

VOTES FOR WOMEN

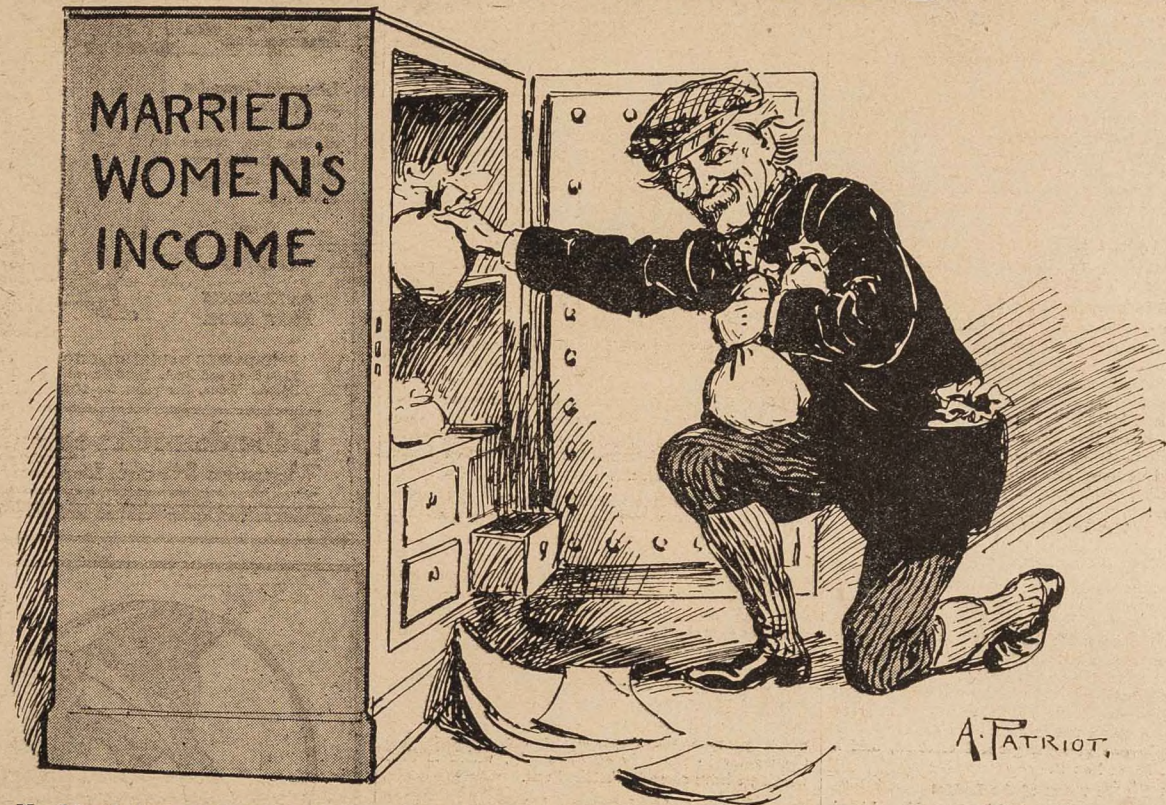
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE BUDGET



Mr. Lloyd George, instead of removing the admitted grievance of married women in respect to income tax, has made it very much more serious by his new Budget. (See page 482.)

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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

Lord Selborne's Bill for Woman Suffrage was debated in the House of Lords on Tuesday and Wednesday last. The division on the second reading was taken on Wednesday, just before we went to press, and resulted in a majority of 44 against the Bill. From these figures it will be seen that though the Bill was defeated, there is a considerable body of opinion among the Peers in favour of the enfranchisement of women. And the minority would probably be converted into a majority in the event of a Bill being sent up by the Commons.

Support from the Bishop

The feature of the debate on Tuesday was the powerful defence of the measure delivered by the Bishops of London and Oxford. The Bishop of London, who declared himself a convert to woman

suffrage, asked the grave question whether opponents of the measure wished to have a second Ulster on their hands in the shape of a womanhood in revolt. Which was the wiser course, he said, to allow all these women to smart under a sense of injustice or to try to remove the grievance while there was yet time? After all, women were a more law-abiding sex than men. Referring to his own Bill for raising the age of consent, he said that if he had the votes of a million women behind him he would feel sure of carrying it into law.

Why Not Remove the Injustice?

The Bishop of Oxford made a spirited defence of the women taking part in the suffrage campaign. First putting aside the militants, he said that he did not believe there existed in the world a body of human beings more capable, better instructed, better equipped as voters, or nobler than was to be found in the body of women who in this country were now foremost in demanding this reform. He could conceive no principle of statecraft which justified them in withholding the vote from women. Turning to militancy, he asked by what spirit of logic they could make their violence an excuse for denying just that very element of justice which was the only thing that accounted for the violence. Where they found violence which was accompanied by a claim for justice, there was only one way to suppress violence, and that was to grant the claim for justice.

Lord Selborne Defends His Measure

Lord Selborne himself, who introduced the Bill, made a careful and moderate speech, claiming for

the Bill that it would add to the stability of the State. From his knowledge of other parts of the Empire, and of the conditions at home, he was profoundly impressed with the high sense of patriotism of women. He spoke strongly of the methods adopted by those in the House of Commons, who, posing as the friends of woman suffrage, had succeeded in torpedoing the Conciliation Bill.

Lord Curzon's Opposition

Lord Curzon delivered the principal attack. His arguments may be summarised as follows: (1) Woman suffrage would be injurious to the social relations of the sexes. (2) It would weaken the prestige of the country in the eyes of the world. (3) There is no agreement between suffragists as to the character of the Bill to be passed. (4) The present Bill for enfranchising one million women would lead subsequently to the enfranchisement of many million, and also to women M.P.s and Ministers of State. (5) The present militancy raises a doubt as to the fitness of the female temperament and character for the discharge of political functions. (6) Women, owing partly to their physiological functions, and partly to qualities inseparable from their sex, are not the possessors of that class of gift which is required for the Government of the State.

Our Reply to His Arguments

Our answer to these time-worn shibboleths of the anti-suffragists may be given shortly as follows: (1) is negated by the experience of Australia, New Zealand, and all the countries where women already vote; it is found that the relation between the sexes

has, if anything, been improved by their enfranchisement; (2) is a pure matter of speculation, Lord Curzon gave no grounds on which he based his view, and it is contrary to the opinion of many of the most distinguished Empire builders; (3) is untrue, all the woman suffrage societies agree in their demand for the simple removal of the sex barrier to the franchise; the only difference of opinion is between party politicians, who, for party purposes, try to modify this simple demand when they construct a Bill.

The Thin End of the Wedge Argument

As to the argument that the passage of a moderate measure of woman suffrage will necessarily lead to other extensions of the franchise, and to the opening up of further opportunities for women, we say that these will be matters for the new electorate, of which women will still form only a very small part (about one-seventh) to decide. It is not in any case an argument against taking a certain just and proper course that a further extension of this course might be inexpedient. As has been wittily said, "The British Constitution is stacked full of the thin end of wedges which the good sense of the people has never driven home."

The Argument from Militancy

The speeches of the Bishops, which we have already quoted, the powerful reply from Lord Newton and Lord Haldane himself, dealt with Lord Curzon's argument from militancy. Putting out of account all the franchise riots of history, in which men did far more outrageous things than the revolutionary women's party are doing to-day, how absurd it is to make an argument from militancy against women at this present time, when the highest authorities are giving as an argument for granting Home Rule that there will be riotous behaviour in Nationalist Ireland if it is not granted, and for granting exclusion to Ulster that unless it is excluded there will be riots there.

The Skeleton in the Cupboard

Finally, we come to the "physiological" reasons and "inseparable sex characteristics." The days were when men and women listened to these arguments with bated breath and shook their head sadly. But Sir Almoth Wright, with his famous letter to the *Times*, and his "Unexpurgated Case," actually ventured to bring this terrible skeleton out of the cupboard, where it had attained an odour of musty sanctity, and we have learnt that it is only a dummy made up with phosphorescent paint to frighten the superstitious!

The Lord Chancellor

It only remains to mention the speech of the Lord Chancellor. On the principle he said some quite good things; he contrasted the economic progress made by men with the vote with the slow progress of women without it, he admitted that enfranchisement could not be much longer withheld, he even acknowledged that militancy was the "inevitable" result of delay in dealing out justice. But as a politician he contented himself with the wholly unsatisfactory and impossible position that woman suffrage could not be granted unless that issue had first been made the only one at some general election, and a Government formed on it.

What We Think of the Budget

Women who have been looking to Mr. Lloyd George's Budget statement of Monday last to see the removal of some of the glaring anomalies and injustices of their position have learnt afresh the lesson that the voteless have no power to secure redress. In spite of the fact that the whole incidence of the income-tax was under revision, and that Mr. Lloyd George had himself admitted the grievance of married women, he has done nothing to remedy their position. On the contrary, he has in several ways made it very much worse than it was before.

The Taxes on Marriage

The principal of these has been, firstly, that husband and wife could not claim as much "abatement" as any other two people could do if they were living together and pooling their resources—such, for instance, as father and son, two brothers, two sisters, or even a man and a woman living together but not legally married; that is to say, there has been a marriage tax which has amounted in some cases to over £18. In the second place, the law, by allowing no one but the husband the right to reclaim income-tax, has in many cases deprived the wife of part of the income from her separate property and handed it over to her husband. Thirdly, the law has operated in cases of small incomes (those subject to abatement), and in cases of large incomes (those subject to super-tax), to compel the wife to disclose full particulars of her income to her husband, while he is not compelled to make any disclosures to her.

The Budget Makes Things Worse

By Mr. Lloyd George's new proposals the situation has been aggravated in two distinct ways. Firstly, by increasing the ordinary income-tax from 1s. 2d. to 1s. 4d. he has increased the amount of the marriage tax on incomes subject to abatement, and has also increased the amount which the law may transfer from the pocket of the wife to that of her husband. Secondly (and this is of very great importance), he has, by means of his new proposals for graduating

income-tax on incomes between £1,000 and £2,500, and for imposing super-tax on incomes between £3,000 and £5,000, immensely extended the number of married women who suffer from the injustice.

Married Women's Property Acts Ignored

The root of the trouble has lain in the fact that successive Chancellors of the Exchequer, in framing their Budgets, have refused to take cognisance of the existence of the Married Women's Property Acts, and have continued to exact income-tax from husband and wife on precisely the same footing as they used to do when the wife could hold no separate property at all. That is to say, they have persisted in aggregating the incomes of husband and wife and treating them, for the purposes of income-tax, as a single income, subject to the rules regulating the income of a single person. In consequence of this muddle-headed and indefensible procedure, several serious anomalies and injustices have arisen which we have pointed out from time to time in this paper.

All Married Women Will Suffer

Formerly, as we have pointed out, the only women who were concerned were (1) those who, having small incomes, would have been able to claim abatement, and (2) those who, having large incomes, were, together with their husbands, assessable for super-tax. By the new provisions it becomes necessary for nearly every husband having an income over £160 to declare the exact amount of the combined incomes of his wife and himself. Therefore, practically every married woman, however small or however large her income, will now, for the first time, be made subject to the injustices of the position. A marriage tax will for the first time come into operation in the case of medium-sized incomes; and every wife will be compelled to disclose her income to her husband.

More Difficult to Remedy

But this is not all. The reason that Mr. Lloyd George gave last year for refusing to remedy the position by giving to husband and wife the status of separate individuals was that to do so would cause a loss to the revenue of about a million and a quarter of money. The effect of the new changes is that if some future Chancellor of the Exchequer desires to make the required reform, the loss to the revenue will be considerably greater, probably not less than double. Mr. Lloyd George has cunningly contrived so as to bind the fetters of married women faster upon them than before.

The Man and His Methods

His whole procedure reminds us exactly of the way in which he torpedoed the Conciliation Bill. Last year, when there was time, and public attention had been focussed on the anomaly owing to the case of Mr. Mark Wilks, Mr. Lloyd George put off dealing with it until the present year. Now that the present year has come he has contrived to introduce so many new points for discussion that the case of the married women is likely to be lost sight of. Only one member, Mr. Cassel, called attention to it on Monday night, and Mr. Lloyd George answered him by asking him to wait for the Revenue Bill. But the Revenue Bill won't provide the opportunity for dealing with the matter in the only effective way, which is that which we have already sketched out.

The Insurance Act

The other points in the Budget need not detain us. On its general merits, of course, we express no opinion. The dolo to income-tax payers who have children is no doubt a sop to make them callous as to the position of married women; our view of it is that justice should come before generosity. As to the vague promise of a further subsidy from the exchequer to the finances of the Insurance Act, with special reference to the case of the married women, we shall wait to express any opinion on it until we have more precise particulars. From our former experience of Mr. Lloyd George we have certainly no intention of being grateful for favours which are entirely in the air.

Items of Interest

The Bishop of London's Bill for raising the age of consent passed its second reading on Wednesday in last week in the Lords, after some opposition from members of the Government. The Committee Stage has been postponed to enable the Home Office to prepare weakening amendments. We deal with this question in our leading article.

In the House of Commons on Thursday in last week Mr. Holt explained to his own satisfaction why women had no cause of complaint as to the Holt Report, though all the increases of wages went to men! (See p. 486.)

Mr. McKenna has sent a letter to the *Times* attempting to justify the clauses in the Prisoners' Bill to which exception has been taken. We give on page 491 our criticism of his letter.

The Judiciary Committee of the United States House of Representatives has "reported" on the woman suffrage amendment "without recommendation." This is a middle course between a "favourable" and an "unfavourable" recommendation, and is the first time the proposal has been reported at all. There will now have to be a debate in the House itself on the subject.

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MARGARET BRENT OF MARYLAND

The Story of Some Women Pioneers

By S. D. SHALLARD

The long struggle of the women of America for their emancipation, now bearing such visible results, makes a story of the greatest interest, in the course of which we get glimpses of many women pioneers as to whose personalities we would gladly know more than the records can tell us.

First Demand by a Woman for Equality

As far back as 1646, when the young Colonies were being settled and were each independently developing their own systems of government, we find the record of a Maryland woman's courageous demand for equal civic rights with the men of her colony. Indeed, not only is this the first discoverable instance of such a demand in American history, but is, I believe, the first demand of such a nature made in any country in modern times.

The lady who thus championed the rights of her sex was Margaret Brent, then executrix of the late Governor, Mr. (or Lord) Leonard Calvert, and agent of his brother, Lord Baltimore, the greatest of the Lords proprietor, and herself heiress to the Calvert estates.

Maryland at that time seems to have been governed by a Legislative Council in which the proprietors of the soil enjoyed the right of "place and voice"—the right to sit there or be represented by their agents.

This was the right demanded by Margaret Brent. As a man she could have sat in the legislature and exercised two votes. She claimed no less as a woman.

Mistress Margaret Brent evidently was a person of no small weight in the affairs of Maryland, in part by virtue of her position and in part by reason of her sound views and shrewd advice, of which the Governor was in the habit of availing himself to the full. This backstairs method of influence, we may surmise, was little to Mistress Brent's liking, and one day we find her setting out to make it clear that she sees no reason for the invidious distinction which excludes her from the legislature. In 1647 or 1648 her plea for "place and voice," with two votes in Council, came formally before the members. I suppose I need hardly say that the discussion was lively and prolonged. Still less need I say that the plea was emphatically rejected.

It is suggested by one writer that the Governor himself, who was strongly against it, was influenced by the consideration that if his sage guide and counsellor came to have direct power, he would lose much of the credit and reputation he owed to the relations which then subsisted between them. However that may be, Mistress Margaret Brent failed in her gallant attempt to secure her political rights.

There was a somewhat humorous outcome of this matter. Lord Baltimore wrote a strong letter of disapproval to Mistress Brent, and also wrote the Council repudiating her action in this and other matters. Whereon the Council returned a dignified remonstrance, informing his lordship of the estimation in which the lady was held, and stating roundly that he would find no man in the Colony so capable of managing his affairs. We do not hear, however, of any repetition of her plea for "place and voice."

Whether it was this incident which led to a forward movement in the sister colonies it is not possible to say; but some forty years later we find evidences of such movement in New England. One result was that when the Old Province Charter of Massachusetts was inaugurated in 1690, women were given the vote for all elective officers. Exactly on what basis the vote was given I do not know, but it is certain that women were on the register and did vote for all elective officers—Governor, Councillors, &c.—from 1691 to 1780. On the adoption of a Constitution after the Revolution was completed, they were deprived of the power to vote for Governor or legislators, although they continued to vote for all other elective officers.

The Usual Result

This act of the men of Massachusetts was extraordinarily ungracious in view of the part that women had played in the Revolution, and the hopes which had been cherished—and probably encouraged—that Independence would bring the removal of women's disabilities. On the eve of Independence the leading women appear already to have begun to suspect that their men would foresear themselves in this matter—as men so often have done—and we find Mrs.

Abigail Smith Adams, wife of John Adams, writing to her husband in March, 1776:—

"I long to hear that you have declared an independence. . . . In the new code of laws which I suppose it will be necessary for you to make I desire you would remember the women and be more generous and favourable to them than were your ancestors. . . . If particular care and attention are not paid to the ladies we are determined to foment a rebellion, and will not hold ourselves bound to obey any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

With Mrs. Adams were associated Mrs. Hannah Lee Corbin, of Virginia, sister of General Lee, Mrs. Mercy Otis Warren, and other women closely connected with the Revolutionary leaders. Mrs. Hannah Corbin was one of those who made personal demand for the right to vote in their States.

The only State in which a success was scored was New Jersey, where women were enfranchised in common with men and continued to vote down to 1807. In that year the right was arbitrarily expunged by statute, an action based on *force majeure* and quite illegal, as none but the electors had any such powers of amendment under the constitution of the State.

Women Illegally Disfranchised

Similar illegal and arbitrary methods marked the action of American men when women claimed, and in some cases exercised, the right to vote under the famous Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed in 1868 after the settlement of the Civil War. In declaring the enfranchisement of the negroes no sex had been mentioned.

"All persons born or naturalised in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside."

These words, so far as words can have a meaning, enfranchised women, and many of the greatest American judges and advocates declared so. Numbers of women claimed votes and were allowed to exercise them. In other cases they were refused. Eighty women of Columbia marched to the poll, but were refused. They prosecuted the Board of Inspectors for refusing them, carrying their case ultimately to the Supreme Court. The trial of the cases was the merest farce. The Courts virtually admitted that the women's case was unanswerable, and contented themselves simply with ruling that women would not be allowed to vote.

"RAGGED-STAFF RHYMES"*

These occasional verses are most attractive, full of music and pleasant humour, with reflection and observation at the back of the lightness all the way through. "Mimosa Pudica" is a good example of the author's mingling of moods; so is "And the Engineers!" We quote the following lines from "Not so very long ago," because they contain an allusion to the Votes for Women movement:—

When Dizzy led the Government,
And Gladstone led the nation,
When "Votes for Women" only meant
A pious aspiration,
We managed then to live without
An army territorial;
We hadn't even seen a scout—
That prodigy sartorial!

And so on, and so on, with a delightful appearance of ease that is never, of course, produced with ease!

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Our new pitches are going well; but more workers are needed for Central London. Our best workers are busy women who, at a great personal sacrifice, give time to the movement. Those who have more leisure might give evidence of the faith that is in them by applying themselves to this kind of work, which is a means of invaluable propaganda.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Price of Delusion." By Sir Wm. Magnay, Bart. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"The Silent Captain." By May Wynne. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"Co-Education in Practice." An Address by J. H. Badley, M.A. (London: Simpkin Marshall and Co. Price 1s. net.)
"The Englishwoman." May. (London: Evans Bros. Price 1s. net.)
"Cartoons." By Will Dyson. ("Daily Herald," 21, Tudor Street, E.C. Price 7d.)
"Munsey's Magazine." May. (From Publisher: Temple House, Temple Avenue, E.C. Price 6d.)

* "Ragged-Staff Rhymes." By A. Sedgwick Baroard. (Birmingham: Corbish Bros. Price 6d. net.)

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We share the belief of the publishers of "Votes for Women" that their readers will respond to our announcements, and we would ask all those who buy at our Galleries to kindly mention the name of this paper.

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SUFFRAGE IN THE LORDS

Majority of 44 Against Second Reading—Strong Support from Bishops of London and Oxford

In the House of Lords on Tuesday afternoon the Earl of Selborne (U.) moved the Second Reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The debate lasted two days, and the division was taken on Wednesday evening, as we went to press.

TEXT OF THE BILL

The following is the text of the Bill:—
Any woman shall be qualified to be registered in a constituency as a Parliamentary elector, and whilst so registered shall be entitled to vote at an election of a member or members to serve in Parliament for that constituency, if she is a local government elector for the purposes of any local government election in that constituency.

THE DEBATE

The Earl of Selborne opened his speech with a condemnation of militant tactics. He considered them equally criminal and stupid, their stupidity being illustrated by the fact that Lord Curzon, who was to move the rejection of the Bill, had the melancholy satisfaction of knowing that not even all the efforts of the great society of which the noble Earl was president had done so much to put back the cause of women's suffrage as the proceedings of the militants.

"I suppose," he continued, "they fortify themselves with that old immoral formula that the end justifies the means. In history we read of the proceedings of those who had a much greater cause in their keeping and who thought they could advance the interests of true religion by means of the fagot and the stake. No reasonable or fair-minded student of history will now deny that those who advocated that means of propagating true religion were imbued with the highest motives, or that they had the courage of their convictions, but that student also knows that no other human agency ever did so much harm to the cause of true religion as did these zealots."

The Record of the Commons

Lord Selborne went on to compare the position of the House of Lords towards the Suffrage question with that of the House of Commons. Whatever vote was given in this House, it could never be said that they had broken any pledges or given their votes as part of a party manoeuvre. The record of the House of Commons in this matter was, to say the least, unfortunate. For several years a Bill concerning the franchise of women was passed by large majorities in the House of Commons, but the moment the Bill emerged into the region of practical politics, that Bill was thrown out of the House of Commons. Lord Curzon would doubtless say that that gave him the right to dispute the former votes as being a just representation at that time of the true opinions of the House of Commons, and he could not demur to the justice of that claim. But they could judge of the resentment of those in the country who had this cause so deeply at heart that they should be treated in this way by the House of Commons.

Whose Was the "Torpedo"?

He was satisfied that party advantage played a very small part in what happened, but when the Conciliation Bill was "torpedoed" it was "torpedoed" not by those who were opposed to women's suffrage but by a small group of members who professed to be in favour of women's suffrage. This group of members, curiously enough, were gentlemen who were very censorious generally of the procedure of the House of Lords. He might suggest to them—and this certainly represented the view of those in favour of this reform outside Parliament—that if kind hearts were more than coronets, so was simple faith more than £400 a year.

"Anti" Arguments

The noble Lord then dealt with Anti-Suffrage arguments, saying it was a question of conflict of opinion rather than of facts, and that opinion was mainly a ques-

tion of temperament. They on their part who believed that women were as capable as men of forming an intelligent opinion on political subjects, and that it would be to the advantage of the democracy to have the counsel of women, believed in none of the catastrophes prophesied. Further, the underlying argument of their opponents, who objected to women voters being in the majority, was the latent idea that the roll of electors should be only a roll of the fit—of those who, by special education or special intellect, or special experience, were fit to be electors. That might be a good system of government, but it was not the system under which we lived. They were dealing at present not with the intellect, or education, or experience of their fellow countrymen. They were dealing with them in the mass as human beings, and they had to look more to their instinct and character than to their special fitness. From that point of view he asked himself what were the aspects of politics which seemed to him to be most important in any state. It was surely the view which those entrusted with the government, whether elected or electors, took of religious questions and of their country. He included in patriotism efforts to make the lot of our fellow-countrymen and countrywomen better and happier. He had had experience in the Empire and at home, and the profound impression left on his mind was that, taking women on the whole and on the average, they cared more both for religion and for their country than men did.

The Bill's Moderation

Lord Selborne then showed the extreme moderation of the Bill, which would enfranchise only about a million women, the majority of whom were not well-to-do women, but poor women, many of them widows with children whose battle was a much harder one than the man's. Some were rich taxpayers, and it was urged that these would be too conservative in their views. But if they voted Conservative it would be from conviction, and not because they were born with a silver spoon in their mouth.

The Example of Other Countries

Having shown from the example of Australia, New Zealand, and the ten enfranchised States of America how unfounded were the fears of the Anti-Suffragist, Lord Selborne concluded by urging the House to pass the Second Reading of a Bill which was founded on justice, and would add to the stability of the State and purity of administration. "The influence of women," he said, "I confidently believe, will be on the side of the angels against the machine." (Hear, hear.)

EARL CURZON

Moves the Rejection

Earl Curzon (U.) moved the rejection of the bill. He had no hesitation, he said, in asking their lordships to reject the bill, not merely because it would introduce a great social revolution, but because it would be injurious to the interests of women, it would have an unfortunate and mischievous effect on the social relations between the sexes, and so far from adding to the stability of the State it would sensibly, visibly, and unquestionably weaken our prestige and influence throughout the world. That was the first time in Parliamentary history that a suffrage bill had been introduced in the House of Lords. It had hitherto been an accepted principle of our political system that the House of Commons was the chamber responsible for the initiation of all matters connected with its own composition, and that the functions of the House of Lords in matters affecting the franchise was rather to see that any change to which the House of Commons had given its consent should not be passed into law until it had behind it the clearly ascertained support of the majority of the electorate.

Lord Selborne's Motives

What had prompted Lord Selborne to take this action? He suspected it was merely a device for academic discussion; otherwise he would be violating every precept on which in regard to the Home Rule Bill he had been insisting during the past six months, because he would be asking Parliament to pass legislation for

which there was no authority whatever from the country, which had never been before the country at a general election, and which had not even passed through the House of Commons.

The Bill's Limitations

Lord Curzon proceeded to comment on the want of unanimity among Suffragists, who first advocated one kind of Bill and then another. If sex was not a disqualification, why limit the number of women to be enfranchised? In fact, there was not a single argument in the speech in favour of the enfranchisement of one million of women that was not equally applicable to the enfranchisement of six millions.

If the object were to secure the adequate representation of feminine interests, there was no justification for picking out this million. The bill selected one class which happened to show the most extraordinary indifference to privileges they had enjoyed. (Cheers.) At the last London County Council elections only 30 per cent. of the female voters voted, and in the whole country not more than 25 per cent. voted at similar elections.

Lord Courtney asked how many of the men voted.

Earl Curzon said the noble Lord himself would perhaps be able to say. In the whole of the elections throughout the country the number of women returned was insignificant. The inevitable corollary to the right to vote was the right to sit. Could women voters be denied the right to executive office or seats in the Cabinet?

Rejects Analogy with Other Countries

No direct analogy could be drawn from the colonies, not merely because of the general difference between the colonial system and ours, but because in the colonies they did not vote on great issues of Imperial policy, for that was outside the scope of the political activity of the colonies. As regarded America, though in 1912 three States adopted female suffrage, in the two following years as many as sixteen rejected it. Moreover, similar laws existed in non-suffrage States as had been passed under the influence of the female votes in States which had adopted the franchise.

Militants Not in the Minority

With regard to the militant Suffragists, Lord Curzon maintained that these did not represent a small minority, as their acts were promoted by a great organization, the W.S.P.U., which raised huge sums of money, and were connived at by others, for instance the Church League for Woman Suffrage, who refused to denounce them. He did not contend that the abominable acts of some women argued the unfitness of all for the vote; he started with no inherited prejudice about the position of women, and certainly with no idea about their inferiority or subjection to men, but he did not believe that they possessed the qualities or the temperament which would render them useful agents in the exercise of political power. Women, partly owing to the physiological functions they had to perform, and partly owing to qualities and attributes inseparable from their sex, were not the possessors of that class of gift which was required for the government of the State. There was a difference created by nature between men and women which could not be wiped out.

LORD NEWTON

Lord Newton said that Lord Curzon was one of the few people in public life for whom he had any respect at all, but he regretted that now for the first time he found himself in opposition to the noble Earl. He regretted that, not only from his own point of view, but from the point of view of the noble Earl himself, because he thought the noble Earl would create an obstacle in his career the force of which he entirely failed to recognise. (Laughter.) He was disagreeably surprised to find the hostile spirit evoked by the introduction of this Bill, because it was not only a Bill of a modest and reasonable character, but was only a complement of Conservative legislation and of the principle that householders should be represented in Parliament as the basis of our Parliamentary franchise. He was not himself so much concerned with the case of the great woman householder who had a dozen men

servants. The people he was really concerned about were the highly educated women who maintained their families by their own exertions.

The Old Arguments

Having dealt conclusively with the old arguments put forward by Lord Curzon, the noble Lord then remarked that if the woman's vote in the United States had not particularly changed the course of legislation, it had improved the moral character of the candidates—a change which he thought would not be resented by anyone here or elsewhere. (Laughter.)

The Case Against the Government

Lord Newton then proceeded to put the militant women's case against the Government.

The only argument to which he thought they might attach any importance was the argument that the vote should not be conceded so long as militancy continued. There was a great deal of force in this, but he did not see that it ought to weigh with the Liberal party. The crimes committed by the militants did not compare with the crimes committed by the Irish Nationalists, but the Nationalist crimes did not check the Liberal party in supporting Home Rule. He did not think it was an exaggeration to assert that no individual woman had ever been treated worse by individual men than women collectively had been treated by the House of Commons, or rather by a Liberal Government, since 1906. What he imagined really exasperated the women was to feel that they had been beaten not by fair and open opponents, but by their nominal friends. The real enemies of women's suffrage were not Lord Curzon and Lord Cromer, but the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who actually had the brazen effrontery to boast that he torpedoed and sunk the ship just as it was about to enter port. Another enemy, of course, was the Prime Minister, who induced the women to believe that he was going to help them, and then took refuge in the disreputable expedient of a private members' bill.

Private members' bill, indeed,"

exclaimed Lord Newton. "I cannot get a trumpery measure through the House of Commons dealing with money-lenders' circulars." (Laughter.)

THE LORD CHANCELLOR

Lame Defence of the Government

The Lord Chancellor said the best answer to Lord Newton's critical observations on Ministers and members of the other House was the fact that he and Lord Curzon and Lord Selborne, who acted so often together, were themselves hopelessly divided on this question. If it was the case on one side of politics, it was also the case on the other side. That being so, no Government could be formed on the basis of a Women's Franchise Bill unless that were the only issue in the political field. They must take such opportunity as they had to debate the matter with a view to crystallising opinion. For that reason he did not care very much what form the Bill took. It was said this bill would only enfranchise a million women. That might be an objection, but at the same time the bill afforded an opportunity of discussing the principle. Their difficulty hitherto had been want of agreement in main principles.

Lord Haldane then proceeded to state the case for Woman Suffrage from the academic point of view, answering Lord Curzon's objections again, and giving statistics of child mortality to show that in his opinion "the Imperial Problem of the Child" would never be solved unless women were allowed to have a direct part in politics.

Militancy Inevitable

Lord Curzon had said this was not a question on which there was a mandate, but there was a very real and strong case growing up—a case far stronger than the number of mere voices which made it heard. He deplored militancy, which had done infinite damage to the cause, but at the same time it was inevitable. They could not condemn a movement merely because of that. There always did arise a certain lawlessness and disturbance when such movements took place, and it was one of the reasons for not halting in

MARRIED WOMEN & THE BUDGET

Mr. Lloyd George Still Taxes Marriage

At the conclusion of the speech in which Mr. Lloyd George introduced his Budget last Monday, Mr. Cassel put the following question:—

May I ask a question with reference to an alteration in the law which the right hon. gentleman promised me last Session he would introduce in connection with the Income Tax levied on the joint incomes of husband and wife. He said he would deal with it in the Revenue Bill. That is precisely what he was trying to do last Session, and because he dealt with it in that way, and did not pass the proper resolution, he was himself unable to carry out the very amendment which he desired to effect, and I notice that the Income Tax resolution in this case is drawn in such a way as not to make it possible to introduce such an amendment. I am not prepared to accept the suggestion that the Revenue Bill is the proper Bill on which to deal with it. It is Income Tax, and if Income Tax is to be imposed by the Finance Bill, the House is entitled to insist that all questions dealing with Income Tax should be dealt with on that Bill. I should like to call his attention to the wording of this resolution, and to remind him that last Session he failed to carry out his promise in this very matter because of the form in which the resolution had been brought.

The Chancellor's Evasive Reply

Mr. Lloyd George said: In reference to the question made by the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Cassel), he seemed to think that it is not a question to be dealt with in the Revenue Bill.

Mr. Cassel: It could easily be dealt with in the Finance Bill.

Mr. Lloyd George: I will consider that point. I am quite as anxious as the hon. and learned gentleman is to have the matter settled, because I cannot afford to give the concession which has been asked for, and am prepared to resist it on principle.

Mr. Cassel: The right hon. gentleman failed last Session to carry what he wanted.

Mr. Lloyd George: I agree. I must see that that is put right this Session. I will do my best to see that the concession which I was prepared to make last year should be incorporated in an Act of Parliament this year.

WHAT HAPPENED IN 1913

Our readers will remember that the whole question of the Income Tax of married women was first brought into prominence through the imprisonment of Mr. Mark Wilks in the autumn of 1912 for failing to make a return of his wife's income, she having refused to give him particulars of it. This led Mr. Cassel, during the Committee Stage of the Finance Bill, last August, to move an amendment providing that—
"No husband shall be committed to prison nor shall any distress be levied on his goods . . . for failure to pay the Income Tax to which he has been assessed in respect of the joint incomes of his wife and himself if he has paid . . . such part (if any) of the whole tax as is fairly attributable to his own income."

A Futile Government Amendment

In moving his amendment, Mr. Cassel showed the absurdity of the present position, giving Miss Lena Ashwell as an instance of those married women carrying on a separate profession or business from their husbands, who, although their money is taken, are treated by the Income Tax law as if they had no separate legal existence. The Attorney-General (Sir Rufus Isaacs) admitted the anomaly, and said the Government had put an amendment on the notice paper dealing with the Income Tax of married persons, so levied on the joint incomes of husband and wife. The Chairman of the House said, however, that the Government amendment was not in order, and the Attorney-General then said the matter would be dealt with in the Revenue Bill which would be introduced early next Session. This roused the ire of Mr. Austen Chamberlain, who declared it was "not creditable to the Government to postpone the matter."

What Mr. Lloyd George Said in 1913

Mr. Lloyd George, at this point in the debate, said it was impossible to deal with grievances in the Bill without altering the arrangements for winding up the Session, but he promised that this should be done either in the Revenue Bill or the Finance Bill of next year—he rather thought the Finance Bill, though he was

not quite sure. If Mr. Cassel's amendment were accepted, the Treasury would be unfairly (sic) depleted of a million and a quarter. The amendment was then negatived.

Mr. Rawlinson's Amendment

Mr. Rawlinson's amendment, providing that for purposes of abatement or exemption from tax, the incomes of husband and wife should be treated as separate, met with similar discouragement from the Chancellor. He said that such an arrangement would cost too much, and would also work unfairly. If a husband and wife together had an income which placed them above the ordinary limit at which abatement was allowed, he did not think it was fair they should escape tax. He was prepared to defend the system, which had always been adopted by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on its merits.

Mr. Rawlinson's amendment was also defeated.

The Bill that Isn't Here!

So much for last year's treatment of the question. Another Session has dawned, the Finance Bill in which Mr. Lloyd George "thought" he would deal with the matter, has been introduced, and, again in answer to Mr. Cassel, the Chancellor of the Exchequer once more postpones the matter for consideration in the Revenue Bill.

Always the Bill that isn't here—when something of importance to women is in question!

THE BY-ELECTIONS

Three by-elections are in progress as we go to press, a third vacancy having occurred at Ipswich through the death of the Rev. Silvester Horne. Anti-Government campaigns are being prosecuted by Suffragists in all three constituencies. We give herewith particulars of the three contests:—

GRIMSBY

Polling Day: Tuesday, May 12

Candidates:—Mr. Alfred Bannister (L.)
Mr. T. G. Tiekler (U.)

Figures at last Election (Dec., 1910).
Sir G. Doughty (U.) 7,953
Mr. T. E. Wing (L.) 7,205

Unionist Majority 688

There was the possibility, when we went to press, of a third candidate, Mr. Ernest Marley, a Socialist.

N.E. DERBYSHIRE

Candidates:—Mr. James Martin (Lab.)
Major G. Harland Bowden (U.)

Figures at last Election:—
Mr. W. E. Harvey (Lab.) 7,535
Dr. S. Court (U.) 6,688

Labour Majority 1,750

IPSWICH

Figures at last Election:—

Sir D. F. Goddard (L.) 5,931
Rev. C. Silvester Horne (L.) 5,791
Mr. A. Churchman 5,447
Mr. B. H. Burton (U.) 5,407

Liberal Majority 344

Ipswich returns two members to Parliament, both of whom, for the last three elections, have been Liberals. When we went to press the two Unionist names of candidates so far suggested were those of Mr. Bunnell Burton and Mr. F. J. C. Ganzoni, and the decision was to be made on Wednesday evening. The Liberal executive had not yet met, but one of the names suggested was that of Mr. Masterman.

SEAFARERS AND BRICKLAYERS SUPPORT WOMEN

The following resolution has been passed unanimously by the Executive Council of the British Seafarers' Union and the Southampton branch of the Operative Bricklayers' Society: "That this Executive Council (branch) being of opinion that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is an urgent necessity, calls upon the Government to introduce a Bill giving votes to women upon a democratic basis without further delay."

dealing with the subject that they did not want that sort of social disorder continued. The right of women to vote was a right which would have to be settled before very long. He did not believe the admission of women to the franchise would make any substantial difference to the attitude of the nation and the character of the national mind, or diminish in the least that virility of which Lord Curzon had spoken. It had not proved so in other countries where the suffrage had been granted. In those matters woman had the same interests, the same ideals, and the same ways of thinking as men. If they encouraged women to come forward in these matters as they had already done, then they had decided the question. It was too late to go back, and both in the interests of expediency and justice it was better that they should let it go forward. (Hear, hear.)

LORD AMPHILL

A Primalval Speech

Lord Amphil(U.) said that if the question of women's suffrage were ever made the test of party allegiance he should not hesitate to leave the party to which he belonged. Even if it could be proved that women's suffrage would ensure fifty years of Unionist government, he would still feel bound on principle to vote against the measure. He shared the view of the Prime Minister, who had declared that women's suffrage would be disastrous to the nation and the Empire, and disastrous to woman-kind. His objections were based on those elementary principles of women's nature in regard to which natural instincts were a better guide than any political theory.

Men and women were different and had different duties, both in the home and in the State. They might talk as much as they liked about equality of men and women, but there were certain things which never could be and never would be equal. Petticoat rule in the home was not an edifying spectacle, and it would neither be to the advantage nor credit of the State, which after all was based on the family, to be subjected to petticoat rule. All authority depended ultimately on force, and men alone were in a position to exercise force. If women were brought into the arena among the combatants he should regard the introduction as a prelude to the decadence of the race.

Lord Tenterden (L.) also spoke, and supported the measure.

THE BISHOPS

The Bishop of London

The Bishop of London described himself as a convert to the measure, although he said the placing of a bomb under his throne in St. Paul's was hardly a tactful way of bringing about his conversion. He asked the House to remember how small was the number of women who had actually adopted methods of violence. If Lord Amphil was impressed with the seriousness of the position in Ulster, why have two Ulsters in hand? (Cheers.) Which was the wiser course—to allow all these women to smart under a sense of injustice, or to try to remove the grievance while there was yet time? It was impossible to refuse to apply to women the reasoning thus applied to Ulster. After all, women were a law-abiding sex as compared with men. If they were led into acts of rebellion we should consider reasons which led them to that course. He was constrained to believe there was a real and deep-seated sense of injustice.

Wants Women's Votes for His Bill

As regards the manner in which women at present exercise their privileges, the Bishop traversed the statements made by Lord Curzon, and said that, considering the restrictions placed upon women, to blame them for not coming forward in larger numbers was ungenerous. What did he expect from the women's vote? He referred to housing, reminding their lordships he had had nine years' experience in the slums. The other day he introduced a Criminal Law Amendment Bill. He was told there might be difficulties in its way. "I wish," said the Bishop, "I had one million women's votes to help me to carry that Bill." The same, he said, as regards Sunday closing, the existing law respecting which imposed so much hardship on barmaids. In the colonies the quality of motherhood did not suffer from public responsibility, but rather developed it.

THE BISHOP OF OXFORD

The Bishop of Oxford did not believe there existed in the world a body of human beings more capable, better instructed,

better equipped as voters, or nobler than was to be found in the body of women who in our country were now foremost in demanding this reform. He set aside for the moment the small section of militants. He could conceive no principle of statecraft which justified them in withholding the vote from women. It was said that not a great majority of women demanded the vote. That might be the case, but if the majority of women were negligent about the matter then they would do neither good nor harm. He failed to see why, if only a minority of women were serious in this matter, that was any argument which justified them in disfranchising a body of people so well qualified to exercise the vote. He did not think the grant of the vote was required because on a large scale there was a sex war. With regard to militancy, he asked by what spirit of logic they could make this violence an excuse for denying just that very element of justice which was the only thing that accounted for the violence. Where they found violence which was accompanied by a claim for justice there was only one way to suppress violence, and that was to grant the claim for justice.

DEBATE ADJOURNED

The debate was adjourned on the motion of Lord Courtney, and the House rose at twenty minutes to eight.

SECOND DAY

Wednesday, May 6

LORD COURTNEY

Lord Courtney of Penwith resumed the debate on the Women's Enfranchisement Bill when the House of Lords met on Wednesday afternoon.

He said it was nearly forty years since he first spoke in support of women's enfranchisement in the House of Commons. He wanted now to impress upon the House the extent to which the movement had grown in the interval, and the sway and power which it had obtained in the popular mind. It now held such a position that they could not get rid of it. The Bill was an attempt to bring women into cooperation with men in political life, and as such it must be regarded as a revolution of the deepest character, and would be productive of far-reaching changes. He contended that where women had received the vote they had fully exercised the privilege, and the percentage of votes given by them did not fall far short of that given by men. He thought that in view of the advance which had been made in recent years there was no reason for discouragement.

The Antis' Lost Cause

One by one the outlying words had been captured, defence after defence had been seized. The very citadel and centre was in danger. The Parliamentary vote for women was the last point to be taken. Those who were fighting against the movement were fighting a lost cause. He was quite content to accept this Bill as it stood, although he expected it would soon be followed up with something more.

LORD WEARDALE

Lord Weardale, opposing the Bill, asked what authority the supporters of the Bill had for saying that the majority of women desired to have the vote conferred upon them. In nearly every instance where a local referendum had been taken there was a majority of nearly 2 to 1 against it.

THE DIVISION

Other speeches having been made, the division took place, and the Second Reading of the Bill was negatived.

THE FIGURES

For 60

Against 104

Majority Against . . . 44

WOMAN'S VOTE AND THE BIRTHRATE

In view of Anti-Suffragist allegations concerning the birthrate in countries where women have the vote, it will somewhat confuse those worthy antagonists of ours to learn that M. Martin St. Leon, in a lecture at the Paris Académie des Sciences, said recently that the birthrate of Germany, where women have no votes and no immediate prospect of getting any, has fallen during the last forty years at the rate of 40 per thousand—a larger decrease than that shown in any other country.

WOMAN'S SPHERE & POLITICS

THE BISHOP'S BILL

Protection of Girls and Children—Want of Government Support—The Home Office Unready—Committee Stage Postponed

The debate on the Criminal Law Amendment Bill in the House of Lords, after we went to Press on Wednesday in last week, was an object lesson for those who still think that the efforts of well-intentioned men to legislate on matters of vital interest to women can be attended with success as long as those women remain voiceless. The Bishop of London's speech pointed out the shameful inequalities of the present law and the lack of protection it affords to young girls and children of both sexes, and prophesied that raising the age of consent to eighteen would clear the streets of girls below that age. It was greeted with half-hearted approval by the representatives of the Government, Lord Haldane apparently thinking that the risk of blackmail to young men was a graver thing than the ruin of children under sixteen, while Lord Crewe urged that the age of consent clause was controversial, hinted at Home Office amendments, and asked that the Committee stage should be delayed until July. The Lord Chancellor agreed that "the Home Office was not ready." Will it ever be ready to deal with such matters until it has to answer to women as well as to men? And would any Government, answerable to both, have dared to dally with such a Bill in the way it dabbled in the House of Lords last week?

THE DEBATE

The Bishop's Speech

The Bishop of London, moving the second reading of the Bill (which, he mentioned, was introduced on behalf of the Public Morality Council, which comprised every Christian denomination in London, and also the Jewish religion), said that the objects of the Bill were:—
(1) To raise from 13 to 16 the age at which the consent of a young person of either sex is a defence to a charge of indecent assault; (2) to raise from 16 to 18 the age at which a girl may consent to unlawful carnal intercourse; (3) to extend to 12 months the time within which proceedings can be taken against persons who have unlawful carnal intercourse with girls of or above the age of 13 and under the age of 18; and (4) to take away the defence at present allowed to persons charged with defilement of girls between 13 and 18, and abduction of girls under 18, that the defendant had reasonable cause to believe that the girl was over the age of 16 or 18, as the case may be. It was proposed to effect this object by repealing the provisions in the Criminal Law Amendment Act, 1885, which gave this defence.

The Age of Consent

He said that there were many girls on the streets at the present time who were between the ages of 16 and 18, and it was the conviction of all those connected with the societies interested in the care and protection of girls that the raising of the age proposed by the Bill would have the effect of clearing the streets. Surely a girl's virtue should be protected by law until she was of the age of 18. He believed the objection which had been suggested, that such a raising of the age would tend to produce cases of blackmail, would be found to be as much without foundation as had been the same objection

which was offered to the raising of the age to 16.
If a bookmaker or moneylender carrying on his business perfectly honestly sent a circular to a young man under 21 inviting him to bet or to borrow money, he committed a misdemeanour, and was liable to three months' imprisonment; but if a seducer, employing all his wiles, procured the downfall of a mere child of 16 he suffered no penalty. They were bound to ask why that should be so. Was there any logical or ethical distinction in the vast difference of treatment between the two men? Had a girl of 16 a wider knowledge of the world or greater powers of self-protection than a subaltern in his Majesty's Army? It was a farce that these children should be deemed to have given consent to a step that caused them incalculable wrong. The present condition of the criminal law was not worthy of a Christian State, and he asked the help of the House to raise it to something like a Christian standard. (Cheers.)

Lord Haldane's Praise

The Lord Chancellor observed that while much of the ground covered by the Bill was wholly admirable, there was a quite different class of case from those mentioned by the Bishop of London which must be borne in mind. There was no offence against the law much worse, and certainly no offence which had developed to such alarming proportions by scientific methods as blackmail. Blackmail was on the increase in the metropolis, and that fact had to be borne in mind in dealing with a Bill of this kind. They were not concerned only with the case of the hairy-headed seducer; they were also dealing with the case of youths, very easily open to temptation, and if they opened the net so that the machinery of blackmail could be applied in more comprehensive fashion, they must take care what they were doing. He also doubted very much if a jury would ever be persuaded to convict if the age of consent were raised to 18. The Government proposed to offer an opposition to the Bill, but when it came to another place its provisions would be scanned very closely.

Lord Bray, as the only survivor of the Committee of 1882, and Lord Channing spoke in support of the Bill, while Viscount St. Aldwyn took the same deprecatory point of view as Lord Haldane.

Government Blocks Progress

The Marquess of Crewe said he gathered the proposal was to submit the Bill to a Select Committee, and he proceeded to object to this suggestion. The Government, he said, would certainly "give their consideration" to that proposition, but he did not know whether, as the departments specially concerned would require some little time to examine into the whole question and formulate recommendations, they would find it possible to take that course during this Session.

Opposes Raising of Age of Consent

Lord Crewe further said he "found himself in sympathy" with the first proposition, but the proposal to raise the age of consent to 18 opened up a much wider field of controversy.
The Earl of Camperdown, having asked

in what place the Bill could be better considered than in that House, Lord Crewe fell back on another expedient for delaying the Bill, and saying that while it was open to the right reverend prelate to proceed with the Bill to the Committee stage and to any noble lord to put down amendments, he did not think that the Home Office would be in a position to supply the Government with definite information which would enable them to put down amendments representing their final considered views.

Home Office as Pretext for Delay

Other noble lords accepted the Home Office pretext thus put forward as a pretext for delay. The Marquess of Lansdowne agreed that the measure was of a kind that it would be very difficult to consider without the assistance of the Home Office.

The Lord Chancellor was more emphatic. He thought Lord Crewe's best solution, as the Home Office was not

ready (the italics are ours). If the right reverend prelate would put off the Committee stage until July they would have an opportunity of consulting the experts, and in that case he would do his best to get the amendments into the best possible shape, and would suggest that they should be considered in Committee of the whole House.

The Bishop Agrees

The Bishop of London, having agreed to fall in with the Government's suggestion, and to postpone the Committee stage until the Home Office was ready with its amendments, the Bill was read a second time.

A SUFFRAGE RESOLUTION

A resolution has been passed by the National Constitutional Society, assuring the Bishop of London "of its warm support for the Criminal Law Amendment Bill introduced by him into the House of Lords, and hopes that every facility may be granted for its speedy passage into law this session."

WOMEN AND THE HOLT REPORT

The question of the wages of women employed in the Post Office came up several times during the debate on the Holt Report in the House of Commons on Thursday in last week. The most important contribution to the debate from the point of view of women's wages was made by Mr. Holt, who, replying to the charge brought against the Committee that they had not increased these in proportion to the increase in the men's wages, said:

"I do not know whether the suggestion of those who make that criticism is that because you do something for men you should do the same for women pro rata. If that is so, the suggestion does not seem to me to be based on very sound logic."

Mr. Holt's Logic

He then proceeded by a curious method of reasoning to show that since women in the Post Office were employed almost entirely in clerical work, and since the bulk of the money to be spent on the recommendation of the Select Committee was to be spent on the non-clerical branches of the Post Office (where men only are employed)—how could we, if we are going to benefit mainly the postmen, labourers, and the less well paid persons, when there are no women doing work of a similar character, give them increased pay?

Perfect as Mr. Holt's logic appears to be (that is, if it be granted as logical, to begin with, to say that when you recommend an increase of wages for branches of the Post Office in which men only are employed, you are not therefore excluding women, whom you know to be employed in other branches that do not benefit, it does not seem wholly to have satisfied Mr. Holt, for he then proceeded to point out with some care that the wages of women telephonists had not been increased by the Committee because when the Post Office took over the National Telephone Company the wages paid by the Government to the operators taken over were higher than those they had been receiving from the N.T.C. Therefore, he maintained, no further increase was required!

On being asked by Mr. MacCallum Scott why, however, there was no increase proposed in the maximum for women telegraphists, although an increase of three shillings was fixed for the men, Mr. Holt was again quite equal to the occasion. It was necessary, he said, to consider the relative value of the work of the women telephonists and women telegraphists, and it was found that the wages of the latter were already in excess of the wages of the telephonists. Therefore the Committee would not have been justified in raising the wages of the telegraphists!

If Women Were Men!

It is almost incredible that members could listen to such jugglery in words without protesting! For what Mr. Holt said simply amounts to this—The wages of the women telephonists could not be increased because they were higher than those paid to women telephonists not employed by the Post Office. On the other hand, the wages of the women telegraphists could not be raised because they were higher than those of the telephonists. In fact, says Mr. Holt in effect, as long as there are some women somewhere who are being paid less, there is no occasion to raise any women's wages! This is a simple, ingenious form of reasoning, and it seems to have satisfied a House of men elected by men to look after men's interests. But what would have happened if the Holt Committee had applied the same method of reasoning in making its recommendations with regard to the men postal servants?

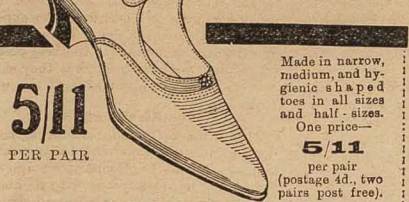
WOMENLESS CIVIL SERVANTS

To show the connection between the womenlessness of women and the adverse findings of the Civil Service Royal Commission with regard to women Civil Servants, the National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society and the Federation of Civil Service Women Clerks are combining to hold a meeting of protest in the Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, on Friday, May 22, at 7.30 p.m., to which all Suffrage Societies are invited to send delegates. There will also be about fifty tickets available for the general public.

A Strong Resolution

The following resolution will be moved:—
"That this meeting protests strongly against two of the findings in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on the Civil Service: (1) The refusal to women of equal opportunities with men in the Service; (2) The unsupported and erroneous assertion that their work is not as efficient as men's."
"They wish to draw attention to the futility of suggesting that women's pay should approximate to men's when their work approximates, whilst taking care that they should not be allowed to compete for the vast majority of the better-paid posts."
"They are impressed by the fact that the evidence given before the Commission and the conclusions at which the Commission arrived seem to be entirely at variance, and they are firmly convinced that until they are enfranchised, it is impossible for women to gain justice as employees from the Government."
"They therefore affirm the vital necessity of an immediate measure for the enfranchisement of women."

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The publication of a series of Will Dyson's cartoons has become an event—and we hope a yearly event, since it is just a twelvemonth since the first series took the public by storm, and now we have a second volume, larger and rather better produced than before, giving us forty examples of the savagely ironic work that has made an epoch in the art of the cartoonist in this country.

These forty pictures include, so far as we can recall them, the very best of those which have appeared in the *Herald* throughout the year, and of these not the least successful by any means are those inspired by the militant movement. Like all artists, Will Dyson has to be inspired by his subject, and a great wrong stirs him to his highest effort. He has surely done nothing more tragic than "The New Advocate," that terrible figure of Death, in feathered hat and high heels, bearing the sandwich board, "Votes for Women"—published at the time of Emily Davison's death. Or more ironic than the rampant figure of Carson pouring "metaphorical filth" in a flood of black mud over the fat countenance of the "Samson of Liberalism," who, "pretending that nothing is happening in Ulster," murmurs "Ah, if this were only a woman, to what sublime heights of retaliation I should soar!" Or more condemnatory of a coercionist Government than the picture of its complacent chief gambling with Death, who throws the dice, while on the wall is the placard, "Mrs. Pankhurst much weaker."

Among others not directly illustrative of the woman's fight for freedom we might mention particularly the poignant one of the sweated girl child, seated at her sewing-machine, while by a "Patent Blood-transmitter" her blood is sucked into the veins of an overfed Employer of Labour, who says to her:—

Ah, little one, little one! What opportunities this affords you for learning the truth of the adage which says it is more blessed to give than to receive! In after life—if you have any—you will thank me for this!

Conceivably there are those who do not always accept the moral Will Dyson so inexorably points. But there can be none who do not admit that wherever he sees wrong and oppression and falseness and meanness of spirit, he hits out mercilessly and unerringly—and always hits hard. E. S.

AN ACTRESS'S LIFE†

The life of Mrs. Jordan, famous actress and Royal mistress, makes very sad reading. She lived in an age when to be beautiful was a curse to any woman who had to earn her living, and Dorothy Bland's troubles began when she was little more than a child, and fell a victim in Ireland to the first manager, a notorious libertine, under whose auspices she appeared before the public. Escaping finally from his clutches, she fled to England and took the name of Mrs. Jordan, which she kept until her death. The origin of the name is said to be attributable to the advice of a fellow-actor, who suggested it as appropriate because she had just crossed the water.

The story of Mrs. Jordan's life is well-known to most people. An irregular alliance with London's chief magistrate, who was always going to marry her but never did, was followed by her intimacy with the Duke of Clarence, which lasted until he broke it off many years later. By all three lovers she had children, and she devoted herself to their service with a passion that met with little reward, for when she died abroad, neglected and forsaken, she was in extreme poverty owing to the extravagance of the family for whom she had sacrificed so much. "We see now," says Mr. Sergeant—

the woman who had been giving all her life—giving to mother, brother, sister, lover, daughters, sons, sons-in-law, fellow-professionals, anyone who might ask her for charity—giving with no sparing hand, but generously, extravagantly—we see her now flying from England to avoid imprisonment for a debt not her own, which the real debtor declares to have amounted only to £2,000; and not one person makes any attempt to help her.

Moralists would doubtless find much to say on the fate of the discarded mistress. We can only see in her a woman who was the victim of unequal moral standards that we of to-day are occupied in sweeping away, the standards of an age in which it was possible to write of another actress, Mrs. Pausqualino, when she retired from the profession—

Mature in judgment, far above her age,
And, what's more wondrous, virtuous on the stage.
The book is very beautifully illustrated with reproductions of old pictures of Mrs. Jordan and her contemporaries.

* "Cartoons." By Will Dyson. (London: Daily Herald Office. Price 7d. net.)
† "Mrs. Jordan—Child of Nature." By Philip W. Sergeant. (Hutchinson and Co. Price 16s. net.)

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AND OTHERS (See Page 494)
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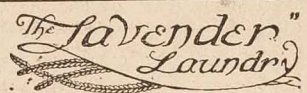
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FRIDAY, MAY 8, 1914.

BLACKMAIL!

Roused by the facts revealed in the course of the women's agitation for the vote to the scandalous leniency with which offences against children and young girls are dealt with in our law courts, the Bishop of London moved last week the second reading of a Bill to amend the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885. The Bill of 1885 fixed the age at which a young girl might be held to consent to her own dishonour and to her subsequent social and economic ruin at sixteen years. A clause was inserted to the effect that if the seducer had reasonable cause to suppose that a girl under sixteen years had attained that age, this plea could secure his acquittal. The main points in the Bishop's Bill were that the age of consent should be raised to eighteen years, and that ignorance as to the right age of the girl should not constitute a legal defence for assault.

The Bishop of London's speech was cool, logical, and business-like. He compared the transaction which results in moral, social, and economic damage to a woman, amounting often to complete devastation—a transaction which may have yet more dire and far-reaching consequences—to the transaction whereby a moneylender or speculator causes foolish young men to forestall their inheritance or to contract disabling debt. He pointed out that foolish young men are protected by the law against moneylenders and against themselves until they reach the comparatively responsible age of twenty-one years. He asked that a girl of sixteen should be given the same kind of legal protection as a subaltern in His Majesty's Army. It was a farce, he said, that mere children of sixteen should be deemed to have given consent to a step that causes them incalculable wrong. There were many girls he said, between the ages of sixteen and eighteen on the streets at the present time. The passing of such an Act would have the effect of clearing the streets. To this most moderate, not to say bald, statement of fact and argument the representative of the Liberal Cabinet, Lord Haldane had,

after some words of meaningless flattery, only one reply. He swept these "children" for whom the Bishop had put in a plea out of the field of vision altogether. He claimed the protection of the House for those whose action might drive girls between sixteen and eighteen to the streets. Of those men who robbed girls of their honour, not all, he reminded the House, were "hoary-headed seducers," some were "very young men very easily open to temptation." These young men needed the protection from the possible peril of blackmail, to which assaults upon girls who were under the legal age might expose them! Incidentally, of course—though Lord Haldane did not say this—the fathers of these young and easily tempted men, many of whom belong to the wealthy and socially important classes, might be mulcted of cash as hush-money for damages. They needed protection too. It was a perfectly frank appeal on Lord Haldane's part from the aspect of the problem as a human tragedy of wasted and desolated bodies and lives to its aspect as a financial problem that might affect the pockets of the class represented in the House.

Yet even so, the blackmail argument as used in this connection is so dilapidated an old bogey that we cannot think that Lord Haldane himself was perfectly sincere in bringing it forward. It was used in 1885 by the opponents of the Criminal Law Amendment Act which was then passed. The plea was discredited at the time, and has since been relegated to the controversial lumber-room. It is dragged out to the light now, mainly as a cover for that rank heresy that has taken possession of the mind of successive Liberal Governments, the heresy that inspired the C.D. Acts of Mr. Gladstone's administration, and has worked consistently through Liberal policy—the heresy that women do not count as part of the human commonwealth, but belong to the lower creation, placed under the domination of men, to serve their profit or their pleasure.

Lord Haldane knows as well as we do that the real evil of blackmail as it exists to-day is suffered not by fallen men but by fallen women. He knows as well as we do that these girls of sixteen to eighteen years of age who are driven on the streets, to whom the Bishop of London referred in his speech, are entangled in a net of blackmail from which there is no escape. A police officer has only to say one word, whether true or false, to secure a term of imprisonment for any girl, who, having once lost her character, gets her living on the streets. The girl is absolutely helpless against any charge however trumped-up that he may choose to bring. This fact is common knowledge. It is common knowledge that human nature being what it is, the power of the police is in a multitude of cases used to extort money from girls, and that a wholesale system of blackmail is in existence that too often victimises the innocent as well as the fallen. What effort has ever been made to protect these young girls who have erred from the official blackmailer? This systematic robbing is the least of all the punishments heaped by society upon the so-called weaker sex for the sin of both.

One other difficulty was brought forward by Lord Haldane against raising the legal age of consent from sixteen to eighteen. There is, he says, the jury to consider! He doubts if a jury (of men) would ever be persuaded to convict! We commend this point to the consideration of women. Is it not time that women took their share not only in making but in administering the law?

Upon the conclusion of Lord Haldane's speech the debate in the House of Lords became an effort to find excuses for doing nothing—ended in evasion and obvious subterfuge, to which the mover of the Bill, the Bishop of London, assented! What a farce! What a lesson to women to put no trust in bishops, legislators, or politicians, but to take their honour, and the honour of their sex into their own hands! What an incentive to devote life and substance and energy to the fight for the vote, the only weapon of defence available to women for the protection of the young, and the defence of their own communal honour.

THE VOCATION OF MAN

By W. L. George

(Author of "The Making of an Englishman," "Woman and To-morrow," etc.)

The wind sows seeds. About eight years ago, at one of the first Suffrage meetings I attended, a fluent young woman was addressing a crowd from a cart. It was not a nasty crowd; it was just the ordinary kind of crowd, enjoying a new music-hall turn without paying for it; and it laughed when somebody shouted to the speaker: "Go home and mind the baby!" She turned, and I still remember her bright quality, the mischievous smile that accompanied her reply: "Go back to the office and mind the ledger!" Then I forgot all about it, and only this week did that old seed begin to grow. I have begun to ask myself whether those people who talk of "woman's sphere" aren't in a way right, for it is being borne in upon me, very slowly, that perhaps she was well advised to tell him to go back and mind the ledger, that there may actually be a—man's sphere.

A Man's Sphere

Yes, a "man's sphere," something splendid and responsible, something that shows that women are women and that men are men, as they say in Parliament. But what is it? What is the dream—this existence that all "nice, manly men" should lead? Dazzlingly it appears—in labour, in the home, in the love relation, in government. Men have gone wrong; they are "hysterical and unsexed"; we must put them right. It appears to me at once that man's sphere has been scandalously encroached upon in the political field. You may not believe me, but thousands of women have actually forced themselves into politics; they address envelopes, they canvass in the wet, they trace removals; they do all sorts of things which require political acumen. That must be stopped. And men must stand for the Guardians' elections, take on the workhouses and the care committees; feminist as I am, I assure you I absolutely boil when I think of the way in which men have been swindled out of their rights. We are the governing sex, and we're going to govern because we've got the brains and the muscles. The muscles, that's it! When men have thrown off the yoke of woman they are going to assert themselves as the bloodthirsty, fighting creatures they are. All the cripples will be disfranchised because they can't fight; the Peace Society, the National Peace Council, Dr. Evans Darby, Mr. Norman Angell and the others will be disfranchised because they won't fight. It will be fighting all the time; no man will be allowed into the polling-booth until he has knocked out a policeman weighing not less than eleven stone. (You see, I'm quite moderate in my test.) No politician shall hold office unless he can puddle iron; the Premier will have to break his hundred-weight of stone in a casual ward and under time limit. Muscle indeed! We'll be governed by muscle, and if I have anything to do with it, the member for Bayswater shall be Bombardier Wells.

I pause, dazzled by my new-man, "freed from the fetters of sex," and think of him in gentler mood—at home. But no: "Man's place is outside the home."

He Shall Sleep Outside

In fact, the strong, fighting creature shall not have a degrading bed; he shall sleep on stones, in a park thicket, like the wild beast he is. Indeed, he shall never enter the home at all; he won't want to, for one thing; he'll be a fine, proud creature; he won't want to sit indoors and read magazines. No, he will go out of nights either to slake his blood-lust or to fight his country's battles at his ward-committee. He will govern! But there will be exceptions to the rules (because I'm sensible); man must not forget that woman is a poor, weak thing and that he must protect her. Therefore he will enter the home only when the house is on fire or when burglars are at work; he will watch over the slumbers of faint-hearted women, never sleeping himself, and when the time comes he will behave like a knight, save the women and children, and be made illustrious in the morning papers.

But you will say to me: "This is all very well, but won't your splendid new-man ever do any work?" Work! I should think he will; he'll know that woman is neither strong enough nor intelligent enough to do her share. He will no longer allow himself to be deprived of his work. He will not tolerate the scandal of the charwoman, the office cleaner; he will not allow girls to stagger down

Sackville Street carrying forty-eight waistcoats. No! He will be too proud; he will carry ninety-six waistcoats, because he is a man. (I assume that this is an answer to all questions and pass on.) At the same time, while he asserts his manliness by insisting that all hard work must be done by men, he will protect woman against labour by doing it himself; man is chivalrous, you see; he hates the idea of having his boots cleaned by a girl; it really makes him very unhappy; he can't sleep for thinking of women working in the fields, in cotton factories, on the surface of coal mines, on the fish wharf at Wick; it is an actual fourteenth century knight you see running to the station every morning to catch the 9.2. Only he hasn't a chance; he is labouring under the intolerable tyranny of woman.

That will be all changed. Soon men will refuse to be footmen; there shall be footwomen, beautiful and ornamental; men will abandon the office desk, will no longer be clerks, typists, shopmen, will do no more of this enervating, feminine work; they will insist upon using their splendid brute strength, and will no longer waste it on degrading nibs. No, they will hew stone, cleave steel, cut diamonds; they will go out and fight their country's battles, &c.

To think there should be male flower-sellers! It is appalling. Men should not even be associated with flowers; they are too strong. They must completely alter their attitudes, remember there are things that are not manly.

Unsexmy Behaviour

is too common to-day; men seem to have forgotten that they are men; in future all "nice" men must be loud, harsh, coarse, exhibit their virility. There must be no more flights of fancy, no more piano-playing, or writing of verse, or painting in water-colours; these trifles will be repugnant to the strong

man. He will no longer disgrace himself as he too often does to-day by adorning a body that virile beauty should honour; he will abandon the fancy vest, the crepe de chine tie, the coloured sock; the nut will be cracked, and you will find that the kernel is a strong, silent man who no longer, on the Sabbath, turns to "Discerner's" column in the *Sunday Times*.

But he will still be the splendid lover, with a difference. He will remember that "man's work is paternity," unless he belong to the "lover-type." If he do belong to that unfortunate class he shall be sat upon by Royal Commissioners, and, though everybody will know that he exists, he shall not be mentioned in polite society. But the new-man, the one that counts, will gravely realise that his *raison d'être* is fatherhood; conventions will rule his courtship—he will affect strength even if he is weak; he will affect cleverness if he is stupid, and, so far as possible, he shall demonstrate his virility by abducting his beloved. He shall demonstrate it in other ways too. It is notorious that while woman is fundamentally innocent and must so remain if she is to be considered "nice," man is fundamentally vicious. Well, in my new republic he will have to prove himself; he will have to show that he has more than once painted the town red, that he has forcibly abducted weeping maidens, that he has been convicted for wounding (at least), while a hint of murder and a touch of arson will stand him in good stead when the time comes for him to woo the shrinking fair.

Then at last man will have come into his kingdom, and, holding her slim hand in his rough paw, he shall seat delicate woman upon the throne, laying at her feet, as an offering, the giant's strength which he will not then have chosen to use as a giant.

AT THE PLAY

"The Patience of the Sea" "Consequences"

There was real comedy, with a problem at intervals, in the delightful play by Mr. Conal O'Riordan (Norreys Connell), produced by the Pioneer Players last Sunday evening at the Ambassadors' Theatre. What a change from the problem play, with comedy at intervals! At first, one scented the problem and feared developments along the usual lines. We must be excused this error of discernment, for surely a situation in which one woman and two men—one of them her day-old husband and the other her former lover and the father of her child—find themselves in a house on the edge of a cliff which may crumble away at any minute and hurl them all into the sea, does foretell tragedy rather than comedy. In reality, it is the threat of tragedy that provides the comedy. Again and again does one or another of the two men rush out of the window, apparently to commit suicide; and when that theme is getting worn a little thin, the author cleverly throws out the suggestion that the whole house is itself in danger of collapse—because, evidently foretelling a desire for suicide, he had built it purposely at the edge of the cliff—and the expectations of the audience are at once switched off to the possibility of seeing the entire cast of four hurled into the sea, including Mrs. Inchbald, the housekeeper, a small and superfluous part admirably played by Miss Lillian Tweed.

Where the Comedy Comes In

But in the end nobody commits suicide. That is where the comedy comes in. Young Charles Deering (Mr. Basil Hallam) certainly goes through the fateful window as if he meant business. But, as Eva (Miss Gertrude Kingston) calmly remarks, "Eva wouldn't do anything the effect of which he couldn't live to see." And he doesn't. He comes back in time to press a revolver twice to his heated brow without firing it, to say nothing of threatening to shoot Arnold Brown (Mr. E. Harcourt Williams), Eva's quondam lover, in the most deliciously humorous scene we have witnessed for a long time. As for Brown himself, though he gets very wet and chafky in the attempt to take his life, he can't do it either, because—he cannot forget how to swim. So there is no tragedy, and the boy goes away for a year's holiday, and, as Brown puts it, there is room in the world for the three of them.

Where the Problem will Come In

But we are not sure that there is no problem in store for the household on the cliff, when Eva and Brown really try to live together again!

Miss Horniman always manages to give us original plays, and "Consequences," the second of her productions at the Coronet Theatre this season, is certainly original. It is a farce of a new kind, for it has the suffrage movement for a background, not a comic background, or a propagandist background, or even a serious background—but simply a background. That shows at once that the play is written by a suffragist, for anybody else would have been self-conscious about it; Mr. Rubenstein, however, is not in the least self-conscious about it. The suffrage movement comes into his play because his play is one of present-day life; and when his lovers, who met at a suffrage demonstration in Hyde Park, separate at the doors of the registry office in the last act, and Benjamin's mother supposes that this means the end of his infatuation for the movement, he looks at her in surprise. "Why?" he asks. "What has this to do with the movement?" And that, of course, is the whole point. The movement was the accident that brought them together, the heroine being a suffragette; but their separation occurs for the oldest of reasons, simply because they find they do not really love each other the moment that all opposition to their marriage is withdrawn. The author leaves one supposing that they both continue to work for the suffrage, which, as Benjamin says, has nothing to do with it.

The play is a little crude; now and then it jars, as when a serious thing is said in the midst of much that is roaring farce, and of course the audience goes on laughing. No doubt the audience should see that it ought to stop laughing; but then audiences never do see that at the right moment, and probably Mr. Rubenstein has not allowed for this. Mrs. Collins' apologetic account of her daughter's imprisonment is admirably written and acted. The line, "She was really more sinned against than sinning," is exquisite, though probably nothing was further from the good lady's thoughts than the sins of the Government! For the rest, the dialogue is full of good things, some of the best being little jibes at the peculiarities both of Jews and Gentiles; and if most of the characters are a little overdrawn, especially, perhaps, Rosalind and the Winchester schoolboy, we must remember that they are people in farce and not in serious drama, and also that they belong to the rich commercial middle class, which it is difficult to depict without appearing to exaggerate.

The play is admirably acted; indeed, the pace at which it is taken covers the thinness of the plot. Miss Marie Royter as Rosalind, and Mr. Percy Foster, as her father, are specially good.

THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed to Suffragists in the Press during the week:—

Thursday, April 30.—Dramatic Club Hall, Harrow Weald, Harrow, destroyed by fire.

Friday, May 1.—Window broken at College Green Post Office, Dublin. One arrest made.

Attempt to burn Royal Hippodrome Theatre, Belfast. Attributed to Suffragists by the *Freeman's Journal*.

Sunday, May 3.—Attempt to blow up the valve house at one of the Dewsbury Reservoirs, Yorkshire. Suffragist literature found.

Monday, May 4.—Cavellish Bowling and Lawn Tennis Club Pavilion, Belfast, almost completely destroyed by fire. Suffragist messages and literature found.

Mr. Sargent's portrait of Henry James, at Royal Academy, attacked with a hammer. Glass broken and three large gashes made in picture. One arrest made.

IN THE COURTS

Wednesday, April 29.—At Felkistow, charged on suspicion with causing a fire at the Bath Hotel, two Suffragists, who refused names and addresses.

Friday, May 1.—At the London Sessions, on an indictment of damaging three cups, a saucer, and a glass show-case to the extent of £22, at the British Museum, Miss Mary Stewart called. Failed to appear.

At the Tower Bridge Police Court, charged before Mr. Gill with obstructing the free passage of Tower Bridge approach by causing a crowd to collect, Miss Louisa Owen and Miss Mary Grace. Remanded on bail.

At the Southern Police Court, Dublin, charged with breaking a window, valued at £1 ls. 9d., Miss Houston; fined 20s., or in default one month's imprisonment. Further ordered to find £5 bail for future good behaviour at the expiration of the month, or fourteen days' additional imprisonment. Fine not paid.

Monday, May 4.—At Marlborough Street Police Court, charged with damaging Mr. Sargent's portrait of Mr. Henry James at the Royal Academy to the amount of £100 and £200, Mrs. Mary Wood. Committed for trial.

DESTRUCTION OF AN ACADEMY PICTURE

Last Monday, the opening day of the Royal Academy, was distinguished by an attack upon a picture by a militant Suffragist, similar to that made on the Rokeby Venus by Miss Mary Richardson. Just after one o'clock a quiet-looking elderly woman who was standing in front of Mr. Sargent's picture of Mr. Henry James suddenly drew out a small hatchet and struck it in three places. We give below an account of the scene that followed, which has been sent us by an eyewitness.

The woman who was removed by the attendants, remarking as she was led away: "If they would only give women the vote this would not have happened. It would be all over. I am glad I was not dead before I made it. What about Sir Edward Carson? Why is he not arrested? Many a poor girl is arrested for nothing, and he is allowed to go free."

A gentleman who protected her from the hysterical fury of the crowd, and even seemed to understand to some extent what her motive was, received rough handling from the well-dressed picture-gazers, but refused to go out, saying he had done nothing, which was true, and mentioning that he had paid to come in, and had a perfect right to be there.

AT THE POLICE COURT

The woman, who gave her name as Mrs. Mary Wood, but refused her address, was brought up before Mr. Denman at Marlborough Street in the afternoon, charged with "unlawfully and maliciously damaging" a picture, the property of the trustees of the Royal Academy. Evidence of the deed having been given by two artists, the defendant admitted the charge, and said she did it as a protest. It was stated that the value of the picture, probably £700, had been depreciated by something between £150 and £200—damage that "should be put down to the Liberal Government," remarked the prisoner in the dock.

Mrs. Wood was committed for trial at the London Sessions.

THE SCENE IN THE ACADEMY

(By an Eye-Witness)
It is difficult to imagine more humiliating scenes than those which took place at the Royal Academy on Monday morning after the Suffragette's destruction of Mr. Sargent's picture—the instant transformation of a company of well-dressed, decently-mannered, and pleasantly-speaking men and women, interested in beautiful things, or in the other pictures on the walls, into a red-faced, brawling crowd, with shaking, clutching hands, ugly naked souls, and violent evil speech. It is only fair to say that the actors so transformed were in the minority, but one could not discover that the less bemused spectators realised the horror of their transformation any more than they understood that there was something in the world more valuable and even more beautiful than the finely-wrought portrait of a fine writer. It did not even occur to them to think there was a definite reason for the attack. One felt they lived in a causeless world where figures jumped up without idea, or volition, or strings, and struck blindly. One could only wonder what Mr. James' subtle writings conveyed to these crude obvious minds, or whether they really could discriminate between a Sargent picture and a lithograph advertisement of a mustard plaster.

A Howling Mob

It happened at lunch-time, when the room had a little cleared and only one person was standing near the portrait of Henry James. That she should examine it closely attracted no suspicion; it was one of the pictures of the year and of special interest, because it was to be presented to Mr. James by a group of his friends. Suddenly there was the crash of breaking glass, and before anyone could reach her the woman had clapped the canvas in three places, using a hatchet, and doing what appeared to be irreparable damage. Instantly there was a rush from all parts of the room, and infuriated people surrounded the aggressor, a middle-aged woman with a sensible face, who stood there perfectly still and fearless, making a protest which was almost lost in the tumult. They said that a tall man came to her rescue. I did not see that. I could only see the horribly mutilated canvas—a ghastly, sickening sight, and the more hideous, threatening faces, especially the distorted face of one very old man, who shook his aged fist and seemed straining to strike the woman's face. "The beast!" said that elegant, cultured crowd. "The wretch! She ought to be hanged!" "Ugh, the beast!" And they stormed with their fists again, pursuing her while a detective led her to the door, and she passed out of sight.

A Man

A few minutes later, while still the crowd was exciting itself around the picture, and others were standing on the lounges to peer over their heads, there was more hubbub in the centre of the room. Here, they said in horrified whispers, was a man who had tried to defend the woman! They spoke as if it were an inconceivable enormity. "Defend her?" Everyone knew it was the duty of a free-born Englishman to knock her down, trample on her. They rushed at the accused person, a slightly-built, youngish man who sat on a lounge and confronted the furious faces with great dignity and a courage that they could not understand. He had paid his shilling to come in, he said calmly. He had a perfect right to remain; he would not go. If only he could have said that he had kicked the woman, if he could have shown a clump of hair that he had wrenched out, they would have clapped him on the back, acclaimed him as the best of good fellows, and agreed with him that it was absurd for any woman in England to want a vote—in England, where women are so respected and protected! As it was, they seized his arms, they yanked him off his seat, they pushed him, they flew at him, thumping him on the back. They did not do more because a tall policeman was standing by, and Mr. McKenna had not yet passed a Bill legalising lynchings.

"I have lost my hat and my eyeglasses," said the young man in a clear, steady voice. "Will you?" he addressed that yapping group loftily as "you." "Will you kindly find my glasses?" They fell back and stared at him. Someone hunted; the hat was found; and with great dignity the young man left the room without further molestation. I found afterwards that he did not know the Suffragist who had destroyed the picture. But, thank heaven! here was a man!

CAT AND MOUSE ACT

First Application of the Act in Ireland
There have been three re-arrests under the Cat and Mouse Act during the past week. On Wednesday in last week Miss Small, of Belfast, was re-arrested, being the first Suffragist in Ireland to whom the Act has been applied. Mrs. Palmer and Mrs. Regan, who were released under the Act after hunger-striking in June last year, have never been re-arrested.

An Irishwoman's Protest

This application of the Act in Ireland has caused great indignation among Irish Suffragists, and last Friday Miss Kathleen Houston, honorary secretary of the Irishwomen's Franchise League, broke a window in the College Green Post Office, Dublin, as a protest against the action of the Government with regard to Miss Small. In Court Miss Houston said: "We at least will show that though Ireland may be divided on other things, the women of Ireland are united against tyranny."

On being fined, or sentenced in default to one month's imprisonment, Miss Houston declared her intention of going to prison and adopting the hunger-strike.

We understand that Miss Houston, who has weak heart, was woken in a serious condition, and on Saturday the Irishwomen's Franchise League telegraphed to the Lord Lieutenant, who was travelling in Scotland, and who has just returned to the same evening a huge protest meeting was held outside Mountjoy Gaol, and megaphone messages were conveyed to Miss Houston, who was seen waving in reply from her cell window.

Both Women Released

The newspapers announced on Wednesday morning that Miss Small and Miss Houston had both been released as a result of hunger-striking. Our Irish correspondent informs us that the Act was not applied in either case, neither of them being released on licence.

THE ACT IN ENGLAND

Last Saturday the Brighton police re-arrested Miss Reed, or Scott, who was sentenced last year to nine months' imprisonment for arson in Edinburgh, and was released on licence after hunger-striking. Miss Lilian Leighton, who has been several times re-arrested under the Act, and has been missing for some months, was re-arrested at Birkenhead last Monday.

THE COURT HELPLESS

In the case of Miss Mary Stewart, the Suffragist who damaged a show-case in the British Museum, and failed to appear for her trial at the London Sessions last Friday, Mr. Wallace, K.C., confessed himself unable to do anything. Miss Stewart had been remained in custody, had adopted the hunger-strike, and was released on licence. "I cannot issue a Bench warrant," said Mr. Wallace, "because she was not out on bail or recognisances. I can do nothing. I do not say that I am anxious to see her myself!" And the witnesses were discharged.

When will the Government, with equal frankness, confess that they are equally helpless, in the case of a woman who refuses to be governed without their consent? And when will they see that the only solution of their present unmodified position is to give women the vote?

SUFFRAGISTS IN CHURCH

At the 260th Festival of the Clergy in St. Paul's Cathedral on Thursday in last week, three women chanted, just before the sermon:—

"Oh, Lord, forgive the wilful indifference of the bishops and clergy to women being tortured in prison. Open their eyes to understand aright, that they may be no longer blind.—Amen."

At the conclusion of the Hallelujah Chorus another Suffragist chant was raised:—

"We protest against the wilful indifference of the bishops and clergy to women being tortured in prison, for the sake of humanity!"

To a Press reporter the women afterwards explained that it was owing to the Bishops' refusal to pray for their comrades in prison that the women were forced to do it themselves.

A PETITION TO THE KING

While the King was being driven in his motor through the streets of Cambridge last week, a Suffragist threw a petition, which struck the chauffeur.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

Who Pays for Cabinet Ministers' Protection?
In answer to a question by Mr. Neill in the House of Commons, on April 30, Mr. McKenna said:—

"When he finds it necessary, the Commissioner of Police, who is responsible in the

matter, employs for the protection of individual Ministers the number of police officers needed for this purpose. The cost is paid from the Police Fund out of the annual contribution made by the Treasury under Section 1 of the Police Act, 1909, in respect of services rendered by the police for Imperial and national purposes. The Commissioner advises me that it would be against the public interest to publish details as to their distribution.

Criminal Investigation Department

In the House of Commons on April 30 Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether the special or political branch of the Criminal Investigation Department of Scotland Yard forms a part of the Metropolitan Police and is under the authority of the Commissioners?

Mr. McKenna: There is no "political" branch of the Criminal Investigation Department. As regards the special branch, the answer is in the affirmative.

Secret Trial in Belfast

Last Tuesday, Mr. Wedgwood asked the Chief Secretary for Ireland why the Press were excluded from the suffragette trial in the Belfast Police Court on Tuesday, April 21; and by whose orders this was done.

Mr. Birrell: I am informed that on the occasion referred to the public and the Press were excluded from the Court by order of the resident magistrate under the powers vested in him by Statute.

Mr. Wedgwood: Are we to understand that in Ireland the resident magistrate has power to try a case *in camera*?

Mr. Birrell: No person, with the exception of the attorney or counsel, has the right to enter the Court except with his permission.

Mr. Wedgwood: Is the right hon. gentleman aware that serious charges have been made regarding the arrest, without warrant, and searching of this woman?

Mr. Birrell: I am not aware of that.

Overworked Police Station Matrons

In the House of Commons on April 23, Captain Gilmour asked the Home Secretary whether he will give further consideration to the questions addressed to him on May 14, 1912, with reference to the conditions of service of matrons in police stations; whether they are on duty from 4 p.m. to midnight in one week and from midnight till 10 a.m. the next, and on alternate Sundays from 10 p.m. till 10 a.m. Monday, and receive no pension, no police medical attendance, and no pay during sickness nor during their one week's holiday; and if so, whether he can see his way to improve the position of these women, whose duties are arduous and often repulsive and dangerous?

Mr. McKenna: This question has received careful consideration. The hours of attendance vary according to local circumstances, but may be said to be approximately as stated, except that during most of the night time they are resting and are provided with beds, and that they are relieved from attendance before 10 a.m. whenever possible. Arrangements for a weekly rest day have also been made. The appointment is not pensionable, and matrons do not receive ordinary pay during sickness and annual leave, but they receive sickness benefit and medical attendance under the National Insurance Act.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE "SUGGESTION STAGE"

The Executive Committee of the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association (London) have written a letter to Mr. John Redmond asking him, in view of the approaching suggestion stage of the Home Rule Bill, to receive a deputation with regard to Woman Suffrage.

The Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association feel that they have a special claim in seeking to interview Mr. Redmond on this subject, for they maintain that Australian women have from the first consistently supported the Home Rule agitation, and contributed large sums of money to the campaign. Many of them, too, are of Irish birth, and they say it is therefore doubly bitter that their Irish brethren, whom they have loyally supported, shall condemn them on their return to their own country to be classed with infants, lunatics, and criminals.

The Interview Refused

In spite of these perfectly reasonable representations, Mr. Redmond has replied that "in the stress of the present situation" it is impossible for him to receive a deputation.

Does he not realise that by these continued snubs to women he, and the Coalition of which he is one of the leaders, are piling up the stress of another political situation already strained to breaking-point?

THE PRISONS BILL

Universal Protests Against Dangerous Clauses Home Office Defence—Our Answer to Mr. McKenna

IN SELECT COMMITTEE

An attempt was made to amend one of the dangerous clauses to which we have drawn attention in Mr. McKenna's Administration of Justice Bill, when it was considered on Thursday in last week by a Select Committee of the House of Commons, presided over by Mr. J. W. Wilson. Mr. Dickinson, it appears from a very meagre report in the *Times* of the proceedings, proposed to omit the provision enabling the Court to direct that money found in the possession of a person ordered to pay a fine should be applied towards the payment of the penalty.

"Unreasonable"

Mr. McKenna, incapable, as his whole conduct of the Suffrage rebellion has shown him to be, of understanding why a political offender refuses to pay a fine and chooses rather to go to prison, opposed the amendment, saying it was "unreasonable" that a person who obviously had the means with which to pay a penalty should, if he chose to, be maintained in prison at the cost of the taxpayers, and, on his discharge, have the money returned to him. The amendment was defeated by 14 votes against six.

PROTESTS IN THE PRESS

A good deal of interest has been aroused by our exposure of the dangerous clauses in the Bill, and several strong letters on the subject have appeared in the newspapers. The *Nation* prints one out of a number received "on this grave subject"; the *New Statesman* has one from Mrs. Myrton Gould on behalf of the United Suffragists; Professor Morley, a member of the Penal Reform League, contributes one to the *Times*, and Judge Parry and Mr. Henry W. Nevinson have protested in the columns of the *Manchester Guardian*, which also publishes a leading article on the matter of the payment of fines, while shirking the other issues raised, which are of such supreme importance to political offenders and all lovers of freedom. Of one of these, Mr. Nevinson, in his finely worded letter (May 1) says: "Obviously those to whom this clause could be applied will be in most cases political offenders, and the clause is only a trick for indefinitely increasing their penalty and tightening the clutch of the Government upon them."

A Judge's Objections

Judge Parry, commenting on another clause, says: "It enables the police to search a person summarily convicted and apply any money found on him to the payment of a fine. This form of picking pockets is surely undesirable? Apparently anybody's money may be taken, or at the best the magistrate will decide without satisfactory evidence, and in the absence of the real owner, whose money it is. Certainly the remains of the week's wages, badly wanted at home, will often be taken from the Monday morning pocket of the Saturday night rejoicer, and thus negative the compulsory suspension of imprisonment. This power of search seems a retrograde movement, and an unnecessary infringement on the liberty of the subject."

It is to be hoped that this public expression of opinion, now that the dangerous clauses of the Bill have been brought to light, will result in its drastic amendment. But what are members of Parliament paid £400 a year for, if it is left to Suffrage organs and Suffrage Societies to discover reactionary clauses in Government Bills and draw public attention to them?

THE HOME OFFICE REPLY

Last Wednesday the following reply to Professor Morley's letter (and our criticisms) from the Home Office appeared in the *Times*:—

Sir,—The letter which you published on Saturday signed by Mr. E. J. Morley is likely to give rise to misunderstanding as to the proposals in the Criminal Justice Administration Bill. The Home Secretary accordingly desires me to reply briefly to the four points mentioned by the writer, who seems to have misread the clauses he discusses.

(1) Sub-clause (1) of clause 4 permits a person convicted of a criminal offence and sentenced to pay a fine to be searched by order of the Court. The objection taken to this clause is its possible application to "passive resisters," but inasmuch as such persons are imprisoned in default of payment of rates, the clause would not apply to them. Sub-clause (2) of the same clause merely removes the anomaly in the existing law which allows an article, such as a watch, to be sold under warrant of dis-

tress, but does not allow money to be distrained upon.

(2) Clause 13 provides that persons sentenced to four days' imprisonment may be detained in ordinary police cells, but in police cells, bridewells, or other suitable places specially certified for this purpose, such as the Bridewell at Liverpool, which has long been used for prisoners sentenced to very short terms of imprisonment. Sub-clause (4) of the same clause provides for regulations being made for the inspection of these places of detention and the treatment of prisoners. Such regulations would certainly provide for the services of a female attendant where women prisoners are detained. Since 1877 a similar provision has been in force in Scotland for the detention of prisoners sentenced to terms not exceeding fourteen days.

(3) Clause 14 effects an extension of the power under which Courts of Summary Jurisdiction already deal with the great majority of cases of willful damage to property. The limit of their jurisdiction is raised from £5 to £20, and when cases of damage to property between £5 and £20 in value are dealt with by them, the maximum imprisonment is reduced from two years to three months.

(4) Mr. Morley states that sub-clause (6) of Clause 17 gives the Home Secretary power to have a surgical operation performed upon a prisoner without his consent. The clause gives no such power, and does not in any way alter the existing law as regards the performance of surgical operations upon prisoners. It merely gives the Home Secretary a power, which he does not at present possess, to authorise the temporary removal of a prisoner to a hospital where such an operation can be better performed than would be the case in the prison infirmary.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,

S. W. HARRIS,
Home Office, Whitehall, S.W., May 4.

OUR CRITICISM OF MR. MCKENNA'S STATEMENT

(1) Mr. McKenna has adopted a very narrow interpretation of the word passive resister. A man or woman convicted of purely extortive offences is always recognised as a passive resister. Clause 4 will be clearly applicable to persons of this kind sentenced to fine or imprisonment.

There is also another clause, namely Clause 24, section (2), which deals with this question. It reads:—"Where a sum is adjudged to be paid by a conviction or order of a court of summary jurisdiction, and by the statute authorising such conviction or order, a mode of enforcing the payment thereof is provided which does not authorise the issue of a warrant of distress for the purpose, a warrant of distress may nevertheless be issued in like manner, in all respects and with the like consequences as if no mode of enforcing the payment were provided in such statute."

We are in some doubt as to the precise significance of this clause, but it seems clear that this section does, in fact, consistently extend the powers of magistrates to enforce fines.

(2) Even if the services of a female attendant are secured, there is no guarantee that she will be a person with proper authority over the male staff, and there will certainly be nothing to prevent the male police from looking in at the cells in which the women prisoners are confined at all hours of the day and night. Apart, however, from the question of female prisoners, no one who knows from experience the London police cells can doubt that even after the formality of complying with the regulations has been gone through, they will remain totally unfit for the confinement for four days of prisoners.

(3) Mr. McKenna's statement does not alter the fact that persons charged with certain offences are by his new Bill deprived of trial by jury.

(4) If Mr. McKenna is genuine he can easily set all fears on this score at rest by inserting the words "With the consent of the prisoner." If he refuses to do this there will remain a suspicion that the clause will be construed in a different sense from that which Mr. McKenna now puts forward.

WOMEN AS "FOREIGNERS"

The *London Herald* announces that the London County Council means to promote legislation to remove the present injustice whereby a married woman, whose husband is a foreigner, cannot obtain an Old Age Pension because in the eyes of the law she marries her husband's nationality as well as her husband, and is therefore considered a foreigner. The L.C.C., being unanswerable to women voters as well as men voters, no doubt feels impelled to promote legislation in the interests of women. But how greatly would it be strengthened if their women constituents also possessed the Parliamentary vote, although the Antis tell us that Local Government has no connection with politics, and therefore comes within women's "sphere!"

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COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Little Girl Outraged
The *Birkenhead News* (April 25) reports case of a boy, aged 15, charged at the Birkenhead Juvenile Court before Alderman R. J. Russell with committing a criminal assault upon a little girl aged 4.
Sentence: Fine of £1 and costs, or one month's imprisonment.

Assault on a Wife
The *Pioneer* (May 1) reports case of a man charged at Woolwich Police Court, before Mr. Hutton, with assaulting his wife. After he first struck her she went out and walked about till 12.30, being afraid to stay with him. On her return he hit her with a piece of wood and bit her arm.
Sentence: Six weeks' hard labour.

Brutality to a Dog
The *Yorkshire Telegraph and Star* (April 25) reports case of a trammer charged at Barnsley with cruelty to a dog by kicking it so brutally that it developed an abscess, lost one of its toes, had its shoulder dislocated, and its skin and hair kicked off.
Sentence: Ten shillings and costs.

We are not surprised that the father of the poor little child, in the terrible case of outrage reported above, entered a strong protest in court against the inadequacy of the punishment given to the perpetrator of the deed. It seemed to him, he said, that no one minded what happened to the bodies and souls of little children. He wrote a strong letter to the same effect to the local paper, pointing out that the youth escaped scot free, for his fine was at once paid, and adding: "I cannot believe that it really is the law that the perpetrator of a gross outrage upon a little child should go unpunished, but if it is, then the sooner the law is altered the better."

Women's Votes Wanted
After reading the debate in the House of Lords on the Bishop of London's Bill, we can hold out little hope that the law will be altered, or, which is equally important, its administration strengthened, until women have won their vote and the recognition of their status in the country. For to us not the least distressing feature of this particularly terrible case is the age of the offender. If it is possible—and the Children's Courts give us plenty of evidence to that effect—to sentence boys under sixteen to long years at reformatory schools for petty theft, too often induced by want or thoughtlessness, then it should have been possible to find some place of detention and cure for the boy of fifteen who, capable as he has shown himself of committing a horrible deed, is now once more at large and free to ruin other little girls. And we must add that since every encouragement in the way of acquittals and light sentences is given to boys and men to commit this class of crime, we feel that the system, made and supported by men from men's point of view only, is to blame for having turned a boy of fifteen, himself a child, into the perpetrator of an abhorred deed.

POLICE WORTH MORE THAN WIVES
Next to the woman who tries to murder her husband or her lover comes the man who assaults a police constable, and is sure to be sentenced as severely as if he had stolen property or forged a cheque. For wounding two police constables with a leaden weapon a burglar was sentenced at the Old Bailey recently to eight years' penal servitude (see morning papers, April 23). This is easily explained. Property counts more in a man-ordered State than person. The police stand for the protection of property; therefore, offences against them count more than offences against the ordinary members of the public, especially if they happen to be wives.

NOT A SUFFRAGIST!
It was really lucky for the doctor who was charged at Bow Street last Saturday with being drunk and with wantonly discharging a revolver to the common danger, that he committed his offence (breaking a pane of glass worth £15, by the way) because he was drunk and disorderly, and not from any high motive or principle. For, as it was, he was only fined £4, the magistrate remarking that the owner of the window could take out a summons if he liked. Now if that doctor had been a Suffragist, and if he had broken his window with a hammer, or a stone attached to a string in such a way that the public not from any high motive or principle, safety could not possibly be endangered, and if he had done this as a deliberate

HEAVY SENTENCES

Housebreaking and Theft
The *Sheffield Daily Telegraph* (April 7) reports case of two youths, aged 17, charged at West Riding Quarter Sessions with housebreaking and theft on two occasions.
Sentence: Three years' Borstal treatment.

Assault on Police Constables
The *Manchester Guardian* (April 23) reports case of a labourer charged at the Old Bailey with wounding two police constables whom he felled to the ground with a leaden weapon when they came upon him in the act of housebreaking.
Sentence: Eight years' penal servitude.

Stealing 5s. 6d. Worth of Goods
The *Pioneer* (May 1) reports case of a charwoman charged at Woolwich Police Court before Mr. Hutton with stealing goods from a shop to the value of five shillings and sixpence.
Sentence: Six weeks' imprisonment.

protest against the exclusion of half the nation from their constitutional rights, after every other method of reasonable protest had been tried and failed—why, he would have rendered himself liable to a lecture from the Bench, and anything up to eight months' imprisonment!

A CONVICTION QUASHED
The *States Daily News* (April 28) reports that in the Criminal Appeal Court on April 27, before the Lord Chief Justice and Justices A. T. Lawrence and Bankes, the conviction of the Hove motor engineer, who was sentenced at Lewes Assizes to fifteen months' hard labour for a gross offence against a girl under sixteen and over thirteen, was quashed on the ground of some slight irregularity in the trial. We have nothing to say, of course, on the legal technicality which has restored the man to liberty. But we must and do comment on the frequency with which sentences are reduced and convictions quashed on appeal in cases of this particular kind, and we wonder how much chance the offender in the Hove case would have had if he had been a Suffragist convicted of window-breaking and had appealed against his conviction? We have known of appeals in Suffragist cases—one of the Editors of this paper lodged such an appeal in the spring of 1912—but never yet of a successful appeal!

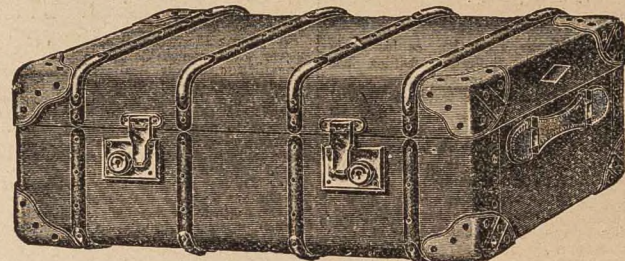
WIFE'S DEFENCELESS POSITION
According to a recent decision in the Hull Police Court (as reported in the *Hull Daily Mail*, April 29), a wife has no remedy against a husband who criminally libels his wife.
A well-known Bridlington cable-owner was charged before the Hull Stipendiary, Mr. J. G. Hallett, with criminally libelling his wife through the medium of defamatory letters sent through the post, accusing her among other things of keeping a disorderly house. Words of a grossly offensive character had been written on the envelopes. Evidence was given to show that the couple were living apart, that the accusations were unfounded, and that the prisoner drank and cohabited with another woman.
The defence was that a wife could not proceed against her husband for libel under any circumstances, whether she was living with him or not.
The magistrate said he had some doubt about this point.
Counsel for the defence (Mr. Wray) went on to say that although the Married Women's Property Acts had given a status to women which they probably never had before, yet the mere fact the husband and wife had been temporarily separated did not affect in any way her status with regard to proceedings of the present kind. A wife was not a competent witness against her husband unless she had obtained that right or power under the statute.
Mr. Pearlman, for the prosecution, submitted that as the prisoner and his wife had been separated, Mr. Wray's arguments did not apply. He had endeavoured not to introduce any evidence of a controversial character.
The Magistrate's Decision
The magistrate, holding that there was no provision which enabled the wife to take criminal libel proceedings against her husband, although she was separated, dismissed the case of alleged criminal libel.
After this will the most obstinate "Anti" maintain that the wife is the spoilt darling of the law?

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IN AMERICA

UNITED STATES
The Congressional Amendment REPORTED IN THE HOUSE

According to a Boston cablegram on Wednesday morning the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives (Lower House) has ordered to be reported to that House, without recommendation, the Suffrage amendment to the Constitution, which has been for so long before the Committee.
This marks a step forward in the progress of the Bill, for the Amendment has never before been reported to the House at all, and has therefore not been debated there. The Committee could have reported favourably or unfavourably; it has chosen the middle and neutral course, but this ensures its discussion on the floor of the House.

The Suffrage Demonstrations
The Suffrage demonstrations duly took place in every State of the Union last Saturday, and in some States every Parliamentary division held its meeting, calling upon Congress to pass the Bill none before it. To-morrow (Saturday) these demonstrations will be followed up by a great Suffrage procession in Washington, which will form an escort for the delegates from every constituency in the American Union, who will thus be conducted to the steps of the Capitol, where they will be received by their Congressional representatives, to whom they will deliver the resolutions passed all over the country last Saturday.
Since both women and constitutional agitation count in the United States, we hope very heartily that to-morrow's impressive demonstration on the steps of the Capitol will have an immediate effect upon the Suffrage Bill now before Congress.

CANADA
In Toronto

(From Our Own Correspondent)
Miss Dorothy Pethick and I arrived in Canada on Monday, April 13, and on Tuesday, April 14, the Equal Franchise League gave a meeting in the Margaret Eaton Hall, where I spoke upon the effect of the woman's vote in Australia and New Zealand. The audience were most attentive and enthusiastic, and a good deal of Suffrage literature was sold. In the evening the band of Junior Suffragists indulged in the frivolity of a dance, and I addressed the young people between the dances.

Other Meetings
On Wednesday, April 15, Miss Pethick and I both spoke to the Local Council of Women in the Margaret Eaton Hall, and had a very kindly reception; and on Thursday, April 16, the Toronto Suffrage Association held a meeting in the same hall to protest against the turning down of the Elliot Bill, which aimed at giving the municipal vote to the wives of householders as well as to widows and spinners who pay rates. The attendance was large, and as it was an evening meeting, a considerable number of men were present. The protest deserved popular support, as the Referendum upon the subject of the Bill had shown that the male electors of Toronto, by the majority of over 13,000, were in favour of the measure, whereas the Legislature had rejected. Dr. Margaret Gordon was in the chair, and a resolution approving the proposed Woman Suffrage Union Overseas was enthusiastically carried. Mrs. Constance Boulton expressed her interest in and approval of the scheme as a very telling proof that women can and do think imperially. Miss Pethick gave an impressive account of the need for the woman's vote in the British Isles, and showed how the Government had practised military tyranny before the Suffragettes did. A great deal of Suffrage literature was sold, and some copies of Lady Constance Lytton's book.

The Women's and Children's Courts
On Thursday morning we visited the women's and children's courts, and were again struck, as in New York, by the contrast in the sentences, immorality being lightly punished compared to the sentences given for selling drink without a licence. A poor old Russian woman—a Jewess—was brought before the magistrate for selling a bottle of vodka without a licence for the sum of 11 dollars. She could not speak a word of English, and the interpreter did not translate to her anything that was said except the questions directly addressed to her. It was pitiful to see the anxious expression on her careworn face. She reminded me so much of Rembrandt's portrait of an old woman. There were noble lines as well as marks of cruel suffering and want upon her countenance. The prosecuting lawyer, the magistrate, and policeman were all making very merry over some tests they were making of the vodka, and as they laughed her lips quivered with agitation, as if she were under physical and mental torture.
"Three months or a fine of \$100. I'll give you twenty-one days to collect the fine," said the magistrate, sharply.
The old woman's daughter sprang forward: "Oh, sir, let me go to gaol for the twenty-one days, let her go!" she cried, mistaking the sentence.
"I can't send you to gaol unless you do something wrong. Your mother must pay the penalty for her offence." The bewildered old woman was led away from the court by the grief-stricken younger one, and we could not but compare this case with the ones that had preceded it.

Women who kept immoral houses, men who had betrayed girls under promise of marriage, prostitutes, driven by want into their dreadful trade, endeavouring to drown their misery and degradation in drink. Vividly they came back to my mind the words of the Inspector of Police on our arrival in the court: "You have the vote, have you, madam, in Australia? Women should have it, for they are better than men."
"Not better," I said; "I don't claim that. I only claim that they are human, just as men are."
"But they are a lot better, and I know it. Last Monday we had seventy-five men up and nine women, and that's about the ordinary proportion; and the women, poor souls, would never have got into trouble if left to themselves."
It was good to see that inspector smile at us as he got off one poor woman after another by his "extenuating circumstances," and patted each one on the back as he led her away.

Woman Judge Wanted
The women of Toronto have had great difficulty in getting a woman's court, but it will never be effective until they have secured the appointment of a woman judge, and this they are trying hard to do. They have already benefited by the experience of California, and have two police-women, with whom I had the pleasure of shaking hands in court.

Margaret Hodge.

ECHOES OF THE ILLINOIS ELECTIONS

A Press Eulogy
It was in many respects a wonderful achievement to have released bodily such communities as Bloomington, Galesburg, Elgin, Decatur, Canton, Freeport, Belvidere, Marmouth, Keokuk, Leport, and East Galena from the hold of the liquor traffic. The women failed to win manufacturing towns like Springfield, Keokuk, Quincy, Rock Island, Aurora, Alton, Moline, Dixon, and West Galena, but the closing of the polls saw them well on the way to success even in those supposed strongholds of the saloon. It is estimated that 1,000 saloons will be closed as a direct result of woman's exercise of the franchise in Illinois on Tuesday. This at least marks a good beginning. Even better things may be expected later.—
Christian Science Monitor.

WOMEN'S BALLOT IN PARIS

The test made by the Paris newspaper, *Le Journal*, of Frenchwomen's desire for enfranchisement has met with astonishing success from the Suffrage point of view. The ballot paper merely stated the proposition: "Je desire voter," leaving space for the name and address of the voter; and the offices of the newspaper have been besieged with women anxious to record their votes in person, as well as over windows with letters containing ballot papers. The latest returns show that 505,972 women voted in favour, while 114 spoiled their ballot papers. Most of the women who hurried to record their desire for enfranchisement belonged to the working classes.

MILITANT ECHOES

Bishop Understands Militancy
The Bishop of Lichfield, supporting the Bishop of London's Criminal Law Amendment Bill at a meeting last week, said that some good women were driven to frenzy by consideration of the wrongs of their sisters.
He was bound to say that while he deplored their excesses, he did not find it difficult to understand them. There were facts in our social system such as the miserable wages paid to an enormous army of women and girls which were in the highest degree hostile to purity of life. Our cheap clothes, continued the Bishop, may be obtained very dear if they are bought at the price of a woman's honour.

Teachers to Emulate Militants

At the conference of the London Teachers' Association in Kingsway Hall last Saturday, Mr. Fugh advised a more militant attitude on the part of those demanding higher salaries.
If a handful of women can upset the Government, he said, "which could 12,000 organised teachers not do?"

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President: Lady Forbes-Robertson Plans for the season's work are well ahead. The Speakers' Class will be held in future at the Lamson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, at 3 o'clock on the following Friday afternoons: May 15, May 23, June 12, June 20, July 10, and July 24. Members who wish to join are asked to communicate with Miss Mayo. It has been decided to admit a limited number of non-members to the classes on payment of 1s. a class, or 6s. for the whole course. Charge to members of the A.F.L. 6d. each time, or 2s. 6d. for the course.

Woman's Theatre guarantors who have not yet notified the secretary to which Suffrage Society they wish their bonus to be paid, are asked to be kind enough to do so without delay, in order that the business may be finished.

Members are hard at work this week interviewing members of the House of Lords about Lord Selborne's Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women on the basis of the Municipal Register, and in endeavouring to obtain publicity for the dangerous clauses relating to prisoners in the Bill now in Committee stage in the House of Commons.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

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Committee Mrs. H. D. Harben Mrs. Evelyn Sharp Mrs. John Whelan Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

Join Us (United Suffragists)

Public Meeting. - Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Thursday, May 21, at 8 p.m. Tickets, numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d. and 1s.; unreserved, 6d., to be obtained on application to the Ticket Secretary, 3, Adam Street. Readers of the tickets are going fast, and it is desirable that as many people as possible who are new to the movement should be present. Speakers: Olive Schreiner, Gertrude Peppercorn, Edyth Eyre, Evelyn Sharp, Johanna Scurr, Douglas Olive, Chair: Lena Ashwell.

Poster Parades. - To advertise meeting, take place every Tuesday at 3 p.m., and every Saturday at 11 a.m. Volunteers are asked kindly to send in their names at once.

Bill Distribution. - Volunteers to distribute handbills of public meeting wanted daily, especially on the evening of May 17, outside Mrs. Besant's meeting in the Queen's Hall.

Members' Meeting. - This is held weekly on Thursday evenings, at 8 p.m., in the offices at 3, Adam Street. Strangers, both men and women, heartily welcome. At this week's meeting (May 7) Mrs. Whelan will speak on "The Position of the Married Woman," Mrs. McLeod on "A Country Campaign." Mr. Gray will also speak.

Other Meetings. - Among other meetings of electors to which we are sending members, one is arranged for this evening (Friday) by the Railwaymen's Union at Barnsbury. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp.

Election Campaign. - London meetings: Thursday, May 7, corner of Liverpool Street and Walworth Road, at 8 p.m.; Mrs. Gow and Mr. A. G. Hall, Monday, May 11, at 8 p.m., corner of Agog Street and Walworth Road; Miss Kitty Ennis and Mr. E. Mewett. Campaign going well, but more canvassers wanted.

Amersham Branch. - Hon. Sec., Mrs. Drinkwater. Members joining fast. Drawing-room meeting, May 5; speaker, Rev. J. M. Maillard. Garden meeting, May 12, Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

Stroud Branch. - Hon. Sec., Miss Edelman. Public meeting, May 23. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. George Lansbury.

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C., Tel. City 3355 Secretary: Mrs. Kington Parkes FORTHCOMING SALES

Miss Anstey will have goods sold for Tax Resistance on Thursday, May 7, at 3 p.m. at Anstey's Physical Training College, Erdington, Birmingham. Protest meeting in the gymnasium after the sale. Speaker, Mrs. Kington Parkes. Chair: Lady Isabel Margesson.

Mrs. Monck Mason will have goods sold for tax resistance on Friday, May 8, at 3 p.m. at Warren's Auction Room, 73, Battersea Rise, Clerkenwell. Proceeds from auction room to protest meeting after sale. Chair: Mrs. Beaumont Thomas. Speakers: Mrs. Kington Parkes and Miss Underwood.

Saturday, May 9. - Miss A. E. Metcalfe will have goods sold at Sheerness. Protest meeting in Public School Hall, 6 p.m. Chair: Mr. Monck Mason. Speakers: Miss Raleigh, Mrs. Kington Parkes.

Monday, May 11. - Miss Raleigh will have goods sold at Sheerness. Protest meeting in Public School Hall, 6 p.m. Chair: Mr. Monck Mason. Speakers: Miss Raleigh, Mrs. Kington Parkes.

COMING EVENTS

"Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Suffrage Club, St. James', to-day (Friday), at 3.30 p.m. Subject: "The Political Aspect of the Woman's Movement." Chair: Mrs. C. A. V. Conybeare.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Auditorium, Bo'ness, West Lothian, on May 19.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Tranent, Haddington, on May 25.

Other Meetings

The New Constitutional Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a Public Meeting in the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, on Tuesday, May 12, at 3 p.m. Speakers: Lady Meyer and Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

A number of the Woman Suffrage Religious Societies will hold a United Religious Public Meeting at the Hampstead Conservatoire, Swiss Cottage, N.W., on May 12, at 8.15 p.m. Chair: Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Speakers: Mrs. Geo. Morgan, Rabbi I. I. Mattuck, Mrs. Percy Bigland, Rev. Percy Dearmer, M.A., D.D., and Miss Abadam. Admission free. Tickets, 1s. and 6d. each.

The Women's Freedom League holds Public Meetings every Wednesday at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, at 3.30. Speakers for May 13: Mr. Laurence Housman ("In This Sign Conquer") and Mrs. Tanner. Chair: Mrs. Huntsman.

Mrs. Douglas Knockor (Mlle. de Lampe-noille) will lecture on "Maternity," by Brioux, at the International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, on May 13, at 4.30. Chair: Mrs. Gilbert Samuel.

Under the auspices of the Irishwomen's Franchise League Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at a meeting at Sackville Hall, Dublin, on May 14. Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington will preside.

Mrs. Annie Besant will lecture on the subject of "Mysticism" at the Queen's Hall for five successive Sundays, at 7 p.m. Sunday, May 17: "The Meaning and Method of Mysticism."

The United Suffragists will hold a Public Meeting in the Portman Rooms at 8 p.m., on May 21. Speakers: Olive Schreiner and others. Chair: Miss Lena Ashwell.

FREE CHURCH AND GOVERNMENT MEASURE

At a meeting of the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage in the Caxton Hall last week, at which the Rev. R. J. Campbell was the chief speaker, a resolution was carried unanimously calling upon the Government to bring in a Bill to grant "an overdue measure of justice" by enfranchising women.

WOMEN VOTERS IN HYDE PARK

On the first Sunday in every month an open-air meeting is held in Hyde Park by the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, the speakers being women who are enfranchised in their own country, and are therefore doubly qualified to speak of the justice and expediency of extending the franchise to women in the Mother Country. Last Sunday the speaker was Mrs. Bracher, of New Zealand, who spoke eloquently of her own experiences as a citizen and of the injustice of her disfranchisement on coming to England.

REFUSING TO PAY TAXES

Last week several distinguished women refused to pay taxes to a Government that denies the vote to women. On April 27 a great protest was made at the sale of a diamond brooch seized from Miss Green, of Warwick Crescent, for refusal to pay King's Taxes. Mr. Henry W. Nevinson, in moving the resolution, said he had worked for years for the Liberal Government, but absolutely refused to have anything more to do with them since they tortured, ill-treated, and coerced women instead of enfranchising them.

A Teacher and Two Doctors On April 28 Miss Nellian, for twenty-seven years headmistress of Crofton High School, and now a valiant fighter of 85, had her goods sold in default for refusal to pay Imperial Taxes. On the same day similar treatment was meted out to Dr. Margaret Dobson, of Ealing, and Dr. Mabel Hardie, of Finchley Road.

Voteless Women Follow Hampden

We are informed by the Women's Tax Resistance League that although the financial year only terminated on April 5, there have already been more than twenty occasions since then upon which goods

have been sold under distraint for King's taxes. These sales and protest meetings are occurring daily in all parts of the country.

THE IRISH WORKERS' PLAYS The date of the performance to be given by the Irish Workers' Dramatic Society, in aid of Miss Della Larkin's Co-operative Scheme, has been changed from to-day (Friday) to Saturday (to-morrow), May 9.

WHERE TO SHOP IN PROVINCES AND SUBURBS

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It will consist of Irish plays and songs, and an address by Miss Cicely Hamilton, and will take place at the King's Hall, Covent Garden, at 8 p.m.

THE EAST END DEMONSTRATION The East End Federation of the Suffragettes will hold their demonstration in Victoria Park on Sunday afternoon, May 24, instead of May 31, as originally announced.

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CORRESPONDENCE

SUFFRAGISTS AND ALEXANDRA DAY

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—As I believe Votes for Women is read by all societies for Woman Suffrage, would you allow me to point out a means of protest in which suffragettes of all societies could participate? "Alexandra Day" is not far distant now, and I believe if suffragettes one and all declined to take part in it, the attention of both Royalty and the public would be drawn to their cause. I have heard many women say that they do not believe the King and members of the Royal Family know or understand what goes on in the King's prisons. Now that cannot be right; if they are the King's prisons he at least ought to know how they are conducted. It is, of course, quite a mild form of protest I suggest, and quite constitutional, and no "anti" can possibly object, for they have told the women so often that a woman's place is at home minding the baby or washing her linen. Certainly hospital doctors and medical students (who do not object to prison doctors treating prison hospital patients differently to that which obtains in ordinary practice) could not be surprised at the women's attitude in the matter. As to men, if they cannot contribute to the upkeep of hospitals without being bribed by a small artificial lower sold by one of those "wild women," their charity cannot be of much account; but to see if it is really charity that animates men on "Queen Alexandra Day" why should not suffragettes have their own day for collecting for the hospitals and the blind? We should then see whether men give to the hospitals because it is "Alexandra Day" or because they sympathise with the poor and afflicted.

In conclusion, last year, I believe, some £50,000 was collected on "Alexandra Day," and if "anti's" practise what they preach, they were all at home minding the baby or doing the family washing, in which case that £50,000 was collected by those "awful wild women."

Women who want the vote must make their needs felt in some way or the other; why not stay at home and mind the baby on "Alexandra Day" as well as on polling day? If they are not wanted for the one they ought not to be wanted for the other. Alternatively, they might spend the day selling suffrage papers.—Yours, etc.,

ROBSON PALER, 159, Franciscan Road, Tooting, S.W.

INCOME TAX OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Editors.—I am very much interested in your excellent leading article in a recent issue of the paper, on "Employment of Married Women." Would it be possible to bring to the notice of your readers in this connection the fact that the Women's Tax Resistance League publish a pamphlet entitled, "Married Women and Income Tax," which deals exhaustively with the legal points in connection with this very interesting subject, and also sets forth cases of special grievances to women arising from the present anomaly of the law.

This pamphlet can be obtained from our offices, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C., price 6d. post free; and it is interesting to note that Mr. Israel Zangwill, speaking at Caxton Hall, said of it: "This is the very best three-penny-worth of legal knowledge I have ever had the good fortune to possess."—Yours, etc.,

MARGARET KINGTON PARKES.

WOMEN IN WAR

Mr. Hamilton Fyfe, who has been writing about the Mexican army, says that the army could not move without the soldier's wives, or women camp followers, who appear to do most of the hard work of the campaign.

Watch a held force break camp at dawn, he says. First there go patterning off a horde of women laden with pots and pans, blankets, and sometimes babies. These are the soldier's wives, the camp followers, the commissariat of the force. That the soldier's wives move so quickly is a miracle. Whatever the day's marching may be, they are always on the camping ground before the men arrive. They rig up shelters, they cook tortillas and frijoles (maize cakes and beans), they make coffee. You see them mending their husbands' coats, washing their shirts, roughly tending their wounds.

In Mexico, as in any other country where it is required of them, women seem at least as capable as men of taking part in war.

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Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League, 259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters Association, 50, International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 17, Botolph Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 43, Dorset Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 15, Roper Street, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 1, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, 13, Gower Street, W.C.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop, 11, Abam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League, Westminster Chambers, Westminster Street, London, W.C.

Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice, 23, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, Denton House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, 11, Abam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Abam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement, 11, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights, 65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.

Munster Women's Franchise League, 5, Grand Terrace, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society, 5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 11, 04, Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 5, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.

Suffrage Alliance, Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Head: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club, 10, Grafton Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffrage First Committee, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Present Committee, 15, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists, 2, Abam Street, Strand, W.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 15, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists, 2, Abam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women's Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 25, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Munster Street, London, S.W.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

HIGHER THOUGHT CENTRE, 40, Courtfield Gardens, Cromwell Road, S.W. 11.30. Mrs. Flora Parriss Howard; 7. Mrs. Annie Rix Miltz, Doré Gallery, 35, New Bond Street, W., 11.15. Miss Helen Boulton.

ST. MARY-AT-HILL.—Church Army Ch. Church, Eastcheap, Sundays, 9 and 6. views, orchestra, hand. Prebendary Carlile.

CONCERTS

MEMORIAL HALL, MANCHESTER.—Tuesday, May 19, at 7.30 p.m. Concert by Hope Squire and Frank Merrick. Works for two pianofortes. Tickets 5s., 2s., 6d., and 1s. at Messrs. Forsyth Bros., Deansgate, Manchester.

PLEASE BOOK NOW.—June 5, 3.30. Special Matinée, Arts Centre, Mortimer Street (near Queen's Hall). "THE DREAM OF ANNE BROWN." Scene in Holloway Cell. By Mrs. Hugo Ames. "Blind!" A social satire. Hugo Ames. "The Soul of a Thiet." Full cast. "Morning Post." Seats in advance, 5s., 2s., 6d., 1s.—Secretary, White Rose League, 3, York Street, St. James.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Tuesday, May 12, at 3 p.m., The New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Some Impressions of Women in India." Lady Meyer, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

UNITED Religious Public Meeting.—Hampstead Conservatoire, Swiss Cottage, Tuesday, May 12, at 8.15. Speakers, Mrs. George Morgan, Rabbi I. I. Mattuck, Rev. Percy Dearmer, Miss Abadam. Chair, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE holds public meetings at Caxton Hall each Wednesday afternoon. Speakers: May 13, Mr. Laurence Housman, "Sign Conquer," and Mrs. Tanner. The chair will be taken at 3.30 by Mrs. Huntsman.

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