

Women's Franchise.

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FAWCETT COLLECTION

Why I Became a "Suffragette."

WRITTEN IN HOLLOWAY BY MRS. DESPARD.

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To Our Readers.

WE desire, in this first number, to reiterate what we said in our preliminary issue—that this paper has been promoted primarily with the idea of advancing the cause of Women's Suffrage, but that it has its genesis in an ardent desire that truth may prevail, and we wish at once to assure our readers that our columns will be as open to intelligent objectors as to warm sympathizers. We are faced with the fact that up to the present the intelligent opposition has not made itself felt. We hope that such objectors (if any) will give expression to their views, so that their arguments may be endorsed or refuted. It is a recognized fact that to give publicity to any cause will, if that cause be ephemeral, but hasten its extinction, and will equally, if that cause be just, hasten its consummation.

Our readers will now, for the first time, have an opportunity of hearing all sides of the question, the more so in that we have been fortunate enough to secure the enthusiastic co-operation of Societies, whose tactics differ, though all are working for the furtherance of what is, after all, their common object.

The immediate need for a publication of this kind is brought about by the recent cessation of two papers which had given publicity to the Suffrage movement. Other plans are being formulated, but our object is to fill a breach as worthily as lies in our power. One Society, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, has arranged for the publication of an organ of its own—a monthly magazine—to appear in October. It will then be for the readers of this journal and the other Societies herein represented to decide whether there is any necessity for our continuance. With this idea subscriptions are only being taken for the quarter July to September. While regretting that many who have asked have not been able to be supplied with our preliminary issue, we cannot but be glad that the necessity is thus apparent of a considerably larger printing. In order to emphasize the fact that this journal is not being promoted with commercial aims, the proprietors undertake that any profits which there may be shall be allocated to the Societies which give their support.

It was Shelley who first awoke me. That was long ago, when I was a mere girl. There fell into my hands that marvellous poem 'The Revolt of Islam,' which affected me as a light kindled suddenly in a dark place. I knew nothing then about political economy, but I knew that oppression was strong in the world. I became a rebel.

Mazzini was my next master. I read his political essays, vibrant with truth and wisdom, and Democracy became a living word to me.

I remember how, even in those days, I felt, with hot indignation, the disabilities of women. In the midst of a conventional circle I was continually seeking to find expression for the force that was in me, trying to learn, asking to serve, with my life in my hand ready to offer and no one wanting it. I must not, I was told, pursue certain studies—they were for boys—I must not be so downright, it was unladylike. Heaven had decreed that I should be a woman, and (it would sometimes be added) a privileged woman. I must prove my gratitude by gentleness, obedience, and submission.

Gratitude! There were moments in my hot youth, when I would rail against Heaven for having made me a woman. What might I not have been; what might I not have done had I had the freedom and intellectual advantages so largely accorded to men? So, at least, I thought. And, meantime, the great movements of the world were affecting my intellectual and spiritual life. Could I, in my early womanhood, have transported myself to Italy or Russia, I should certainly have been an ardent revolutionist. But I was English. I had been brought up in the dear old superstition of my fathers, that English men and women are free, and that, here, there is no need of revolution.

Then I married, happily, in the sense that my freedom in that relation, often so difficult, was always respected.

As now I look back (and my close cell in Holloway gives me time for thought and haunting memories) it seems to me, that throughout my life I have been seeking for something which I have only found in these last few years.

I thought for some time to find the thing I sought in Liberalism. With my husband I was an admirer and follower of Gladstone, and we were jubilant over sundry reforms which would, we hoped, bring in the golden year of social regeneration. But Governments came and went, and election succeeded to election and nothing of much value seemed to come of them. Like many another woman I soothed my disappointment and expended my superfluous energies in taking up all sorts of causes—sweated women workers, crèches in poor districts for little children, inspection of factories, temperance. For many years I was in friendly relation with the working district in London, which is now my home. I had then a beautiful Surrey garden and weekly, during the summer, I used to take up hampers of flowers to distribute amongst the women, and I made many friends. Both men and women, indeed, would consult me about their difficulties and thus, even in those days, I came to know something of the inner life and history of these London workers. My husband had a much better head for law than many a trained lawyer. Very often we would discuss these hard problems together, and he would help me with his advice. I well remember how glad we both were on behalf of some of our most hardly treated friends when the Married Woman's Property Act was passed. "Tell your friend," he said (the case was that of a woman who, on account of a brutal husband twice robbing her

of her earnings, was obliged to live and work in secret), "that from to-day she is free to make her own life."

My husband's health failed. I was obliged to spend the greater part of several years away from England; but I still kept in touch with the friends I had made amongst the workers of South London, and when I became a widow I went to live amongst them.

It was during that time that I entered upon my apprenticeship to the Poor Law.

I am not writing my biography; I will not, therefore, enter into the story of those years, momentous to me from many points of view, which I spent in the service of the poor of Lambeth, as a guardian of their interests. I mention the circumstance because the Poor Law was one of the stages through which I have arrived, necessarily I think, at my present position, one of the reasons for my three weeks' sojourn in Holloway prison.

Intellectually, I was inspired in two ways by the Poor Law. The hopelessness of the whole business and the ocean of misery through which I was compelled to wade made me search desperately for some remedy. Party politics held out no hope. I saw the terrible problem of the people's necessities played with. I heard promises made to them which I knew would not be fulfilled. Hot with helpless indignation I beheld their urgent needs, turned into party cries, used for election purposes. At last, sick of all these, I determined to study for myself the great problems of society. My study landed me in uncompromising Socialism. This was one result of my Poor Law training.

The other was a deeper love, and, no doubt, a fuller understanding of my sister women—those who, in discouragement, nay, sometimes in despair, are struggling with Social problems; and those who slave all their lives long for the community—some as shop, factory, and domestic slaves, earning barely a subsistence and thrown aside to death or the parish when they are no longer profitable; some as mothers, bearing and rearing children, seeing them go forth to their work in the world, and spending their own last years lonely and unconsidered in the cheerless wards of a workhouse. These I tried to help, tried all I knew; but alas! how futile were my efforts! Turn which way I would, I knocked my head against a law to which neither my sisters nor I had consented, and which, though we were bound to obey it (at the risk of being where I am to-day) we had no chance of getting altered. The thought of all this nearly made me wild.

(To be concluded.)

Action!

At a recent election, one of our members of Parliament brought forward as an argument against giving women the suffrage, that they are too pure for politics. With the inconsistency, which one is beginning to regard as the prerogative of our statesmen, he proceeded to make an urgent appeal to the ladies present to come out and canvass for him, and instantly my thoughts flew to a speech delivered almost a century ago by that champion and spokesman of national and popular liberty—George Canning. It was made after an election on June 23, 1818:—

"You know how much I owed of the unexampled success which attended my first election to the female part of the inhabitants of Liverpool; know, also, how gratefully I acknowledged the obligation; and if I have hitherto neglected to renew those acknowledgments, the minority on the poll of this day would be a sufficient hint to remind me of my fault. But however remiss I have been here, I have not been forgetful, elsewhere, of the claims of the female world to due participation in matters of election. Of the plans of parliamentary reform on which, in my place in Parliament, I have had occasion to comment, I have commented on none with more indignation and rebuke than on that, which admitting the whole male population to a vote, presumptuously excluded women from a right of suffrage, falsely denominated universal. . . . There is one pledge, which I am quite ready to give, and which I trust they will think satisfactory—that I never will consent to any plan of universal suffrage in which they are not included."

He concluded by counselling his friends that "though the day had not arrived on which ladies were allowed to

come forward in their own persons to the bar, they were to take them into their councils, and to rely upon their advice and influence."

In these days, when women, who assist in bearing the burdens of citizenship, are working and striving, probably harder than they have ever done, to share its privileges, this speech of Canning's will come as a welcome reminder that all men are not so lacking in the elements of justice and chivalry as our modern M.P. would seem to be, and as an incentive to yet further action.

The newspapers and literature of this century and the last are full of letters and opinions from the best men and women dealing with and upholding the justice of the women's cause, and Mrs. Mill, in her article on 'The Enfranchisement of Women,' tells us that "great thinkers, from Plato to Condorcet, have made emphatic protests in favour of the equality of women."

Mazzini said: "Is the question of Woman's Suffrage any less sacred than that of the abolition of slavery in America, or of serfdom elsewhere?"

Talleyrand, who was, in a sense, a fellow-sufferer, since he had been excluded from the rights of primogeniture merely by reason of his lameness, observed

"that to see one half of the human race excluded by the other from all participation in Government, is a political phenomenon that on abstract principles it is impossible to explain."

From the Prime Minister to the man in the street, it is acknowledged that to debar women from exercising her rights of citizenship is unjust, impolitic, and detrimental to the State. We have men who say with Dr. T. C. Fry, head master of Berkhamsted School, that

"some great moral questions will never be settled without woman's franchise. 'The swing of the pendulum' constantly going on, proves that amongst men the moral force in politics is largely exhausted. We want some new reinforcement to tell the bigot, and the selfish, and the luxurious, and the mere man, that his loud professions of social reform are just insincere."

And others who agree with that famous modern philosopher Prof. Bernard Bosanquet that

"the Franchise ought to be granted to women on the main ground that the nation is a loser when a very large number of experienced and capable citizens, *ipso facto* specialists, as compared with men on many subjects of the first social importance, are not allowed to support their judgment and advice by voting power."

But so far, although the voices of women of all nations, mingled here and there with the full and sonorous notes of a male accompaniment, are calling aloud to the over-cautious, the unthinking, the do-nothing people of to-day in the words in which Mazzini called to the people of Italy: "Action! the State cries for it, so do the best men and people of her cities. Come out and help us!" no Canning or Wilberforce has arisen to answer our cry and to take action on our behalf.

EILEEN MITCHELL.

The Women's Franchise Declaration Committee in Kensington.

MRS. PERCY ALDRED HARRIS gave an evening At Home to her friends in the interests of the above Committee on Wednesday, June 26th last.

Mr. Percy Aldred Harris, L.C.C., presided. Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss Clementina Black, and Surgeon-General Evatt were the speakers.

Surgeon-General Evatt declared that, for the sake of the men of the next generation, he would insist on women having the vote, whether they asked for it or not.

An interesting discussion followed, and afterwards the guests gathered in groups round the refreshment tables, and various aspects of the suffrage question were discussed to the accompaniment of the Ladies' Aeolian Orchestra, which played during the evening.

Many of those present who had not already signed the declaration added their names after the speeches.

Unique Garden Party in Lower Clapton.

ALL SORTS AND CONDITIONS OF SUFFRAGISTS AT WORK AND PLAY TOGETHER.

A GARDEN PARTY took place on Friday evening last at 56, Kenninghall Road, Lower Clapton. The host and hostess were the Rev. and Mrs. Fleming Williams, the Chairman Mr. Hart Davies, M.P. for North Hackney, and the speakers Mrs. Pember Reeves, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Sadd Brown, Secretary of North Hackney Women's Liberal Association.

Mr. Hart Davies, a Liberal member of Parliament, advised the women to seek to turn out the Government candidates at bye-elections, as in political life things were very seldom done because they were right. It was only when their place and power were bound up with its success that the members discovered the virtue in any cause. The opposition to Women's Suffrage did not really spring from the right or wrong, or the expediency or in expediency of the question. The idea was new, and the English people were naturally conservative. That was the only reason why people did not believe in it. He himself had strongly supported Women's Suffrage ever since, as an undergraduate at Oxford, he had read John Stuart Mill's 'Subjection of Women,' which he considered one of the most convincing pieces of literature in the English language.

Mrs. Pember Reeves made a graceful speech in which she clearly showed what the effects of the women's vote had been in New Zealand. So far from taking the women out of the home, it had brought the men into the home. The women said that they had more to talk about to their husbands than they had ever had before; the men had found that it was no longer necessary to go to the public house to enjoy conversation and discuss their interests, and the whole people were realizing that public business belongs to the home. So great a political awakening had the women's vote brought about, that the percentage of men who used their franchise had risen, as a consequence, from somewhere in the sixties to the nineties. But it was on the children that the emancipation of the women would probably have the most beneficial effect. The children were the first charge on the Government of a country, and this principle it was that the women were beginning to see and act on.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence expatiated on the isolation of women in their homes and the obligations they had always had to fulfil. Under these circumstances they had been obliged to get what they wanted by coaxing, flattery, looking their best, frowning, feigning ignorance, or otherwise acting a part. But they had been compelled to enter into modern political and industrial competition, and in that sphere they had found that these methods were not the rule of the game. And they were thankful to have done with the indirect methods, though by adopting the direct means they lost the favour of the world, the smile of society, and the approval of men. By working politically for the other sex they suffered no social loss, but by working politically for their own they incurred much disfavour. But it must be understood that the women's direct methods involved no animosity towards the Liberal Government. The women were merely pursuing an independent policy which the Welsh Nonconformists, dissatisfied at the neglect of their Church Disestablishment Bill, had done them the honour of imitating, with excellent results.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst testified to the remarkably rapid progress that the Women's Suffrage movement is making all over the country. "We have lighted a candle," she said, "that will never go out till we get the vote." The Prime Minister and Mr. Winston Churchill had lately been eulogizing the passive resisters. The former had protested that the salt of the earth should not have been allowed to languish in gaol (laughter). She thought it would be only appropriate if the Suffragists were included in that description. But the House of Commons did not recognize the existence of women at all. If they wanted the will of the people to prevail, they would admit the responsible women of the nation to a share in the Government. To working women the franchise was of the utmost importance because no

one but themselves could work out their industrial salvation, and they must be so educated, so self-respecting, and so determined that they would make a stand for their rights. Let the women abandon party interests, and together lift the flag of votes for women, and they would carry it to victory.

Mr. Fleming Williams confessed, as Miss Pankhurst sat down, that he had been a little anxious about inviting women into his garden who had dared to wave a flag at a political meeting, but his fears had been entirely dispelled by their presence. He had been very affable all the evening because he had thought that at least he would do nothing to provoke them, but now he really thought these precautions were unnecessary.

The more serious part of the meeting closed with a short speech from Mrs. Sadd Brown, who proposed a vote of thanks to the clerk of the weather for having bestowed the single fine day of the week on the Hackney Suffrage garden party.

In Other Lands.

A LETTER has been received by Miss Palliser from the President of the Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Town, stating that the League was inaugurated there on April 17th at a public meeting at the Young Women's Christian Association by Mrs. Julia Solly.

This is the first Women's Suffrage society started in Cape Colony. The Women's Christian Temperance Union had a Women's Suffrage department, and it was through this that the Women's Enfranchisement League was formed.

It is a non-party organization. The committee of twelve being composed of persons of varied political opinions. There is a society also in Natal which was started in Durban about three years ago.

ONE of the happiest features of the Women's Movement is its appearance and growth in what seemed the most unpromising countries. In Pekin, for instance, the widow

China. of a Chinese official is carrying on a Woman's Paper, which is mainly devoted to the discussion of women's interests. The excellence of its other contents, however—its foreign and general news, criticisms, &c.—causes it to be read eagerly by men as well as women, and it thus forms a valuable means of awakening general interest in the subject.

THE Land of the Nile, too, is beginning to educate its women, and has just welcomed its first girl graduate, the B.A. degree having been recently gained by a Moslem girl student. Within the last few years female education has made great strides in Egypt, which now boasts of seven Government schools for girls, the teachers of which have been trained in the Women's Normal School at Bonlak.

FRENCHWOMEN have founded a club, called "La Solidarité des Femmes," with a view to the proper organization of the suffrage effort in France. Last year, in the

France. French Chamber, on the opening day, leaflets were thrown among the deputies by women in the gallery. In December a deputation waited on the Cabinet to explain the views of women on the subject of enfranchisement. This deputation met with a courteous reception, and the answer given was not altogether unfavourable. Last week the Paris women organized a demonstration. They went in procession to the Palais Bourbon, the French House of Commons, carrying flags inscribed with the words "Suffrage des Femmes." Each wore a badge initialled "S.F." The deputation had an interview with M. Jaures, but were unable to put their case before M. Clemenceau, the Premier, owing to his absence.

NORWAY has followed Finland's lead, and has enfranchised its women. This reform was not initiated without a struggle;

but the Bill itself was carried by a very substantial majority—96 votes to 25. The terms of the measure grant citizenship and the franchise to women under the same conditions as now exist at municipal elections—that is to say, the women themselves or their husbands must have paid taxes for the year on an income of 2*l.* at least. The age limit is twenty-five. It is estimated that the electorate will be increased by 300,000 as a result of this reform—that is to say, women voters will be in the minority. At the last census, taken in 1903, the male electorate numbered 459,000.

THE lobbies of the Reichsrath this morning presented the aspect of a "ladies' day," owing to their invasion by a powerful deputation, armed with a couple of petitions in favour of allowing women membership of political associations and the franchise. No members were permitted to pass without energetic or plaintive pleading for signature. The deputation met with pretty general success, though the deputies generally added the advice that the women should content themselves with the first point.

Standard, June 20.

** Next week will appear 'A GLIMPSE INTO RUSSIA,' by A. Pogosky.

The Hope in Co-Education.

THE opening of St. George's School at Harpenden is a reminder that every fresh co-educational experiment is a step forward in the direction of Women's Suffrage. It is impossible that a girl accustomed to share her brother's work and even, to an extent, his play and his hobbies, should be able to adopt the view that she is an entirely inferior creature. Her physical inferiority she will recognize, but she will recognize as well compensating superiorities; and it is extremely unlikely that she will emerge from school with the feeling that she is more unworthy of sharing in the duties of citizenship than her brother. The number of real co-education schools in this country is small at present, but the movement in favour of these schools has such friends that it is safe to predict its vigorous growth, provided always that it can be safeguarded against unwise legislative interference. If the systematising of secondary education, which is bound to come, should follow lines in any way similar to elementary education, it would be a serious matter for co-education. For the Education Act of 1870 swept away the dame schools where boys and girls sat side by side on the same benches, and established in their place state-aided schools, in which boys and girls are taught separately—a return to the unwholesome, because unnatural, monastic idea.

"Man's Sphere."

MRS. STOPES'S new book, which is shortly to be published, bears the title 'The Sphere of "Man" in relation to that of "Woman" in the Constitution.' The book aims at showing that it is really owing to a deficiency in the English language that English women are at present suffering from disenfranchisement. Lord Brougham's Act of 1850 enacted that "the word 'man' should always include 'woman' except where otherwise stated"; and had subsequent statutes on "The Representation of the People" been interpreted in the light of this Act, women would now be politically free. Mrs. Stopes quotes the following passage from the White Book of the City of London, "And the Freeman, when she is a woman, shall have no excuse from the duties of watch and ward." This delightful bull, written in all seriousness, makes it fairly clear that the wide interpretation of the term "man" in these statutes was undoubtedly the interpretation which it was intended to bear.

Correspondence.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

DEAR MADAM,—I have just been studying the list of "birthday honours," and in reading the comments on those various honours, and the recipients of them, in the columns of a local paper with an extensive circulation—*The North Mail*—have just come across an astounding inference. As it is likely to be of specific interest to the readers of *Women's Franchise*, I give details.

The paragraph referred to is headed "Sir W. R. Cremer," and the writer after noting the honour remarks: "If the honour were unexpected, however, by some, its significance is readily comprehended. Mr. Cremer has been conspicuous of late as much for his opposition to the agitation in favour of female enfranchisement, as for any other activity; but what is gratefully recalled in his present connexion, among his parliamentary friends particularly, is his long record of service in the cause of international peace." The italics are mine.

We note here that of two reasons given for the bestowal of the knighthood on Mr. Cremer, the premier place is accorded to the one dealing with his opposition to the enfranchisement of women; it is obvious, too, that the writer's interpretation of the honour is that it is a reward in part, for these particular services. What inference then are we to draw from the honours accorded to two other gentlemen on the list—Mr. Maurice Levy and Sir W. Brampton Gurdon?

If the significance of the one honour is "readily comprehended," it would seem that a new Order of Knighthood is imminent. Members of Parliament with a taste for "woman-baiting," may now take heart of grace again. They will know that "It is never too late to start!"

Yours faithfully

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Felling-on-Tyne, nr. Jarrow.

TO THE EDITOR OF 'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE.'

DEAR MADAM.—*The Evening Standard* is "rather sorry" that Mr. H. Granville Barker is supporting the Men's League meeting at Kensington Town Hall, and foreshadows such horrible *sequelæ* as "peers' pantomimes at the Garrick" and the disappearance of true dramatic art. It even suggests that it would be well to disfranchise actors altogether in the interests of their art.

We presume that *The Evening Standard* in its zeal for the purity of art would disfranchise all painters, sculptors, musicians, and so on, and reserve the franchise for those who pursue prosaic avocations. How would it class the journalist with his picturesque anticipations of non-existent events, and what must we think of Mr. George Alexander, L.C.C.?

Would it be discourteous to *The Evening Standard* to inquire whether perchance the paragraph is intended as an exhibition of humour? and if so, whether it is to be taken as a skit on politics or on the spirit of dramatic art. In either case, we should have liked to hear the opinion of Richard Brinsley Sheridan.

Yours faithfully,

J. MALCOLM MITCHELL.

Notice to Contributors.

The Editor will be glad to receive Articles containing information on the subject of Women's Suffrage, and will return those not considered suitable as soon as possible if a stamped addressed envelope is sent with the MS. As the paper is on a voluntary basis, and all profits go to help the cause, no payments are made for contributions.

'WOMEN'S FRANCHISE,'

EDITORIAL AND PUBLISHING OFFICE,
13, BREAM'S BUILDINGS, CHANCERY LANE, E.C.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

OBJECT.—To obtain the Parliamentary Suffrage for Women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to Men.

The Union is a Federation of Women's Suffrage Societies in Great Britain.

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The Union will send Organizing Agents, Speakers, or Literature to any place requiring them, its desire being to form a Women's Suffrage Society in every County and Borough. All persons interested in the movement, or desiring information about it, are requested to communicate with the Secretaries. Increased funds are needed for the growing work of the Union, and subscriptions will be gladly received by the Treasurer.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 1907.

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And the Hon. Officers,
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NEWS FROM BRANCHES.

CENTRAL SOCIETY.

HAMPSTEAD.

THE Committee of the Hampstead branch of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage was "at home" to members of the branch and their friends at the Hampstead Town Hall on the afternoon of Thursday, June 27th.

The meeting was a great success, and the hall was so crowded that it was almost impossible to find seats for all. The names of the guests were taken at the door, and it was found that many of the most representative women in Hampstead were present.

Mrs. Russell Rea, the Chairman of the Committee, Mrs. Garrod, Vice-Chairman, and the other members of Committee received their guests, and made as many introductions as was possible in the crowded room. Many Hampstead people had the pleasure of renewing their acquaintance with Miss Emily Davies, who first started the Suffrage Local Committee in Hampstead, and of welcoming Miss Philippa Strachey.

Short, but most effective and interesting speeches were made by Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mrs. Vaughan Nash, the Rev. Percy Dearmer, Mr. John Russell of the King Alfred School, and Mr. H. H. Schloesser.

Mrs. Snowden's stirring appeal to women to work hard for the cause, and make sacrifices for it, evidently made a deep impression on the audience, and doubtless many of those present who have been content hitherto with signing a form saying they are in sympathy with the movement will feel impelled to come forward and give more active help.

At the close of the meeting the Committee received many warm congratulations on the successful start the branch had made; new members were enrolled, and offers to give drawing-room meetings, &c., in the autumn were made.

It is hoped to hold more meetings of a similar character in different parts of the borough later on. Until this year Hampstead had only a Local Committee, and although a Local Committee is an excellent thing if you cannot get anything better, it is, naturally, somewhat restricted in its scope, and some of the members were anxious to appeal to a wider public than it is possible to reach by drawing-room meetings. Steps were therefore taken to organize a public meeting for Feb. 4th, and Mr. J. S. Fletcher, the member of Parliament for the borough, was asked to take the chair. He is a keen Suffragist, and the help he gave to the Suffrage movement in Hampstead by presiding at the first public meeting for Women's Suffrage held in the borough was invaluable. In addition to this the Mayor and several borough councillors were in sympathy, and showed it by their presence on the platform. Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Pember Reeves, and other well-known people came to speak, and the enthusiasm aroused in Hampstead was tremendous.

It was at once decided to form a branch of the Central Society and on March 26th a meeting was held in the Town Hall for that purpose. Mrs. St. George Reid, of Croydon, very kindly came and gave an account of the organization of the Croydon branch.

Miss Clementina Black and her Committee have been working in harmony with the branch ever since its formation, and members of the Women's Social and Political Union have come and

brought friends to meetings of the branch, and members of the branch have gone to the W.S.P.U. meetings. There is room and work enough in Hampstead for all three organizations.

NORTH KENSINGTON.

For some time past the Secretaries and Committee of the North Kensington branch of the Central Society for Women's Suffrage have felt that many of the inhabitants of the constituency could not be reached by means of meetings held in halls.

There are certain parts of the district where the people seem, to the casual observer, to spend the evening hours conversing at the street corner, but always declare they have no time to attend meetings. However this may be, the fact remains that many of them are voters and must be educated by every means in our power to realize the need for the enfranchisement of women.

We therefore decided to go out and place our claims before those in whose hands the ultimate decision must rest.

The first open-air meeting was fixed for Tuesday, June 25th, at 8.15 P.M., at a place called the Junction.

Mrs. Stanbury kindly consented to take the chair, Miss Margery Corbett, Mr. John E. Raphael, and Mr. Francis to speak.

The secretary felt that an effort should be made to gather an audience worthy of the speakers. To this end the meeting was advertised by posters a week before hand, and on the evening of the meeting a band of helpers gathered at the house of Miss Mackenzie, one of Kensington's most active workers, and under her leadership sallied forth with handbills to collect a crowd. Starting from the top of the Portobello Road, gay, in spite of the rain which had fallen all the afternoon, with the lights of the shops and the naphtha flares of the costers' barrows, the Suffragists found material ready to their hands—men and women stood talking together in groups—others, chiefly women with anxious faces, strove to make the best bargains they could with the little money they possessed.

Our party—some on either side of the road—walked slowly along, handing bills as they passed to all the women and many men who were anxious to have them.

They found some who had already noticed the posters, and seemed prepared for our coming. One woman said: "Of course we are coming to the meeting—only we must just go back and fetch Sarah"—which they did.

The place of meeting reached, the little band gathered round the lamp post and awaited events.

First came a crowd of small children—these were given bills, and sent off to fetch their parents.

Next came the van and the police, who are always most sympathetic and considerate. Slowly a small crowd gathered round the van—the windows of the nearest houses were thrown open, and rows of heads appeared—the owners thereof very evidently enjoying their superior position.

The speakers seemed surprised to find an audience already awaiting them, and we were able to start the meeting straight away without sacrificing any one to that awful task of shouting to collect an audience. The speakers having mounted the van Mrs. Stanbury explained to the people why we were there, and introduced Mr. Raphael who was greeted with much enthusiasm by the sporting section. One gentleman in the audience caused a good deal of interruption, and on his continuing to do so

the chairman offered him five minutes in which to expound his views from our platform. The gentleman having accepted the offer, proceeded to address us on adult manhood suffrage—the burden of his remarks being that he was quite capable and willing to protect his own wife, and that if all men had votes women would not need them. Having concluded, this speaker resumed his position in the crowd—when the chairman said that we were very glad to hear that he was able to protect his wife, but we knew that all women were not and could not be so protected.

Miss Margery Corbett made a charming speech, which was received with keen attention by the crowd. She dwelt especially on the need of the women's vote on such questions as the better housing conditions among the workers, since the women and children suffered so terribly from the bad conditions.

Mr. Francis, who followed, told the audience that on the next day the first issue of *Women's Franchise* would be published, and urged them to read it and show it to their friends.

The chairman then announced that questions would be answered, and several were put—such as: Do women want to sit in Parliament? Are all women to have the vote?

The answers were received with attention, and although rain was now falling, the audience refused to take the somewhat plaintive hint of the speakers that we had better go home before we got wet through, and continued the discussion, until the chairman declared the meeting closed.

Naturally the crowd were not all of our way of thinking; but here and there women were heard rebuking somewhat frivolous objectors, and at the close of the meeting several of the men came forward and wished us success in our work.

About 200 people listened to the speeches, and the result has encouraged our already energetic secretaries to hold another meeting in July.

This time we hope that the weather may be more favourable, and that we shall be able to display our banners in style. Speaking of banners makes one think of bands. Here is a suggestion for the Men's League! Why not form a band for open-air demonstrations? Next year we propose to hold fortnightly meetings through the summer, and perhaps by then open-air meetings will have ceased to be a novelty to the London Committees of the Central Society.

ALEXANDRA WRIGHT.

THE NORTH OF ENGLAND BRANCH.

THE North of England branch has been well employed during the last month in starting a new branch at Accrington, where there is hope of a good association in due course. When their organizing secretary first went over she found hardly any interest in the question, although some work had already been done in collecting signatures of working-women for Miss Black's declaration. But after a week's hard visiting and canvassing a capital meeting of both men and women was held in the Town Hall, a committee formed, and officers appointed, and in a month's time they hope to show a good membership, and to hold a large public meeting in the autumn.

OXFORD WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

IN the course of the last six months the membership of this society has been almost doubled being now close on 200. It will be further strengthened this autumn by the affiliation of the Somerville College Women's Suffrage Society, which has lately been constituted. The formation of this latter, which already numbers forty (Hon. Secretary, Miss de la Zouche), is of cardinal importance. It must result in securing the support of coming generations of women-students, and by so doing in materially advancing the cause of Women's Suffrage throughout the country at large.

On the 6th of May a general meeting of the society was held at The Lodgings, Jesus College, the Principal of Jesus in the chair. Over 15*l.* was subscribed towards the expenses of the Wimbledon election. It was decided that the members of the society should meet every three months for the discussion of matters relating

to the citizenship of women. During the first week of June another very successful meeting was held at Fringford in the Woodstock division under the auspices of the Oxfordshire Sub-Committee. The speakers were Mrs. Stables (Hon. Secretary), Miss Eden Lewis of the Mid-Oxon Women's Liberal Association, and Mr. Fletcher of Ruskin Hall. About 100 people, mostly men, were present. The next general meeting of the society will be held on July 10th at 88, Woodstock Road (by kind permission of Prof. and Mrs. Margoliouth). An address will be given by Prof. W. Steadman Aldis, with special reference to Women's Suffrage in New Zealand. Discussion is hoped for.

During the coming season in addition to the usual public meetings the society propose to hold a series of drawing-room meetings. Mrs. Pearsall Smith (Court Place, Iffley) and Mrs. Lewis (North Oxford) have already promised their kind help. The Oxfordshire sub-committee also propose to hold another campaign in the county.

The success of the society's schemes will, of course, depend very largely on the funds at their disposal. At the present time they are continually trying to solve the question of how to carry out the largest possible amount of work with the least possible amount of money. All subscriptions will be gladly received by the Hon. Treasurer, Miss K. Courtney, 20, Bardwell Road.

EDINBURGH NATIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

MORE than half of the leaflet containing the Annual Report of the Edinburgh National Society for Women's Suffrage is devoted to records of Mrs. Priscilla Bright M'Laren, whose death last November deprived the Society of a dear and honoured President. These records (press-notices for the most part) give an admirable picture of a singularly full and eager life. To the very end of her ninety-one years Mrs. M'Laren took a keen interest in politics, and it was from her death-bed that the message of sympathy to the brave women in Holloway Prison was sent. One of the best of the notices sums up very clearly her attitude towards the woman's question.

"Though Mrs. McLaren...embodied in a remarkable way all the social and domestic influence which a woman can have, her mind was acute enough for her to see, even in very early days, that such influence cannot be generally realised in the country while women are disqualified for citizenship. As the natural outcome of sharing the political interests of her brothers and her husband, she became a pioneer in the movement for freeing women. She was conscious of the mean qualities which slavish custom breed in women. She had no illusions about women, but she had faith in them; and her political instinct taught her the importance of the Parliamentary vote in developing their powers. So every aspect of the women's movement has had her support, and no phase has been too painful or disheartening to quench her courage."

The Report contains a general summary of the steps marking the progress of the movement throughout the year, with special reference to the part played by the Society and to the meetings held in East Fife and Forfarshire, and the subsequent deputation and petition to Mr. Asquith. An account is given of the Annual Meeting held on March 23rd, when Dr. Agnes M'Laren, stepdaughter of Mrs. Priscilla M'Laren, was elected Honorary President of the Society.

THE POLICY OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

THERE is nothing in the world so difficult to combat as the opposition which springs from ignorance, and it is, unfortunately, opposition of this kind that the Women's Suffrage movement has had to fight from the beginning. Enemies to the cause have traded on the ignorance which prevails on the subject, and what is worse, in arguing against Women's Suffrage, they have not taken the trouble to acquaint themselves with the real aims of the movement, and have made the wildest assertions—assertions which, if they had not proved so disastrous in their results would have been laughable for the hopeless confusion of mind

they betrayed. These statements, when made by irresponsible unknown individuals have been allowed to pass unnoticed, but unfortunately they have been brought forward by men—and women too, to their shame!—who may be considered leaders in various spheres of activity, and who exercise a considerable amount of influence; they have also been made in the House of Commons itself, and have been spread broadcast over the country by the press.

Thus it comes about that considerable confusion exists in the public mind as to the policy and aims of the Suffrage Societies. For instance, that ubiquitous individual, "the man in the street," cannot understand why one Suffrage society should be running a Liberal candidate of its own at a bye-election, while a few miles off the other Suffrage Society, with exactly the same end in view, should be opposing the return of a Liberal by every means in its power. It has therefore been thought desirable, in order to avoid further misconception, to state clearly what is the policy of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

The sole aim of the National Union is to obtain the Parliamentary Franchise for Women on the same terms as it is granted to men. It is entirely non-party, and includes among its members women who hold strong and diverse views on political questions, and who are also active members of the great party organizations. The election policy of the Union is very simple. Where one, or all, the candidates are considered to be sincere in their promises to do everything in their power, if elected, to push the question to a successful issue in the House, the Union abstains from taking any corporate action, and then individual members are at liberty to work for the candidate who represents their own party—Conservative, Liberal, Socialist, whichever he be. If, however, one candidate is in favour of Women's Suffrage, while the others are against, or indifferent to it, the Union will support that candidate, regardless of his party-politics, who is prepared to champion their cause. Moreover, since recent events in the House of Commons have shown us how little we can rely upon the promises of our so-called supporters, the pledges demanded of candidates have been very much more stringent. It believes that if a majority of members can be returned, publicly and definitely pledged to raise and support the question in the House, the Government then in office will see the absolute necessity of dealing with the matter. It therefore does not adopt the policy of opposing Liberal candidates, merely because members of the present Government have so far declared themselves unable to bring in a Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women. On the contrary, it recognizes the help given to the cause by the public support of England's Prime Minister and by the liberal-minded members of His Majesty's Liberal Government.

With regard to Adult Suffrage, the object of the Union is not to alter the basis of the franchise; it therefore considers that to bring forward this irrelevant and highly controversial subject, confuses the public mind, retards the Women's Suffrage movement, and does a considerable amount of harm.

The Union is convinced that the withholding of the Suffrage from tax and rate paying women is an injustice which is every day being more forcibly brought home to fair-minded men. It relies on this increasing force of public opinion, and by its methods it fosters and encourages every legitimate form of propaganda. Its energies are specially devoted to organizing meetings, where discussion is invited and to educating public opinion by the distribution of literature bearing on the question.

That this policy has been successful is proved by the increasing support the National Union is receiving from all parts of the country. The steady, unemotional lines on which it works are considered unworthy of notice by a sensation-loving press, therefore most of its achievements go unrecorded and are unknown to the public, but they are none the less valuable. The number of Societies in the Union is constantly increasing, and it is hoped that in time there will be a branch in every constituency, county, and borough. For this purpose organizing agents, speakers, and literature are sent when possible to any place desiring them. The union also acts in co-operation with the Irish Women's Suffrage and Local Government Association, which exists for the purpose of forming Women's Suffrage Associations in all the leading towns of Ireland, as well as for promoting the registration of all qualified women electors under the Local Government Act; the election of suitable women as Poor

Law Guardians and Rural and Urban Councillors, and the appointment of women as School and Sanitary Inspectors and to any public office they may hold under the Local Government Act.

The Societies of the National Union are also well to the fore when any extra or indirect work in connection with the Suffrage requires to be undertaken in the country. The help they gave in collecting signatures for the Women's Franchise Declaration is well known, the large majority of the names having been supplied by their efforts. Many of the Societies also, bore the expense of printing the petition forms themselves, and sent contributions towards the working expenses of the Declaration in London.

It will be readily understood that the increasing work of the Union necessitates a proportionate increase in its income. The Committee therefore earnestly appeals to all who are in favour of the policy outlined above to signify their approval by contributing liberally and regularly to the funds of the Union, by joining a branch society, or by offering help in the work of organization in any constituency where a Society of the Union does not at present exist.

THE WORCESTER ELECTION PETITION.

ONE of the subjects to be discussed by the Council of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at Cambridge on the 9th of this month is the extraordinary result of the Worcester Election Petition as it affects the women of that city. The Commission of Inquiry, having obtained proofs of cases of bribery and illegal treating, and having found that corrupt practices had obtained at the last Parliamentary election, it followed that the cost of the Commission and law charges must be found by the city—and for this purpose a rate of 3½*d.* has been laid by the overseers of Worcester, not on the Parliamentary voters alone, who are responsible for misdeeds at a Parliamentary election, but on the whole of the ratepayers on the municipal register, which includes the women who are by law disqualified for the Parliamentary franchise. It is a clever device, but surely adds insult to injury, to shift the responsibility for payment from the Parliamentary to the Municipal Register—to say in the same breath to the women "You shall not have the Parliamentary vote, but you shall pay for our abuse of it!"

It is convenient, but it hardly looks honest to pick the woman's pocket to pay the man's debt, but it is doubtless the law of the strongest and might is still right in England.

Taking the proportion which has been found to prevail in very varied constituencies throughout the country from one-sixth to one-fifth of the voters on the Municipal Register will be women, and one-sixth of the rate for Parliamentary corrupt practices falls on the women of Worcester. It is a striking commentary on the chivalry of men, of which we hear so much and find so little, that not one man's voice was raised in the Town Council to protect their women citizens from this unjust rate. It is a striking comment on law and justice that women can be at the same time deprived of the privilege of the vote, and be held responsible for the abuse of it; compelled to suffer a fine earned by men, laid by men, levied by men, and still to believe that the scales of justice are held true.

We shall again be told no doubt that it is purely "incidental," that all the Parliamentary voters were not corrupt either, yet have to pay, but that argument is too thin. Women are a class set apart and outside the sphere of Parliamentary elections, protected for their good we understand from the turmoil and debasing influence of the strife of party politics. They can hardly be both outside and inside the sphere at once—they are either protected or unprotected from the strife. The men cannot have it both ways. We have always held that they were unprotected from the strife, and should be able to protect themselves by the vote—this rate appears to justify that opinion.

The protest of the women of Worcester should be raised at once against this outrage on justice; if only for the future security of all women ratepayers the women of England must stand shoulder to shoulder with them in a refusal to bear a rate so callously levied on the voteless to relieve the corrupt voter.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Women's Social and Political Union.

The Movement Week by Week.

THE JARROW ELECTION.

As the Jarrow campaign draws to a close our workers are making redoubled efforts to dissuade the electors from supporting the Government nominee. For the benefit of working-men voters midday and tea-time meetings are held, and it is proposed during the last few days of the contest to hold breakfast meetings too. In the evening, public meetings are held in every available spot, and these are largely attended by women as well as by men. The special meetings for women are greatly appreciated. The women householders receive personal invitations to attend. All the meetings have been enthusiastic, the audiences in many cases amounting to thousands. The resolution demanding Women's Suffrage has been carried either unanimously or with only one or two dissentients. When women in the audience are called upon to second the resolution, there is always at least one capable woman who is prepared to do so. *The Daily News* and some other papers have reported that at one meeting the speakers were mobbed. The following letter written to *The North Mail* by an unknown member of the audience shows that the newspaper account was entirely untrue:—

TOWN MOOR SUFFRAGIST MEETING.

SIR,—May I be allowed a word of protest with reference to your report of the Suffragist meeting on the Town Moor on Sunday evening? As one who was present during the whole of the meeting, I am in a position to deny the assumption of rowdiness during the progress of the meeting. The large audience were apparently in perfect sympathy with the women. The speeches were listened to attentively, and at the close a resolution calling on the Government to enfranchise women was carried with enthusiasm.

The apparent disorder after the meeting was caused by a small band of youths who frequent the Moor on Sunday evenings in search of amusement, and whose high spirits and love of fun led them into a display of rather bad manners. There was no hostility shown either to the women or the cause they advocate.

Their straightforward speeches and undeniable earnestness made many friends for the cause in Newcastle, and they will certainly receive a welcome from the intelligent section of the community whenever they repeat their visit to this town. I trust you will accord me a little space in order to correct any mistaken impression which may arise in the minds of people who were not present.

Newcastle, June 24.

Yours, &c.,
ONE OF THE AUDIENCE.

Happily these unfair press reports help rather than hinder our work among the electors. Men shout out at the meetings when such misrepresentation is referred to "we knew it wasn't true" or "never mind, we know."

COLNE VALLEY ELECTION.

Before the Jarrow contest is over, the Colne Valley election is upon us. The Prime Minister, in adding to the membership of his enemy, the House of Lords, has caused a Parliamentary vacancy to occur. A very interesting and fruitful campaign may be expected in the Colne Valley division. In the past we have often visited the constituency, so that the subject of Women's Suffrage is by no means unfamiliar to the electors. Members of the Yorkshire and Lancashire branches will have the opportunity of taking part in the campaign. I hope that those of our members in London and elsewhere who take their holiday in July will consider the question of spending at least a part of it at the election. Those who have recently been through the Rutland and Jarrow campaigns are in need of reinforcements. The Colne Valley division extends over many miles, and workers must be numerous if the best possible effect is to be produced. As every one who has tried it can testify, election work on the new, independent lines is extremely interesting. Members who want to see for themselves what the feeling of the country is in regard to our movement, cannot do better than take part in the

Colne Valley contest. Offers of assistance should be sent to me at 4, Clements Inn.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS AGITATION.

Every attempt by the Government to make a change in the constitution, gives us a valuable opportunity of pressing forward our claim for women's enfranchisement. Last year, the Government sought to alter the constitution by means of the Plural Voting Bill. The W.S.P.U. demanded the amendment of the Bill so as to confer the vote upon women. Mr. Carruthers Gould placed on record the political situation thus created, by means of a cartoon, and *The Saturday Review* declared that the quietness with which the Liberal party took the Lords' rejection of the Plural Voting Bill was due to the knowledge that the W.S.P.U. would, by means of counter demonstrations, make Liberal demonstrations of protest appear ridiculous.

The Government's new campaign against the House of Lords must be taken advantage of by the Union. The first step has been taken. During the three days' debate on the Prime Minister's resolution a band of women stood outside the House of Commons delivering to Members of Parliament a leaflet dealing with the House of Lords agitation from the Women's Suffrage point of view. The following extract gives the gist of this manifesto, copies of which were placed by friendly M.P.'s on the Treasury Bench:—

"The Prime Minister says that he intends that the power of the House of Lords shall be so restricted as to secure that the will of the people, as expressed by their elected representatives in the House of Commons, shall prevail.

"We say that so long as women are denied the vote, the House of Commons does not represent the will of the people, and we demand that the first constitutional change to be made shall be the enfranchisement of the women of the country.

"We women say to the Government that, in order to give effect to the will of the people, the Parliamentary Franchise must be so reformed that the House of Commons shall represent not the men alone, but the women of the country also!"

The Union's manifesto has been read with interest by Members of Parliament who are obliged to admit that our argument is sound, and the position we have adopted justifiable. The manifesto ought to be widely circulated in the country. Action on the lines which it indicates will so hamper and discredit the Government's agitation against the Upper House that the Cabinet will realize, if they have not done so already, that there is a price to be paid for denying the vote to women.

WELSH DISESTABLISHMENT.

A new proof of the utility of such tactics is the surrender of the Government to the Welsh Nonconformists announced in a letter from Mr. Lloyd George. Threats of revolt made by Welsh Liberals have forced the Government to promise Welsh disestablishment. The W.S.P.U. were the first to understand that the present Government, like other Governments, will not grant reform, except as the result of strong pressure. We have now many imitators amongst men politicians. These the Prime Minister is obliged to pacify by undertaking to give them what they ask. Women, just because they are voteless, have to fight harder and wait longer than these revolting men, but our success is equally sure.

THE 20,000L. FUND.

There is one argument which will appeal to the Government, because of the proof afforded that our agitation will last, and that is our possession of a large campaign fund. If they know us to have unlimited financial resources, the Liberal leaders will yield all the sooner. Every member of the Union must accept a share of the responsibility of building up the 20,000l. fund so splendidly launched at the Exeter Hall meeting in May. The gathering in of large subscriptions is not always easy, but every one can help to collect subscriptions of 1l. We want ten thousand

such subscriptions. A post card has been prepared, the signature of which involves a promise to give 1l. a year to the funds. These post cards are filed, and the work of actually collecting the promised sum is undertaken by the treasurer. Let me appeal to our members to get these post cards signed by their friends. This is work that every one can do. The raising of the sum desired will be a magnificent proof of business capacity and political zeal on the part of the members of the Union.

ORGANIZATION IN LANCASHIRE.

Miss Annie Kenney has recently visited Rochdale, and reports that the local branch has recently gained many new adherents. It is intended to obtain an office in the town, and to hold weekly public meetings.

The Preston branch is one of the strongest in the country. Mrs. Edith Rigby sends the following account of a day's propaganda in the town.

"This has been a very full day. This morning Miss Kenney visited various local people worth winning to a more generous and intelligent understanding of the women's claim, and was rewarded in most cases by sympathy and help promised, and money.

"At 3 p.m. a parlour meeting was held in one of our members' houses and her neighbours had been canvassed to attend. The little room was full and was won by Miss Kenney's speech of nearly three-quarters of an hour given quite as earnestly, be sure, as to a great crowded meeting. There were two objectors there who had meant to pour cold water on the whole business, but the channel was too deep.

"At 3.30 p.m. as the largest mills in the town unloosed, and at the busiest corner, a lorry was drawn up, and surrounded by a great crowd of hundreds and hundreds that pressed round to listen, jeering until sobered by remarks that touched tender places. Miss Kenney spoke for near an hour there, and was listened to with the greatest attention by those tired standing men and women past their tea hour. And various citizens drove by, on their own business, but compelled to notice ours.

"At 7.30 p.m. in the covered market once more (the banner being the only advertisement) a meeting was got together and stayed glad and proud to hear her. The greatest good-will was evident in the crowd to deal with any sign of interruption. Yes, they know well all over the town that there is a "Votes for Women" campaign on in this town, and that Miss Annie Kenney is conducting it, as bravely as ever."

WORK IN LONDON.

Mrs. Drummond acting in conjunction with the "Paddington" Branch is organizing a special campaign in Paddington. A canvass of women householders is in progress, and a series of open-air and indoor meetings is being held. More workers are needed, and those willing to help are invited to communicate with Mrs. Drummond at Clements Inn.

Mrs. Bormann Wells is anxious to organize a series of meetings in parts of London not yet provided with branches of the Union. I hope to hear from members who are prepared to help Mrs. Wells in carrying out this excellent plan.

Every Monday evening at Clements Inn, Mrs. Baldock presides over a meeting at which would-be speakers are able to gain practice. The need for more speakers is so great, that I am sure our friends will avail themselves of this opportunity of qualifying for the platform. CHRISTABEL H. PANKHURST.

London Branches.

By the kind invitation of Mrs. Despard the next Committee meeting of London Branch Secretaries will take place at her charming cottage at Oxshott on July 6th instead of at the offices in Clements Inn. Such an opportunity of combining business with pleasure does not often occur, and it is hoped that all will be able to attend.

The weekly or fortnightly gatherings of the London Branches will be in many cases replaced by open-air meetings during the summer months. "Northern Heights" starts this week in the High Street, Hornsey, on July 3rd, and "Lewisham" at "Hilly Fields" on July 4th. The former reports an interesting discussion after the members' speeches on "Why I want the Vote" last Wednesday.

At the instance of Miss L. Newton a successful Tea Meeting was held at Sydney Hall, Leader Street, by the Chelsea Branch

on the afternoon of Thursday, June 27th. The aim of the gathering was to bring together working women of various classes, and of those who accepted the invitation, very few, if any, had ever taken serious interest in the movement. It was all the more satisfactory, therefore, when, after listening to three short informal speeches from Mrs. Roe, Miss Hodgson, and Mrs. How Martyn, no less than twenty-nine of those present gave in their names as members of the local branch.

The Hon. Secretary of the Kensington Branch reports a large drawing-room meeting, and tells us that "Mrs. Baldock's account of her work as a guardian of the poor in the East End greatly interested and touched her West End audience, while Miss C. Pankhurst's gay and brilliant treatment of some of the objections made to the granting of the Suffrage to Women roused continued laughter and applause."

Several other drawing-room meetings will be held shortly, and a large one is being arranged by the Misses Brankenbury, to take place at their studio on the afternoon of July 11th, for which cards of invitation may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 21, Mount Carmel Chambers, Kensington, W. Mrs. Brownlow and Mrs. Townshend will speak on 'Women's Suffrage in its relation to philanthropy.'

An informal gathering of those Hon. Secretaries living within easy reach of the headquarters of the Kensington Branch proved very interesting to those present, who thought it so helpful that, after discussing such points as 'Ways of helping Poor and Struggling Branches,' 'Formation of a Lending Library,' 'Ways of retaining Members,' and various methods of propaganda, they decided to hold a similar meeting after the summer holidays.

Our Hackney correspondent writes to regret that the information she sent last week relating to the resolution of the Liberal women of North Hackney in regard to their future political action is inaccurate, and should be corrected as follows:

"That the North Hackney Women's Liberal Association declines in future to give support to a Government candidate at any by-election until such time as the Government shall bring forward, or promise to do so, a measure for the enfranchisement of women." C. H.

Provincial Branches.

THE Huddersfield branch reports that "we have had educational cottage meetings during the present month, attended with gratifying success, and a very successful out-door meeting." They also add that whatever work the branch can render in the Colne Valley contest will be gladly undertaken.

At Elland, a small branch which has had to work against public opinion and the usual misrepresentation, a most successful meeting was addressed by Mrs. Martel. "When you 'oomen coom agen let us naw and 'twill be hundreds on us for every one the night" was the inspiring message Mrs. Martel received from some adult suffragists who had come to jeer and remained to cheer. This experience should encourage those branches who fear that the weight of public opinion may be against them to put it to the test, when they will probably find an agreeable surprise in store for them. The real nature of our movement is at last being grasped by the people, and hence the change in their attitude apparent everywhere.

The members of the Brighton branch held a very successful social evening on Monday the 24th. Some of the younger members and their friends had provided an interesting programme of songs, recitations, a Spanish dance in character, and a play entitled, 'That awful Miss Pankhurst,' the last item being written by one of the members, Miss M. Spink. The acting was good and spirited, and reflected credit on all concerned. On Wednesday Miss Christabel Pankhurst addressed an afternoon drawing-room meeting, and in the evening spoke to the members and their friends at 2, Cheapside, where a room has been hired for weekly meetings. The next open-air meeting will be on July 7th on the level at 3.30 p.m. Miss Irene Miller will address the meeting.

It is gratifying to note the use that is being made of short dramatic performances as a method of propaganda; this is a means of rousing interest among many who would not at first trouble to listen to argumentative speeches, and yet when once aroused would become ardent suffragists.

At its meeting this week, the Cheltenham branch varied the usual procedure, and, in addition to speeches by Mrs. McIlquham and Dr. Earengy, presented a "Suffrage Duologue," written by Miss Theodora Mills. E. H. M.

The Scottish Movement.

THE branches are rallying to the work with great enthusiasm. The second meeting of the Scottish Council has disposed of the very necessary details as to rules and standing orders, and such matters of machinery, and has mapped out some important organizing work. Miss Fraser has been instructed to spend a week each in Paisley and Edinburgh, and then to proceed down the Clyde to Dunoon and Rosneath, to appeal to the holiday crowds. The July meeting of the Council will be held at the latter place when a big demonstration is to be arranged. I am to visit Ayrshire this week-end, and Forfarshire during the following week. Miss Wilkie and other Dundee members, are holding meetings at Carnoustie and Hill town.

The most important matter in hand is the building up of a sufficiently large body of subscribers, and the Council has decided to begin this work immediately by the issue of an appeal, while collecting cards are to be placed in the hands of all friends.

A Scottish Suffrage procession is being arranged to take place in Edinburgh in October. The W.S.P.U. branches are busy now holding preliminary meetings and forming district Committees, through which it is hoped that all women's societies will be reached. No Suffrage demonstrations—either peaceable or otherwise—have yet been held in Scotland, and there is much to be hoped from this first attempt. Not only will it do much to educate public opinion, but it will also have some effect upon Scottish M.P.'s, and more important still, it will awaken the women to the need of persistent action in a way no ordinary meetings could achieve. The Scottish women are not so easily wrought to rebellion as their English sisters—but when they rebel—well, wait! T. B.-G.

Politics by Exhibition.

(BY A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

A VERY great number of people have visited the stall at Earl's Court during the week, among them two Jarrow electors, who came into contact with the movement by hearing the suffragette speeches at the election, and coming to London, determined at once to visit that part of the exhibition.

One visitor who came from Australia described some of the laws relating to women in that country, and showed how soon the vote had a valuable effect.

Throughout the whole of the evening a running fire of questions are put by the crowd which surrounds the stall, and all the helpers have been kept as busy as possible in giving replies. Do the majority of women want the vote? What good will it do to women? Are women prepared to undergo the duties of citizens? In what way will it help married women? What use will it be to women who are sweated? All these and many others are frequently put. The experience at the exhibition is proving very useful to our helpers, and they are becoming experts at dealing with the objections which men bring forward. A little leaflet is being prepared by the Women's Social and Political Union expressly designed to answer some of the commonest of these inquiries.

One or two of the men who at the beginning were hostile, and who have been converted by discussion, have proved very useful in themselves taking up the discussion, and helping the by-standers to come to a right decision on the question.

Tactics!

The tactics to which Liberals will resort in dealing with the honest and straightforward opposition of the Women Suffragists are illustrated by the extraordinary statement which appears in *The Tribune* of the 2nd July to the effect that a notable feature of the Jarrow contest has been the scant attention paid to the women's campaign. Evidently the Liberals think that they cannot escape the injury done to the prospects of their candidates by the action of the Women's Social and Political Union at elections, the next best thing they can do is to mislead the public in other parts of the country by assuring them that the Liberal candidate's loss of votes is not due to the opposition of the women. In Jarrow, as a matter of fact, interest in the women's campaign is very keen. Crowded women's meetings, audiences at open-air meetings of 5,000 and more, are surely proof of this.

In view of the fact that *The Tribune* claims to be especially reliable in the matter of news and that it owes a large part of its circulation to the support of women suffragists, the insertion in its columns of misrepresentations such as the one in question is somewhat surprising. For *The Tribune* thus to play fast and loose with its women suffragist subscribers is, it seems to us, a very rash proceeding.

PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

From July 3rd to July 11th.

			P.M.
Wed.	Hornsey High Street	Mrs. Baldock	8
	Paddington, Norman Hall,	Branch Meeting	8
	252, Harrow Road		
	Jarrow, Bye-election Mtngs.	Mrs. Martel	
		Miss M.E. Gawthorpe	
	Liverpool, Cope's Tobacco	Miss Annie Kenney	1.15
	Factory		
	Liverpool, Isling Town Sq.	Miss Annie Kenney	8
	Carnoustie	Miss Wilkie and others	
Thurs.	Hilltown, Dundee	Miss Wilkie and others	
	Jarrow, Women's Procession		
	Liverpool, Picton Clock,	Miss Annie Kenney	8
	Wavertree		
	Lewisham, Hilly Fields	Mrs. B. Wells	7
Fri.	Huddersfield, Market Square	Mrs. Martel	
	Liverpool, Factory Gates	Miss A. Kenney	1.15
	Liverpool, Edge Hill Smp	Miss Annie Kenney	8
Sat.	Paisley	Miss Helen Fraser	
	Huddersfield, Market Square	Mrs. Martel	
	Letchworth	Miss C. H. Pankhurst	8
Sun.	Keighley	Mrs. Martel	3 & 6.30
	Darlington, "Men's Own"	Miss Nellie Kenney	3
	Meeting Cong. Church		
	London, Hyde Park	Miss C. Pankhurst	3
	London, Victoria Park	Mrs. Baldock	3.30
	Brighton, The Level	Miss Irene Miller	3.30
Mon.	London, "At Home," 4,	Miss Pankhurst	4-6
	Clements Inn		
	London, Evening Meeting, 4,	Mrs. Baldock	8
	Clements Inn		
Tues.	Hampstead, Town Hall	Miss C. Pankhurst	8
		Mrs. Martel	
		Rev. Percy Dearmer	
		John Russell, Esq.	
	Wolverhampton, Market Pl.	Mrs. Sproson	7.30
Wed.	Northern Heights, Branch		
	Meeting		
Thurs.	Walthamstow Branch, Am-	Mr. Snelling	8
	berley Road		
	Tottenham High Cross In-	Mrs. E. How Martyn	8
	stitute	Mrs. Mitchell	
		Mrs. Self, and others	

For information and particulars of the W.S.P.U. apply to the Hon. Sec., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Telegraphic Address: "Wospolu," London.
Telephone: 5550 Holborn.

Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

OFFICE: 38, MUSEUM STREET, LONDON, W.C.

Hon. Treasurer: DR. STANTON COIT.

Hon. Secretaries: T. MORTIMER BUDGETT.

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Women's Suffrage from the Man's Point of View.

WHILE so much is being said and written at the present time on behalf of Women's Suffrage, there is one aspect of it which, if not altogether ignored, is less in evidence than it should be. It is of no use to shut one's eyes to the fact that almost the only way to bring pressure to bear on the legislature is through the male voters, and it is equally idle to conceal the fact that a very large proportion of men are either apathetic or hostile to the cause, even sometimes when their reason or conscience cannot gainsay its justice. Doubtless the champions of the Suffrage feel that it is necessary to arouse the interest of women first, in order to remove the reproach so frequently heard that women themselves do not want the vote, and in the hope also that the women when converted will influence the men. Doubtless also, being women themselves, they use arguments which appeal to women, and the "argumentum ad hominem," except in the form of an appeal to the masculine sense of justice, is less apparent.

In this appeal women have a very strong weapon. However conservative and prejudiced an Englishman may be, an appeal for fair play rarely fails to move him, and the fact that women are taxed without being represented is among the best of the arguments generally adduced, so far as effect on the sympathies of men is concerned. Other anomalies—such as the position of women before the passing of the Married Woman's Property Act, the present inequality of the divorce laws, the ownership of children, the lower rate of remuneration of women's labour, and the difficulties with which women are beset in entering the universities and many of the professions—also have their effect when they are clearly and rationally pointed out. But even these cogent arguments rarely do more than make men passive spectators of the women's fight for freedom. In the first place the average man has a deep-seated conviction of the essential difference between women and men; injustices which would make his blood boil if inflicted on himself, or would make him an active partisan if inflicted on his fellow man, whether in his own or in other countries, are borne with philosophic calm when women are the victims. He is furthermore so convinced of the magnanimity and regard shown towards women by himself and his fellow men, as to feel sure that women are better off under their representation; and in the majority of cases among the working classes he is under the delusion that he does the work of the world while his womenkind have an easy time. The helplessness and humiliation of disenfranchisement which has seemed so serious to men in the past, dwindles into a very small grievance when his own claims have been granted and he no longer feels the pinch personally.

Women must, therefore, face the fact that arguments of abstract justice must be reinforced by arguments of expediency. If women can show that their enfranchisement not only is just, but will, moreover, benefit the community as a whole and the coming generation, and if they can also show that it is to the interest of men themselves, they will do much towards enlisting the sympathy and support of men who are prone to attach weight to practical rather than to theoretical arguments.

Probably the most effective argument from this point of view is afforded by the influence of women's labour upon men's remuneration. For the past decade or more the influx of women into various trades and professions has been steadily increasing, and men have bitterly resented this by reason of its effect upon wages and the greater competition for vacant positions. Probably nothing has done so much to increase competition in, and consequently lower wages for, clerical work, as the entrance of women. Loud as are the complaints, however, few men seem to have troubled to analyse the ultimate meaning of the diffi-

culty so fully or to find a remedy; they are content with the crude statement that women should stay at home and wash, mend, and cook for their male relatives as they did in the good old days. They appear to think that this entrance of women into the professions is due simply to discontent with the sphere which satisfied their grandmothers, and a desire to escape from their womanly traditions.

Apart from the question as to whether such a feeling exists, or as to whether it is justified, it cannot be too strongly pointed out, that this movement of women is the outcome of stern economic necessity. In the first place, the conditions of life in the last fifty years or more have resulted in an ever increasing disproportion between the numbers of the sexes; the excess of females over males in the United Kingdom is now no less than a million and a quarter. This is due to the drain of able-bodied men owing to colonization, war, dangerous occupations, and intemperance. Secondly, increasing competition and the growing desire for a larger sphere of action, have increasingly deterred men of the professional classes from marriage. To turn round upon women, therefore, and tell them they should remain in the homes which cannot and will not be provided for them, is a refinement of cruelty which can be excused only by ignorance, and would be absolutely swept away if the facts were brought home to men.

It being conceded that women's work is at present a necessity, it is obvious that, in order to mitigate its effects on the labour market, the same steps must be taken for women that men have found necessary to take in the past. It is well known that wages tend to the minimum on which the workers can subsist under a system of unrestricted competition, where supply exceeds demand. Nothing, therefore, so seriously affects wages, as the existence of a class in which there is no combination, and which is not wholly dependent upon these wages for its support. This is well shown in some of the scientific professions, where young men whose parents can support them and give them a long and costly college training, compete in gaining positions for the sake of experience, and consequently sink wages to the vanishing point. Now women at the present day are almost exactly in this position. Forced into the labour market because their relatives cannot fully support them, but in many cases only needing a low wage to eke out this support, and being in most cases absolutely uncombined and unrepresented, they are the most dangerous enemies to men in the economic sense, and must ever be so until their competition is properly adjusted. Men, therefore, can hope to raise their own wages only by assisting women to claim the highest possible remuneration for their work, and this can be done only by the combination of women in the same way as men have combined in the past, backed up, that is to say, by the power which is exercised on the legislature by the possession of the vote. The fact that the Independent Labour Party and other Socialists have taken up the women's cause is due to their recognition of this fact in the manufacturing industries; and it is necessary that the professional classes also should give it due recognition, and should not only extend a welcome to women in all the organizations for professional protection, but also give effect to this welcome by helping them to obtain the franchise.

Many other less obvious but no less real advantages will accrue to men from the enfranchisement of women. The very man who talks of woman's place being in the home, and holds up as a pattern of womanhood the self-sacrificing, uneducated housewife, is usually the first to jeer at her, and to take pleasure in the society of the "modern" woman who is interested in athletic, literary, and intellectual pursuits, so long as she does not shock some of his own particular prejudices. More important still is the whole attitude of women towards men, so long as they are economically dependent upon them. Men have insisted in the past that there should be no career for women save that of wife, housekeeper, or servant, and have then expected

to find women genuinely devoted to them for their own good qualities. It scarcely needs pointing out that the only guarantee of true affection lies in removing as far as possible all motives for its simulation; for, however estimable women may be, it is impossible for all of them to resist the temptation of marrying to escape penury or the contempt which, until the most recent times, has been reserved for the old maid. There is nothing which men more resent than this plain statement of a necessary consequence, but when men cease from regarding marriage as a lottery, or as a fate to be resisted and jested over, it will be time to cease making it; and this will not be until women occupy a proper position in the body politic, until they are as free as men to bestow their affection, independent of their relatives and of masculine favour or protection. Those men who really value the love of women and are worthy of it, have everything to gain by helping women to obtain their enfranchisement and the most complete emancipation.

Space only permits of the mention of one other aspect of the question, but this is the most important. What will be the effect of women's enfranchisement upon their children? Few who can take a broad view of the question can have much difficulty as to the answer. Does the rearing and education of young children require skill and intelligence, or does it not? Do men want to go back to the time when the having had ten children and buried eight was the best qualification for a woman as an adviser to her less experienced sister? In these days it is recognized that in its earliest infancy a child should be tended by some one who has at least some knowledge of hygiene, and the importance of its early education and moral training is realized. Surely it is better that the earliest questions and difficulties of a child should be answered by a mother who understands something of the wider life. Not only is this so, but in these days of constantly increasing pressure the mother has frequently to be the adviser and manager even up to the choosing of schools, and the selection of professions for her children. How many of those who are engaged in educational work have had experience of widows, or of mothers whose husbands are too much occupied, anxiously consulting them as to what branch of engineering will be most suitable for their sons? Then again there is the general question of education, and of the feeding and clothing of the poor children of the nation. Surely the advice of mothers is wanted here. Lastly there is the greatest of all questions to be faced. Women have the bearing and rearing of children, they undergo the anguish and perils of maternity for them, and make sacrifices for them. To what end? Only, among the poorest classes, to see half of them perish soon after birth, to see those who survive grow up enfeebled and stunted to swell the ranks of the unskilled and unemployed. Is this not a matter for women to deliberate upon? This is a question the solution of which will demand the combined wisdom of men and women. CHAS. V. DRYSDALE.

Liberalism and Women's Suffrage.

The most curious fact which emerges from the reports of members of the Men's League who have been at work canvassing during the past three months, is that a large number of those who decline their overtures are professed Liberals. Moreover, it is largely among Liberals *soi-disants* that criticism of a condemnatory character has emanated as regards the policy of the more active women suffragists.

It is, indeed, a strange thing that the very men whose fundamental political principle it is that those who bear the burdens of citizenship should share in its privileges also—a strange thing that those, for example, who have recently made considerable sacrifices in support of the principle that money obtained from public sources should be spent only by bodies which effectively represent the persons who contribute that money—that these men should be so inconsistent as to refuse to women ratepayers the rights which have been won for men.

Again, in the past, Liberalism has stood for equalization of opportunity, for the principle that each person should, as far as possible, have the opportunity of developing his or her own individual capacity. They have contended that the acme of social development consists in the adjustment of natural inequalities by the protection of the weak against the dominant

forces of physical and financial superiority. They have sought to replace the natural law of the survival of the fittest by international arbitration, by the proper organization of commercial relations, by the spreading of education among the poor, by charging upon national or local funds derived from public revenues the provision of hygienic conditions in poor and insanitary areas. And they have done all this—all honour to them!—in the great names of Liberty and Justice. The ultimate sovereign power is to reside in the people as a whole, not in any privileged class.

The result of their labours in the question of franchise is that all men who have not less than a certain very small financial qualification have an equal share in government. No questions can be asked by the revising barrister at registration times as to religious views, amount of property in land, intellectual acquirements, capacity or willingness to serve in our national armies, ability to restrain emotional impulses, training in high finance or international law, sobriety, morality. Providing the person is not a peer, a convicted criminal, a certified lunatic, or a child, the vote must be granted to him, on his 10*l.* qualification and length of residence being proved.

A Liberal must, therefore, be prepared

either to assert that all or most women are either criminals, lunatics, children, or peeresses; or to admit that his principles are of narrow application; or to support the enfranchisement of women.

From a Liberal standpoint there is not a shred of reason for distinguishing between men ratepayers and women ratepayers in respect of the franchise. The other day a Liberal, in the writer's hearing, objected "Women can't fight!" A singular argument! Would he deprive of his vote one of the Society of Friends, all of whom are pledged not to fight? Would he disfranchise a man who was lame or blind? Another said, "Women are emotional." Would he disfranchise those who—using the words he himself used a few years ago—were "carried away by the war fever in the Khaki election" of 1907? J. M. M.

Announcements.

THE next meeting, of which a preliminary announcement was made last week, will be held on July 11th, at 8.30 P.M., in the Town Hall, Kensington. This meeting is of an experimental character. It has been suggested that, in meetings attended by both men and women, many men refrain from stating objections and asking questions lest they might seem to be lacking in gallantry towards the women present. On the other hand, it is unquestionably true that the presence of women stimulates the lighter-hearted (to use no harder term) to badinage of a character not conducive to serious discussion. It is hoped that this meeting will not only attract a large number of thinking men who are interested, favourably or otherwise, in the Women's Franchise question, but will also afford to our opponents an opportunity of asking questions and briefly stating objections without fear of hurting the feelings of those whose civic qualifications they may be inclined to criticize.

The chief speakers will be the Rev. R. J. Campbell, Dr. Stanton Coit, and R. F. Cholmeley, Esq.

The following gentlemen have consented to give their names in support of the meeting: Prof. Ayrton, F.R.S.; H. Granville Barker, Esq.; T. J. Cobden-Sanderson, Esq.; Walter Crane, Esq.; Prof. J. W. Rhys Davids; H. W. Nevinson, Esq.; W. M. Rossetti, Esq.; John Russell, Esq., M.A.; G. Bernard Shaw, Esq.; C. W. Saleeby, Esq., M.D. F.R.S. (Edin.); Israel Zangwill, Esq.

Tickets, numbered and reserved, 5*s.*; reserved, 2*s.* 6*d.*; admission, 1*s.*, to be obtained from the central offices, 38, Museum Street, W.C. (to which all inquiries should be addressed), and W. Sanders, 18, Brynmaer Road, Battersea. All who can aid by selling tickets, acting as stewards, or in any other way, should at once communicate with the hon. secretaries.

At a meeting of the Executive held on Tuesday, June 25th, J. Malcolm Mitchell was elected one of the hon. secretaries of the League in the place of Goldfinch Bate, resigned.

The Brixton Meeting.

THE Women's Social and Political Union held a successful meeting at Brixton Hall, London, S.W., last Thursday. The hall was well filled, and the audience, which was largely drawn from the upper middle class, was enthusiastic.

Miss Pankhurst's speech was particularly well received, and her sparkling repartees to the one or two hecklers (Liberals opposed to suffragette methods, not to their aims) were thoroughly appreciated.

Mrs. Raphael, of the Streatham Branch, took the chair, and in introducing the speakers, said they were the pioneers of the human race, and in their views and aims were a great deal in advance of the masses. They moulded human evolution. Sex was almost as much an accident as the shape of a man's nose. (Laughter.) The real forces were the mental and psychic aptitudes and potentialities. These in women had hitherto been denied expression. Woman's economic dependence, allied to her own powers of self-repression—a repression really made possible by her strength, and not her weakness—had resulted in legal, in political, and in economic bondage. Self-effacement, often a virtue, was a vice when it hindered right progress and encouraged the oppressor. What was called the "Woman's Movement" resembled the "Labour Movement" in that it was a revolt of units against hard and unjust conditions. This movement was spreading; it was now as wide as humanity; and in this country it would continue to spread until women enjoyed the same political, legal, and economic status as men, and until all careers were equally open to them. (Hear, hear.) It was England's proud boast that she was the pioneer of liberty, the refuge of the oppressed, the mother-source from which nations had derived courage and inspiration; but in this matter of granting to women the rights of citizenship, England lagged behind. Many of her colonies, Finland, and, quite lately, Norway had enfranchised their women. These would be the peoples of the future; from free women would be born noble

sons, men not hampered and restricted in their outlook and achievements by the small interests and trivialities which made up the lives of so many of their womenkind. She was jealous for her sex. She wanted to see those who were fit taking the place to which their abilities entitled them; or, at least, choosing their representatives on bodies which controlled national questions. She had much pleasure in calling upon Miss Pankhurst to address the meeting. (Applause.)

Miss Pankhurst, who was received with prolonged applause, severely criticized the attitude of the Premier and his colleagues towards the House of Lords. He had the audacity, she said, to use arguments against the House of Lords which, in its relation to women, should be used against the House of Commons. After declaring that he had no time to reform the franchise, he deliberately introduced a Franchise Bill—the Plural Voting Bill—and, of course, left women out. The Lords had helped their Union in rejecting this measure. Nobody broke their hearts over it—a man: "Yes, they did." Speaker: "It did not go far enough even for the men. You [to the interrupter] were not satisfied with it." The man: "Yes, I was." Miss Pankhurst: "Oh, you're too easily satisfied." (Laughter.) They, went on the speaker, would not tolerate or be insulted by any Franchise Bill which did not include women, and the Lords had helped them by rejecting the Plural Voting Bill; for if a Franchise Bill were placed upon the statute book, another could not be introduced for some time. Men had had their share of franchise legislation. Women's time had come. They had waited long—too long. (Hear, hear, and applause.)

When at public meetings they asked questions of Cabinet Ministers, they were ejected and then accused of disorderliness. But they were not disorderly; they did not ask to be ejected; they only asked questions, which ministers found inconvenient to answer. (Hear, hear.) She admitted that they had not been so disorderly as, to gain a similar privilege, men had been. But they had done their best to be so—(laughter)—and she thought they deserved to be applauded. (Applause.) Those gentlemen did not understand argument or reason. While other governments were courteously considering the claims of women, our

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Government was treating them like the Czar of Russia (A man: "No." Speaker: "Yes, and sends mounted police out to us." Cries of "Shame"). They did not want to crowd around the House of Lords; they would much rather be attending to their business. But as their spokesman was not given a hearing, they would go whenever they liked. "Women have more responsibilities than men," she concluded. "You cannot all find it convenient to go to prison; though, if necessary, you should be prepared for the sacrifice. But in and out of season you can talk" (Hear, hear and laughter, in which the speaker joined) "about the cause. For your past apathy and for not going to prison you must sign this postcard that I hold in my hand, on which is printed: 'I promise to give or collect 1l. a year until women are enfranchised.'" (Loud applause.)

Miss Pankhurst then moved the resolution, "That this meeting demands that in order that the will of the people should prevail, the parliamentary franchise be so reformed that the House of Commons should not represent the men of the country only, but the women also."

Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, one of the secretaries of the Men's League, seconded the resolution. Having premised that he spoke as a confirmed Liberal, he called upon the meeting to bear in mind the important fact that the enfranchisement of women is demanded not only by an increasingly large number of women, but also by many men on their behalf. Therefore, the question cannot be regarded as a purely self-regarding agitation among those who are to benefit by its success. Moreover, the men who have expressed themselves in its favour include prominent public men of all shades of political opinion, in almost all civilized countries, and belonging to very different periods of political thought. There must be some rational ground for a movement supported by men so different as the present Prime Minister, Mr. A. J. Balfour, and Mr. Keir Hardie, in countries so different as the United States, New Zealand, and Norway, and continuously advocated for more than half a century. Mr. Mitchell warned Liberals that they must not be led away by arguments which were absolutely incompatible with their

own most cherished convictions. Liberalism had denied that high intellectual attainments, the possession of great wealth, or superiority to all emotional prepossessions were any qualification for a vote, and characterized as illogical and cowardly the attempt made by some critics to attribute the success of the Moderate party at the recent County Council elections to the women voters. The root principle of Liberalism is that those who help to bear their country's burden should have a share in its government. And this qualification is possessed by many women as fully as it is by any men. Mr. Mitchell concluded his remarks by a brief reference to the foundation and activities of the Men's League and its first branch at Clapham, and a hearty welcome to the new organ, *Women's Franchise*.

Mrs. Philip Snowden, in supporting the resolution, dealt with the ethical aspect of the question. They could trace a distinct connexion between the low status of women and their political disenfranchisement. If people would but think of this question, there would be as great a stir in the moral sphere as there ever had been since the birth of Adam or the coming of Christ. (Hear, hear.)

At the close of the speeches the audience was invited to put questions to the speakers. In answer to a lady who enquired why the suffragettes had not agitated against the Tory Government as they had agitated against and hampered the Liberal Government, Miss Pankhurst replied: "We ought to have agitated. We ought to have started twenty years ago. But better late than never; so we've started now. It's no use crying over spilt milk." (Hear, hear.)

In reply to a question as to what were to be a woman's voting qualifications? Miss Pankhurst: "The same as a man's."

Miss Pankhurst was further asked whether she was in favour of universal suffrage, and replied that they did not want what men did not have. They wanted no more than their brothers had, but would not be satisfied with less.

The resolution was then put to the meeting and carried with three dissentients, who were ironically cheered.

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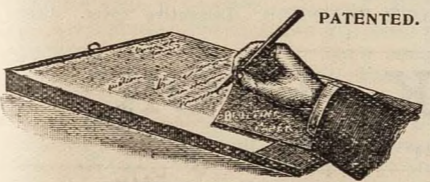
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