

VOTES FOR WOMEN

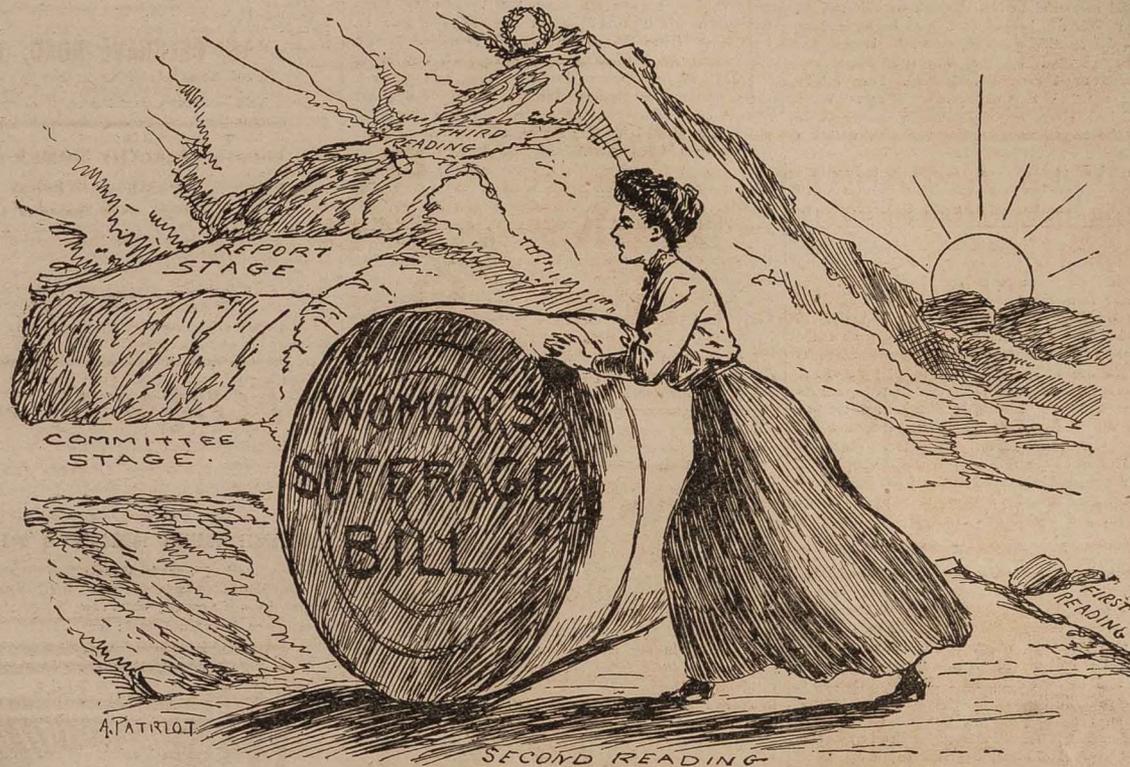
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VOL. III. (New Series), No. 123.

FRIDAY, July 15, 1910.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)
13d.

ANOTHER STAGE PASSED. THE SECOND READING CARRIED BY 299 TO 190.



With apologies to "Punch."

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To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Acts are of more importance than words, and the two division lists of the House of Commons on Tuesday last are of far greater consequence than all the arguments for and against which occupied Parliament during the two days preceding. How does the Bill stand by the results of those two divisions?

The Second Reading Carried.

In the first place the second reading of the Bill has been carried by the considerable majority of 109 in an unusually full House, the figures being 299 in favour of the Bill and 190 against. Allowing for the fact of 24 pairs, it will be seen that out of 668 members at present elected, not more than 131 abstained entirely from expressing an opinion, a number which is an exceedingly small one in Parliamentary divisions. The actual number of those

taking part is a proof of the very great interest which this question is arousing at the present time—an interest which exists in spite of the deliberate attempt to shirk the question by prominent members on both sides of the House—and is a proof of the value of the agitation which has been going on outside Parliament.

The Meaning of the Majority.

The large majority in favour of the second reading is a proof of the determination of the House of Commons to deal with the question of Woman Suffrage, and to deal with it through the present Bill. Nothing was clearer during the debate than the fact that the votes cast on this division were not cast merely in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage, but were being cast for the particular Bill before the House. Mr. Churchill drew the special attention of Liberal members to this fact. He said:—

"In my judgment the member who can honestly say, 'I want this Bill to be passed into law this Session regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it, as they very likely would.'—the man who is prepared to say all that, who can think honestly and sincerely, is fully justified in voting for the second reading of the Bill." And he went on to say that as he did not support the particular Bill, he was not going to give his vote in favour of its second reading.

The Right to Have the Bill Carried.

The support which the House of Commons has thus given to the present Woman Suffrage Bill ought to imply that this Bill is going to be carried into law this session. Mr. Asquith has himself stated that if the House is friendly it ought to have a means of effectively dealing with the whole matter. The House is undoubtedly friendly. The majority of 109 is not merely larger than that by which the

vote on the Budget of 1909 was carried in the present House or that by which the Veto Resolutions were passed, but it is practically equal to the whole official Government majority, including the Labour and Irish parties on their side, which is supposed to be sufficient to enable them not merely to override their opponents in the Lower House, but even to override opposition in the House of Lords. So far, therefore, Suffragists have a right to feel that a great victory has been gained—a victory in the teeth of the opposition of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Home Secretary, who hoped that the House would take upon itself the responsibility of rejecting the measure on its Second Reading.

The Committee Stage.

The second division taken on Tuesday night related to the form of procedure which should follow the second reading of the Bill. A vote was taken on the motion that the Bill should be referred to a Committee of the whole House instead of being sent up to a Grand Committee, and this motion to retain it in the full House was carried by a majority of 145 (320 to 275). That decision is to this extent a disappointment to Woman Suffragists that the easiest and most effective means of proceeding with the Bill cannot now be put into operation. Every member of the House who supported this adverse motion has to that extent injured the prospects of the Bill, but the greatest blame in the matter must be laid on the shoulders of the Government, who brought their unanimous influence to bear in order to persuade their followers to take this course. The Government said, in effect, "we regard the second reading as an open question, but on the matter of procedure we are prepared to give you united advice, and that is a matter in which you ought to follow our direction." Those who followed this advice are responsible for what they did, but

the greatest responsibility rests with the Government who gave it.

Future Progress.

But because the easiest course of procedure for the Bill has now been set aside, friends of Woman Suffrage must not suppose that there is no other way of making progress with the measure. In the course of his speech on Monday afternoon Mr. Haldane made this significant remark in reference to keeping the Bill in the Committee of the whole House.

That does not involve necessarily that the question shall be delayed in becoming law. On the strength of that utterance there is no doubt that many Liberals followed him into the division lobby to vote against sending the Bill to a Grand Committee, and it rests, therefore, with him and with the Cabinet of which he is a responsible member to justify his words by giving time for the Bill to be discussed in the whole House. But the responsibility does not rest alone with the Government; if they fail members of Parliament are bound to take steps to bring pressure to bear upon them in this matter. Particularly does the responsibility lie on those who, trusting to the good intentions of the Government, were not prepared to support the Bill going to a Grand Committee. We understand that on the initiative of the Conciliation Committee steps are being taken to secure a large and influential memorial to Mr. Asquith on this matter, and that a question will be put to him at an early date. Until his reply to this question is made known the course to be pursued by the Women's Social and Political Union must remain undecided. The position is, in fact, not unlike that of three weeks ago. When Mr. Asquith had given an unfavourable answer as to the date of the second reading, the W.S.P.U. waited a little while to see whether members of Parliament would secure a reversal of that answer. It will similarly wait a little while on this occasion to see whether the Government can be induced to grant facilities for the Committee stage of the Bill.

The Immediate Task.

The immediate task of members of the Union is to use every means in their power to induce Members of Parliament to secure from the Government further immediate facilities for the Bill. This they must do by individual effort on the one hand, and also by leaving no stone unturned to secure the success of the great peaceful demonstrations which are being undertaken in all parts of the country. Most important of all is the great peaceful demonstration fixed for Saturday, July 23rd, when the two great processions from the east and from the west will unite in a monster meeting of forty platforms. We would also draw attention to the meetings in the other parts of the country announced below, and to the joint demonstration in Hyde Park on Saturday next organised by the Men's Political Union, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

The Speeches.

debate itself was reckoned by members of the House as both brilliant and remarkable—brilliant because many of the speeches were delivered by occupants of the Front Benches, and because many of those from all parts of the House were well reasoned, witty, and effective; remarkable because of the divergent views expressed from the same Bench, and because almost for the first time, on a Woman Suffrage Bill, the concrete question of a second reading, not an abstract principle, was the real subject of debate. Women's interest in the speeches is not concerned with this point of view; they look to the debate to see who are their real friends and who are their real enemies.

Anti-Suffrage Views.

We may pass over here without comment the numerous speeches directed against the principle of Woman Suffrage from whichever side of the House they came. The arguments used in them are the arguments so frequently met with among the unthinking crowd who are to be found on the outskirts of the great outdoor meetings held by the W.S.P.U. They are dealt with from almost every platform of the Women's Social and Political Union, and they have been met in course of the articles by Mr. Pethick Lawrence, published in the columns of this paper and now republished in book form under the title, "Women's Fight for the Vote." So far as we have been able to discover, no new arguments were put forward against the Woman Suffrage principle by members of the House of Commons.

Friends of Woman Suffrage.

Moreover we have only space to notice briefly the valuable contributions to the Debate which came from supporters of the movement. The masterly defence of the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Balfour, of the principle that Government must rest on the consent of the governed carried great weight in the House of Commons. Very cogent, also, were the speeches of Mr. Lyttelton and Lord Hugh Cecil, of the Secretary for War and Mr. Shackleton, and of many others to whom it is impossible to refer. A summary of them may be read in the pages devoted to the Debate, which will be found on pp. 684, 685, 690, 691.

Opposition to the Bill.

We would call attention rather to the criticism directed against the particular Bill before the House. Two men stood out to take this line—the Home Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. These two men attempted to argue that though in favour of the principle of Woman Suffrage they were not prepared to support this Bill, on the ground that it was undemocratic, and that by the ruling of

the Speaker, on account of its title, it could not be made democratic by any amendment in Committee.

Mr. Lloyd George's Trap.

Women Suffragists are well used to this sinister form of attack. It is always easy to pose as a friend of a cause in the abstract while taking care to oppose any practical means of carrying it into effect. It is particularly easy to urge that any proposal is inadequate and ought to be widely enlarged before being carried, but it is difficult to believe that such a line can be taken by a genuine friend. As the *Manchester Guardian* very wisely points out: "A democratic solution is unhappily always some other solution than that which is offered." Mr. Lloyd George himself is fully aware of this means of opposition on other questions. Speaking in the House of Commons, on June 15, 1908, he referred to the efforts which opponents of Old Age Pensions were making to force the Government to drop the matter by widening the proposals. "Undoubtedly," he added, "that is their way of killing Old Age Pensions. I invite the supporters of Old Age Pensions not to fall into the trap." We are equally aware that this is Mr. Lloyd George's way of attempting to kill Woman Suffrage, but we do not intend to fall into his trap.

Is the Bill Democratic?

For what are the facts as to this Bill? A compromise has been reached by the Conciliation Committee on which true Woman Suffragists sitting on both sides of the House are prepared to unite. It is a Bill which Adult Suffragists can support, but it is not a Bill which is such as to alienate the sympathies of those who are opposed to Adult Suffrage. It is of the essence of this compromise that the main lines of the Bill shall not be altered in later stages, and the nature of its title secures this result. Suppose it were otherwise. Suppose that it were capable of being entirely altered at a later stage, then at once the basis of the compromise would break down. An amendment moved by Adult Suffragists to increase its scope would be supported by Anti-Suffragists and carried, and then the third reading of the Bill would be defeated because, instead of having a majority composed of members of both sides of the House, it would only command the support of that fraction sitting on one side who were at the same time woman suffragists.

The Nature of the Bill.

Now as to the democratic character of the Bill—the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Home Secretary urge that it is undemocratic on three grounds. Firstly, they say that working women will not get a fair share of the vote; secondly, they say that it would enable the propertied classes to create special fagot votes; and thirdly, they say that it would not enfranchise the married women. As to the first argument, such undoubted champions of the working class as Mr. Shackleton, Mr. Keir Hardie, and Mr. Snowden were able in their important speeches conclusively to prove that Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill were misinformed as to their alleged facts. Of women on the present Municipal Register, who it is being proposed to make also Parliamentary voters, the great majority are working women. But it is alleged that the new Bill will cause the creation of fagot votes. So far as this is a possibility it is also present in our existing franchise laws; rich men could undoubtedly make their sons and their dependent males voters by means of the lodger vote. But the extent to which this is done is exceedingly slight, as may be seen from the fact that including all the genuine lodgers the whole lodger vote is only 3 per cent. of the electorate. Moreover, for the purpose of gaining a vote in municipal affairs, which are admittedly of great importance, rich men could at the present time enfranchise their wives and daughters. This they do not do. It is not too much to say that no real Woman Suffrage Bill could be devised which would not possess some of the anomalies of our present franchise law, and to give this as an argument for opposing each Suffrage Bill is as disingenuous as it is absurd. Finally, as to the married women, Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill must be perfectly aware that no Bill which would include a larger proportion of married women than that before the House has any likelihood of passing into law, and that it is an ill friend who would refuse to do the possible in the professed hope that the impossible may be achieved.

"He who draws the sword will perish with the sword."

Another point in the debate deserves attention. Mr. Asquith, referring to the tactics of the militant Suffragists, said, "He who draws the sword will perish with the sword." But the statement is one that should be directed, not against the militant Suffragists, but against himself and his Government. The present phase of the Suffragette agitation began when the Liberal stewards forcibly removed Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney from a meeting because Sir Edward Grey refused to answer a straightforward and proper question put at the end of his speech. It has been continued by Mr. Asquith when he has had the police force out to prevent women approaching him by deputations; it is he and his Government who have been the aggressors in the conflict, and to whom his own utterances apply.

Press Comments.

Of the many and varied press comments we are only able to give a brief selection in this issue. We would draw special attention, however, to the friendly articles of the *Manchester Guardian* and *Morning Leader*, and to the extract from "The Times" of Tuesday, in which the speech of Mr. Haldane opening the doors to further concession is analysed and discussed.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Come in your Millions!

This is the invitation being scattered broadcast over London in preparation for the great Demonstration to-morrow week, Saturday, July 23. Members, do not forget that every moment is precious. This Demonstration will far outshine any previously held, and all London, as well as the country, must know about it. Write to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., telling her what time you can give during the next few days.

Next Monday Afternoon.

Everyone will want to know where the Bill stands, and what steps have to be taken. Next Monday afternoon's meeting, therefore, at the Queen's Hall, at 3 p.m., will be of great significance. Come and hear Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., on the policy of the Union with regard to the Bill. The meeting is free, and all are invited.

Next Thursday Evening.

The Thursday evening meeting at St. James's Hall, at 8 p.m., is another meeting likely to be a very important one in the history of the movement; speeches will be delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., and also by that staunch friend of the movement, the Rev. J. Ivory Cripps, B.A. Mrs. Pankhurst hopes also to be present. This meeting also is free, and a warm invitation is extended to the public.

Great Demonstrations in the Country.

Throughout the country great Demonstrations are being held preparatory to the monster gathering in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 23, and at these it is expected enormous crowds will gather to hear the latest news from headquarters. As we go to press (Thursday) a Demonstration is being held at Leicester; to-day (Friday) Demonstrations are taking place at Southampton and Reading; to-morrow (Saturday) mass meetings will be held at Liverpool, Sheffield, and Newcastle; on Sunday the Men's Political Union and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage will hold a combined Demonstration in Hyde Park; on Monday Birmingham and Nottingham will hold great Demonstrations, while on Monday evening Mrs. Pankhurst will address a great meeting in the Public Hall, Ipswich. On Wednesday Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at Knobworth, where the chair will be taken by the Earl of Lytton, Chairman of the Conciliation Committee, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will address a public meeting at Folkestone. On Friday Mrs. Pankhurst and Lady Constance Lytton will speak at a Demonstration in the Kursaal, Harrogate, and on Saturday, simultaneously with the monster meeting in Hyde Park, Scottish Suffragists will demonstrate at Edinburgh. Full details of these Demonstrations will be found on pages 694 to 697.

A TIME WHEN MEN HAD NO VOTE.

While you speak of Votes for Women, and the shocking things now done; I will tell you of a country where once women ruled alone. Not the men, but women voted; women sat in office, too; for these things were deemed improper for a manly man to do. And the laws of that strange country were in women's favour then, While the wages of the women far exceeded those of men. Years passed by before men noticed that the laws were not quite just; Then they said to one another, in a whisper, "Vote we must." And the women holding office smiled, and said: "Oh! how absurd For the men to think of voting; 'tis the silliest thing we've heard!" Then the men cried loud and fiercely; "We will have our vote to-day."

But the women, unmolested, over men still held their sway. Then the men began, poor creatures, with the Government to fight; And the women, shocked and frightened, said "We're sure this isn't right. "How can men find time for voting; they must work and earn their bread; Let the women who have leisure vote, and make the laws instead."

"If men vote, 'twill bring dissension into our domestic life; Man would have his own opinion, and might differ from his wife. "Man knows nothing of the household and the things that mothers keep; If he had the vote, he'd tell us how the babies ought to sleep. "Man can write and speak in public; his opinions may be known; Woman wishes for his welfare, just as much as for her own. "In past years men never voted; consequently it is right That men should not have the suffrage, and 'tis wrong for them to fight. "Men won't gain their cause by fighting; 'tis the worst way to begin; They are hoiligans and madmen to be making such a din! "Yet in spite of sense and reason, men still fought, enduring pain, Loss, imprisonment and hardship, for the cause they hoped to gain. History has never told us which side won the battle then. But 'tis said that justice triumphed in that dreadful war with men. This is but a quaint old legend of a time long since remote; And at present in that country men as well as women vote.

LUOY B. STEARNS.

FACTS FOR NEW READERS.

(Those who want more information than is given here should obtain "Women's Fight for the Vote," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence, from The Woman's Press, 155, Charing Cross Road. Price 6d. net paper and 1s. net cloth.)

The demand women are making is that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill to effect this which they desire to see carried into law. It is estimated that between a million and a million-and-a-quarter women would be immediately enfranchised by it. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters, this would mean that the female electorate would be about one-seventh of the whole. The Bill which is at present before Parliament is slightly different from this, and would enfranchise about one million women.

The Meaning of the Parliamentary Vote.

The right to put a cross on a ballot paper conferred by the Parliamentary vote is a symbolic act of citizenship. It is the means recognised by the law whereby the voter exercises his sovereign rights as one of the rulers of the country. Its immediate effect is to enable the voter to influence the selection of the man who is to represent his district in the House of Commons, and through him to control the legislation, taxation, and administration of the country. Though an isolated individual may not attach much importance to his own vote, it makes all the difference whether a whole class of individuals possesses the franchise or is excluded from it. What one single John Smith is unable to do, a whole class of John Smiths not only can but will do. As illustrations may be noted the Trades Disputes Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, and Old Age Pensions, which would never have become law if the working class had not been enfranchised.

Why Women Want the Vote.

In the first place, they desire to play their part in the life of the nation and introduce their point of view, so long neglected, into the government of the country. Among the matters decided in Parliament are questions of education, infant mortality, sweated labour, the conditions of women's work, the housing of the poor, the treatment of the poor and of criminals. Women feel deeply on all these questions, and when they are voters candidates of all political parties will find that in order to win their support at the polls they will have to set these questions in the forefront of their programmes. In the second place, women know that the possession of the vote is necessary to safeguard the interests of women. No human being is good enough to be entrusted with absolute power over another human being, and no section or class of a community is good enough to be trusted with absolute power over another section or class. At present the male electorate controls the making and the administering of the laws, and as a result the law is not fair to women, and it is also administered to their disadvantage. Finally, the vote is the hall-mark of citizenship, and confers a status which those who are excluded from it cannot possess.

Where the Law is Unjust to Women.

Those who oppose giving votes to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him. She has no legal right to any share of the husband's income except in the case of actual desertion; and if, while continuing to live with her, he refuses to pay to her a single penny of his wages, she cannot obtain such payment except by breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. Short of this she and her children can starve, and yet she cannot claim the protection of the law to obtain maintenance from her husband. Finally, in the event of either party to the marriage being guilty of definite immorality, there is a total difference in the treatment accorded to husband and wife.

Women and the Administration.

In administering the country the Government has set up an entirely artificial differentiation between the sexes. In the first place, from a very large number of positions (including all the more important) women are excluded altogether, to the disadvantage of women, who are thus denied opportunities of well-paid employment, and to the disadvantage of the community, which is thus obliged to appoint a man where a woman might be more suitable, or have better qualifications. In the second place, where men and women are both employed, the woman receives a far smaller wage than the man for precisely the same work, as is the case with school inspectors, sanitary inspectors, post office employees, &c. Finally, the Government is one of the worst of sweaters in the wages it pays to women, either directly or through its sub-contractors in its Army clothing works and other departments.

Answers to Anti-Suffrage Arguments.

Women have shown their demand for the vote by petitions, by great public meetings, and by willingness to undergo imprisonment for the sake of the cause. These are the only methods available for the unenfranchised. That woman suffrage is popular among the electors is shown by the way candidates for Parliament secretly hostile to it hedge on the subject when questioned at election time. Though man's principal work may lie in the workshop and woman's in the home, that does not prevent men and it should not prevent women from taking a reasonable interest in the affairs of the country, and from sparing that small amount of time required to cast a vote at elections, to attend an occasional political meeting, and to discuss the questions of the day with acquaintances. Common sense and the experience of countries where women vote combine to show that woman suffrage does not lead to dissensions in the home, nor to women being treated with less respect by men, but does lead to the enactment of beneficial laws which they have been for years

asking for in vain. There is no ground for thinking that woman suffrage will unduly strengthen any one of the present political parties at the expense of the others. Nor will it necessarily lead to adult suffrage or to women M.P.'s. After women have won the vote the male electorate will still outnumber the female electorate by about six or seven to one, and only those changes which are approved by the whole electorate will be made. Where women have been called upon to govern they have generally been remarkably successful, as witness the famous names of Queen Elizabeth, Queen Victoria, Maria Theresa, the late Dowager Empress of China, and many others; but the possession of the vote does not mean the liability to be called on to govern, but merely to select those who will govern; and women are certainly capable of this quite equally with men. Many anti-suffragists pin their faith to the "physical force" argument; they say that the ultimate basis of all government is physical force. This is untrue; it is not the physically strongest races which govern the world, but those who possess the finest combination of physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual force; and the same is true within the confines of a single State.

Forty Years of Ladylike Methods.

Those who accuse the Suffragettes of impatience forget the forty years of "constitutional" agitation carried on from 1866 to 1905. At first women tried to get on to the register, and in one district 92 per cent. of the "qualified" women sent in claims. The case was, however, decided against them in the law courts—"Chorlton v. Lings." They then organised petitions, and in 14 years sent in over 9,000 petitions with over three million signatures. Next they held enthusiastic meetings in all the large towns of the country. Nevertheless they were omitted from the County Franchise Bill, and at the express direction of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., the pledged to Woman Suffrage voted against an amendment to include women. After this betrayal women continued to pursue "peaceful" methods, and in 1897 a monster memorial, signed by 257,000 women, was presented to members of Parliament. But no notice was taken of it, and M.P.'s continued to ignore the agitation.

Militant Methods.

It is a mistaken idea that submission is a noble virtue. There are circumstances under which it may even be morally wrong. One of these arises when it is a case of submission to a breach of trust by a co-trustee. And women, to whom, equally with men, the interests of other women, of children, and of the race as a whole are confided, would be wrong if they continued to submit to exclusion from their proper place in the nation's affairs. Because they have done so hitherto, a whole set of ideas necessary for the proper evolution of the human race has been crushed out of existence. The commencement of militant methods by women meant that they were tired of being humbugged by politicians and had found out that pressure had to be adopted. This pressure could not be of the same kind as is used in other walks of life, because those who had no votes had no constitutional means of bringing pressure to bear on the Government. It had to be of an extraordinary or revolutionary kind. The men who won Magna Charta knew this, and so did those who broke the power of the Stuarts and those who won the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867. And women have decided that if no other way is open to win their liberty even revolution will not be eschewed.

Origin of the Militant Campaign.

In the autumn of 1905 the general political outlook underwent a change. The sands of the Conservative Government were running out, and Sir Edward Grey came to Manchester to expound what Liberal policy would be if a Liberal Government came into power. The W.S.P.U., then two years old, determined to find out what the Liberal policy would be to women. Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney went to Sir Edward Grey's meeting, and after his speech, at the proper time for questions, put a question to him on this point. He ignored the question. It was then sent up to him in writing, but it was still ignored; and as the meeting showed signs of breaking up, Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney stood on their seats and pressed for an answer. The only answer they got was to be dragged out past the platform and flung into the street. There they started a protest meeting, but the police refused to allow them to proceed, and arrested them on a fabricated charge of assault. Brought before the magistrate the next day, they were sentenced to fine or imprisonment—Christabel Pankhurst to one week and Annie Kenney to three days—and both elected to go to prison. Thus did Sir Edward Grey prefer to see women flung out of his meeting and sent to prison rather than give an answer to one straightforward question.

The Four Years' War.

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

Criticism of "Pestering" Cabinet Ministers.

Though "C.B." himself recommended "pestering people," Liberals have taken women to task for pestering Cabinet Ministers, urging that persuasion is better than coercion. Women answer that 40 years of persuasion availed nothing. Liberals further said that interrupting meetings was improper; they have, however, shown the hypocrisy of this criticism by their approbation of the Liberal "voice" which interrupted Conservative speakers;

moreover, women did not interrupt till experience had shown that questions after the principal speech were disregarded. Later, when Cabinet Ministers excluded all women from their meetings, they found themselves confronted by women at other times and places; critics condemned this as bad manners, forgetting that he who blocks up the public way through his grounds cannot complain when the public trespass on his private property. When men interrupted in place of women critics falsely declared that they were paid for their work. When women, barred from access to the meeting hall, headed street demonstrations outside, or sent their protest in the form of a stone into the hall, critics condemned them for their lawless and dangerous behaviour. There is only one answer to be given to them: Revolutions cannot be made with rose-water; the blame for them rests not on those who are fighting for liberty, but on those who by denying justice make revolution the only available means to obtain redress.

Criticism of "Raids on Parliament."

Raids on Parliament are the outcome of the unqualified refusal of the Prime Minister to appoint time or place to see any deputation of women (whether "constitutional" or "militant" Suffragists) on the question of woman suffrage. By thus breaking the spirit of the constitution he has compelled women to choose between two alternatives, either tamely to submit and thereby to allow him to ignore their claims, or to continue to press for an audience even up to the point of trying to force their way into the House of Commons. The members of the W.S.P.U. have chosen the latter course, thereby incurring the criticism of being "lawless, unwomanly and violent." In being charged with unwomanliness the Suffragettes are in good company, for a similar charge has been preferred against all women reformers of the past, including Joan of Arc, Josephine Butler, and Florence Nightingale. On the main issue the words of the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone provide an irrefutable answer: "If no instructions had ever been addressed in political crises to the people of this country except to remember to hate violence and love order and exercise patience, the liberties of this country would never have been attained."

The Prison Mutiny and Hunger Strike.

Of all the actions of the Suffragettes none have been so widely misunderstood as the prison mutiny and the hunger strike; this is because the outside public have never realised that in this the women were not acting wantonly or hysterically but with a clear and definite purpose, fighting for an important principle at great personal cost. From the commencement, in dealing with the suffrage prisoners the Government departed from the honourable tradition by which special treatment has been given political prisoners in all civilised countries, and dealt with them as ordinary police-court rowdies. Against this the women remonstrated in vain. Though the arguments of the women were supported by the *Manchester Guardian*, the *Daily Chronicle* and the *Daily News*, the Home Office turned a deaf ear to their complaints. All this time the women had carefully obeyed the prison regulations; but after three years of asking for proper prison treatment they realised that more vigorous action was necessary in order that the rights of political prisoners might not be permanently abrogated. Accordingly in June, 1909, they began to carry out a concerted refusal to be subject to prison discipline; and there was also initiated the hunger strike—the supreme effort of passive resistance. Those who carried it out said in effect to the Government: "We hold the right of political prisoners so sacred that we are willing to die in their defence; choose therefore between doing justice and allowing us to die in prison." The Government, however, at first found a third alternative, and after women had undergone several days' heroic sufferings by hunger they were released from prison.

Forcible Feeding in Prison.

But after a little while Mr. Gladstone decided upon a new method—forcible feeding in prison. By this means he hoped to retain the women longer in prison; in this he was partially successful. He hoped also to break their spirit; in this he completely failed. The most usual form of forcible feeding adopted was that of pouring liquid food by tube through the nose into the stomach of the prisoner, who was strapped down to a chair. It caused the most fearful pain, especially when aggravated by the concomitants of prison treatment. A curious side-light upon the methods of the Government was cast by the method of dealing with Lady Constance Lytton. When she was sentenced to prison in Newcastle in her own name, Mr. Gladstone sent a specialist to see her, who reported her suffering from heart disease; she was accordingly released without being forcibly fed. When she was sent to prison as "Jane Warton" no care was taken of her; she was forcibly fed and brutally treated. Owing to the "truce" there are at present no suffragists in prison, and Mr. Winston Churchill, the new Home Secretary, has brought in a new rule to provide somewhat better treatment for offenders not guilty of crimes implying moral turpitude. It is to be hoped that the suffrage question is going to be settled this session without further conflict, but if this hope proves elusive and further militancy takes place the adequacy of Mr. Churchill's rule will be tested, but it is at least a sign that the brave protest of the women is beginning to be understood.

The Truce and the New Bill.

In most great contests extending over a period of years intervals occur in which the combatants consider that they can obtain their objects better by a temporary suspension of hostilities than by continuous employment of arms. This view of the situation was taken by the leaders of the W.S.P.U. at the close of the general election of 1910 at which they had inflicted serious loss on the Government. In consequence of this truce a "Conciliation Committee" was formed in the House of Commons and drafted the new Bill, whose second reading was carried in Parliament on Tuesday last.

JULY 23! HYDE PARK!

Form up at 3 p.m., five abreast; Start, 4 p.m.; Meeting, 5.30; Resolution, 6.30.

List of Officers.

- Procession Secretary Miss Olive Smith, to whom all correspondence on general arrangements should be sent.
- Hyde Park Organiser..... Miss Florence Cooke.
- Banner and Colours Secretary "Votes for Women" Sellers on the Route Miss Irene Dallas.
- Hospitality Secretary Miss Annie Ainsworth.
- Organisers of Contingents. Miss Ellen Smith.
- Prisoners' Pageant..... Miss Irene Dallas.
- Women Graduates—Medical Miss L. Garrett Anderson, 114a Harley Street, W.
- " " Science & Arts Miss Effie Marsden, 82, Redcliffe Gardens, S.W.
- Women Pharmacists Miss Gilliat, The Western Hospital, Hampstead, N.W.
- Nurses Mrs. Kenyon.
- Teachers Mrs. Adair Impey, Crophorne, King's Norton, Birmingham.
- Gymnastic Teachers Miss Douglas Smith and Lady Constance Lytton.
- Musicians..... Miss C. A. L. Marsh.
- Civil Servants and Clerks ... Miss Vibert and Miss Fergus.
- Business Women..... Miss Partridge, 2, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea.
- Artists..... Mrs. Fisher, 26, Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W.
- Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors Miss Lennox.
- Women Gardeners & Florists Miss Lennox.
- Irish Contingent Miss Lennox.
- Colonial and Foreign Contingents Miss Ada Cecile Wright.
- New Zealand—Lady Stout, 15a, Pembroke Square, W.
- Australia—Lady Cockburn, Miss Newcomb, 69, Delaware Mansions, Egin Avenue, W.
- Canada—Miss E. Freeman, 4, Clements Inn.
- South Africa—Mrs. Saul Solomon, "Les Lunas," 96, Sumatra Road, West Hampstead, N.W.
- America—Miss E. Freeman, 4, Clements Inn.
- France—Madame Guenot, 59, Castellani Mansions, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Germany—Miss Blum, 22, Camden Hill Gardens, Kensington.
- Holland—Miss J. H. Krommendam, Wombly Dental Institute, 17, Railway Terrace, Wembley.
- Sweden—Miss Johanna, 14, Edaligh Street, Tavistock Square, W.C.
- Norway—Fra Anker, 9, Torrington Square, Hasell Square, W.C.
- Denmark—Mrs. Elise, 47, Great Portland Street, W.
- Italy—Miss Ada Cecile Wright.
- Outdoor Campaign Miss Elsa Gye.
- Chalking Brigade Miss Cyathia Maguire.

Letters to these Organisers (unless otherwise specified) should be addressed to them at the W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. (Names and addresses of those organising contingents from the various London and Provincial districts appear on pages 694 et seq.)

This has been woman's week! Not only in Parliament but in the home and in the streets the talk has been Votes for Women. The placards of the newspapers have been devoted to the Bill, and never has greater interest in any measure been displayed both in and out of the House. Only a few more days and London will witness a pageant surpassing even the great and memorable Demonstration of June 18. Never before, even in the annals of the W.S.P.U., have the two great Processions of July 23 been paralleled.

Where once a little band of women fought for the vote a great army to-day are working shoulder to shoulder for the cause. Inch by inch has the ground been gained; the fight long and tedious, but victory always in sight. There has been no backsliding; the antagonism of the powers political has been slowly but surely melted, and respect and admiration have replaced cynicism and indifference.

Who could watch that winding two miles and a half of women on June 18 and not feel impressed by the sight? Still more will the processions of Saturday-week move the spectators; the glory of pageant, the rich brilliance of colours; flying pennants, floating banners; the imposing

and stately progress of the Processions will provide a spectacle that shall never be obliterated from the memory of those who behold it.

Two Great Processions.

Instead of a single procession, as was the case on June 18, two great processions will separately wend their way into the Park. Each procession will be of extraordinary length, and will alone surpass any ordinary procession which has demonstrated in recent years in the streets of London. The West Procession will form up at 3 p.m. on the south side of Holland Park, and will stretch from Notting Hill Gate Station to Shepherd's Bush Tube Station. The East Procession will form up at 3 p.m. on the Westminster Embankment, and will stretch from Westminster Bridge to Blackfriars.

The women in both Processions will walk five abreast.

Lines of Route.

The West Procession will start at 4 p.m., and, lining up on the south side of the road, march straight along the Bayswater Road until it reaches the Marble Arch, at which point it will enter Hyde Park and proceed to the space allotted to the demonstration. The East Procession will also start at 4 p.m., and march up Northumberland Avenue via Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, St. James's Street, Piccadilly, to Hyde Park Corner, where it will enter the Park.

The Processions will be further divided into sections, and between each section on the line of march will be allowed an interval so that the traffic may pass through. A contingent of mounted police will ride at the head of each Procession.

Carriages will only be allowed in the carriage road inside the park, from Marble Arch to Hyde Park Corner, parallel with Park Lane, and not on the north side of the park.

The West Procession.

With the help of Miss Edith Craig and Mr. Laurence Housman a plan has been arranged for the West Procession which will be impressive by its severity and uniformity. New symbols will be used, and there will be bannerettes and pennants massed in their colours, making an entire change from the scheme carried out on June 18.

Then will come the women representing the districts of North and West London, and the first great section will be completed by Mr. Housman's banner, showing the woman who has broken through the gates of prison and wears a citizen's crown. Then will follow the graduates, women writers, artists, and gymnastic teachers.

Lastly come the ranks of the W.S.P.U. women from the North, South, East, West, and the Midlands, and also from Scotland. In all sections of the Procession beech branches will be carried. These have been kindly promised by a country sympathiser.

The East Procession.

The arrangements for the East Procession are under the supervision of Miss Wallace Dunlop and Miss Edith Downing, and have been vigorously pushed forward by a band of willing workers, who have diligently applied themselves to the work. Nevertheless there is still room for helpers, for nailing, painting, pasting, sewing, machining, at 5, Avenue Studios, Fulham Road. A worker with less than three hours at her disposal is of hardly any use. Those are wanted who can spare whole days, and especially next week, when there will be garlands to be made.

The bannerettes used in the sections devoted to the London Unions in this procession will be in all shades of purple, white, and green, bearing the mottoes, "Domine dirige nos" ("God Direct Us"), the motto and the arms

of the City of London, "The Voice of the People is the Voice of God," and another banner with the words, "Fiat Justitia," with sword and scales, will be carried.

A further section of this Procession will carry garlands of green ropes of foliage interspersed with heather. The whole scheme has been designed as a "play of colour and spacing," and promises to be most effective and artistic.

Prisoners' Pageant.

Again a special feature of the Procession will be the Prisoners' Pageant, in which 617 women, representing the imprisonments, will march. Eighteen out of the 110 hunger strikers will march as single figures in front of the standards. This imposing spectacle will impress the onlookers with the actual facts of all that has been endured in the four and half years' fight. Names of those willing to take part in this Pageant are coming in well, but more volunteers are needed, and these should send in their names without delay to Miss Dallas, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. It is particularly requested that those taking part in this Pageant shall wear white, with no regalia, and small white hats if possible.

A novel idea in standards will be carried in this section. On these will hang draperies bearing designs and the words, "Honour, Truth, and Justice," while others will be embellished with wings floating the word "Freedom," and others "Votes for Women," arranged somewhat in the form of a monogram.

Who will Take Part?

At such a great crisis as the present situation it is gratifying to chronicle that women are realising the necessity for combined effort, and, irrespective of methods, or class, or political opinions, have rallied round to make the Demonstration a success.

Promises of support have already been received from the following societies:—The Women Writers' Suffrage League, Women's Freedom League, Actresses' Franchise League, the London University Graduates, New Union for Men and Women, the Fabian Women's Group, the New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, the Hampstead Garden Suburb, the Hastings and St. Leonards Woman Suffrage League, the International Woman Suffrage Club, the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, the Men's Committee for Justice to Women, the Ethical Societies, and the Woman's Tax Resistance League.

Bands.

To the rousing music of forty bands the two Processions will march to the Park; these will include the Woman's Drum and Fife Band, of the Women's Social and Political Union, wearing their striking uniform of purple, green, and white.

In the Park.

Two years ago twenty platforms in the Park were occupied by supporters of the movement; on July 23 this number will be exactly doubled. The forty platforms will occupy a wider area than that required for any previous demonstration, the space covered being from the Serpentine to the Marble Arch.

From a conning tower in the centre the progress of the arrangements will be watched and directed. The meeting will commence at 5.30, and simultaneously at 6.30 from all platforms the Resolution will be put.

Hospitality.

Owing to the Demonstration being held at a considerably earlier hour than that of June 18 a large number of members

SECTIONS & GROUPS.

WEST PROCESSION.

General (Mounted) ... Mrs. Drummond.

Section A.

Group Marshal—Mrs. Eates. Banner Marshal—Miss E. Sharp.

GROUP A1.

Group Captain—Mrs. Hart. Banner Captain—Miss Postlethwaite.

This section will be led by a cordon of mounted police and headed by the colour bearer, Miss Marsh. Then will follow the Drum and Fife Band of the W.S.P.U., the members of the Kensington Branch of the W.S.P.U., and the Kensington Business Women. This group will form up at the Coronet Theatre.

GROUP A2.

Group Captain—Miss S. Wylie. Banner Captain—Miss E. Wylie.

Headed by a double band, in this group will march the Hammersmith, Chiswick, Richmond and Kew, North-West London, Hendon and Hampstead members of the W.S.P.U.

GROUP A3.

Group Captain—Miss Slinmons. Banner Captain—Miss Trim.

To the music of a double band will march the St. Pancras, Paddington, Marylebone, Croydon, Reigate and Redhill members of the W.S.P.U.

Section B.

Group Marshal—Dr. Christine Marcell. Banner Marshal—Miss Emma Marsden.

GROUP B1.

Group Captain—Miss Critchmay. Banner Captain—Miss Bidwell.

Following a cordon of mounted police, and headed by a double band, will march the women graduates of the Universities. This group will line up West of Holland Park.

GROUP B2.

Group Captain—Miss Morrison. Banner Captain—Miss Engall.

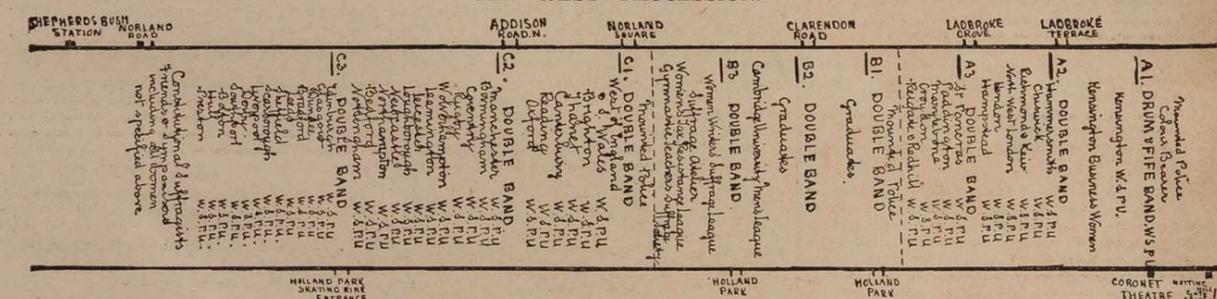
Lining up in Clarendon Road, and headed by a double band, will march graduates and the Cambridge University Men's League.

GROUP B3.

Group Captain—Miss Martindale. Banner Captain—Miss Gibbs.

Following a double band in this group will come the Women Writers' Suffrage League—Suffrage Atelier, Women's Tax Resistance League, Gymnastic Teacher's Suffrage Society. This group will form up west of Holland Park.

THE WEST PROCESSION.



Section C.

Group Marshal—Miss Marie Brackenbury. Banner Marshal—Miss G. Brackenbury.

GROUP C1.

Group Captain—Miss D. Radcliffe. Banner Captain—Miss Elsa Myers.

First will come mounted police, then a double band, and then the West of England, and South Wales, Brighton, Thanet, Canterbury, Reading, and Oxford Members of the W.S.P.U. These will line up between Norland Square and Addison Road North.

GROUP C2.

Group Captain—Miss M. Robertson. Banner Captain—Miss Liebler.

Lining up at Addison Road, North, to the music of a double band, will march the members of the W.S.P.U. from Manchester, Birmingham, Coventry, Rugby, Wolverhampton, Leamington, Leicester, Loughborough, Newcastle, Northampton, Bedford and Nottingham.

GROUP C3.

Group Captain—Miss Sybil Marsden. Banner Captain—Miss Sidney Woolf.

Members of the W.S.P.U. from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Bradford, Leeds, Sheffield, Scarborough, Liverpool, Derby, Southport, Bolton, Hull and Preston, with a double band, will line up by Holland Park Skating Rink. At Norland Road will form up Constitutional Suffragists, friends and sympathisers, including all women not specified above. All carriages following this section will form up in Goldhawk Road.

PAPER SELLERS.

Three hundred women are wanted to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN along the route of the Procession on July 23. Please let Miss Ainsworth know as soon as possible, so that arrangements can be made for them. Twenty women are needed to take charge of the "booths" that are to be placed along the route, in which "Votes for Women" colours and buttons will be sold. We want two women to each booth.

There was a record sale of the paper last Saturday at the National Women's Suffrage Society's meeting held in Trafalgar Square. Will all those members who so splendidly came to sell the paper please renew their efforts this Saturday at the Anti-Suffrage meeting to be held in the same place? We want to have one VOTES FOR WOMEN paper seller to every Anti-Suffragette. Will they please call for their papers before one o'clock on Saturday morning, or take them from the St. James's Hall meeting on Thursday evening?

Newspaper Carts.

At the following points in the West Procession newspaper carts will stand, and from these additional supplies of VOTES FOR WOMEN can be obtained—Camden Hill Square, Clarendon Gardens, Inverness Terrace, Stanhope Street, and Brook Street. The same facilities will be accorded in the East Procession at Spring Gardens, Little St. James's Street, Arlington Street, Whitehorse Street, and Dover Street.

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

University Section.

Chairman of Committee: Dr. L. Garrett Anderson. Hon. Secs.: Dr. Adeline Roberts, 43, Devonshire Street, Portland Place, W.; Miss J. W. Scott, M.A., 93, Shaftesbury Road, Tavistock Park, W.

The Committee of the London Graduates Union for Women's Suffrage have undertaken to organise the University Contingent of the demonstration on July 23, and other University Suffrage Societies have been asked to co-operate. The section will walk under academic banners only, and it will be composed of Suffragists of all shades of opinion. It will be entirely independent of all other societies and sections taking part in the demonstration. Full academic dress will be worn, and this can be hired, on special terms, from Messrs. Ede, 93, Chancery Lane, W.C. Robing rooms have been provided through the kindness of Mrs. Löwy at 76, Holland Park. The section will assemble at 3 p.m. on the north side of Holland Park Avenue. The procession will start at 4 p.m. Members will disrobe before entering Hyde Park, and rooms for this purpose have been provided at the Cabin Restaurant, Edgware Road, where tea will also be served.

The speakers from this platform will include Mr. Mansell Moullin, Mrs. Alfred Milnes, Dr. Flora Murray, and Dr. L. Garrett Anderson. Speeches, 5.30 p.m. Resolution, 6.30 p.m. The Committee ask for the co-operation and active assistance of all graduates, undergraduates, and members of colleges, both men and women. Offers of help are asked from men who are willing to act as stewards round the University platform. As the time is exceedingly limited, the efforts of the Committee can only succeed if they are backed by the strenuous endeavours of University people. The Committee wish to impress upon those able to render this special form of service that a University section, wearing academic dress, numbering 1,000 or more, and a well-supported University platform, would carry immense weight with the Press and with the public. The fate of the Bill depends on the activity and good sense of its supporters during the next fortnight, and these efforts will culminate in the demonstration on July 23.

Irish Contingent.

Organiser: Miss Lennox, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. An urgent appeal is made to the members of this contingent to do their utmost in making this Demonstration known all over London. The last Demonstration proved what Irishwomen can do. Now even greater things must be done! We

feel confident that every Irish Suffragist will rally to the call. To any absolutely unable to come we would recommend the example of Miss Greta Allen, of Dublin, who writes, "I am writing to two friends, both willing to take my place, so that there may be two 'me's.'" Mr. William Redmond, M.P., and others write wishing the Irish Contingent every success. Irish women, including representatives of the Irish Women's Franchise League and the Irish Suffrage Society, form up on Saturday, July 23, at Cleopatra's Needle, at three o'clock, and will march from there to their own platform in Hyde Park. Will all Irishwomen in London be at Clements Inn on Friday, July 22, at 7.30, as we have a unique scheme to carry out. Full particulars next week. Names and addresses to be sent to, and all information from, Miss Lennox, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

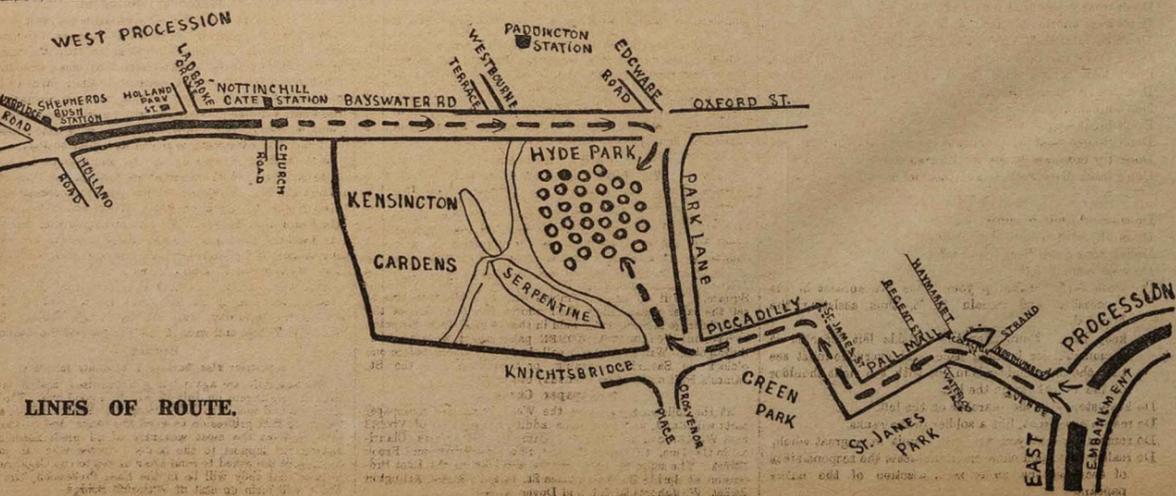
Teachers' Contingent.

Organiser: Mrs. Kenyon, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Workers are urgently needed to canvass teachers and schools. The L.C.C. schools break up on the 20th, and many teachers have planned to leave town. All those who are absolutely obliged to do this are asked to make a point of honour of sending a substitute to the great procession. The Organiser will be glad to receive names of those who are going to march, and of any who have spare time which they will spend in canvassing teachers and distributing bills. Mrs. Paffard is working up the Marylebone district, and teachers there should communicate with her at 9, Southwood Mansions, W. Willesden teachers should communicate with Miss Hicks, 45, Crediton Road, Willesden, N.W., as she is organising that district. All who are organising districts for the teachers contingent or canvassing teachers are asked to send name and addresses of all who are going to march, to Mrs. Kenyon, at 4, Clements Inn.

Will all teachers note that they march in the East Procession, and line up on the Embankment (Section C2) at 3 o'clock, on Saturday, July 23, by King's College, east of Waterloo Bridge and west of the Temple District Station.

Nurses.

Organiser: Miss Buckley, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The hospitals are again being circularised, and it is hoped that the contingent on July 23 will be a good one. The nurses last time had such a splendid reception that it believes all who belong to that profession to swell the ranks, and to show that this, perhaps the most womanly of all professions, is also lending its support to the cause. Nurses who can join the contingent are asked to send their names to the Organiser, and to note that they will be in the East Procession, Group C1, which will form up east of Waterloo Bridge.



Musicians.

Hon. Secs.: Lady Constance Lytton and Miss Douglas Smith, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

The Hon. Secs. write:- Will all those who were in the Musicians' contingent last time make a point of being with us on the 23rd and bring at least one friend with them? The Musicians' contingent will form up on the Embankment at 3 p.m. in Group B1 east of Hungerford Bridge.

Artists' Contingent.

Organiser: Miss Partridge, 2, Trafalgar Square, Chelsea, S.W.

Artists will be in the East Procession, Group A2, forming up on the Embankment, near Horse Guards Avenue, behind Chelsea W.S.P.U. Palaces will not be carried this time, but emblems will be given to the artists as they form up.

Miss Canning is making the emblems to be carried in the procession, and will be glad if anyone who can help will call at 308, King's Road, Chelsea.

Pharmacists' Contingent.

Organiser: Miss Gillatt, Western Hospital, Fulham.

This contingent on July 23 bids fair to be strong in numbers and representative in character. All women engaged in any branch of pharmacy are cordially invited to write to Miss Gillatt for any further information they may require.

Gardeners and Florists.

Organiser: Miss Lennox, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

In spite of the pressing claims of work at this season of the year, we earnestly appeal to women gardeners and florists to put the claims of the woman's movement first, and to send in their names for the Demonstration on Saturday, July 23.

FLOWER SELLERS.—The street flower sellers are keenly interested in the movement, and are distributing bills advertising the Demonstration to their customers. It is hoped they will be represented in the Procession, and already a special banner has been kindly promised by Miss Birsting.

Civil Servants, Stenographers and Clerks.

Organiser: Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

Members of these professions are working with greater energy than ever before to secure a large contingent on July 23. Women should be on the Embankment at 3 p.m.

Handbills can be obtained at the office, and a special handbill, giving full information for the women of the professions that are being specially organised, is now ready.

Sanitary Inspectors and Health Visitors.

Organiser: Mrs. Fisher, 26, Denning Road, Hampstead, N.W.

A meeting of this contingent was held on Wednesday, July 13. All sanitary inspectors and health visitors are asked to help to make the contingent a success by persuading any friends to join it as well as by coming themselves.

They are also requested to wear a white blouse, a really short walking skirt, and as plain a hat as possible. College badges, medals, etc., to be worn on the left breast of the blouse.

Gymnastic Teachers.

Organiser: Mrs. E. Adair Impney, Creophorne, King's Norton, Birmingham.

All teachers professionally engaged in teaching gymnastics are eligible for this section (whether members of the Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society or not), and are asked to send in their names to the Organiser.

Workings of this section of the campaign are being held daily in all parts of London, and the greatest interest is being displayed. Hundreds of meetings are being held, while poster parades and chalking parties are busy daily.

Business Women.

Organisers: Miss Tibert and Miss Fergus, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

The members of this contingent worked so splendidly for the last procession that we have every reason to feel confident that they will do even more to make the demonstration on July 23 a brilliant success. We must point out that in the two processions, one coming from the West—that is, Notting Hill—the other from the East of the Embankment will each have a contingent of business women, so that members can join whichever will be most convenient.

Colonial and Foreign Contingent.

Organiser: Miss Ada Cecile Wright, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

The Colonial and Foreign Contingent is working well, and we hope to have a good display on July 23. Lady Cookburn and Lady Stout will again respectively receive the names of Australians and New Zealanders, and Mrs. Saul Solomon is again undertaking South Africa.

In answer to Miss Freeman's appeal at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening a number of influential Americans gave in their names as workers, also to march in the procession. Among these were Mrs. J. W. Prince, of the School of Salesmanship in Boston, which co-operates with five of the largest stores.

Those who wish to walk with us should send in their names at once. A great deal depends on this contingent, for England is now an open battle ground, not for its own women alone, but for the women of all nations. We are very anxious to have a good show of flags and banners belonging to the various nationalities, and subscriptions towards obtaining these will be most thankfully received.

London Outdoor Campaign.

Organiser: Miss Elsa Gye, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

Meetings of this section of the campaign are being held daily in all parts of London, and the greatest interest is being displayed. Hundreds of meetings are being held, while poster parades and chalking parties are busy daily.

Chalking Brigade.

Organiser: Miss Cynthia Maguire, 4, Clements Inn, W.G.

Workers are still urgently wanted for the chalking parties, starting from Clements Inn every day at 6.30 from now until July 23; they will find it an easy way of advertising the demonstration and a splendid means of bringing it before the notice of the general public.

PAPER-SELLING COMPETITION.

At a moment when the Suffrage struggle has reached so critical a stage, when it is essential that those who are still ignorant of what the movement means should learn to understand it, and, once understanding, give it their support, there is one way in which the cause can be brought forward surely and steadily, and that way is by increasing the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

CLASS A is a competition for those who obtain the largest number of orders for the paper, addressed either to newsgagents or to the publisher. Special books of order forms have been prepared and can be obtained from the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn.

CLASS B is for individual sellers, who may obtain their copies direct from the publisher, or from the Woman's Press, or from an organiser or any responsible person. For this section a special card has been prepared which may be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

CLASS C is a competition for pitch captains, and prizes will be given to those at whose pitches the largest number are sold. They obtain their copies from the Woman's Press or from the Local Union or Campaign centre.

CLASS D is for Local Unions and CLASS E for country campaign centres, and in each case prizes will be given for the greatest number of copies sold.

CLASS F. The sixth competition is for those who obtain the most promises from newsgagents to stock the paper and exhibit a poster. Such posters will be supplied free, and it is essential that the competitors should not only obtain the promises but should visit regularly to see that the poster is displayed.

Prizes.

In class A and B the prizes will be a bicycle, a gun-metal watch and a bound volume of VOTES FOR WOMEN. In class C the captain of the winning pitch will receive a gun-metal watch and every regular seller at her pitch a bound volume of VOTES FOR WOMEN; the second prize will consist of a bound volume for the captain and a memento for every regular seller at her pitch.

The prizes in class D and E have not yet been decided, but will probably take the form of shields inscribed. In class F the first prize will be a gun-metal watch, the second a bound volume of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

In addition to this, special mementoes will be given to all those who, though not gaining prizes, achieve good results. Altogether it is anticipated that the prizes and mementoes will cost over £50, and a special prize fund is therefore being opened for this purpose.

Further Information.

The figures will be taken for July, August and September, and as we are now in the second week of July, there is no time to lose. Competitors who have already secured orders are asked to send them in at once. The Circulation Manager, Votes for Women, 4, Clements Inn, will be pleased to supply further information in answer to any inquiries by post.

VERSES IN APOLOGY.

Athene with the dear grey eyes, Kind, laughing, mischievous and wise, And charming—to the great surprise Of dismal sages: You are compact of graces rare, Spiritual, gay, and debonaire, As rightfully befits the heir Of all the ages.

Before your blithe young soul was born Prophets proclaimed with hate and scorn The woes you'd bring, and their forlorn Ideas about you; How you would turn our homes to wrecks, Mankind you'd curse and plague and vex; But now you've come, why neither sex Could do without you.

You wear your terrible degrees And a profession, if you please, With "B's" and "A's," and "M's" and "D's," And such disgrace, With such a sweet unconscious air, As if they little fatters were, Twined in your pretty red-gold hair, With innocent faces.

The world, alas, is very slow To grasp the moral that you show, "When real gods come, the half-gods go"— They cannot live. We have you, and we hold you fast, We love you, and we'll learn at last To trust you, and our foolish past You will forgive.

DEBENHAM & FREEBODY'S SALE Now Proceeding. Wonderful Bargains



New Autumn Suit (as sketch), in a good range of new tweeds, perfectly tailored; coat lined with silk, and trimmed black velvet collar. Special Sale Price - 59/6. Shantung Gown (as sketch), cut with kimono sleeves, with front panel of fancy printed shantung, in various colourings. Original Price, 69/6. Sale Price - 39/6. Evening Gowns, 30 only, of which sketch is typical example, in satin, mignon, etc., in white and colours. Original Price, 95/6 to 125 gns. Sale Price - 49/6. Coat and Skirt (as sketch), in striped and plain linens, all slightly soiled, trimmed with strappings of own material. Original Price, 50/- Sale Price - 10/8.



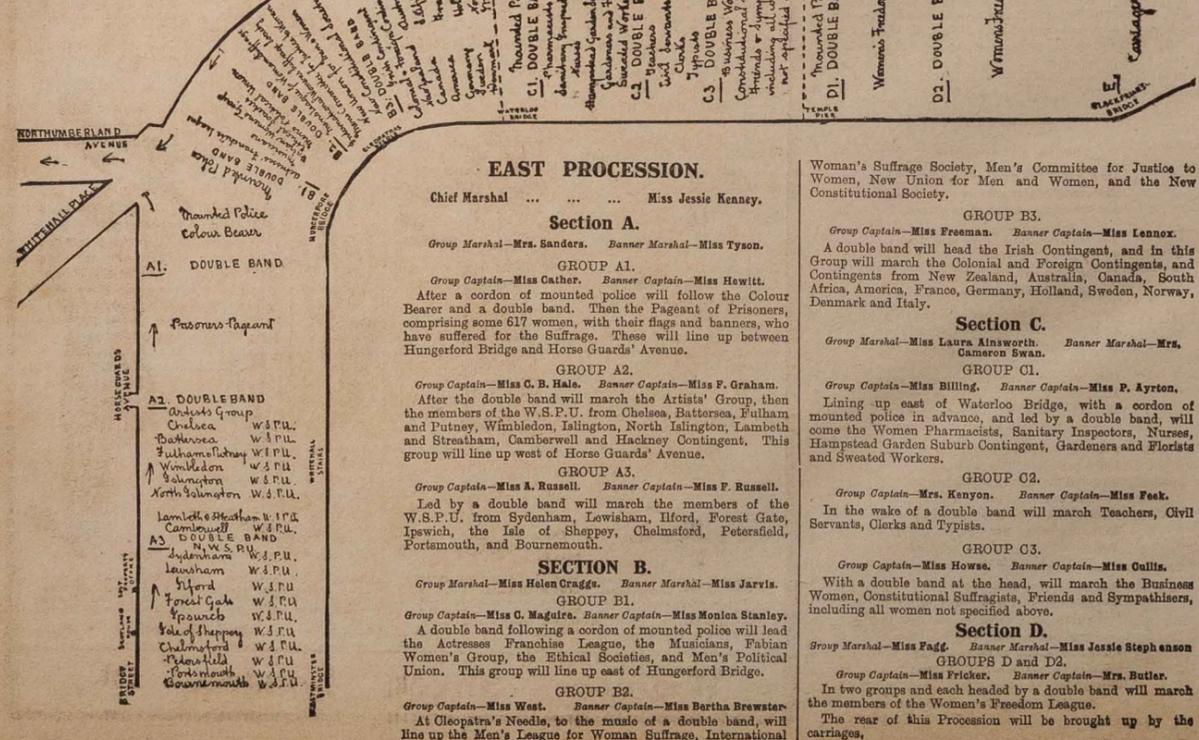
Linen Skirt (as sketch), with flat pleat back and front, finished with three tucks at foot. In white only. Sale Price - 11/8. Boudoir Jacket (as sketch), in fine lawn, heavily hand-embroidered, edged strong button-hole stitching. Sale Price - 17/9. Girl's Nightdress (as sketch), in strong longcloth, collar, front, and cuffs trimmed hand-embroidered lace and beading. Sale Price - 4/11. Infant's Three-quarter Frock (as sketch), in fine hand-embroidered lawn, trimmed lace and beading. Sale Price - 4/11. Bonnet entirely hand-made. Sale Price - 1/9. Satin Underskirt (as sketch), in good quality soft satin, with deep flat pleated flounce, for wearing under the new light skirts in black, white, and colours. Sale Price - 13/11.



Kimono Frock (as sketch), in best quality French linens, with collar and cuffs of embroidered lawn. For Girls of 12 years, 36 inches. Sale Price - 22/9. FOR WINTER SPORTS. Hand-Knit Knit Coat (as sketch), perfect fitting shape, well finished; in all fashionable shades. Original Price, 37/6. Sale Price - 29/6. Evening Coat (as sketch) in good quality satin, lined through with soft white silk; in black, white, grey, and mauve. Sale Price - 61 gns. Seal Musquash Coat (as sketch), full length, made from selected skins. Excellent quality and value. Original Price, 35 gns. Sale Price - 27 gns.

Wigmore Street, London, W.

THE EAST PROCESSION



EAST PROCESSION.

Chief Marshal ... Miss Jessie Kenney.

Section A.

Group Captain—Mrs. Sanders. Banner Marshal—Miss Tyson.

GROUP A1. Group Captain—Miss Gather. Banner Captain—Miss Hewitt. After a cordon of mounted police will follow the Colour Bearer and a double band. Then the Pageant of Prisoners, comprising some 617 women, with their flags and banners, who have suffered for the Suffrage. These will line up between Hungerford Bridge and Horse Guards' Avenue.

Section B.

Group Captain—Miss Helen Grange. Banner Marshal—Miss Jarvis.

GROUP B1. Group Captain—Miss C. Maguire. Banner Captain—Miss Monica Stanley. A double band following a cordon of mounted police will lead the Actress Franchise League, the Musicians, Fabian Women's Group, the Ethical Societies, and Men's Political Union. This group will line up east of Hungerford Bridge.

Section C.

Group Captain—Miss West. Banner Captain—Miss Bartha Brewster.

At Cleopatra's Needle, to the music of a double band, will line up the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, International

Woman's Suffrage Society, Men's Committee for Justice to Women, New Union for Men and Women, and the New Constitutional Society.

GROUP B2.

Group Captain—Miss Freeman. Banner Captain—Miss Lennox.

A double band will head the Irish Contingent, and in this group will march the Colonial and Foreign Contingents, and Contingents from New Zealand, Australia, Canada, South Africa, America, France, Germany, Holland, Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Italy.

Section D.

Group Captain—Miss F. Pynton.

Lining up east of Waterloo Bridge, with a cordon of mounted police in advance, and led by a double band, will come the Women Pharmacists, Sanitary Inspectors, Nurses, Hampstead Garden Suburb Contingent, Gardeners and Florists and Sweated Workers.

GROUP C2.

Group Captain—Mrs. Kenyon. Banner Captain—Miss Feak.

In the wake of a double band will march Teachers, Civil Servants, Clerks and Typists.

GROUP C3.

Group Captain—Miss Howse. Banner Captain—Miss Collis.

With a double band at the head, will march the Business Women, Constitutional Suffragists, Friends and Sympathisers, including all women not specified above.

GROUPS D and D2.

Group Captain—Miss Fricke. Banner Captain—Mrs. Butler.

In two groups and each headed by a double band will march the members of the Women's Freedom League. The rear of this Procession will be brought up by the carriages.

THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE BILL.

The Second Reading Carried by a Large Majority.

TEXT OF THE BILL.

To Extend the Parliamentary Franchise to Women Occupiers.
1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten-pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of the Representation of the People Act (1884), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situate.

2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.
3. This Act may be cited as "The Representation of the People Act, 1910."

IMPRESSIONS OF THE DEBATE.

By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The debate on the second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill, which was taken in the House of Commons on Monday and Tuesday last was one of the most remarkable of all the discussions of recent years in that assembly. As a discussion on Woman Suffrage it far surpassed in importance and in interest any previous debate. Not only so, but it was also recognised by Members of Parliament to have been noteworthy as differing in important characteristics from debates on any question whatever. This was due to the fact that it evoked a living and vigorous interest in a subject which cut straight across the ordinary party lines. That this interest was aroused in spite of the deliberate refusal of party leaders of all complexions to help forward the agitation is an extraordinary and remarkable tribute to the vitality of the question outside the House of Commons, and is a mark of the immense progress which it has made during the last four or five years.

On this occasion the debate was almost wholly free from that indecent levity which characterised the earlier debates on this subject.

It was also a debate directed to the actual Bill before the House, and not merely to the general principle of Woman Suffrage. In view of this fact the very large majority by which the second reading was carried, in spite of the vehement opposition of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Home Secretary, was a remarkable tribute, not merely to the support for Woman Suffrage, but also to the skill by which the members of the Conciliation Committee have found a working compromise.

The second vote, resulting in a majority of 145 for referring the Bill to a Committee of the whole House was mainly the result of the united front taken by the Cabinet, who in this respect gave a distinct lead to their followers, informing them that this was a matter of procedure on which they had formed a unanimous verdict. Even in spite of this, 175 members took the opposite view. In recommending the course actually adopted Mr. Haldane distinctly and deliberately stated that "it did not involve necessarily that the question should be delayed in becoming law." This should be compared with the statement made by Mr. Churchill later on in the debate that it had to be recognised that a vote for the second reading of the Bill was equivalent to a vote for the third reading of an ordinary Bill, and that anyone who was voting for the second reading on this occasion was voting for the passage of this Bill into law.

Among the noteworthy speeches of the debate were those of Mr. F. E. Smith, the opposer, who marshalled as effectively as it is possible the well-worn armoury of objections to Woman Suffrage, every one of which have been met and answered in the columns of this paper. Mr. Balfour's speech contained evidence of the very careful thinking, which is so marked a characteristic of the great Conservative leader. Discarding all lesser considerations, he stated that in his view the great argument for Woman Suffrage lay in the fact

that government had to be carried on by the consent of the governed, and that there was at the present time great and growing evidence that the consent of a large body of women was being withheld from the government of the country in which they had no share. Lord Hugh Cecil, who supported not only the Bill but the proposal that it should be sent upstairs to a Grand Committee, ridiculed the idea that woman was unfitted to cast a vote at the ballot-box when she was presented to take part in so much of the freest and freest political warfare. Mr. Lytton declared himself a convert from his prejudice to his reason in favour of Woman Suffrage. Mr. Haldane, in the one wholly favourable speech from the Government benches, declared his intention of supporting the Bill at all stages, while Mr. Asquith showed his well-known opposition to Woman Suffrage in every shape and form, and expressed himself as still unsatisfied as to any of the conditions which he had laid down as to a Woman Suffrage Bill from which his opposition might be withheld.

It was left for Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill to profess themselves surprised at the support of the Bill, while at the same time dealing a blow at the only Bill which has been found able to unite those in favour of Woman Suffrage on both sides of the House. Mr. Churchill's position is all the more remarkable as at the time the Bill was being drafted, he was consulted as to its provisions, and expressed himself satisfied with the terms of the Bill. His opposition on Tuesday night was mainly that the Bill would enable the creation of fagot votes. He declared himself in favour of a special franchise for women or as an alternative Adult Suffrage. Placing his hand upon his heart, he declared that these were his sincere convictions. Mr. Lloyd George took a somewhat similar line, but his main objection was that the Bill had been drafted so as to preclude an amendment to effect extensions in its scope; pretending not to see that were any such extensions carried the Bill would then cease to command the united support of Suffragists on both sides

of the House, and would only be accepted by that minority of the House which is at one and the same time Suffragist and Liberal or Labour. Mr. Lloyd George further made an appeal to the promoters of the Bill to drop this Bill and introduce another which was capable of amendment in Committee.

The final word rested with Mr. Philip Snowden, who showed the insincerity of the attitude taken up by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, pointing out that the supporters of Woman Suffrage had long been familiar with the artifice of those who would render the Woman Suffrage ship unseaworthy by overloading it with cargo. He replied to Mr. Lloyd George's challenge to drop the Bill by putting a question to responsible members of the Government. The promoters of the Bill, he said, were willing to withdraw this measure and substitute a different one in its place if they could get an assurance from the Government that time would be given this session for a full discussion of all the stages of this new Bill. "The silence of the Ministerial bench in face of this challenge showed up clearly the character of the trick which Mr. Lloyd George had attempted to play.

Two divisions were taken, the first on the second reading of the Bill, the result of which was as follows:—

Table with 2 columns: For the Bill, Against, Majority for. Results: For the Bill 293, Against 190, Majority for 103. For Keeping the Bill in the Whole House 320, For Sending it to a Grand Committee 175, Majority for Keeping it in the Whole House 145.

The result of the second division is that the Committee stage can only be taken if the Government give further time. The analysis of the votes appears below.

List of Pairs.

Table listing names of members of Parliament who paired for the second reading of the Bill, including G. O. Greenwood, E. A. Goulton, W. J. M. MacCaw, D. V. Pirie, etc.

Absentees Unpaired.

Table listing names of absentees who did not pair, including Atkins, W. R., Ainsworth, J. S., Allen, Chas. E., Aubrey-Fletcher, Rt. Hon., Barry, E., Bathurst, Chas., Beale, William, etc.

for a lunatic asylum. My reason for trying the thin end of the wedge is that I believe in the principle that once you get in the thin end of the wedge the result of experience will justify an extension. We have to conciliate people who are afraid—who believe in the principle, but hesitate to go the whole hog, as I should like to go, for adult suffrage; but I cannot understand a person supporting adult suffrage and opposing this Bill. (Cheers.) This Bill is not an undemocratic one. I know Lancashire fairly well. My belief is that under this Bill an overwhelming number of working women will be brought in. The percentage will vary according to the situation of the towns and the district of the country. But so far as Lancashire is concerned my experience of municipal life is that the working women are overwhelmingly in the majority, at any rate, in regard to those who get on the voters' list there."

Women and the Professions.

Mr. Shackleton repeated arguments in favour of the Bill which he had used on the first reading. He emphasised the greater activity of women in the work of the country, and insisted in turn the professions. It was impossible to go into a free library, he said, without finding the shelves containing thousands and thousands of books of every variety of subjects written by women—a proof of fitness that no one would question.

Mr. Shackleton spoke next of the medical profession, where women were increasing in numbers; the nursing profession, which was almost wholly in women's hands, and then the legal profession, where "there were a few qualified to do the work." Teaching and membership of boards of guardians and of education committees were next referred to, and Mr. Shackleton passed on to speak of the "horrorism" of women in the poorer homes. It was an easy matter for a Chancellor of the Exchequer to make out a Budget when the money was available, but it was a different matter to make up a household budget with 15s. or 18s. or £1 a week. Then there were the women inspectors under the Home Office, the appointment of women to the trade boards formed under the Trade Boards Act, the work that women had done on Royal Commissions on the Poor Law and on Divorces. As to the last-named, Mr. Shackleton said it had pained him to read some of the flippant remarks made by witnesses, otherwise honourable men, about the sacredness of home life. If for no other reason, he said, he would give increased power to women for effecting the laws that dealt with the home life of the nation. The question as to how the granting of the Suffrage to women would affect parties was not one into which he cared to enter. Nor was it a question that the House should consider. It was enough if the supporters of the Bill could show that it was a democratic one. He was sure those of their friends who went the whole way would make a serious mistake if they voted against this Bill on the ground that it did not go far enough.

SIR JOHN ROLLESTON.

Sir J. Rolleston (U., Hertford) seconded the motion for the second reading. He said he did not think it was true that a certain amount of prejudice had been raised against the Bill by the methods adopted by some of the extreme supporters of the Suffrage. No doubt some of the women had been guilty of an excess of zeal. In every rank there were some hounds that would run riot, but these were not the worst of the pack. It was the zeal, the self-sacrificing and laborious effort on the part of the extreme supporters of the movement that had raised it to the position it now occupied, and which would ensure for its acceptance at the hands of a majority of the members.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE asks a Question of the Speaker.

Mr. Lloyd George: I have two questions—whether, if this Bill receives a second reading, it will be competent for any member of the House, either in Committee or on the Report stage, to move amendments, first of all to omit the proviso in section 2, or to extend the franchise to women whose husbands possess a household qualification whatever the value of the house may be.

The Speaker: As at present advised, my answer would be in the negative to both questions. I do not think that the Bill is intended to apply to any except women occupiers—that is to say, those who are day qualified, and who, if they were not women but men, would appear on the register. This Bill simply means, as far as they are concerned, the taking away of the discrimination of sex. That being so, I do not think it is open to the House to go further than what it gave leave for in the introduction of the Bill.

MR. SMITH MOVES THE REJECTION.

Mr. F. E. Smith (U.—Liverpool) moved the rejection of the Bill. The supporters of the movement were certainly entitled at this stage of the controversy to a deliberate expression of opinion from the House of Commons. Mr. Shackleton told them on the first reading that he had found that the inserting of the thin end of the wedge was the most successful way of achieving his object, and one of his colleagues had said that for all practical purposes the granting of the vote to a few women meant the enfranchisement of the whole sex. That was undoubtedly true. If the fundamental distinction of sex was once abandoned the whole case was gone for ever. The object of the

mover was adult suffrage, the result of which would be to increase the electorate from seven to twenty-three millions, and give an actual majority of women. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was right in declaring, as he practically did by his point of order, that the provisions of the Bill, taken by themselves, were profoundly undemocratic. (Cheers.) Every Liberal who believed in democracy was bound to oppose the Bill. It was said that women had the right to vote. No one had an abstract right of that sort. The vote was given on approved public grounds to such sections of citizens as, in the opinion of the State, were likely to use it for the benefit of the whole community. Reliance was placed on the cry, "No taxation without representation." Our Indian fellow-subjects paid taxes, but did not vote. The truth was the payment of taxes was one of several presumptions in favour of conceding the suffrage, but it was not decisive. It required an amazing degree of assurance to use this taxation and representation argument in connection with a measure which deliberately excluded from the franchise the very class who were the principal sufferers by our present system. (Cheers.)

The Opinion of Women.

He was entirely unconvinced that there was any strong or considerable body of opinion in favour of this measure among the women of the country generally. (Cheers.) It was a signed petition in favour of female suffrage, but during the last eighteen months, a period during which a strong anti-suffrage association had existed, counter-petitions were signed by 300,000 women, including some of the most eminent of the day. He asked hon. members to be guided by what they knew of the opinion of women among their constituents and friends. He represented a very large working-class constituency, and in the clearest manner he indicated his views on this question at the last two elections, and he was satisfied that the claim that the majority of women demanded this change could not be substantiated. (Cheers.) At the same time, however, he confessed that if he were convinced that every woman in England wanted a vote he should not be influenced in the least. (Laughter and cheers.) He boldly affirmed, taking first the position of married women, that women to-day occupied a position so preferential that no parallel could be discovered in any civilised country in the world.

A Challenge.

The women had a grievance, he admitted, in the difference between the grounds upon which divorce would be given in the case of the two sexes. He did not undervalue the troubles of women who had to earn their livelihood. It was incomparably the saddest tragedy in our industrial life. The question was how far the case was exaggerated that said that the possession of a vote was likely to remove the grievances under which they laboured. It was true women obtained lower wages than men, but he was not sure that the authorised leaders of the trade unions—men's unions—had ever been able to secure the position that women workers should receive the same wages as men workers. We were asked to take a step for which there was no model and no example in any first-class country in the world. The case of Norway had one only cited. Norway had a population of 2,329,000, distributed over a territory of 124,000 square miles. Was there anybody who would say a case like that supplied us with a guide to the decision we were asked to take? (Cheers.) This was a case in Australia, Australia had a population of 4,200,000, distributed over 3,000,000 square miles. He desired to lay before the House some facts about Finland which he had derived from "Whitaker's Almanack," the only authority available where he spent the week-end. The circumstances were described in consecutive sentences: "There is universal suffrage for both sexes. Women are likewise eligible for election to the Chamber. The Finnish troops only exist in name." (Laughter.) Upon those illustrious precedents we were asked to mould an empire of 450,000,000 inhabitants with an Oriental population of 300,000,000 who detested government by women. We were holding the equipoise of empire balanced upon democracy in the West and bureaucracy in the East, and we were asked to be the body upon which this experiment was to be made for the first time on a large scale in the history of the world. (Cheers.)

THE SECRETARY FOR WAR.

Mr. Haldane reminded the House of the position in which the members found themselves. Here, with a question of absolutely first-rate importance before the House, he said it is impossible for the Government to give the usual guidance. And not only that the case with the Governments of the day, but it is equally true of the Front Opposition Bench. We are likewise eligible for election to the Chamber. The Finnish troops only exist in name." (Laughter.) Upon those illustrious precedents we were asked to mould an empire of 450,000,000 inhabitants with an Oriental population of 300,000,000 who detested government by women. We were holding the equipoise of empire balanced upon democracy in the West and bureaucracy in the East, and we were asked to be the body upon which this experiment was to be made for the first time on a large scale in the history of the world. (Cheers.)

He proceeded to say:—However, that does not preclude the Government of the day from recognising the magnitude of the question and the increasing amount of attention it is receiving, and there is this new feature in the situation at this moment, that the Government has given time for the discussion of this question, so that this House of Commons may, for the first time, express itself, and that some judgment may be passed by it as to what the opinion of this House really is. No doubt it is a very important concession that is made, because if this House of Commons expresses itself very strongly for the principle, then it is reasonable that effective opportunity should be given at some time for that House to translate its feelings into a concrete form. Having said so much, I wish to point out the consequence of this action. The House is without the usual guidance, and, therefore, it behoves it to act very carefully and cautiously in what it does. For my part, supporter as I have always been of the cause of Woman Suffrage, I should be very sorry to be a party to sending the Bill to the other side of the House. (The continuation of the debate will be found on page 680.)

M.P.'s who Voted for the Second Reading, and Supported the Proposal to Send the Bill to a Grand Committee.

Large table listing names of M.P.s who supported the Bill, including Abraham, William, Adair, H. H., Adams, W. H., etc.

M.P.'s who Voted for the Second Reading of the Bill, but Voted against Sending the Bill to a Grand Committee.

Table listing names of M.P.s who supported the second reading but opposed the Grand Committee, including Adam, Major William C., Anderson, A., etc.

M.P.'s who Voted Against the Second Reading, and who Voted Against Sending the Bill to a Grand Committee.

Table listing names of M.P.s who opposed the Bill, including Ackland-Hood, Rt. Hon. Sir Alex. F., Addison, Dr. Christopher, etc.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK. The Loyalty of Woman to Woman.

Iphigenia* is the latest of a series of plays by Euripides translated into English rhyming verse by Professor Gilbert Murray, who has done so much to open to "the common people" the treasury of Greek drama. "Electra," "Medea," "The Trojan Women," "Iphigenia"—these names are evidences of the deep pre-occupation of the mind of Euripides with the character and the fate of woman. The central character of the drama is in every case woman deeply wronged, woman the avenger, woman the saviour, woman made fierce or compassionate by suffering; woman bringing down the curse upon her oppressors, or making for them a way of escape from doom. No man of any race or time has so entered into the heart of woman.

Iphigenia, daughter of Agamemnon, victim of her father's cruel ambition, becomes in the hands of destiny the deliverer of her race. Hers is a tragic fate. Lured by treachery from her mother's side, full of the golden dreams of romantic girlhood, she sets forth from her home to become, as she thinks, a hero's bride. But instead of love she finds death awaiting her in her father's camp, where she is offered up as a living human sacrifice upon the altar of war. At the last moment she is snatched away from bloody execution by the intervention of the gods; her doom is changed from death to perennial heart-broken exile in the land of the stranger and the barbarian. Towards the sea she stretches forth empty yearning arms.

Bird of the sea rocks, of the bursting spray,
O halcyon bird,
That wheelst crying, crying on thy way;
Who knoweth grief can read the tale of thee:
One love long lost, one song for ever heard
And wings that sweep the sea.
Sister, I too beside the sea complain,
A bird that hath no wing,
Oh, for a kind Greek market-place again,
For Artemis that health woman's pain;
Here I stand hungering,
Give me the little bill above the sea,
The palm of Delos fringed delicately,
The young sweet laurel and the olive-tree
Grey-leaved and glimmering.

Desolate stands the Greek woman, "Unloved, unchilded, without home or friend;" bitterness in her heart and the brooding sense of wrong; constrained to carry out the cruel rites of a barbarous people beside the altar, down which thin stains of human blood trickle "like hair." She listens to the wild song of the wind and the breaking of the surf upon the "flat and herbless shore."
Oh, the wind and the car,
When the great sail swells before,
With sheets astrain, like a horse on the rein;
And on, through the race and roar,
She feels for the farther shore.
Ah me,
To rise upon wings and hold
Straight on up the steep of gold
Where the joyous Sun in fire doth run,
Till the wings should faint and fall
Over the house that was mine of old.

And the baffled longing and the gnawing sorrow breed hate in her soul—hate and rage against her murderers. There grows in her a desire for revenge, and the hope that amongst the strangers whom she is constrained to slay upon the hideous altar of the Tauri she may one day slaughter Greeks as pitilessly as they slaughtered her at Aulis. At last the Greeks come—two strangers, cast upon that friendless coast—and even before she knows who they are her heart goes out to them. She pities them, she draws them on to talk to her. And presently the discovery is made. One of the victims is her own brother, the other his bosom friend and husband to her sister. And at once she is ready to die for them or with them.

It is the woman's wit, the woman's resource, the woman's self-control which effect their escape and which lead to the triumph of the return of all three to home and country.
A very beautiful thing is the utter loyalty and devotion of the women of the play to one another. A single slip in Iphigenia's desperate plot to save the lives of her brother and friend would mean certain death to all concerned in the attempt. The women who under her are slaves in bondage to the Temple have heard the secret. Their help, their silence is essential. The distracted sister turns to them in passionate appeal:—
Are we not women, you and I,
A broken race, to one another true,
And strong in our shared secrets? Help me through
This strait; keep hid the secret of our fight
And share our peril!

Women: you knew this plot. Each one of you
Should know, before the work I have to do
Is done, what torment is.
Twenty-two centuries ago this poet, who knew human nature through and through, discovered and proclaimed in every play he wrote the love and faithfulness of woman to woman. It is no new thing. It is as old as the hills.
E. P. L.

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Should know, before the work I have to do
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E. P. L.

*"The Iphigenia in Tauris," by Prof. G. Murray. (London: Geo. Allen and Sons. Cloth, 2s. 6d. net. Paper, 1s. 6d. net.)

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280 White Lawn and Linen Blouses and Shirts, hand embroidered and trimmed Lace, perfectly new and fresh. FURTHER REDUCED PRICES, 8/11, 12/9 and 16/9 each.
Black, Tan, and White Lisle Hose, fine summer weight, perfectly finished. Original price, 1/11. FURTHER REDUCED to 1/- per pair; 6 pairs for 5/9.
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75 Pleated Zephyr, Union and Cotton Robes (skirts require joining at back), in assorted colours; many of them have bodice material included. Original price, 14/11; FURTHER REDUCED to 4/11.

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Of a different type are the two chief female characters in "Die Fledermaus." These women have more of Becky Sharp in their composition, and they are more complex. They, too, have the man-hunt for their chief occupation, either the catching of him or, when caught, the keeping. Rosalind, the jealous wife, while resisting the attentions of the exceedingly comely tenor with an irresistible "top B," does a very clever bit of detective work in tracking her errant husband at the ball, and her seizing of the psychological moment for saving her reputation by pretending that her lover is her husband, and letting him be dragged off by the police, is a stroke of genius worthy of a diplomat.

This *à-la-tête* With me so late
How very like a husband this,
His yawns, his stares,
His blasé airs
Can only mean connubial bliss.

And how admirably she keeps her temper at the ball, when her husband flirts outrageously with her maid, who is wearing quite the most tubular of modern skirts out of her mistress's wardrobe! But Rosalind pays the penalty of her assiduous chase:—

"I am Eisenstein," says her husband, "the proud possessor of this lady and—this dressing-gown."
Adèle, the maid, may perhaps typify the ambitious woman who sees a career before her. From acting most cleverly in her mistress's drawing room and at the ball, she conceives the idea of dramatic training, and Prince Orlofsky undertakes the rôle of "patron of the art":—
That's the way with girls of talent—
Chacun à son goût!

There is a still more suggestive presentation of three types of femininity in "Tales of Hoffmann."
This opera, which is a most beautiful one, represents the pictures of Hoffmann's three loves; three types of women all with their own charm, and yet all lacking that something which comes from a sense of individual responsibility and freedom to develop. Hoffmann has loved three times: first, boylike, he falls in love with a pretty doll, and great is his disillusion when he finds that the doll is mechanical and can only move and speak as she has been made to do. We, too, know that doll type, but it is happily passing away. Arrived at maturer years Hoffmann falls a victim again, not to pretty foolishness but to calculated seduction. An enchantress wins his love, and for her sake he fights a duel, only to see her a moment later go away with another lover.

He has known a woman without a soul, and he has known one whose soul is perverted; now, for the third time, he falls in love with a woman who is good, and who has a marvellous voice, but is so frail that she must not sing. Tempted to use her beautiful voice she sings, and the effort kills her. In not one of these women has he found the partner and friend of his soul, strong in body and in mind, equal with him yet different—the perfect mate. Who shall say that the opera has not a lesson for those who hear it with understanding? To us, who know of what woman is capable, and who see dimly what she will become in the future, this beautiful opera has a special meaning.
G. B.

BOOKS RECEIVED.
"Famous Women of Florence." By Edgcombe Staley. London: Constable and Co., Ltd. 10s. 6d. net.
"Gathered Leaves from the Prose of Mary E. Coleridge." By Edith Sichel. London: Constable and Co., Ltd. 7s. 6d. net.
"The Way Up." By M. P. Willcocks. London: John Lane, Gs. net.
"What's Wrong with the World?" By G. K. Chesterton. London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. 6s. net.
"Maxims of Life. Government." By Marshall Bruce-Williams. London: Chapman and Hall. 2s. 6d. net.
"How to Clean a House" and "How to Cook a Simple Meal." Two pamphlets. By Marguerite Fedden. Women's Industrial Council. 1d. each.
"The Matchless Maid." By Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J. London: Geo. Allen and Sons. 3s. 6d. net.

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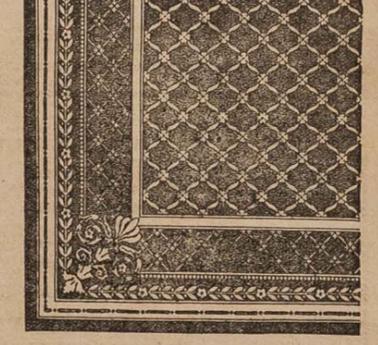


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WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS, HEALTH VISITORS AND LECTURERS

SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES FOR LADIES, SEPTEMBER, 1910.

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The Women's Social and Political Union.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, JULY 15, 1910.

THE NEXT STEP.

By a large majority the second reading of the Woman Suffrage Bill has been carried. This victory has been achieved in spite of the vehement opposition offered to the Bill by the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Home Secretary.

No doubt those members of the Cabinet who made so determined an onslaught upon the Bill hoped and expected that it would be rejected, and that in consequence the Government would escape responsibility for the continued disfranchisement of women.

This triumph having been achieved, an important point of procedure then arose for settlement, and the

House was called upon to decide whether the Bill should be sent to a Grand Committee or be kept in Committee of the whole House. The Ministerial front bench, though divided as to the principle of the Bill, was unanimously of opinion that the Bill should not go to a Grand Committee.

Mr. Shackleton will, we understand, lay this request for facilities before the Prime Minister. In doing this, he will, we take it, have the support, not only of the 175 Members who voted for sending the Bill to a Grand Committee, but also of the 124 supporters of the Bill who voted for keeping it in Committee of the whole House.

Mr. Churchill, in urging Members to vote against the Bill, assured them that a vote on the second reading of the Bill "meant really the third reading of an ordinary Bill." Then he continued, "In my judgment, the Member who can honestly say, 'I want this Bill passed into law this Session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is; and I want it now; I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords upon it, if they reject it as they very likely would,—a Member who will, fight we will till justice is vindicated and women possess the human and constitutional rights which men enjoy.

The present political situation presents a unique opportunity for another great peaceful Demonstration, even more impressive in numbers and in character than those which have preceded it. The Bill is not only alive, but in a most robust state of health. It has passed the second reading by the huge majority of 109, a greater majority than that of the Government on the Budget, or on the Veto Resolutions.

The next step is to follow up this advantage by calling upon the Government to leave the House free to proceed with the Committee stage of the Bill. While Members of Parliament are working inside the House to secure facilities for the Bill, we outside shall work towards the same end. This is a critical point in the fortunes of the Bill, but we are confident of the issue. Another such crisis arose when the Prime Minister declined to fix an early or any date for the Second Reading of the Bill. After one week of agitation he reconsidered his decision and appointed two days for the Second Reading. Let us now repeat and redouble the effort which produced so great a result.

Christabel Pankhurst.

AN ARMY WITH BANNERS.

Within the last few days a number of men have been employed in circulating a handbill whereon an amazing statement is printed in very large type. "In fifty years of work," it is written, "and an enormous expenditure of money the Suffragettes have never presented to Parliament any great petition. The Anti-Suffrage League petition numbered 337,018."

This handbill is published by a society whose standing ground is ignorance, whose refuge is error. The statement is flagrantly, ridiculously untrue.

What are the facts? They can be verified by any one who takes the trouble to look up the historical records of the past fifty years. During the session of 1873 (thirty-seven years ago) petitions with 329,206 signatures were presented to the House of Commons in support of the Women's Bill. In 1874, there were 430,343 signatures. In 1875, 415,622 signatures. Altogether, between the years 1866 and 1879 the number of signatures in favour of Woman Suffrage amounted to close on three millions. More than thirty years ago! In 1897 a final effort was carried out in the shape of a monster memorial to Members of Parliament, containing the names of over a quarter of a million women.

Petitions are played out. That is the reason why Suffragists in these advanced days have abandoned petitions. It is not for us to stick in the mud of thirty years ago. And since the methods of collecting the petition of the Anti-Suffragists have been exposed, petitions are not only played out, but have become seriously discredited.

In these modern times women who have a great cause to advocate come out into the open. Petitions go into the Parliamentary waste-paper baskets. They cannot put a procession of fifteen thousand women into waste-paper baskets. They cannot ignore them and pretend that they are not there. All London comes out to see them, and those that see the amazing spectacle of two miles of women—women of every class, of every profession and calling—realise perfectly well that they represent a very great and widespread and irresistible demand. The Procession of June 18 was the greatest political procession that has ever passed through the streets of London. It numbered 15,000 women. It was so long that the traffic was seriously disorganised. A longer procession we have been told by the police cannot be permitted in the public interest.

Suffragists having beaten all the political records in the matter of processions, as they did in the matter of petitions, will soon be told that processions are played out. Albert Hall meetings filled from floor to roof are played out! Hyde Park demonstrations are played out! When that time comes—it may be very soon—we shall find new and more advanced methods of agitation. Only one thing is sure and certain. Agitate we will, fight we will till justice is vindicated and women possess the human and constitutional rights which men enjoy.

The present political situation presents a unique opportunity for another great peaceful Demonstration, even more impressive in numbers and in character than those which have preceded it. The Bill is not only alive, but in a most robust state of health. It has passed the second reading by the huge majority of 109, a greater majority than that of the Government on the Budget, or on the Veto Resolutions. We could have wished, for the sake of the Members of Parliament pining for their holiday, that it had been sent to a Grand Committee upstairs. But since the majority of the House took the advice of the War Secretary, and refused to adopt a procedure which Mr. Haldane described as "disastrous to the Bill," the Government will be expected to proceed upon the footing of treating this question with the utmost fairness, and giving the utmost fullness of discussion in the committee stage.

But, of course, much depends on the enthusiasm evinced and the work done outside the House of Commons. We must support the Conciliation Committee by demonstrating an overwhelming demand. The best way to do that is to get thousands of women marching in the Processions of July 23 and a million people in Hyde Park. With the usual good luck that seems to attend the W.S.P.U. the Demonstration comes in the very nick of time. From forty platforms a resolution will be carried demanding from the Government public facilities for the Bill.

We are full of determination and hope. When we think of the difficulties that have been surmounted in

the past, the difficulties to be surmounted before women win their emancipation seem comparatively small. We have only to "Go on!" All the forces of destiny are on our side.

We are children of the dawn, and our combat is with the children of the night. And the sun is rising. The sun is rising. The victory is unto the day.

Let us, then, with our whole heart and mind and will concentrate upon our great peaceful Demonstration on July 23, and make it the greatest of our great triumphs.

Let every woman be in her place. Let holidays and all thought of rest and physical pleasure be put aside. Let everybody feel herself to be a soldier of the greatest cause in all the world: as indeed we are.

The Procession of June 18 and the Processions of July 23 bear the same relation to the whole movement as an army bears to the nation. They comprise the picked band of stalwarts mustered for the championship and defence of all.

For the sake of those who cannot represent themselves, let the happy, the healthy, the privileged and the free join the ranks of that peaceful army. For the sake of those whose work makes it impossible for them to get to the Embankment at 3 o'clock in the afternoon; for the many thousands who dare not lest they should lose employment be seen thus publicly to identify themselves with the "innovators"; for the working women who cannot afford even a few pence for a train or 'bus fare; for those in the Provinces who cannot spare time or money to be with us; for the sweated workers who shrink from coming out in the light of day with their rags and their misery; for the young who will enter into that inheritance which we go to win for them.

And oh women, outside this Movement altogether, you women who have not understood,—turn and consider. You have been apathetic and indifferent, wearing contentedly the bonds of subjection which to you perhaps are garlanded in flowers, heedless of the hopeless misery of thousands of your sisters and heedless of their degradation which as a woman is also your own. And all the while a great fight for emancipation has been going on. The hardest part of the battle is over. Gone for ever is the ridicule of the unthinking crowd, gone for ever the pathetic opposition of the ignorant masses of the people.

Gone is the loneliness and the sense of isolation and weakness on the physical plane. We are strong in organisation, in numbers, and in friends. We possess the ear and the heart of the people.

But we want you. Every new recruit to our army brings new hope, new inspiration, new strength, and shortens the last stages of the conflict.

Join our ranks now. Enter into membership with the Union, and march with us on July 23. As we wend our festive and joyous way through the crowded streets of the world's greatest city, well might a prophet standing among the people exclaim: "Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?"

Ermeline Pethick Lawrence.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

In 1884, when the Suffrage movement was strong, vigorous, and active, the Prime Minister of a Liberal Cabinet dealt it a paralysing blow. The blow was aimed at the heart of the movement. It was calculated to destroy hope. Hope dead, the movement declined year by year till it became moribund. Five years ago, when the militant agitation began, the cause of woman's enfranchisement as a political question was all but defunct.

To destroy hope—that is the intention of the present Government. To destroy hope, and thus in 1910 to succeed in killing by slow decline the present vigorous agitation as they succeeded in killing the agitation twenty-six years ago. To prove to women that there is no chance for any Bill to go beyond the second reading! To show them that great meetings, immense processions, unprecedented demonstrations go for nothing! It is thus that the Government hopes to break the heart of the Movement.

Vain is that hope of the Government to-day. Women have taken their cause into their own hands. No refusal can dismay us. The issue of this battle depends upon ourselves. We are confident in the justice of our cause and the strength of our own right arm. Let the fighters come forward, and let all, whether rich or poor, young or old, hale or infirm, unite in filling up the war-chest, and keeping it filled. Eighteen hundred pounds in one short week is a good financial record. We need every farthing, for we must be prepared for a long and severe struggle.

We have come to a new crisis in our campaign. This is a moment that calls for the utmost sacrifice, energy and endeavour, and all the money we are able to give.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

June 18 to June 24.

Table with columns for names, amounts, and sub-totals. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged', 'Mrs. G. Hooper', 'Mrs. M. J. Sedgwick', etc.

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Every moment between now and July 23 will be devoted to making the great, and it is hoped final, Demonstration a crowning success. In many parts of the country preliminary Demonstrations will take place during the next few days, and in details of these will be found below. It is hoped, everyone who took part in the great Procession of June 18 not only comes herself on the 23rd but brings at least one friend with her, the success of this gigantic undertaking is already assured. Those who can help in any way to make the Demonstration more widely known are urged to communicate at once with their nearest organiser, and to study carefully the Programme of meetings. Reports from Organisers of the various contingents in the Processions will be found on page 692.

General Offices: W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

London workers should lose no time in putting themselves in touch with Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the above address.

There is still room for many more volunteers as sellers of Votes for Women, and those who can take part in the two poster parties starting from the Woman's Press shop (156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.) on Tuesdays, at 3 p.m., and Fridays at 11 a.m., should communicate at once with Miss Alinworth, at the shops. Posters, window-bills, handbills and special posters for parades may be obtained free from Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., who will also supply a special window-bill, size 45 in. by 32 in., at 6d.

All communications regarding the Band should be sent to Mrs. Leigh, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Reports from the London Districts.

BATTERSEA AND CLAPHAM.

Organiser: Miss Laura Alinworth, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Hon. Sec. (pro tem): Mrs. Halsey, 45, Cambridge Mansions. Workers are urgently wanted; so will anyone who can spare an hour communicate with the organiser? Every member must undertake to bring with her at least two friends on the 23rd. This contingent will be in Group A2, west of the Horse Guards' Avenue. Offers of drawing-rooms and gardens will be gladly accepted. Play up, Battersea! Show your member (John Burns) that women do want the vote. Clapham also must not be behind. All hands to the wheel, and this part of S.W. London will be well represented. A splendid crowd gathered in Battersea Park on Sunday.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM.

Organiser: Miss Eliza Gye. Hon. Sec. - Mrs. A. B. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath N.W. At a well-attended members' meeting the question of moving to a better shop in Heath Street was discussed; the decision will be announced later. More paper sellers and bill distributors are urgently needed before the Demonstration. Will all who can give time, or

Drummond will preside. Dr. Gordon Clark and Mrs. Ballock addressed a large crowd on Friday at Sebert Road, and many papers were sold. More paper sellers and bill distributors are urgently wanted, especially every day next week; will members write or call at once and say what time they can spare? Mrs. Parker is thanked for 3s. towards the extra meetings fund.

GREENWICH AND DEPTFORD.

Hon. Sec. - Miss Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath. Hon. Treas. - Miss Graham, 41, St. Mildred's Road, Lee. A new Union has been opened in these suburbs which is already doing good work in fomenting local sympathy. Open-air meetings have been held in both districts, at which Miss Graham has appealed to the men to come forward and help the women at this crisis. A number of men have signed letters to their M.P. urging him to support the Bill. A Drawing-Room meeting has been arranged for Wednesday, 21, when Mrs. Knight and Miss Tapley-Spurr will provide tea. For full details see "Programme." Lady Constance Lytton will speak. Members and friends in the neighbourhood are urgently asked to give time to canvassing women ratepayers. Invite them to attend this meeting and to join the Demonstration on the 23rd. Names and addresses of ratepayers can be obtained from the Hon. Sec.

CHELSEA AND KENSAL TOWN.

Shop and Office - 303, King's Road. Hon. Secs. - Miss Half and Miss Barry. To tell the Chelsea people of the great Demonstration on the 23rd, an open-air campaign of 18 meetings has begun, and all possible support is needed. Miss deane Vozes for Women were sold at the Court Theatre meeting, where the audience listened with intense interest to Lady Constance Lytton and to Miss Adam. The Jubilee Sale will be on the 23rd inst. Parcels of articles of any kind gratefully received. Please send them at once to 303, King's Road. Thanks are due to Miss Stratton for 4s. and "Anon." 2s. 6d., subscription to funds.

CHISWICK.

Shop - 297, High Road. Hon. Sec. - Miss C. M. A. Coombes, 88, Sutton Court Road. Chiswick is distributing handbills from house to house, and a number of voters have signed letters to the local Member urging his support of the Bill. The flag has been carried into an anti-camp at Brentford, with very good results. Chiswick will join the Notting Hill Gate procession on July 23. (See map, page 693).

CLAPHAM.

Hon. Sec. - Mrs. Roberts, 21, Cavendish Gardens Clapham Park. A splendid meeting was held on Clapham Common on Sunday the 10th. Miss G. Brackenbury (speaker) Miss Heston (chair). VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold out and a good collection was taken. About 100 men voters signed a petition asking Mr. Fisher, member for the constituency, to back the Bill.

CROYDON.

Office - 9, Station Buildings, West Croydon. Tel. 999 Croydon (Nat.). Hon. Sec. - Mrs. Cameron Swan, 27, Mayfield Road, Sandhurst, Surrey. Full particulars of the local Demonstration on Duppas Hill can be obtained at the Office or by attending the next members' meeting at 2, Station Buildings, Monday, July 18, 8 p.m. Between now and July 23 15,000 handbills have to be distributed. This involves house to house distribution, also a regular town pitch. Volunteers will be welcomed at once to take up this great work of making sure that every one in Croydon knows about the Processions. The Captain, Miss Hardy, reports that paper sales are going steadily upwards, but more sellers are still needed so that Croydon may take part in the Summer Competition.

FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec. - Miss V. H. Friedman, 129, Earham Grove. Members and friends are asked to make a special effort to attend the important meeting at 6.30 p.m. to-day (Friday), in Earham Hall, at which Mrs.

HACKNEY.

Organiser - Miss Helen Gragg, 4, Clements Inn, Shop - 257, Dalston Lane (Maro Street). Will every woman who will walk in the Procession on July 23 give in her name at 257, Dalston Lane where any further information can be had. On Wednesday, Mrs. Jones gave a most successful At Home and many new workers volunteered help. Mrs. White, of 133, Lordship Road, is giving a drawing-room meeting on Friday, when Miss Evelyn Sharp will speak. On Sunday afternoon a big Demonstration will be held in Victoria Park. Help is much needed to advertise this and to distribute leaflets at other meetings. (See programme.) Volunteers! please call at the Shop. The banner to lead the Hackney Contingent has been ordered. Funds are urgently needed to cover the cost of this and the expenses of the campaign. Who will contribute?

ISLINGTON.

Organiser - Miss E. M. Fagg, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Hon. Sec. - Miss Casserley. Very good meetings have been held in the district during the past week. More helpers are wanted at these to sell papers and distribute handbills. A drawing room meeting will be held on Saturday, July 16, at 113, Holloway Road, at 4 p.m., by kind permission of Mrs. Romiti. Will not other members offer their rooms for meetings, as this is an excellent way of getting new members? Campaign funds are also very urgently needed. Will all members who can either chalk or help with the meetings come to 5, Terrats Place, Upper Street, at 7 p.m.? The organiser would be glad to have the names of those intending to walk in the procession on July 23. Gratefully acknowledged: Miss Strachan, 4s.; Miss Bain, 6s.; Miss Cottrell, 2s. 6d., per Miss Casserley, 4s. 4d.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office - 143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2116 Western. Joint Hon. Secs. - Mrs. Eates, 7, Wrenham Avenue, Willisden, and Miss Morrison, B.A. The eighteen canvassers who called on the women Municipal voters of the Holland Ward report most encouraging results. The help of many more is needed if every resident in North and South Kensington is to be told of the great Demonstration. All schools, shops and laundries must be visited, hundreds of papers sold, and thousands of bills delivered during the next week. Everyone must lay aside other work and give every minute of their time. Come to the shop, and see Miss Evelyn Sharp or Mrs. Heston each morning, and learn how your time can be most usefully spent each day. Reginald Pott, Esq., has given a donation of £2 towards the expenses of working up the procession locally. (Continued on page 696.)

HAMPSTEAD.

Shop and Office - 194, Finchley Road, N.W. Hon. Sec. - Mrs. A. B. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath N.W. At a well-attended members' meeting the question of moving to a better shop in Heath Street was discussed; the decision will be announced later. More paper sellers and bill distributors are urgently needed before the Demonstration. Will all who can give time, or

HENDON.

A pitch has been opened in West Hendon, where weekly Saturday meetings are being held. Last Saturday Miss Jacobs spoke to a most interested audience. The Demonstration is being advertised from door to door. A rummage sale has been arranged for this week. Any contribution will be gratefully received by Mrs. Wyatt, Derby House, Hendon.

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec. (pro tem) - Miss Maud Harvey, 27, Norfolk Road, Seven Kings. Members, come forward and help to distribute handbills about the Demonstration. The Ilford W.S.P.U. car was a complete success in the Hospital carnival. Miss Maud Harvey created quite a sensation with her crown of broad arrows, and banner "From Prison to Citizenship." Miss Haslam represented Queen Roadside. Subscriptions towards Carnival expenses from Miss Rogan and Miss Swan are gratefully acknowledged. Mrs. Ballock's Baking Meeting was deeply interested.

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LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

It is hoped that a special effort will be made at all Procession Meetings to sell a large number of VOTES FOR WOMEN. In addition to sellers among the audience selling from the platform at the close of the meeting should secure very effective results.

Table listing various London districts and their respective meeting times and organizers. Columns include District, Meeting Time, and Organiser/Hostess. Districts listed include Battersea, Clapham, Croydon, Forest Gate, Greenwich, Hackney, Islington, Kensington, London, Wimbledon, and Westminster.

Saturday, July 23, Procession. Form up Westminster Embankment and Notting Hill Gate, 3 p.m. Start, 4 p.m. Hyde Park Demonstration, 5.30 p.m.

Advertisement for HEAL & SON featuring 'OLD-FASHIONED EXCELLENCE' and 'THE REMAKING OF BEDDING.' The ad includes detailed text about mattress quality and contact information for Tottenham Court Road W.

The Debate in the House

(Continued from page 685)
be discussed in a Committee upstairs, where it might be passed through without the alteration of a comma, and we might be deprived in this House of an opportunity of discussing it on Report. Such a consequence would probably be disastrous to the Bill in another place, and if progress is to be made, then I most emphatically think that this House of Commons would do well to proceed upon the footing of treating this question with the utmost fairness and giving the utmost fulness of discussion. That does not involve necessarily that the question should be delayed in becoming law, but it does involve that if a question of this kind is to be passed through without the guidance of those who are responsible for the government of the country and by the sense of the House of Commons, that sense should be fully and adequately ascertained.

The hon member for Walton told us, and with great eloquence, that the Sovereign reigns over between 400 and 400 millions of coloured subjects, who would resent the domination of government by women. Well, I think it might with crushing force have been retorted on him that these very subjects are not only educated but accepted and welcomed the reign of a woman on the throne, and that if there be one thing that stands out prominently in the history of this country, it is that its throne can be occupied, and has been occupied, by women who have imparted to the supreme position in the State and in the Empire a distinction and an influence that have been outdone by no man. (Cheers.) Mr. Haldane went on to speak of the steady development of the position which women had taken in the nation. And who, he asked, were those who objected to this enfranchisement? They were the very same men who were welcoming the advent of women to take a large part in Imperial questions. (Cheers.) The question was becoming almost an urgent one, he did not believe that agitation, because he did not believe that agitation really carried these things further, but because of the character of the problems with which they were dealing. Everyone knew that the position of women in regard to wages was not so good as that of men, and he could not get it out of his mind that to some extent this was due to the fact that women could not associate themselves together with the force which came of the fact that people possessed a certain political importance. He would rather have this Bill than no Bill at all, and he would certainly vote for it in all its stages rather than go without the principle. I believe the time will come when people will look back upon the state of things to-day in which we have drawn this political distinction between men and women with as much amazement as we look back upon the period when slavery was a recognised institution. The time will come when people will feel that our doubts were the outcome of a great superstition, and will marvel that humanity had not emancipated itself earlier. It is because I believe that people will come to see that this Bill only represented a very natural step forward that I for one shall give my vote for the second reading. (Cheers.)

MR. WALTER LONG.
Mr. Walter Long (U. Strand) said that if Mr. Haldane's remarks were pushed to their logical conclusion we might expect to see women sitting on the Treasury bench as Ministers of the Crown. Were they to be given a vote which in the light of their experience they knew would mean that they had made up their minds that the governing power of this country should be transferred from one sex to the other? He did not oppose the bill on the ground that women were intellectually unfit to exercise the franchise. He believed the bulk of the women of the country were as capable in this respect as the bulk of the men. He did not believe that women suffered from the fact that they had no vote. The fact that women looked to men to vote for her and to legislate for her was an additional incentive to the ordinary member of Parliament to do his duty, to see that she was treated with the utmost fairness and generosity. The proposal of the Bill involved the greatest reform the House had ever been asked to pass.

MR. LYTTELTON.
Mr. Lyttelton (U. Hanover Square) said that he approached this question without prejudice or passion. Indeed, his prejudices were all against the view which his reason had compelled him to take on this occasion. (Cheers.) For some considerable number of years he had convinced himself that reason and justice lay at the bottom of the demand. What is the reason (continued Mr. Lyttelton) that has convinced me that reason and justice, and I might almost add honour, compel me to vote for this Bill? For years I have asked for the assistance of women and have accepted their services, not merely as followers but as active principals in political affairs. (Cheers.) It might be right or wrong, but at any rate we have no right to accept gratefully political assistance from women and at the same time deprecate their political existence and refuse them elementary political functions. The sphere of the activities of women, both in the State and in the municipalities, has been constantly enlarged. Take education, the Poor Law, sanitation, factory legislation, and a score of other matters. Is there anybody so besotted with personal vanity as to say that in these matters great assistance may not be obtained from the counsels and

influence of women? (Cheers.) In the matters of the education of young children, housing, public health, the hours of labour of women, and the like—is there any man such as an ass to resist the skill and knowledge of women? The State, at any rate, has not rejected them. It had been suggested that the admission of women would diminish the virile force of the Government. That was not the experience of our colonies, and the Boer women were the most inveterate supporters of the war. He had deliberately arrived at the conclusion that the feeling of society like ours women should not be allowed to go altogether without representation. (Cheers.)

MR. BELLOC.
Mr. Belloc (L. South Salford) said that it was the educated women, the wealthy women, the middle-class women who had promoted the Bill and would benefit by it. There underlay the whole of the discussion a reality much greater than the reality of poverty, as real as some said older than—the family. It was the reality of sex, very difficult to deal with, especially in a public speech, and on that account the whole of the discussion became false and unreal. This reality was particularly reflected in the healthy, wholesome, sane position that the mass of the populace had taken up on this question. On the balance that it was the view of the wife and the mother of that sex acting individually which, on the whole, determined the complexion and nature of the society in which we lived. Supposing, then, that the vote had a value and gave a certain power, to whom should we gladly give over some part of our governance? To the mothers of families and to the wives. Not to the disappointed women, not to the women who refused to pay taxes in the levying of which they had no voice? It was not until 1832, when the word "male" was introduced into the Reform Bill, that the women of this country were disfranchised. The women taxpayers who paid twenty millions every year to the Exchequer ought to have some say in the levying and spending of that sum. It was said there was no strong demand on the part of women for enfranchisement. He really wondered what evidence on this point would be regarded as sufficient. There was no body of organised women in the country who had not demanded enfranchisement and who were not supporting the present Bill. As to the democratic character of the Bill, in London, according to Mr. Charles Booth's figures, there were 186,982 women occupiers. Of these 96,940 were women who did other than domestic work. Who were these women? Thirty thousand were charwomen, 14,000 were dressmakers and milliners, 6,000 were shirt and blouse makers and sempstresses, and so on. For anyone to oppose the Bill on the ground that it was not democratic showed that he did not understand the question. It was said that India would cease to respect us when it became known that Parliament was in part elected by women. But those who look that line seemed to forget that in India, under our rule, the franchise was actually extended to women, who voted for the local bodies which helped to elect the Councils. The day for speaking of chivalry in regard to women had gone by. When they remembered that the millowners of Lancashire, until they were stopped by law, compelled women to work right up to the edge of their confinement, the less they heard about chivalry towards women the better. Women did not want chivalry. They did not want to be treated as if they were half angels and half idiots. They wanted to be allowed to defend themselves by the strength of their own political power.

MR. KEIR HARDIE.
Mr. Keir Hardie (Lab. Merthyr), answering Mr. F. E. Smith, asked if he had ever heard of Queen Elizabeth and of Queen Victoria, and was he aware that before the House at this moment was a Bill which, in an event which they all hoped would never arise, would create a woman Regent. Was he aware that this House came practically into existence because of individuals refusing to pay taxes in the levying of which they had no voice? It was not until 1832, when the word "male" was introduced into the Reform Bill, that the women of this country were disfranchised. The women taxpayers who paid twenty millions every year to the Exchequer ought to have some say in the levying and spending of that sum. It was said there was no strong demand on the part of women for enfranchisement. He really wondered what evidence on this point would be regarded as sufficient. There was no body of organised women in the country who had not demanded enfranchisement and who were not supporting the present Bill. As to the democratic character of the Bill, in London, according to Mr. Charles Booth's figures, there were 186,982 women occupiers. Of these 96,940 were women who did other than domestic work. Who were these women? Thirty thousand were charwomen, 14,000 were dressmakers and milliners, 6,000 were shirt and blouse makers and sempstresses, and so on. For anyone to oppose the Bill on the ground that it was not democratic showed that he did not understand the question. It was said that India would cease to respect us when it became known that Parliament was in part elected by women. But those who look that line seemed to forget that in India, under our rule, the franchise was actually extended to women, who voted for the local bodies which helped to elect the Councils. The day for speaking of chivalry in regard to women had gone by. When they remembered that the millowners of Lancashire, until they were stopped by law, compelled women to work right up to the edge of their confinement, the less they heard about chivalry towards women the better. Women did not want chivalry. They did not want to be treated as if they were half angels and half idiots. They wanted to be allowed to defend themselves by the strength of their own political power.

LORD HUGH CECIL.
Lord H. Cecil (U. Oxford University) agreed with Mr. Belloc's view that a large part of the electorate did not think it mattered much whether women were enfranchised or not. He, however, supported the Bill because he understood that a large number of women wanted the vote, because they seemed competent to exercise it, and because he could not see why they should not have it. A woman might speak, canvass, exercise a great influence upon a constituency—in fact, control three-quarters of the machinery of representative government. It was only the technical process of marking a voting paper from which she was debarred. Actually giving the vote was a small thing, and there was intrinsic absurdity in refusing it. A sin was in its very ideas a separate thing from common interests; a sex was just the opposite. The members of one sex were essentially interested in the members of the other sex. (Laughter.) Nor did he attach any importance to the physical force argument. He was not proposing to enfranchise a sex, Lord Hugh continued, but a number of persons. A good many women could knock me down quite easily—(laughter)—but the hon. member for Walton would not propose that I be disfranchised and Mr. Eugene Sandow became a plural voter on a great scale. (Loud laughter.) It was an incredible argument that one sex would always act in a body against the other. Then there was the argument that a number of women themselves were against the suffrage. That was no real argument bearing on the controversy at all. The mere statement that one woman did not wish for the vote was surely no reason why the statement that another woman who did want the vote should be excluded. The question could not be determined by a polling of the sex, or by deciding that because a majority did not want the vote therefore none of them could have it.

MR. BURKE.
Mr. Burke (N. Tullamore), although declaring himself no opponent of woman's suffrage, spoke against this Bill.
Sir A. Spicer (H. Hackney) felt that the Bill was a natural sequel to the movements of the last forty years. He estimated that of the women enfranchised under the Bill about 80 per cent. would belong to the industrial classes. Men and women had each their different parts to play. He feared that unless the demand were satisfied there was a danger of a certain separation of feeling growing up between the sexes, and he did not want to see this question become a nationalised sex question.

MR. WILLIAM REDMOND.
Mr. W. Redmond (N. East Clare) did not admire the form of the Bill, but would vote for the second reading, in the hope that it would break down once for all the barrier

which prevented women taking a legitimate part in the government of the country. He would have preferred a Bill which would grant the franchise to women on the same terms as men. It was an unworthy thing to speculate what would be the result of the enfranchisement of women. He would give them their rights, even if he knew that the majority of their votes would be cast in favour of the Government. He would not support the Bill, mainly on the ground that to give a vote to a woman who was already directly represented by her husband was to place the husband in an invidious position.
Mr. Goulding (U. Worcester) said the enfranchisement of women was the only means by which redress could be secured for women's grievances in employment.

MR. LYON.
Mr. Lyon (L. South Edinburgh) opposed the Bill on the plea that it was un-democratic.

MR. WINSTON CHURCHILL.
Mr. Winston Churchill opposed the Bill. In the course of his speech he said: "I believe there is a proportion of women capable of exercising the Parliamentary franchise not merely to their own satisfaction but to the public advantage. And I believe that that proportion of women is found in every class throughout the community, and that the State would be the gainer if they had the vote, and if, in consequence, they had access in the fullest sense to all positions in our public life. On the other hand, I think the grievance is greatly exaggerated. I think the great mass of women are not in any sensible degree the losers by the disability under which they lie. It cannot be proved that they have suffered any disadvantages in legislation. The statute-book, in fact, leaves them a privileged class. He did not believe that the great mass of women wanted the vote. They had made singularly little use of their opportunities in regard to local and municipal government, although there were numerous and brilliant exceptions. He was not in the least convinced that the male electorate was in favour of the change, and he saw grave dangers in creating without great consideration a vast and dependent vote which could be manipulated and manoeuvred in this or that direction. The denial of a recognised political status to women as a sex implied a slur of inferiority. He would like to see that slur effectively removed. They could give the vote to some of the best women of all classes, or they could give the vote to all women. This Bill was neither one thing nor the other. It was not a democratic Bill, but an anti-democratic Bill, giving an unfair representation to property as against persons. At present a man may exercise plural votes, but they are in different constituencies. Under this Bill he would be able to exercise the vote once or twice or three times in the same constituency. I can understand a man who says he is in favour of the vote for women and a man who says he is against; but what is to be said for the man who says he is in favour of votes for women but not for mothers or wives unless they are faggot voters? (Cheers.) A young, inexperienced girl of twenty-one is to have the vote, while the mother of seven or eight children—who for twenty-five years had guided the policy and economy of the household—is to be refused. (Cheers.) It would be possible for women to have a vote while living in a state of prostitution, if she married and became an honest woman she would lose it. (Laughter.) She could, however, regain the vote through divorce. The Bill has been carefully framed to prevent its being amended in any widening or democratic sense. It can be altered in favour of property by this House or by the other House, but it cannot be altered in favour of poverty. It cannot be altered in any democratic sense. Therefore we have got to recognise what a vote on the second reading of this Bill means. People may say the Bill is not going any further. I do not think that is a fair way to treat the question. It is not at all a brave and not a very honourable method of dealing with a matter about which, whatever view is entertained of it, passionate feelings and earnest hopes are deeply stirred. (Cheers.) In my judgment the proposal can honestly say: I want this Bill to be introduced into law this Session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it, as they very likely would"—the man who is prepared to say all that, who can think it honestly and sincerely is fully justified in voting for the second reading of this Bill. As it would be cowardly to seek immunity by abstention from this difficult situation, and to leave the burdens to be borne by others, I shall, after long reflection, but without any doubt whatever, give my vote this evening for the rejection of this measure upon its second reading. (Cheers.)

MR. PONSONBY.
Mr. Ponsonby (L. Sterling Burghs) supported the Bill, because women represented a huge mass of opinion which was different from the male opinion—not corresponding but complementary to it. For years past the chief work of the House of Commons had been in connection with social affairs—factory legisla-

tion, housing, land reform, taxation, licensing, education—all of which closely affected the homes and social life of the people. We admitted that women's influence on our social life was beneficial. Why, then, did we exclude women from participation in our political life? If this Bill did not get as far as the Committee stage the House would have lost the only opportunity it was likely to get for a great many years of breaking down the sex barrier, for the Government would never be able to do it by a private member's amendment to an Electoral Reform Bill. The Opposition would vote against such a Bill all the way through.

MR. LEACH.
Mr. Leach (L. Colne Valley) referred to the statement made by the Home Secretary, and said that of all the speeches he had heard from Mr. Churchill none had been based upon a more slender foundation. Mr. Leach added that he intended to support the Bill before the House, not merely to reduce an election pledge, but because the Bill was a measure of justice too long denied to women.

THE PRIME MINISTER.
Mr. Asquith: The great interest which has been excited by this debate and the high level of argumentative ability with which it has been sustained amply justify the decision of the Government to allow, really for the first time in our Parliamentary history, a full and adequate opportunity for the discussion of an issue which is not the less grave because it does not belong to the domain of party politics. I am bound to say at once I agree with the Secretary for War (Mr. Haldane), that, having regard to all our practice and procedure in such matters this is not the class of measure the details of which ought to be left for discussion and settlement by a Committee of affairs. It ought to be clearly understood in what I am about to say I am speaking entirely for myself.

IT IS impossible to pretend, having regard both to the character of the Bill itself and the kind of arguments used to justify its support, that this is a Bill which in any true sense of the word lays down the principle of the political equality of the two sexes. What its principle is I do not know. It is some principle not yet defined, but which, in the opinion of a large number of those who profess it, has exhausted its practical applications when out of millions and millions of women in this country you have selected one particular million as the sole depositaries and recipients of political rights, while you are incidentally excluding by the very framework of your measure from all share in the possibility of exercising political power or privilege in this country the great bulk of wives and mothers of the country. (Cheers.) Having regard to the social and political expediencies of such a country and such an empire as ours, it is better to maintain the distinction of sex which has always hitherto been treated as lying at the root of our Parliamentary system, and which has been and is recognised, with exceptions trivial in number, but not in any way relevant to their circumstances, by all the great civilised nations in the world.

THE DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY.
I do not wish in the least degree to disparage the experiments made in our own dominions and colonies. New Zealand and Australia are great laboratories of social and political experiment, but no one acquainted with the circumstances of these countries, their vast areas, their sparse populations, their social and economic conditions, separated by almost as great distances as they are in point of geography from ourselves—no one can say, even if the experience had been longer and the lessons taught more generally agreed upon, that they afford any general guidance to what takes place here. (Cheers.) The principle I have endeavoured to enunciate involves no adverse reflection whatever on the intellectual capacity of women. We have to deal in politics, not with individual cases, not even with classes, but with causes and tendencies, physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual, operating and interacting on a large scale and over a wide field. It is quite impossible, in my judgment, to determine what will be the practical consequences, both to women as a sex, and to this country as a State, of any measure of political enfranchisement, or to confine your attention to the intellectual capacity of this or that woman, or to the highest authority on law this Session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it, as they very likely would"—the man who is prepared to say all that, who can think it honestly and sincerely is fully justified in voting for the second reading of this Bill. As it would be cowardly to seek immunity by abstention from this difficult situation, and to leave the burdens to be borne by others, I shall, after long reflection, but without any doubt whatever, give my vote this evening for the rejection of this measure upon its second reading. (Cheers.)

enfranchise about 197,000 women, of whom 85,000 worked for their living outside their homes. Of the remainder, no fewer than 70,000, it was estimated, kept no servants. That would leave little more than 20,000 who might be called well-to-do. The million women whom it was proposed to enfranchise were women who for twenty years had been trained to exercise their vote in municipal elections. They were the women whose praises had been sung by hon. gentlemen opposite. There had been no panic about adult suffrage when the municipal franchise was given. Nobody proposed to disturb it. But when it was proposed to extend it to the Parliamentary area it was said at once that women would want something more. For generations the leaders of the Conservative party had been in favour of women's suffrage—Disraeli, Sir Sturges Bourne, and Lord Salisbury, among others. The agitation now was more real than that of 1856. He warned the House that to reject this Bill would be the signal for the outbreak of an agitation such as the country had not seen. The rejection of the Bill would be one of the most disastrous events that could happen.

THE HOME SECRETARY.
Mr. Winston Churchill opposed the Bill. In the course of his speech he said: "I believe there is a proportion of women capable of exercising the Parliamentary franchise not merely to their own satisfaction but to the public advantage. And I believe that that proportion of women is found in every class throughout the community, and that the State would be the gainer if they had the vote, and if, in consequence, they had access in the fullest sense to all positions in our public life. On the other hand, I think the grievance is greatly exaggerated. I think the great mass of women are not in any sensible degree the losers by the disability under which they lie. It cannot be proved that they have suffered any disadvantages in legislation. The statute-book, in fact, leaves them a privileged class. He did not believe that the great mass of women wanted the vote. They had made singularly little use of their opportunities in regard to local and municipal government, although there were numerous and brilliant exceptions. He was not in the least convinced that the male electorate was in favour of the change, and he saw grave dangers in creating without great consideration a vast and dependent vote which could be manipulated and manoeuvred in this or that direction. The denial of a recognised political status to women as a sex implied a slur of inferiority. He would like to see that slur effectively removed. They could give the vote to some of the best women of all classes, or they could give the vote to all women. This Bill was neither one thing nor the other. It was not a democratic Bill, but an anti-democratic Bill, giving an unfair representation to property as against persons. At present a man may exercise plural votes, but they are in different constituencies. Under this Bill he would be able to exercise the vote once or twice or three times in the same constituency. I can understand a man who says he is in favour of the vote for women and a man who says he is against; but what is to be said for the man who says he is in favour of votes for women but not for mothers or wives unless they are faggot voters? (Cheers.) A young, inexperienced girl of twenty-one is to have the vote, while the mother of seven or eight children—who for twenty-five years had guided the policy and economy of the household—is to be refused. (Cheers.) It would be possible for women to have a vote while living in a state of prostitution, if she married and became an honest woman she would lose it. (Laughter.) She could, however, regain the vote through divorce. The Bill has been carefully framed to prevent its being amended in any widening or democratic sense. It can be altered in favour of property by this House or by the other House, but it cannot be altered in favour of poverty. It cannot be altered in any democratic sense. Therefore we have got to recognise what a vote on the second reading of this Bill means. People may say the Bill is not going any further. I do not think that is a fair way to treat the question. It is not at all a brave and not a very honourable method of dealing with a matter about which, whatever view is entertained of it, passionate feelings and earnest hopes are deeply stirred. (Cheers.) In my judgment the proposal can honestly say: I want this Bill to be introduced into law this Session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it, as they very likely would"—the man who is prepared to say all that, who can think it honestly and sincerely is fully justified in voting for the second reading of this Bill. As it would be cowardly to seek immunity by abstention from this difficult situation, and to leave the burdens to be borne by others, I shall, after long reflection, but without any doubt whatever, give my vote this evening for the rejection of this measure upon its second reading. (Cheers.)

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THE PRIME MINISTER.
Mr. Asquith: The great interest which has been excited by this debate and the high level of argumentative ability with which it has been sustained amply justify the decision of the Government to allow, really for the first time in our Parliamentary history, a full and adequate opportunity for the discussion of an issue which is not the less grave because it does not belong to the domain of party politics. I am bound to say at once I agree with the Secretary for War (Mr. Haldane), that, having regard to all our practice and procedure in such matters this is not the class of measure the details of which ought to be left for discussion and settlement by a Committee of affairs. It ought to be clearly understood in what I am about to say I am speaking entirely for myself.

IT IS impossible to pretend, having regard both to the character of the Bill itself and the kind of arguments used to justify its support, that this is a Bill which in any true sense of the word lays down the principle of the political equality of the two sexes. What its principle is I do not know. It is some principle not yet defined, but which, in the opinion of a large number of those who profess it, has exhausted its practical applications when out of millions and millions of women in this country you have selected one particular million as the sole depositaries and recipients of political rights, while you are incidentally excluding by the very framework of your measure from all share in the possibility of exercising political power or privilege in this country the great bulk of wives and mothers of the country. (Cheers.) Having regard to the social and political expediencies of such a country and such an empire as ours, it is better to maintain the distinction of sex which has always hitherto been treated as lying at the root of our Parliamentary system, and which has been and is recognised, with exceptions trivial in number, but not in any way relevant to their circumstances, by all the great civilised nations in the world.

THE DOCTRINE OF DEMOCRACY.
I do not wish in the least degree to disparage the experiments made in our own dominions and colonies. New Zealand and Australia are great laboratories of social and political experiment, but no one acquainted with the circumstances of these countries, their vast areas, their sparse populations, their social and economic conditions, separated by almost as great distances as they are in point of geography from ourselves—no one can say, even if the experience had been longer and the lessons taught more generally agreed upon, that they afford any general guidance to what takes place here. (Cheers.) The principle I have endeavoured to enunciate involves no adverse reflection whatever on the intellectual capacity of women. We have to deal in politics, not with individual cases, not even with classes, but with causes and tendencies, physical, intellectual, emotional, and spiritual, operating and interacting on a large scale and over a wide field. It is quite impossible, in my judgment, to determine what will be the practical consequences, both to women as a sex, and to this country as a State, of any measure of political enfranchisement, or to confine your attention to the intellectual capacity of this or that woman, or to the highest authority on law this Session, regardless of all other consequences. I want it as it is, and I want it now. I want it sent to the House of Lords. I am prepared to fight the House of Lords if they reject it, as they very likely would"—the man who is prepared to say all that, who can think it honestly and sincerely is fully justified in voting for the second reading of this Bill. As it would be cowardly to seek immunity by abstention from this difficult situation, and to leave the burdens to be borne by others, I shall, after long reflection, but without any doubt whatever, give my vote this evening for the rejection of this measure upon its second reading. (Cheers.)

MR. LEACH.
Mr. Leach (L. Colne Valley) referred to the statement made by the Home Secretary, and said that of all the speeches he had heard from Mr. Churchill none had been based upon a more slender foundation. Mr. Leach added that he intended to support the Bill before the House, not merely to reduce an election pledge, but because the Bill was a measure of justice too long denied to women.

THE PRIME MINISTER.
Mr. Asquith: The great interest which has been excited by this debate and the high level of argumentative ability with which it has been sustained amply justify the decision of the Government to allow, really for the first time in our Parliamentary history, a full and adequate opportunity for the discussion of an issue which is not the less grave because it does not belong to the domain of party politics. I am bound to say at once I agree with the Secretary for War (Mr. Haldane), that, having regard to all our practice and procedure in such matters this is not the class of measure the details of which ought to be left for discussion and settlement by a Committee of affairs. It ought to be clearly understood in what I am about to say I am speaking entirely for myself.

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franchise. My objection is based on experience and on our knowledge of the inevitable tendencies of human nature and of what would seem to be the consequences of any of these proposed new departures to the sex and to the State—injurious to the real interests of the one, and not without peril to the stability of the other. I should not regard any measure of women's suffrage as satisfying my idea of the term democratic, which did not confer the suffrage on women on precisely the same terms as it is for the time being enjoyed by men.

LET US be under no misapprehension as to what we are doing. In the long run if we grant the franchise to women we must grant it on the widest possible basis. I am not foolish enough to suppose that we are likely to see the women of the country voting in one camp. That is a boy's world which does not appal me in the least, nor is it a point which any sensible controversialist is disposed to make. But what you may see is that on particular issues and in particular constituencies the male vote is dominated and overborne by the female. (Cheers.) You may have a decision taken by the electorate which will not be regarded by the men or the Empire or the world at large as a decision given by the electorate, nor as having behind it the requisite moral and physical authority. Another contingency, which I should deprecate even more, is that you might have, and it is not without peril in other parts of the world, a nominal paper majority which exists only so long as it is not asserted, and reposes in the last degree in the tolerance of a minority—of all political fabrics the most fragile and most insecure. One of the great dangers of democratic government is what for want of a better phrase I will call intermittency of interest. That is to say, you have waves of enthusiasm—a movement which for the time being seems to sweep everything before it—of a particular cause or particular controversy excites the almost passionate interest of thousands and millions of people. That is apt to be followed, as the wave is by the trough, by a period in which there is lassitude and indifference. In my opinion, if you introduce what the Home Secretary so well described as this fluid and mobile element into your electorate, you enormously increase the risk of having fickleness, of having capricious movements, followed by intervals of indifference and lassitude. (Cheers.) For really strong democratic government you want something like continuity of interest, and anything which tends to impair that continuity or disturb that concentration renders that democratic machine less efficient for the expression of the wishes of the people. (Cheers.)

WHAT is there in this measure which is desired either by the majority of women or by the majority of the electorate? We can all recall the circumstances of the General Election in January, and I do not believe there is a single man in this House who would tell me that Women's Suffrage was a question which influenced his return to this House. Everybody knows that Women's Suffrage is an insignificant part. It was not so prominent, it was not even a subordinate issue at the last election.

LOOK BACK upon all our previous reforms in the franchise. Every one of them has been the tardily attained result of years of agitation. Here you are invited to take a leap in the dark, without any of those preceding conditions which alone would justify a great responsible Legislature like this in changing the constitution of the body by whom it is elected. Also I do not understand by a democratic measure a measure such as this, which in its direct application would enable an enormous number of unqualified persons to be manufactured by well-to-do people, and in that way to adulterate the constituencies of the country.

THE USE OF THREATS.
We are told that if those of us who have the credit of our convictions record our votes against this measure we shall do so at considerable peril, and threats are held out of annoyance, persecution, perhaps something worse. Well, I am sorry such language should be used. I do not believe it will affect a single vote. The House of Commons would indeed be unworthy of its traditions, false to its duty, and treacherous to the country if there is a man in it who is capable of allowing his vote to be influenced for a moment by such threats. (Loud cheers.) We know on the highest authority that "they that take the sword shall perish with the sword," and I venture to say in all solemnity and earnestness that the promoters of this movement—high-minded, chivalrous men and women as I know the great bulk of them to be—I venture to say to them that a cause which cannot win its way to public acceptance by persuasion, by argument, by organisation, and by peaceful methods of agitation is a cause which already and in advance pronounces upon itself a sentence of death.

MR. BALFOUR.
Mr. Balfour, after stating that he agreed with the Prime Minister as to the serious effects of violent methods, said he did not believe the enfranchisement of women would have any important effect upon their material well-being. I cannot, he continued, honestly say I believe it will raise their wages or that it will initiate schemes of social reform which would take a different complexion and be cast in a different shape. I am extremely sceptical about the effect of lowering the franchise on what is called social reform. I do not believe

that the movement of social reform which has characterised our legislation for the last seventy years is due to the changes in the franchise which have occurred in that time or before. My view is that democracy, properly understood, is government by consent, broadly speaking. When you get to the point that a class feels itself, as a class, excluded, and outraged by being excluded, then those who believe as I do, that democracy, properly understood, is the only possible government for any nation at the stage of political evolution which we have reached, must consider whether it is not his business to try to see if a government, which is by hypothesis not a government by consent, can be turned into a government by consent. I do not admit a right, but I do say that when women, or any large section of women, have begun to feel that they suffer under an hereditary disability it is their business to consider the situation, and see if you cannot remedy that grievance. (Cheers.) Society has undergone a great change in many respects connected with this problem, but I will only mention two. The number of women who now have to earn their own livelihood has enormously increased. They have no family to depend upon. They are in a position, so to speak, of social isolation. There was no adequate counterpart in previous generations of the great class. That is one thing. The other new circumstance is that at our invitation as much as for any other reason all classes are being dragged into politics. At our invitation they are taking an active part. It is extremely difficult to say to these people whom we ask to do all the hard, intellectual work of politics, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no farther. The last proof that we regard you as on an equality with me is to give you a vote. You may sing for us. You may speak for us. You may sing for us. (Laughter.) You may get your husband in. You may keep him in. But you must not give a vote. You cannot put a cross against his name. That is beyond your competence. You are a woman." That is not an easy proposition to defend—(Cheers)—and when the Prime Minister comes down and deprecates the franchise, and the ground of sex alone, that is a position he has got to defend. I do not think it is a very easy one. (Cheers.) We are told by some that women are thinking of rising to the height of all those considerations which influence Imperial politics. They are good enough to manage New Zealand. They cannot manage or help to manage any other part of the world. I say, as you look after our municipal affairs. But they are not good enough to manage our national affairs. They may have a vote for dealing with the police. But they must not have a vote for dealing with the army. That is a rather subtle distinction—(Cheers)—and I venture to say that there really is not the slightest ground for thinking that women—or, at all events, the women enfranchised by this Bill—will ever be able to deal with those great Imperial questions than any other class of the voting population. (Cheers.) Then it is said that there will be a sex division—the great danger that in future the political community will be divided upon important questions, the men being ranged largely on one side and the women on the other. May I ask anybody to consider whether the dreadful contingencies which are likely to occur? For the life of me I cannot imagine that they are likely to arise. So far as my personal experience goes I have never found women differing from men as women on this class of question. Never. Sometimes they have given very intelligent grounds for their opinion, and sometimes very stupid grounds, and men are much the same. But has anybody gone about amongst his friends and found that all the wives took one line and all the husbands the other, or that there was anything corresponding to the sex division with which we are threatened? It has never happened, and I do not think it ever will happen, but if there is a danger of it, if the men are in danger from the women, then let us keep them under. Orientalise the whole structure and put them under lock and key. Use your physical strength not merely to prevent any vote or franchise like this, but to prevent women having that influence from which you anticipate such disastrous consequences. I myself do not anticipate the danger, and therefore do not suggest the remedy. I think we can learn something from New Zealand and Australia. It is not a fact, in the first place, that there has been no successful attempt on the part of New Zealand women to sit in the Legislature. In the second place, it is not a fact that the women here at the beginning of an appearance of any sex division in matters legislative? And, in the third place, is there any part of the British Empire where the flame of patriotism burns with a steadier lustre or where the populations are more ready to make all those sacrifices for the Imperial cause which undoubtedly that cause deserves but which it would be difficult to say to them that a cause which cannot win its way to public acceptance by persuasion, by argument, by organisation, and by peaceful methods of agitation is a cause which already and in advance pronounces upon itself a sentence of death.

THE BILL is framed in such a way that nobody can move another alternative—that means that a Committee of Conciliation, a committee of women, met together and decided to say to the House of Commons, "Not merely must you vote for women's suffrage, but you must vote for the particular form which we have agreed upon, and we do not allow you to deliberate on any other form." That is a position that no self-respecting Legislature could possibly accept. My hon. friend who moved the second reading of this Bill said, "This, after all, is only the thin end of the wedge. I am going on, and the promoters will go on." Let me point out what was said last night by his friends at an anti-Suffrage meeting in the Queen's Hall, when Lord Cromer was the speaker. Lord Cromer said exactly what the hon. member said:—"It may be a moderate Bill, but there will be an ultimate demand to give votes to all women."

"Five tall women, garbed in white and purple and green ribbon, rose and solemnly said, 'Liar.'"

the opposite sex. If the future of women as women is injured by their being mixed up in political life their cause is lost already. They are daily more and more mixed up. You who are urging them to mix themselves up, and under these circumstances I urge, you cannot complain if they feel that by exclusion from our existing law there is a slur, an hereditary slur, put upon their sex. That is a policy which might have been justifiable—I think it was justifiable—in times gone by, but with the development of political instincts, political instincts of men, political discussions, is tolerable no longer. (Cheers.)

MR. KETTLE.
Mr. Kettle (N. Tyrone) demurred to the Prime Minister's doctrine that constitutional freedom had come about by the process of peaceful agitation. It was an unhappy coincidence that one of the most important Franchise Bills was accompanied by the pulling down of the railings of Hyde Park. He hoped we had come to better days, and that peaceful agitation would prevail, but he very much feared that the attitude of the Government had not conducted to such a settlement. They had retreated from the standard of liberalism, and had endeavoured to shelter that retreat under the covering histories of democratic principle.

SIR ALFRED MOND.
Sir A. Mond (L. Swansea) said the Bill would bring into politics a number of qualified, thoughtful people, who would take a deep, abiding, and conscientious interest in political questions. Would it not be a valuable thing to have new light thrown on those questions? In his opinion the introduction of the woman voter would add very greatly to the wisdom with which national affairs were conducted. Personally he would like to see all women enfranchised.

A MINISTER IN FAVOUR.
Mr. Runciman (President of the Board of Education) spoke in favour of the Bill. He said that in every sphere of our public and political affairs which woman had entered she had raised the standard. He proposed to give his vote on the general principle of the Bill, but reserved the right to oppose it in the later stages. The time was past when they could get out of their responsibility on mere details of the question. (Cheers.) It was said that those responsible for the defeat of the Bill would run some physical risk. If we are to run any physical risk, said Mr. Runciman, I say, at least, let us run it for a good cause, though I support the Bill, that I wish to share those risks. (Cheers.) As regarded the proposal that the Bill after the second reading should be sent to a Grand Committee, he reminded the House that when those Committees were set up, Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman, speaking on this very point, said nothing could be more absurd than to suppose that any Government would send a Franchise Bill to a Committee. (Cheers from opponents of the Bill.) This was a matter of such grave importance, said Mr. Runciman, that every one of the 570 members of the House had a right to consider its details.

THE CHANCELLOR.
Mr. Lloyd George: I have always voted for women's suffrage. I do not think that any case has been made against the extension of the franchise to women. Women are affected by good Bills and by bad Bills, by good Government and by bad Government, just as intimately and as seriously as men, and I have never been able to find out why they should not have a hand in the fashioning of the laws which affect their lives and their happiness, and why they should not also have a voice in choosing the Government under which they live. Every prominent question at the bar of Parliament awaiting examination affects women just as closely as men. But let us mind the House what the question is that is before it. The question is not "that this House extends the franchise to women," but "that this Bill be read a second time

to take in the opinion of the House of Commons. After all, when the time comes for discussing this Bill, I am sure it will be discussed very carefully. It is a pig-stick change. I am all in favour of it. I think it will have very great results. It is a change of very great moment in the history of this country—it ought to be considered very carefully by a full Committee of the whole House—(cheers)—and it ought to be considered when the House of Commons is perfectly untrammelled; when every method of dealing with the question should be fully canvassed and considered, when every alternative should be fully discussed, and when the House of Commons, after full and deliberate reflection, comes to a conclusion as to the best means of settling the question. I have a suggestion to make to hon. members who support the Bill, and I think it is a test. The hon. member for Blackburn is going to reply. I put this to him: I am anxious to vote for this Bill; it is with the deepest reluctance that I will give any vote which appears to be against it. I can assure him that is the case. I put this to him: If the promoters of this Bill say that they regard the second reading merely as an affirmation of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and if they promise that when they reintroduce the Bill it will be in a form which will enable the House of Commons to move any amendment either for restriction or for extension I shall be happy to vote for this Bill. I vote, therefore, absolutely not only refuse to vote for it, but with very great reluctance, and for the first time shall give a vote against a Bill which appears to be a Woman's Suffrage Bill, but which is really an attempt to dictate to the House of Commons the way in which the question should be solved. This is not a domestic Bill. It is purely a Bill for picking and choosing between different classes of women. I do not want to say a word about the class of women who will be chosen, but no one will say they would be the best representatives of the working classes. They do not represent them, and for that reason I appeal to the supporters of this Bill. In the interests of women's suffrage they are not taking the best method of proceeding. If they brought a Bill to this House, even this Bill, framed in such a way that anybody could have moved amendments for extending it, and taken the opinion of the House of Commons upon the best method of settling the question, I would not say a word against it. But since they have chosen deliberately to say to the House of Commons, "We will not allow you to discuss alternatives," I, with the deepest reluctance and for the first time in my life, and, I think, the last, will go into the lobby against the Bill.

MR. AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN.

Mr. A. Chamberlain (U., East Worcester) said this was one of the gravest questions which the House of Commons could be called upon to settle. It went not merely to the root of our constitutional and political system, but to the root of the whole structure of society and conformation of life. If we pass this Bill, Mr. Chamberlain continued, we have not arrived at a settlement of this question. We are at the beginning of a revolution. I for my part am not at all reconciled. It is only a little one, for it is not the amount but the thing itself to which I object. It is not the number of women who are to be admitted, but it is the extension of the franchise to women as such to which I offer my resistance. Law should conform to nature. We ought in our laws to follow the distinction nature had made. It was on that ground that he was opposed to woman's suffrage. It was not because he thought women inferior to men, not because he yielded to any man in his reverence for women, but because he thought women's qualities were so valuable an asset in our national life and that they could not be maintained unimpaired in the turmoil of our party system that he was reluctant to take even a first step on the path opened before us. (Cheers.)

MR. P. SNOWDEN.

Mr. Snowden (Lab., Blackburn) said: One was astonished at the inability of members to look at the question except from the point of view of man. It had been urged that the House had done for women everything that women could do for themselves. The Home Secretary gave a particularly unfortunate illustration when he referred to old-age pensions. He forgot that when introduced that Bill certainly did not treat men and women alike. The Prime Minister referred to the extension of the Compensation Act to domestic servants, but surely he forgot the circumstances under which that amendment was accepted. The Home Secretary (Mr. Gladstone) opposed the amendment, and subsequently it was accepted by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, himself a convinced supporter of women's suffrage, and that treatment of women was given in a House the majority of which was pledged to vote for the Bill because he believed in it. He supported it because it was the only Bill which could unite the various sections of opinion which were in favour of the principle of women's suffrage. If they extended the Parliamentary franchise to a few women they made all women potential voters, and they would increase the interest which women would

take in political questions. There were a number of members who feared the effect of the Bill would be to give an undue representation to property. Practically speaking, the measure would give a Parliamentary vote to the women who have the municipal vote, and four-fifths of these were women who had to earn their own living. In London 51 per cent. of the women on the municipal register were women working for wages. According to the Home Secretary, these were the only women who were entitled to be called working women. He ignored another large class, the 70,000 widows of working men who were householders. They accounted for 38 per cent. of the women occupiers. So that in those two classes there was 89 per cent. of the present women occupiers. There were, moreover, 5 make to hon. members who support the Bill, and I think it is a test. The hon. member for Blackburn is going to reply. I put this to him: I am anxious to vote for this Bill; it is with the deepest reluctance that I will give any vote which appears to be against it. I can assure him that is the case. I put this to him: If the promoters of this Bill say that they regard the second reading merely as an affirmation of the principle of Woman Suffrage, and if they promise that when they reintroduce the Bill it will be in a form which will enable the House of Commons to move any amendment either for restriction or for extension I shall be happy to vote for this Bill. I vote, therefore, absolutely not only refuse to vote for it, but with very great reluctance, and for the first time shall give a vote against a Bill which appears to be a Woman's Suffrage Bill, but which is really an attempt to dictate to the House of Commons the way in which the question should be solved. This is not a domestic Bill. It is purely a Bill for picking and choosing between different classes of women. I do not want to say a word about the class of women who will be chosen, but no one will say they would be the best representatives of the working classes. They do not represent them, and for that reason I appeal to the supporters of this Bill. In the interests of women's suffrage they are not taking the best method of proceeding. If they brought a Bill to this House, even this Bill, framed in such a way that anybody could have moved amendments for extending it, and taken the opinion of the House of Commons upon the best method of settling the question, I would not say a word against it. But since they have chosen deliberately to say to the House of Commons, "We will not allow you to discuss alternatives," I, with the deepest reluctance and for the first time in my life, and, I think, the last, will go into the lobby against the Bill.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

Now that the debate is over and the divisions have been taken, and the fate of the Bill has for the present been determined, the question which most people will ask themselves is not, How was it fought? Who made the cleverest speeches? What arguments were the best put? and How did the chief figures on each side acquit themselves? but rather, What is the broad significance and outcome of it all? Well, to begin with, it is at least something that for two whole days the House of Commons should have been engaged on a task entirely new to it—that of discussing, not as an abstract question, but in all practicalness and with practical consequences immediately in view, the claim of a whole sex—half the nation—to a direct share, whether small or large, in the direction of public affairs. That has never happened before; it is an occurrence unexampled in our history; but there it is, and it constitutes not merely an incident but a turning point in the course of our politics, and marks the final emergence of a great new issue. To judge by some of the speeches by the speech, it must be said, not least of the Prime Minister—this would appear to be a small matter, carrying with it of necessity no particular consequences, and suitably to be met and dealt with by an

attitude of mere indifference or negation. That, we are bound to say, was not the attitude of all the opponents of the Bill. It was not the attitude of Mr. Churchill, strangely, we had almost said unaccountably, to be found among the strongest of its assailants. He at least recognised that there was a problem to be solved, though it cannot be said that he offered any suggestion tending in the smallest degree to its solution. But what are we to think of a statesmanship which sees in the whole demand and need of women for representation, fostered and fortified as it is by the whole modern movement in their education, their social activity, and their political influence, nothing which needs to be understood, to be welcomed, and to be satisfied? The Bill before the House may not supply an ideal solution, but it does offer a practical one which unites in a greater degree than any other which has yet been proposed the support of all those who recognise that an attitude of blind denial can no longer be maintained. Mr. Churchill denounced it on the ground that it would open the way to the manufacture of new property qualifications. To some small extent this might be the case, but he appeared greatly to exaggerate the danger. The Bill is expressly designed to limit, so far as it is possible to do so under the existing franchise law, any advantage which may be derived from the possession of property, and it is unlikely that Mr. Shackleton and Mr. Keir Hardie would be found among its warmest supporters if the risk were considerable.

One of the nightmares with which it was vainly sought to terrify the supporters of the Bill was that if women were allowed to become electors they must also be capable of election. This might well be almost tempted to wish that, even in the course of the last two nights' debate, the voice of a woman might have been heard. For it is hard for those who labour under no disability or sense of wrong themselves to realise the depth and intensity of the feeling of resentment, even of revolt, which has been growing and will continue to grow in the hearts of many of the best women at the continued refusal of what they hold to be an elementary right. It has expressed itself in various ways, most of them entirely reasonable and right, some of them extravagant and wrong, but the feeling itself constitutes a new and grave fact which cannot safely be ignored. It is this central fact which Mr. Balfour, in a speech of remarkable force and moderation, laid hold of. There has been much talk of the need of a "democratic" solution; the word is in special favour with various organs of the press, and it is a declaration; he brought it up again and enlarged upon it last night. But a democratic solution is, unhappily, always some other solution than that which is offered. The solution hitherto put forward by all the suffrage societies and still adhered to by preference is the simple abolition of the sex distinction and the admission of women as voters on the same terms as men. For the moment, for the sake of unity, the full claim has been abandoned, but Mr. Asquith now tells us that it is essential to a democratic solution. Well might Mr. Balfour say that we "are already almost sick" of the very word in this connection. He himself made no lofty profession of democratic faith, but he did better; he went to the root of the matter. The essence of democracy, he said, is government by consent. You have a great and growing body of opinion and sentiment which does not assent to the existing order of the State and of government on the ground that it is shut out from any direct influence upon the formation and action of government. It is not necessary that this unrepresented element in the State should receive representations in exact proportion to the numbers of those who are at present excluded; it is necessary that it should receive some representation. That is an absolutely sane and just statement of the case. Mr. W. S. B. McLaren, the recently elected member for Crowe, who knows perhaps as much as any man of the facts of the women's suffrage movement from the inside, yesterday made two statements alike true and vital. One is that if the present Bill were carried it would disarm the suffrage agitation for many years, and turn the whole force of that movement into new paths; the other that the rejection of the Bill would involve very serious consequences. The Bill has triumphantly passed its first contested stage. It is for the Government to help it through the next, or to see to it that some other definite solution is found, and found quickly.

THE TIMES, July 12.

The attitude of Ministers on the Bill will, we trust, remain unchanged. . . . Yet the language used last night in the Prime Minister's absence by the Secretary of State for War, who is himself an ardent supporter of the women's claims, was by no means laud. He drew cheers by declaring that if the House expressed itself very strongly for the principle, then it would be reasonable to give the House an "effective opportunity" to "convert its opinion into concrete form." The saying is dark and obscure. Can it mean that if there were a sufficient majority on the second reading of the Bill the Government would go back on their word and facilitate the carrying of the measure through its remaining stages?

THE TIMES.

The Women's Franchise Bill was read a second time yesterday by 299 votes to 190, but we doubt whether the more judicious friends of the movement will derive much gratification either from the division or from the debate. The majority of 109 is considerably less than that which has been recorded in support of measures with a like object on some former occasions. For instance, in 1908 a hostile amendment on the second reading of Mr. Stanger's measure was rejected by 179. Perhaps the best comment on the first division yesterday, as it certainly was the unkindest cut of all to the Suffragists, was the second division, for by it the House refused by a majority of 145 to do the one thing which the ardent supporters of the Bill have proclaimed to be indispensable and send the measure upstairs. The truth is that until now public opinion in and out of the House has refused to take the movement very seriously. Members have voted for it, or have refrained from voting against it, because they hoped to win Suffragist support or buy off Suffragist opposition, while they knew, and their male constituents knew, that there was no danger that the Bill or any similar Bill would become law.

THE DAILY CHRONICLE.

Mr. Asquith was unable to find any principle whatever in the Bill, but he would not, we suppose, have liked it any better if he had discovered the principle. Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George were not opposed to Woman Suffrage, but objected to the exclusion of admissions in the particular Bill. It is open to such objections on logical grounds, we admit; but practical reforms seldom follow a severely logical course. The line of least resistance is not often the logical one. The principle, for which Mr. Asquith sought in vain, is not very remote. It is simply to apply the existing municipal register to Parliamentary elections. The objection to female Suffrage in any form has been demolished by what Mr. Asquith and Mr. Austen Chamberlain called the "natural distinctions" between man and woman. This solicitude for nature is more impassioned than necessary; nature is very well able to look after herself. But the argument, as applied to the actual facts of the case, begs the question. The distinction which is, in fact, drawn between men and women is this: Both alike may, and do, work in politics. Women may canvass and speak, and agitate, and form Prime Ministers or Women's Liberal Associations. They may urge other people to the poll; but they may not themselves signify those opinions by putting a cross against a name in a polling booth. To do that, we are told, would be to unsex women and to ignore "natural distinctions." Why drag in nature to excuse a distinction so flimsy, so unimportant, and so held, so foreign to the best interest of the State?

THE DAILY NEWS.

The argument against the particular provisions of the Bill was put with a grave weight by Mr. Churchill. The Bill, he contended, is anti-democratic and illogical. It is anti-democratic because it endows property with a vast addition of political power. The rich man can vote £10 qualifications for his wife and daughters, while the working man can do nothing of the kind. It is illogical because it excludes mothers and wives from the franchise and admits young girls and spinsters. It would not be impossible to pick holes in both these contentions. Has anybody who knows the jungle of our franchise law the right to apply the test of logic to any suggested extension of it. And, again, would the power of the wealthy under the Bill to create faggot women voters be so much greater than their existing power to create faggot men voters? It is unfair to apply the standards of perfection to the women's Bill, because the actual law would collapse pretty miserably under such drastic treatment. The same line of reflection should make us hesitate to believe that the Bill, if it became law, would block the road to a really democratic measure. We get things done in spite of the present one-sided and capricious distribution of the franchise, because a just demand has an inherent vitality greater than the resisting power of self-seeking jealousy. Such considerations as these mitigate the force of Mr. Churchill's strictures, but they most certainly do not annihilate them.

THE MORNING LEADER.

There was not only cross-voting in the division on the "Conciliation" Bill last night, and cross-speaking in the debate during the afternoon, but there was a good deal of what we may describe as cross-thinking in some of the speeches themselves. The Prime Minister, of course, was as clear as day. He is personally opposed to giving women any parliamentary franchise, and politically opposed, as head of the Government, except on the conditions, from which he has not varied a hair's-breadth, that the demand from women should be practically unanimous, and that any franchise proposed to be granted should be of a strictly democratic character. There was therefore no hope from him for Mr. Shackleton's Bill, and we enjoy the exceptional luxury of preferring Mr. Balfour's counsel, which was given no less clearly, though without the same responsibility, in the opposite direction. But if this is a luxury, it is a positive necessity to disagree with the case of

those who, while declaring themselves generally in favour of Woman Suffrage, opposed the Conciliation Bill as anti-democratic.

This case, of which a good deal was made by Mr. Bolloc on Monday, was put in its starkest form by Mr. Churchill yesterday. He made considerable play, which was no doubt highly effective in the House of Commons, with the anomalies which might occur under the franchise proposed by the promoters of the measure. He could see nothing good in a Bill which would deprive the wife and the mother of a vote while enfranchising the spinster who, it has been taken for granted in the speeches to which we refer, is necessarily an inferior person. If that is so, it only begs the question, for it is the judgment of men which settles that inferiority, and it is just the undisputed judgment of men against which women protest. But even granting, for the sake of argument, that the civic qualities are conspicuous in a higher degree in every married woman, it is a reason why the protection of the vote, which men have learnt to regard as the shield and buckler of freedom, should be denied to the weaker sisters? Mr. Churchill laboriously proved that by this franchise great masses of the least desirable class of women might secure votes, lose them on their marriage, and only recover them on divorce. He showed that it would open the field to all sorts of electoral caprice. What he did not show, and what nobody showed, was that it has, during the past quarter of a century, produced any of these alarming results in the sphere in which it has actually been in operation. It would be impossible for anyone, who did not know it beforehand, to divine from yesterday's speeches against Mr. Shackleton's Bill that it practically reproduces the present municipal register so far as it affects women, and we suspect that the fact escaped many of the speakers. If this franchise, applied to the Parliamentary vote, is to produce havoc and absurdity, why has it not done so in the case of local government?

THE STANDARD.

We are living in days governed neither by sweet reasonableness nor the principles of humanity. It is hardly too much to say that the nations who do not love England are awaiting with cynical expectation a decision which would mark the beginning of our downfall as one of the Great Powers. For the generation now growing into manhood, if not for the younger citizens of to-day, there may be a period when no longer on their live for themselves, but may be called upon to die for their country. Whatever reason, or apparent reason, may have existed for the pacific dreams of the middle of last century, we are now confronted with an era not of fruition and progress on oiled wheels, but of a hard, arduous struggle, perhaps of face-to-face fighting. It would be insane either to fling away the respect of peoples whom we rule by the veiled potentiality of force, or to proclaim ourselves before rivals in Europe as an epinec policy. For the virtues which are distinctly feminine, which dominate all women but a few abnormal sports, there is likely to be little room in the coming years. We may weep and lament, but must improve the fact, that within the last half-century the civilization of the world, save only in the matter of scientific research, has moved backwards.

THE DAILY GRAPHIC.

Methods of delay in the House of Commons are infinite, and since both parties are afraid of the measure it may be assumed that a sufficient number of these methods will be employed to prevent the Bill passing in the present Session. Many of the women whose lives are wrapped up in the agitation will feel bitterly disappointed, but such disappointments are inevitable until the country has been roused to consider the whole question of the reform of the franchise.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN FAVOUR OF THE BILL. N.U.W.S. and W.F.L.

During the past week two important demonstrations in favour of the Bill have been held in Trafalgar Square. On Saturday the National Union of Woman Suffrage Societies called its members from all parts of England to show their support of the Conciliation Bill. Several thousand women were present, all wearing the colours of the Union, red, white and green, and there were many effective banners. The National Union speakers occupied two platforms, while the Women Testimonial Workers, the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, the Women's Liberal Federation, and the Temperance Women also had a platform each. Noticeable in the speeches was the tone of earnestness and determination, showing that the women of other suffrage societies and even the Liberal women were determined no longer to be played with by politicians.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett, in her speech, said that the Suffragists were now a great political force, and, in explaining to her coarsers the necessity that the Bill should go to a Grand Committee, she said that every man who voted for sending the Bill to a Committee of the whole House was voting against the future of woman suffrage. Mrs. Philip Snowden spoke in equally strong terms: "The time for argument," she said, "is past. The time for action is here. There is no possible excuse for any refusal on the part of the Government to carry our measure through all its stages in the House of Commons." A resolution in favour of the Bill was enthusiastically carried.

Mrs. Bertha Mason, Chairman of the Temperance Women's platform, wishes to thank all those who came forward at a moment's notice to help to carry banners and to hold them on No. 6 platform. On Sunday the Women's Freedom League held another demonstration, and a similar resolution was carried unanimously.

DEMONSTRATION AT MANCHESTER.

At Alexandra Park, Manchester, the W.S.P.U., the Women's Freedom League, and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage held a demonstration on July 9 and 10, and a resolution calling upon the Government to provide full facilities to pass the Bill into law this session was adopted.

WOMEN'S LIBERAL FEDERATION.

The determination of Liberal women to have the vote soon is a significant feature of the present stage of the suffrage struggle. "Liberal Women Demand the Vote" was the motto which was hung round the Caxton Hall last week at a meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation in support of the Bill. The speeches all gave evidence of a strong and united feeling, and confidence was expressed that Mr. Asquith, though not himself sympathetic, would not stand in the way of a reform for which there was such an overwhelming demand.

Mrs. E. McLaren stated that she considered the Government had realised the influence and force which was behind the Liberal women's demand. Lady Barlow uttered a stern warning to those Liberal members whose support of the movement was not serious. Several members of Parliament also spoke at this meeting in terms sympathetic and helpful.

On behalf of the Scottish members, Mr. Eugen Wason, M.P., promised support to the Bill. He said that he had never known any cause make such progress in Scotland.

MEN'S LEAGUE MEETING.

Mr. Snowden, M.P., stated in a speech at the Men's League meeting in Caxton Hall last week that the present position was most hopeful and promising. Mr. Asquith had been bent by the force of opinion, and he could be bent again. Mr. Keir Hardie warned his hearers that if time were not given for the passing of the Bill there would be a revolt in the Liberal Party. A resolution urging the Government to refer the Bill to a Standing Committee was passed unanimously.

THE PEOPLE'S SUFFRAGE FEDERATION.

The People's Suffrage Federation, which is pledged to support adult suffrage, have decided to support the present Bill. The following is the formal resolution adopted on this point: "That in view of the fact that the Government have persistently refused to declare themselves in favour of adult suffrage, and that the People's Suffrage Federation while regretting the narrow scope of the Women's Franchise Bill, is of opinion that in the present exceptional political circumstances the second reading of the Bill should be supported by all who favour adult suffrage."

MARRIED WOMEN SUPPORT THE BILL.

The Bill has received the support of the Women's Co-operative Guild, representing 25,977 women, the majority of whom are working-class married women. In a letter to the Daily News Mr. Walter S. B. McLaren describes the Women's Co-operative Guild as the only organised body which has a right to speak for married women.

MRS. PANKHURST AT HOVE.

A splendidly enthusiastic and largely attended meeting was addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst in the Hove Town Hall last Friday. Miss Mordan presided, and in the course of a delightful speech said women who paid the piper wished to call the tune, but the only bars they had yet had experience of were the bars of Halloway. Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a magnificent reception, said that the woman suffrage movement should be compared with other agitations, where a great principle was at stake. The last few years had, in fact, witnessed a civil war, but a civil war which had been attended with none of the terrible acts which other fighters had thought themselves justified in committing. The Government had offered facilities for serious discussion, and the women had secured that because the sister of one man—Lord Lytton (loud applause)—and the wife of another—Mr. H. M. Brailsford—had refused imprisonment, and because these men realised that they must do something and not merely hold opinions.

MRS. PANKHURST AT OXFORD.

Addressing a gathering in the Corn Exchange, Oxford, on Thursday, July 7, Mrs. Pankhurst asked her audience to consider what would happen if, after the second reading had been carried by a large majority, the Government refused to send the Bill to a Committee of the whole House which would never have time to reach it. Could women be blamed if, realising that they were blocked again, they reverted to those clumsy methods of forcing the question that they had been compelled to adopt in the past? Their method must be to make the Government realise that it was going to be very unpleasant politically for them if they did not do the right thing. The Rev. J. Estlin Carpenter, Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, seconded a resolution in support of the Bill, which was adopted almost unanimously.

GREAT LONDON MEETINGS.

The prevailing atmosphere at the Queen's Hall on Monday last was naturally one of suspense; the Bill was being debated, and no one could know the issue for certain. This, however, did not make the audience one whit less enthusiastic or determined, and the leaders, as they came on the platform, had a splendid reception.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence pointed out that although Suffrage Bills had been before the House on other occasions, the difference this time was that there was no question of playing with the matter, and that whatever happened everyone knew that victory was behind the women. She warned the politicians that if they fought against women, women would surely fight against them, and that nothing less would inspire them than the passage of the Bill into law this Session. They were, however, perfectly content, knowing that the issue of this fight rested ultimately with themselves. "We stand on the verge of victory; if it is not victory to-morrow it will be the day after. We who have been through the worst part of the fight have neither doubt nor fear nor anxiety about its final stages."

Mr. J. H. Cousins delivered such a charming and witty speech that it was followed by prolonged applause. He declared that the people of Ireland only needed to hear about the Suffrage agitation to become supporters, because they could so easily understand the heart of the movement. He quoted the following simple exposition of the cause which he overheard an Irishman say: "Then says I to him, 'Here is me, and here is Mary. Now, I pay the rent, and I pay the taxes, and I have my vote. Mary, she looks after the children and the house, and she teaches them school. Now, supposing I should die—which God forbid (and to which I responded "Amen")—Mary would pay the rent the same as me, and Mary would pay the taxes the same as me, and why should she not have the vote the same as me?' And the other fellow went away saying, 'Why shouldn't she?'"

The Adventure of the Soul.

In answering various anti-Suffrage arguments, he pointed out that experience did not teach, it was inexperience that taught; inexperience was the spirit that went out on the great adventure of the soul. "It has been through your mind, and the foolishness of my sex, for they evince such dishonesty and such complete disregard of history which shows that men have deliberately taken away from women the opportunity of doing good in the world—and they now twist them with their ignorance!"

The Suffrage movement was in the great march of evolution. If evolution is not allowed to go on, then something will burst, and it will not be evolution. The forces of progress have just about as much respect for a Cabinet as they have for a Deal Table. If one or other of these things, if a Minister, whether he be a common or garden Minister or of that very high order called Prime, if either of these harm-lords, but perhaps unnecessary articles of furniture get in the way of the cosmos, then they will be reduced to that fine word we have in Irish—smitherens! And so, ladies and gentlemen, with these reasons, first because it is the only common justice you are asking for—as the peasants put it in the West country—secondly, because we have seen through the thin arguments of the anti side; and, thirdly, because we know you are on the track of evolution, I have come here to say to you the simple sentence that is passed from mouth to mouth by the Irish people—God's blessing on your work!"

Mrs. Christabel Pankhurst said that the women would not allow the matter to be deferred until the autumn Session. They would insist on a definite understanding with the Government before the summer holidays. All societies were united in this demand, that the Bill should be carried this year, and why should the Government suggest any other line unless it was for the purpose of destroying the Bill? Those present so fully recognised the importance of making the demonstration of July 23 a tremendous success that they contributed £200 towards the expenses.

A vast and enthusiastic throng filled St. James's Hall on Thursday night. Miss Christabel Pankhurst held her audience for nearly an hour while she explained the Parliamentary procedure in regard to the Bill, and the applause at intervals was deafening as the feeling of the meeting found expression. Earnestly the speaker asked for help in various directions towards the preparations for the great demonstration on July 23, and urged everyone to join in the procession and help in any way possible, especially by

bringing the Demonstration before the notice of the public.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in a speech which evidently deeply moved her audience, spoke of the sad lives of many women under the law, and showed how they needed the lever of political freedom to remedy existing conditions. Her speech, which was frequently applauded from all over the hall, concluded with a witty remark that the backbone of present-day reformers was far more efficacious than the wishbone of earlier Suffragists. Mrs. Lawrence made an earnest appeal for a "long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together."

In asking American and Colonial visitors in the metropolis to take part in the march on July 23, Miss Freeman, herself an American, described the fight as another "War of Independence" and convincingly urged her countrywomen to put their shoulders to the wheel. Her efforts were greeted with continuous applause. During the evening the band played at intervals.

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST IN THANET.

"Women are going to get the vote now." There was a triumphant ring of hope, definite and inspiring, in the voice of Miss Christabel Pankhurst, one of the great leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union, as she addressed those words to a loudly applauding audience at the Royal Victoria Pavilion, Ramsgate, on Friday evening. In these words the *East Kent Times* begins its full and sympathetic report of Miss Pankhurst's meetings under the title "The Eve of Victory." The speech was the second in Miss Pankhurst's successful East Kent tour. In the afternoon she had spoken to a crowded audience at the Town Hall, Herne Bay, and on the following day she addressed meetings at Margate (where there were many questions answered with "rapier-like rapidity") and Canterbury.

"This remarkable leader of women's enfranchisement," says the same paper, "with her pleasant girlish figure and appearance, allied to wonderful ability and a splendid gift of oratory, seemed untrifling in her responsibility of the cause, and spoke with indomitable energy and unflinching hopefulness at all the meetings. Her charm of manner, the frank, open face and winning smile . . . and brilliant ability, make in Miss Pankhurst an ideal leader of the cause which she so valiantly champions."

The large audience at the Pavilion included a great number of men, to whom Miss Pankhurst addressed many of her remarks. The colours of the W.S.P.U. were prominent in the hall, and the banner of the Canterbury and Thanet W.S.P.U. stood upon the platform, together with a banner bearing the inspiring message, "Spur thee to the goal." Miss Pankhurst was accompanied on the platform by Miss F. E. M. Macaulay, the Organising Secretary, who presided. The following resolution was carried almost unanimously:—"That this meeting declares its earnest desire that the Women's Suffrage Bill now before Parliament shall become law, and calls upon the member for the division to give his active support to the Bill."

A SORRY BAND.

The Procession of the "Anti's."

Those who were in Trafalgar Square on Saturday, where from platform and audience the fact that women want the vote was being vigorously proclaimed, noticed a sad little band on the outskirts of the gathering, like some timid hens who dare not venture near to the feast scattered broadcast, but with furtive glances peck here and there at a respectful distance. It was a sorrowful procession of poorly clad proxies, carrying their unneeded "NOT!" Alas, poor Anti's! Is this all they can do to convince a busy world? With a sad lack of humour which seems chronic they employ the most ill-fitted of mankind to carry their negative wall through the busy street, and the emphasised "NOT!" raises nothing but a laugh. "Women do NOT Want the Vote." Don't drey? Ask the thousands of women who processed in person on June 18. Ask the mass meeting of July 9. Ask the thousands and thousands who will demonstrate their demand on July 23 in Hyde Park, and compare them with the outside little band of paid delinquents.

Oh, Anti's! Is this your best effort? Did you not blush as rolling past in your motor-car you beheld your dear conviction so sadly trailed in the mud? Arise, and in all your finery, with flying colours and blatant bands, process yourselves. Then shall we know you for women—misguided perhaps—but women with the courage of your conviction, which you dare to display on your own, quite on your own, and not as the mere satellites of husband and son, fighting for him, who you assure the world, was specially provided to fight for you and guard you in the sanctity of the Home, the Baby, and the Sock!

Surely the cause you have at heart, the "NOT" which is the *raison d'être* of your Society and your procession, is in sufficient danger of annihilation to warrant your displaying a little more personal energy in facing the flickering flame of its precarious existence?

MARY LANDON.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Hon. Organising Sec., Victor D. Duval.

Volunteers are again wanted to assist with banners and to act as stewards in the great Hyde Park demonstration of July 25, and men are requested to communicate as soon as possible with the Hon. Secretary. Two platforms have been allotted to this Union. The speakers will be Messrs. Novinson, Brailford, Pott, Cornish, Rutter, and Duval. A number of replies have been received to this Union's circular letter to Members of Parliament, and members have every reason to hope that the Bill will go through this session.

A great deal of expense is about to be incurred in connection with the Demonstration. Platforms, printing, postage, etc., all cost money, and the Committee therefore trust that members will do their utmost to keep the amount already acknowledged:—£107 17s. 5d.; C. Helm, Esq., 2s. 6d.; F. J. Bailey, Esq., 4s.; A. V. Stollmeyer, Esq., 5s.; A. J. Baxter, Esq., 5s.; Alfred Wright, Esq., 21; G. Penn Gaskell, Esq., £2 1s.; C. Killick Millard, Esq., M.D., D.Sc., 1s. 6d.; entrance fees, 7s.; collection, 5s. 3d.

This Union, in conjunction with the Men's League for Woman Suffrage, is holding a Demonstration in Hyde Park next Sunday, July 17, at 3 p.m. There will be four platforms, and among the speakers will be (for the Men's Political Union) Mr. Warre Cornish, Mr. Frank Rutter, Mr. E. Duval, Mr. Victor Duval, Mr. Reginald Pott, Mr. Ormsby Gore, M.P., Mr. D. Cameron Swan and others; and (for the Men's League for Woman Suffrage) Mr. Joseph Clarke, Mr. Laurence Housman, Mr. J. Malcolm Mitchell, Mr. John Manson, Mr. H. G. Chancellor, M.P., and others. The men have stood by the Suffragettes many times, and their help at this juncture is especially welcome. We hope there will be a great gathering in Hyde Park to hear them on Sunday. In view of this Demonstration, the usual W.S.P.U. meeting will not take place on Sunday afternoon.

The Birmingham Branch is going strong. Members are busy at open-air meetings, speaking and helping generally. Members in the district are asked to give a few nights to challenging the demonstrators on July 18. Will all who can join either the Birmingham or the London demonstrations please communicate with the Hon. Secretary, Mr. H. Wilson, 52, Holly Road, Handsworth, Birmingham?

THE BATTLE OF THE POSTERS.

During the past week a lively but silent battle has been waged by means of posters. The Anti-Suffrage Societies had posters carried by sandwich-men and also put up in the Tube stations stating that women do not want votes. This was speedily answered by another set of very effective posters with the words: "Sane People Do Want Votes." Also it is rumoured that during the night benevolent spirits were at work pasting out the word "Not" on the anti-suffrage posters in the Tube, or covering it with a slip, "Don't they, come to Trafalgar Square and see." The anti-suffragists had another set of posters carried with the words: "Votes for Women, Never," and in answer to this another suffrage society sent a band of women dressed in white with posters stating that women did want votes. It is noteworthy that the anti-suffragists did not carry the posters themselves, but deputised this task to hired sandwich-men, and a correspondent sends us a story.

A row of men are carrying sandwich boards announcing an Anti-Suffrage meeting and on their shoulders carrying boards warning the public that "Women want no votes." The front man suddenly sees two Suffragettes wearing purple, white, and green across the road. He darts across and addresses them politely. Says he, "I opes yer don't fink bad 'o' us for doin' this 'ere dirty job for a livin'. I tell yer straight, that our 'earts are not behind these 'ere boards, our 'earts are wit yer liddies and I tell yer straight I opes you may git it, I does, that!"

THE IRREPRESSIBLES.

Three solemn elderly gentlemen and one woman as speakers, some supporters, many empty seats, and a large irresponsible element composed of Suffragettes, both men and women. Such was the "Anti" meeting in Queen's Hall on Monday night! "Turn them out, turn them out," reiterated an Anti with metallic voice and a lognette, every time the shafts of the Irrepressibles go home—and that was all the time, from 8 to 10 p.m. "You've been in bad company, young man," says one of the Irrepressibles, when the gentleman with the mutton-chop whiskers makes the astounding statement that women are corrupting and corruptible. "You've been away in Egypt," says another man this time, addressing the chairman. "You've lost touch with western civilisation!" And, like carrion crows, Anti-stewards obey the Anti-lady with the metallic voice and the lognette, and fall upon the man with sickening violence, to a chorus of "Shame! Shame!" And outside, the sale of Votes for Women goes merrily on, and the Irrepressibles laugh!

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IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

The Irish Women's Franchise League has been conducting an active canvass among the Irish Members of Parliament with a view to securing their support for Mr. Shackleton's Woman Suffrage Bill. Thirty-two Irish Members of all parties have signed the Memorial to the Prime Minister asking for Government facilities for the Bill. The League has not only sent circulars to all the Irish Members urging upon them the necessity of attendance at the debate on the second reading of the Bill, but it has caused personal letters to be sent from its members, associates and their friends to individual Members of Parliament, impressing upon them how

keenly Irishwomen were looking out for their names upon the Parliamentary division list in favour of this much-needed reform. Large and enthusiastic meetings are being held weekly to Kingstown and the Phoenix Park, at many of which valuable recruits are being gained as speakers. The League will take part in the Demonstration on July 23.

A GOOD OFFER.

Readers who are contemplating new outfits should write to Messrs. Day, of 51, Park Street, N.W., for their collection of patterns, which includes some very attractive materials. Messrs. Day make coats and skirts from two guineas. Their premises are close to Camden Town, Tottenham on the Hampstead line.

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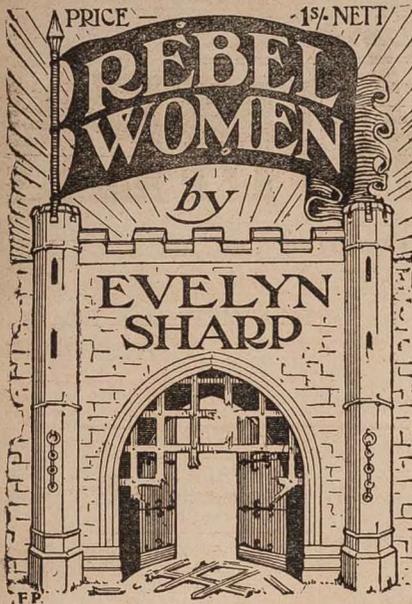
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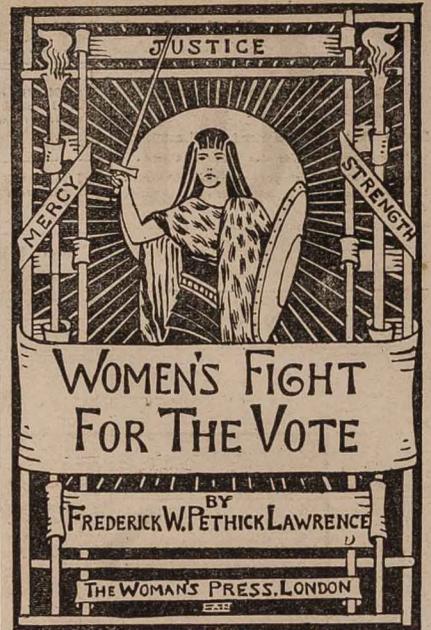
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