

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 176.

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Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

"SUPPORTED" BY HER HUSBAND.



"A man works from sun to sun, A woman's work is never done."

CONTENTS.

Our Cartoon	685	Does a Man Support His Wife? By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	692
The Outlook	685	A Conservative on the Bill. By Lord Robert Cecil	693
The National Insurance Bill. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence	686	The W.S.P.U. and the By-Elections	694
Votes for Women Week (Messages)	686	Women Heroes	695
Christmas Fete and Fair	687	Actresses as Politicians	695
W.S.P.U. Announcements	687	Miss Malecka	695
Votes for Women Week	688	Holiday Campaigns	695
Women and the Insurance Bill	689	Campaign throughout the Country	695
Facts Worth Knowing. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence	690	General News	698
The Written Law. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	691		

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.

In our last two issues we published reports of important speeches by Mr. Philip Snowden, the well-known Labour M.P., and by Mr. Arthur Ponsonby, the well-known advanced Liberal M.P., giving their views upon the Conciliation Bill. This week we reproduce a speech by Lord Robert Cecil, who speaks from the Conservative standpoint. These three men, though differing widely on other political questions, agree not merely in advocating Woman Suffrage, but in insisting that the Conciliation Bill which gives the vote to women householders is a sound measure, fair to all parties, and the only one which has any prospect of success in the present Parliament. Our own analysis of the attitude of M.P.'s leaves no room for doubt that this is a correct view of the situation.

Wrecking Amendments.

With this in mind, it is clear that any attempts which may be made next year, when the Bill goes into Committee, to carry widening amendments can only be designed with the intention of wrecking the Bill. We hope that this simple truth will be kept fully in mind by the Liberal Suffragist group in the House of Commons at their meeting, which we were informed when we went to press had been fixed for Thursday, July 20.

The By-elections.

At the by-elections which have been in progress in different parts of the country, the W.S.P.U. have carried on a vigorous campaign in support of the Conciliation Bill, and have found that the electors are fully in sympathy with them. Candidates who are prepared to wreck the Bill by amendments are clearly no less enemies to its success than those who would offer it open hostility, and the electors are accordingly being asked to bring their candidates into line on this question securing from them promises of loyal support to the Conciliation Committee. In Bethnal Green, Mr. Masterman has been questioned as to his attitude and in reply has stated his deliberate intention of supporting widening amendments, even though they be considered dangerous by the Conciliation Committee. His opponent Mr. Hoffgaard, on the other hand, has undertaken to follow the lead of the Conciliation Committee. The W.S.P.U. are therefore throwing their influence against the return of Mr. Masterman.

The Insurance Bill.

Mr. Lloyd George has consented during the past week to certain amendments in the Insurance Bill, some of

which will slightly improve the position of the wage-earning woman. But the grossly unfair treatment of the married woman who devotes her whole time and labour to the care of her home remains substantially unaltered. A special article by Mr. Pethick Lawrence is devoted to this question in this week's issue. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in her leading article exposes the fallacy underlying the whole attitude towards the married woman expressed in the words "supported by her husband," and our cartoonist has very neatly illustrated the same idea.

Women and the Law.

In consequence of the monster petition forwarded to the Canadian Government from men and women all over the world on behalf of Mrs. Napolitano, her sentence of death has been commuted to life-long imprisonment. The W.S.P.U. alone, in the short space of a week, collected over 9,000 signatures, and sent a marconigram to Sir Wilfrid Laurier while he was crossing the Atlantic. This reprieve, though an act of humanity, falls far short of what is required, and we shall continue to press for her speedy release. A special article dealing with her case will be found on p. 691, followed by a note on that of Mrs. Proudlock, who, we are glad to announce, has received a pardon in Singapore. Meanwhile, Miss Malecka a British subject, still lies untried within the walls of a Russian gaol.

Votes for Women Week.

We have to congratulate our readers upon the great success of VOTES FOR WOMEN WEEK. During the first five days 923 new subscribers had already been promised. We publish on p. 688 an account of what has been done by members to make known the paper. We also give special messages of congratulation from Mr. Mansell-Moullin, Lady Muir Mackenzie, Miss Elizabeth Robins, Lady Sybil Smith, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Lady Cowdray.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" WEEK.

Magnificent Response—923 New Subscribers Promised in Five Days—Stories of Paper-Sellers.

VOTES FOR WOMEN Week has been a tremendous success! With characteristic energy and determination, members of the W.S.P.U. have taken up the appeal made to them by the Editors of the paper, and as a result the figure of a thousand new readers which we set out to secure will undoubtedly be reached and overpassed.

enclosed a subscription given her in the street and another from herself on behalf of an unconverted friend. Miss Platten writes from Gloucester: "We have sold exactly 200 VOTES this week—it is not splendid for a small place like this—and gained five regular subscribers and ten members."

all of us thought she was a waxwork till she moved, she was so pretty, and with them curls! And you ladies let us poor folks look at you, and didn't we owe the soldiers, and barricades, and things! You mean well by us poor women, and we know it, too. Why, I've ear from all of 'em in my lodging-ones that prison ain't all it used to be, not since the ladies 'ave been there! And that's Mrs. Pankhurst's doing, that is!"

have got common sense, everyone of them. If we men had stuck to it like they do we wouldn't be where we are now. "You deserve to get it, if only for the way you sticks at it," was another remark. "God bless you," was the greeting of a working man as one of the sellers took up her position.

A West End seller tells a little incident which shows the sympathy of both rich and poor. "I look shabby, but I can afford VOTES FOR WOMEN," said a very poorly dressed old woman who bought a copy, and a few minutes afterwards two ladies, seeing the poster, stopped their carriage to inquire who was "Under Sentence of Death," and drove off to Clements Inn to sign the petition for Mrs. Napolitano's pardon.

Most interesting is it to see how foreigners stand about the movement. "One day," says a West-End seller, "it is a lady from Washington, and then it is a man from New Zealand who gives a shilling to the cause, or a woman from Australia who says that all this fighting seems to her so extraordinary, or a well-dressed lady from Colorado who speaks about the responsibility of the vote."

Those people who are irritated because there are so many sellers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, say, "These people are everywhere, wherever we go," said one American lady quite angrily. "Here's another!" "These women are all again! I there is no getting away from them," said a well-dressed woman, evidently out to shop.

Another significant little story is the following:—"At first, when a man bought of me," says a seller, "the paper man would say, 'Suppose he's bought that for his wife,' but the other day after selling to four or five men in succession, 'H'm, seems to be getting quite a man's paper.'" These are but a few of the many incidents which fall to the lot of every paper-seller.

"ALL THE WINNERS!"

The following is a list of those who have secured new readers up to Saturday, July 15.

Table listing names of subscribers and the number of new readers they secured. Includes names like Miss A. Potter, Mrs. M. Preston, Miss A. Perkins, etc.

The following have obtained new readers who get their papers locally.



The "Votes for Women" Parade of Press Carts through London streets on Saturday, July 15. In the first were Miss Sheppard (driving) and the Princess Sophia Duleep Singh; in the second the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield (driving) and Mrs. Robson, and in the third Miss Douglas Smith (driving) and Lady Constance Lytton. Mrs. Cook, carrying a bundle of papers on her back, followed on a bicycle. Outside the theatres where malines were being given a halt was made and "Votes for Women" sold.

Hughes, of Harrogate, has promised a similar number; Miss Y. Cumbers, Miss Constance Ellis, and Mrs. Hippisley have each promised twelve; Miss Eveline Brook-Greaves, and Miss Vida Milholland have each promised ten; and many others have promised six.

including all the subscriptions and promises together, a grand total of 923 had been reached on Wednesday when we went to press. There is no doubt, therefore, that before the end of VOTES FOR WOMEN Week we shall overtop the thousand for which we set out, and one more splendid achievement will have been added to the W.S.P.U. laurels!

Many of our readers in sending in subscription-forms or promises have a story to tell of the value which they have found the paper to be in the past. We give a few extracts from their letters below.

In addition to obtaining new permanent readers by direct subscription, many members have promised to give up a number of hours regularly to selling in the street, a special beginning having been made during VOTES FOR WOMEN Week.

It is not only that selling the paper to new readers is a help to the movement; it is also a help to the purchaser, who lends it to the other nurses and to the patients. She has succeeded in getting her tailor to subscribe, and she delivers the copy personally every week. Another good plan of hers is to leave a copy regularly at a cabman's seat. We cannot resist quoting from her letter.

"For myself, I find it most fascinating reading. It is most difficult for me to put it down until I have read it right through." An energetic Hiramcombe member who took a stall at the local market was rewarded by selling 15s. worth of papers, badges, &c., the first day. The experiment was so successful that she advises it to others in-out-of-the-way places.

One story after another reaches us from our sellers of the sympathy and understanding of the poor who have no subscriptions to give, and who cannot, perhaps, attend our meetings. Here are the words of a poor matchseller about our procession: "Yus," she said, "it was fine. I was in St. James Street, opposite where the old lady [Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy] was, which all of yer saluted. Fine, she was; we

WOMEN AND THE INSURANCE BILL.

The indignation of women at their unjust treatment under the provisions of the Government Insurance scheme has found vent during the last week in three important meetings, at which strong protests were made. Such treatment of one half of the nation would be impossible if women had the vote, a point that was made strongly by the Earl of Lytton, who spoke on Thursday evening of last week at a protest meeting representing women in the House of Commons.

the benefit of men, and will be administered in the same sense. Does any one seriously think that such a proposal would have been made if women had had the vote?—Yours, etc. A. ANCASTER. HELEN M. CRAIGS. WINIFRED ARHAN. E. M. EATON. SARAH BAILEY. SCOTCH KIDMONDS. BETTY DALBOUR. MILLICENT G. FAWCETT. FRANCES BALFOUR. EVELYN MITCHELL. F. EMMA BOULTONS. HARRIET FRASER. LUCY BOYD. MISSA RATHBORN. CARPENTER. D. ROLLESTON. ETHEL CASTLEBEACH. LOUISE GILBERT. SAMUEL. ELIZABETH. MATH. SILLIMORE. MARION CHADWICK. E. G. WOODS.

THE MATERNITY BENEFIT: WHO PAYS IT? To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—All reflective self-supporting women have been made exceedingly uneasy by Lord George's explanation in the Division of the House of June 17. Replying to remonstrances touching the grievances of women as insured mothers, the Chancellor of the Exchequer is reported to have explained that women's contributions would be kept entirely apart from men's, that there would be a woman's side, and that all contributions from men and half of females would be "pooled" for the benefit of women alone. What about the maternity benefit for insured mothers? Is it intended that this benefit for insured married mothers will be paid by the "women's side"? Are these mothers to be "pooled" with the insured single women and their husbands? No maternity benefit should be paid by the side dealing with girls and single women who are compulsorily insured. I do not see how Mr. George can get the benefits for even uninsured wives out of the "men's side," seeing that men get 10s. a week for 5s. a week, while women get only 7s. 6d. for 8s.—a remarkable difference in returns which seems to suggest that money paid by a man is more fruitful than money paid by a woman. Is it possible that the Government intend to add to the higher of the paid girls and young women with a very large part—or all—of the maternity benefit? This benefit is more than earned by an indispensable but unpaid national service, whether mothers earn wages outside or are hard-worked women who toil in the home and have no employers but their husbands—or their husbands who, as husbands, are very numerous in the very class insured. To put into a man's pocket a sum from the insured youthful female workers, who are no way responsible for his state of condition, is the acme of cruel oppression and wrong. The Chancellor of the Exchequer will get a great deal of money from and on behalf of women; I hear that although I shall have to pay 52s. a year for two servants and myself, nothing will be paid for my children's education. I have a door. Domestic servants are healthy, and most mistresses are humane. Who will get all this money? Who will get the lapsed insurance of the work girls, who lose on marriage all the benefits for which they have paid for years? I cannot help suspecting that this accumulated money is required for all maternity benefits, which will be paid to save men from the responsibility they have incurred by the already oppressed single women and girl workers who do not earn the fifth part of a man's wages—even in the higher class of work a woman gets a half or a third of what a man gets for the same work, the same hours of labour.—Yours, etc. JULIETTE HEALE.

A STRONG PROTEST. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—It is often said by Anti-Suffragists that women have no real grievances which could be remedied by the vote. We venture to think that the National Insurance Bill, if it is passed into law in its present shape, will be conclusive answer to this contention. 1.—Under the Bill married women are excluded from benefit unless they are working for wages. The effect of this is that a wage-earning woman may have contributed for many years, and when she marries her contributions are, in most cases, lost to her. Take, for instance, the case of a domestic servant who enters service at 15, and marries at 35, a small shopkeeper. After marriage she devotes herself to her household duties, and perhaps to the management of the shop. She thereupon ceases to be "employed" within the meaning of the Act, and is precluded to continue even as a voluntary contributor. [C.34. (4)]. If she predeceases her husband, she never gets any advantage for the 20 years she survives her husband and supports herself by the shop, or by some kind of jobbing labour, she can only benefit by entering the bill by becoming a voluntary contributor, in which case she will have very much reduced benefits compared to the employed contributors. Conversely, if this treatment of the male worker under C.71. He at 60 is entitled to receive repayment of the amount by which his contributions have exceeded the unemployed benefits received by him. He is a voter.

2.—No person who is receiving board and lodging from an employer is to get the existing rate of disablement benefit. [C.8. (7)]. This will hit the domestic servant class very hard. At the last census there were upwards of two million female servants in the United Kingdom. 3.—There is no security in the Bill that women shall be admitted to approved societies. There is nothing to prevent any of the existing societies adopting a sex disqualification, and under the Bill this may be the prudent thing for them to do. It is noticeable that approved societies are precluded from adopting an age disqualification. [C.24. (2)]. Old men have votes. 4.—The maternity benefit is curious. If a woman is insured as an employed contributor she gets no extra maternity benefit. She receives 30s. which is not allowed to spend herself, and is deprived of 30s. sick benefit, which she would be allowed to spend herself. The husband gets a maternity benefit while his wife is laid up, whether she is insured or not, in addition to his sickness benefit. Hence, too, the treatment of the voter is in marked contrast to that of the voteless woman. 5.—When an insured person is in hospital the benefit is to be administered for the advantage of his or her dependents. Dependents do not include illegitimate children, who will therefore get no advantage if their parent is in hospital. This obviously is a matter which will be much more serious for women than for men. 6.—Finally, not to touch on other points, in the management of the insurance scheme there is nothing to require the appointment of women either as insurance commissioners or on the advisory board, or as members of the committee on the boards of management for the approved societies. The scheme is designed chiefly for

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FACTS WORTH KNOWING.

No one who wants to get the Conciliation Bill carried during the year 1912 ought to go away for a summer holiday without being plentifully provided with two new publications. The first is a pamphlet written by Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., called "In Defence of the Conciliation Bill," and the second is a leaflet by Mr. Brailsford, "The Conciliation Bill Explained."

Mr. Snowden's pamphlet is a remarkably clear and simple exposition of the Bill; it is suitable for men and women of all political parties and will explain to them exactly what they want to know. It does not attempt to argue over again the reason why women want the vote, but it states concisely the great demand which has been shown for the reform, it explains the precise nature of the Conciliation Bill, and proves that this is the only Bill which is likely to be successfully carried through Parliament.

An analysis of the voting on the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill on the 5th of May last will show that a wider measure has no chance of passing the present House of Commons. The following figures show how the majority for the Bill and the minority against it were made up:-

Table with 3 columns: Voting for the Bill, Pairing for the Bill, Totals. Rows for Liberals, Unionists, Nationalists, Labour, and Grand Total.

Of the 170 Liberals who supported the Bill a good number are opposed to Adult Suffrage, and will only vote for the enfranchisement of women occupiers. Every one of the 78 Unionist members would vote against Adult Suffrage.

Mr. Snowden reminds his readers that declared opponents of Woman Suffrage make no secret of their intention of supporting every amendment which aims at giving the Bill a wider scope; they will do that, he says, with the object of making the Bill of such a character that no Unionist or moderate Liberal can support it.

No agitation in modern times has been conducted with such ability, energy, enthusiasm, and self-sacrifice as has this demand for the enfranchisement of women. The women have shown the men an example which it might be to their advantage to follow. By the right which belongs to those who have fought bravely and won gloriously the women claim the vote now.

The passing of the Conciliation Bill and the enfranchisement of women householders will not bring a revolutionary change in politics; but it will be the sign and symbol of the fact that women are not despised and outcast because of their sex. It will, though only a million women be enfranchised, give to women as a whole a new interest in public questions, and it will force politicians to give attention to the interests of women.

Mr. Brailsford's leaflet is a new edition brought up to date of that which has already done valuable service in explaining the character and principal features of the Bill. While members of the W.S.P.U. are holiday making they will meet many people who will ask a number of questions about this Bill.

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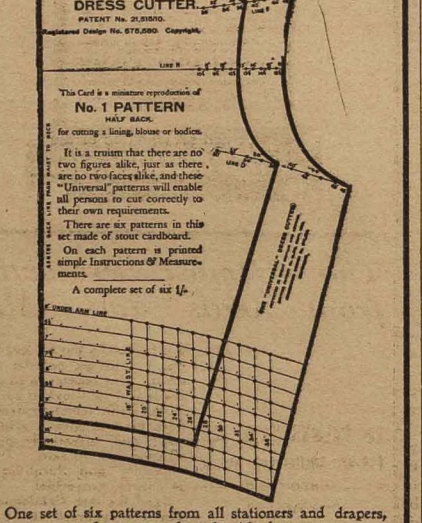
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THE WRITTEN LAW.

While every new piece of legislation supplies additional proof to women that so long as they are deprived of the protection of the vote they are subjected to legal injustice, the daily newspapers at the present time are bringing home to them the truth that so long as the law is administered solely by men, women will suffer from an intolerable miscarriage of justice, especially in those cases (and they constitute the majority of criminal cases) where the question of sex is involved.

The entire space in VOTES FOR WOMEN could be filled this week with stories taken from the columns of the newspapers, showing how utterly ruthless is the treatment of the woman criminal as compared with the man criminal, and also how inadequate is the law for the protection of innocent womanhood.

Last week the story of Mrs. Napolitano was told in these columns. An attack upon the article "Under Sentence of Death" has been made in The Evening Times, which accuses the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN of claiming special treatment for women. But in this particular instance what are the facts with regard to the differential treatment of women and men? Mrs. Napolitano's case was classed as murder in the first degree, that is without mitigating circumstances, and as such was tried by a jury consisting of men only.

Last November Napolitano stabbed his wife, inflicting injuries upon her so serious that she was confined to a hospital for several weeks and she bears the marks of this savage assault upon her face to this day. For this offence he suffered one week of imprisonment. He had threatened to kill his wife in the morning unless she earned money for him by immoral means during the fatal night.

No wonder that the conscience of women in Canada, America, Italy, and Britain has been aroused. The agitation set on foot has been successful so far as the commutation of the death sentence is concerned. Over 9,000 signatures to a petition were secured in less than a week by the Women's Social and Political Union. The sentence has been changed to penal servitude for life. We hope the women of Canada will demand the restitution of the mother to her children—and refuse to be satisfied until they have seen the redemption of this woman's life.

Another terrible case of a woman sentenced to penal servitude for life for a crime that has not, in the opinion of her solicitor and a very large section of the public, been substantiated against her is engaging the attention of all who uphold equity irrespective of the sex of the claimant for justice.

The case of Mary Ann Nash has been dealt with very effectively in the Daily Chronicle. It is impossible to set forth the whole story in these pages. A petition can be obtained from the prisoner's solicitor, who has been indeed a champion and friend to the penniless and friendless woman. A full statement of the evidence and conduct of the case will be found in the petition. Application should be made direct to Mr. S. L. White, solicitor, Frome, Somerset, and all the readers of this paper should apply, if only to inform themselves of the facts. As we are dealing with the question of the inequality of treatment between men and women, our present concern is to point the contrast between the treatment of this case and a similar case that was going on at the same time in which the offender was a man. While a penniless and friendless woman who protests her innocence was sentenced to death upon more than dubious evidence, on the charge of having thrown her illegitimate child into a well, the son of a well-to-do publican near Bath, who admittedly caused the death of his illegitimate child by throwing it into the river was sentenced to six months in the second division, and was admitted to bail during his trial.

Last week the story was told in these columns of a man sentenced to three months in the second division for an atrocious assault on a child. A day or two afterwards the wife of a politician, who bears a high reputation for public probity and honour, said to me: "My husband does not believe that any serious criminal assault could be dealt with by a sentence of that kind." In reply I have sent her a typed copy of the proceedings in the Old Bailey and also a copy of The Wallasey News of Saturday, July 15, which contains an even more terrible instance of the evil touched upon last week in my article. Here is the horrible story in barest outlines (a very full report is given in the local paper): Two elderly men were convicted in the Wallasey Police-court last Friday of having committed criminal assaults of the grossest kind upon two little girls of nine and thirteen, whom they deceived for that purpose into business premises. They were given the sentence of three months' imprisonment, with the option

of a fine of £20, and sentence was deferred to allow the men to pay the fine. Mothers, ponder these things in your hearts. It is the duty of women to awaken public opinion on these matters, and to insist upon the power to have their point of view represented. As long as these offences continue to be treated with leniency so long will the cry of outraged children ring in our ears. No wonder women are fighting for the vote.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

MRS. PROUDLOCK.

We are very glad that Mrs. Proudlock has been pardoned, and we rejoice that the terrible crime which was contemplated in her case has been averted. We think, however, that she should never have been subjected to the awful experiences through which she has had to go, including a trial without jury. In the same number of the Daily Chronicle in which her trial and sentence was announced was the story of a policeman who killed a man in defending himself from attack. The case was dismissed as one of justifiable homicide. We do not admit that the question of sex should enter into cases of this sort. If in the one case the verdict was one of justifiable homicide, it should surely have been equally so in the other. If ever anyone was justified in causing the death of another in their defence, this woman was justified. A correspondent who has lived many years in the Straits Settlements protests most strongly against the verdict of murder. She speaks of the loneliness of women's lives, and adds that if women are to be prevented by the fear of being hanged from protecting their honour it will be a very terrible thing. She writes:—"In the Straits women are often much alone, perhaps for days at a time. The servants' quarters are behind the houses, often at some distance. Many houses have no bells, and you can shout till you are hoarse and not make a Chinaman hear. As you see in this case, the cook only is in (often they are all out after dinner), and when he heard the firing he kept away because he was frightened and the rikisha coolie also ran away." Mrs. Proudlock is only twenty-three years of age, and has a little child only three years old.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD.

Our readers will be glad to know that a new edition of "Lady Geraldine's Speech," by Beatrice Harraden, is now on sale at the Woman's Press, price 5d. "Three Plays by Brieux," with a Preface by Bernard Shaw, is also on sale, price 5s., and a pamphlet in French entitled "La Suffrage pour les femmes en Angleterre," a brief summary of the British movement, especially dealing with the Conciliation Bill, price 1d., is in course of preparation.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "Working Women and Divorce." London: David Nutt, 6d. "Soyer's Paper Bag Cookery." By Nicolas Soyer. London: Andrew Melrose, 1s. net. "The Co-Mason," July, London: 13, Blomfield Road, Paddington. "A Warning to Liberal Stewards." London: Men's Political Union, 1d. "Twentieth Century Magazine," July, 25 cents. "The Unpitied Strong." By O. Esalle-Nulham. London: Elliot Stock, 6s. "The Man-made World," by Mrs. Perkins Gilman, reviewed in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, will be published in England by Mr. Fisher Unwin, who will also publish Mrs. Gilman's novel "What Diantha Did."

The Woman's Press can supply you with W.S.P.U. Books, Pamphlets, Leaflets, and also with all Pamphlets and Leaflets published by the various Suffrage Societies. The Woman's Press can supply you with Books on any and every subject. Send your Orders to them. Recent additions to the Woman's Press Sales List. ADVENTURES IN PROSE. By H. N. BRAILSFORD. 5s. net. THREE PLAYS. By BRIEUX. Preface by BERNARD SHAW. 5s. net. PUBLIC SPEAKING AND CHAIRMANSHIP. By G. ODELL. 6d. net. WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY. By HATTY BAKER. 6d. net. The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

Subscriptions to the Paper should be sent to The Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 6d. for a quarter, inside the United Kingdom, 6s. 8d. and 2s. 2d. abroad, post free, payable in advance.

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53, Berners Street, W. WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS, HEALTH VISITORS and LECTURERS... SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES for LADIES, SEPTEMBER, 1911. For Particulars apply to the Secretary, NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY, 53, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, JULY 21, 1911.

DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

Many of the customs and laws of this country are founded upon the popular conception that a married woman is supported by her wage-earning husband. The latest example of legislation is the Insurance Bill, which assumes that, while the State has a direct responsibility to the wage-earner, it has no direct responsibility to the married woman on the ground that she is maintained by her husband and falls into the category of his "dependents."

That this theory is one of the grossest economic fallacies ever uttered will be realised as soon as men and women see the necessity of clear thinking on this subject. We shall find as we investigate this matter that the present economic system in this country and in other civilised countries is built up on the unpaid and grossly exploited labour of married women, who effect, as a matter of actual fact, a gigantic saving of the wealth both of the employer and of the State. We shall realise that the very first charge upon a National Invalidity Insurance Bill by every law of justice should be the married women and widows of the nation. However generously they were dealt with, such insurance in sickness would be but an instalment of the vast debt which the employer and the State actually owe to married women who work without a wage.

Such a statement will be challenged. The idea that married women are supporting the community is startlingly new. It is necessary to examine the position. The wage-earning man works a limited number of hours, and receives a cash return from his employer for his labour. The wife of the wage-earning man works an unlimited number of hours, and receives no cash return from anybody. Her work consists of manual labour of the most arduous and exacting nature. But when all the manual tasks are duly performed her service is not fulfilled. For hers is a position of great and many-sided responsibility, and her vocation as a mother is the most fundamentally serious and sacred to which a human being can be called. Upon the fulfilment of that vocation entailing physical risk and suffering and great sacrifice, the welfare of the nation depends.

As an unmarried girl she was self-supporting (although unless she severed herself from her family much of her energy and strength went in the unpaid labour of the home always done by women). If she entered domestic service she received an economic return for her household labour in wages,

To-day a domestic servant earns from £15 to £40 per annum, according to her abilities, exclusive of board and lodging, which middle-class housekeepers in drawing up their household budget estimate roughly at 10s. a week. Upon her marriage she relinquishes this cash symbol of her economic value in the home. She transfers her service from the home of her employer to the home of a labourer or an artisan. Much that she would have refused to do in the service of an employer she cheerfully performs in the service of the family. She scrubs, cleans, stands over the wash-tub, makes and mends and cooks. More than all she bears the long strain and the sharp ordeal of childbirth, and becomes the sole minister to the manifold needs of her infant children. Should sickness fall upon her husband or any member of the family she becomes the sick nurse, performing every kind of personal service in attendance day and night upon the patient. By her labour, the life and well-being of the family is maintained, and upon the life and well-being of the family depend the life and well-being of the State.

There is recreation, there is rest for the wage-earner when the contract with the employer has been fulfilled, but for the pivot of the home, the mother, there can be and there is no holiday, for her task cannot be laid aside. Where is the value gone of the gross £30, £40, £50, and £60 per annum which she earned as a domestic servant? She is not less skilled, she has gained new powers and new capabilities from deep experience and great responsibility. She works longer and harder. How, then, has it happened that she who once maintained herself is now maintained by her husband; that she who was once a self-supporting woman is now a "dependent"?

The truth is that this woman, once a self-supporter, has become the supporter not only of herself but of her husband and her children. Or, let us say, the man and the woman who, unmarried, supported themselves, have now become the joint supporters of each other and of a growing family of children.

The wife of a working man supports her home and family by the same means as does the wage-earning man—by her labour. The fact that the labour is unpaid does not destroy its real economic value, though it deprives the woman of labour's due reward, and implies an unpaid debt on the part of those who benefit by the cash value of her work.

A married working man without children lives in far greater comfort than an unmarried working man earning the same wage. It would be impossible for an unmarried working man, earning say, 25s. to 30s. a week, to maintain four or five young children and keep them in a sanitary condition, decently clothed, and reasonably well fed upon this wage. Yet hundreds of thousands of married working men accomplish this miracle!

But let the wife and mother be taken away from the family, and see what happens. Every social worker knows the pitiable condition of the widower with 25s. to 30s. a week left with several young children on his hands. He cannot afford to pay for the labour performed by his wife. He is bound to marry again almost immediately, and if in the interim he did not find some woman relation or neighbour ready to step into the breach with her ministry of unpaid labour his case would be desperate, and the State would have to step in on the children's behalf, and extricate him from his difficulties. He nearly always does find such a woman. "The poor are good to one another." Yes, but it is the women upon whom the burden of generosity falls in almost every case.

Neither the wage-earning husband, nor the employer, nor the nation has given due consideration to the economic value of this vast contribution of the married women's unpaid labour. The theory that capital maintained labour once found popular acceptance in this country. That error has been exploded. It is now almost universally recognised that capital and labour are mutually dependent. They support each other. And the State recognises direct responsibility towards both. The theory that the married working man supports his wife is an error equally great. Husband and wife are mutually dependent upon each other for support, and together they maintain their dependents, the young children of the family. Both are of economic value to the State, and the State has a direct economic responsibility towards both. While the fact that the economic contribution of the married working woman is not recognised by a money wage should make her claim for insurance the stronger.

The present Invalidity Insurance Bill is founded upon an economic fallacy, namely, that the wife of the wage-earner is supported by her husband, and if it is carried in its present form will inflict gross injustice upon married women, whose labour has been too long exploited, and defrauded of its due recognition and reward.

But there is a much more serious objection to it, and it is this: we are asking, not to change the general principle of the franchise law in any respect except one, namely, to remove the sex disqualification in certain cases. We do not propose to remodel the franchise law in any other way. We say—and it has always been the case put forward by this society and other societies which have been active—we say that those persons who if they were men would have the right to vote ought not to be excluded from the vote because they are women. That is an intelligible principle, and one which we can defend. It does not alter the general principle of the franchise law.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

A CONSERVATIVE ON THE BILL.

Views of Lord Robert Cecil. A speech delivered, on July 13, at the Marylebone Branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

I think that if ever those who are in favour of Woman Suffrage have been entitled to be in high spirits the present is the occasion on which they are so entitled. Never has the cause stood so well as it stands now. The only distressing feature is the almost complete collapse of our opponents! I have always welcomed the activity of the anti-Suffragists. The more this question is discussed, the more it is submitted to argument, the more certain is the victory of the Suffrage cause. I wish my remarks to-day to be of a strictly practical nature. The position at which we have arrived is this: that after all our efforts we have now received an absolutely substantial and definite pledge on the part of the Government that they will next year give real and effective facilities for the discussion and adoption of the Conciliation Bill by the House of Commons. There can be no question at all about the pledge, first given by Sir Edward Grey, and afterwards repeated in writing by Mr. Asquith, that we are to have time in the House of Commons next year for that body to consider and to pass the Bill through all its stages if the House desires to do so. And it therefore entirely rests with the advocates of the Suffrage outside the House to convince the members of the House of Commons that it really is right and proper that the Bill should be passed into law. And our task between now and next spring is to take care that every member of the House of Commons over whom we have the slightest influence shall have brought home to him thoroughly and completely the case for the Suffrage and the importance of passing this Bill into law.

Addressing an audience in any other cause, I should warn them against slackness, but I am bound to say that I have found Suffragists of all sorts never in danger of that particular vice. I think perhaps it would be more germane to the present matter if I warned them not to be over-confident. That they will work I have no doubt. Let them work with judgment and let them not assume that any single member, however excellent his record may be, is absolutely secure as a supporter on the day in question. And let them always recall to themselves that a Member of Parliament is constantly being exposed to every kind of influence. If he is in favour of the Suffrage those who are opposed to it will try and press him to take some action which they think will be hostile to that cause. And it is our part to encourage him and direct his steps in the narrow path of righteousness, never letting them be deflected by the evil deeds and words of our adversary.

Now the only really serious danger that we have to face is that we are threatened with a somewhat overwhelming amount of friendship. There are those who say that in putting forward the Conciliation Bill women have very gravely underestimated their claim and that the Bill ought to be extended so as to comprise a very much larger number of women than it comprises at the present time. I should feel more disposed to listen to that suggestion if it came from a source that had been uniformly friendly to this cause, if it came from men who at our sores need have always proved themselves to be our friends. I regret to say that those who are now over-anxious to offer the Suffrage to a very large number of women have generally found some reason why any particular proposal for the extension of the Suffrage to women is one which they could not support.

I want, if I may, to ask you to consider very carefully what this proposal for the extension of the Bill is. The proposal, as I understand it, is that the Bill should be extended so as to include all women who are married to qualified voters. Now, that would mean that instead of a million women or thereabouts who would be enfranchised under the Conciliation Bill you would enfranchise some five or six millions. I am addressing the Marylebone branch of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, and I do not therefore hesitate to say that such a large extension of the franchise, whether to men or women, is one which any serious-minded person must look at with great suspicion. Therefore, if there were no more to be said against this proposal than that it was going to multiply by five or six the number of voters who were to receive the franchise, I should regard it as of doubtful expediency.

But there is a much more serious objection to it, and it is this: we are asking, not to change the general principle of the franchise law in any respect except one, namely, to remove the sex disqualification in certain cases. We do not propose to remodel the franchise law in any other way. We say—and it has always been the case put forward by this society and other societies which have been active—we say that those persons who if they were men would have the right to vote ought not to be excluded from the vote because they are women. That is an intelligible principle, and one which we can defend. It does not alter the general principle of the franchise law.

But if this amendment were passed you would have admitted to the franchise a vast body of voters who would not themselves be qualified, who would not be possessed of the necessary residential and property qualification which all the other voters were possessed of, but who were given the franchise because they were living in the house of and married to men who were qualified. That is a new principle in the franchise law, and one which it seems to me impossible to defend, except upon the principle that all adult persons, however qualified or however unqualified, should be entitled to vote. In other words, the effect of this amendment would be really to facilitate the advent of Adult Suffrage, and that is a result which I, personally, can never approve. Nor, even if I could approve it, should I think that a Woman Suffrage Bill was the proper way to accomplish a reform of that kind. By all means let us consider the question of Adult Suffrage—in an open Bill, properly framed for that purpose. But do not let us be misled by Celtic enthusiasm or Celtic guile into passing an Adult Suffrage Bill under the cloak of extending the franchise to qualified women.

That, ladies and gentlemen, is the main thing I want to say to you to-day. I believe it is of great importance that the Conservative section of this movement should be definite and clear in their attitude on this question. I believe if they are clear and definite there is no danger of this extension being effected. I have had some opportunity of consulting the leaders of the movement. They have been, as they have always been, straightforward and loyal in the matter. They have agreed to the Conciliation Bill, and they are prepared to abide by the agreement. And it is for us to do our utmost to see that their loyalty is not in vain, and that our cause shall not be wrecked, just when the good ship is getting into harbour, by false friends, mutiny and barratry of the crew. That is the task which is before us, and I am convinced that if we can repel this last attack, the cause for which we have laboured so hard and so long will at last reach its achievement.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The sum total of contributions that have been paid into the bank by the Headquarters of the Women's Social and Political Union since the movement started in London five years ago now exceeds £100,000. The members of the Union will share with the Treasurer the sense of deep thankfulness and rejoicing in the attainment of a purpose which was regarded by the critics of this movement as an absurd and impossible dream. It is, indeed, a marvel that women out of their hard-won and scanty allowances should have put together by ceaseless and untiring effort such a sum. Some people have inquired of the Treasurer, "Now that you have raised all this money, what are you going to do with it?" They do not realise that this Campaign Fund has financed the active campaign of the past five years, so soon to end in victory. If they want to know how in detail the money has been spent, let them read in the five annual reports which have been issued, with accounts of receipts and expenditure, the story of the amazing growth and development of this great organisation of women pledged to win the emancipation of their sex.

Upon a strenuous war against a hostile Government has succeeded a period of truce, limited by the term set by the promise of the Prime Minister. A truce is not a peace, and the fighting organisation and the fighting force have to be kept up to their topmost standard of efficiency all the time. Such a truce is as costly as war.

The need of funds to strengthen still further the organisation and to carry out the scheme for the education of the country is very great. We have had to finance six by-election campaigns during the month of July. In Bethnal Green we shall be dealing directly with a member of the present Government, and much will depend upon the strength and effectiveness of our political campaign in that constituency. A large contingent of workers has to be turned in the place. Hundreds of thousands of leaflets have to be distributed. Committee-rooms must be taken. Halls must be booked. All this costs money. Many of the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN have hitherto contributed little or nothing to the War Chest. The Treasurer calls upon them to meet the urgent need of the moment by a generous contribution to the expenses of these by-elections.

E. P. L. ORDER "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Regularly from your Newsagent. ONE PENNY WEEKLY.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund, including names and amounts. Includes sub-sections for 'Already acknowledged' and 'Profits on "Star of the Morning"'.

Notes: - Item "Mrs. Taylor, £25 for Procession," in last issue is in error, and item "Mrs. Taylor, £50 per Mrs. A. Williams," should read £20. Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

at Finsbury Park on Monday was very successful. The spare time on Sunday is now occupied principally with canvassing.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Nearly 210 was raised by the jubilee sale last Saturday, members and friends as usual giving splendid and efficient help in every way.

Next Monday evening the Jubilee sale will be held at the same place. It is proposed to address "Mothers Meetings," and this will be followed by a special canvassing in being done with a view to getting new subscribers and readers for the paper.

PINNER.

Votes for Women is selling well at some six dozen copies have been disposed of during the last few days. A delightful garden meeting was held at Pinner, on Thursday, July 15. Miss Tyson spoke admirably. Several new members joined.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

The Grand Suffrage Meeting at the St. James's Hall, Kingston-on-Thames, is now fixed for July 23 (Friday). Will everybody help to make it a success by bringing many interesting papers?

STREATHAM.

During Votes for Women Week members have concentrated upon obtaining a large number of new subscribers to the paper.

Regular sellers are needed and any member having an hour to spare is asked to call at the shop for details of their work to Miss Leonora Tyson as soon as possible. Half the amount required for showing the paper at Streatham Station was subscribed at the members' meeting last Tuesday; it now remains for those who did not attend on Tuesday to make up the balance.

WANDSWORTH.

Splendid meetings are being held outside the Council House every Saturday evening, when the stock of papers is always sold out. On Saturday, July 8, Miss Leonora Tyson gave a very instructive speech. Thanks to Miss Rose and Miss Harlow for helping with paper-selling. Mr. Harlow has promised to present a portable platform for outdoor meetings.

WIMBLEDON.

The Suffrage party, "True Womanhood," will be proposed at the Kings Palace next to Wimbledon Theatre, on July 27 and five subsequent nights.

Home Counties.

A members' meeting was held last week in the Working Men's Institute at which Miss Smett was elected Hon. Sec. in the room of Miss Billingham (resigned), and Miss Montgomery Hon. Treasurer. Miss Billingham, who is leaving the town, will be much regretted by members. It was owing to her energy and initiative that the "Local Branch" was first started, and her valuable assistance will be greatly missed.

BRIGHTON, HOVE AND DISTRICT.

Miss Goldstein's visit to Brighton has been much appreciated. The meeting was well attended. New ground is being taken up by meetings at Lewes and Steyning, and it is hoped other villages and towns may soon be included. Members are invited to attend tonight's (Friday) members' meeting plans for the Christmas fete will be discussed. It is hoped as many members as possible will attend.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KEAT.

A record sale of Votes for Women was made at the Stone Apron at Dover on Friday. The open-air meeting at Folkestone was also very successful. Those at Hythe and Saltwood will be posted later. Funds for the open-air campaign are badly needed, and visitors to South Kent Coast are urgently asked to communicate at once with the organiser at the above address. Help here in any form will be gladly welcomed, especially at the open-air meetings, for details of which see below. Miss Wilson, the chargehand of the Paper, has succeeded in getting Votes for Women introduced by the paper boys on board the Ostend and Calais boats.

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The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Ada Flatman, 12, Ashcroft Villas. A very good audience assembled in the Ashley Hall last Thursday, when Mrs. Kerwood was the speaker. On Friday 22nd Mrs. Robertson was the speaker.

NOTTINGHAM.

Organiser—Miss Markwick, 97, John Bright Street, Birmingham. The Procession and Demonstration, on July 25, promises to be a great success. Miss Markwick would like to have the names of local members who would sell Votes for Women during the Demonstration.

West of England.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, 83, Ninian Road, Cardiff. The plans for Votes for Women Week in Cardiff were in the hands of the literature secretary, Mrs. Price. They included a specially active sale in the streets.

Wales.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett, 83, Ninian Road, Cardiff. The plans for Votes for Women Week in Cardiff were in the hands of the literature secretary, Mrs. Price.

Eastern Counties.

Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 11, Silen Street, Ipswich. Members are to be congratulated on having disposed of over seven hundred copies of the paper during the first two days of Votes for Women Week.

North-Eastern Counties.

Organiser—Miss Mabel Atkinson, 11, Silen Street, Ipswich. An interesting day on Woman Suffrage, arranged by the Municipal Officers Guild, took place at Littlebeck Hall on Tuesday evening.

HARROGATE.

Organiser—Miss Phillips. Mrs. Bray and Miss Mitchell joined the hon. secretary at paper-selling in Votes for Women Week.

Mr. Buckland, manager of the Royal Baths, has kindly allowed two copies of the paper to be placed in the Cooling Room. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit on Tuesday next is being greatly looked forward to. Secure tickets (2s. 6d. and 1s. 6d. in advance if possible). They may be had at Messrs. Phillipson Bros., music warehouse, Parliament Street.

HULL.

Organiser—Miss Key-Jones. Hon. Sec.—Miss Harrison, 14, Welbeck Street. Members reported well to the appeal for paper-sellers, and great hopes are being entertained that Hull will be able to help largely in increasing the circulation of Votes for Women.

LEEDS AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 65, Great George Street. Members very much wish for an office. Collecting cards have been sent out with the object of getting together a "Thousand Signatures." This will be sufficient for initial expenses and first quarter's rent.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Ada Williams. A splendid meeting was held in the Mechanics' Institute, Jarrow, on July 11, when Mr. Blakey being the speaker. The speakers were Mrs. Taylor, Miss Eiden, and the organiser. The tragic death of Mrs. Lyden, a very keen and loyal member was referred to, and Mrs. Crow was deputised to convey an expression of deep sympathy to Mrs. Lyden's only daughter.

MANCHESTER.

Head Office—17, St. Ann's Square, Manchester. Tel.: 1910 Central. Organiser—Miss V. H. Hughes. Pending re-organisation, the report is held over.

ROCHDALE.

Office—2a, Ballie Street. Hon. Litt. Sec.—Mrs. M. Stett, 10, Mayfair Gardens, Rochdale. Last week a large audience listened to an interesting address on the new by-election policy by Miss Hughes of Manchester. Will any members volunteer for canvassing and distributing free literature? It is interesting and much-needed work.

URMSTON AND FLITTON.

A very successful meeting took place at Mrs. Gray's on Thursday, July 13th, addressed by Miss Hughes, Manchester organiser. A collection realized 16s. 2d. Several new members were made. Mrs. J. J. Campbell, of Oak Field, Irton Road, Flitton, has kindly offered her garden for a Suffrage meeting the first week in August. She has hoped all members will rally to make this meeting a huge success.

WALSLEY.

Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Mahood, Bursough Bridge, Lancs; Mrs. J. J. Gray, 21, Martine Lane, Liscard. A most successful meeting was held in New Brighton Sands on July 12. Mrs. Keating, of Southampton, was the speaker. The stock of papers was sold out. Volunteers are needed to canvass and distribute literature.

Scotland.

DUNDEE AND EAST FIFE. Office—4, Rutland Street, Dundee. Organiser—Miss Fraser-Smith, M.A. Hon. Sec.—Miss McFarlane. Open-air meetings were held last week at Carnoustie and Forfar. During the first week of August, Mrs. Fraser Smith and Miss McFarlane intend to extend this campaign to the coast of Fife, visiting Orkney, Large Leven, and other islands. Offers of hospitality or help in advertising the meetings will be welcome. Members are specially requested to volunteer their services as assistants at the market stall and in the streets during the week. Four meetings are being arranged for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to the market stall in Perth and Perth. The organiser will be glad to hear from anyone spending the latter part of August in any of these places, and willing to assist. Contributions to the summer campaign fund are urgently needed, and should be sent to the organiser. On July 15 a successful open-air meeting was held in Brechin. Four dozen Votes for Women were sold. So great was the sympathy of the audience that it has been arranged to hold a ball meeting on Wednesday, July 26, at the Brechin Hotel. The programme of the evening will be as follows: Local newsagent has kindly promised to stock the paper free of charge. Will any members who are especially interested in the paper, please contact the organiser. Meetings will be kept in touch with the movement. Saturday, July 22—Market Stall, 2.10 p.m.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Organiser—Miss Lilian Mitchell, Tel.: 618 Central. Very successful meetings have been held at Dumfries, Roxburgh, and Gosport. In the latter place two meetings have been held daily all during the Greenock Fair, as the stream of holiday makers never ceases. Glasgow holidays are now going on, and every opportunity is being taken to push the paper on the boats, and in the streets. Miss M. Stewart, who has been twice daily for 400 copies of Votes for Women have been sold in six days, and it is hoped to increase this number to 1,000. Will any members who are especially interested in the paper, please contact the organiser. The questions are varied and numerous—so much so that it is difficult to draw the meetings to a close. The address given on Thursday morning by Mrs. Waddell on "Woman—Past, Present, and Future," is one which will be remembered. It was so full of new thoughts and so beautifully expressed. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at Peebles and North Berwick about July 18 and July 21 respectively. Will those members who are especially interested in the paper, please contact the organiser at that time to be in the neighbourhood of either place please send names and addresses to the office? Mrs. Mitchell, 7.30 p.m. Kirkeby, Miss A. Scott, 8 p.m. 11, Melville Place, Edinburgh. Miss M. Gorrin. Saturday, July 25—Cowdenboth, Miss A. Scott, 8 p.m. Wednesday, July 26—Melville Place, at Home, 8 p.m.

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SPECIAL REMNANT DAYS, THURSDAY, FRIDAY, AND SATURDAY.

WALSLEY. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Mahood, Bursough Bridge, Lancs; Mrs. J. J. Gray, 21, Martine Lane, Liscard. A most successful meeting was held in New Brighton Sands on July 12. Mrs. Keating, of Southampton, was the speaker. The stock of papers was sold out. Volunteers are needed to canvass and distribute literature.

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THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President—The Bishop of Lincoln. Offices—11, St. Mark's Crescent, Regent Park, N.W. The Regent Park Branch had a well-attended meeting on Wednesday, July 12, at 11, St. George's Terrace, Regent Park, N.W. The Rev. Canon Leakey and Mr. Maurice Bell were in the chair. The Rev. C. Baumgarten gave an excellent address on the revision of the marriage laws. Father Curren, S.J.F., Father Leakey and others also took part. The secretary will be glad to receive offers of help at Stoke-on-Trent during the Church Congress, workers are much needed. The Rev. Claude Hines will speak at the Suffrage Demonstration at Stratford-on-Avon on Tuesday, July 25.

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D 102.—Cashmere Pinafore Suit, richly braided, in all the leading Colours and Black, **21/-**.

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