

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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## VOTERS FIRST—WOMEN NOWHERE!



**SIR JOHN SIMON (Shopwalker):** Forward, if you please, Mr. Asquith, with Social Reform for these gentlemen voters. The women can wait—they've no votes to pay for it.

(*"To the loss of an outpost at Newmarket and the repulse of an attack at Altrincham the Liberal party must reply by an advance all along the line."*  
Sir John Simon at Oxford, May 31.)

### CONTENTS

PAGE	PAGE
Our Cartoon .....	517
The Outlook .....	517
VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellow-ship .....	518
Bonia. By "Marigitta" ..	519
The Forbidden Meetings in Hyde Park .....	520
Dramatic Derby Protest ..	520
Mrs. Pankhurst Released ..	520
The Woman's Fight Abroad ..	521
The Legal Inequality of Women. By Lady Aberconway .....	522
New Books .....	523
Who Pays for Social Reform? .....	524
The Treatment of Unconvicted Prisoners. By G. R. S. Taylor .....	525
Sweated Women. By Constance E. Mand .....	525
Wanted—As a Protection ..	526
Followers of Hampden .....	526
Women in the Civil Service ..	527
Charge Against "Suffragette" Printer .....	528
The Encroachments of the Executive .....	528
Correspondence .....	529
"Ulster Will Fight" .....	530
Exhibition of Sweated Work ..	530
General News .....	531

### DEDICATION

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

We hear as we go to press news of the great drama and tragedy at Epsom. A woman, understood to be Miss Emily Wilding Davison, has rushed out in the middle of the great race for the Derby, and,

seizing the rein of the King's horse, has brought rider and steed to the ground. According to the earliest report she was herself instantly killed. A later account states that she lies in hospital insensible with concussion of the brain and very serious injuries to her head, and it is exceedingly doubtful whether her life can be saved.

#### In the Presence of Death

In the presence, as it may very likely prove, of death itself we feel that the voice of criticism and rebuke will be hushed, and two thoughts only will hold the men and women of this country and of the whole world. The first is the thought of the tremendous courage and daring of the woman who has taken her life in her hands to make this protest. The second is of the wickedness of those in power who, by their refusal to listen to the voice of argument and reason, have driven women to desperate courses.

#### The Condition of Mrs. Pankhurst

After five days' hunger strike in prison Mrs. Pankhurst has again been released on license, the period of respite accorded to her on this occasion being only eight days. Accordingly, as she came out of prison on Friday last, the authorities are entitled to arrest her again to-morrow (Saturday) if they wish. No doubt they are not very likely to do so, because of the

condition of her health, which is reported to be very serious; but her rearrest will only be postponed, because it is the declared intention of the Government to carry out their diabolical Cat and Mouse policy relentlessly. We may therefore expect to have once more bulletins of slowly returning health, to be followed by a fresh imprisonment bringing the victim to the door of death, and so on in a long drawn out awful sequence. We call upon all men and women, whatever their views upon the actions of the revolutionary Suffrage party, to put a stop to this outrage upon our twentieth century civilisation!

#### Printer Committed for Trial

Edgar Whitely, the printer of the issue of the *Suffragette* of May 9, has been committed for trial at the Manchester Assizes on a charge of conspiracy. Sir William Cobbett, for the defence, put forward two contentions. Firstly, he argued that whatever the contents of the particular issue, it was absurd that the doctrine of conspiracy should be strained to cover the case of a printer who was merely acting as a tradesman, who had had no dealings with the other persons charged, except on one occasion to print their paper. In the second place, he argued that there was no evidence of any illegality whatever in the particular issue. He was overruled, however, on both points by the magistrate, who held that there was sufficient

prima facie case on which to commit Mr. Whitely for trial.

Civil Actions for Damages

The first of the two consolidated Civil Actions which certain firms of tradesmen are bringing against Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and others to recover damages on account of the windows broken in March of last year, was due to commence yesterday (Thursday) morning.

Bankruptcy Proceedings Against Mr. Pethick Lawrence

The adjourned meeting of creditors of Mr. Pethick Lawrence was held on Wednesday last, when the Official Receiver stated that he now held a proxy from the Director of Public Prosecutions which was in order.

Votes for Women Fellowship in Hyde Park

Our readers are reminded that the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship are holding a special meeting in Hyde Park next Sunday, at 5 o'clock, when fellows and others are particularly invited to be present.

Remand Prisoners

We draw attention to an important article in this week's issue by Mr. G. R. S. Taylor, dealing with the treatment of persons who, being refused bail, are confined in prison on remand or awaiting trial.

The Reform of the Jury

The Report of Lord Mersey's Departmental Committee on Juries has been anxiously waited for by women, and brings them nothing but disappointment.

Women and the Civil Service

A memorial has been sent to the Prime Minister asking for wider opportunities for women in the

Civil Service. That such a recommendation is just must be obvious, that it is in the interests of good administration is equally clear, seeing that at present posts for which women are well fitted are given to men of lower qualifications solely on the ground of sex.

Another Attack on Liberty

The House of Commons has passed by an overwhelming majority the second reading of the Mental Deficiency Bill. This Bill is only a slight improvement on the Bill of last year, which all true friends of liberty united in regarding as of the utmost danger to the community.

Miss Goldstein's Campaign

A special cable from Miss Goldstein to VOTES FOR WOMEN informs us of the result of the Kooyong election, in which she was standing as an independent candidate for the Australian House of Representatives.

Execution of a Chinese Suffragist

If it is true that the Chinese Suffragist who, according to the correspondent of the Daily News, has just been executed at Tientsin with nine other revolutionaries, is the Mrs. Chang who has done so much to raise the position of women in China, then we have to lament a very real loss to the woman's movement all over the world.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Colours: Purple, White, and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a meeting in Hyde Park next Sunday at 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The platform will be decorated with the new VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship banner: purple for royalty, white for purity, and red for sacrifice.

Day by day brings a steady influx of new members into the Fellowship. We are particularly glad to have the signed card this week of the chairman of the Men's Political Union, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, not that his signature was necessary as a proof of his co-operation and support.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship provides a common meeting ground for members of all the various Suffrage societies, whether militant or non-militant. It exists for a very distinct and definite purpose, that of educating and arousing public opinion throughout the country, and rallying the sympathy and the support of the public to those who are fighting the battle of emancipation.

Membership is open to all men and women who are in sympathy with this purpose, whether they belong already to some Suffrage organisation either militant or non-militant, or whether they are hitherto

women's claims so that at least Municipal Suffrage was granted to them in one province. We understand further that this brave pioneer was a short time ago expelled from the British Concession as a dangerous revolutionary. We can quite believe it. The British Government at home sets the example to the British Consulate abroad in the treatment of woman reformers.

Items of Interest

All Suffragists will unite in hearty congratulations to Sir Johnston Forbes-Robertson on his new honour. As an actor of a very high intellectual order he has won a great public all over the world; but we venture to think that nothing in his career will live so long after him or is so deserving of honour as the record of what he has done in support of the women's fight for freedom.



MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

We are indebted to a new seller who has ventured on a capital pitch and already excited great interest. But as the time at her disposal is very limited, other sellers are wanted for the pitch.

In order that work may not overlap, those who can give odd times to sell at meetings, &c., are particularly requested, if possible, to write to or see the Organiser, who attends at the Office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, every Thursday morning, 10.30-1. She will be happy to meet sellers at other times if they will kindly let her know.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

Table with columns for names and amounts, including Miss B. Sainsbury, Mrs. K. M. Fleming, Miss E. Clegg, etc.

THE WOMAN'S FIGHT ABROAD

THE KOOYONG ELECTION

MISS GOLDSTEIN'S PLUCKY FIGHT

While regretting that Miss Vida Goldstein's courageous attempt to enter the Australian House of Representatives was not crowned with success, we are extremely pleased, and not at all surprised, to learn from her cable to us (which we print on this page) that her election campaign was attended throughout with encouraging friendliness on the part of the Kooyong electors.

"The Only One Who Polled Well"

There were three women candidates standing altogether in the Commonwealth elections, which took place last Saturday; and of these, says the Daily Chronicle, the only one "who polled well was Miss Vida Goldstein, who got within 6,000 of Sir Robert Wallace Best in Kooyong, Victoria, and scored over 10,000 votes."

The large number of votes polled by Miss Goldstein is the more remarkable that she stood as a non-party candidate, and had no backing from either of the great party organisations—Liberal and Labour—in the constituency. English Suffragists, knowing how their own cause has suffered from the party fetish in contemporary politics, will therefore understand how heartily Miss Goldstein is to be congratulated on the way she has come through her fight for the seat of Kooyong.

"SCENE AT AN ELECTION MEETING"

Under the above title, Miss Margaret Hodge writes: "Chivalry has survived the giving of votes to women in this country. To prove this, we have only to contrast the treatment of women at election meetings in Australia with that which they receive in Great Britain. A prospective member of Parliament, after giving an address to his hoped-for constituents, was asked by a woman at question time whether he supported equal pay for equal work. He replied: 'I will speak to you about that afterwards, Miss —,' giving

FROM MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN (Special Cable to VOTES FOR WOMEN.) Defeated. Polled ten thousand votes to sixteen thousand polled by opponent. Election campaign magnificent throughout: universal friendliness. VIDA GOLDSTEIN.

her the name of a woman candidate which he knew was not hers. The audience, angry at what they considered was a mean and unfair way of evading her question, shouted on all sides: 'Coward!' 'Cad!' 'Apologise!' And the candidate had to apologise politely."

What would that Australian audience say if they saw the way Englishwomen are treated at a Cabinet Minister's meeting over here, when they dare to ask for justice to be done to women?

"NO UNDESIRABLES NEED APPLY"

Mr. A. H. Peake, Premier of South Australia, who has been over here on a visit, discussed several topics of interest, and among them Woman Suffrage. In an interview with some pressmen previous to his departure, he said the woman's vote "had answered excellently in South Australia," and went on to the still more interesting piece of information that it "had had the effect of preventing undesirable men from becoming candidates, and it had quickened to a very great degree the sense of power with respect to industrial and such matters."

SUFFRAGETTE DIES FOR REFORM IN CHINA

According to the Tientsin Correspondent of the Daily News, ten persons were arrested in that city on May 19, by the direction of the Chinese Government, on charges of sedition. They were all shot. Among them, adds the correspondent, "was Miss Chang, the famous Suffragette, who was banished from the British Concession some time ago as a dangerous revolutionary. Suspicion was cast upon her in connection with a bomb found on Pekin Railway Station."

unless, in course of transmission, the name has been wrongly spelt, and Miss Tang is meant, the militant Chinawoman who, last December, led a body of revolutionary women into the Provisional Council in Pekin, and demanded an explanation of the refusal of the Council to give women the vote. In either case, the woman's cause in China, and therefore all over the world, has suffered a great loss in this tragic death of one of the champions of woman's freedom. A Government that can thus seek to rid itself of its political opponents by tyrannical violence cannot hope to build up a free Constitution, either for men or for women.

MRS. CHANG'S CAREER

If, as seems more probable, it is the widely-known Mrs. Chang who has died for the cause of progress in China, the world has lost not only a great reformer, but a striking and original personality. Long before the militant happenings of the Chinese Revolution, in which she took so striking a part, Mrs. Chang was known in Pekin as the editor of a daily paper, called The Pekin Woman's Paper, which was devoted entirely to the interests of women, and frequently contained news of the militant Suffrage movement in England. Unlike the ordinary Chinese lady, Mrs. Chang had been brought up and educated as well and as freely as if she were a boy, her father having no sons, and she thus acquired a wide outlook upon the conditions of her fellow-women which is not usual in China.

The Revolution of February, 1912

When the Revolution of February, 1912, broke out and caused an entire upheaval of the ancient Chinese Constitution, women, inspired by Mrs. Chang, took an active part in the fighting. We reproduce below a picture which appeared at the time in the Sketch, showing the Shanghai Battalion of Republican Chinese women, all of them educated women, and mostly daughters of well-to-do merchants. They mobilised in Nankin, and went to the front, where they helped

the men to win the rights that they afterwards refused to extend to the women. For it was with China, as with other countries. The men were ready enough to take the women's help, but extremely loth to let them share in the fruits of victory. Women were allowed to vote in the elections to the Provisional Assembly which met at Nankin, after the Revolution was over, to frame the new Constitution; but the Assembly contented itself, when elected, with a lukewarm expression of sympathy with the women's claims to full and permanent enfranchisement.

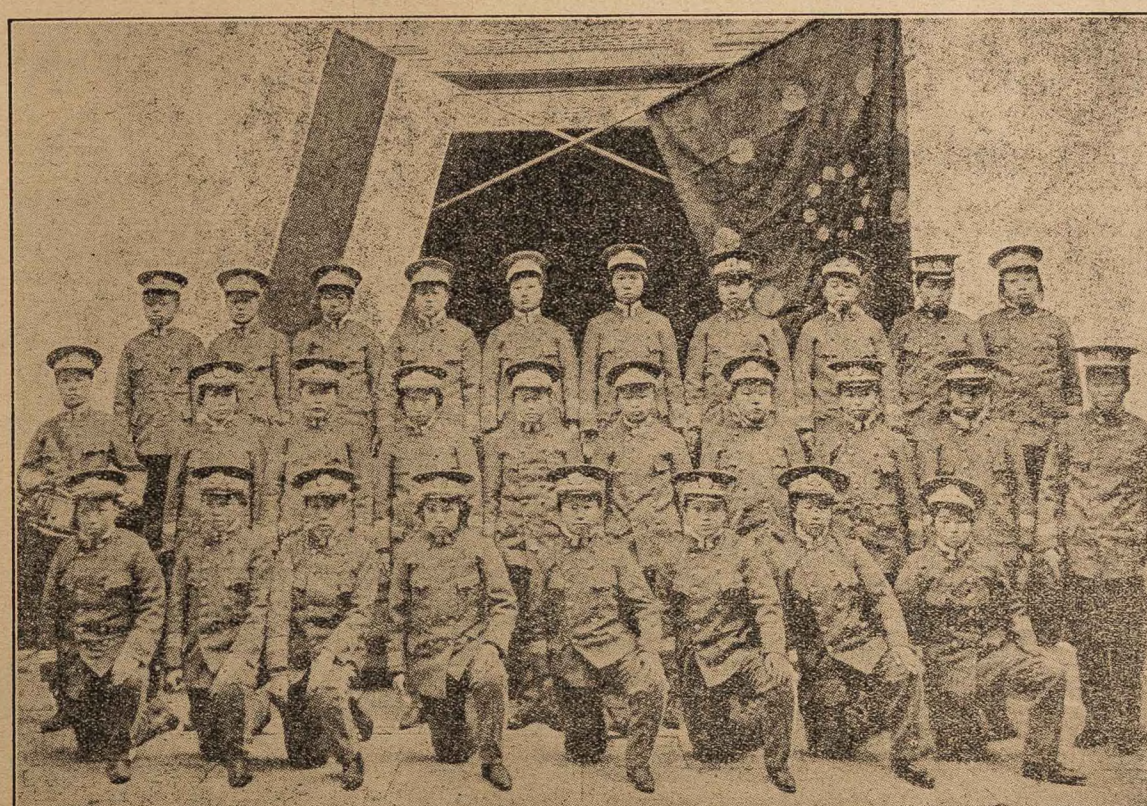
Not Good Enough for Mrs. Chang

This was not good enough, however, for Mrs. Chang and her gallant followers. In March, 1912, they invaded the Assembly House at Nankin, broke the windows, and were so insistent on their rights that in the end the women of one province, Canton, obtained a partial suffrage more or less equivalent to our municipal suffrage. Considering the backward condition of the average Chinese woman, this was a great victory for militancy. But it was naturally not all that Mrs. Chang and her followers were out to obtain. Hence the recurrence of militancy at Pekin last December, and the gradual growth of discontent at the slowness of the Reform movement, which culminated in the tragedy recorded in the Daily News last Tuesday.

"THE ANGLO-SAXON IDEAL"

The Times, in an interesting article on the Chinese situation, published last Tuesday, says that the "constitutional Moderates of Young China became alarmed at the excesses of political demoralization revealed by the Extremists, regarding them much as the bulk of the Women's Suffrage movement in this country regards the militant Suffragists," and relates with unctious the action taken by the Municipal Council of Shanghai to stop inflammatory articles in the Press. When we read that the Council issued a proclamation in which it warned "all editors, reporters, printers, and publishers that any persons who venture, either directly or indirectly, to emit writings and pictures of this character will on detection at once be arrested and imprisoned," we can only suppose that China too has its Boklins and its McKennas. And we are not surprised that the Times says of the persecuted revolutionaries in the same city that "more in sorrow than in anger they have been led to realise that the Anglo-Saxon ideal of free speech cannot be strained to permit their continuing to use the Foreign Settlements as a centre of intrigue and conspiracy."

That is exactly what the Anglo-Saxon ideal of free speech is becoming in this country under a Liberal Government—an excuse to hand over reformers to the prison and the torture chamber.



(Photograph by Higgins, Shanghai.) (Reproduced by kind permission of "The Sketch.") CHINESE WOMEN REVOLUTIONARIES IN FEBRUARY, 1912

# THE LEGAL INEQUALITY OF WOMEN

By Lady Aberconway

(Reprinted from the "Nation," by kind permission of the Editor.)

In his speech on the Woman Suffrage Bill, the Prime Minister made many assertions with regard to the legal position of women which I believe to be quite unfounded. . . . He declared—I quote his own words—

"The general argument I have presented might be displaced, and probably would be displaced, if it could be shown that the absence of direct representation in the House has caused, and is causing, a neglect by Parliament of the special needs and interests of the excluded class."

He added:—

"The case which has been presented showing that in these matters the Parliament of the country has been unduly negligent of, or oblivious to, the interests of women is a case totally destitute of foundation and wholly incapable of proof."

The views of Lord Coleridge, late Chief Justice of England, contradict Mr. Asquith's assertion. He said:—

"I can scarcely believe that if the House of Commons was as much aware as every lawyer is aware of the state of the law in England as regards women, even still after the very recent humane improvements in it, it would not hesitate to say it was more worthy of a barbarian than of a civilised State. If that be so, I do not think the wisdom of Parliament will be darkened, nor the justice of Parliament slackened, because those who appeal to that wisdom are entitled to be heard by reason of the possession of something like political power when they ask for justice. I believe fully that after a certain number of years the law, which I regard in many respects as wholly indefensible, will be altered. As it is, I believe the sense of justice on the part of men, if they are once aroused to it and convinced of the injustice, will in time bring about the reform needed; but I believe this reform will not be brought about so fast as it would be if we put into the hands of those who suffer from this injustice some share of political power."

Mr. Asquith may possibly attach weight to the words of Mr. Gladstone, who said, years ago, in the debates on the Divorce Bill:—

"I consider that this Bill is a gross injustice to women in favour of men."

Was Mr. Asquith in the House during the debate on the Address in February, 1911, in reference to the Mann case? The father, who was a Catholic, had taken away the children from the custody of their mother, and Mr. Birrell admitted that the father, in committing this "wrong and cruel act," was only within his legal rights. The mother had no rights to her children. Did the Prime Minister hear Sir Edward Carson say that "if that was the state of the law, the time of the House ought to be taken from then until Easter to set right such a monstrous law"? Alas! there has never been any sign that His Majesty's Government intends to deal with this bitter grievance of mothers. Man is the only animal who denies to the mother the supreme control of her young.

Does Mr. Asquith remember the Dower Act, whereby, in 1836, the House of Commons deprived widows of a right, enjoyed from early Saxon times, to dower out of their husbands' lands? That Act placed it in the power of every husband to leave his widow penniless and homeless at his death. Is that not a case where Parliament was not only oblivious to the rights of women, but deliberately unjust? I know of no other civilised country where a man is allowed to enjoy his wife's services for a lifetime without payment, and then leave her destitute at his death. The law has a further hold upon the widow. In cases where a man exercises his right to disinherit his wife and children, the law imposes upon the mother the duty of supporting the children out of her earnings, or of retiring with them into the living death of the workhouse, should the task prove to be impossible. . . .

Mr. Asquith states that he knows no case "where the conscience of Parliament would have been quickened by the representation of women electors." If he will only listen, he will hear of many. For years, Bills dealing with the White Slave Traffic have waited for Parliamentary time, help being definitely refused by this Government. It was only by the

agitation in America, only by the rousing of the churches in this country, and the speeches of archbishops in crowded halls, only by the fierce popular indignation shared by men electors, that the Government was made afraid to delay legislation further, and allowed a private Member's Bill to pass. This infamous trade has been built up for years under the eyes of the police, and the Government have again and again refused help. Even now facilities were given only on condition that no clause was added to raise the age of consent, which, we were told, would be fatal to the Bill. Mr. Asquith's advisers were of opinion that Members of Parliament would rather see English girls sold into the most degrading slavery, than consent to raise the age during which they were protected. It is only for children under eighteen that protection is asked; not for grown women. The great majority of fallen women are ruined before the age of eighteen. Women ask that the fair flower of womanhood should have at least the right to bloom before it can be crushed. At present, even in the bud, the law allows it to be trampled in the dust.

The legal age of marriage for girls is actually fixed by Parliament at twelve years! In no assembly where women had influence would such a law be tolerated. The saddest sight in the world is a child of thirteen or fourteen years of age tottering down the Maternity Hospital steps, destitute, and carrying in her arms a wretched infant, already doomed to death. Girls of twelve, or but little older, are victims of the White Slave dealer, who has only to go through a form of marriage with such a child and have her handed over completely into his power. In any foreign country he may then sell her, or live upon her earnings, as he may choose. An Englishwoman of any age who marries a foreigner must assume the domicile of her husband, and be subject to the laws of his country. . . .

It is, however, by the artificial restrictions imposed by men upon her right to work that women suffer most acutely. Throughout the animal world, the female is free to seek her food as she will, and even the tiger permits his mate to hunt in the same jungle. Amongst human beings, women are dictated to by men as to how, when, and under what conditions they shall be allowed to earn their bread. Our whole society is a gigantic trades union of men combined against fair wages and free employment for women. All through the Civil and Diplomatic Service, men, and men alone, receive large salaries. Solicitors are allowed to exclude women from their practice; barristers forbid them to plead at the Bar; all positions in our State Church are for men only. Similarly, throughout our whole industrial world (except, perhaps, in some textile manufactories), we see women's work confined to the inferior branches of each trade, and men's trade unions allowed power to forbid any encroachment of women in any work they are pleased to consider their own. Any trade practised by women can be freely invaded by men. The result is that the average wages of women in this country are under nine shillings per week, and thousands of girls earn only five or six shillings. The iniquitous system of fines still flourishes; the sweating system is still grinding out women's lives, although Select Committees have reported condemning these abuses. Meanwhile, large grants of our national money are made to men—usually earning £2 and £3 weekly—for unemployment insurance. To women earning starvation wages no such insurance grant is given. Even the *Times* recently "allowed that the position of women in this country was profoundly unsatisfactory." . . . The Government is, in some respects, the worst sinner in the oppression of women workers. Was Mr. Asquith in office when a woman attempted suicide, by throwing herself

into the Thames, because she could not endure the slow starvation resulting from making soldiers' trousers at 2½d. a pair? I could quote hundreds of cases of thoughtless injustice and of meanness which inflict hardship upon women who execute Government work. . . .

Finally, Mr. Asquith would persuade women that "to be excluded from the franchise is in no sense derogatory to the honour and dignity of the female sex." What! No dishonour to be classed, politically, with idiots, criminals, paupers, and lunatics? No indignity to be placed lower than the thousands of illiterate male voters, who have a voice in national affairs? Surely, Mr. Asquith must think the female sex even less than human. When a few voters were excluded by a decision on the latch-key franchise, one of his colleagues declared "it was more than flesh and blood could bear." Many women regard exclusion from the franchise as a public insult, which deprives life of many of its joys and robs death of much of its terror. Political equality would make every husband think more highly of his wife; every son would honour his mother more; all women would stand higher in national respect; all men appear nobler in the eyes of women. Thus our standard of manners (about which Mr. Asquith so carefully inquires) cannot but be raised.

In face of these facts, can the Prime Minister still fairly maintain that no concrete case of injustice has been established? Can he still say that he thinks the conscience of Parliament needs no quickening? Can he still declare that there is no country that has better laws for women than England? Can he still imagine that women feel it no disadvantage to be shut out from political privileges? I do not think he can.

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## NEW BOOKS

### TWO EXCELLENT HOUSEHOLD BOOKS

"First Aid to the Servantless," by Mrs. J. G. Frazer (W. Heffer and Sons, Cambridge, 1s. net), is such a stimulating book as to be almost dangerous. On reading it, the ordinary youthful housewife (if not prevented by the natural human love of a cup of tea in bed in the morning) would forthwith discharge her "Imogen" or Emma Jane, and become at once the attractive "Lucy" of Mrs. Frazer's imagination. Of course, such an undisciplined character, left alone, and feeling for the first time that her house was her own, carried away by the fascinations of the labour-saving devices described, could not resist experimenting with them, until the return of her hungry husband recalled her to the necessity of providing food.

Seriously, it is a remarkably sensible, well-thought-out book, and for women who can "divest themselves of any feeling of snobbishness" should be most helpful. But, as Mrs. Frazer says, "The people whom it will be most difficult to convert to the idea of a servantless home, will be the men of the family." Even those to whom the cleaning of their own boots has no terrors, feel it "an indignity that their wives should have no servant"; "they will tire themselves out"—"even a bad servant is better than none".

Have men ever reflected that it is a far greater indignity for refined and cultured women to have daily and hourly association with a servant who is, perhaps, incapable, unwilling, untrustworthy, and even disagreeable? There is more strength wasted in attempting to teach incapable persons than in doing the actual work, and there is always wisdom and dignity in true independence.

Mrs. Frazer acknowledges that domestic treasures do still exist in rare instances, and those who "own" them should keep and value them as treasures are valued, but points out that as education progresses servants who are good and conscientious, and yet capable, will less and less care to serve in small homes. And, in London especially, the maid's room is a covetable addition to the family accommodation. Those who, like "Mr. and Mrs. Smith," are "young and happy and brave," will be well-advised to buy this book, and give their minds to this method of solving the servant question. Mrs. Frazer has considered every difficulty, though she does not claim to have exhausted the problem; but she seems to have gone far in that direction in insisting on the necessity for co-operation and goodwill.

The only piece of advice the experienced cannot cheerfully accept and act upon, is that all "washing-up" should be done once a day—and that the last thing at night! The sight of all the dishes and implements used during the day, collected never so neatly and washed up never so daintily, by a valet, woman, could not but vex, if it did not exasperate, a devoted husband, who, of course, could not be expected to sit calmly at his ease during the process—or willingly, every night, to help.

I observe, when our authoress drops into poetry and gives a rosy picture of a day in a servantless home—with boys and girls in it, too—she finishes up with cosy chat and music after coffee in the drawing-room, and no suggestion whatever of meticulous tidying up, and preparing for the burden of the morrow.

### For Intelligent Housewives

"The One Maid Book of Cookery," by Mistress A. E. Congreve, First Class Diplômée (Herbert Jenkins, 2s. 6d. net), is an excellent production, written by an expert who realises that only practice and experience will make a cook, and that her greatest need is common-sense. The Eastern proverb she quotes, "On each occasion use your sense accordingly," should be framed and hung in every kitchen, then no young housekeeper need be reduced to despair, like Bella Wilfer, by Mrs. Beeton's unreasonable demands. Mistress A. E. Congreve writes for intelligent people, and they will be quick to appreciate her avoidance of vain repetitions and clear, concise explanations; though many will regret that she has evidently no conception that there are people in the world to whom flesh-eating is impossible. M. S. C.

### USEFUL RECITATIONS

Miss Grace Alvey, LL.A., has arranged a number of "Character Sketches from Dickens" (Samuel French, 1s. net) for recitation as monologues. They are all female parts, and include Mrs. Gamp, Miss Flite, Mrs. Boffin, Fanny Squeers, Miss Knag, Mrs. Todgers, The Marchioness, Mrs. Nickleby, and Madame Defarge. As far as possible, all tampering with the sacred text has been avoided, and the directions as to dress and stage properties are quite sound. A useful little book for those who are constrained to give recitations.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Life of John Bright." By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (London: Constable. Price 15s. net.)  
"A Short History of English Liberalism." By W. Lyon Blease. (London: P. Fisher Unwin. Price 10s. 6d. net.)  
"The Pain of the World." By Flora Ames. (London: Key Publishing Co. Price 6s.)  
"Westminster Review." June. (London: Marlborough & Co. Price 2s. 6d. net.)  
"Religious Education for New Thought Children." With How to Tell Stories to Children. By Helen Rhodes Wallace. (Edinburgh: Higher Thought Centre, 49, Shandwick Place. Price 2s.)  
"Theosophy and the Woman's Movement." By C. Despard. (London: Theosophical Publishing Co. Price 6s. net.)  
"Nature's Mysteries and How Theosophy Illuminates Them." By A. P. Sinnett. (London: Theosophical Publishing Co. Price 6d. net.)

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### A RUSSIAN HANDBOOK

"Things Seen in Russia," by W. Barnes Stevens, Professor of English in the College of Peter the Great, St. Petersburg (Seeley, Service and Co., 2s.), is one of a series of handy little volumes of "things seen" in various countries. This particular book contains an extraordinary amount of interesting information about Russian places, peoples, and customs, and should really be of great use to anyone intending to visit the country. The vivid touches bring Russia and its people before us, and the illustrations (fifty in number) are remarkably good and characteristic. We learn things not to be found in any guide-book, nor to be absorbed during brief travels, though they give the key to much that the traveller sees. These things are only gained by long residence in a country by one who knows the language and mixes with different classes. This book shows us, for instance, churches, palaces, works of art in cities; the ways of the peasants at home; work and life in every part of the vast dominion from north to south. There are one or two slips in language—surely "soul reminder" is one on page 117—and it is curious to learn that most Russian women marry—"excepting the old and plain." But the flaws are mere trifles, and do not interfere with the value of the book.

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FRIDAY, JUNE 6, 1913.

**WHO PAYS FOR SOCIAL REFORM?**

There are a number of ideas that have never occurred to Members of Parliament. They never will until women get the vote.

The representatives of a male electorate have never grasped the fundamental idea that the woman is a human factor of every social problem, and that she possesses a very intimate interest in every scheme of social reform.

Social legislation of the present day is occupied with the working man so far as he is politically powerful and can force attention to his grievances through his great trade organisations, or so far as he is potentially a political asset for the next General Election. Apart from this compulsion the political philanthropy of the social reformer in Parliament is centred upon the child as the root and foundation of national health and happiness.

For all reform somebody has to pay. That is one reason why every section of the community has to have the vote. The vote is a guarantee that the payment will not fall on one class only to its despoilment, but that it will be fairly distributed. But women are denied the vote. And as we might expect, nearly every new scheme of social reform has to be paid for by women—not necessarily in the current coin of the realm, but in physique, labour, and privation. For social reform affecting children the mothers have to pay an unduly heavy share. And the worst of it all is that this is bad for the children and bad for the community, and is the cause of quite unnecessary failure to achieve the good result that is desired, namely, a higher standard of physical health and mental efficiency for the coming generations.

The raising of the school age for children, a reform of primary national importance, has increased to an extent little realised the tax upon the working mothers' physical and financial resources. It must be remembered that the assets of the working mother do not increase with the number of children to be fed and clothed. For every addition to the family somebody has to go on shorter rations. That somebody is generally—"Mother."

A few years ago, when "Tommy" at ten years of age could begin to earn a shilling or two a week, he could at least keep himself in shoe leather. Now thirteen-year-old Tommy's boots have to be paid for at the price of Mother's share of the family dinner.

The most exhausting period of a woman's life, when she has a large family to work for during unlimited

hours of daily labour and many mouths to feed on a limited number of weekly shillings, has been lengthened, and the struggle for life, severe enough before, has been intensified.

Moreover, the strict enforcement of school attendance, depriving the mother of the help of an elder child in some specially distressful family emergency, and also the legislation curtailing the employment of children out of school hours, has all tended in the same direction. Bit by bit the mother's burden has been made increasingly heavier without any additional strength being given her to enable her to support it.

It must not be supposed for one moment that we are not in fullest sympathy with all these important reforms, or that we do not desire further improvement along the same lines. We simply point out that as a matter of fact they are obtained at heavy cost to the mother, who bears more than her due share of the strain, and is taxed in physique to a greater extent than the community can afford to allow. If women had the vote these facts would be recognised, and some compensating alleviation to the mother would be brought about.

It must not be forgotten that an ever higher standard of cleanliness both in the person and the clothing of children is being rightly exacted by inspectors at the schools. More and more legislative consideration is being given to the personal safety of children in the home, largely by the enactment of new penalties and punishments not for the careless landlord, or the trader in dangerous wares, nor even for the legal parent; but for the poverty-driven, hard-pressed Mother.

While all lovers of the human race rejoice in everything that is being done for the children, many who are actually engaged in social work recognise and deplore the fact that in spite of all the attention given to the matter the standard of vitality and health does not appreciably rise as the generations of school children succeed each other.

Yet this negative result cannot be wondered at while a constantly increasing drain is being made on the vitality of the mothers of the nation, no corresponding immunities being given to compensate for the more and more exacting toll of responsibilities, duties, and labours demanded.

When physical strength fails, there is no rest for the mother. When she falls ill she is not entitled, as her husband is, to medical benefit and doctor's care. Threatened by "the white scourge," she has no right to sanatorium treatment except problematically as "a dependant." She has no security of maintenance, nor any right to a fixed proportion of her husband's wages; no insurance under the Insurance Act against premature old age; no claims on the community as a widow except for admission to the workhouse.

The cry of the trade union organisation, "Less work and more pay," represents the opposite extreme of the voteless woman's ever-shifting position as a working wife and mother. More work and less recognition, more physical output and less reward, more responsibility and less status, is the actual effect of most of the well-meaning but one-sided and unbalanced social reform legislation of the present day, so far as the working mother is concerned.

In short, the law has lost sight of her as a human being and treats her as a sort of machine for producing, feeding, and tending the rising generation.

No raising of the school age, not all the medical inspection and care of children, can put a permanent check upon the physical degeneration of a race that is persistently overtaxing its mothers, and draining away their vitality. We assert emphatically that the impossible is being demanded from working women to-day with an insistent, growing demand, unbalanced by any compensating immunities from the increasing pressure of economic and domestic conditions. We point out the canker at the root of social reform, and the reason of its failure.

This is one of the ideas that have never occurred to Members of Parliament, simply because women are deprived of that self-expression and self-protection that the vote implies. Nevertheless, the recognition of the futility of exhausting and devitalising the mothers with the well-meaning intent of raising the standard of health and well-being for the race is essential to the interest of the community.

# THE TREATMENT OF UNCONVICED PRISONERS

By G. R. S. Taylor, Barrister-at-Law

It is still somewhat uncertain how many respectable, peace-loving, democratic persons may find themselves in prison before a Liberal Government decides to enforce the elementary principles of its theoretical creed.

It is therefore proposed in the following article to consider the regulations which govern the treatment of prisoners who are in prison either on remand, awaiting the decision of a magistrate, or who are awaiting trial, after commitment by the magistrate. To avoid any misunderstanding, it is necessary to mention that only the English Rules are treated here. They will, therefore, not necessarily apply to the case of the militants of His Majesty's Opposition Front Bench, who may be planning operations in Ireland. The case of Ireland comes under a separate code of Rules. However, as these Tory militants are in the highest legal hands, it may be unnecessary to mention this fact.

The position of persons in prison awaiting trial, whether on remand or after commitment, is that they are subject to the general rules which apply to all other prisoners, except when these general rules are overridden by special rules dealing with their special case. This is important, because it means that in spite of the theory of the English Law that a man or woman is presumed to be innocent until proved to be guilty, he is, as a matter of fact, if on remand without bail, treated almost exactly like a convicted prisoner. The cell door is locked for the greater part of twenty-four hours every day, and other regulations of prison are enforced; while even the slight ameliorations provided for in the special rules are nearly all entirely out of reach of the pocket of the ordinary poor prisoner. These special rules will now be described in their more important details.

The visiting committee of a prison may allow a prisoner awaiting trial (whether on remand or after commitment), "on payment of a small sum fixed by the Commissioners," to occupy a special cell or room, furnished in a more luxurious manner than is usual in the ordinary way. As a matter of practice, the special cell or room differs but slightly from the cells of convicted prisoners. They can also allow special hours for exercise, and "to have at his own cost the use of private furniture and utensils suitable to his ordinary habits, to be approved by the Governor." The official mind that drafted this paragraph probably meant that the furniture and utensils—not the habits—were to have the approval of the Governor.

Further than this, there is a rule allowing a visiting committee to give the Governor permission to modify the ordinary prison routine to any degree he thinks fit where it "is clearly unnecessary in the case of any particular prisoner."

Any prisoner awaiting trial may procure at his own expense, subject to reasonable hours, &c., any food, clothing, or bedding which he or she may desire. There are such restrictions as that not more than one pint of liquor may be obtained within twenty-four hours.

A prisoner awaiting trial may also, with the permission of the Visiting Committee (though not apparently by consent of the Governor alone), be attended by his or her own medical adviser, and receive any medicine recommended thereby.

A like prisoner may obtain any books, newspapers, or "other means of occupation," except those which the Visiting Committee consider "of an objectionable kind." Of course there is wide latitude for disapproval here. When Mrs. Fawcett becomes a militant she will probably not be allowed to read the *Common Cause* in prison, and Sir Edward Carson may be forbidden to read the *Morning Post* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*. It is also to be noted that writing materials are almost invariably refused.

Perhaps the most important rules are those which concern the right of an unconvicted prisoner to communicate with friends and legal advisers. Here are the exact words of the most important rule: "A prisoner awaiting trial shall at his request be allowed to see his legal adviser (by which it is to be understood a certificated solicitor or his clerk, if the clerk has written authority from his principal), on any week day at any reasonable hour, and, if required, in the sight, but not in the hearing, of an officer." The sight and hearing clause is put into practice by the use of a glass door. But there are grave reasons for suspecting that the aforesaid door is not always sound-proof, and prisoners have a legal right to insist on being beyond the hearing of prison officials. It

should not be necessary for legal advisers to be compelled to put any communication into writing, because it is dangerous to discuss it with the prisoner by word of mouth, with a prison official, as one of the conference, outside the door.

A prisoner awaiting trial can insist on the admission of one visitor (or two at the same time if circumstances permit) for a quarter of an hour at appointed times on any week day, and, with the permission of the Visiting Committee, the time may be extended beyond the quarter of the hour, or more than two visitors be admitted at one time. In the case of personal friends there is, apparently, no right to see them alone, though of course a Governor has power to allow such a course. Otherwise the ordinary course is for the unconvicted prisoner, who in the eyes of the English law is presumed to be innocent, to have to see his visitors through the bars of a cage resembling cages for wild beasts, while a warden is in constant attendance and can overhear all that is said. It should be especially noted that visitors are not allowed either Saturday afternoon or Sunday—the only times which are possible to most members of the working class.

Regarding written communications with the outside world, all reasonable writing material must be supplied to the prisoner. But every bit of written matter is subject to the reading of the Governor before it leaves the prison (as is likewise any written communication coming in to the prisoner) except only in the case of a "confidential written communication prepared as an instruction for a solicitor,"

which is delivered to him or his clerk in person. With this exception, there is apparently no power to have confidential communications with the outside world. And, as we have seen, it is doubtful whether interviews with a legal adviser are in fact private, as the law allows.

It will be noted that the majority of the above rights of unconvicted prisoners who have been refused bail are in practice subject to the judgment of what the Governor and Visiting Committee consider "reasonable." The only rival to almost despotic power in a prison is the doctor, in whose hands undoubtedly very wide powers are placed. It is interesting to observe that it seems to be assumed, theoretically at least, that the ultimate health of the prisoner is to be protected at all costs. Thus, even in the extreme case where corporal punishment is ordered to be inflicted on a prisoner, there is an absolute rule that the doctor's instructions thereon for preventing injury to health shall be obeyed. There is also a rule that it is for the doctor to decide whether a prisoner is fit for dietary punishment. The infliction of forcible feeding is largely in the hands of the professional honour of the medical officers of our prisons. They are, as said above, instructed by the official regulations to forbid any permanent injury to the general health, even of the most abandoned criminal. One might leave the matter there, without further comment, except to add that experience justifies us in noting that punishment of various kinds can be inflicted on prisoners in prison on remand.

## SWEATED WOMEN

By Constance E. Maud

It is a pity we cannot have a permanent exhibition of the sweated women workers of this great and glorious Empire. That organised by the Men's League for Women's Suffrage and the Women Writers, last Wednesday, gave those who know nothing of this vast underworld of grinding toil on which our prosperous nation is built, the chance of a passing glimpse, if they happened to have time to look in. But such a glimpse should be always available in order that more than a mere handful of the public should become a little acquainted with the conditions under which millions of their countrywomen are forced to exist.

Twelve different industries were represented. They were perforce selected from those whose work could be shown independent of machinery. Each worker sat busily plying her trade. No machinery could exceed the speed, the deadly precision, and the unwearying continuance of those workers. They never paused unless to answer a question, or show an enquirer the nature of their task. Yet one woman remarked with a patient smile: "I don't call this work; why, this is a rare treat, an outing—the only outing I've had for many a long year."

The wages of all averaged about the same, i.e., six to seven shillings a week for ten to twelve hours' work a day. One or two earned less, such, for instance, as the maker of black braid, the rate paid being 7d. per dozen yards, time taken—eight hours per dozen yards. The shirt-maker's condition can scarcely be said to have improved since the days of Hood, for, working like a motor at top speed, she only earns about 2d. an hour, and has to supply her own sewing-machine.

It is almost impossible to find any of these women workers who are not supporting others besides themselves, and even in such cases they have done so at some time, and will probably do so again.

One ancient dame on the verge of seventy, a flower-maker since the age of ten, had until recently, when she became a widow, supported herself and an old husband, the latter blind for seven years before his death. Working twelve hours a day she can earn about 8s. a week, and is proud to tell you that she manages on this without parish or any other aid. Her fine, brave old face lit up as I said: "What a good thing you've not long to wait for your seventieth birthday!"

Another worker, a pale, sweet-faced little woman of about thirty-five, was supporting an invalid husband and seven children, the youngest eight months old. The husband had been unable to work for four

years owing to an accident for which he could get no compensation, the employer having gone bankrupt. Her work was trouser-finishing, each pair requiring the lining to be sewn in, fourteen buttons to be put on, and six button-holes made. By superhuman effort two of these garments can be done in an hour, with the assistance of the husband, who sews on the twenty-eight buttons. Recent Trade Board regulations have raised the pay from 1d. to 1½d. a pair, and also oblige a minimum wage in this work of 3½d. an hour. The way in which this apparently excellent rule works out is instructive. In order to obtain the work the women are obliged to declare that they can make three of these garments in an hour, otherwise the applicant would be dismissed as too slow a worker. The pace is accelerated in order to fulfil the required conditions of pay, but in spite of a pace that kills is a physical impossibility. The difficulty is met, either by working far into the night, or getting help, as in the case of the sick husband who came to the rescue. In many industries an outlay has to be made by the worker from her slender pay. The maker of rounder boots has to buy her own tools, which require renewing every few months, and also all the rivets, which cost sixpence per dozen pairs. Her pay is 3½d. a pair, and the time taken is one and a half to two hours, standing all the time.

The most noticeable thing about all these women was their remarkable efficiency; only this quality enabled them to obtain these wages. What of the inefficient?

And this "woman's work" is but partially represented by these long hours of toil. They are the keepers of a home—the cook, the laundress, the house-cleaner to a family, in most instances, and in many the bearer and rearer of children. This is how the great British Empire cares for the mothers of her sons, quite forgetting that the sons must suffer through these over-worked, under-paid, ill-fed mothers.

That great talker, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, so completely forgets his own poor working mother, as to pass a Bill handing over the money due to a mother and her new-born infant, to the father and the public-house he may frequent. Mr. Lloyd George shows the same confusion of ideas as the tribe mentioned by Herbert Spencer, who celebrate the birth of a child by a great feast, on which occasion the father receives the guests in bed with the baby, and the mother rises and waits on the company. He needs a glimpse into the Sweated Women's Exhibition to refresh his memory with the stern facts of life.



CHARGE AGAINST 'SUFFRAGETTE' PRINTER

Mr. Whiteley Committed for Trial

Mr. Edgar Whiteley, manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the issue of the Suffragette for May 9, was last Saturday committed for trial (on bail) to the Assizes by the Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate on a charge of "Conspiring on April 29 and divers other dates with Emmeline Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst and others unlawfully and wickedly to solicit, instigate, and incite divers women, being members of the Women's Social and Political Union, and others, unlawfully and maliciously to do and commit in and upon the real and personal property of and belonging to liege subjects of His Majesty injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upwards."

SPEECH FOR THE DEFENCE

To complete the case for the prosecution more evidence was called to prove damage to pillar-boxes, showing that in the Manchester district, between February 10 and May 27 of this year, fifty-seven pillar-boxes had been attacked, and about 1,100 postal packets damaged. Only one pillar-box, however, had been attacked since May 9.

The Charge

Sir William Cobbett, saying he would not call evidence, then made a speech for the defence. He dealt first with the charge which was that of conspiracy, and conspiracy alone. He proposed to meet that charge by asking, first, the Stipendiary Magistrate to find that there was no evidence to convict the defendant of conspiracy, no matter what the contents of the paper of May 9 were. Secondly, he proposed to submit that if the paper of May 9 did not contain matter of incitement it was no evidence of conspiracy in publishing it. Thirdly, he would submit with confidence that the paper did not contain any matter of incitement to commit offences at all.

What is Conspiracy?

With regard to the first point, Sir William said that, as laid down in Russell's "Crimes," the gist of the offence of conspiracy was not in doing the act or effecting the purpose for which the conspiracy was formed, nor in attempting to do it, nor in inciting others to do it, but in forming a scheme or agreement between the parties. The conspiracy was not in inciting others. He contended that in this case there were absent all the usual elements of evidence which went to form a conspiracy, and proceeded to show that there was no evidence that the defendant ever saw or spoke or corresponded with either of the two persons named in the charge, or that he ever communicated with any other members of the Women's Social and Political Union. It was not suggested that he came into the conspiracy before May 7; since then Mrs. Pankhurst had either been in prison or under police surveillance, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst had been in Paris. Where was the evidence of a conspiracy? He did not dispute that evidence had been brought there to show there was a conspiracy to incite people to commit offences between some members of the Union and other members of the Union. But his client was not concerned with it at all, and he submitted it was of no importance in that case.

The Evidence of Conspiracy

Sir William then submitted that the only evidence was that of an isolated transaction between a limited trading company, of which the defendant was a servant and in which the defendant took part, by which that company executed certain work in the ordinary way of its trade for the association in London, some of the members of which, it was alleged by the prosecution, were conspiring with other members. He submitted that that evidence was insufficient. It was unheard of to suggest that a trader who had had a trade transaction in the ordinary course of business with persons who were said to be conspiring together for some improper purpose should be found guilty of conspiracy. Counsel further pointed out that the Public Prosecutor did not seem to think that White, a witness in the previous hearing, who printed the Suffragette in October and November last year, was a conspirator. Possibly, it might be said that White was not warned. But a warning did not create an offence. A house at Lincoln's Inn had been rented by the Women's Social and Political Union. Was the landlord a party to the conspiracy?

The Issue of May 9

Sir William Cobbett then proceeded to his second point, that if the Suffragette

of May 9 did not contain matter of incitement, not only was it no evidence of conspiracy, but it was no offence at all. He asked whether the mere printing of any issue of the Suffragette was evidence of a conspiracy, and referred to Mr. Bodkin's statement in the London prosecutions of April 30, and to the Home Office circular issued later, which put quite a different complexion on it. In the interval the number in question of the Suffragette was printed.

With regard to the paper itself, he submitted that it contained no matter of incitement, and that the defendant had read all the proofs and could not discover anything of such a nature in them. The prosecution, he contended, could find no trace of it unless they read between the lines, and put what he ventured to say would be a tortured and unnatural meaning of the phrases or words used. One had to go back to the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries and refer to some of the prosecutions in those periods to find such constructions put upon words as were put on words in that paper by the prosecution.

"Vigorous Agitation"

Proceeding, counsel took exception to the fact that the prosecution had dealt with that case throughout as if the only object of the Women's Social and Political Union was the inciting, encouraging, and organising of offences. There was no ground for that proposition at all. The prosecution had put in the annual report and constitution of the Union, and every one of the objects mentioned there was entirely lawful. There was nothing to suggest that the constitution was for the encouragement of violence. Yet when he called attention to it, Mr. Hewart pointed to a passage dealing with "vigorous agitation." He could conceive Mr. Hewart taking part in a "vigorous agitation" for another object. As a matter of fact, the Union was perfectly lawful in its conception, and militancy had occurred as a sort of excrement, and was ultra vires to its constitution.

Returning to the issue of May 9, Sir William analysed it at some length, maintaining that Mrs. Pankhurst's message in it may have contained a suggestion as to the continuance of the policy of the Union, but there was no language of incitement. The prosecution had argued that the putting together of news on a particular subject connected the paper with militancy, but reputable papers like the Manchester Guardian did the same.

A Strained Interpretation

Finally, counsel asked, was it not really intended to suppress the Suffragette altogether, so as to prevent the suffragists from getting any benefit from it? His client had never intended to support militancy at all, and he believed he had issued the paper which no reasonable person could take objection. By a strained interpretation the prosecution were trying to make out the case against him, but it was hoped they would be left to take the risk and sustain the consequences of pressing an indictment elsewhere without the Stipendiary Magistrate's help.

THE MAGISTRATE'S DECISION

The Stipendiary Magistrate said that in spite of the form of the observations made by Sir William Cobbett, he was of opinion that there was evidence which ought to be laid before the jury—in the first place that the paper did contain incitements to crime, and in the second place that the defendant entered into the conspiracy alleged in the charge. He therefore thought it his duty to commit the defendant (on bail) for trial.

MR. DREW'S CASE

The following statement was made last Friday by the London Correspondent of the Manchester Guardian:

"I stated a few days ago that some lawyers were of the opinion that the undertaking given by Mr. Drew, of the Victoria Press, not to print the Suffragette nor any document issued by the Social and Political Union was bad in law, and that steps would be taken to raise the legal point. I hear that the matter is now in the hands of a firm of solicitors, that counsel's opinion has been taken on the legal question, and that something will probably be heard of it in court next week. The National Political Reform League is taking an interest in the matter."

The case was to have come up at Bow Street last Wednesday, but was postponed owing to the death of the Chief Magistrate.

THE BODKIN DOCTRINE

At a Meeting of the Central London Branch of the National Union of Journalists last Friday, a resolution was adopted protesting against the Bodkin doctrine that newspapers may be suppressed before publication, on account of the supposed character of their anticipated contents; and declaring that any attempt to intimidate printers from printing a newspaper not yet published on account of its anticipated contents is illegal.



C31. Striped Washing Crepon Shirt, in Pink, Champagne, Reseda, Helio, Navy, or Black Stripes. Sizes 15 to 14. 5/11 C32. White Voile Blouse, with V shape Neck and Bobespiere Collar, finished Hemstitched Accordion Fronts. In 4 sizes. 21/9 Also in Crêpe de Chine, 39/6.

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THE ENCROACHMENTS OF THE EXECUTIVE

Freedom of the Individual at Stake

The coercive measures adopted by the Government in order to repress the Suffrage movement offer such a grave threat to the freedom of the individual that the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies met last Monday in order to pass some important resolutions dealing with the actions taken against Mr. Pethick Lawrence and other Suffragist defendants in the course of the militant agitation. The resolutions unanimously passed, after serious deliberation, were as follows:—

(1) "That the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies view with grave apprehension the encroachments of the Crown as shown in the recent actions against Suffragist defendants. In particular, they consider that to demand, in addition to the punishment of imprisonment, costs from defendants who are convicted for offences committed from unselfish ends in the course of a political agitation is contrary to British principles of justice. They draw attention to the fact that such a judgment was recently so given, in spite of the jury's recommendation to the judge that, 'taking into consideration the undoubtedly pure motives that underlay the agitation,' the judge should be pleased to exercise the utmost clemency in dealing with the case. 'The Council are of the opinion that the discretionary power of the judge ought not in such cases to be exercised against the defendant, and was probably not originally intended to be so exercised. They consider, therefore, the decision to be a dangerous precedent, and one likely to lead to the corrupt prosecution of political opponents. 'Further, they desire to express their great appreciation of Mr. Pethick Lawrence's action in so gallantly fighting against payment of the costs of his trial, as a result of which he was admitted by the Crown to be a political offender.'"

Freedom of Speech and Press (2) "That the Federated Council of Suffrage Societies desires to call urgent attention to the present coercive measures of the Government, by which the liberty of the subjects of this country is gravely infringed, and in particular to the attempted limitation of the rights of Free Speech and a Free Press, rights which have been gained as a result of centuries of struggle."

THE PLAIN HISTORICAL FACT Speaking of the alleged atrocities of the Balkan allies, Mr. Noel Buxton, M.P., writes in a letter to the Times as follows:—

MILITANT INDIANS AND MILITANT WOMEN

The following letter has been sent by the Union of Ethical Societies:

To the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Morley of Blackburn, Lord President of the Council.

My Lord,—On behalf of the Council of the Union of Ethical Societies we appeal to you to use your utmost influence in persuading your colleagues in His Majesty's Government to introduce immediately a Government measure conferring the Parliamentary vote upon women.

We appeal to you because your Lordship is not only a champion of democratic principles, but also because when recently you were faced in India by a situation similar in many ways to that which is rapidly developing itself in the Militant Suffrage Movement in this country, your high-minded statesmanship showed the true way to deal with it. You did not resort to ever-increasing methods of repression. Instead, even at the risk of being charged with merely acting from motives of fear, you insisted on a policy of justice and generosity. You brought what threatened to be a reign of terror to an end by acknowledging the high motives and the legitimate purposes which were behind it, and by meeting, in so far as was consistent with the good of the State, the demands of the disaffected. There was no question but that you could have eventually crushed out the unrest in Bengal by force. But you preferred to meet it with sympathy and understanding. You conquered it by justice and equitable compromise.

No one can deplore more deeply than we the outrages recently committed in the name of Women's Suffrage. We view with the greatest alarm the prospect of increasing irresponsibility and demoralisation amongst the militant suffragists, and the danger both to the public and to themselves involved in attacks upon property and the reprisals which disorderly and brutal persons are already beginning to visit upon women, with small discrimination as to whether they are militant suffragists or not. We are satisfied that methods of violence are absolutely inimical to the Women's Cause. But we are equally convinced that it is the policy of repression, and the indignities inflicted by the Government upon the Suffrage Movement, now over a long period of years, which are wholly responsible for the present painful state of affairs. We would urge that when women are willing in large numbers to risk death or permanent enfeeblement by starvation, in order to show devotion to the cause of political freedom for their sex, or when, in blind or miscalculating exasperation, they resort to arson and bombing, it is an outraged sense of justice which is the real cause, and it is this, and not perversity or criminality, which is to be legislated for.

Not repressive laws or regulations, but the recognition of the sanity and justice of the women's claim to some measure of Parliamentary enfranchisement, is what the situation really demands. Herein alone, in accordance with the highest traditions of English Governmental policy, is the truly dignified and statesmanlike way of overcoming incipient revolution. It is because we are certain that your Lordship already has a special way of feeling the truth of these considerations that we pray you, with the peculiar authority that your long and noble record, both as a philosophic thinker and as a statesman, gives to you, to plead earnestly with your Lordship's colleagues to abandon the policy of repression, and, in a spirit of enlightened liberality, of which you have given them so excellent an example in India, to meet the women's demands.—We remain, your Lordship's most obedient servants.

H. C. MIALD SMITH, Chairman. H. SWELL, Secretary. Union of Ethical Societies, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C., May 31, 1913.

AS LIKE AS TWO PEAS

Sergeant Cull, of Tottenham, who has won a reputation for making peace between husbands and wives who come for relief to the police-courts, hit upon a great truth, which is at the bottom of the Suffrage movement, in the course of a conversation he reported to have had recently with a Press representative. He said it was his experience that when a man and his wife quarrelled they did not take the trouble to understand each other. The man just said, "Oh, she's a woman!" And the woman would say, "Oh, he's a man!" Sergeant Cull then went on to remark, "My experience has taught me that, temperamentally, women and men are as alike as two peas." That is the whole point. Men and women are alike human beings, and half the trouble in the world comes from the persistent denial of that fact. Sergeant Cull has admitted it. But the British Cabinet won't.

THE SUFFRAGETTE SCARE IN DUBLIN



Discovery by the Intelligence Department of a Disguised Militant Selling Bombs

CORRESPONDENCE

MR. CLAYTON'S DEFENCE

Dear Sir,—May we ask your readers to assist us in securing that Mr. Edwy Clayton should be properly defended in the forthcoming trial, in which he is being charged for conspiracy, along with certain members of the W.S.P.U.? For years past Mr. Clayton has been an enthusiastic supporter of woman suffrage, and at the present time he has no private means out of which to pay for an adequate defence. In asking that contributions for this purpose should be sent to H. J. Gillespie, Esq., 12, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C., we would remind your readers that a man is to be regarded as innocent unless and until he is found guilty, and it is for the purpose of enabling him to establish this innocence in face of the skilled counsel upon the other side that the money is required.—Yours, &c., (Signed) J. FORBES-ROBERTSON. GEORGE LANSBURY. H. D. HARNES. H. W. NEVINSON. H. J. GILLESPIE.

"WOMEN OF THE OLD TESTAMENT"

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Editors,—Mrs. McKenna's severe criticism in her letter of April 13 in Votes for Women is so one-sided that I cannot let it pass, even at this distance. Mrs. Annie Levy proved conclusively in her article of March 21 the necessity of woman standing up for her rights. Had the daughters of Zolophhad (Num. 27) not asked for their due, Lord Roberts' daughter might not have had the dignity of her lamented brother's inheritance conferred on her with so little trouble. Had Caleb's daughter not asked for the wall, her property would have been worthless. The parallel instance has this difference, that while the daughters of Israel pleaded before a just Law Giver and an indulgent father, the daughters of Britain plead before men who answer us with iron rods, and act like the hero of the Charter (Gen. iii.) Mrs. M. C. McKenna quotes: "It is the same thing, only from a different point of view.—Yours, &c., SARAH GLEUCK. Springs, Transvaal.

WHAT NEW ZEALAND THINKS OF SUFFRAGETTES We received recently an interesting communication from our Special Correspondent in New Zealand, who afterwards went on to Australia, whence she sent us the account we published last week of Miss Vida Goldstein's election campaign. We select the following passages:—

Our campaign in New Zealand is drawing to a close, and Miss Newcomb and I feel quite convinced that the majority of thinking men and women here are with their British sisters in the fight for the Vote at home. We were told that we should have a hard task in securing support for our cause, as the violence of the Suffragettes, as reported in the cables, had alienated all sympathy for it. We were agreeably surprised to find that many people, men as well as women, sympathised with the Suffragettes just because they had put up such a good fight, although the New Zealanders little knew the provocation that the champions of the

woman's vote had received. . . . We have interviewed the editors of some of the chief papers in the Dominion, and most of them see that the publication of the cables, which only state the damage done by members of the W.S.P.U., gives an unfair impression of the fight, and nearly all of them have published our lectures and their interviews with us almost verbatim.

An Imperial Suffrage Union We have carried a motion at several meetings to empower us to help to initiate the formation of a "Women's Suffrage Union of the Dominions Overseas," in which New Zealand will be the leader, as she was the first nation to give the vote to her women. We shall hope to secure the adhesion of the Australian women to the scheme on our journey through that country, and as South Africa has invited us to return there, we may be able to obtain the alliance of the women of that Union; later, we will see if Canada will not join us.

A Free Womanhood It is very remarkable how the fact of being actual or potential voters makes the women and girls of this Dominion so much more ardent for liberty and so much less hidebound by convention than their representatives in the Old Country. The men have learnt, too, to look at all questions from the human point of view, and one feels inclined to exclaim when they enumerate their opinions, "How did you learn to be so broad-minded upon social questions?" The woman's ideas, when she is a voter, are taken into account, and become, as it were, incorporated into the man's, so that we get the best type of legislation, one that is absolutely fair to both sexes. One editor of a leading paper said to us, "Oh, you need not try to convince me of the need for the women's vote. My mind becomes a complete blank when anyone advances any arguments against that. They seem sucharrant nonsense to me, as I have witnessed the working of the franchise for women for twenty years."

The great sympathy with the Suffragettes in their struggle, forces many here, unworshipping as is their devotion and deep as is their reverence for the Homeland, to realise that a cruel injustice is being practised upon their sister women in denying them the elementary rights of citizenship. Margaret Hodge.

PRINCIPLE OR PARTY? Prominent Liberal Chooses the Former The following letter of resignation has

been sent to Mr. J. C. Hope, M.P., by Mr. T. Blair, Vice-President of an important Liberal Association:—

Dear Mr. Hope,—I am sorry to be obliged to send you my resignation as Vice-President of the Haddingtonshire Liberal Association. I have been connected with the Association for over twenty-five years, and regret to sever the old tie. But the refusal of the Government to deal fairly with the question of Women's Enfranchisement, coupled with the recent unconstitutional measures used against women who are agitating, however violently, for what every true Liberal believes to be their plain right, are utterly opposed to the spirit and tradition of Liberalism. I have not departed from the principles of Liberalism. It is the Liberal party itself which has apparently departed from its traditional belief in the principle of representative government. Hitherto it has stood for Liberty and Progress. It now stands for the suppression of Free Speech, free newspapers, and for Russian methods of torture. There therefore remains to me only the choice between Liberal principles and the Liberal party. I prefer the former.—I am, yours faithfully, T. BLAIR. Hoprigmains, Gladsmuir, East Lothian. May 29, 1913.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

**JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE."**  
Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organising Secretary, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** will hold a Public Meeting at Portman Rooms, Baker Street (entrance in Dorset Street), next Wednesday afternoon (June 11) at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. de Fonblanque on "The Revelations of Woman Suffrage" and others. Admission Free.

**LEAGUE OF JUSTICE.**—A meeting will be held at the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James's, S.W., on Wednesday, June 11, at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. Cavendish-Bentinck and Mrs. Ennis Richmond. The chair will be taken by Miss G. E. Chapman. Come, and bring a friend.

## SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

**OPEN PAINTING COMPETITION**  
RESULT, Regent Art Shield, 119, Regent Street.—First Prize, £2 2s., Mrs. Buchanan, 68, Netherby Road, Edinburgh; Second Prize, £1 1s., Miss Gladys Jackson, Bankfield, Norfolk Road, Harrogate; Third Prize, Miss Duesbury, Whitecot, Albion Road, Sutton; Consolation Prizes, Mrs. Maitland, Glenclair, Sunningfield Road, Hendon; Miss Clara Betts, 33, Walsingham Road, Clapton; Miss Clark, 456, Seven Sisters Road, London.

## BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

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**BRIGHTON.**—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 2s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

**FOLKESTONE.**—Bella-Christa, 14, Castle Hill Avenue. Board residence; good position; near Leas, sea, and pleasure gardens; separate tables; cycle accommodation.

**FOLKESTONE.**—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required.—Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

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**SUMMER SCHOOL, BEXHILL-ON-SEA.** Mrs. and Miss Satch; ideal holiday party; charming house in own grounds, overlooking sea; excursions, tennis, cricket, badminton, entertainments, musical and otherwise, lectures, bathing, boating, &c.—Send for illustrated booklet to Secretary, 100, Newington Causeway, London.

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**LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.**

**LONDON, S.W.**—Ladies' Furnished, Self-contained Flat; twelve minutes' bus Victoria, Charing Cross; plate, linen; no lift; 3/6s. monthly.—Write, 6, Berkeley Crescent, Gravesend, Kent.

**NEW FOREST.**—Pretty Modern House to let; semi-detached; 2 reception rooms, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, conservatory; near Ringwood; rent £13.—Apply Grimes, Ringwood, Hants.

**WIDDINGTON, ESSEX.**—Pretty thatched cottage to let, furnished; 3 bed, 2 sitting-rooms, kitchen, outhouses, stable, studio if desired.—Miss Ridley, Helenscote, Ipswich.

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**MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.).** Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing, Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Chalet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

**TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.**—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Egin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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## SITUATIONS VACANT.

**WANTED IMMEDIATELY.**—Experienced Lady Gardener to take sole charge of small fruit and flower garden. Over twenty-five years of age preferred.—Apply Mrs. Mackworth, Oaklands, Caerleon, Monmouthshire.

## BUSINESS, Etc.

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**LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN** carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

**LADIES** wishing for an Ideal Country Laundry are respectfully invited to give a trial to the Sunnyside Laundry, Stevenage, Herts. Linen collected and delivered, special rate.

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**HAIR DESTROYER.**—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

## POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

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**FISH, fresh, specially selected, best quality, carefully prepared, ready for cooking, packed and delivered, carriage paid, at prices from 1s. 6d. per 4lb parcel upwards. Cash with order.—Free Delivery Fish Supply Co., 34, Marischal Street, Aberdeen.**

**FRESH FISH.**—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

**GIVE THE FISHERMAN A CHANCE!**  
**FRESH FISH,** 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; cleaned; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fisherman's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

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**DRINK DELICIOUS SALUTARIS GINGER ALE.** Absolutely safe; made from distilled water. Ask your grocer or write, Salutaris Company, 236, Fulham Road, London, S.W. (mentioning this advertisement).

**HAIR COMBINGS** transformed into Beautiful Glossy Tails of hair by expert posticheurs. Special hygienic process. Making hair soft and silky. It is surprising to learn, as we do, of the number of ladies who throw aside their hair-combings as useless. We take this opportunity of impressing the fact that your combings are of immense value, for not only is it your own hair, but it can be made into a useful Tail, Curis, &c., that blend with growing hair perfectly, and can be added to the coiffure without any fear of detection. The best protection against excessive loss of hair is obtained by saving your combings; these can be made to adorn your head again. We want to make you a satisfied customer, that is why we have gone to so much trouble to keep in touch with you, and it is also the sole reason why we are making you the following offer. To-night make a parcel of the hair combings you have saved, and enclose P. O. 2s. In two days we will make and send you a finished Tail of Hair and return every penny of your money if you are not completely and truly satisfied. Is not this a straight-forward offer? Can we do more to prove that we are selling good service? Give us this opportunity to prove our claims, and you will be glad you did so.

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**TYPEWRITING** of all descriptions undertaken at 10d. a thousand words. This includes paper and postage. Orders promptly carried out.—Box 374, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

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# "Votes for Women."

Published every Friday at 4/7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

EDITED BY Mr. & Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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