

THE VOTE

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

VOL. II.—No. 36.

SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1910.

ONE PENNY.

NOTICE.

Letters relating to editorial and business matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR and MANAGING DIRECTOR respectively. Applications for advertising spaces to be made to the ADVERTISEMENT MANAGER.

Offices: 148, HOLBORN BARS, E.C.

Telephone: HOLBORN 6191.

EDITORIAL.

The Editor is responsible for unsigned articles only. Articles, paragraphs, or cuttings dealing with matters of interest to women generally will be welcomed. Every effort will be made to return unsuitable MSS. if a stamped addressed envelope be enclosed, but the Editor cannot be responsible in case of loss.

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WHAT WE THINK.

The Big Stick.

We have heard Mr. Asquith's decision that the second reading of the Conciliation Bill is to be given time this session, "because, under the conditions which govern private members' proposals, the House of Commons has never had an adequate opportunity of discussing so momentous a change"—but when this time is to be given he has refused to say. He has also stated that, in view of the exigencies of other Parliamentary business and their own announced decision not to prosecute contentious legislation, they cannot afford any further facilities to the Bill this session. It would appear that Mr. Asquith is looking for trouble—that he is going to make a strong effort to kill what for the present we must regard as "our Bill." We mean, however, to bring all possible pressure to bear upon the Government to grant the Conciliation Bill full facilities. A Bill cannot be regarded as contentious which has such a small minority against it that they are afraid to face the division lobby lest the paucity of their numbers be seen.

Lord Robert Cecil introduced his Public Meeting Bill almost at the very end of the autumn session of 1908, and time was found both for the second reading and the other stages, and that time must have been the time of the Government. That measure has been fitly described as foolish and unnecessary, yet the Government gave it facilities. They have now the opportunity of doing the same with one which is wise and badly wanted. The Government have had to regard Mr. Roosevelt as the mouthpiece of Sir Edward Grev in the matter of Egypt; they will now see that we can also utilise the utterance of this curious democrat: "Soft words—and a big stick." We have given the Government soft words, and we will continue to do so unless Mr. Asquith makes it evident that he is too pachydermatous for anything but the big stick. We thought that the time for this had passed—that his intelligence, his instinct of self-preservation would save the Premier from testing our forbearance too far. And perhaps that instinct of self-preservation may yet act, and for the good credit of the realm of Britain the news of a Prime Minister scurrying like a frightened rabbit through underground passages from justly-incensed women will not be borne *via* Reuter telegrams to every country in Europe.

In early Roman history the Cumæan Sybil brought to Tarquinius Superbus—a man of the early Asquith type—a roll of papyrus. He laughed at her—probably told her not to be silly—and refused to buy. She tore away some of the leaves, and came back later asking the same price.

He still refused to buy. Then a third time, with a tiny sheaf indeed, she returned, still asking the same price. Full of fear at the strange portent, he bought at last, and found that he had bought wisdom cheaply. History repeats itself, and it remains for Mr. Asquith to take heed lest, coming to him with this slender Bill, the least that we can ask, we find him again adamant. The Sybil did not need to have recourse to the stick, but if we have we shall hit hard.

Government Economy.

In the House recently Mr. Herbert Samuel, the Postmaster-General, in the course of a speech on Post Office affairs full of deep anxiety for the male employee, whether a boy messenger or porter, suggested as a means of "economising" boy labour, to employ girl messengers instead of boys. If these girl messengers are to be paid exactly the same as the boys, well and good, but the Government habit is to pay female labour consistently at a less rate for the same work than male labour, and rumour says that a shilling a week less is to be offered to them. As boy messengers do not support a wife and family, the usual Government excuse cannot be offered. "Fair play, fair pay for all who serve the State" is a motto that Mr. Herbert Samuel might commit to memory. He informed the House further that in various towns excellent institutes were provided by the Post Office, "partly recreative and partly educational, for boy messengers, and through their assistance many boys found employment in outside occupations." It is to be presumed, on the grounds indicated, that similar facilities will be available for girl messengers.

Telephone Clerks.

The National Telephone Company's plant and stations will presently be transferred to the G.P.O., and it has yet to be made clear to the staff—18,200 in number, and largely composed of women—whether they are to be Civil Servants or to be dismissed. This is a point Mr. Herbert Samuel should clear up at the earliest possible date. If this large number of new employees be taken over to form a new Department, the principle of equal pay for equal work might well be inaugurated. The girl telephone clerks are much quicker to answer calls than the male employees, and it is only right that they should receive the same wages.

Justice.

It will be remembered that the late King's funeral took place on a Friday, and that that day was made a general holiday. A young Louthwaite millgirl was summoned recently for a sum of 11s. 8½d., in lieu of notice, by her employers, because, having given notice on a Saturday, the place of business being closed on Friday (owing to the Royal obsequies), the notice did not stand. The case was dismissed, *on the understanding that the girl should pay the costs, which amounted to 7s.* The magisterial comment was, we believe, that the case should never have been brought, but if this was so, it is hard to understand why the girl was mulcted in costs. The need for awakening the public intelligence concerning the industrial status of women is still great, though we are glad to note from recent portents that even the casual woman labourer is learning her power of disintegrating the male scheme of things as a protest against elementary injustice. An attempt has recently been made by the Peterhead fishcurers to pay the women employed in the savoury job of "gutting" herrings eightpence a barrel instead of elevenpence. These ladies have now struck work as a protest. It is an excellent sign of the times.

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OUR WORK.

Exciting Times. THAT we are living in the midst of a civil revolution is becoming gradually apparent to all of us. As Dr. Anna Shaw says, "In the future it will not only be asked when and where was the victory, but *how* did you fight?" It is, therefore, of more than usual importance at the present moment that every woman who loves freedom shall help us in some way, according to her powers and means. VOTE Week begins on the 3rd, and it is most necessary that our paper, with its symbolic name, shall be seen everywhere: be sent through the post to every member of Parliament, be seen in the streets, and well sold in the streets. We are living through a critical time, and it will not do for any woman to stand aside and let others do the work. If you have any ideas other than those given on page 117, send them along to Mrs. Snow, and if they are, as they are sure to be, original and feasible, she will put them into operation.

The "At Homes." A LARGE audience assembled at Caxton Hall last Thursday to listen to Mrs. Fenwick Miller, who had kindly consented to speak on "Women and Progress." Mrs. Fenwick Miller dealt largely with the anti-Suffragist type of woman, and pointed out, in the most witty and interesting manner, how women all the world over, in every age and country, had always been the most uncompromising opponents of their own emancipation. Thus the Chinese Empress had found, in her crusade against the foot-binding of girls, that her fiercest battle had to be waged against the Chinese women. Mrs. Holmes, fresh from the House of Commons, then announced the decision of the Cabinet in regard to the granting of facilities for the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Keir Hardie, when interviewed by her, had said that he did not believe that all was yet lost. If sufficient pressure were brought to bear on individual Members of Parliament, in addition to the Cabinet and Prime Minister, even yet facilities might be obtained to carry the Bill beyond its second reading. The task now before us, said Mrs. Holmes, was to go out into every corner of the land and reawaken the whole country. But if, in spite of all, the Bill were killed, then militant action—prompt, vigorous, and of an entirely new kind—would have to be resorted to; an announcement loudly applauded by the audience. The speakers at this week's "At Home" will be Mrs. Sproson, whom we so rarely have the chance of hearing in London, and who will deal with the "Working Woman's Point of View," and Mr. G. E. O'Dell, who has promised us what should be a most novel and interesting address on "Shakespeare's Women." This is the last of the regular weekly meetings, so it is hoped that there will be a large muster of the League. As will be seen from information to be found on another page, there may be exciting developments at this "At Home."

Our Treasury. MRS. DESPARD writes: "After the triumph of our march comes the hard struggle of making its full meaning understood and felt. In order to do this it is necessary for me, as your Treasurer, to ask you to support me generously. A few days now will decide whether or not militant action will have to be resumed. In

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either case we must have a sufficiency of funds to enable us to carry on our campaign with vigour. The strength and number of our contingent in the Procession have surprised many. Let every individual do her best to help, and I shall have no need for further anxiety. Remember our scheme for raising £500 by the month of August. I am hoping for further names. I would also remind you that Mrs. and Miss Chapin are giving a matinée at the Rehearsal Theatre on Thursday, 8th July. Tickets are on sale at the office. We are hoping to raise at least £10 by this effort. I heartily thank those who during the past week have responded to my appeal."

Mr. Chapman on Divorce.

At the "At Home" held on the previous Thursday in the Caxton Hall, Mr. Cecil Chapman (the Stipendiary at the Tower Bridge Police Court, whose suggestion, made before the Royal Commission on Divorce, that marriage before a Registrar should be made compulsory has provoked much discussion of late) delivered an address on the reform of the laws of marriage, separation, and divorce. This was unavoidably held over last week. Mrs. How Martyn presided.

Mr. Chapman said that if women were to be free it was essential to get rid of the patriarchal and purchase view of marriage, which was that when a woman chose to marry a man she was swallowed by the man as completely as Jonah was swallowed by the whale. (Laughter.) All the laws with regard to the relationship of the sexes after marriage were based on the fallacious assumption that man and wife were one person, and that they were not likely to differ, but if they did differ one of them had to obey. A woman had a right to an independent personality though married. Divorce was not an evil in itself or the cause of evil. It was simply a means of repealing the evil that already existed in the non-performance of a contract which was supposed to be for the comfort of both parties entering into it. Although to many people marriage was a sacrament, to many others, probably a large majority, it was nothing of the kind. It was important to get rid of cant, and to recognise that marriage was a social contract, and that the parties to it had duties towards each other. Much as he admired a religious ceremony, and much as he appreciated the help it was to the community to have the Church in its midst, he was bound to say that he had a quarrel with the Church Service according to which a woman, when she gave herself to a man, contracted to obey and serve him. That was fundamentally wrong, and bad both for the man and the woman. He would prefer to substitute for that contract a contract before a Registrar, in which the contracting parties should speak of their obligations in absolutely identical terms. (Cheers.) In so far as services were rendered by a woman to her husband there ought to be some consideration in return. The husband, in the language of the service, endowed her with all his worldly goods. That was a fine phrase, however, that meant nothing. His belief was that we should not have so many scandals connected with marriages and breaches of the marriage contract if the contract entered into in the Church had more reality and less fiction. (Cheers.) The husband whose wife lost her power of providing for herself through marriage should endow her in reality and not in words. He should make over to her at least one-fifth of his worldly goods or earnings. Half the miseries that were revealed to Police Magistrates were due to the economic dependence of women in marriage. For theological reasons some people called marriage an indissoluble contract. Such people could not understand the misery of others to which they themselves were not accustomed. They were so pious and so cruel that he did not want to have anything to do with them. (Cheers.) In all countries and in all ages the dissolution of the marriage tie under certain circumstances had been permitted, although he did not, of course, go so far as to say that Adam and Eve were ever divorced. (Laughter.) Even in Catholic countries, where divorce was supposed not to be recognised, it had been granted under the name of a nullity and under a fictitious pretence. In the matter of divorce England was far behind all other Protestant countries, and he had no doubt that in this respect the other countries were right and we were wrong. (Cheers.)

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mrs. Billington-Greig is obliged to resign her post as Hon. Organising Secretary of the League, partly owing to the state of her health and partly because of the very large increase in the work, which makes the department beyond the powers of one person to supervise adequately. In accordance with Mrs. Billington-Greig's advice, the work of the Organising Department will in future be divided under the following heads:—

1. POLITICAL AND MILITANT, for which Mrs. Billington-Greig herself will continue to be responsible.
2. PROPAGANDA, under which heading will be included the general organising of meetings, advertising, and special campaigns. This department will be under the direction of Mrs. Borrmann Wells.
3. LITERATURE, which will continue under the efficient direction of Miss Hicks, M.A.
4. THE VOTE, which comprises all sales in London except to the trade, will continue to be managed by Mrs. Snow.
5. THE PROVINCIAL ORGANISING is to be divided into districts, each under the control of an Hon. District Organiser, who, whenever possible, will be a member of the N.E.C., and will be assisted by an Organiser from headquarters. An Hon. District Treasurer will be appointed to raise funds, most of which will be spent in the district from which they come.

The following H.D.O.s have already kindly consented to take charge of the specified districts in England and Wales:—

- Wales.**—Mrs. CLEEVEES, N.E.C., "Chez-Nous," Sketty, S.O., Glamorgan.
Manchester.—Miss MANNING, B.A., N.E.C., Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.
N.E. District.—Mrs. SCHOFIELD COATES, N.E.C., Wilthrop House, Roman Road, Middlesbrough.
S. Yorkshire.—Mrs. AMY SANDERSON, N.E.C., Mizpah House, Station Road, Castleford, Yorks.
Eastern Counties.—Miss ANDREWS, 160, Norwich Road, Ipswich.
East Sussex.—Mrs. DILKS, 39, Milton Road, Eastbourne.
Portsmouth.—Mrs. WHETTON, 64, Devonshire Avenue, Southsea.

Branch Secretaries in these neighbourhoods are advised to put themselves in communication with the H.D.O. and consult with her about the work to be done in the immediate future.

The N.E.C. are convinced that this plan will tend to unify and consolidate the work done throughout the country and bring the members of the League into closer and more friendly contact with each other and headquarters.

Mrs. Billington-Greig is to be assisted in the political department by Mrs. Marion Holmes, and in the militant department, for the present, by Miss Neilans. Careful plans to meet all contingencies have been made by the N.E.C., and it is practically certain that in the near future a further call on the loyalty and self-sacrifice of our members will have to be made.

The plans must necessarily be kept secret, but new and effective methods are being considered, which we are convinced will bring our movement home to thousands who have not yet recognised its urgency and importance.—
EDITH HOW MARTYN.

Miss Chapin writes: "As librarian of the W.F.L. Suffrage Library, I wish to call the attention of readers of THE VOTE to our new rules and regulations, which can be obtained at the office, Robert Street. The library is still a free one, and we hope that it will be patronised extensively by members of the League. It is in the Literature Room, No. 28, and books can always be had from the office. I shall try to attend every Wednesday morning when practicable, and will be pleased to answer any questions. We shall be grateful for gifts of books."



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MISS MARY R. MACARTHUR.

The standpoint of the industrial woman and the problems of labour as they affect women are understood by Miss Mary MacArthur, the Secretary of the Women's Trade Union League, as they are by few women and fewer politicians. She has unique opportunities for drawing conclusions on the conditions, prospects, and needs of working women, and though these conclusions are not always those that all of us might have come to, given the same premises, yet they are always informed with a sound logic and a convenient common sense.

"As you know, I am a supporter of the Adult Suffrage movement," said Miss MacArthur. "I think that votes for women and the removal of the sex disability will be a good thing, but not the best thing. As an adult Suffragist, believing that Suffrage is lop-sided until every adult man or woman has full citizen rights, I will not work for the removal of the sex disability as such, though most certainly I shall oppose it in no way. I want to see everyone who has not got a vote with one; I want to see the male shop-assistant who 'lives in' and who is without the franchise having it, and also the woman shop-assistant. Under the limited Bill which the Women's Suffrage Societies are advancing only a certain number of women workers will have it.

"Poverty is one of the greatest disqualifications to the possession of the franchise as the law at present stands, and it means that certain units of the State are, owing to their necessitous circumstances, considered unfit to exercise the franchise. It is for the removal of this disability, under which the majority of women-workers would also suffer were the sex disability to be removed, that I (in common with the Labour Party) am fighting. We want to see the sex disqualification removed. Yes, but we want to see the poverty bar eliminated also, and we think that this can best be done by fighting for both at once.

"Do I believe in Protective Labour Legislation for women? Yes, I do; and in that I disagree with the expressed views of some of your members. Those who take the line that Protective Legislation is not helpful to women do not really understand. If all restrictions were taken away it would be a mistake; some women would be driven by their necessities to work all hours, and ultimately they would not benefit, for their employers would, in the long run, simply increase their hours without increasing their pay. As a matter of fact, the Factory Acts restricting the hours of work have put the women on a better economic basis and given them more economic power.

"It is my firm opinion that the work of expectant mothers should be restricted, and owing to the large number of married working women it would be ridiculous to allow them to work in the same way as men or for the same hours. A young married woman working in a box

factory recently worked until four weeks before the time she expected her child. When I asked her why she did this, she said she needed the money too badly to leave off work before she was actually compelled to. The result was that, as she was using a heavy treadle machine in her condition, the baby was born prematurely, and died. Here you have, apart from the mother's feelings, a distinct loss to the State. The woman bears all this trouble and anguish for a number of months, and the result is the loss of her child's life and almost of her own because the laws are not protective enough. The professional woman, if she is an expectant mother, can carry on her work up to the last moment; but the industrial mother who works the heavy machine, in the interest of her child, cannot, and that is why the industrial woman must be protected. It is a significant fact that more than half the children born to women in the dipping branch of the potteries trade are still-born."

"But how would you compensate the woman for her enforced idleness? She must not be made the loser."

"No, most decidedly not. She must be compensated, and this should be done by means of maternity insurance, provided by the State for a period of two or three months before and after the birth of the child. This insurance must be there for any mother who needs it, and there should be no shame and no taint of pauperism in the taking of it. It should be the State's contribution given in the interests of the many for the production of the strong and helpful citizens of the future. Under whatsoever Suffrage system, I think that the working woman, by reason of the services she renders the State, must be supported at this time, both in her own interests as well as in those of the State."

"Has the Trades Board Act done any good to the working woman?"

"Well, it has only been a short time in operation,

and as yet only deals with four sweated industries—lace-making, ready-made clothing, card-box making, and chain making. But, so far, it would seem to have done well, and at Cradley Heath, where the determinations become operative, the rate of wages for the majority of the women working on common chain will be raised over 100 per cent."

"And the Labour Exchanges, do they benefit the unemployed women?"

"They are as yet only on the fringes of their work, but an enthusiastic and devoted band of women is engaged on this work, and there is no doubt but that they will gradually come to be of great service to the unemployed women; they work in harmony with us, and are continually in communication with our League. Once the women realise that the inquiries they are instituting are not of the impertinent nature of certain charity organisations their usefulness will be considerably increased."



MARY R. MACARTHUR.



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INFLUENTIAL MEMORIALS FOR CONCILIATION BILL.

From Scholars.

The following leading scholars and educationists are among those who have signed a memorial urging the Prime Minister to give facilities to the Women's Suffrage Bill, introduced by Mr. Shackleton, M.P. Beside these great names the opinion of men like Mr. F. E. Smith and the Oriental-minded pro-consuls are strangely unsatisfying.

OXFORD UNIVERSITY.—Sidney Ball, Rev. F. W. Bussell, Principal of Brasenose, Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, D.D., A. C. Clark (Queen's), Rev. James Drummond, Prof. Geldart, Dennis Hird (Warden, Central Labour Coll.), Professor D. S. Margoliouth, Professor J. L. Myres, E. W. B. Nicholson (Bodley's Librarian), Sir John Rhys, C. Grant Robertson (All Souls'), F. C. S. Schiller (C.C.C.), Rev. W. Temple (Queen's), A. E. Zimmern (New Coll.)

CAMBRIDGE.—J. F. Bethune-Baker, Prof. J. B. Bury, Norman R. Campbell, F. M. Cornford, W. E. Johnson, Prof. J. S. Mackenzie, J. Ellis M'Taggart, the Master of Christ's College (John Peile, D.Litt.), H. D. Rackham, Prof. J. S. Reid, E. Seymour Thompson, Dr. A. W. Verrall, Prof. James Ward, D.Sc.

LONDON.—The Principal (H. A. Miers, F.R.S.), Prof. A. Caldecott, D.Litt.

MANCHESTER.—Prof. S. Alexander, Prof. Ronald M. Burrows, Prof. S. J. Chapman, Prof. R. S. Conway, Prof. C. H. Herford, Prof. J. Hope Moulton, Prof. M. E. Sadler.

BIRMINGHAM.—Prof. Alfred Hughes, Prof. J. H. Muirhead.

GENERAL.—The Headmaster of Eton, J. H. Badley (Bedales), R. F. Cholmeley (Dame Alice Owen's School, Islington), W. Steadman Aldis, F.R.A.S., Francis H. Stead (Browning Settlement), Rev. Principal Symes (Nottingham), Dr. A. B. Rendle, F.R.S., Dr. Bather, F.R.S.

From Divines.

Among nearly 400 divines of all denominations who have made the same request to the Prime Minister the following names may be selected:—

The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Durham,
The Rev. Canon Hicks, Bishop-Elect of Lincoln,
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Hull,
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Woolwich,
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Birmingham,

the Venerable Archdeacon Arbuthnot, the Venerable Archdeacon Madden, the Venerable Archdeacon Noakes, the Dean of Durham, the Dean of Worcester, the Rural Dean of Ipswich, the Rural Dean of Birkenhead, Canon Bannister (Hereford), Canon Bond (Chichester), Canon Body (Durham), Canon Deane (Chichester), Canon Everett (Windsor), Canon Lister (Newcastle), Canon Talbot (Bristol), Canon Wilson (Worcester), the Master of the Temple (Dr. Woods), Rev. the Hon. James Adderley (Saltley), Rev. Stopford Brooke, Right Rev. Hamilton Baines, Rev. Hugh Chapman (Royal Chapel of Savoy), Rev. Dr. Cobb, Rev. E. E. Coleman, Rev. Lewis Donaldson, Rev. W. Lewis Edwards, Rev. J. H. Ellison, Rev. Ernest Ganner (Hon. Canon, Birmingham), Rev. M. A. Griffiths, Rev. G. Holmes Gore, Rev. W. Cotter Hodgins, Rev. G. F. Head, Rev. J. H. Honeyburne (Hon. Canon of Liverpool), Rev. Dr. Andrew Laidlaw, Rev. E. G. L. Mowbray, Rev. Thomas Martin, D.D. (Barony, Glasgow), Rev. J. P. Maud, Rev. Pearson McAdam Muir, D.D. (Moderator of General Assembly), Rev. Arnold Pinchard, Rev. J. H. Shakespeare, Rev. A. Stuart (Canon of Roman Catholic Cathedral, Edinburgh), Rev. J. Denton Thompson, Rev. Principal Guy Warman (St. Aidan's College), Rev. T. Rhondda Williams (Brighton).

"The function of the Women's Labour movement?"

"To bring the mother-spirit into politics. We want to preserve what is best in our national life, and we believe that it is only by united action, independent of the orthodox political parties, we can do this. We are fighting for fundamental things—that every man, woman, and child shall have food, and shelter, and clothing; that the children shall have a growing chance; that the men and women shall have time to think, to dream, to love, and to hold communion one with the other." M. O. KENNEDY.

TAXATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION.

PROBABLE ARREST OF MRS. DESPARD.

The following letters, which have passed between our President and the Inland Revenue, tell their own tale. The authorities, it will be noticed, are so anxious not to call attention to the fact that women who are called upon to contribute largely to Imperial taxation are denied citizen rights that they go so far as to suggest that a bargain in costs may be struck, and that, to save herself the payment of full costs, Mrs. Despard shall "satisfy the Crown's claim" at once. Our President's answer to this proffered bribe is the only logical one. That her attempted arrest will follow on the day when the week of "grace" has come to an end is almost certain. That day is to-day, Thursday, the 30th, the communication from Somerset House being dated June 22nd.

Mrs. Despard will be found at Caxton Hall to-day. She has no intention to evade arrest. The authorities will know where to find her should they decide to carry out their threat. But we would remind them that their demand is contrary to the spirit of the constitution, and is not unlikely to have unconstitutional results.

"Inland Revenue, Somerset House, London, W.C., June 22nd, 1910.

"Madam,—With reference to the proceedings commenced against you for recovery of the arrears of taxes outstanding for the year 1908-9, I am directed by the Board of Inland Revenue to state that judgment has been signed against you in the High Court of Justice for the duty £5 13s. 3d., and £4 18s. 6d. the costs, and that the next step in the matter will lead to your arrest and committal to prison.

"The Board are unwilling, however, to resort to once to these extreme measures, and they will hold the matter over for one week from this date to give you a final opportunity of satisfying the Crown's claim. They will, moreover, accept in lieu of the full costs the amount actually spent out of pocket—£2.

"The amount payable under this arrangement is £7 13s. 3d., viz., duty, £5 13s. 3d.; reduced costs, £2; total, £7 13s. 3d.

"I enclose an envelope in which the remittance may be sent to the Accountant-General at this office.

"If you neglect to avail yourself of this consideration there will be no alternative but to place the writ in the hands of the Sheriff's officer, with instructions to put it into execution.—I am, Madam, your obedient servant,

"Mrs. C. Despard." "F. W. BARRETT, For Secretary."

"SIR,—In answer to your demand of the 22nd June, I beg to state that my determination is not shaken. I absolutely refuse to pay my share of the Imperial taxes until the right to citizenship—which is really and logically mine—is recognised by those who impose these taxes.

"C. DESPARD."

"I believe that Woman Suffrage will come. There is one fundamental principle that applies to the whole thing—under a representative form of government the interests of any particular set of people are more likely to be advanced when represented by one of themselves than by one of another class, no matter how altruistic."—HON. WILLIAM H. TAFT, President of America.

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THE VOTE.

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 Secretary—Miss M. E. RIDLER.
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 COUNTESS RUSSELL, Mrs. J. E. SNOW, Mrs. L. THOMSON-PRICE.
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SATURDAY, JULY 2, 1910.

THE FATE OF THE BILL.

The Cabinet has met and parted, and the Conciliation Bill is still alive. This is the central fact of the moment. There is still hope for the Bill; it may yet pass into law this session. It may pass—the door is still open—and if the Suffrage forces within and without the House of Commons are alert enough it will so pass and become the law of the land.

Superficially, all that we can say is that the Government has granted the Bill a further stage of existence—that it is to have facilities for the second reading. We have to admit even that the date of the second reading may be undesirably postponed. There is no certain guarantee of anything but the second reading. There may be time for nothing more after the date which the Government chooses. There is one certain gain only—the rest is dubious.

This is not much. A second reading carries us no farther in itself. It can never satisfy us. It cannot satisfy us even for one session. Unless the Women's Suffrage Bill passes through its final stage it is immaterial to us that by compromise and wire-pulling it should be carried through all other stages. There may be politicians who are satisfied with meaningless divisions, but the mere ceremonies of politics can never satisfy those who are outlaws. At the worst such divisions are an obvious mummery, and at the best only pious resolutions which after much repetition become insulting and odious. We want the Bill made law. We must have the Bill made law. With nothing less than a Women's Suffrage Bill upon the Statute-book will we rest content.

But while only a second reading is definitely promised, the later clauses of Mr. Asquith's statement to the House of Commons show that much more than a second reading is possible. After this stage it is indicated that the fate of the Bill is left to "the deliberate intention" of the House. This is quite clearly stated. The Government, in the Prime Minister's words, recognises "that the members of the House ought to have opportunities, if it is their deliberate desire, of effectively dealing with the whole question." From this there can be no other deduction than that if our friends in the House show a united front the Government is prepared to allow the Bill to pass into law without delay. The Government blockade is to go down. The majority of the House, the majority of the Cabinet, the majority of the members of the Liberal Party are to be given a clear path to the Women's Suffrage goal. The Prime Minister merely asks that the deliberate intention of the House in this matter shall be made clear to him.

Here there is a distinct advance upon any earlier utterances of the Leader of the Government. The advance is marked as much in the manner as in the matter of the statement. Mr. Asquith will bow to the inevitable; but for a man of his calibre the inevitable must be clamant, imperative, and indubitable. There must be no possible shadow of doubt. The friends of the Cause must present an unbroken front, must be sure and unwavering, must know what they want and claim it, must be alert, vigorous, and determined, must leave nothing to chance—and then the miracle will happen.

In these circumstances we find the definition of our immediate work. We must supply from without the pressure and enthusiasm which, acting within the House of Commons, will bring the Government to name an early date for the second reading, and will so unite the supporters of the Conciliation Bill as to persuade Mr. Asquith that it is imperative to grant complete facilities to it. At once all our workers must be concentrated upon this task. Brisk lobbying must begin now. Letters from constituents,

and from women who will be electors when the Bill passes, resolutions from meetings, must encumber the tables of ordinary members and Ministers. Not a day must pass without its depositions to friends and foes in the House. Of these a special feature must be made, so that both men and women and representatives of local interests and societies shall have laid the case for the immediate passing of this Bill before every member of Parliament. These men hold our fate in their hands. They have never before come out so far from their ordinary lines of party division in our behalf as they have already come under the persuasion of the Conciliation Committee. They must be braced to hold together in favour of the Bill and to finally convince Mr. Asquith of what he at last begins to understand—that the House and the country is against him in his veto upon the political rights of women.

There is no reason why an early date should not be obtained for the passing of this Bill, why it should not become law during the next few weeks. The House is enjoying unparalleled leisure. It appears to have next to nothing to do. It is patiently waiting until the leaders of the two orthodox parties have found a basis of compromise on which to settle another constitutional question. No time could be more opportune. The spirit of conciliation is abroad. It has already done something towards the settlement of our overdue demand. It can be made to do more. Time and the spirit of peace, a reasonableness strange and new in politics, all these are at our disposal and can be employed on our behalf. They must be so employed. The Bill must pass. There is no reason that can possibly be put forward as an excuse for failure now. The Government blockade will be withdrawn—our chief opponent in the country has declared it—if our friends in the House are firm. It is our work to make them firm, to use every argument and every means of power, to employ every friend we have, to secure this end. We have paved the way to this present stage with the labour of years, with eager effort, with willing sacrifice; and the ground beneath our feet we have paved with compromise that the first step might be won. We have seen the great principle for which we have always fought whittled down to what the politicians regard as a practical measure, and we have stated our willingness to accept it, so deeply do we know the urgency of our need, so much do we desire that some women shall vote without further delay. What else there remains to do we shall do. No effort of ours shall be spared to fulfil the conditions on which the Government opposition will be withdrawn. The Bill must pass. We have worked and waited, clamoured and suffered, already too long. Other work is crying out for us; it is lying upheaped before our hands. We must have this Bill upon the Statute-book that we may go forward.

While such possibilities of success still lie before us, let us refuse to believe in failure. Until the Bill is dead it is alive. Until the Bill is killed we must work to make it law and believe that it will become law, so that we may not have to throw ourselves into further and greater revolt.

TERESA BILLINGTON-GREIG.

MR. KEIR HARDIE'S VIEWS ON THE BILL.

Speaking at the N.W.S.P.U. meeting at Queen's Hall on Monday last, Mr. Keir Hardie said: "For all practical purposes the Conciliation Bill is a non-contentious measure. The obstinacy of the Prime Minister and of a small handful of members is the only obstacle to the Bill in the House. . . . Special responsibility rests on women Liberals; a little extra pressure on their part would sweep away all resistance in the House. If they would stand as unflinchingly as the militant women have done, the Bill would become law this session. If it does not, the responsibility will rest at their own door. If the second reading can be got within the next ten days, there will be ample time for the Bill to pass through all its stages this session."

Speaking again of the militants, he says the Government should be anxious to clear this worrying body of sharpshooters from their path. The women must make it clear and apparent that they will not be put off any longer.



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WASH FROCK (as sketch), in good quality checked zephyr, with "Folly" collar and cuffs of fine lawn; in white and black, white and mauve, white and green, white and blue, and white and pink check.

21/9

SENT ON APPROVAL

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Glasgow Office: 302, SAUCHIEHALL STREET, GLASGOW.
 Hon. Treasurer: Mrs. JULIA WOOD.
 Office Secretary: Miss KIRBY.
 Telegrams: "Tactics," Glasgow. Nat. Telephone: 495 Douglas.

Glasgow.
CLYDE COAST CAMPAIGN.—The usual summer coast campaign will be started in July. Miss Madge Turner will be in charge, and during July the Centre will be at Gourcock, and during August at Ayr. Miss Semple and Miss Scrymgeour were appointed joint secretaries of district committees at a public meeting on June 6th. Any W.F.L. members who are within reach of these two places are earnestly requested to give what help they can. There is work for all. Speakers will be specially welcomed, but anyone who will chalk, sell literature, take collections, or even give moral support to the speaker by standing in the crowd—all these are wanted. No organiser can make the campaign a success without voluntary helpers; let everyone do a little, and the result will be great. Anyone who cannot give personal service is asked to send a small contribution to the funds. Anything will be welcome and will be thankfully acknowledged.

£1,000 FUND.		£ s. d.	
Mrs. Swan	0 2 0	A Friend's Friend	0 5 0
Mrs. Gordon	0 8 8	Amount previously	£7 15 8
Mrs. Murray	2 0 0	acknowledged	306 18 11
A. C. Wood, Esq.	5 0 0	Total	£314 14 7

Edinburgh.—33, Forrest Road.
 Successful afternoon "At Homes" have been held here on Tuesdays, June 14th and 21st. The former was addressed by Mrs. Scott, a New Zealand lady, who spoke on "Suffrage: a Religious Aspect," and the latter by Miss Dundas Grant, Vice-President of the Branch, who took for her subject "Suffrage from a Theosophical Standpoint."

To a special evening "At Home" on June 22nd the women students from the Normal Training College were invited. They responded in such numbers that our shop was filled, and the speeches of Miss Jacob, B.Sc., and Miss Sara Munro, President, were listened to with evident appreciation and interest. Miss Madge Turner's account of the great Procession also aroused much enthusiasm. The remainder of the evening was devoted to a most enjoyable musical programme. Special thanks are due to Mrs. Curling Anderson, who kindly provided a piano for the evening; to the ladies and gentlemen

who sang and played; to those who revealed the future—for the benefit of the cause; and to Miss Jacob, who arranged the evening.

A very good open-air meeting held at Broxburn on the 15th was addressed by Miss Turner and Miss A. B. Jack. The audience was most sympathetic, and at the close of the meeting accorded the speakers a hearty vote of thanks, while several of the men promised to carry out Miss Jack's suggestion that they should write to Mr. Ure, their Member, asking him to support the Bill. Our stock of Votes was quickly exhausted. In the shop window a beautiful notice executed by Miss Leggett calls upon the passer-by to "Buy THE VOTE," and the passer-by is responding to quite an appreciable extent. To two other artistic members is due the beautiful replica of our large banner which was carried in the Procession. This was painted by Miss Dalziel, and mounted by Miss Jacob. We shall be glad to know of more volunteers for keeping the shop open during July, as Miss Turner will not be with us then.—HELEN MCLACHLAN, Assistant Secretary.

OUR TREASURY to June 17th.

Amount previously ac-	£ s. d.	Foster, Mrs.	£ s. d.
knowledged	2709 5 6	Armstrong, Miss	1 0 0
Saunders, Miss M. I.	0 10 0	Feeny, Esq., M. C.	0 1 0
Thompson, Miss K. R.	0 5 0	McCormack, Mr.	0 1 0
Le Lacheur, Miss D.	10 0 0	Robinson, Mr. C. E.	0 1 0
Harvey, Mrs. K.	2 2 0	Glen, Mr.	0 1 0
Tracher, Lady L.	5 0 0	Gordon, Mr.	0 0 6
McDiarmid, Mrs. M.	10 0 0	O'Brien, The Hon.	0 10 0
Clark, Miss M.	0 2 0	Georgina	0 10 0
Gugenheim, Mrs. (collecting box)	0 6 8	Bangor Branch	0 5 0
Penings, Miss M. (collecting box)	0 6 0	Coyle, Miss	0 0 5
FitzHerbert, Miss	2 10 0	Anonymous	0 2 0
Napier, Mrs. E. R.	5 0 0	Anonymous	0 1 0
Russell, Mrs. O. H.	0 2 6	Anonymous	0 2 0
Murray, Miss M.	0 2 6	Anonymous	0 2 6
Coates, Esq., W.	5 5 0	Bremner, per Miss	0 2 0
La Brousse, Mrs.	0 6 0	Tremain, Mrs.	0 1 0
Leighfield, Miss M.	1 0 0	Bremner, Mrs.	0 1 0
Larkins, Miss	0 1 0	Hicks, per Miss A.	0 0 0
Finlay, Miss S.	0 5 0	Petersfield Woman Suffrage Society	0 10 4
Lightman, Miss R.	0 2 8	Lecture Fee	1 1 0
Bacon, Miss F.	0 1 0	Collections:	
Fox Bourne, Mrs.	0 10 0	Bremner, per Miss	0 2 8
Solomon, Mrs. S.	0 10 6	Knight, Dr., per Garden Meeting	2 0 0
Swiney, Mrs. F.	0 2 6	Stutcliffe, per Mrs. (drawing room)	0 4 6
Stewart, Mrs. E. K.	0 1 0	Sundry Collections	4 7 2
Whish, Mrs.	0 2 6	Goods sold	0 2 0
Whyte, Mrs. G. M.	0 2 6	Snow, per Mrs. J. E.	
Taylor, Mrs. J.	0 2 0	"Vote" Sales (street)	6 8 0
Thomas, Mrs. M.	0 2 6		
Hamilton, Miss Cicely	0 10 0	Total	£2797 7 11
Weir, Miss E.	0 2 6		
Clayton, Esq., E. G.	0 2 6		
Meal, Mrs. M. J.	0 1 0		
Lobley, Mrs. Tylor	0 10 0		
Sutch, Mrs. E. A.	0 1 0		
Napier, Miss C.	1 0 0		
Despard, Mrs. C.	20 0 0		

PROCESSION DONATIONS TO JUNE 17th.

Amount previously ac-	£ s. d.
knowledged	35 5 3
Carlton Smith, Esq., F.A.	0 1 0
Thomson Price, Mrs.	0 2 5
Riddoch, Miss	0 2 0
Turner, Miss D. (collected)	0 8 0
MacKillys, Miss	0 5 0
Robertson, Mrs. E.	0 2 0
Cope, Mrs.	1 0 0
Turner, Miss M.	0 2 6
Clanchy, Mrs. H.	0 1 0
Le Mesurier, Miss B.	0 5 0
Terry, Mrs.	0 3 0
Hezarty, Esq., J. H.	0 2 6
La Brousse, Mrs.	0 3 0
Rees, Miss E. R.	0 6 0
Pell, Mrs.	0 5 0
Pell, Miss A.	0 1 0
Winterne, Mrs. A. E.	1 0 0
Rose, Mrs. L. A.	0 10 0

J. S. MILL DONATIONS.

Amount previously ac-	£ s. d.
knowledged	27 14 11
Osborne, Miss C.	0 1 0
Campbell, Mrs. D. C.	0 1 0
Browne, Mrs.	0 7 6
Cowen, Mrs.	0 2 0
Seats in carriages	0 15 0

WOMEN IN ART.

The assertion that is sometimes made that women are not good portrait painters is again disproved by the excellent exhibition of portraits now being held at the gallery of the Lyceum Club, 128, Piccadilly, W. The portraits are all by members of the Club, and most of them show vigour and strength. Miss Jessie Macgregor's portraits in oils are especially fine, notably that of Lieut.-General Sir Richard Strachey (lent by Lady Strachey) and the one of Mrs. George Imlach (lent by Mr. Brian Imlach). Other artists who send good and characteristic work are Mrs. Deric Hardy, Ethel Wright, H. Halhed, and Edith Hayes.

On leaving Caxton Hall on Thursday one of our members found so many electors strolling in Hyde Park she could not let slip such a chance of propaganda work. With the aid of a sympathetic bystander, she "took on" a meeting. The resolution was put and carried by a good majority, several men adjuring those present "not to be cowards, but up with their hands." The usual questions were dealt with. About 200 persons were present.

BRANCH NOTES.

London Central Branch.—1, Robert Street, Adelphi.

After the strenuous day we had on the 18th a large attendance was perhaps hardly to be expected at the branch meeting on the 20th, when Mrs. Nevinson spoke about "Women in Municipal Work." From her long experience as Poor Law Guardian (housekeeping on a large scale) she gave us much interesting information, and also as to the Bills passed at various times concerning women on Councils and Education Committees. The next branch meeting will be on July 4th at 7.30, and, as this will probably be the last one of the summer, members are urged to attend, for future plans must be discussed. At 8.15 Mr. Robert Young will address us on "The Essentials of Citizenship." It is hoped members will bring their friends to this meeting. The Central Branch held the usual Sunday outdoor meeting in Regent's Park at midday on the 19th, when the chair was taken by Mrs. de Vismes, Miss Anna Munro being the speaker.—E. G. T.

Herne Hill and Norwood.—32, Geneva Road, Brixton, S.W.

On Sunday, June 19th, a meeting was held in Brockwell Park. The speakers were Miss Maclean and Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett. Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett held the largest crowd we have had this year, and in an eloquent speech referred to the Conciliation Bill, and said that it was futile of Mr. Asquith to deny facilities. If he did the men must see to it that he did not go back to power. We had "drawn the sword from its scabbard, and it should not be sheathed until victory is gained." Many questions were answered. We had a splendid collection, and the crowd seemed loth to move.—A. M.

Crystal Palace and Anerley District.—149, Croydon Road.

The usual open-air meeting was held at the Tram Terminus, Crystal Palace, last Monday. Miss Ethel Fennings (in the absence of Mr. J. J. Kennedy) was the only speaker. She started by a most graphic description of the Women's Procession, and then went on to explain the Conciliation Bill and other points, which so interested her audience that they kept her three-quarters of an hour at the close of her speech answering questions. A good number of copies of THE VOTE were sold, and a collection was taken. Miss Jessie Fennings took the chair.—J. M. F.

Brixton.—32, Wynne Road.

A very good meeting was held at "White Horse" on Monday, when Mrs. Pickering and Mrs. Tanner spoke. The meeting on Wednesday at South Place, Kennington, was most satisfactory. The audience was almost entirely working class, and showed great interest in the speeches. A great many questions were asked, and a dozen copies of THE VOTE sold. Collections were made at both meetings.—K. TANNER.

Willesden and Maida Vale.—15, Creighton Road, Kilburn.

During the last fortnight Miss Munro has been working in this district, and, previous to the procession, open-air meetings were held daily in Willesden, Paddington, and Willesden Green. Miss Munro received a splendid welcome everywhere, and after each meeting many copies of THE VOTE were sold, and people came forward and offered to walk in the Procession. This week the arrangements for a Jumble Sale and a Whist Drive have kept all our members busy. The latter took place on Thursday evening last in Willesden Green. Miss Normanton and Miss Fuller very kindly lent their flat and acted as hostesses. During the interval Miss Munro entertained the visitors with a short speech, dealing mainly with the Conciliation Bill and Mr. Asquith's attitude thereto. The profits, which were considerable, are being sent to the Treasurer of the London Branches' Council. The Jumble Sale is taking place on Monday, July 3rd, at our Branch Rooms, 14, Great Western Road. Will all those who wish to benefit the League, now so urgently in need of funds, kindly send contributions to Mrs. Gosling, 147, Buchanan Gardens, N.W.?—L. BENNETT, Hon. Secretary.

Croydon.—9, Morland Avenue.

Although wet weather on Saturday last prevented a large gathering at our open-air meeting, yet those who listened to the convincing speeches of Mr. and Mrs. Duval evidently approved of all they heard about the great need of "Votes for Women" and the righteousness of the women's claim for political enfranchisement. The meeting lasted nearly two hours, but some of the audience would have remained longer. Miss Fennings took the chair. She briefly referred to the Procession of the 18th inst., and recommended her hearers to buy THE VOTE, and thus become acquainted with the work of the Freedom League. A good many copies of THE VOTE were sold, and a collection was taken.—E. T.

Southall.

In the absence of our Secretary, Mrs. Fielden, on a well-earned holiday, an impromptu open-air meeting was held on Friday evening, the 24th. Miss Cunningham was in the chair. Owing to stormy weather, the attendance was less than usual, but several present commented with pleasure on the good effect of a speech by Mrs. Duval a fortnight ago. On that occasion after the meeting a man called for three cheers for the speaker. On the 24th the resolution was duly put and carried unanimously, the crowd listening most attentively and sympathetically.—M. C.

South Shields.

On Saturday, June 25th, the South Shields Branch arranged a picnic to Durham, inviting the Sunderland Branch to join, the object being to hold an open-air meeting in the Market Place. Miss Clark, of Sunderland, gave an excellent address, which met with a sympathetic hearing; after which Mr. Thompson, the energetic Shields Associate, ably seconded. A good collection was taken, and the stock of VOTES sold very quickly.—E. MILLER.

Ipswich.—160, Norwich Road.

During this week of Parliamentary disappointment we have been heartened by the visit of Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett. We held two very successful garden meetings last Thursday and Friday, one at the residence of Mrs. Pratt, Gramere, Norwich Road, and the other at Highrow, Felixstowe, the residence of Sir Frederick Wilson. Mrs. Hossack presided at both meetings, and Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett made brilliant and informing speeches. Questions were numerous, and a good collection was taken. On Saturday evening we held an open-air meeting on St. Margaret's Plain, when an orderly crowd listened for an hour to Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett's account of our movement. Describing the Women's Freedom League in connection with the Procession, the *East Anglian Daily News* says: "From a spectacular point of view, this was by far the most interesting section, and rarely has London experienced a *coup d'ail* at once more beautiful and more simple than the hundreds of tiny pennons in the League's colours and embroidered with its initials."—CONSTANCE E. ANDREWS.

Manchester and District.—Harper Hill, Sale, Cheshire.

The Manchester Branches were represented in the Procession on June 18th by delegates from the Eccles, Urmston, and Manchester Branches. The new banner was much admired, and appeared in the photographs of the procession in the *Manchester Guardian* and *Liverpool Mercury*. We are much indebted to Mr. George R. Sanders for painting the banner, to Mr. Spencer, who acted as bearer, and to Mrs. Quin for her donation of 10s. towards the cost of materials. I wish also to acknowledge the kind contributions of Mrs. Byles, Mrs. Manning, and Miss Heyes towards the Procession expenses. We are now busy preparing for Miss Eunice Murray's visit (July 11th to 16th), and friends who have drawing-rooms and gardens can serve the cause by putting them at the disposal of the League for that week.—M. E. MANNING.

Last Week's Reports.

From last week a large number of Branch Notices were held over. From *Eastbourne* Mrs. Dilks wrote of successful meetings, at which Miss Ethel Fennings spoke; from *Northern Heights* an account came from Miss Mitchell of a successful Jumble Sale on the 11th, with £6 profit for funds of London Branches Council, and also of a crowded drawing-room meeting, at which Mrs. Despard spoke; from *Crystal Palace and Anerley District* news of a successful garden party at Mrs. Fennings', "The Hermitage," where Mrs. Despard and the Rev. Hugh Chapman were the speakers, and also of the usual Monday meeting at the Tram Terminus; from *Swansea* of a social evening at Chez-Nous, Sketty, and the announcement of a Jumble Sale on the 20th June at Chez-Nous at 6.30; from *Herne Hill and Norwood* of a meeting, where the new Bill was discussed, and volunteers asked for to sell THE VOTE at Brockwell Park.

From *South Yorkshire* accounts came from Miss Gordon of a Sunday meeting in Dewsbury Market Place, at which Mrs. Sproson and Mrs. Best spoke, and also of other meetings in Dewsbury and Batley, at some of which Mrs. Despard came down to speak; from *Brixton* of successful open-air meetings, at which Miss Irene Miller spoke, and where THE VOTE sold well; from *West Sussex* of an open-air meeting at Repton, where Miss E. Cummin was the chief speaker; from Mrs. de Vismes of an open-air meeting in Regent's Park, at which Miss Anna Munro spoke; from *Sheffield* of a meeting at the Darnall Tram Terminus, at which Miss Manning, B.A., spoke on the present political situation; from *Clapham* of a successful drawing-room meeting arranged by Mrs. Sutcliffe.

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MORA PUCKLE.

MARIE ROCHFORD.

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VOTE WEEK.—July 3rd to 10th.

In the pause before the second reading of the Conciliation Bill in the House of Commons it is peculiarly appropriate that the first week in July should be set apart as VOTE WEEK. As Mrs. Holmes said at Caxton Hall last Thursday, pressure, immediate and effective, has to be brought to bear on the Prime Minister, the Cabinet, and every private member in the House. It is now our task to awaken public opinion in the country as it has never been awakened before. The interest engendered by our recent magnificent procession must be followed up and made permanent, or the last chance of immediate victory will slip once again through our fingers.

It is therefore with the utmost confidence in the enthusiasm and whole-hearted devotion of all members of the Freedom League that we ask every member, and everyone who wishes to see a peaceful victory for the woman's cause, to devote every minute they can snatch between July 3rd and 10th to that most excellent form of propaganda the broadcast distributing of THE VOTE, of which a specially interesting issue is in course of preparation.

POSTER PARADES.

From the head office a series of Poster Parades is being planned. The first one will leave Robert Street at 11.30 a.m. on Thursday, June 30th. Will all who can possibly join in this preliminary parade send in their names at once to Miss Kelley, giving further particulars of times and hours that they are willing to devote either to street-selling or to poster-parading? Branches are urged to organise local parades, and Miss Kelley will be pleased to supply any help or advice that may be needed.

MEETINGS.

Branches, both London and Provincial, are asked to turn their ordinary meetings into special VOTE meetings, and to make a great point of selling from the chair or van. A special series of meetings will be run in all the districts, and all speakers are asked to volunteer for two or three meetings (mentioning time, days, and districts most suitable) during the next fortnight. Branches are particularly urged to bring out new speakers during this VOTE campaign. Suggestions as to likely pitches will be welcomed.

STREET SELLING.

Every member in the provinces, suburbs, or Central London is urged to give up a few hours to street-selling, either in her own district or in town, as during this week we are aiming at doubling the circulation of the paper. It is suggested that pitches should be supplied on the picket system, each good one chosen being kept filled by a series of relief sellers for the best part of the day. In this way members with only an occasional half-hour to spare can be certain that it will be employed to good advantage. But we earnestly hope that all members will give a minimum of one hour on at least three days while the campaign lasts.

PITCHES.

All hints as to good pitches, either local or central, will be welcomed by Miss Neilans. The following are suggested:—Paddington, Charing Cross, Waterloo Station, Piccadilly, Oxford Circus, Euston, Strand, Bank, Highbury Corner, Selfridge's, Eustace Miles's, Clapham Junction, Victoria, and any Tube and District Railway station.

Those members who are fully occupied during the day are asked to give a short time between 8 a.m. and 9 a.m. at early morning pitches such as King's Cross, Farringdon Street, Finsbury Park, Moorgate Street, or any tram terminus.

OTHER WAYS OF HELPING.

Different ways of helping to raise the circulation of our paper during VOTE WEEK will occur to different people. Every branch and every individual member can order a certain number of copies beyond the average, and undertake either to sell them or give them away. Gratis copies sent regularly for two or three weeks, followed by a visit, will often result in a new subscriber being secured, and sometimes in a new member being made for the League.

There are still a certain number of 5s. shares in the paper not yet taken up, and much can be done to help the paper by securing new shareholders willing to pay up the full value of the share on allotment.

Several of our members have also hit on the happy idea of showing a VOTE poster outside their private residences. This is an excellent idea, and all who are able to carry it out should apply at once for posters.

All further suggestions for advertising or increasing the circulation of the paper should be sent to Miss Neilans at 1, Robert Street.

WHAT WE ARE SAYING AND DOING.

"If any man is for captivity, into captivity he goeth."—BOOK OF REVELATION, xiii. 10.

** In this column we give W.F.L. news items in tabloid form week by week.

Two Good Pennyworths.

Miss Hicks has added two wonderfully good penny pamphlets to her literature department: "Working Women and the Vote," by John Cameron Grant, covering this most interesting Suffrage ground concisely and well, and "An Open Letter to Mr. Asquith from the Men's League," in which the threads of many Suffrage Societies and the strength of their appeal are gathered up. Owing to the number of requests for the reprint of *M.A.P.* articles exposing the White Slave traffic this is also being stocked.

Concerning Prisoners and Picketers.

Our apologies are offered to Mrs. Duval, whose name appeared in last week's VOTE as having served two sentences in Holloway. It will be well remembered how Mrs. Duval was arrested and sent to serve a third sentence of six weeks, when it had been absolutely proved that she was returning quietly home. We also regret that the names of the following were omitted from the Prisoners' Section: Miss Mary Pearson, Miss Nora Vernon, and Mrs. Fanny Dempsey. Mrs. de Vismes also sends a correction. The House of Commons was picketed for sixteen weeks, not twenty-two, as stated in Miss Chapin's letter.

State Harmony.

Speaking at a garden meeting at Mrs. Fennings', at Anerley, where Mr. Hugh Chapman also spoke, one day last week, Mrs. Despard said that the "Vote" simply meant the "voice" to be used in what should be the great harmony of the State. She was afraid that there was far more discord at the present moment than harmony, and something was evidently wanted to make it more harmonious.

Mrs. Chapin's Matinee.

Mrs. Chapin reminds us of her matinee for the benefit of our funds at the Rehearsal Theatre on July 8th, and also of the fact that Mr. George Bernard Shaw's "Press Cuttings" will be played. All tickets should be purchased beforehand, as no money will be taken at the door. The tickets are going well. "A Modern Medea," by Mrs. Chapin, and a one-act drama, "Shame," will also be performed. Tea will be provided free, and our good friend Miss Edith Craig will produce both plays.

Tax Resistance.

A Clapton member of the W.F.L. and Women's Tax Resistance Society, who has several times refused payment of Imperial taxes, again expects to have her goods seized and sold by public auction. A procession and protest meeting (open air) are being arranged by the latter society to take place at the time of the sale. All sympathisers are urged to take part in this demonstration, and to send their names and addresses at once to Mrs. Kineton Parkes, 72, Hillfield Road, Hampstead, N.W., and she will, immediately on the announcement of the sale, give them full details as to time and place.

Whist Drive at 1, Robert Street.

A most enjoyable whist drive in aid of the funds of the London Branches Council was given on Friday last at 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, at which Mrs. Fisher acted as hostess. There were three winners of the booby prize, which was a photo of Mr. Asquith. It was cut in three, but even in this disintegrated form no one would accept a portion.

"Out of the Mouths of Babes."

A meeting of youthful Suffragists was held on Sunday last at Wetherden, Suffolk. The chair was taken by Peter Kemp Tippet (aged six). The speakers were Gordon Oxbarge Tippet (aged eight) and Michael Kemp Tippet (aged five). The speakers put the matter forcibly, stating that their mummies had worked hard for the Vote, that they were little better than slaves, and that they ought to get it at once, and everybody should help. Questions were asked, and to one, "Why were women needed in the house?" (a statement that had been made in one of the speeches), the answer was, "Because it would be so lonely without them." The meeting was of a democratic nature, some of the village children being invited. A collection of 5s. 5d. was taken, which they sent with much pleasure to the Women's Freedom League.

WOMEN AT WORK.

[This New Series will deal with the work of successful Women Suffragists.]

(3).—MADAME CROSS.



MADAME CROSS.

though she does not look forty. Believing strongly in the rights of woman, she fails to understand why the ordinary male mind should even still associate a certain dowdiness and "lack of complexion" with the name of Suffragist or Suffragette.

"How did I start making my preparations? Well, I began testing ingredients in my father's laboratory many years ago, and I made several useful discoveries of materials which acted beneficially on the skin and were perfectly harmless. I used to make up these things for myself, and when I went abroad—I was travelling about for fifteen years—I was constantly on the look-out for improvements and suggestions for new preparations. It was only gradually that the idea of making a profession of dermatology came to me. I found that my friends were continually asking me for more of some preparation that I had given them, and it occurred to me that what had found so much favour with them might benefit also a large circle of women who dislike the idea of make-up and yet most regretfully see their youth slipping away from them. And that was how I came to start as a toilet specialist.

"There are so many women earning their own living at the present moment—women who have to be out and about in all weathers, and to whom their appearance means a good deal. Too old at forty is just as true for women as for men, and for this reason something that will keep the skin from chapping in cold weather and burning in hot weather is necessary. For this purpose my beauty-cream is intended. I have been using it myself for many years, and you can see the result." (Madame Cross's skin was as clear and smooth as that of a young girl.) "It is wise to begin its use young, before blemishes appear; I used it on my daughter when she was a baby. A number of my clients who have been using it themselves, and finding its wonderful preservative powers, are using it also on their children. I nearly always have two generations of clients—mothers and daughters—and whatever may be said about beauty being skin-deep, it is an excellent weapon both in everyday life and the industrial world. Men don't want sallow, unattractive wives; and employers, whether they are men or women, naturally prefer healthy, good-looking people to work for them.

"Anything that gives an artificial appearance must be avoided. I am using at the present moment the contents of my beauty-box, and yet you would not notice anything that suggested cosmetics. The reason is that my preparations are invisible—they delay the signs of age, and they preserve youth.

"A good many women suffer from the effect of the London water; its hardness is most damaging to a delicate skin. I have found a delightfully fragrant bath crystal, which I manufacture myself. It softens the water and keeps it from having any injurious effect on the skin."

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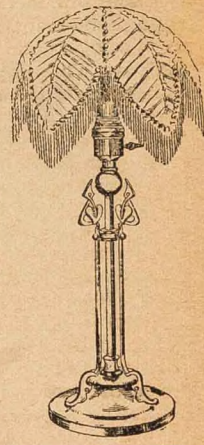
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(These crystals have been used by a number of our members, and found delightfully fragrant and their softening powers wonderful.)

"I think a woman owes a duty to herself to retain her youth as long as possible, but as I said before the use of cosmetics which give an artificial appearance to the user are a mistake. They deceive nobody, unless, perhaps, the woman who uses them. Electrolysis I also perform, and all my operations are permanent and painless. Nowadays there is absolutely no reason why any woman should allow any accidental defect to become permanent."

The fact that with her own assistants Madame Cross makes all the preparations which have earned her such a world-wide reputation argues much for their purity. Out of many hundreds of letters Madame Cross showed her interviewer, one of the most interesting was from a woman who since her early youth had resigned herself to "being ugly," as she termed it, but found new life and looks in the wonderful little beauty-box Madame turns out.

"You are a strong Suffragist, Madame Cross?"

"I am, because I believe in the ideal marriage. Once women are on an equality with men they will have a better chance of happier marriages; they will marry for real love, and not for a home. And real love can only exist between equals."

101 POINTS IN FAVOUR OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

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

25.—"Moral Influence" ought, according to our objectors, to take the place with women of a vote. But the vote is the only means by which moral influence can be justly and fairly exerted by women. Moral influence of any other kind would be actively and politically immoral.

If moral influence is to take the place of the vote effectively it means that women must control the men's vote—must virtually exercise the franchise indirectly by back-door influence. Bad as it is that one sex should rule the other, it is infinitely worse that it should rule indirectly: it is degrading alike to the woman who practises it and to the man who lets himself be wheedled out of his birthright of liberty.—E. J. D. MORRISON, M.A.

UNEMPLOYED WOMEN.

Our speakers have continually pointed out the injustice practised by Mr. John Burns towards the unemployed women, and the inequitable administration of the Unemployed Act of 1905. Within the last few days we notice that Mrs. Tennant, the chairman of the Women's Work Committee, is writing to the Press that the three workrooms directed by the Central (Unemployed) Body for London are in danger of being closed for want of funds, while 600 women are seeking admission. Mrs. Tennant says: "For nearly four years the workrooms have had a precarious existence, financed partly by Local Government Board grants, partly by the voluntary fund of the Central Body, partly by the proceeds from their own sales, and partly by the generosity of the public response to my appeal in 1908." And further: "The loss of the expected work would be a calamity to these unemployed women, most of whom have been waiting and hoping for its opportunities for many weeks, and most of whom are widows with young dependent children. Admission to the workrooms brings them an assurance of sixteen weeks' employment for themselves and food for their children." It is a great shame that the public should be asked to do out of their private purse what should be done out of the State purse. Women are taxed equally with men, and surely it should not be only for the benefit of the unemployed man? Mr. John Burns's heart automatically bleeds for the unemployed elector, but in response to a question from Mr. Will Thorne, referring to Mrs. Tennant's letter, he callously declared that out of the £200,000 voted by Parliament in aid of the Unemployed Workmen Act, £500 had been set apart for the women, and he was not empowered to make further grants.

If the Government even had the instinct of "house-keeping," they could run these workrooms to be self-supporting by giving them Government contracts—and there is no work for unemployed men of which this could be said. But the persistent "downing" of women blinds them even in a matter which might be profitable to the State as well as to the starving women.

SPECIAL CAMPAIGNS.

The Hartlepool Bye-election.

We finished our campaign in the Hartlepool on Tuesday, the 21st, with a meeting for women only in Church Square Schools. Mrs. Gordon gave a very interesting address, explaining the objects and methods of the League. Altogether the meeting was a great success, and the women were very enthusiastic, and asked question after question. A good collection was taken, and a number of VOTES were sold. Four new members were enrolled.

According to the *North Daily Mail* for Tuesday, the 21st, a number of ballot papers were spoilt by having "Votes for Women" across them. Perhaps the men in the Hartlepool are beginning to learn their duty to the women.—EVELYN CRESSY.

Portsmouth Campaign.

Mrs. Whitton and I, having been appointed their delegates by the Gosport and the Portsmouth members of the W.F.L., were received on Wednesday by Lord Charles Beresford, on Saturday morning by Mr. Arthur Lee, and in the afternoon by Mr. Falle. We found all three gentlemen in a doubtful state of mind. They could give no promises, but would be guided by what was said in the House. Lord Charles feared the Conciliation Bill as "the thin end of the wedge." Mr. Lee talked of India (!), and Mr. Falle feared a preponderance of women in Parliament in some remote period of the future. Why it should be feared, or exactly why it should occur, we could not quite understand. Lord Charles, comparing us with the "antis," paid us the compliment of saying we were out for a great principle, and did not contradict me when I suggested that the "antis" motive was "pure cussedness." Mr. Falle told us that if he were convinced that Women's Votes could better the condition of the starving slum children he would be ready to give us the Vote to-morrow. We have held meetings on Tuesday in Alverstoke Village, on Wednesday, on Gosport Hard, and on Friday in the Town Hall Square. Mrs. Bremner is supplying THE VOTE to the four public libraries in Portsmouth, and has offered to send it to the Gosport Library, but the librarian has not yet replied to the offer.—EDITH A. BREMNER.

Yorkshire Touring Campaign.

Mrs. Gordon and I left Hartlepool on Wednesday for a walking tour through the dales and moors of Yorks. On Wednesday we arrived at Whitby, but there was no enthusiasm to be aroused, and on Friday set out for a twenty-one-mile

walk across the moors to Pickering. After walking about ten miles through the rain, on Saturday we held a meeting in the Market Place, where we had a fairly large and sympathetic audience. After the meeting we sold about twenty-four copies of THE VOTE. Next week we are going to Kirkby Moorside, Helmsley, and New Malton. We shall hold meetings on the market day of each town.—E. CRESSY.

OTHER SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

Conservative Women's Franchise Association.

The annual reception of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association is taking place next Friday, July 1st, at the Wharnclyffe Rooms, 3.30 p.m. to 5.30 p.m. The Countess of Selborne (President) will be in the chair, and Lady Willoughby de Eresby will receive the guests. Amongst the speakers will be the Lady Betty Balfour, the Lady Knightley, of Fawsley, Mrs. Percy Boulnois, Lord Robert Cecil, K.C., and the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore. A few cards of invitation can still be obtained on application to Mrs. Gilbert Samuel, 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W.

Women Writers' Suffrage League.

The annual meeting of the Women Writers' Suffrage League was held on Monday, 20th inst. After the usual business, the Chairman called upon Mrs. Greenwood to move the following resolution: "That in future the Women Writers' Suffrage League be entitled 'The Writers' Suffrage League.'" In support of this proposal, Mrs. Greenwood spoke of the splendid work done in the past by men writers, and mentioned the following names as those of great men who had supported the movement in the past: George Meredith, the late Lord Chief Justice Coleridge, Longfellow, Abraham Lincoln, John Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Professor Huxley, Charles Kingsley, and James Freeman Clarke. Mrs. Waldemar Leverton seconded Mrs. Greenwood's proposal. An amendment was moved by Mrs. Nevinson, "That in future men might become associates of the Women Writers' League." This amendment was seconded by Mrs. Carmichael Stokes, and was carried with only two dissentients. The original resolution was then put, and only voted for by the mover and seconder; and the amendment was then put again as a substantive resolution and carried with only the two dissentients already mentioned.

Last week Miss Fennings wrote to tell us that she and her sister had sold 129 copies of the current number of THE VOTE that week. During VOTE Week everyone ought to try to beat this splendid record.

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YVETTE GUILBERT'S VIEWS ON SUFFRAGE.

"The Vote is not all; it is but the beginning of great things for woman. It would give us—how you say, solidarity? Oui! It would enable us to stand together strongly and prevent so many women working so hard for so little money. Take the theatre: the Vote would forbid managers in the French provinces making actresses work from six o'clock to midnight, playing in all kinds of pieces, for four or five francs a night. It would not allow what you call the show lady to get only two francs a night in Paris, for that kind of pay means dreadful things.

"So poorly paid are many of our really clever actresses that I have founded in Paris an organisation which I call 'Le Vestiaire du Theatre,' and its aim is to provide ladies with dresses so that they may be able to get good work. In two years I have helped in this way more than four hundred and fifty ladies, who, but for suitable stage wardrobes, would not have been able to get work. I want to defend our profession, to enable all actresses to earn enough money to live respectably, and to stop the abuse of the weakness of women. I am glad to find that the conditions of the theatre are much better in England.

"You men need not be afraid of petticoat government," went on Madame Guilbert, with a laugh, "it is nothing—no argument. The trousers do not make the mind! The man who is an imbecile may have a vote, but the clever woman may not."—*The Daily Sketch*.

"THE VOTE" DIRECTORY.

(For Addresses see Advertisements near reading-matter and on Cover.)

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The Only Way (organ of Edinburgh University Women's Suffrage Society and of Edinburgh Branch of the S.U.W.S.U.). An excellent second number to a first-rate first number. In an "Exhortation to Scots Members of Parliament" we find:

"Stan' forth and tell yon Premier straight
That he is gaein' an ill gait;
Tell him the weemen canna wait
Till he's convertit.
He'll hae tae yield, suner or later—
'Tis time he startit."

There is a pleasant strength about the matter in the paper that shows the Edinburgh ladies are well able to express their views.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

Sun., July 3, to Sun., July 10.—VOTE WEEK EVERYWHERE.

LONDON.

- THURS., JUNE 30TH.—Caxton Hall.** Chair, Mrs. Huntsman. Mrs. Sproson, "The Working Woman's Point of View"; Mr. O'Dell, Shakespeare's Women." Finchley, 8 p.m. Miss Marguerite Sidley. Highbury Corner, 7.30. Mrs. H. W. Nevinson. East Finchley, Corner of Beresford Road, 8 p.m. Miss Benett.
- FRI., JULY 1.—1, Robert Street,** 8 p.m. Speakers' Class, Mrs. Chapin.
- SAT., JULY 2ND.—42, Parkhill Road, Hampstead.** Mrs. Thomson-Price's Garden Meeting, 3 to 6. Mrs. Holmes, Miss Benett, Miss Hicks. Croydon. Thornton Heath Clock, 7.30 p.m.
- SUN., JULY 3RD.—Finsbury Park,** 11.30 a.m. Wandsworth Common, 12. Regent's Park, 12. Brockwell Park, 6 p.m. Mrs. Manson and Miss Bradfield. Battersea Park, 3.30 p.m.
- MON., JULY 4TH.—1, Robert Street,** 7.30 p.m. Central Branch Members; 8.15 p.m., Public Meeting—Mr. Robert Young on "The Essentials of Citizenship." Hornsey Fire Station, 8.15. Miss Norris, Miss Eggett. White Horse, Brixton. Crystal Palace Tram Terminus, 8 p.m. Mr. and Mrs. Duval.
- TUES., JULY 5TH.—Hampstead Heath,** 7.45, Miss Weir. Highbury Corner, 7.30, Mrs. Tanner.
- WED., JULY 6TH.—Clapham.** Members' Meeting, 8 p.m., at 31, Rush Hill Road. South Place, Kennington, at 8 p.m.
- THURS., JULY 7TH.—East Finchley,** corner of Beresford Road, 8 p.m. Miss Hicks, M.A. 1, Robert Street, 6.45 p.m. London Branches Council. Highbury Corner, 7.30. Rushcroft Road, 8 p.m.
- FRI., JULY 8TH.—Rehearsal Theatre,** Maiden Lane, Strand. Mrs. and Miss Chapin's Matinée, arranged by Miss Edith Craig. Tickets 5s., 2s. 6d., 2s., at the W.F.L. Office.
- SUN., JULY 10TH.—Finsbury Park,** 11.30. Regent's Park, 12. Mrs. H. W. Nevinson. Wandsworth Common, 12. Battersea Park, 3.30.
- MON., JULY 11TH.—Crystal Palace Tram Terminus,** 8 p.m., Miss Alison Neilans. Hornsey Fire Station, 8.15. Mrs. H. W. Nevinson.

THE PROVINCES.

- Portsmouth Meetings.**
- THURS., JUNE 30TH.—Mrs. Turner's Drawing-room,** 74, Whitworth Road, Gosport.
- FRI., JULY 1ST.—Sultan Road,** 8 p.m.
- MON., JULY 4TH.—Town Hall Square,** 8 p.m.
- TUES., JULY 5TH.—Alverstoke Village,** 8 p.m.
- WED., JULY 6TH.—Gosport Hard,** 8 p.m.
- FRI., JULY 8TH.—Chichester Road,** 8 p.m.

IRELAND.

- Portrush.**
- Ramore Hill every evening at 8.30.
Bath Terrace, every afternoon at 12.15.
- WALES.**
- WED., JULY 6TH.—Swansea.** Chez-Nous, Sketty, Tennis, 6 p.m.—Speaker, Miss Neal, 8 p.m.

Ireland.—Windsor Cottage, Portrush.

Some considerable excitement, interest, and sympathy has been created by our open-air meetings in Portrush, crowded audiences listening with interest each night. On Wednesday night the chair was taken for us by Mrs. H. J. Robinson, P.L.G., who with several other ladies had gone to London for the great Procession, and promised on her return to give us an account of the proceedings from the chair. Our thanks are due to the many friends who have given us sympathy and encouragement. Sales have been extremely good.—K. J. COVLE.

Mrs. de Vismes writes that she had a very large outdoor meeting on Sunday last at Regent's Park. Mrs. Hyde appealed to all present to write to their members urging them to support the Conciliation Bill and bring pressure to bear on the Government to grant facilities. Mr. Bowden Smith, of the Men's League, also spoke. At the close of the meeting two sympathisers, who had a copy of THE VOTE given them, gave 10s. to have it sent to a friend in St. Petersburg each week.