead of Free Trade. Well, surely the speaker has a right to choose his own text!"

(To be concluded.)

THE COMING OF WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By George A. Touche.

Enthusiastic advocates of the extension of the franchise to qualified women frequently conclude their speeches on a confident note, in which they declare that "Woman Suffrage is coming."

The advocates of other policies make similar declarations, inspired by conviction or considerations of tactics. Labour-Socialist Members of Parliament assert that Socialism is coming, and point to the homage paid to their theories in the Finance Bill of the present Government. The Irish Nationalists claim that Home Rule is in sight, but do not explain whether they are looking backwards or forwards. The coming of Tariff Reform is confidently asserted by its supporters.

Can it truly be said that Woman Suffrage is coming? In a sense, of course, Woman Suffrage has been coming for more than a generation, but the words have little meaning if another generation is to pass before the necessary measure reaches the Statute Book. Is Woman Suffrage coming in the early future, in this Parliament or in the next, with the blessing, voluntary or commandeered, of the Radical Government or their successors in office?

Two Conditions.

It will not come unless and until two conditions have been fulfilled:—(1) Public opinion must be ready for it; (2) the Government of the day must be persuaded of its expediency.

A short time ago public opinion was not ready for it. Some progress had been made through the agencies of Woman Suffrage Societies, notably that of Mrs. Fawcett. By articles, pamphlets, and the spoken word knowledge of the question had been spread, and the cause had added steadily, if slowly, to the number of its active supporters and sympathisers. But the multitude had not been reached, in spite of laborious years of persistent endeavour, and the movement seemed frozen and lifeless. Three years ago Woman Suffrage was hardly a vital force in current politics. This cannot be said of it to-day. No one can have taken part in recent by-elections without being impressed by the important part it has played and will continue to play. The glacier has begun to move.

What has brought about the change? Some will say it is due to the "raging, tearing propaganda" of the Suffragettes. Many influences have contributed. The older societies have shown greatly increased activity. New societies have sprung into existence. The newer societies have benefited by the experience of the older societies and by the manner in which they had prepared the material and the ground.

The Order of the Suffragettes.

But the most vivifying influence has been the Women's Social and Political Union, the Society which has filled Holloway with the now historical Order of the Suffragettes. The idea that theirs is a raging, tearing propaganda is due to the fact that the Press has magnified one side of their work, and ignored, or minimised, the other. It has dealt at great length with the spectacular part of the Suffrage campaign—the part directed against the Cabinet; the importuning of Ministers; the deliberate policy of hanging on to the flanks of the Cabinet, in the knowledge that without Cabinet backing the measure will never reach the Statute Book, and in the belief, to which political history gives countenance, that, while Government backing may be awarded to justice and impurity combined, it is less likely to be given to justice alone.

The training of a Cabinet which has shown itself singularly amenable to discipline from other quarters is, however, but one part of the work of the Women's Social and Political Union. A perusal of the daily papers might leave the impression that it is the chief and almost only part. Newspaper managers know what their readers like. Accordingly they

afford much space to the exploits of two or three of John Bull's adventurous daughters who interrupt the Premier at play on the golf course because he refuses them the courtesy of receiving a deputation on a question of vast political importance. They pass over, either in silence or with briefest reference, the crowded and enthusiastic meetings which are being held every day and every week in every part of the country—meetings attended by vast aggregates of people, at which Woman Suffrage is being explained, temperately, lucidly, and convincingly.

The Educational Campaign.

It is this great educational campaign, conducted with wonderful skill and economy and perfection of organisation, which is now securing adherents innumerable to the cause of Woman Suffrage. It is a campaign which is not coercive, but informative. It represents the common ground of Suffragettes and Suffragists, of the party of militant methods and the party of peaceful persuasion. It is a field in which will be found the forces of all the Suffrage societies, working each in its own way, with unflinching loyalty, for the achievement of an end common to all—a field in which Conservative and Liberal women alike are enthusiastic workers. The more sensational proceedings have arrested attention. The imprisonments have convinced the public of the intense earnestness and depth of conviction that lie behind the demand for the vote. The harsh and boorish blunderings of the Government have caused resentment. The sentence of these women to the severities of the second division has been felt by many to be a national humiliation. All these things have served to break through the apathy which is the worst enemy of any reform. They have paved the way for the educational meetings by arousing the curiosity which begets knowledge, and knowledge has led to support and sympathy.

There is still a vast amount of ignorance concerning the aims and claims of the Woman Suffrage societies. It prevails chiefly amongst those who have no political perception; men who have votes and do not use them; women who do not understand the meaning of civic rights. Such women regard the demand for the vote as unwomanly and undignified, never dreaming that the real surrender of dignity lies with those who plead that their sex is unfit to exercise the franchise—unfit to deal with laws affecting social reform, the invasion of individual liberty, the care and education of children, the problems of country and urban life, the welfare of the race, and the future of the Empire. They are the true shrieking sisterhood. Well-meaning, kindly, timorous souls, they hug the yoke of political inferiority, because they have never been taught to understand the dignity of the conception of civic rights which requires that laws should only be made by the authority of those for whom they are made. But there is also a vast amount of knowledge on the subject, and it is growing in volume every week. Those who care for none of these things, including not a few of our politicians on both sides of the House, have not the faintest conception of the depth and growing force of the movement.

An Oriental Creed.

The Anti-Suffrage societies have aided it. They have provoked thought and discussion, the first steps towards conversion. By stating and re-stating the case against the enfranchisement of women they have drawn attention to its poverty and feebleness. They have not been able to discover a single convincing argument, but they prattle disparaging things about the sex whose dignity they have taken into their keeping. They shrink from a bold acceptance of the views of Professor Starr, of the University of Chicago, who roundly asserts that "woman is an eternal savage," whom it is impossible to civilise since her fundamental nature is barbaric; but they are as eager as he to claim that no first-class achievement in literature, science, or art can be placed to woman's credit. They would be aghast at George Meredith's lines:—

"She can be as wise as we,
And wiser when she wishes."

Their ideal is a world where man alone continues to make every earthly law, and to blame woman for "all our woes and loss of Eden." To atone for her original wrong to man,

woman's mission, woman's sphere, and woman's work are to be for ever bounded by the will of man, however ignorant he may be. For so say all of us. Such is the creed of the Anti-Suffragists.

Having secured the adhesion of two retired Oriental potentates, they hold meetings and repeat the entertaining irrelevancies of Lord Cromer and Lord Curzon. These distinguished ornaments of our public life have rendered splendid services to the Empire, and, happily, they may still be numbered amongst the most valuable assets of the nation. We look to them for counsel and guidance on many questions. But it may respectfully be doubted whether the task of ruling Eastern peoples, whose traditions and customs for centuries past have hedged woman in on every side, and are opposed to all Western conceptions of liberty, is conducive to dreams of the emancipation of woman, or is the best equipment for wise leadership and guidance on woman's true place in the national life.

This turning of the Anti-Suffragists to the East for guidance is in itself significant of the unsuspected foundations of their creed. It is more Oriental than they know. They have lately appealed to another Eastern potentate, pointing out that, when the much-married Solomon spoke of the woman whose "price is above rubies," he went on to say, "Her husband" (and not she) "is known in the gates when he" (and not she) "sitteth among the elders of the land." The next recruit will probably be Abdul Hamid, who, doubtless, would have a short way with Suffragettes and Suffragists alike. His recent surrender of other duties leaves him available for the leadership of the Anti-Suffragists, and the opportunity ought not to be neglected.

Public Opinion.

Public opinion has made giant strides on the subject of Woman Suffrage. Multitudes to whom a few years ago the whole question seemed a fit subject for jest now share the conviction that the refusal of the right of citizenship to woman is not only a wrong to the sex, but a loss to the nation. They recognise that, in the slow and painful march of humanity to the highest good, men and women must work hand in hand; that the elimination of disease and grinding poverty is a task requiring not only man's strength, but woman's tenderness and understanding and quick sympathy. The coming of Woman Suffrage is not going to make an immediate end of every social evil. Women have no quick cure. It will only mark another stage in the march of human progress, a closer co-operation between man and woman, and a more perfect union of forces for the good of the race—the very antithesis of sex warfare and all that it implies.

The Blunder of the Present Government.

Public opinion is ready, or nearly ready, to embrace the reform. But are the present Liberal Government persuaded of its expediency? Many supporters of the Government are persuaded that they have made a disastrous blunder in trying to crush the agitation by brute force. In this, as in many things, the Cabinet are out of touch with the sentiments of the people. Perhaps the size of their majority has made them arrogant and unsympathetic. Their whole handling of the question has been a colossal mistake. Their refusal to see deputations has been an incitement to disorder. Their pretence, that the women who protested against the refusal were mere street brawlers, has deceived no one. They have treated women as they would never have treated men. They have shown pusillanimity as well as lack of chivalry. The elaborate police precautions made for the personal safety of Ministers whenever a handful of women intimated their intention of calling upon the Cabinet to submit their case on constitutional lines have covered the Government with ridicule. Rightly or wrongly, their attitude to the Suffragettes has been regarded as vindictive, and has aroused disgust among men, irrespective of their views on the Suffrage question.

The Government have not had the courage to give a simple denial to the claims of women, but have endeavoured to throw dust in their eyes. They will not, they say, introduce Woman Suffrage, but they will introduce a Reform Bill which will not include votes for women. If, however, an amendment giving them votes is proposed in the House, the Government promise that, under certain conditions, they may not be active resisters; they may not even be passive resisters; they will be passive acceptors. Great reforms—and the extension of the franchise to woman is a great evolutionary reform of the Constitution—are not accomplished by these jellyfish methods. This Government will not pass any Reform Bill. They are themselves

under the shadow of the scaffold. Their legislative days are numbered.

No Illusions.

And what of their successors? Are the old scenes to be re-enacted? Is the old agitation to be continued? The Conservative Party need be under no illusions. The Women's Social and Political Union have been perfectly frank on the subject. If the Unionist Government fail as the Radical Government have failed the agitation at present directed against the latter will be directed against them. Let us hope they will not fail; that the Conservative Party will rise to the height of a great occasion, and grasp a great political opportunity, and identify themselves with a great reform.

There is nothing in Woman Suffrage contrary to the traditions or principles of the party of constitutional reform. Thirty-six years ago Mr. Disraeli expressed the view that woman's exclusion from political rights was injurious to the best interests of the country. The same view is held to-day by many of the best and most loyal workers in the Conservative cause. It has led to the formation of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, whose members are conducting an active educational campaign, based on peaceful persuasion. Some who are opponents of the movement, and others who are indifferent friends, reproach them with seeking to make Woman Suffrage a party question. The reproach is not justified. Woman Suffrage is not a party question. That has been its weakness as well as its strength. Both parties have flirted with it, but neither party has asked it to share their lot.

Why the Next Government Should Assist.

There are many reasons why the coming Unionist Government should give the women's enfranchisement measure the light of their countenance. It will enable Members of Parliament on both sides of the House to fulfil not only the letter but the spirit of their promises. It will be in accord with and give effect to the expectations of public opinion. It will keep faith with women workers. It will substitute justice for privilege. It will end an agitation which should be unnecessary when the merits of the cause are acknowledged. It will add to the long series of successful reforms with which the Conservative Party is identified. It will anticipate the inevitable, and secure that the grant of the Parliamentary vote to women is dealt with on a basis of equity, and not as a political bribe.

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I think it may interest you to know of the following little incident. It has been my privilege for the last year or two to lecture occasionally at Holloway Prison to the women. As an expert in hygiene, the chaplain has always asked me to take such subjects as "Fresh Air and the Prevention of Consumption." Last time I went we had as a title "Some New Discoveries that have altered old Ideas," and I had a splendid hearing from a very large number of women while we considered together the good of sunlight, ventilation, cleanliness, etc., etc. The other day came another request from the chaplain for a lecture on some health subject in September. But I had read enough to make me feel it my duty to write and ask how he—the chaplain—and other authorities who want these lectures could reconcile the giving of the teaching with the conditions existing in the prison as experienced and brought to light of late! I asked his candid opinion as to whether I—a member of the Sanitary Institute—ought to come and teach hygiene just now.

The only answer I have received is that he "regrets my decision," and evidently he has nothing to say that would be a refutation of the reports or a defence of the conditions. I am sorry to say good-bye to my lectures at Holloway, but I hope my action—if it does mean any disappointment to them—will be attributed to my intense sympathy with our brave Suffragettes and their cause.—Yours, etc.,

(MRS.) CLARE GOSLETT.

Member of the Royal Sanitary Institute and
of the Société française d'hygiène.
Kenilworth House, Ealing, W.

The women's war is raging more fiercely than ever. The present position is deplorable in the extreme. So far the attempt to ignore and crush the women's movement has resulted in rousing the militant section to open defiance of law and order, and as a natural consequence there have been most regrettable actions, which must entail great suffering and distress. However severely the militant methods may be criticised, it must be acknowledged that these women are fighting for a principle, that they have found all other tactics ignored, and that they bear the brunt of the suffering themselves.

—Birkenhead News.

THE SCOTTISH DEMONSTRATION.

Procession to Waverley Market, Saturday, October 9.

The women missionaries to-day in Scotland tread on ground hallowed by the steps of those beside whose faith ours must seem feeble, since we are working with the end in sight and they in a cause which, though more than a thousand years have passed, has not yet finally triumphed.

St. Columba was the first to bring tidings of better things to the wild, waste Scottish land about 600 A.D. Exiled from his Irish home he landed on the western coast, where the mist creeps up from the sea, blotting out the green Isle of Mull and the Kerrara Islands, closing in Oban Bay, and hanging over the glens and mountains of the mainland, until the spring sunshine, dispelling the haze, reveals the sparkling water and the green earth, teeming with awakening life. St. Columba, his eyes ever open to beauty in humanity and nature, saw the life-giving wind loosed from the treasure-house of heaven come to swell the buds on tree and vine and shrub, and he lived to see ideals of a higher life before the savages he came to save.

In forty-two years he largely silenced the clash of war in the land, brought the knowledge of letters amongst the Scottish and Pictish people, established laws, and lightened the burden of taxation which lay on the people, who, with weapons laid aside, were pursuing the arts of peace. He had brought them the message that peace is better than war; that love is stronger than hatred; that to lose life in human service is to find the fullest life of all.

No wonder that for generations it was believed his power was more than human, for the everlasting triumph of moral force over physical always seems to be a miracle. It was thought that his voice, lifted in hymns or psalms, could awaken thunder from the hills, and that he could subdue even wild beasts by his look.

Now that the names of the fierce chiefs are but a sorrowful memory and their deeds forgotten, the work of St. Columba and his followers grows and lives. He was like one who sows seed in the darkness by the light of faith, and now is the grain slowly ripening to the harvest.

You Scottish people who owe to this great civiliser your own knowledge, comfort, and hope, how will you discharge your debt to the past?

It can be done only by service to the future. So we appeal to you—join our missionary band and follow where the great and good of past ages led, for while there remain thousands of human lives passed in darkness and suffering, we cannot lay down our arms.

Just three weeks remain before the day of the great demonstration, when the life and colour of the Women's Social and Political Union will be introduced into the streets of Edinburgh. On Saturday afternoon at two o'clock the contingents from Edinburgh, from Glasgow, and from the towns and country places throughout Scotland will assemble at the Bruntsfield Links. Some of the great banners will be there that played a part in the historic meeting last year in Hyde Park. Special Scottish banners are being contributed by the different towns in Scotland. Punctually at 2.30, to the stirring music of the bands, the procession will start and will wend its way by Tollcross, Lothian Road, and Princes Street, finally reaching Waverley Market about 3.30. There there will be a scene the like of which has not been witnessed for many years. The central portion of the great market is being specially prepared for a meeting, and seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. will be available, while the bulk of the great market will be open for standing room, which will be charged at 3d. per head. From the great platform Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others of the leading members of the Women's Social and Political Union will address the audience, and the meeting will terminate promptly at five o'clock.

During these last few weeks before the demonstration takes place a special appeal is made to all friends of the movement

to come forward to ensure a triumphant success. Help is wanted in the finances to pay for the great campaign which is being conducted throughout the country to work up the meeting, and which will be continued after the meeting is over. Then a great deal of help is required for the purpose of special advertisement, and on the afternoon itself every woman who can possibly lend her services will be welcome. The offices of the demonstration are at 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh, and Mrs. Drummond, who is the chief organiser, will be glad to receive offers of help of every kind.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Tour.

During the past week Mrs. Pankhurst has been busy touring through Scotland in the W.S.P.U. motor-car, addressing meetings in every part. Since the car has been in Scotland it has travelled something like 1,500 miles, and meetings have been addressed wherever it has gone. Even in the remotest villages, which are only reached after drives over heather and moor, enthusiastic meetings have been held. The Highlanders seem only too eager to hear the story of the great battle for the enfranchisement of women from the lips of Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Vera Holme, the chauffeur, writes:—

"Most of our drives lead us by the side of one of the firths, or again we find ourselves by the deep blue waters of a loch. One of the most beautiful drives is that which skirts Loch Ness (thirty-five miles long), and leads to the Falls of Foyers, Scotland's most noted waterfalls. The beauty and wildness of the scenery are really awe-inspiring. The most difficult hill has to be negotiated (gradient one in seven) before one reaches the spot of vantage, and twice on this hill our horseless carriage stuck. However, after asking my passengers to alight, the third and final try brought us to the top. On reaching this one passes through a little wicket-gate, and clammers down a narrow path on the edge of a precipice; then, looking down, a wonderful sight meets the gaze: a great volume of peat-coloured water falling a distance of about 350 ft."

The *Glasgow Herald*, reporting on Mrs. Pankhurst's Highland tour, adds: The Strathpeffer meeting was attended by a large number of titled lady visitors at present staying at Strathpeffer. Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst are continuing their tour northwards by motor-car, and are billed to give addresses at different centres.

Referring to a meeting at Oban, the *Oban Times* remarks: "Mrs. Pankhurst stated the case of the Suffragettes in an effective manner, and throughout she received an attentive hearing"; while the *Glasgow Herald* describes the audience at this meeting as "large and sympathetic."

The *Elgin Courier* says that at Fochabers "Miss Pankhurst spoke in a forceful manner, and was listened to by a large and decidedly interested audience, after she had quashed a feeble and futile opposition at the back of the hall. Many questions on, as well as off, the point were put to her, all of which she answered in the best of good humours, promptly and decisively."

THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL. An Historic Meeting in London.

The meeting to be held on Thursday evening, October 7, is likely to be historic in the annals of the Women's Social and Political Union. Not only will the occasion be the last for some little time when members and their friends will have the opportunity of hearing the founder and leader of the movement, who is shortly leaving the country to conduct a Woman Suffrage campaign in the United States of America, but it will also mark an important point in the political situation. For the past few weeks the political weather prophets have been busying themselves with rumours of the prospect of an early dissolution. To-day Mr. Asquith is making a special pronouncement at the Bingley Hall in Birmingham, to be followed by a counterblast by the Conservative leader next Wednesday. Both these speeches are being looked forward to as likely to throw light on the political outlook, which will have further cleared by the date of the great meeting in the Royal Albert Hall. This will provide Mrs. Pankhurst with an opportunity of expressing her views upon the situation as it will then be known. As it is now only a bare three weeks before the meeting takes place it is hoped that members will take an early opportunity of making their arrangements with regard to it. For particulars as to tickets, etc., see the special announcement on page 1179.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

A cordial invitation is extended to strangers as well as members and friends of the W.S.P.U. to come to the free meetings held regularly each week in London and throughout the country, where an opportunity will be provided of getting into personal contact with the leaders and organisers of the militant suffrage movement. In London these meetings (or At Homes, as they are usually called) are held regularly twice a week, on Monday afternoons, at 3 o'clock, at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, and on Thursday evenings, at the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, at 8 o'clock. At both meetings all seats are free. The first meeting at the Queen's Hall will be held on Monday, October 4, when the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. The At Homes on Thursday evening have already recommenced, and at that held on Thursday, September 23, the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and others. For particulars with regard to the At Homes throughout the country our readers are referred to the column "Programme of Events."

Meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, Thursday, October 7.

Attention is specially directed to the great meeting which is being held on Thursday, October 7, at 8 p.m., in the Royal Albert Hall, on which date there will be no At Home in the St. James's Hall. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will also speak. The tickets are now ready, and can be obtained from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.; stalls, 3s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; upper orchestra, 6d.; and boxes at various prices. All the seats are numbered except the upper orchestra. As the meeting is a women's demonstration, all the seats will be reserved for women only, with the exception of the stalls, boxes, and arena. It is specially desired that all members and friends should obtain their tickets as early as possible, as on many previous occasions there has been considerable difficulty owing to late application for tickets, which has often meant disappointment. Will those women (members only) willing to steward at the Albert Hall send in their names to Miss Hambling, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., at once. Plans for making the meeting known are being made, and volunteers—especially teachers, nurses, and business women—are invited to send in their names to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., indicating how much time they are able to give. Four districts are already mapped out, viz., Knightsbridge, Hammersmith, Paddington, and Kensington, and workers are wanted to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN tickets for the meeting, and to hold meetings and help in other ways.

The Scottish Demonstration.

Plans are now maturing for the great Scottish demonstration to be held on Saturday, October 9, which will commence with a procession from the Bruntsfield Links at 2.30, and will conclude with a great meeting at the Waverley Market at 5 o'clock, where Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others will address the audience. Tickets for the meeting, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 3d., can be obtained from Mrs. Drummond, 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh. Further particulars are given on page 1178.

Meeting at Liverpool.

The Sun Hall, Liverpool, has been taken for Monday, October 11, and a great meeting, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, has been arranged. The Liverpool Hunger-strikers and prisoners on remand will also be present on the platform. Tickets can be obtained on September 25 at 28, Berry Street, Liverpool, and the names of those wishing to act as stewards should be sent in, so that plans may be drawn up.

"Votes for Women."

Special attention of readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN is drawn to the announcement which appears on page 1181 of the further development in this paper, commencing October 1. With this in view, it is hoped that members will make a special point at the present time of pushing the paper by making it known to their friends and by assisting in the street sales. Those who are able to take part in the selling in the streets of London should ask for Miss Ainsworth, who is temporarily acting in the place of Miss Mills, and those who can help in this way in

different parts of the country should apply to the local organisers.

The Next Deputation.

Arrangements have been made to send the fourteenth deputation to Mr. Asquith on the expiration of Mrs. Pankhurst's undertaking, and a large number of names have already been received. Will all those who wish to take part communicate with Miss Christabel Pankhurst at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The Woman's Press.

Attention is directed to the many articles to be had from the Woman's Press, including post-card albums, address books, note books, playing cards, and fancy boxes of stationery stamped with the Union medallion. These are not only artistic and daintily got up, but are also eminently useful, and very suitable for presents.

Forthcoming Meetings.

In connection with the Autumn Campaign several important meetings are being held at Birmingham, Redcar, Middlesbrough, Liverpool, and other places. Further particulars are given below under the heading "Important Future Events."

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Sept. 17	Bridge of Allan	Mrs. Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton	8 p.m.
	Forest Gate, The Green, Near Barking Railway Station.	Mrs. Sleight. Chair: Miss Hewitt	7.30 p.m.
	Forfar, At Home, Meffar Institute	Mrs. Drummond	3 p.m.
	London—Shepherd's Bush, At Home, 3, Evesham House	Miss L. Tyson and others	8 p.m.
	West Kensington Ry. Station	Miss Jacobs, Miss Jarvis	7 p.m.
	Middlesbrough	Miss D. Pethick, Miss Bowker	3.30 p.m.
	Stirling	Mrs. Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 18	Forfar, Masonic Hall	Mrs. Drummond	7.30 p.m.
	London—Richmond, Heron Court	Mrs. Carus-Wilson	11.30 a.m.
	West Kensington	Miss L. Tyson, Miss Roe	7 p.m.
	West Kensington, The Grove	Miss Ellen Pitfield, Miss Jarvis	7 p.m.
	Newlyn Schoolroom	Miss Mary Phillips, Mrs. Howey	3.30 p.m.
	Southport	Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3.30 p.m.
Sun. 19	Kew, Bridge Approach	Miss Phyllis Ayrton	3.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Woodhouse Moor	Miss Newton, Mrs. Swales	3.30 p.m.
	London—Blackheath	Mrs. Bouvier and others	3 p.m.
	Pitney Heath	..	3.30 p.m.
	Streatham Common	..	3 p.m.
	Wimbledon Common	..	3 p.m.
Mon. 20	London—Bamboro' Gardens, W. Ravenscourt Avenue	Miss Jarvis, Miss Roe	7 p.m.
	Walham Green, Effie Road	Miss Ellen Pitfield, Miss Schone	7 p.m.
	Middlesbrough, Market Sq. Rochdale, St. Anne's	Miss Bonwick	7 p.m.
		Miss D. Pethick, Miss Bowker	7 p.m.
		Miss Beatrice Harraden, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	7 p.m.
Tue. 21	Birmingham, At Home, Priory Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil	7.30 p.m.
	London—2, Campden Hill Square, At Home	Miss Evelyn Morrison, B.A., Mr. Laurence Housman	8 p.m.
	Ravenscourt Avenue	Miss Jarvis	7 p.m.
	Shepherd's Bush, Caxton Rd.	Miss Ellen Pitfield, Miss Mackay	7 p.m.
	Redcar	Miss D. Pethick, Miss Bowker	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 22	Bradford Moor, Nr. Barracks	Miss Wilson, Miss Steventon	7.30 p.m.
	London—West Kensington Ry. Station	Miss Jarvis, Miss West	7 p.m.
Thu. 23	Edinburgh, At Home, 8, Melville Place		3.30 and 8 p.m.
	London—Ravenscourt Avenue	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
	St. James's Hall, At Home	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Gladice Keevil, Dr. Helena Jones	8 p.m.
Sat. 25	Coventry, Demonstration		
	London—Richmond, Heron Court	Miss E. East	11.30 a.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Sept. 28	Birmingham	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gladice Keevil	
Sept. 28	Redcar	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	
Sept. 29	Middlesbrough	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Sept. 30	Liverpool, Opening of New Shop, 28, Berry Street	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	
Oct. 4	London—Queen's Hall, At Home	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
Oct. 7	London—Royal Albert Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Oct. 9	Edinburgh, Great Scottish Demonstration, Waverley Market	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	2.30 p.m.
Oct. 11	Liverpool, Sun Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst. Chair: Miss Ada Flatman	8 p.m.
Oct. 13	Blackheath Concert Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton. Chair: The Ven. J. Escuret, M.A., Archdeacon of Lewisham	8 p.m.
Oct. 21	Launceston, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Oct. 22	Truro, Public Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Oct. 27	London—Whitefield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Chair: Mr. Silvester Horne (For Members of the Mutual Improvement Society only)	

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (three line)
Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

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Mrs. PANKHURST, Founder and Hon. Sec. Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Hon. Treasurer.
Mrs. TUKE, Joint Hon. Sec. Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, Organising Sec.

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.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when 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.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed immediately.

MILITANT TACTICS TO DATE.

Hitherto Mr. Asquith has had police protection against the Suffragettes only in London; but, in view of the recent incident at Lympe, a police escort, so the papers tell us, is now to be provided for him wherever he may be. Regrettable as it is that the Prime Minister should adopt such undignified and unmanly methods of coping with our movement, his call for the help of the police is a great encouragement to us, because it is a confession of weakness on his part. Moreover, this police protection will interfere very little with protests such as that made at Lympe, because arrest and imprisonment have no terrors for militant Suffragists, especially since the introduction of the "hunger strike," which makes it impossible for the authorities to withdraw them for a long period from the fighting line. The constant guard which the police now keep over the Prime Minister is a conclusive reply to those who did not at first understand what purpose the recent protest at Lympe could serve. That protest the Prime Minister, by his own action, has admitted to be seriously embarrassing to him, for he would not, obviously, have subjected himself to the annoyance and humiliation which the present police arrangements involve had he not been very anxious to escape a repetition of the Lympe incident.

Certainly, this new move has had the justification of success. We are prepared to show that it has another justification too, and to answer those dissentients who write as did one critic the other day: "It is an unwritten law in England that the private life of our public men should be respected, and that public affairs should not be thrust upon them in their very few leisure moments." Now we admit freely that this rule, under ordinary conditions and where no grave and vital issue is involved should be observed, but we say further that there are cases, and that such a case has now arisen, when this rule has no application. Indeed, we will not so much as listen to the plea that a mere convention, a trivial question of manners should weigh heavier than the political liberty of women. A sense of proportion alone should be enough to convince everyone that a bad law is a more serious evil than the temporary use of bad manners.

Yet although we hold this view so strongly, we of the Women's Social and Political Union were most careful, as long as it was possible, to abide by the custom which distinguishes a politician's private from his public life. But the Prime Minister's constant aim is to drive us off the political field. It was on that field, and on that alone, that we wished to fight out our battle with him. He and his colleagues would not have it so. They have persistently refused to have any political dealings with us. First of all, by opposing Woman Suffrage they show their resolve not to render obedience to the woman half of the people. They then proceed to do everything in their power to make all other forms of political action impossible to us. For example, they seek to stifle our protests against disfranchisement by excluding all women from their meetings, and the Prime Minister refuses to receive Woman Suffrage deputations from this or any other society, although the right of petition is one of the fundamental liberties of the British people.

The result of these tactics on the part of the Government is that women who want the vote are literally compelled, either to admit defeat and renounce their struggle, or to devise other means of coming up with the enemy and doing battle with him. The use of military terms in discussing the campaign for the vote comes readily, for the fact is that this is war, and the absurdity of arguing that Mr. Asquith's holidays must not be marred by suffragist protests is apparent if we compare with it the argument that an army must not attack the enemy if he should happen to be engaged in playing a game of cards. The Prime Minister, instead of establishing with them an honourable understanding based upon the recognition of their citizen rights, prefers to be at war with his countrywomen. If he had left to us the choice of battle-ground, we should elect to pursue the conflict with him at great public meetings, and at St. Stephen's, but since he refuses to meet us at these, the appropriate places, we are compelled, and we are resolved, to meet him at any other place in which he can be found.

The methods by which the Liberals attempt to defeat the movement for women's enfranchisement have brought about another and a more serious development in the militant campaign; indeed, it has to be recognised that the Government, by their blind, unreasoning, and wicked obstinacy in opposing the enfranchisement of women, have produced a very serious crisis, and have driven women to the point of revolution. Let us trace the course of events which has led to this. First came the forty years of persuasion and appeal, ending with the decisive refusal of the Liberal Ministry returned to power in 1906 to admit women to the constitutional rights of citizenship. Upon this forty years' campaign of speech, followed a campaign of action, but action very restrained in character, consisting of protests which were either lawful in their character or involved a purely technical breach of the law. A Government of statesmen would have taken warning by the symptom of unrest presented by the militant campaign and have carried the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, for once women had begun to rebel it was inevitable that their rebellion should continue. But in their blindness and smallness of spirit, the present Government thought they could trample down and destroy the new up-rising of women. Every suffragist protest they met by some measure of repression. Thus, they first flung women out, and then locked them out of meetings. When women then attempted to push their way into the building it was arranged that round the hall there should be an army of police, mounted and on foot, in order to prevent the success of such attempts. Any effective protest might now have seemed impossible.

DEVELOPMENTS OF "VOTES FOR WOMEN."

The rapid increase in the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN has rendered necessary a further development in the paper. The present method of printing and stitching the paper in its present size and shape are all too slow for the requirements of the case. Already, in order to enable our readers to get the paper in good time we have been obliged to bring forward our time of going to press from Wednesday evening to Wednesday afternoon, and if the splendid increase which has taken place in the last few months continues further we should, with the present form of the paper, soon be obliged to go to press Wednesday morning, or even Tuesday evening. We have, therefore, decided upon a fresh development in the paper.

What the New Paper will be like.

The principal change that will strike the eye in the new paper will be its increase in size. Instead of the present pages, measuring some 13 ins. by 8½ ins., the new paper will measure 17½ ins. by 12 ins. Inside the paper room will be found for additional articles of special interest to our readers. Each week there will be a review of current literature, and each week an article on general topics. Then we propose to print interviews with interesting women, while articles on the current political situation will be given from the pens of Christabel Pankhurst, of the Editors, and other well-known members of the Union. Our readers will be glad to know that the cartoon will appear on the front page as heretofore.

We also hope that readers will find special attraction in the advertisements of the paper, which will be given a new and improved setting. We specially recommend to their attention the page which will be devoted to classified advertisements, wherein the members of the W.S.P.U. and friends will be able to acquaint one another with their requirements.

Meanwhile we are extending our office equipment in many ways; in particular by the purchase of an Elliot addressing machine, by which subscribers' copies will be addressed each week instead of the old laborious process of addressing by hand.

When the New Paper will begin.

The first number of VOTES FOR WOMEN was published in October, 1907, and accordingly next number—that of September 24, concludes the second year of publication. With the issue of Friday, October 1, the paper will assume its new shape, and will continue in this form for all subsequent numbers. Meanwhile, the fifty-two issues of the paper from October, 1908, to September, 1909, will be made up into a volume with an index and with a cover with the beautiful design by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst which was so much appreciated in binding Vol. I. last year. It is hoped to have this volume ready early in October. In next issue and again in the first two issues of the new paper we propose to insert a special supplement giving a short historical account of the history and growth of the paper from the day that it was founded—two years ago—up to the present time.

What Members can do.

We invite the cordial co-operation of our readers in making the paper in its new form a still greater success than it is at present. To have built up a circulation of 30,000 in the course of two short years is a work of which those who have helped us can well be proud, but we have hopes of far larger figures even than these before the year is out. In the numbers that are coming on our readers will have a grand opportunity of helping to push the circulation, and will have a special reason for introducing the paper to new readers. We hope they will come forward to sell the paper in the streets, and that they will also make themselves responsible for a larger number of copies for special distribution among their friends. We also hope they will buy copies of the bound volume for the year October, 1908, to September, 1909, as soon as they are ready. We further hope that they will help us to secure a good advertisement revenue by supporting those firms which advertise in our columns and by informing them of the reason why they are bestowing on them their custom.

Doubtless the Cabinet Ministers thought that to be so. But they did not know the resource, the ingenuity, the daring, the fine courage of the women in this Union. Everyone must marvel at the way in which, at more than one of the recent meetings addressed by a Cabinet Minister, our brave friends, faced by every difficulty that the police and the Liberal Party could place in their way, have made their protest against the Government's refusal to abolish the infamous law which decrees that the womanhood of this nation shall be politically outlawed.

But they risk their lives in doing it. To fall from the roof; to be crushed underfoot by excited crowds—such are the risks which, fighting for the freedom of women, they face as bravely as any soldier fighting for his country. What will be thought of this Government if any one of these gallant women should meet her death while struggling for the reform which it is their duty, and should be their pride, to concede? There is danger to the general public too. Do the Government think that their political fortunes will be advanced if harm comes to some onlooker during this conflict between themselves and the militant Suffragists? This possibility of accident to the public we recognise most clearly, and such accident we of the Women's Social and Political Union have always done and shall continue to do our utmost to avert. But the responsibility for what may happen is not upon us. It is upon the Government, and upon the Government alone. They have wantonly compelled the use of more strenuous measures by the members of this Union. They have lit the fire of revolt and they will be held accountable for the consequences. Instead of granting women's enfranchisement, they have used the resources which their position as Ministers places at their disposal to render ineffectual one form of Suffragist protest after another. Therefore, they have compelled the use of measures which, but for their policy of injustice, would never have been employed. Those who are crying out against militant methods, and are apprehensive of their possible effect upon public order and safety, should insist that the Government deal with the emergency by carrying the Bill for Women's Enfranchisement.

The history of this country should have taught the danger of refusing a demand for liberty. There have been revolutions in this country before; there will be another unless the rights of citizenship are given to women. In her speech in the dock last June Mrs. Pankhurst gave warning of what must come if justice were not done. We repeat that warning to-day. Let it not be thought that because those who have to be reckoned with are women the situation is not most grave! Women have the same great desire for liberty that men have; they are as brave—yes, and if need be, as fierce in struggling for it. The idea of settling questions of deep import to humanity by means of any kind of physical force is repugnant to them. That is why they are slow to revolt, and are for a long time patient under injustice. But the hour comes when they render obedience to the great law that honour and liberty, being the things of supreme worth, must be defended, no matter though social order and harmony be for a time destroyed.

Is it then your intention to use violence in the attainment of your political end, people are asking us. The Government alone can answer that question. They decide our tactics, and there will be no violence which they do not call forth, and only such violence will be used as they, by their policy in regard to Votes for Women, may render necessary. We are as careful now as from the beginning of the militant campaign we have been to go no further than the interest of our cause may require. But we are resolved to win the great treasure of enfranchisement for the women of our country, and we say deliberately to the Government who resist us that they had better yield quickly, for we never will.

Christabel Pankhurst.

"O LIBERTY! HOW GLORIOUS ART THOU!"

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

Innsbruck, the capital of the Tyrol, is a place where the spirit of the wanderer finds content. No other city have I seen so beautifully situated. It lies in a long, sunny, green valley, through which flows the River Inn, a swift mountain torrent. It is encompassed by the Alps, which rise clear, majestic, and dominating on the north, verdant and forest-clad on the South.

One name, one personality, dominates Innsbruck. It is Andreas Hofer, the peasant leader of the Tyrolese people's war for freedom in 1809 against Napoleon, conqueror of Europe. Upon Berg Isel, a wooded hill which commands a view of the whole town, is lifted the monument of this sturdy son of the Tyrol, whose symbol is the rooted oak. Steadfast he stands in the traditional peasant dress of his native village, still worn on all occasions of ceremony by the dwellers in the Sand Valley. *One man, one will, one champion* of freedom against the world and all its armies.

A hundred years have gone since that lowly warrior fought his good fight of faith, achieved, failed, and endured death at the hands of his foes. Yet he lives to-day. There is not a child in the mountain valleys who does not know that Andreas Hofer has given him a trust to keep; who does not love his land the more because Andreas Hofer gave his life and blood for it.

A hundred years have gone. And on the 28th and 29th of August last a centenary festival was held in Innsbruck in his honour. Into the town there poured the peasant dwellers in all the valleys, till they numbered 30,000 men, besides women and children. They came in regiments from their respective villages, each one dressed in the gala uniform of his Commune. The effect was picturesque beyond words, and no description could reproduce the joy of colour and the quaintness of design. With each Commune marched its own military band, in lines ten abreast. Women walked in front carrying the flags: the "Schützer," the peasant "defenders" of their faith and home, carried the rifle and the knapsack.

Thus they marched and lined the streets to welcome their Emperor, Franz Joseph of Austria, who arrived on the afternoon of Saturday, the 28th, to honour the celebrations, and thus they formed up on both sides of the route to Berg Isel on Sunday morning, where upon the scene of one of Hofer's memorable victories, upon the plateau where his monument stands to-day, the Emperor knelt to receive the Sacrament of the Mass.

The heart of all this people was as one heart beating with pride and love. At night they gathered in a huge theatre constructed temporarily for that purpose. Upon the stage the great scenes of their hero's life were enacted over again. It was a Folk Play. The actors were the peasants themselves. The story was told by a series of living pictures connected by a slender thread of dialogue. There were hundreds of players upon the stage—men, women, and children. To them and to their audience it was not a play, but a piece of their own life that was thus being set forth with all solemnity. This story is worth telling, however briefly.

In 1805 Austria, to which the Tyrol had been for centuries united, was defeated at Ulm by Napoleon's conquering hosts, and Marshal Ney, with a French army,

occupied Innsbruck. Then came the terrible battle of Austerlitz, which shattered the Austrian army and wrung from the Emperor a treaty by which at the dictate of the conqueror the Tyrol was cut off from Austria and made part of the Kingdom of Bavaria.

Great was the grief of the people of the Tyrol, who had served the House of Hapsburg with passionate loyalty and devotion. But it was not until they began to feel the weight of new oppressive laws, not until their ancient customs were disallowed and the integrity of their Church was menaced, that they began to dream of revolt. The insolence of French and Bavarian officers quartered in the villages, the total lack of sympathy in the administration stirred the proud and freedom-loving people to deep resentment. It needed but the appearance of a leader known and trusted to fan the smouldering revolt into flame. That leader, chosen both by destiny and by his fellows, was Andreas, the landlord of the Sand Valley Inn.

In January, 1809, he went to Vienna, saw the war officials, and was invested by the Imperial authority with full power as Commander-in-Chief of the national forces.

The First Rebellion.

From the day of his return his hostel became the meeting place of those who cried for the deliverance of their native land. To all who could offer themselves to the sacred cause of freedom Hofer opened out his plans. "We have no traitors in my country," he proudly replied, when his colleagues marvelled at his trust in the people.

One night in April beacon fires broke out on all the heights. This was the signal calling the lovers of their land to arms. The following morning Andreas, at the head of 4,500 men, attacked the Bavarians and completely routed them. The next day 15,000 peasants surrounded Innsbruck, carried the heights and the bridge by assault, entered the town, and after a hand-to-hand fight forced the General of the combined French and Bavarian armies to capitulate. Before the end of April the whole Tyrol was free.

But, alas! it seemed to the official military mind unseemly that a peasant should win glory where men of name and reputation had suffered defeat and shame. Command of the troops was given to the Austrian General Chasteler, a man who calculated and considered so long that he always acted too late. He soon succeeded in losing all that the peasants had won.

The French and Bavarian forces re-entered Innsbruck at the end of May.

Then Hofer resolved to make a supreme effort. He summoned for the defence of their country all who were capable of carrying weapons. Those who had no rifles came armed with scythes and farm implements; women and men fought side by side. In a few days Innsbruck was retaken, and the Tyrol a second time freed by her own children and handed back to the beloved "Kaiser Franz."

In July came another disastrous defeat of the Austrian army at Wagram, and, humbled and broken, the Emperor agreed to an armistice with the French. In that convention the Tyrol was ignored and abandoned to the vengeance of the conqueror. When Hofer saw the Austrian Army leave Innsbruck and retire before Marshal Lefèbre and his fifty thousand men, he swore that he would once more conquer or die.

As the alien army was crossing through a defile, a sudden cry, "Our God and our country!" resounded from the mountains. It came from the peasants whom the intrepid patriot had once again called to the standard of national defence.

The signal was followed by a terrible crash; rocks, tree

THE LEICESTER PROTEST.

The six women who were imprisoned in connection with Mr. Churchill's meeting in Leicester, as reported in last week's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, were released at the early hour of 6.30. a.m. on Wednesday, the 8th. A number of local women, in addition to representatives from London, were there to receive them. There was also a good sprinkling of people as onlookers, but owing to the fact that prisoners are not generally released till 9 o'clock, the large crowd who afterwards assembled to greet them had not then arrived. The prisoners were hurried off in cabs to bed, as they had fasted from midday on Saturday till that morning. Very grateful thanks are due to Dr. Peak, who took the invalids in hand, and refused to make any charge for his valuable services. All are now progressing favourably. Miss Roberts had, however, to be removed to a nursing home, owing to the fact that it was her second hunger strike within six weeks, and she was suffering from considerable weakness. Dr. Peak promised to attend her.

The visit of Mr. Churchill created an excellent opportunity of explaining our militant policy to the Leicester people, and splendid meetings were held. On the Sunday following Miss Hewett had a large meeting in the morning, and Miss Douglas Smith held another at 6 p.m. in the market-place—one of the largest outdoor meetings ever held in Leicester. The audience was remarkably attentive, and seemed very quickly to understand our policy with regard to Cabinet Ministers. On Monday evening another meeting was held with almost as large a crowd. The Leicester "man in the street" is a keen politician, and the tone of the meeting was intense, and at question time the militant policy was thoroughly thrashed out. No one in Leicester seems to object to women having the vote.

A concluding meeting for women only was held on Tuesday, at which two Liberal ladies signed the members' pledge card. The tone and feeling in the town argues well for the future success of our cause there, and local people are much looking forward to Miss Crocker's taking affairs in hand. A "welcome supper" to the released hunger strikers—Miss Crocker, Miss Rawson, and Miss Watts—will be held this (Friday) evening at Morley's Café, Nottingham, at 7.45; tickets to be obtained at 6, Carlton Street.

Referring to the protest of a male sympathiser at Mr. Churchill's meeting, the *Leicester Pioneer* says:—

It was a sickening and disgusting sight, and when the man had been eventually borne out half the audience at least was sorry and ashamed. Even Mr. Churchill looked pained. . . .

Without admitting or denying here the justice of the woman's demand for the vote, common fairness requires the statement that each of the three comments drawn from the Suffragists in the audience at the Palace was provoked by the speaker. They were all directly to the point, and in themselves were no more troublesome to the speaker than others, such as the allusion to Mr. Churchill's ducal grandfather, which passed unchallenged. If it is argued that it was known and expected that the Suffragists would make trouble, and that the stewards and police were merely instructed to nip any such possibility in the bud, the answer remains that no interruption which was not perfectly justifiable was made. For the prolonged breaks in Mr. Churchill's address and the shameful scenes which occurred only the bullying determination to stifle so much as a reference to one of the burning topics of the day was responsible. It is, perhaps, as well that an audience chiefly composed of Leicester Liberals should have seen for itself this frenzied man-handling as an exhibition of "funk." Those who looked on will be the better able to appreciate the brief statements in the daily papers that certain Suffragists made interruptions at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers and were ejected. . . .

The most serious aspect of the affair is, however, the holding of a special court the same evening to deal with the offenders. They were not legally defended, or no doubt a protest would have been made at once against this rushing through of the process of the law. Courts of summary jurisdiction were appointed to be held at certain regular hours to prevent any giving of evidence or infliction of penalty in hot blood. We make no reflection on the decision of the Court, but the fact that it was summoned so rapidly and disposed of its business off-hand offends our sense of public security. There was no reason whatever why the Palace prisoners should not have been brought up in the ordinary course on Monday morning. If the expedition of the business was intended, as may be suggested, as a favour, the same result could have been achieved by releasing the prisoners on bail.

In 1813 Napoleon was defeated by the Austrians and the Prussians at Leipzig. The next year the fair land of the Tyrol was reunited to Austria.

In the streets of Innsbruck I saw many a face and figure that might have belonged to Andreas Hofer, so closely is the recurring type emphasised and the costume and bearing preserved. Perhaps the secret of his immense influence among his people to-day is that he was one of themselves, bone of their bone, and flesh of their flesh. What he did yesterday they might do again, should a like danger threaten or befall their country. It is well for his country that her son achieved so greatly, and well that he paid the price of death. The great ideals of his soul have become the very fabric of the folk life.

Did he see, on that day when he serenely went forth from his prison to die, that he, the rebel, the lonely champion of freedom, abandoned by all and left to suffer the fate of a law-breaker—did he see by faith the travail of his soul? And was he satisfied?

A hundred years ago. And now the successor of his Kaiser Franz, and the dignitaries of the Church he loved, and all the people come together that they may do homage to the great ideal for which he gave his life.

Even so shall it be for every champion of liberty and honour, woman or man. A greater achievement than anything of which we have dreamed. Outcry, desertion, prison, and death? If it be so, what of that when the end is God, and the ultimate triumph of a great cause which we hold dearer far than life?

HANDCUFFED AND JACKETED IN PRISON.

Ready to Go Again.

The prisoners who were sent to prison at Manchester in connection with the scenes at Mr. Birrell's meeting on September 4, and all of whom were released on Wednesday night, September 8, have stirring stories to tell of the mutiny carried out by them in prison and of the punishment by which it was attempted to break their spirit.

"I was sentenced to solitary confinement," writes one of them, "for three days, and to wear handcuffs for twenty-four hours. After a sleepless twelve hours the matron ordered them to be removed, and I nearly fainted whilst the wardress worked my arms to restore circulation. That punishment seemed to me the refinement of cruelty, and is evidently the latest treatment for prison rebellion; but I am quite willing to go again, whatever the cost."

Another of the prisoners who received two months' imprisonment writes:—"Our protest against the denial to us of the rights of political offenders began in the reception room, when we met inquiries as to our names with a stolid silence and the sole request to see the governor. We were told that he could not come until next morning, so we decided to stay where we were. The other prisoners were waiting to be received, but could not come in while we were there. The deputy-governor then sent for a visiting magistrate, and after some hours the latter arrived. We refused to be separated and linked arms, but they tore us apart and dragged me before the magistrate. I refused to answer any questions and was taken to a small cell opposite; there I began to sing, and continued to do so, in spite of the fact that the magistrate threatened me with untellable horrors 'to-morrow' unless I stopped at once. Though I did not comply, strange to say I saw the magistrate no more, and am still in doubt as to what 'to-morrow's' punishment was to be. Later I was forcibly subjected to medical examination—forcibly disrobed, forcibly clad in prison dress, and forcibly thrust into my cell. I at once let in more air by removing one of the thick panes of glass—one of the most difficult tasks I had to perform.

In a Strait Jacket.

"On Tuesday, as I had been deprived of my own clothing, I decided to remain in bed. The doctor came to see me and decided that my preference to remain lying down was not a sufficient reason for not getting up. Accordingly my mattress and bedding were forcibly removed, and, after a hard struggle, I was again re-clothed in prison dress. Upon my removing it the wardresses brought in a strange, unclean leather and canvas jacket with straps and buckles attached. I was put into this jacket, locked in, and left. Then a curious thing happened. I managed to wriggle out with the exception of one arm. When the matron returned she quietly ordered the unlocking of the remaining strap. Either because they feared the miracle, or because the 'putting on' was repented of, they made no effort to put the jacket on me a second time. I endeavoured to find out later by whose order I had been placed in the jacket, but could get no reply. However, I feel quite sure that I was able to make some of the officials understand that our action was not taken for any light reason, but with the view of protesting against our position.

"During all this time we had tasted no food, being determined to carry out the hunger strike, and on Tuesday afternoon the matron told me that she thought the doctor would feed me, but I said that this would be an assault, and therefore illegal, and after that I heard no more about it. On the following day I noticed that the prison officials were becoming anxious. The air seemed full of storm, and when about 10 o'clock in the morning the key grated in the lock I felt prepared for anything. For the moment I wondered if I had become light-headed. In the doorway stood the matron, holding a taper. She spoke of release, but I had difficulty in grasping the situation. She asked me to go downstairs to get my own clothing, but I asked that it should be brought to my cell. This was done, and then I went down and met my companions,

who were all to be released at the same time. They had stories different from mine—tales of visiting magistrates, mock trials, punishment cells, and handcuffs. One tale, however, we all had in common—that of the unflinching help and kindness of many members of the staff of the prison. Quietly we stepped into the waiting cabs and passed through the gates, thankful to have come through alive, but ready, if the call comes, to go back to remain there to the end."

A HOLE-AND-CORNER MEETING.

"Mr. Samuel is to perform the opening ceremony of the Working Men's Convalescent Home on September 11." That is all the information we were able to get; but, of course, we rallied our forces and came to help him perform. And the friendly crowd which gathered came largely to see what assistance we would give him, as witnessed the many friendly and sympathetic remarks on all sides.

The wall around the Home was only shoulder-high, and a light iron railing topped it. Through this we could command a full view of the front and side of the building. Exactly facing the back premises, boarding and sacking had been raised higher above the wall. This gave us a clue.

We learned that lunch had been served at one o'clock and the ceremony was to be at three, but three o'clock came and half-past, and no Samuel appeared. His three small children were paraded up and down in front of the building, each with a nurse in attendance. "Yes, and we women have to pay for him to have a nurse for each child," said a working woman near me. On all sides we had friendly warnings that they had the hose in readiness if any Suffragettes made any disturbance. "Do they think that will frighten us?" said I. "Yes," said another working woman, "but they don't know what Suffragettes are made of!" Cries of "Let's see his face," "Where's he got to?" sounded all around, but the score of men standing about in the front remained imperturbable.

It was an excellent blind, but not quite good enough to foil Suffragettes, for suddenly a great commotion at the back and a rush of all towards the spot indicated that the Suffragettes had scored, if not a goal, at least a very creditable "try." Miss Marsh, with the aid of Miss Suffield, had got herself hoisted on to the back door, and there, in the back-yard, in close proximity to the kitchen, coal-cellar, and laundry, was the Honourable Herbert, holding forth to a select and selected audience.

"You liberty-loving Liberal," she cried, "why don't you put political offenders in the first division? Why don't you give votes to women who pay rates and taxes?" But by this time she was beaten back, some of Mr. Samuel's friends not hesitating to use sticks. Amid cries of "Cowards," "Shame," and expressions of congratulations to the women, we made our way round to the front again, for the back-yard meeting was now over, and the front-door key had not yet been turned. Never was a crowd more sympathetic and loud in its expressions of well-wishing. "I wish you could get in, miss," was frequently heard on all sides.

Presently a friend standing by the side door heard an official say to the Superintendent of Police: "He's coming; have you got some police ready?" "Just a few moments, sir," while he collected his men; but just those "few moments" were enough for us, and again Miss Marsh got ahead and reached "home" first, and was there to give him a welcome in his own garden when he appeared under the escort and guard of police. Once on private ground, police do not interfere unless called upon, so it was left to the gardener to defend the right honourable gentleman against the accusing remarks of Miss Marsh. Mr. Samuel turned crimson with rage, but thought discretion the better part of valour, and got under cover as fast as his legs and his dignity could carry him.

After he was gone the chairman of the meeting invited me to go over the Home and another official took Miss Marsh and Miss Suffield. The chairman—a Londoner—expressed his intense sympathy with our cause, saying he had many friends working with us, also remarking that 50 per cent. of those present at the meeting were heartily in sympathy. An official who had helped to dislodge Miss Marsh from the back-door apologised afterwards for having had to do so. We all parted the best of friends, and I think very few mistook our policy, i.e., that if anyone invites a Cabinet Minister they must expect a political protest from Suffragettes.

D. P.

MR. ASQUITH'S GUARD.

Six Policemen Attend him at Golf.

Mr. Asquith left London yesterday for another brief visit to Lympne Castle to spend the week-end with Mrs. Asquith, and a number of Scotland Yard detectives have been specially sent down to the district to deal with any further attempt to attack the castle.

So ran the account in Saturday morning's papers, and on Monday morning the *Daily Mail* contained the following amusing description of Mr. Asquith's week-end:—

Mr. Asquith, who was fifty-seven yesterday, again spent the week-end at Lympne Castle, near Hythe, with Mrs. Asquith and his family. Measures had been taken, however, to prevent a recurrence of the disturbances caused by the Suffragettes a week ago.

Scotland Yard detectives, as well as plain clothes local police, were posted in the vicinity of the castle and in the churchyard which adjoins it. Mr. and Mrs. Asquith attended morning service at the church, and there was no attempt at interference.

Mr. Asquith later in the day played golf. His handicap on the Littlestone Links is from half to three-quarters of an hour longer than any other player. He did his round in something over three hours, whereas the average is two and a-half hours. He plays by time, not by strokes. He was accompanied by a compact body-guard, made up by five Kent policemen in plain clothes, under the command of a detective officer from Scotland Yard. Mr. Asquith and his opponent, the caddies, and the six policemen all strode along the links together, but not a single Suffragette came in sight.

Stroke by stroke the police accompanied the Prime Minister. One of them subsequently said that he considers golf the slowest game he ever saw. The only interest was at the seventeenth hole, where one of the players (our correspondent does not suggest it was Mr. Asquith) was bunkered. The player managed after a great effort to get his ball out, and then crawled out himself on all fours.

A major of the London Scottish and another Scot followed behind the Premier's party, and they said they never had a more restful game.

Whether it was the Sunday golf or the description of the

police escort which annoyed Mr. Asquith we do not know, but in Tuesday's daily papers appeared the following official denial:—

There is no foundation for the detailed account which appeared in a daily paper yesterday of the Prime Minister playing golf at Littlestone on Sunday under police protection. The story is a pure invention, as Mr. Asquith was not at Littlestone on Sunday.

The *Daily News* published the following addition:—

As a matter of fact Mr. Asquith was at Dover on Sunday afternoon. A party of Suffragettes had been sent to Dover, but the Dover police were warned by telephone. After leaving Lympne, Mr. Asquith changed from a private motor-car into an ordinary taxi-cab, with the result that he was able to reach Dover unobserved, and drove along the Marine Parade to the Prince of Wales Pier. In the vicinity of the pier a number of plain-clothes detectives were posted, but Mr. Asquith passed down the pier in his cab unrecognised, and paid a visit to Sir Christopher Furness's fine steam yacht "Emerald."

The *Daily Mail*, however, adheres to its story with the sole correction of change of date to Saturday, adding that the whole story told in the *Daily Mail* was actually and literally accurate, and not "a pure invention," as Mr. Asquith described it.

The following amusing account of Sunday last at Lympne has been received from a correspondent who decided some months ago to spend her holiday in Lympne, and has never had any intention of taking part in the attempt to interview the Prime Minister:—

A brilliant Sunday morning; a more than brilliant congregation at the old church—something quite out of the way for Lympne; as a local man said, "He's never seen such a sight o' bicycles—fifty on 'em stacked by the church"; added to this fifty constables and a rumour of fifty Suffragettes and a kidnapping. Three luckless ladies—strangers from Folkestone—were singled out as Suffragettes by the villagers and treated to a vast amount of attention and interest. Every unknown woman was carefully "shadowed" from early morn to dewy eve. Scotland Yard spread itself over the marshes; it even hid itself in the rushes, and betrayed its whereabouts by strong tobacco, which floated over the still levels. It was all very amusing, with only one practical result—i.e., a grand collection at morning service; for the crowd was willing to pay something for the fun—which never came off. This campaign of Lympne reminds one of that carried out by a late monarch over the way:—"A King of France with 40,000 men drew their swords and then put them up again."



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UNPRECEDENTED SCENES AT DUNDEE.

Entering by the Roof. Arrests and Imprisonments.

The scenes which took place in Dundee on Monday night, on the occasion of Mr. Samuel's visit, are described by the Press as "unprecedented." Outside the hall a crowd of at least 1,000 people surged backwards and forwards, and was with difficulty kept in check by the police. As the meeting progressed speeches inviting the populace to help the women to get into the hall were made by Miss New and others, and of the sympathetic attitude of the crowd there could be no doubt. Several determined rushes were made, and the cry "Votes for Women" was heard on all sides. Bank Street, says the *Dundee Courier*, was soon "one dense mass of teeming humanity." It had been rumoured, says the *Dundee Advertiser*, that a raid was intended, and great precautions had been taken to frustrate this design. "They have shown," says the same paper, "extraordinary resource in carrying out their scheme, and it was not known what they would try to do."

With great daring and resource, Miss Isabel Kelley, who has only recently been through a hunger-strike at Holloway, determined on an entirely novel method of securing admittance. She climbed a high scaffolding erected on the Bank of Scotland, from the roof of which she let herself down a distance of some 25 ft. on to the roof of the hall. In order to do this she lay concealed on the roof for seventeen hours, in spite of several searches for Suffragettes, one searcher, indeed, being seen by her during that time. In order to facilitate her movements, Miss Kelley was attired in gymnastic dress, over which she wore a dark cloak. She was provided with a strong rope of about 24 ft. in length, at one end of which was an iron hook to fasten to the roof, while at the other end was a running noose. Entering by a skylight which gave on to the stairs leading to the gallery, Miss Kelley was able to make her protest at one of the doors; the creaking of the door, however, attracted the attention of the stewards, who were on the watch, and she was removed from the hall. The police conducted her to the entrance, and she was driven to the police office in a cab.

A second interruption was made by Miss Fraser Smith, who protested against Mr. Samuel's mention of John Stuart Mill, whose principles with regard to woman suffrage the Liberal Government are so far from following. She also was immediately taken in charge and conveyed to the police office.

Meanwhile, outside, a large meeting—previously advertised by chalking the pavements—was being held at the High School gates. On the invitation being given to follow the women, the people accompanied them in enormous crowds. Arriving at the hall, they endeavoured to force an entrance for the women. In front of the hall a force of about forty policemen were on duty to resist the attack, and, after many attempts, Miss Burns and Miss New, and subsequently Miss Paul, were arrested. The women, two of whom were liberated with a caution against renewing the attack, with the sympathy and help of the crowd returned once more, and, Mr. Samuel driving up at this moment in his motor-car, loud cries of "Votes for Women" were raised. The police then hurried the women out of Bank Street, and Miss New was escorted up Reform Street to the police office by two inspectors and half-a-dozen constables, while one of the other women, in order to divert the crowd, was conducted in an opposite direction. At the police office the large gates to the outer court were closed and guarded by police. The crowd remained outside for a considerable time, keeping up the cry of "Votes for Women." After leaving the hall Mr. Samuel was again questioned by Miss Garnett, who was determined that he should not escape without one more reminder.

Miss New, writing from the police office on Monday night, says: "As usual, it is stated that the crowd was composed of roughs and hooligans, but this is emphatically not true, and a most unjust libel on men who had no intention of rioting, but who came to back up the women in their claim for political justice." Charges of creating a breach of the peace were preferred against the women, but in the absence of sufficient evidence Miss Kelley and Miss Fraser Smith were released. The three others were informed that they could be released on bail. This, however, remembering the

experience at Glasgow recently, when on a very slight pretext the magistrate, by a piece of sharp practice, decided to escheat the bail, they refused. They therefore spent the night in the police cells, being brought up the following morning before the magistrate.

Miss Burns and Miss Paul were each fined £5 or ten days' imprisonment, on a charge of disorderly conduct and breaking panes of glass in the police office. Miss New, charged with disorderly conduct only, was fined £3 on seven days' imprisonment.

All the women went to prison, determined to refuse to obey the prison rules and to carry out the hunger-strike.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

Full accounts of the protest were given by the Dundee papers, the *Dundee Advertiser* heading its report:—*Suffragette on Roof of Kinnaid Hall. Lowers Herself Through Skylight and Alarms Budget Meeting. Five of Sisterhood Arrested. Scenes at the Police Office.*

The Suffragettes created extraordinary scenes at the great Budget demonstration in Dundee last night. Several attempted to rush the police stationed in force at the entrance to the Kinnaid Hall, the crowd cheered them on. . . . It was rumoured that the Suffragettes were to make a raid on the meeting, and great precautions were taken to frustrate their designs. They have shown extraordinary resource in carrying out their schemes, and it was not known what they would try to do. The meeting was twice disturbed. . . . The rope was left in the hall as a memento of the interesting occasion. —*Dundee Advertiser.*

"Giants in the Force."

But the police had taken every precaution to guard the hall from being invaded by the dashing young women. A solid wall of constables lined the front of the hall. The doors were guarded by the giants in the force. . . . for several moments it looked as if the overwhelming forces of the invaders would prevail.

The arrival of Mr. Samuel and party at this juncture in a motor-car diverted the attention of the crowd, and they seethed round the car. With great difficulty the police forced a passage from the car to the door, and after the party had entered the Suffragettes made a determined rush upon the entrance. Never for a second, however, did the police waver. . . . Miss Isabella Kelley was driven off to form the trio at Bell Street. Her attempt to gain access to the meeting was novel and daring. She was evidently an expert at the business, for the rope had a slip noose and a hook, while there was also attached a bolt iron, which, she stated, she was to use in case of emergency. . . . She admitted she had seen a searcher, but the searcher had evidently "not seen Kelley." . . . It was a wild scene, and in the scuffle the scaffolding at the Bank Buildings quivered under the pressure. Just as the crowd emerged into Reform Street a tramcar appeared, and it was only by a superhuman effort that the police, supported by many civilians, prevented a serious accident.

All the way to the police office the police were jostled by thousands. Officers were bruised and trampled, and many will feel sore to-day. Some of them were minus their helmets. It was an exciting time, and a false move on the part of the police would have been disastrous. —*Dundee Courier.*

Meetings in Scotland.

Miss Lucy Burns, now in prison, and the Misses McPhunn, of Glasgow, have been doing splendid work in Dumfries. Two very successful drawing-room meetings have been held—one in Dumfries, at which Miss Adela Pankhurst gave a stirring and eloquent address, and one in Annan, where Lady Constance Lytton made a charming speech. Several converts were made at both meetings. A "Dumfriesshire Banner" has been promised by a lady in the district. The outdoor meeting held in Annan was also a success. Miss Frances McPhunn, M.A., took the chair, and Miss Burns and Miss Margaret McPhunn, M.A., were the speakers. Miss Burns spoke fully one hour, and held the attention of the crowd all the time. Many copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and before the audience dispersed a hearty cheer was given for the speakers. Outdoor meetings have also been held in Kirkcudbright, Dumfries, Lochmaben, and Lockerbie. In the latter town the Misses McPhunn had a splendid reception. A huge crowd had gathered long before the time of starting, and when the chairman ascended her "orange box" there was a perfect sea of faces before her. The audience was most sympathetic, many of the speaker's arguments being punctuated with applause. A very good collection was taken. At the beginning of the meeting one man made an effort to create a disturbance, but immediately the crowd fell upon him and he was hustled out of earshot. A drawing-room meeting is being arranged in Kirkcudbright, at which Miss Douglas Smith and Miss McPhunn will be the speakers.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

WOMEN SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON.

Mr. H. H. Marks (U., Thanet) asked the Home Secretary on Tuesday, September 14, whether in any, and how many, cases during the present year it had, in consequence of the refusal of female prisoners to take food while in prison, been thought necessary to release them before the expiration of their sentences; whether any complaint or protest had been made by these prisoners against the food or accommodation provided for them; and whether he considered it impossible to introduce such amendments into the prison regulations as would ensure that all prisoners should serve out the term of the sentences imposed upon them by lawful authority.

Mr. Masterman (Under Secretary, Home Department), who replied, said: The number of cases in which during the present year female prisoners have been released on medical grounds before the expiration of their sentences on account of their self-starvation has been forty-one. Thirty-seven women in all were so released, four of them twice over. None of them complained of the food supplied to them. Certain complaints as to their accommodation were made by some of those imprisoned at Holloway, but after being fully inquired into were found to be baseless. The matter is an increasingly grave one, and the best means of dealing with it are now under serious consideration.

Mr. Lupton asked whether the complaints of the prisoners were found to be baseless only by those against whom the complaints were made, and as a result of this investigation would it not be a good thing to decline to let these women enter these prisons which are so very perfect?

Mr. Masterman said the complaints were found to be baseless after more than one investigation, including more than one visit to prisons by the Home Secretary himself.

Mr. Myer (Lambeth, N., Min.) asked whether male prisoners would be released under similar circumstances.

Mr. Masterman said that was a hypothetical question which he could not answer.

Mr. A. Lynch (Clare, W., Nat.) inquired whether the ladies were heard as witnesses in their own cases, and in such circumstances that they were perfectly free.

Mr. Masterman: I have already said that full inquiries were made into the matter.

EARL CARRINGTON AT SHREWSBURY.

Earl Carrington's visit to Shrewsbury on Tuesday was not allowed to pass unnoticed. As he arrived at the railway station a woman approached him and said, "May I speak to you, Lord Carrington? What do you intend to do for the women who are made to pay taxes under the Budget, and who are not consulted as to how the money should be spent? Do you intend to give them votes?" Before she could continue she was seized and hustled off the platform. Outside the station Lord Carrington's motor-car was guarded by police, and orders were given that it should be taken round to the back entrance. This, however, did not deceive the Suffragettes, for immediately on Earl Carrington's appearance a woman sprang forward saying, "You pretend that your Budget is democratic, yet you keep women out of the Budget meetings. You are a coward; you are afraid to face the women because you have not done your duty; you have not acted up to Liberal principles." There was no answer. As Earl Carrington left his hotel after dining the ruse already used on many previous occasions was again brought into play, namely, two conveyances were waiting, with a view to hoodwinking the Suffragettes. The trick did not succeed. Earl Carrington was again questioned, and was greeted by cries of "Votes for Women" on every side.

During the progress of his meeting in the music-hall a protest meeting was held by the women outside. The attitude of the audience was markedly sympathetic. A large number of police were in attendance on Earl Carrington throughout.

"Quid" pro Quo.

Mr. Asquith, recruiting at Lympne, Was addressed by three Suffragettes slympne; Now, while posts all bring "tin" To far-famed Clements Inn, Fifty "coppers" are posted round hymphne!

THE HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

As will be gathered from the various accounts of activities reported in this issue, the highly successful holiday campaign conducted by W.S.P.U. members is practically over, and workers are returning to their homes to carry on vigorous propaganda work during the autumn and winter. The following reports have been received:—

BRIGHTON.

Clarke, Mrs., and others, 8, North Street Quadrant. (Office hours, 10-11, 3-5, 7-9.)
Layton, Miss.
McKeown, Mrs., 209, Preston Drive.
Stearns, Miss, Blenheim House.
Turner, Miss.

The meetings held every afternoon (except Friday) at the Western Boundary at 5.30 show encouraging results. New members have been gained, and a clergyman has sent Mrs. Clarke £1 1s. as a practical expression of his sympathy with the cause. A new pitch has been found for Friday afternoon at Black Rock, Kemp Town, where Mrs. Clarke has already held a most successful meeting, and it is hoped that as this position is in an entirely different part of the town a new public will be reached. The Misses Dugdale have now left Brighton, having given most acceptable help during the holiday season. Mrs. Clarke hopes that all members on returning from their holidays will give assistance at the office in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, in speaking, or in other ways. A speakers' class is held by Miss Stearns on Fridays at 8 p.m.

WHITLEY BAY.

Floyd, Miss Lettice, Beverley Hotel, Calleroats.
Williams, Miss Annie, Beverley Hotel, Calleroats.

Two capital colliery meetings were held last week. In spite of rain and wind, a good audience listened to Miss Williams and Miss Balls at Hartley for more than an hour. At Seaton Delaval on Friday a very large crowd gathered, and were most sympathetic, giving ringing cheers for "Votes for Women" at the end of the meeting and a cordial invitation to "come again."

WHITSTABLE.

Mrs. Wilkinson has now returned to London, but she reports that VOTES FOR WOMEN will continue to be sold after her departure and that of Mrs. Lamartine Yates. The audiences have been much interested in Mrs. Wilkinson's recitation of Mrs. Perkins Gilman's Poems and in Mrs. Yates's graphic description of her Holloway experiences, announced as "The Rigours and Humour of Prison Life." In addition to meetings announced by the distribution of handbills and by other methods, two unannounced meetings have been held in the streets.

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THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

London.—Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery).
 Clifton. Plymouth: Miss Vera Wentworth, 11, Alfred Street.
 The Hoe. Torquay: Miss Elsie Howey, 32, Victoria Parade.
 Cornwall: Miss Mary Phillips, 5, The Parade, Truro.
Lancashire.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Liverpool:
 Miss S. Ada Flatman, 25, Berry Street. Preston: 41, Glover's
 Court, Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street.
Midlands.—Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham. Nottingham:
 Miss N. Crocker, 6, Carlton Street.
Yorkshire.—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford. Middles-
 brough: Miss D. Pethick 3, Holgate Terrace.
Newcastle.—Miss Edith New, 284, Westgate Hill.
Glasgow.—Mrs. A. K. Craig, 141, Bath Street; Miss Margaret Cameron, 148,
 Sauchiehall Street.
Edinburgh.—Miss Florence E. M. Macaulay, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street;
 Mrs. Drummond, 65, Princes Street.
Aberdeen.—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 413, Union Street.

The magnificent work done during the Holiday Campaign is bearing fruit all over the country, and workers are returning with fresh zest and energy to attack the mass of propaganda work that still remains to be done, and to start again the regular meetings that have been temporarily suspended during the summer season. Several important meetings have already been held, and arrangements are being made for many more. The special campaign in preparation for the Scottish demonstration is spreading a knowledge of the movement far and wide throughout Scotland, while all over the country interest in the "dominant issue"—Votes for Women—is being quickened.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

It is delightful to see so many workers back again in London after the splendid work they have been doing on their holidays, and the help of all will be welcomed in anticipation of the Albert Hall meeting on October 7. Four districts—Hammersmith, Kensington, Paddington, and Knightsbridge—are being specially worked up for this meeting, and are being organised by Miss Grace Roe, Miss Corson, and Miss Douglas Smith, who send encouraging reports of what is being done. Miss Grace Roe reports that Mrs. Maund has very kindly lent her house, 8, Edith Road, West Kensington, as a meeting-place for workers, and Mrs. Henry has been good enough to lend her house for an At Home. Some successful meetings have already taken place, but there is still much to be done before the great meeting on the 7th. A good outdoor meeting has been held at Marble Arch; and meetings will be continued there every Thursday at 5.30 p.m. during the next few weeks, at which members are invited to be present and to help to sell copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. During this Albert Hall campaign the Kensington shop will be used as a centre and a meeting-place for Paddington workers.

As the success of this campaign greatly depends on the number of drawing-room meetings held, a special appeal is made to members and friends, not only in the districts specified, but in all parts of the West of London, to offer to lend drawing-rooms for this purpose, arrangements being made for speakers. Help is also urgently needed for selling tickets, canvassing, bill-distributing, paper-selling, chalking, and speaking. Volunteers who will help with this work are asked to communicate with Miss Douglas Smith and Miss Corson at 4, Clements Inn, W.C., and Miss Grace Roe at 8, Edith Road, West Kensington.

Miss Pankhurst will be pleased if teachers, nurses, typists, and business women who can give any help at all will send in their names to her at 4, Clements Inn.

Miss Irene Dallas is now in charge of the Speakers' Department in the place of Miss Cameron. Communications should therefore be addressed to her when application is made for speakers at meetings in any part of London.

Sellers of VOTES FOR WOMEN in London will be sorry to hear of Miss Mills's illness. She has worked strenuously and loyally to help to increase the circulation of the paper, and it must be made a point of honour that the splendid work she has done shall not go down in her absence; therefore an especial appeal is made for all VOTES FOR WOMEN sellers to rally round during her absence. Miss Ainsworth, who is temporarily in charge, is at the office, 4, Clements Inn, every day, ready to give out papers to anyone who may come. She wishes to say that the sellers will be very interested to know that special bags in the colours have been made to enable them to carry the papers more easily in the streets.

There is still room for more recruits for the Drum and Fife Band. Miss Irene Dallas will be pleased to see anyone who wishes to volunteer at 4, Clements Inn.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Members are now returning from their holidays, and much activity is being shown in Bristol, where the weekly At Homes have been resumed, and Mrs. Dove-Wilcox has taken her own place once more. Throughout the West Country work is going forward with renewed vigour, weekly At Homes being held at Exeter, Cardiff, Newport, Torquay, and Bath, while efforts will also be made to arouse interest in the cause in Bournemouth and other parts of Dorset. A great meeting will be held in Weymouth

on October 27, fuller details of which will be given next week, and a meeting will also be held shortly at Merthyr Tydfil. Organising is being carried on at Newport by Miss Jeffries and at Cardiff by Miss McKenzie. Miss Dugdale, a Bristol member, has promised to help Miss Vera Wentworth at Exeter, and Miss Jessie Smith has undertaken to give a day every week to help at Bath, while the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield will help Miss Annie Kenney with work in Dorset.

Among special events that have recently taken place was the magnificent meeting held last week at Cory Hall, Cardiff, at which Mr. Forbes Robertson was the principal speaker. Mrs. D. A. Thomas, who occupied the chair, said that during her twenty years' connection with the suffrage movement she had found the greatest activity and progress during the three just passed, this being due to the militant methods by which the W.S.P.U. had brought the movement prominently before the public.

Mr. Forbes-Robertson's speech undermined the whole fabric of the anti-suffrage arguments and demolished them one by one. He showed very clearly the improved conditions that obtain in countries where women already have the vote, and alluded to a statement made by the present Premier of Australia, who said that the women's vote had been a blessing to that country, inasmuch as it had enlivened the intelligence of the women, broadened their horizon, and made them consider matters that they had never thought of before, while it had also elevated the morality of the men and lifted them into a better, a finer, and a clearer atmosphere. Mr. Robertson's speech was listened to with great interest and applause, and Miss Annie Kenney also made a forcible speech. The expenses of the meeting were fully covered by amounts received. Mrs. D. A. Thomas held a reception at Llanwern Park, Newport, on Saturday, in honour of Mrs. Dove-Wilcox and Miss Allen, who gave a stirring account of their prison experiences and "hunger strike." Mrs. Mitchel, a veteran of the woman's movement, was in the chair, and music was supplied by a ladies' band. Miss Annie Kenney also spoke, and Mrs. Thomas made a short, helpful speech. The reception was a great success, thanks to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Thomas and the West of England workers. The opening of the new shop in Newport—which is excellently situated—was announced to take place yesterday. Members are collecting the rent and providing furniture. Miss Kenney makes a special appeal for funds. Large sums are being spent in spreading the movement throughout the West Country, and financial help is urgently needed to carry on the work.

Meetings have been held during the week at Paignton, Torquay, and St. Marychurch. A reception was held at Torquay last week by local members to welcome Miss Howey after her "hunger-strike." She was presented with a handsome travelling clock. At Homes will recommence in Torquay in October, and will be held at the offices, 32, Victoria Parade.

Miss Annie Kenney has written to the local papers to explain the absence of the Field Artillery band that was engaged to play at the welcome to the hunger strikers. Permission to play was refused at the last moment on the plea that the W.S.P.U. is a political movement.

LANCASHIRE.

The Manchester report is held over. Some account of the hunger strike by Manchester women will be found on p. 1184. In Liverpool, the formal opening of the shop has had to be postponed to Thursday evening, September 30, at 8 p.m., Mrs. Pethick Lawrence being unable to be present on Saturday, the 25th, as previously arranged. Will members please note this, the only intimation of change of date and time? Tickets for the meeting at the Sun Hall on October 11 will be on sale on the 25th inst. at the new SHOP, the official opening only having been postponed. The names of those wishing to act as stewards should be sent in so that a proper plan may be drawn up.

MIDLANDS.

Arrangements are in progress for a big indoor meeting to be held at Birmingham on Tuesday, September 28, at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Gladice Keevil will speak. Miss Pankhurst will reply to Mr. Asquith's speech of the 17th inst. The new season's work has now been started in the Midlands district, which was planned out just a year ago, and has grown and strengthened in a most satisfactory way, a sum of close upon £800 having been raised for the Midland Campaign Fund. New centres have been formed: in Nottingham in the charge of Miss Crocker and Miss Gladys Roberts; Miss Laura Ainsworth will shortly take up the Leicestershire work, and Northampton will have an organiser of its own in a few weeks' time. Coventry work is under the direction of Miss Dawson; Wolverhampton under that of Miss Helen Boswell; Derbyshire is being worked by a group of most active members, including Miss Hooper and Miss Dowding; while in Birmingham itself Miss Bertha Ryland is acting as voluntary assistant organiser.

On Tuesday last the evening At Homes were recommenced, and most interesting accounts were given of holiday work in which the various members had been engaged. The important and immediate

object of the meeting was, however, to arrange to have a most effective protest at Mr. Asquith's Budget Speech in Bingley Hall to-night. Volunteers came forward determined not to leave Mr. Asquith in doubt as to the attitude of Birmingham women on the question of their immediate enfranchisement.

Miss Laura Ainsworth, Dr. Helena Jones, Mrs. Bessie Smith, and Miss Hilda Burkill are holding numerous meetings round Birmingham, at which the crowds are sympathetic. Detailed plans for autumn work are now under consideration, and it is hoped that a large number of indoor meetings may be held in towns that have been worked during the summer. Will any members who can send names of friends in the following towns kindly forward them to Miss Gladice Keevil without delay:—Smethwick, Handsworth, West Bromwich, Moseley, Olton, Solihull, Walsall, Dudley, Sutton, Kidderminster, Bromsgrove, Lichfield, Stafford, Burton, Malvern, Rugby, Warwick, Shrewsbury, Bromyard, Pershore, Worcester, Derby, Cheltenham, Gloucester, Stoke-on-Trent, Leicester, Loughborough, Melton Mowbray, Coventry, Leamington, Wolverhampton, Newark, Oakham, Stratford-on-Avon, Hinckley, Mansfield, Lincoln, Sleaford, Ashby-de-la-Zouch, and Uttoxeter. In this way they will help considerably to strengthen the work being done. The Birmingham At Homes will, it is hoped, begin again on October 5 at the Queen's College, opposite the Midland Institute. A weekly series of At Homes in the Midlands is being arranged, and will be announced next week.

There is now a great deal of clerical work to be done at the offices, and an appeal is made to those members who can give any time to call in during office hours, when they will immediately be set to work, or on Friday evenings between 6 and 8 o'clock. The advisability of moving into fresh offices in an even more central position is being considered; in that case more office furniture would be necessary, and contributions from friends of the various articles needed would be much appreciated.

YORKSHIRE.

Many successful meetings have been held during the last week, the speakers being Mrs. Swales, Miss Quinn, Miss Wilson, and Miss Marsh. Audiences everywhere seem to understand the women's position and agree that the question should now be settled. A special appeal is made to local friends and sympathisers to contribute to the Union funds. All contributions should be sent to Miss Marsh at 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

Miss Pethick reports from North Yorkshire that now that Mr. Samuel's Saltburn meeting is over energies are being directed towards advertising Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's forthcoming speeches at Redcar and Middlesbrough on September 28 and 29 respectively. Arrangements are being made to hold open-air meetings in Middlesbrough every Monday and Friday, and in Redcar every Tuesday; other days will be devoted to propaganda work in other places. Miss Pethick will be very glad to hear from members who will distribute handbills in Redcar and Middlesbrough, or offer to act as stewards at either meeting or both, and will welcome an early response to this appeal, in order that these two meetings may be thoroughly well organised. Tickets can be had on application to Miss Pethick (address on preceding page), or to Mr. Wood, printer, Redcar, and many friends and members will have them on sale. Now that the summer is over the usual weekly meetings will recommence, and it is hoped that all members will make a special point of attending them.

GLASGOW.

Under the management of Miss Underwood and Miss Jolly, the shop, decorated in the colours, is doing excellent propaganda work. There are crowds round the window all day, and the sales are very good. Hearty thanks are due to Miss Paxton Brown for a beautiful poster design advertising the Edinburgh Demonstration. Lady Constance Lytton was the speaker at the weekly At Home in the Charing Cross Hall, and made a very fine speech, which was received with great applause by a large audience. £15 was subscribed after the meeting. Next week Miss Theresa Garnett will speak on the "Hunger Strike." Open-air meetings are being held all over Glasgow this week, and indoor meetings will be held at Alloa on September 24, Greenock on the 27th. Mrs. Fraser Smith is working up the meeting at Alloa, and will be glad of assistance.

EDINBURGH.

The first Edinburgh At Homes of the autumn will be held at 8, Melville Place as usual at 3.30 and 8 p.m. on Thursday. Members and friends are earnestly asked to make a point of attending, and also to bring others, as in this way they can be put in touch with the preparations for the great pageant and demonstration of October 9. Kircaldy is being aroused to interest in the Suffrage question, and a meeting has been arranged, in response to a general demand, at which Mrs. Drummond and Lady Constance Lytton will be the speakers. In the meanwhile, at an open-air meeting in Burntisland, which had been indefatigably worked up by Miss Paul, the rowdiness of some boys (who, it is said, had been paid to throw cabbages, rotten eggs, etc., at the speaker) elicited much friendly indignation, and even evoked a sympathetic reference in at least one Kircaldy pulpit.

Edinburgh members are urgently reminded that their help is needed and confidently relied on to make the approaching Scottish demonstration a tremendous success. Even if it means the shortening of their holidays, it is certain they will not fail to be ready to do their part at this important crisis in the history of the nation.

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LOCAL NOTES.

BRIXTON W.S.P.U.—In spite of the weather we had a good crowd at our open-air meeting last Friday. A gentleman volunteered to sell our papers for us in the crowd. Nearly three dozen were sold and a good collection taken. We are holding our meeting this week on Thursday, but they will be on Fridays in future. A meeting will be held in Brockwell Park next Sunday at 3 p.m. Will members kindly note.—KATHLEEN TANNER.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM W.S.P.U.—Miss Hefford spoke at Dulwich Village on Saturday last. The meeting, the first to be held in the Village, provoked considerable discussion. We are holding another meeting next Saturday, September 18, at 6 p.m., by the Fountain, Dulwich Village. The following Saturday, September 25, the meeting will be at the corner of Oakley Place, Old Kent Road, at 6.30 p.m. Speakers are urgently needed in this district. Will anyone living near volunteer to help in this work.—C. DAWSON.

HORNSEY W.S.P.U.—Last Thursday, at St. Thomas's Road, Finsbury Park, Mrs. Williams and Miss Coombes addressed a large and interested crowd. We hope to hold fortnightly meetings at the same place in future. Miss Brackenbury's address at the Clock Tower on Saturday was much appreciated. We sold out our entire stock of papers. Open-air meetings will be held on Saturday, 18th, at the Archway Tavern, and on Thursday, 23rd, at St. Thomas's Road, at 7 p.m. Our autumn campaign in Hornsey will include a demonstration at the Alexandra Palace on November 3, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak. All members are urgently asked to send in their names to Miss Bonwick as helpers.—CLARE BROWNE.

ILFORD W.S.P.U.—Our next meeting will be held on September 22, at 7.30, opposite the station. Mrs. Cullen will speak. We want as many members as possible to sell papers on Saturday evenings. Will those willing to do so call at 68, Cranbrook, about 7 p.m.—ETHEL HASLAM, Hon. Sec.

KENSINGTON W.S.P.U.—The speakers at our weekly At Home next Tuesday evening, September 21, at 2, Campden Hill Square, will be Miss Evelyn Morrison, B.A., and Mr. Laurence Housman. Everyone will be welcome, especially if unconverted. Grateful acknowledgments are due to Miss Birsting for jumble sale parcel; to Mrs. Hamilton for the same; to Miss Garrett Anderson, M.D., the same and donation of 10s.; to Miss Christine Murrell, M.D., for 5s.; to Miss Postlethwaite for 4s. The nucleus of a good lending library has been inaugurated in our shop; the committee is anxious to make this into a source of information for speakers and others, and therefore appeals for offers of books (kindly made first in writing, to avoid duplication) dealing with any branch of the woman's movement or with any subject bearing upon the social, economic, or political position of women. All communications, donations, etc., to be addressed to the Hon. Sec., VOTES FOR WOMEN SHOP, 143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2116 Western.—L. M. EATES, Hon. Sec. (pp. E. S.)

LEWISHAM W.S.P.U.—On Friday, September 10, a general meeting was held at Avenue House, when the annual report was read and the officers and committee for the year elected. Our treasurer has in hand a balance of £23 2s. 10d. A brisk trade was done in VOTES FOR WOMEN, literature, etc. Will all our members and friends remember that more stewards, ladies as well as gentlemen, are required for the public meeting at Blackheath Concert Hall on October 13, also volunteers to sell tickets and distribute handbills. Miss Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, or Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, will be glad to receive names and addresses of volunteers to help take charge of our shop. Will friends send contributions for our jumble sale to our new shop and office, 107, High Street, Lewisham, which is to be opened on September 29. On Sunday, at 3 p.m., Mrs. Tanner spoke for us on Blackheath. Members are urged to attend these Sunday meetings and help to sell our paper and distribute handbills.—J. A. BOUVIER.

MARYLEBONE W.S.P.U.—Our speakers' class will recommence the first week in October. Ladies wishing to join should send in their names to me at 20, Weymouth Street, W. Miss Alice Farmer has kindly given 10s. towards our proposed shop; our great difficulty is to find suitable premises at a reasonable rent. Mrs. Cullen spoke at our meeting at Nuford Place last Friday. Friends are reminded that we are having a jumble sale shortly.—LILY NOURSE.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM W.S.P.U.—Open-air meetings were held on Monday night at Walham Green, when Miss Bonwick and Miss Cameron both spoke; on Saturday night, in Putney, Mrs. L. Cullen and Miss Cutten were our speakers; and on Sunday,

on Putney Heath, Miss B. Ayrton took the chair, and Mrs. Furler-Smith spoke. Miss Bonwick will again speak at Walham Green on Monday, September 20, at 7 p.m. Our meeting will be held as usual on Putney Heath on Sunday, September 19. Mrs. Furler-Smith has kindly presented us with a "Haunted House" poster, which has been varnished, mounted, and placed over our shop. Miss Heaton is the fortunate owner of the £10 bed-spread. With the consent of the donor, Mrs. Moore, half the proceeds will be given to the general fund and half devoted to local expenses. Will friends please note that tickets for the Albert Hall meeting on October 7 (all prices) can be had at the shop, 9, High Street, Putney. Particulars re jumble sale will be announced next week.—H. ROBERTS and L. CUTTEN, Hon. Secs.

RICHMOND AND KEW W.S.P.U.—On Monday, September 6, we had a large and successful meeting in Teddington. Miss Annette Jacobs spoke, and Miss Williams took the chair. At Heron Court, on Saturday, September 11, a big crowd listened to Miss Elsa Myers. On Sunday last (12th) Miss M. Coombs spoke at an especially large meeting at Kew. Next Saturday, September 18, Mrs. Carnu-Wilson will be the speaker at 11.30 a.m. at Heron Court, and on Sunday, 19th, at 3.30 p.m., Miss Phyllis Ayrton will speak at New Bridge Approach.—CLARA T. CLAYTON, Hon. Sec.

RICHMOND W.S.P.U.—Nearly nine dozen VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold during the fortnight at meetings in Richmond, Kew, and Teddington.

STREATHAM AND DISTRICT W.S.P.U.—Our usual meeting on Streatham Common last Sunday was attended by an audience that listened with the closest attention to Mrs. and Miss L. Tyson. A large number of papers were sold. Next Sunday Mrs. Penn Gaskell will speak, and Mrs. Nourse will take the chair. Time of meeting, 3 p.m.—LEONORA TYSON, Hon. Sec.

WIMBLEDON W.S.P.U.—On Sunday, September 12, Miss Marie Brackenbury spoke on the common, the chair being taken by Miss K. Douglas Smith. Quantities of Wimbledon Leaflet No. 5 were distributed. The committee regret that pressure of work has forced Miss M. Grant to resign the secretaryship, which she has filled with such devotion and ability. Until the annual meeting of members in October, the work is undertaken by Mrs. Lorisgnol, 27, Merton Hall Road, Wimbledon.—F. A. B. for B. L.

A GERMAN WOMAN SUFFRAGIST.

We regret to announce the death at Berlin, on September 6, of Dr. Agnes Hacker, one of the pioneers of the woman's movement in Germany.

Twenty years ago, when the German Universities were still closed to women, Dr. Hacker, with one or two kindred spirits, entered themselves as medical students, though the idea of the medical profession as a career for women had hardly penetrated the brains of the most enlightened Germans. After taking her degree, she visited Vienna and Leipzig, where she worked successively under the distinguished surgeons Schautta and Sanger. On her return to Berlin she threw herself heart and soul into the woman's movement, and became one of its leaders. She attained great distinction as a surgeon, but in spite of the claims of her profession she had thought and attention for all the questions affecting the progress and welfare of women. Besides her large private practice she devoted much of her time to a small hospital for women of the poorer classes, and before her death she was actively engaged in promoting a scheme for the establishment of a general women's hospital which was to be staffed exclusively by medical women. She laboured incessantly in the cause of temperance, and her exertions undoubtedly contributed to the spread of teetotal principles in Germany. Although a strong opponent of the State regulation of vice, she acted as examining physician to the police authorities with the object of alleviating the lot of the unhappy women who come under the Acts.

Dr. Hacker belonged to the forward section of the women's movement in Germany, but though uncompromising in her views she had the rare gift of disarming the opposition of the most stubborn reactionaries by her womanly kindness and genial humour. Her influence was not only felt on public platforms, but in family life and social intercourse, into which she introduced the spirit of progress like a breath of mountain air. She was an ardent advocate of Women's Suffrage, and her sympathies lay entirely with the policy of the National Women's Social and Political Union. Even during the last days of her life she listened with the keenest interest and indignation to the story of the efforts and the treatment of the Suffragettes, and only regretted that Germany was not yet ripe for the adoption of their methods.

"ALTIORA PETO."

Believing that to "seek higher things" is part of the creed of every Suffragist, two members recently climbed Ben Nevis, and planted there the purple, white, and green flag of the W.S.P.U. Starting from Fort William, they tramped through driving mists of snow, and "at length," writes E. K. M., "after four hours' steady climbing, we descried through the mist an object which we joyfully hailed as the 'Observatory Hotel'—a wooden shanty. We ascended the ladder to the top, and there, notwithstanding the bitter blast, tied the purple, white, and green badge, labelled 'Votes for Women,' to the door handle of the pinnacle. In the two girls who occupy the hotel from June to September we found sympathisers with the cause, who gave us a favourable report of Mrs. Pankhurst's successful visit to Fort William. The descent was at first marked by a furious hailstorm and a biting wind, but later on we were rewarded by a descent from the clouds into clear atmosphere, with the sun shining, and, notwithstanding the fatigue, we were proud of having achieved our object—viz., displaying the first cause in the world on the highest point in the United Kingdom for the instruction of inquiring and possibly astonished travellers."

DEBATE AT PORTSALON.

The question of woman franchise, hitherto little discussed in Ireland, formed the subject of keen debate at a recent meeting at the Portsallon Hotel, Co. Donegal. In the absence of Colonel Barton, the chair was taken by Dr. Langdon-Down, the well-known London specialist in brain diseases. Dr. Langdon-Down, notwithstanding the fact that his own sympathies are strongly in favour of militant methods of promoting the cause of woman franchise, made an admirably impartial chairman.

The speaker of the evening opened by stating that the subject of debate included not merely the question whether it was or was not desirable to confer the franchise on women, but whether it was legitimate that their demands should be enforced by the "militant" methods adopted by a powerful section of the women's franchise party. The demand for the vote by women was simply a demand for the removal of sex disability, the last of a long series of struggles for the divine right of equality before the law and in the Constitution. The vote was a small thing, but the refusal of it was intended to be a badge of inferiority and everlasting dependence upon man. The present condition of inferiority must, he thought, have been evolved by some theologian or incompetent lawyer. Man alone was to be the ruler of the house, to be educated, to hold property, to be the guardian of the children, to inherit property! The present struggle was one to remove political and economic injustice.

Mr. William Cuthbertson criticised the militant methods, and Mrs. Langdon-Down, in upholding them, amused the meeting by a story in illustration of her argument:—A man drowning in a river called to another on the bank, "Help! help! I can't swim." "Neither can I," replied the other, "but I don't make such a fuss about it." It was easy for those already in the enjoyment of full political rights to despise those who struggled for the vote. The chief aim of the militant Suffragists was to compel attention to their just demands.

A number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were disposed of in the hotel the next day.

A SUFFRAGETTE IN DRESDEN.

Miss Leonora Tyson (37, Drewstead Road, Streatham), who is going to Dresden for six weeks, will be pleased to hear from any members or friends who would help to arrange a meeting there.

Marriage of Mr. Kettle, M.P., and Miss M. Sheehy, B.A.

Suffragists will be interested to learn of the marriage of Mr. T. Kettle, M.P., and Miss Mary Sheehy, B.A., in Dublin, on September 8. Mr. Kettle has at all times shown himself a good friend to the cause of Woman Suffrage, and Miss Sheehy is on the committee of the Irish Women's Franchise League. "Votes for Women" badges were very much in evidence at the wedding, the bride wearing one mounted in her floral wreath and another pinned in her handsome white satin gown. Numbers of the guests also wore the badges, and allusions to the Suffragettes were made in several of the congratulatory speeches at the later festivities. A correspondent describes the event as "full of Suffrage atmosphere."

WOMEN TEACHERS AND MARRIAGE.

The Manchester Guardian states that there has been sent to the Lancashire Education Committee by the sub-committee for the area, which includes Brierfield and Worsbourn, a resolution adopted by the managers of the Brierfield Council schools, proposing that female teachers in their service contemplating marriage within the next three months should be asked to resign. Already one resignation has been received.

WOMEN AND THE BUDGET.

September 29th is the last day for making a claim for any relief or benefit offered by it.

Income Tax Returns are prepared, Appeals conducted, and Over-paid Tax recovered by Mrs. E. AYLES PURDIE, A.L.A.A., Certified Accountant, the only woman who is entitled under the Revenue Act to appear before the Special Commissioners on a client's behalf.

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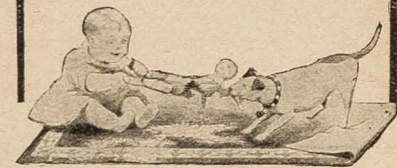
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