

"Votes for Women," August 20, 1909.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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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.

The Inspection of Holloway.

We understand that, in accordance with Mr. Gladstone's promise, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Greenwood, M.P., and Mr. W. P. Byles, M.P., were taken over the punishment cells in Holloway Gaol on Friday last. Mr. Gladstone, Miss Mary Allen (one of the released prisoners) and Mrs. Byles were also present.

The Liberal Press.

The interesting extracts which we give on page 1082 show that many important organs of Liberal thought are on our side in condemning the Home Secretary for his refusal to recognise the women as political prisoners. We are also glad to call attention to the sympathetic references to the wider issue to be found on page 1090. The *Daily News*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *Nation*, to say nothing of many other Liberal papers up and down the country, are all pointing out to the Government to-day that woman suffrage is the natural outcome of Liberal principles. We trust that for his own sake, if not for the sake of justice, Mr. Asquith will learn his lesson and bring in a woman suffrage measure next session.

The Prime Minister at Bletchley.

As will be seen from the accounts on page 1,085, Mr. Asquith, in spite of all the precautions taken at Bletchley and a guarantee from the organisers of the meeting that there would be no interruptions from Suffragettes, was forcibly reminded that the women of Great Britain are more determined than ever to obtain justice. Both at the meeting, where "pandemonium reigned" for some considerable time, and at the station where the crowd roared in sympathy

with the Suffragettes, Mr. Asquith had yet another opportunity of gauging public feeling on the great question of woman's suffrage. Unstinted admiration must be given to the plucky men and women who gave up food and sleep, and, in the face of great risks, succeeded in bringing the women's war-cry once more to the ears of the Prime Minister.

Mr. Haldane Twice Reminded.

Other protests have been made against Mr. Haldane at Bradford and at Bath. Helpless in the face of public opinion and the courage of the hunger-strikers, the authorities have, for the moment, ceased to arrest, and have resorted to the more brutal method of physical violence. At Bradford, particularly, the women who protested had to endure treatment both painful and insulting, which resulted in severe injury. But personal brutality, whatever its consequences, will never quell the spirit which is in the women of to-day—as the Government might have already realised. It will have to try other methods, and again others, and yet it will always be worsted till justice is done.

An Appeal to Woman's Patriotism.

The same Minister who acquiesces in such scenes outside his meetings has just issued a scheme from the War Office laying down the duties which he calls on women to perform in case of national emergency. Nurses, professional and volunteer, are wanted for hospital and ambulance work in an organisation which they are told will appeal to their patriotism; yet the greater way of helping their country by sharing in her government is barred to them, and they are prevented by police from even asking for the right of citizenship.

An Insult to South African Women.

The article on page 1078 by a South African Suffragist, and the appeals which follow it from Mrs. Saul Solomon and Mrs. Gaythorne, reveal a state of things with regard to the Bill of Union in South Africa which is disgraceful. British women who have helped so bravely in the colonisation of this great country in spite of privation, sickness, and war; Dutch women who have made its prosperity by farming their own lands in undisputed possession for years, are not to be recognised at all in the new Constitution, and will not only have no vote, but will not even form any part of the "population" by which the voting areas are determined. Yet the Government were quite content last Monday to allow the Constitution Bill to pass its second reading without a division, and it is their ardent intention to carry it into law unamended.

Other Features.

In addition to the article on South Africa, this issue contains several accounts of the hunger strike written by the brave women who starved themselves out of Holloway. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst contributes another instalment of the History of the Suffrage Movement, dealing with three bye-elections fought by the W.S.P.U., and on pages 1087 and 1088 will be found details of the Holiday Campaign, which is going on briskly, and in connection with which there is work for every Suffragette on holiday who will send her name to the office.

Fresh Air.

One of the offences for which the Suffragette prisoners recently in Holloway were punished with solitary confinement was the breaking of their windows, and no notice was taken of their just contention that fresh air was essential to health, as expressly stated in a book on "Healthy Homes" left in each cell. In this connection it is interesting and amusing to notice that at Hull County Court Judge Dodd, K.C., recently followed the example of the women and ordered his usher to break the windows of his court, in order to get better ventilation. The Hull Corporation were most indignant, but finally contented themselves with sending Judge Dodd a resolution condemning his "high-handed and unwarrantable action."

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women and Science.

One of the features of the Chemists' Congress this year was the number of women who were full members, qualified by training and work to rank as chemists in the scientific sense. Among them were Miss F. M. J. Micklethwaite, who had been assisting Dr. Morgan in his metallurgical researches at the Royal College of Science; Miss Eva Mameli, who was highly complimented by Dr. Wiley upon her researches in connection with the assimilation of nitrogen by plants; and Miss Mannesier, who read an original paper in the organic chemistry section. Miss Mameli and Miss Mannesier, delegates from Italy, are assistant professors at the University at Padua. Dr. K. Kowalevsky, professor of chemistry at the Medical School for Women St. Petersburg; Mme. Clara Roll, of Moscow; Mme. Mathieu, of Paris; Fräulein Clara Plohn, from Charlottenburg; Fräulein Sackur, of Breslau; and Fräulein Louise Strohmmer, of Vienna, were also present, while of English women there were Miss Homfray, who has done important research work in inorganic chemistry; Miss Burke, an assistant professor at University College; Miss F. Chick, Miss Gazdar, and Miss Marsden, all bachelors of science. Manchester sent Miss Ida Smedley, D.Sc., of Owens College; Bradford, Miss K. Jaffé; Holloway College, Mrs. Elder Field and Miss Mary Boyd; and even this does not exhaust the list of women who are doing valuable work in chemistry.

Research fellowships of £100 a year for three years have been awarded as follows:—An Associate's Fellowship to Miss Alice Gardner, Lecturer in History at Newnham College, who is continuing her studies in Byzantine history; the "N" Fellowship to Miss M. Wheldale, who is engaged on work on the physiological chemistry of plant pigments; and a supplementary Fellowship to Miss M. V. Sykes, who is working at various problems of vegetable morphology. The Creighton Memorial prize has been awarded to Miss M. H. Dodds for an essay on "The Boroughs of Durham."

Progress in France.

A distinct advance towards the recognition of women's claim to equal rights with men was made recently at Rennes, when the *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* had before it various resolutions proposed by a woman lawyer, Mme. Marie Vêrone, of Paris. Among important proposals agreed to by the conference were:—

That the principle, "Equal pay for equal work," should apply to all State employees; that the civil incapacity of married women should be abolished; that the exercise of parental authority should apply equally to the father and the mother; that women should be eligible to vote and serve on municipal, poor-law, and general councils of State and in the Chamber.

Various resolutions were also passed dealing with the employment of women before and after childbirth and the responsibilities of the father of illegitimate children.

The *Ligue des Droits de l'Homme* is a large and powerful body, which, in spite of some mistakes, has done much valuable work, and for them to have thus committed themselves to the principle of sex equality will probably have great influence upon public opinion in France.

A congress of representatives of all the feminist organisations in France is to be held at Lyons in September, the principal purpose of which is to secure Parliamentary rights for women. French women claim not only the right to vote at Parliamentary elections, but also the right to sit as Deputies, and it will be proposed at this congress to organise at once a propagandist committee in every electoral district of France, whose business it will be to support only those candidates at the General Election next year who may pledge themselves to vote for the Suffragette programme. The most sanguine of the feminist leaders scarcely hope for redress from the existing Parliament, but they believe it possible that their ambition may be realised in the first months of the new Legislature, after which they will have their chance at bye-elections. There

are in France four millions of women who earn their livelihood in almost every industry and profession, except the naval and military. Equal pay for equal work and equality of legislative protection for women and men is part of the feminist programme for Lyons.

Italian Women and the Suffrage.

A Royal Commission has long been engaged in studying the problem of Woman Suffrage in its relation to the peculiar state of things in Italy, and the leaders of the Italian Feminist movement are, we learn, jubilant over the cordial reception which the Prime Minister, Signor Giolitti, has accorded them, and his reported conversion to their cause. For the moment women are not battling openly for the political Suffrage, but only for the right to vote for municipal and other local administrative bodies. The next opportunity for action will be the Roman municipal election of next season, when the issues before the electors—high rents, dear food, and the question of religious education—will affect women quite as much as men. The National Committee for Female Suffrage, which was founded some four years ago, but which has much increased its activity during the last few months, points out, on the basis of official statistics, that even in Italy, where women are not supposed to be as advanced as in more northern lands, there are 661,774 of them engaged in earning their living in the manufacture of textile fabrics, 400,948 in domestic service, and 63,873 in the teaching profession, besides telegraph and telephone girls. It then asks whether the interests of these working women are adequately protected by men-made laws. By way of reply it shows that the Italian legislation on the work of women and children is one-sided and inadequate, and the position of a woman in the eye of the law is inferior to that of a man—Italy, for example, has no Married Women's Property Act. The report goes on to describe how for the first time at the General Election of this year Italian women took an active part in politics, urging the electors to vote for candidates favourable to Woman Suffrage.

Women in Religious Work.

Although probably nothing short of a week's strike of Wesleyan Methodist women workers (as suggested recently by Lady Bunting) would convince the religious bodies of the enormous part played by women in their organisation, it is a fact that since the days of Dinah Morris their importance to that body has been very great. A movement has been started—which, it is carefully explained, is "not a sex war"—to secure the attendance at the Wesleyan Conference of duly-qualified women as lay representatives. It is suggested that the present situation arises more from thoughtlessness than from any intention to deny women a just sphere for their talents. The Wesleyan Conference, in its representative session at Lincoln recently, voted by a large majority in favour of the admission of women to the Conference. The Rev. H. J. Chapman moved the previous question. If, he said, they passed the resolution, it would doubtless be associated with the "pestilential propaganda" certain women were carrying on outside who had forsaken reason for violence. He was in favour of the admission of women, but to admit them now would be disastrous to the morals of the church. It is to the honour of the Conference that Mr. Chapman's motion was lost.

First Woman Lawyer in Russia.

Dr. Katharina Fleischer has passed the advocates' examination at St. Petersburg University, states the *Jewish Chronicle*. She is the first woman lawyer in Russia.

A new field for the industry of women has been opened by farmers in Nebraska, who, unable to obtain enough men to bring in the harvest, made a despairing appeal for the help of women. An immediate response was made, and working women of all grades, from the college graduate to the factory girl, are working side by side in the vast grain fields, doing men's work (so the farmers say) as capably as men, and at practically the same rate of pay. The experiment has proved so successful that it will be continued in future years.

The first Egyptian woman to demand woman's rights is the wife of a Bedouin sheikh in the province of Fayoum, who, after writing for some years on the subject under a pseudonym, has now publicly given an address in a newspaper office on the woman question in Egypt. The audience consisted of 200 ladies from the most distinguished harems of the capital, who listened attentively to her demand for monogamy, reform of divorce law, higher education of girls, and legal equality of the sexes.

HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

LII.—Colne Valley, N.-W. Staffs, and Bury St. Edmunds Elections.

The poll had not yet been taken in the Jarrow bye-election (July 4, 1907, described last week, Chapter LL, page 1054) before yet another contest was being fought in the Colne Valley in Yorkshire. Here again the work of the Suffragettes made a profound impression upon the electorate, and here, as at Jarrow, another Liberal stronghold was wrested from the Government. Polling took place on July 18, and the result was as follows:—

Victor Grayson (Soc.)	3,648
P. Bright (L.)	3,495
C. Wheeler (C.)	3,227

At the General Election Sir J. Kitson (L.) had been returned without opposition.

The successful candidate in the Colne Valley election admitted publicly after the declaration of the poll that his return was largely due to the heavily damaging effect of the Suffragettes' attack upon his opponent. An article headed "Votes for Women, But Fair Play for Liberals," which appeared in the *Tribune*, and in which the anti-Government bye-election policy of the W.S.P.U. was attacked, was a further tribute to the great influence which the Union had been able to exercise in this and other recent election contests.

Before July was out a Parliamentary vacancy had been announced in North-West Staffordshire, and here, for the first time since the W.S.P.U. had started its campaign at the bye-elections, though the Liberal vote was reduced by 271 the Liberal majority was slightly increased. The circumstances in this election were, however, peculiar, and the situation was one of singular difficulty for the Suffragettes. Mr. Stanley, the Liberal Labour candidate, was in reality the nominee of the miners, who contended that as the Miners' Federation were paying his wages they, rather than the Liberal Party would control his action in Parliament, and that, therefore the W.S.P.U. ought not to pursue their anti-Government policy against him. The Suffragettes held, on the other hand that as Mr. Stanley was to be run under the joint auspices of the Miners' Federation and the Liberal Party, and as, if elected, he would receive the Government Whips, it was their duty to oppose him. Difficult though it was, therefore, to make their position understood, the women succeeded in convincing Mr. Stanley that it was essential, if he was to retain his popularity, that he should come forward as an ardent friend to the cause of Women's Suffrage, and on polling day the cry of "Vote for Stanley and Women Will Get Votes" was raised upon all sides by his supporters.

The actual votes recorded were:—

A. Stanley (Miners and Lib.)	7,396
T. W. Twyford (C.)	5,047
Miners and Lib. Majority	2,349

The result at the General Election was:—

A. Billson (L.)	7,637
Sir J. Heath (C.)	5,557
Liberal majority	2,110

But though the Suffragettes had not succeeded, for the reasons stated above, in reducing the Liberal vote very greatly, it was generally acknowledged that they had converted the whole district to the need for women's enfranchisement. One proof of this fact may be found in the following admirable extract from the *Morning Post* of August 1, 1907, by its special North-West Staffordshire election correspondent:—

"If Mr. Stanley is the saint and Mr. Twyford the hero, the Suffragettes are the politicians of the election. . . . I confess that until I had seen the Suffragist Ironsides at work I thought the Tariff Reform Ruperts unsurpassed. The organisation of the Suffragists is as good as their political insight. They adopt the fan formation. They usually have three or four local centres in a scattered constituency. The members of each group in each centre live together, irrespective of class

differences. It is a pleasure to see the fan opened, controlled, and swayed by the controlling hand at the centre. Early in the morning, while men are sleeping at the committee-rooms, a group of women will walk up the street of their centre. Their disposition in a local centre gives them unrivalled opportunities for acquiring local knowledge. At the cross-roads of each centre each unit group becomes a fan itself—each member takes a different road. Chalk in hand, each woman whilst going to one meeting makes the announcement of another.

"The men usually hunt in couples. They do not care to face these hostile audiences single-handed. Each of these women as often as not tackles an audience alone. If combined hammering is necessary the central hand sends to the rescue. Their staying power, judging them by the standard of men, is extraordinary. By taking afternoon as well as evening meetings they have worked twice as hard as the men. They are up earlier; they retire just as late. Woman against man, they are better speakers, more logical, better informed, better phrased, with a surer instinct for the telling argument."

The Response of Bury St. Edmunds.

But a few weeks elapsed before the next bye-election, which took place at Bury St. Edmunds, in Suffolk, the polling day being August 24. Here Lydia Becker and her co-workers had held Woman's Suffrage meetings in the old days, but since her time the question had never been raised in Bury. The Suffragettes were obliged, therefore, to begin by teaching the people the very A B C of the women's movement, and they started this work by sending out the two town criers to announce a meeting to be held that evening upon the Corn Hill.

Though Votes for Women had been a new thought to the inhabitants of Bury St. Edmunds at the opening of the election, they took it readily to heart, and, in spite of the fact that a prominent Conservative in the town had definitely stated that his party expected a reduction in their majority, the members of the W.S.P.U. were confident that it was the Liberal vote that would be reduced. They were abundantly justified in this belief, for the Conservative majority over the Government candidate was found to be more than double that recorded at the General Election.

The figures were:—

Hon. W. Guinness (C.)	1,631
W. B. Yates (L.)	741
Conservative majority	890
GENERAL ELECTION.	
Capt. F. W. Hervey (C.)	1,481
W. B. Yates (L.)	1,047
Conservative majority	434

After the declaration of the poll the successful candidate, the Hon. W. Guinness, appeared at the window of the Angel Hotel to thank his supporters and to speak to the people in the customary way. "We have gained a great and a glorious victory," Mr. Guinness began, "and what has been the cause of that victory?" But here he was interrupted by the shouting of the assembled people, who cried, "Votes for Women! Three cheers for the Suffragettes! Three cheers for the women!" "No doubt the ladies had something to do with it," Mr. Guinness agreed, as soon as quiet was restored; and then he went on to speak of the victory as having been won for Tariff Reform, but now there was scarcely any response from the crowd.

On the morning of the poll the *Tribune*, in referring to this election, said:—"The difficulties of the Liberal candidate, who is fighting against many odds, have been aggravated by the ill-considered interposition of Women's Suffrage enthusiasts." This was another interesting admission of the influence that the W.S.P.U. had been able to exert upon the election. The women welcomed this rebuke, for their deliberate aim was to make themselves inconvenient to the Government, and they well knew that their policy was far from being ill-considered. As they had waited outside the booths all through the polling day the women had been treated with every mark of kindness by the people. In no case were they permitted to stand, for chairs were always provided by neighbouring residents, and they received very many kindly greetings.

(To be continued.)

WOMEN AND THE NEW SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION.

By Irene M. Ashby Macfadyen

(President Cape Colony Women's Enfranchisement League).

As I sit down to write a message to VOTES FOR WOMEN a little scene comes before me. A group of girls, mostly medical students, are gathered together at a "sing-song" or "at home," given by one of their number about eleven years ago. One somewhat older than the rest, a young American married woman, already a qualified doctor, but studying some special branch in London, after entertaining us all with her Yankee college songs, had just finished repeating Kipling's poem in the "African Pioneers," in which the line recurs (I quote from memory):

"Follow after, follow after, by the bones on the way."

As the quiet, thrilling voice ceased a silence fell on us. I think the veil lifted for a moment, and the long trail before each individual gleamed white with the relics of past pilgrimages.

Little did I discern how my own long trail would pass from that dingy pile of workmen's dwellings behind St. Pancras Church, across the Atlantic to the land of the speaker, and back again through old England right away to the land of the song, and that thence I should renew fellowship of work with "Sister Emmeline"—that it would be again the light she carried which should serve as inspiration to "follow after" through the blinding mist.

For my feet were even then on the pathway of the pioneer. I was not a medical student, but a humble helper in the social work of Miss Neal and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (then Miss Emmeline Pethick), whose little flat was only a floor removed from the one I shared with some girl medical students.

By a curious turn of fortune I was asked to be first President of the Women's Enfranchisement League on its formation in Cape Colony in April, 1907. Our trails had then separated far and wide. Our ways just crossed before our respective marriages within a few days of each other, in the autumn, 1901, and then not again till I had been three years from sight or hearing of modern civilised life, away up in the native territories of Cape Colony, where all one's ideas of "values" are turned topsy turvy, and where one meets the primitive forces of birth and death untamed and uncheapered by "the thrice-breathed air of cities." And the first—the very first—of "friends from home" I met on my only interlude from primitive life in four years, at Grahamstown, were Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who came some hundreds of miles out of their way to give me that joy. And fifteen months later, before I had been back ten months in the life of my fellows at Cape Town, had scarcely adjusted myself to it, wild echoes reached us from England of "the women's war." I, scarcely known outside my cottage door in this country, was asked if I would take the leadership of the new movement here. It seemed like fate. In those old London days I do not remember one conversation on the suffrage with my fellow-workers. Of course, we were all Suffragists—that went without saying—and to this day I simply cannot comprehend any intelligent woman acquiescing in her own disfranchisement, her own classification with the derelict and the unfit. But the secret of our indifference lay in those words "her own." Our own dignity and interests seemed so paltry beside the awful need of those we dwelt among and loved as sisters; we had no time or heart for these things.

The Lesson of Life.

Life and the time-spirit had shown us otherwise by 1907. While the path of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had ranged through the cities of the Old World and brought her into contact with

the foremost thinkers, writers, and doers of our day, mine had passed, for the most part, in an uneventful *solitude à deux*, in sod-walled, earth-floored, Kaffir huts, where my two babes had been cradled and battled successfully for their lives with primitive conditions. And such different teachers had taught the identical lesson to our hearts and brains—that the mother-spirit must be given a voice in the home-making of a nation as well as the father-spirit; that to deny womanhood self-direction and share of government is as great treason to liberty as to deny these rights to manhood; that the only salvation of the peoples to-day from crowding dangers is to reunite the two halves of humanity, separated, as Plato tells us, by the malice of the gods, driven by fear lest, united, they also should become divine.

So I accepted this wonderful turn in the trail and became first President of the League, a post which I have just quitted (April, 1909) owing to pressure of domestic claims, for another little Suffragette joined our home circle a few months after the starting of the League. It has been two years of uphill work, but very different from that in England, and in some ways more encouraging. In a country where the entire white population does not amount to that of one first-class English town individuals count for more, while the political values of different movements are approximately the same. Elections are as fiercely contested, and more interestingly, by a comparative few as by an unwieldy mass, and for the statesman it is a fascination that in readjusting the handfolds of human beings within his control he may be working out, as it were, models of policy for the world. The Suffrage movement in its explicit form is new to South Africa. The first Women's Suffrage Association to be formed was the Natal Women's Suffrage (now Enfranchisement) League, which was started in Durban in 1902. Our own, started in April, 1907, was the next, and within the last few months leagues have been formed in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, and we have a National Committee, which, somewhat informally, unites us.

It is, no doubt, the movement towards union which has forced the question out into the open. The framing of a Constitution for united South Africa has brought out every one of our principles of government up for judgment, has interrogated every stray and haphazard factor, has made us all think and feel and talk as never before about government and state-building and patriotism, and the practical issues thereof. And we Suffragists have been torn between our longing for time, only a little more time, in which we feel sure we could have so explained ourselves to the people that women must have been accorded recognition in the Constitution of our country, and our burning desire for union on almost any workable terms consistent with justice and honour, which should put a stop for ever to war by arms or rates between separate governments of a divided family whose manifest destiny it is to form a nation and not a bunch of statelets. It is something to know that over four thousand men and women in the four colonies were willing to sign our petition in favour of citizenship being granted to women on the same terms as men (whatever these terms might be). We had high hopes—some of us. The genius of South Africa cries aloud for the claims of women. The organisation of social life in this country (outside the conventionalised town circles) is more like that of France than of England. In the real life of the land, that of the farmers and traders, women have played an immense part. Crowds of adventurers come and go, but

in so far as society has been made possible—in so far as the South Africans are a nation—it is due to the women. Out of their sufferings and gallant endurance of untold hardships this race has been evolved. Side by side with the men they have fought and vanquished the wild. From the days when the pioneer woman loaded and reloaded the rifle from the trek wagon as her husband fought savage beasts, and even savage natives, to the Boer War, when women on either side shared every danger and discomfort with their men, the South African woman has shown courage and endurance. Under the Roman Dutch Law she is a partner in every enterprise of her husband's. On the farms and in the up-country stores she takes her fair share and sometimes more than her fair share of work. The South African born farmer will seldom conclude a sale of land or cattle or wagon without reference to his "vrouw," and woe betide him if he does. The laws of inheritance, which do not discriminate between the sexes, often make women large property holders. The last census showed nearly 1,200 women farming on their own account, and over two thousand helping relatives to farm, while every dorf has its women traders or hotel-keepers.

Even in these days there is much primitive work for the majority of South African women—real hand-to-hand tussles with nature for the subsistence and lives of their children. These things and the influence of the wide stretches of the veldt have made them of an independent type though more influenced by their surroundings and their inward thought than by books. They are hot politicians, and their counsels count a great deal in political affairs as in those of farm and store.

The first Suffragettes were South African women. In 1847 Commissioner Cloete was sent by the Government in Cape Colony to look into alleged abuses and allay the discontent of the Maritzburg Boers. When he had come to terms with the principal ruler of the district he imagined his task was finished. Woman willed it otherwise. As he passed down the street he was invited into the Court House, "where some ladies wished to speak to him." On entering the key was turned on him, and he found himself confronted with a packed hall of women, who lectured him for two solid hours on their point of view. They would, they assured him, trek barefoot over the mountains rather than submit to injustice, whatever the men might have said.

It is the same spirit that speaks in modern times through Olive Schreiner, boldest champion of the human rights of woman and of those of every child of the human family.

The Old Injustice Confirmed.

The publication of the draft Act came as a bitter blow to these hopes. It reads as if deliberately framed to exclude women from part or lot in the nation. Not only is there the insulting repetition of the adjective male in addition to qualification for voting or for a seat in Parliament, but the *adult white male is made the basis of representation*. The ideal of the old Witenagemot which every free man and woman had the right to attend is completely railed out; so is the ancient service of delegation of the power of the "people" to representatives, and the residuum is a male oligarchy. To such inconsistency lead the doctrines that woman has no part in politics, and that her "place is the home," that in the newest constitution under the British flag women do not even count as population, and the family is set aside for the male individual!

Not quite the last possible word has been said, however.

The South African delegates have now taken the draft Act to England for confirmation by the British Parliament.

In the midst of your own fight I ask that you will spare a little time to call the attention of those in England who believe in "Votes for Women" to an injustice about to be confirmed by the British Parliament.

Our fight, if not at present as critical as yours, is equally vital. We are looking to woman's influence by every channel, votes included, to keep sweating and the worst evils of industrialism out of our developing country, and to the opportunity of citizenship to try solutions to some of the problems, not only of our country, but of all the world.

With the cheer of your support and active sympathy we shall follow the trail with renewed hopes of keeping the merry heart that goes all the way and a higher courage for those perils, sufferings, and discouragements to which the whitening bones still testify.

AN URGENT CRY FOR HELP.

Other South African women are seeking for help in England to prevent this great injustice from being confirmed by the Imperial Government. Mrs. Saul Solomon, the widow of a member of the Cape Town Legislative Assembly, warns women in a pamphlet, "Constitution Making in the Twentieth Century," that the omission of the word "male" would at least leave an open door for the future. Olive Schreiner has declared herself heartbroken at "this deathblow to all our hopes." After describing some of the problems that call for solution in South Africa, Mrs. Solomon says:—

"The psychological moment is now with us. The good faith and sincerity of our Parliament and Government, as well as the right-mindedness and sagacity of the Delegation, are called into requisition. And never were the loving, level-headed, practical, far-sighted women of South Africa more needed than they are to-day, to stand shoulder to shoulder with their comrades—noble women the full equals of brave men—to bear the burdens of the young State as they bore the brunt of the war, moulding its future citizens and destinies in mutual freedom."

Mrs. Flora Gaythorne, of Natal, has also sent a poignant appeal to the British Press:—"In the records of the Transvaal Volksraad appears this 'besluit' passed on June 18, 1856: 'When a man is recognised as a citizen of this Republik, his wife shall thereby become and remain a citizen of this Republik.' To-day, by the drafting of the South African Act now before the Imperial Government, the women of South Africa feel themselves outraged by their utter exclusion from the new constitution, not merely because they remain disfranchised, but because in the basis of representation they ceased to count even as population. Do we, who know and love our country, realise the significance of this women's subjection clause in the new union of South Africa—realise that we women will be forced to submit to an administration of Government by white and black males only—sunk to a political level lower than the black. Do our legislators, I wonder, realise the effect and result of this idea upon the minds of the black population—educated or otherwise? The vote will of necessity raise the black man and give him power—but the white women under the new union will sink to a level which is calculated to inspire the educated black man with contempt. There is a deep resentment in the minds of our women—it is difficult to know what form this resentment will take. Legislators should regard this with some seriousness. One is quite aware that any organised agitation of a limited or extensive kind on the part of our women would exert a demoralising effect upon the black and create a disturbing element in the present peaceful attitude of the native races."

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM NEW ZEALAND.

Miss Mary McCarthy writes from Canterbury:—"We in New Zealand are watching your struggles with keen interest, and are glad to receive authentic information about them. We trust your efforts may soon be crowned with success"; and Miss Mary Alleby, of Tauranga, writes:—"As a woman voter of New Zealand and an interested spectator from afar of the Suffragist Movement in England, I would beg to be allowed to offer my sincere and hearty admiration for all you and your splendid fellow-workers are doing for the woman's cause. We in this far-off colony read with the greatest interest all accounts of our sisters in the Home land, and would gladly do anything in our power to help them in their struggle for liberty and equality. An article in the 'London' magazine by Mrs. Frederick Harrison has created a stir of indignation, for in it she says that in New Zealand the woman's vote is a failure, and many wish that it could be taken away. Now this is a mistake, as is clearly proved by the statistics of the last election, when the number of women voters far exceeded that of the men."

STORIES OF THE HUNGER STRIKE.

My prison life began stormily, but ended in great placidity. When the Governor announced that we should not be given First Division treatment, and were to be taken by force to our cells, I resisted the efforts of ten wardresses. In the middle of it all I fell, with several wardresses beside me; and then one determined opponent got a good grip on my hair, and all the others lending a willing hand, I was fairly bolted across the court into a punishment cell. Here I lay down to rest, and was just beginning to be at peace, when the door opened, a long file of wardresses came in, and before I had time to raise my head they fell upon me and fairly ripped my clothes off, leaving me lying on the floor only half covered and very much battered in body and bruised in spirit. But that was the last of my strenuous times; everything afterwards was very serene.

The history of the next five days is very monotonous. I stayed in the same cell till Thursday evening. It was not a bad cell—at least not one of the worst. It was light and well scrubbed. The ventilation was undoubtedly bad—the joy I felt in getting a whiff of air from outside when the door was opened for a moment proved that conclusively. It was, of course, damp; if I spilt some water accidentally in the morning the floor would remain wet the whole night. It stands to reason that a brick-walled cell on the ground floor, where the window is always shut and the door hardly ever open, is bound to be damp. Nobody could deny that, except "the Spirit who always denies"—and Mr. Gladstone.

To me the worst thing to endure was the fear of being overpowered. I was afraid I might become unconscious and have something poured down my throat—or that I might walk in my sleep (under pressure of hunger) and take the food which was left overnight in the room. Once I had just gone peacefully to bed when I heard, down the corridor, a woman suddenly scream out, as if in fright. I thought, "That can't be one of our women; it is too incoherent." But I listened, and heard the scream again and again, and once, quite plainly, "No, no! take it away!" Needless to say, I spent a good part of that night standing at the door ready for anything, and when I was too cold and tired to keep up a resisting attitude and spirit any longer I rolled myself up in the familiar blanket and fell asleep with my head against the door. But all these terrors were quite unnecessary; no midnight attack had been planned against us, and I do not know yet, of course, why the poor creature was screaming.

But even in my cell I had many happy moments. For amusement I sang. It is good exercise, and cheering. I sang every song I knew of, except a few mournful ditties like "Home, Sweet Home," which I thought I had better avoid. At first the whole corridor was full of Suffragette disturbance. The "Marseillaise" rang out late and early; Mrs. Leigh would call, "Are we down-hearted?" and an enthusiastic "No!" came from all the cells round about. Mrs. Baker, who was next me, had a signal-cry arranged with two of her comrades—something that sounded like "Tattoo!" But about the fourth day she asked me, "What is that signal I have with Mrs. Leigh?" I told her, but I was shocked. She was in such pain and weakness she had totally forgotten the call she had been using twenty times a day.

Mrs. Baker was glorious, altogether. Her head ached so badly that the Governor said she must be moved upstairs where the ventilation was better. (N.B.—They do admit that the ventilation downstairs is bad.) But first she must promise not to break any windows. "I—told—him," Mrs. Baker called slowly through the wall, "I—would—make—no—promises!" "Keep your heart up!" I called back. "Oh yes!" she said, rather surprised that I should say anything so obvious.

But Mrs. Baker was taken away afterwards to the hospital, and down the corridor, one by one, the voices were silent. Finally, I was all alone in a dead hush—except for the footfalls and voices of the wardresses. But I sang the Marseillaise into the silence, wondering very much what was happening to my poor comrades, many of whom were very young and not at all strong. So the days went round, until the doctor surprised me with a release order. We did not feel quite released, however, until we heard that all the others were out too; then we celebrated our Peace Sunday—not a single Suffragette in prison!

I cannot close without speaking of the kindness lavished on the "Hungry Ones" when they came out. My hostess cared for me as if I were her sister; the doctor, also a Suffragist, gave up her precious time to look after our ailments; and even the maid in our house—of course a Suffragette too—brought me bunches of country flowers. We are a wonderful Union! The existence of such a community, where each member serves the common cause with all the gifts she has to bring, is far more momentous than any hunger strike; for with a motive like ours it is easier to starve than to eat; but to be connected with such a movement makes one reverent.

Lucy Burns.

MISS SHALLARD'S EXPERIENCES.

When we got to Holloway we, of course, demanded proper treatment, refused to change our clothes or be inspected, or to go to our cells. We were surrounded by wardresses, but linked arms and resisted with all our might, Mrs. Leigh rallying us with her cries of "Never Surrender!" The struggle became so desperate that the Governor threatened



Miss Dorothy Shallard.

to send men warders to us. Eventually we were overpowered, resisting to the last.

The moment I was locked in my cell I managed to balance myself, after a fall or two, and began rapidly to break my windows. There were thirty-nine panes, and I had just broken the last of these when they rushed in to pull me down. Throughout this time we had been cheering for "Votes for Women," singing the "Marseillaise," and exchanging shouts of encouragement. We continued in this lively way for the first day or two, but after we had been more than forty-eight hours without food we began to get less demonstrative, although we still sent salutations echoing

along the corridors night and morning. So far as relations with the officials were concerned, I limited my conversation to saying "Thank you" to the wardress who brought my water. Otherwise I maintained silence, ignoring the Governor, the doctor—who called three times a day—the chaplain, and the others. In due course I was waited on by the Governor, three magistrates, warders, wardresses, etc., and charged with breaking windows, refusing to eat or to wear prison dress, etc. As I ignored the proceedings and maintained silence, they had to call the wardresses concerned, and take sworn statements from each of them. I was ordered to solitary confinement for the rest of my fourteen days, at which rash order I smiled inwardly. When they put me in the punishment cell a wardress said: "There, child, break those windows if you can," and I found that they were unbreakable. Evidently we were regarded as dangerous persons, for when they brought a third-class prisoner to clean my cell, three wardresses stood at the door all the time. The greatest discomfort I suffered was in feeling cold. My cell was as cold as possible, and we were not allowed boots or shoes, and of course there was no covering on the floor, so that together with the want of food I was often shivering with mid-winter cold.

They brought the food and left it from one meal to another so as to tempt us. Often I felt that I could eat food and dishes and all. I got to dream of nothing but food, beautifully spread banquets, etc., one after the other, and to lose count of the days. When Dr. Mary Gordon came to see us on Thursday, I found that I could not remember whether it was Wednesday or Thursday. There were no books but a prayer-book and hymn-book, a deprivation I felt keenly at first until I grew too weak to care.

Dorothy Shallard.

THE SPIRIT THAT UPHELD US.

We were in "Black Maria"—such a jolting and rumbling journey I had never experienced before! Was the horror of it all worth the end? Down, down went my heart!

Arriving at Holloway Prison we were watched by three visitors. One wondered where their hearts were! How could they go over such a horrible place and leave it without having sworn an oath to devote their lives to the amelioration of such suffering and to get at the root of the evils that caused it?

On entering the prison we sent up a mighty "Votes for Women!" to cheer our solitary friend in hospital—Miss Corson.

I then saw the matron for the first time, and truly may it be said of such a woman, "Abandon hope all ye who enter here" (under her inhuman charge!).

Sentenced to "punishment cell" for desiring fresh air, I entered it—passing all but the last night and day in it, growing weaker hour by hour, and therefore having no option but to lie quite still on my bed all the time.

The Chaplain's gentle jest was that I must have come there for a "rest cure"! He said had I not better be a good girl, put on prison clothing, be happy, and read nice books!

Surely never was there such torture as the perpetual clashing of doors and clanging of keys—beginning at one end of the corridor and growing louder and louder till my own door was reached and flung open; and then on and on again into the distance. No peace even at night!

As I lay awake one night, the moon shone in through the little window of my cell, casting the shadow of a barred square on the wall. This made me realise more fully than anything else the horrors of the system represented by those cruel bars—through which not even the blessed light of sun or moon came except through obscured glass!

The cell-cleaning was done by third division prisoners, and on one occasion I was much struck by the sweet and innocent-looking face of one of these girls—little over twenty

years of age. I seized an opportunity of asking her quietly why she was there; she flushed and whispered, "Attempted suicide! This is what it has brought me to! They don't let you forget it."



Miss Greta Cameron.

Here is work for us to see to after we have gained the needful tool—the Vote!

The horror of my situation had gone from me, for I saw more clearly than ever the work that lay before us.

Greta Cameron.

A PROTEST FROM MR. CHAPMAN.

Have we so many women in this country ready to suffer for principle that we can afford to jeer at this band of enthusiasts who are striving to raise the sisterhood and infuse into them a proper pride which, in the opinion of many, would enormously conduce to national purity? Let us accept the fact that there may have been extravagances in method which are technically indefensible, but it is hardly less than an inspiration in a selfish and luxurious age to witness instances of martyrdom which supply a healthy tonic to the body politic. The cheap taunt of their theatrical element comes badly enough from those whose aim is to avoid the smallest discomfort and who spend their lives in one continuous round of pleasure and display.

Surely, in the name of justice, not to speak of chivalry, the time has come when they might be treated with the dignity due to political offenders. Why cannot the Prime Minister, in the face of such earnestness, out of sheer pity, at least receive a deputation of these, to him, mistaken fanatics, and give them a final answer, whether in the affirmative or the reverse?

Otherwise there may soon occur some ghastly tragedy over which even society will be unable to make mirth, to say nothing of a revolt from Liberalism by some of its strongest adherents, which the party can ill afford. Can you suggest for a moment that it is amusing to go without food for five or six days; and is all poetry and imagination lacking in a Government that it confuses some of the highest-minded women in the community with ordinary criminals?—Rev. Hugh Chapman in a letter to the "Daily Mail."

THE LIBERAL PRESS ON POLITICAL OFFENDERS.

A Gladstonian Echo.

The Suffragettes mutinied because they refused as political offenders to submit to the humiliations of the second division, and more particularly to the degradation of wearing prison clothes. We have argued this point before, as the *Nation* and the *Manchester Guardian* have also done. We propose to-day to appeal to a higher authority, to which Mr. Herbert Gladstone we hope, will bow. In 1889 Mr. William O'Brien, sentenced for offences under the Plan of Campaign to imprisonment in the second division, also refused to wear prison clothes, and struggled with his gaolers. His case was warmly espoused during the Debate on the Address by the Liberal Opposition. Mr. Balfour then, like Mr. Herbert Gladstone now, urged that our law does not recognise political offences, and further pleaded that he could not interfere.

Let us see what was Mr. W. E. Gladstone's answer. On March 1 he said:

"I am not going to be entangled in an argument about political offenders. I know perfectly well you cannot safely attempt to form a legislative definition of political offenders; but what you can do is this, and what has always been done is this. In the first place, you can say in certain classes of cases that these are cases which ought not to be treated as if the persons or person had been guilty of base or degrading crime. What was this treatment? Literature and visitors are shut out. . . . Then there is the plank bed; there is the prison dress; there is the odious and disgraceful system of consorting with felons; there is the business of cleaning the cell. The sensitiveness to indignities of this kind . . . ought rather to be encouraged than condemned; . . . it is the spirit which feels a stain like a wound. We condemn this prison treatment, and . . . we want to carry the issue to the country." "Mr. John Morley, in the same debate, expressly condoned Mr. O'Brien's resistance, quoted a fine passage from Bentham, and denounced these "stupid and useless humiliations, this vexatious, this unworthy, this unmanly treatment."

There is the Liberal doctrine. The offences of the women in this agitation are as fully political as Mr. O'Brien's. They cannot be classed as "base or degrading crimes." Nor can it be said that women are less sensitive than men to physical humiliations. Does the spirit which spoke so bravely in 1889 survive? Does the Balfourian rather than the Gladstonian doctrine still hold the field? A Liberal principle must not be lightly abandoned. We have throughout dissociated ourselves from the militant tactics. Should those tactics take the form of dangerous violence or of "base or degrading crime" they would have to be punished without reference to motive, but merely as acts of violence. But the attempt to present a petition which they claim to be their legal right, and the refusal of which is the cause of the trouble, is a political offence, and ought not to be punished with the treatment designed for "base and degrading crimes."

Daily News.

The Punishment of Political Offenders.

It is to be hoped that the recollection of the previous attitude of the Liberal Party on this question may arouse some misgiving in the mind of the Home Secretary. No doubt Mr. Herbert Gladstone is technically correct in saying that no offence, save sedition and seditious libel, is recognised as political by English law. So said Mr. Balfour, and Mr. Gladstone's father made light of the plea. But though the offences with which the women are charged are not specifically political in character, no one can for a moment seriously maintain that they are not political in motive. That being so, they should be accorded the treatment which the general practice of civilised States metes out to political offenders. On what ground other than that of consistency in error can the second division treatment be defended? It cannot be defended as a deterrent, because the experience of the last few weeks has proved that the women placed under it will, so far from merely acquiescing in its rigours, deliberately multiply them a hundred-fold by undergoing the hardships and risks of starvation and submitting to the humiliation and the indignity which attempts to withstand the rough-and-ready discipline of the prison system necessarily involve. Nor can

it be defended on the ground that mutinous conduct on the part of prisoners demands a continuation of harshness and severity. The protests made in Holloway have been made, as Mrs. Cobden Sanderson pointed out in a letter which we published recently, not against the food or the clothes in themselves (for those who elect to go to prison must expect hardship), but against the action of the Government in denying to the Suffragists the treatment to which they believe themselves entitled. There is too much reason to suppose that the Home Office is shirking its duty in this matter simply because it fears to go back on the course on which it has entered. The obstinacy which refuses to change a policy for the sole reason that it fears inconsistency is not a virtue but a vice and a weakness.

—Manchester Guardian.

The Women's War.

It is the spectacle—diverting, perhaps, to any completely detached observer, but with a serious and not ignoble element also—of a small, but determined, company of women declaring war upon the Executive, and devoting all nimbleness of wit and ingenuity of contrivance in order to make that Executive impotent and ridiculous. . . . Four distinguished literary men appealed in Wednesday's newspapers for the women who had undergone the "hunger strike." "They refused to submit to second division rules, because they claim the right, as political offenders, to conditions of imprisonment which do not inflict humiliation." This may be true, and, for our part, we prefer Gladstone's arguments against the degradation of political prisoners to his son's suggestion that the Suffragettes are not true political.

They are being arrested because they think the cause of women is aided by their being arrested; they are refusing surety for good behaviour and choosing the alternative of imprisonment because they believe that by such imprisonment they are calling attention to the political disabilities of their sex. . . . They are proving, once again, the latent power of martyrdom in the facing of ridicule and of physical pain which many women have devoted in the past to many great and impersonal ideals.

We offer no criticism upon the policy of hunger strikes. Prisoners who are prepared to go without food, in dark, solitary cells, for four or five days, have entered that class which is beyond criticism from the self-indulgent, comfortable life of normal citizenship. They belong to the kingdom of those who will find death for a cause. . . . In fact, if Mr. Gladstone were to concede—as we hope he will concede—the "first division" to all "political" offenders, if Mr. Asquith were to set aside a casual quarter of an hour to receiving a deputation, there might be rejoicing over a personal success. . . . We rejoice at any evidence which can be ascertained that the cause of the Suffrage is gaining adherents in this country. We regret, while at the same time we understand, the particular methods which some advocates of the Suffrage adopt in order to fix attention on their claims. We are inclined to believe that, so far from the work drawing to a conclusion, it is only yet beginning. We are assured that when all the story is told and the ultimate triumph, which is inevitable, attained, due honour will be paid to those who first compelled a people—whether they would hear or whether they would forbear—to listen to a just claim for political freedom.

—The Nation.

The current issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN gives the experiences in prison of Mrs. Dove Wilcox, Miss Theresa Garnett, Miss Elise Howey, Miss Mary Phillips, and Miss Spong. Their accounts show at least that these women who are defying the Government can rise superior to their surroundings, for anything more calculated to depress and break their spirits could not well be imagined. But one and all remained firm to their purpose, and neither dark, damp cells, plank beds, wooden pillows, nor the pangs of hunger made one of these women give in, and in the end it was the authorities who had to cry a truce.

—Birkenhead News.

Now that the six Limehouse offenders have hunger-struck and been released like their predecessors, one may say that the hunger-strike, like the aeroplane, has come to stay. Some of the last batch have had to go away to recover their health, though.

—Bristol Mercury.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Visit to America.

Mrs. Pankhurst will sail from Liverpool on October 12 for America, where she will give a lecture tour during the autumn. Prior to her departure she will address meetings at the Royal Albert Hall on October 7, in Edinburgh on October 9, and in Liverpool on October 11.

W.S.P.U. Budget Protests.

Protest meetings are being arranged in opposition to all Cabinet Ministers' Budget meetings, and all friends, either men or women, who are willing to help in these protests are asked to communicate with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

"Votes for Women."

Owing to the holiday season and the consequent absence from London of many of the members who have helped so loyally by selling the paper, volunteers are urgently needed to carry on this work. All who can help are asked to see Miss Ainsworth, who is temporarily taking the place of Miss Mills, at 4, Clements Inn, W.C., at 10.30 and 2.30 daily. Helpers in other places are asked to communicate with those whose names appear in the Holiday Directory on pages 1087 and 1088.

Special arrangements are being made to supply parcels of VOTES FOR WOMEN to members going to various parts of the country for their holiday. These can be had at the following rates:—One penny each and a halfpenny each copy for postage for less than twelve copies, one penny each and fivepence carriage altogether for any number of copies from twelve to fifty, and one penny each, with no charge for carriage, for any number of copies from fifty upwards.

Summer Holidays.

A special holiday campaign is being carried on by members in all parts of the country, and a directory of those who are helping is given on pages 1087 and 1088. There is still a very large opening for helpers to hold meetings, sell VOTES FOR WOMEN, and forward the cause in other ways. Volunteers for this work are asked to send their names to the Holiday Secretary, 4, Clements Inn.

The Next Deputation.

Arrangements have been made to send the fourteenth deputation to Mr. Asquith on the expiration of Mrs. Pankhurst's undertaking, and a large number of names have already been received. Will all those who wish to take part in the deputation please communicate with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn?

The "At Homes."

The first autumn "At Home" at the St. James's Hall will be held on Thursday, September 16, from 8 to 10, and the first at Queen's Hall on Monday, October 4, from 3 to 5. Those in other parts of the country will be announced in the Programme from time to time as they are arranged. A cordial invitation to these "At Homes" is given to all who take an interest in the movement and are desirous of obtaining a fuller knowledge of its meaning and aims.

Albert Hall Meeting.

An important meeting will be held at the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, October 7, at 8 p.m., at which Mrs. Pankhurst will be the principal speaker. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

A Rumoured Bye-Election.

Rumours are afloat that a bye-election may be held in South London in the near future, in which case a special bye-election campaign will be started in that district. All who are willing to help, in the event of it taking place, are invited to send their names to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

N.W.S.P.U. MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

WOMEN in all parts of the country who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the National Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote.

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability to further the campaign funds of the Union.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Date	Location	Speakers	Time
Aug. Fri. 20	Birmingham, Bull Ring	Mrs. Bessie Smith	3 p.m.
	Bolton, Town Hall Steps	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Tolson	7.30 p.m.
	Brighton, The Front	Mrs. Bouvier	3.30 p.m.
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Williamson, Mrs. Duncan	7 p.m.
	Manchester, Stretford Campaign	..	..
	Penzance, Cattle Market	Miss Mary Phillips	8 p.m.
	Southport, Shore	Miss Dora Marsden	7 p.m.
	Totnes	..	..
	Worthing	Mrs. Clarke	7.45 p.m.
	Barnmouth	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss L. Phillips	..
Sat. 21	Blackpool, Shore Meeting	Miss Dora Marsden	3 p.m.
	Brighton, The Front	Mrs. Clarke	3.30 p.m.
	Land's End, Planting of Colours	..	5 p.m.
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Williamson, Mrs. Duncan	..
	Manchester, Holly Bank, Victoria Park	..	3 p.m.
	New Brighton, Sands	Miss Marks, Miss Heppel	7 p.m.
	Preston, Market Place	Preston Members	3 p.m.
	Quinton, Cycling Scouts	..	..
	Sennen Meeting	Miss Mary Phillips	3.30 p.m.
	Southport, Shore	Miss E. Drummond	3.30 p.m.
	Stalybridge, Market Place	Miss Rona Robinson	7 p.m.
Sun. 22	Brighton, The Front	..	3.30 p.m.
	Llandudno, Centre	Dr. Helena Jones	..
	London—	..	..
	Croydon, Duppas Hill	..	6.30 p.m.
	Putney Heath	..	3.30 p.m.
	Regent's Park	..	6 p.m.
	Streatham Common	Mrs. Nourse and others	6 p.m.
	Rochdale, Town Hall Square	Miss M. Brackenbury	6.30 p.m.
	Bolton, Town Hall Steps	..	7.30 p.m.
	Brighton, The Front	..	3.30 p.m.
	Bury, Market Ground	..	7 p.m.
	Dolgelly	Miss Dora Marsden, Miss Tolson	..
	Hastings	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss L. Phillips	..
	Llandudno, Centre	Mrs. Clarke	..
	Manchester, Stretford Campaign	Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Stead	7 p.m.
	Pain	..	..
	Preston, Circus	Mrs. Bouvier	..
	Smethwick	Miss Dale	7.30 p.m.
	Torquay, Strand	Miss Mills	7.15 p.m.
	Wigan, Market Place	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Pallister	7.30 p.m.
Tue. 24	Birmingham, Midland Hotel	..	3.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, Priory Rooms	..	7.30 p.m.
	Blackburn	Miss Rona Robinson	7.30 p.m.
	Brighton, Front	..	3.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Old Market Street	Mrs. Curtis	11.30 a.m.
	Harlech	Miss Gladice Keevil	..
	Kingussie, Victoria Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Garrett-Anderson	4.15 p.m.
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Stead	..
	Manchester, Stretford Campaign	..	7 p.m.
	Pain	..	..
	Oldham, Park Gates	Miss D. Marsden, Miss Tolson	7 p.m.
	Torquay, Strand	..	7.15 p.m.
	Yarmouth, The Criterion, 90, Regent Road	Mrs. Leach, Dr. Rosa Ford, Miss Tyson, and others	8 p.m.
Wed. 25	Barnmouth	Miss G. Keevil, Miss L. Phillips	..
	Brighton, Front	..	3.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Horsefair	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Garrett-Anderson	12 noon
	Grantown-on-Spey, Strath-spey Public Hall	..	3 p.m.
	Ladywood	Miss Dale	7.30 p.m.
	Lidchampton	Mrs. Clarke	..
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Stead	..
	Manchester, Stretford Campaign	..	7 p.m.
	Paignton Green	Miss Mills	7.45 p.m.
	Southport, Shore	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Pallister	3.30 p.m.
	Stockport, Armoury Square	Miss Dora Marsden, Miss Tolson	7 p.m.
Thu. 26	Ashton, Market Place	Miss Dora Marsden, Mrs. Parker	7 p.m.
	Birkenhead, Park Gates	Miss Harris, Miss Maud Crewe	8 p.m.
	Brighton, Front	Mrs. Larke	3.33 p.m.
	Bristol, Old Market Street	Mrs. Barrett	11.30 a.m.
	Burnley	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Pallister	7.30 p.m.
	Dolgelly	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss L. Phillips	..
	Edinburgh, At Home, 8, Melville Place	..	3.30 p.m. & 8 p.m.
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Stead	..
	Manchester, Stretford Campaign	..	7 p.m.
Fri. 27	Accrington	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Pallister	7 p.m.
	Birmingham, Bull Ring	Mrs. Bessie Smith	3 p.m.
	Bolton, Town Hall Square	Miss Dora Marsden, Miss Tolson	7 p.m.
	Brighton, Front	..	3.30 p.m.
	Bristol, College Green	..	..
	Bury, Market Place	..	..
	Llandudno, Centre	Miss Stead	7.30 p.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Date	Location	Speakers	Time
Sept. 4	Bristol, Temple Meads Station to Henley Grove, Henley Road.	Reception to Mrs. Dove-Wilcox and Miss Mary Allen	3.30 p.m.
Sept. 7	Cardiff, Cory Hall	Mr. Forbes-Robertson, Chair: Mrs. D. A. Thomas	3.30 p.m.
Sept. 25	Coventry Demonstration	Miss M. Gawthorpe, Dr. Helena Jones, Miss Gladice Keevil	..
Oct. 7	London—	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Oct. 9	Royal Albert Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	2.30 p.m.
Oct. 9	Edinburgh, Great Scottish Demonstration, Waverley Market	..	..
Oct. 11	Liverpool	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
Oct. 13	Public Meeting at the Blackheath Concert Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton	8 p.m.
Oct. 22	Truro, Public Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Oct. 27	London—	..	..
	Whitfield's Tabernacle, Tottenham Court Road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Chair: Mr. Sylvester Horne	..

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (three lines).
Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

Colours: Purple, White and Green.

Mrs. PANKHURST, Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,
Founder and Hon. Sec. *Hon. Treasurer.*
 Mrs. TUKE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,
Joint Hon. Sec. *Organising Sec.*

The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a-half million men who are at present enfranchised.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed immediately.

WOMEN in sympathy with this Movement should join the W.S.P.U. Apply, Hon. Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., who will send them membership cards and supply information. Entrance fee, 1s. Subscriptions entirely voluntary.

MEN in sympathy with this Movement should communicate with the Hon. Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

THE WISDOM OF THE FOLK.

It is the month of harvest. The summer sun rules the earth by day, opulent and splendid. The harvest moon rules by night, serene and radiant, while all living things sleep, gathering in to themselves new life and force. And now the corn is reaped and gathered into sheaves, and the harvesters are carrying it home to barns and granaries, rejoicing and singing as they go. The food of the world is garnered against man's future need.

One sheaf is left standing ungarnered in the field, and as night falls and the sound of dance and song comes from the farmhouse on the hill, two figures come out into the moonlight and, joining hands, move slowly round and round the standing sheaf, chanting as they go. They are old and wise, and while the young folk make merry, they perform the ceremony which insures the harvest of next year. The spirit of the wheat has moved from sheaf to sheaf, and will now escape and be lost to man for ever, unless captured and buried in the earth, where alone, suffering, and at the last once more overcoming, it will rise, the life-giving food of man. It is the age-long truth, that "except a corn of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth alone"—told again by peasant man and woman in an incantation older, perhaps, than the words of the peasant Teacher of Galilee. It is to such as these that the world truths are known, to such as these that the authority to speak is given, not to the bookman and the pharisee. For close on a hundred spring

times the miracle of resurrection has rejoiced the souls and bodies of this aged couple, chanting round the sheaf. Close on a hundred winters have ploughed deep in their hearts lessons of renunciation, of life given as hostage to the future, of seed sown in toil and sorrow, of harvest won only by obeying laws, but sure and certain when obedience is given.

And this is the song they sing—the triumphant song of the end of life:—

There were three Kings came from the west
 Their victory to try,
 And they have taken a solemn oath
 John Barleycorn should die.

Fol the dol the didiay,
 Fol the dol the di-di-a-ge-wo.

They took a plough and ploughed him in,
 Laid clods upon his head;
 And they have taken a solemn oath
 John Barleycorn is dead.

Fol the dol, etc.

So there he lay for a full fortnight,
 Till the dew on him did fall,
 Then Barleycorn sprung up again,
 And that surprised them all.

Fol the dol, etc.

There he remained till midsummer,
 And looked both pale and wan;
 Then Barleycorn he got a beard,
 And so became a man.

Fol the dol, etc.

Then they sent men with scythes so sharp
 To cut him off at knee;
 And then poor Johnnie Barleycorn
 They served him barbarously.

Fol the dol, etc.

O, Barleycorn is the choicest grain
 That e'er was sown on land;
 It will do more than any grain
 By the turning of your hand.

Fol the dol, etc.

It is consciously, or unconsciously, by the inspiration of this truth that women are living and acting to-day in their fight for liberty of body, soul, and spirit.

Nearer to the Earth Mother than man, wiser in the wisdom learnt at the gates of death, through which enters each new-born life, in the depths of her being untouched by the sophistries of a masculine interpretation of her place in life, she has committed the seed of her liberty to the earth. Ploughed in by suffering as it has been, ruthlessly cut down again and again, condemned to death by the Kings of Prejudice, Tyranny, and Lust, it has risen triumphant, and the harvest is near at hand.

"O, Barleycorn is the choicest grain
 That e'er was sown on land;
 It will do more than any grain
 By the turning of your hand."

Mary Neal.

QUESTIONING CABINET MINISTERS.

The Budget Campaign has afforded a splendid opportunity for asking Cabinet Ministers personally why they do not keep their pledges to women. Of late the members of the Cabinet have fought very shy of addressing meetings, knowing that the accusing voices would not be stilled; but the new Government campaign obliges them to come forward and speak to large public meetings in defence of their financial proposals. The determination of the women to turn the Budget campaign into a Suffrage campaign has been well kept, and on every possible occasion Ministers have been challenged. Lines of police and endless restrictions as to admittance do not prevent the women from coming near enough to make effective protests and holding rival meetings outside; while inside the halls Ministers find they have now to deal with determined male Suffragists, who follow the fighting example set by the women. Last Friday Mr. Asquith, who thought he was really safe this time, had an unpleasant reminder, while Mr. Haldane had two striking proofs of the vigour of the movement. In Bradford the women suffered brutality that reflects the greatest discredit upon the Government that permits such things.

THE PRIME MINISTER AT BLETCHLEY.

Every precaution was taken to keep the Suffragettes away when the Prime Minister addressed the Budget League meeting at Bletchley on Friday, last week. In fact, it was said by a Liberal steward that Mr. Asquith had only consented to speak if the absence of Suffragettes were officially guaranteed. Needless to say, however, the Suffragettes were there, and made their presence effectively known. This result was not achieved without a great deal of personal discomfort. On Thursday evening Miss Marsh, Miss Ainsworth, Miss Wurrice, and Miss Hall, accompanied by some men supporters, arrived at a station seven miles from Bletchley, and walked on to Bletchley Park. Here they were scouting carefully, when suddenly a policeman on a bicycle appeared. The ladies hid themselves unobserved in a deep ditch, and the policeman eventually came to the conclusion that the men were on a walking tour. The men and two of the women then began to reconnoitre. Miss Ainsworth and Miss Marsh remained in the ditch for some time, and after another alarm, due to a passing clergyman, sealed the wall with some difficulty and made their way into the grounds. At 2.30 a.m. they reached the marquee which had been erected for the meeting, and, as it offered no convenient hiding place, they returned to a plantation of pines and calmly went to sleep. A little later the rest of the party joined them, having successfully evaded the four policemen who were guarding the grounds all night, and all slept until 6 a.m., when they awoke, ready for breakfast. Alas! the sandwiches had gone bad, the milk was sour, and the fruit squashed. One bottle of lime juice and some chocolate formed the dietary for seven people for that day.

Through the whole of the hot day, not daring to move for fear of discovery, the little party sat there. At six o'clock, cheers and the singing of "He's a jolly good fellow" warned them that their opportunity had come, and, slipping under the bushes until they were close to the marquee, they raised their megaphones and asked the questions which must by now haunt all Cabinet Ministers: "Why do you not treat the women as political prisoners?" "When are you going to give justice to women?" "Will you not put your Liberal principles into practice?"

In an instant there was an uproar. Some people cheered and some roared in helpless fury. The Liberal organisers had been so sure of a peaceful meeting that no arrangements had been made; it was no one's duty to deal with Suffragettes, and even the stewards and policemen for some minutes gazed helplessly over the hedge at the women, an interval which Miss Hall used to chain herself to a tree.

At last, by a roundabout route, the stewards reached the women and attacked them in the proportion of about six to one. Some of the Liberal men completely lost their heads with fury, seized the megaphones, and, throwing them on the ground, danced upon them. Others pushed the women into the bushes, using such bad language that their calmer friends remonstrated. Pushed and hustled, the women were driven out of the grounds into the road, where a large and sympathetic crowd raised hearty cheers. Miss Douglas Smith, who had

been outside, dashed over the wall and made for the tent, chased by twelve men, and was eventually caught. Meantime, some of the men Suffragists had led their pursuers a regular chase, one nimbly jumping a ditch, in which all his pursuers came to grief.

Failing to find another way in, the women decided to approach Mr. Asquith at the station, and, in spite of the efforts of the police, reached the railway refreshment room and learnt from a porter the number of the platform for the London train. The police, however, two dozen strong, prevented them from reaching the platform, even though they wished to travel in that train themselves. Suddenly Miss Marsh caught sight of Mr. Asquith making his way across the railway bridge, and loudly called for justice to women. Mr. Asquith had to run the gauntlet of a shouting and booing crowd, and even in his first-class carriage, with blinds drawn down, empty carriages on either side, and the protection of two detectives, he was not in peace, for on his arrival at Euston a pertinacious male Suffragist who had travelled in the same train once more asked him the question which he is never allowed to forget.

Preparing the Way.

Extensive precautions were taken before the Bletchley Park meeting to prevent interruptions by Suffragettes, but the Suffragettes also made their preparations for the events by holding informal open-air meetings at the little town of Fenny Stratford and in Bletchley. Miss Douglas Smith on Monday evening addressed quite a large and interested crowd on the aims and work of the cause. On Tuesday and Wednesday evenings meetings were held, at the latter of which Miss Joachim addressed a good audience, and a final meeting was held on Thursday evening. The audiences were in all cases attentive and interested, good humour prevailed, and intelligent questions were asked. It was evident that to a large extent sympathies lie with the plucky women who are fighting for the vote. Several men assured the ladies that "nearly every one is with you," and "Go on and you will win."

The Result.

A man who was present at Bletchley writes:—"The disgraceful way the Liberal stewards-attacked the three brave women has done more for Women's Suffrage in Bucks than a score of meetings could do. Men I know well, who would never admit the justice of representation for women, came to me afterwards telling me they were now convinced that women should have the vote."

HOW THE MEN HELPED.

Conditions upon which tickets are sold for Mr. Asquith's meeting at Bletchley on Friday, August 13.

Tickets are not transferable. They are sold only upon condition that the holder agrees not to disturb the meeting. Should any person break this contract the audience is requested to remain seated and silent, and thus assist those responsible for the conduct of the meeting.

Ladies' tickets can be purchased only through recognised Liberal officials, where the applicant is prepared to accept the conditions. They are non-transferable, must be ordered beforehand, and the lady's name must be written on the face of the ticket. No ladies' tickets will be supplied until the day before the meeting.

The above regulations, framed with a shrewdness that befits a Scotsman and a lawyer, are a pleasing tribute from the Government to the Suffragettes and their male supporters. In their impotence, "recognised Liberal officials" make one last effort to save the Premier from the retribution that dogs his steps by appealing to our sense of honour. Whatever Cabinet Ministers and members of Parliament may do, Suffragists do not break their word, and the Bletchley "conditions" are welcome as a public Ministerial acknowledgment of the fact. Under these circumstances many Liberals who were offered tickets declined to buy them and sign the required statutory declaration. But there are means other than tickets by which a Cabinet Minister may be approached, as the story of Bletchley proves.

A Midnight March.

About one o'clock on the morning of the 13th a policeman on duty outside Bletchley Park observed a group of young men and women on the highway. Thereupon one of the men advanced and asked this good constable the way to "Stony-Stratford." "Do you know what I thought when I first saw you? I thought you were two young fellows bringing down a couple of Suffragettes," said the constable. Roars of laughter from the innocent pilgrims, and our "sisters" were then brought over and formally introduced to the policeman—and the joke.

Guided by the minute instructions of the affable officer, the pedestrian quartette set off eventually for the village. Their com-

rade over the wall and their two comrades in the ditch they were obliged to desert under penalty of still further exciting the suspicion of the acute constable. After two hours of circumnavigation and a perilous crossing over railway lines, the four luckily stumbled upon an open gate leading into Bletchley Park, and, before they knew where they were, they were in front of the great marquee in which Mr. Asquith was to speak at six o'clock that afternoon.

There they found their comrades, and the seven sought a sure hiding-place, where they remained undiscovered for fourteen hours, though every path and entrance was guarded from an early hour by the Bucks constabulary and mounted stewards.

Towards six o'clock their long vigil was enlivened by the sound of Liberal songs being sung in the marquee some two hundred yards away. All seven came within ten yards of the marquee before they were detected. Owing to the heat, all the side of the marquee was open, and they could see the Premier on the platform. Between them and the tent were an iron railing and a thick hedge, and here, still unseen, they formed up in line of battle.

Miss Ainsworth sounded the challenge through a megaphone.

The Premier, at the first blast, scowled, bit his lip, and finally sat down. One by one the women were hustled to the gates. In passing, it should be said that the police behaved admirably, and did their best to protect their captives from the cowardly attacks of those members of the audience who broke the regulations.

At the station we saw Asquith come on the platform and cross the bridge over our heads. How we howled "Votes for Women!" "Three groans for Asquith!"—cordially given and increased in volume by the shouting of local sympathisers. The Premier gave one look at us over the bridge, and then, surrounded by detectives, hurried to his carriage.

Dodging through the police cordon at the eleventh hour, I managed to scramble into his train just as it started. At Euston I scurried to the rear, and, slipping round a barrier guarded by plain-clothes men, I met Mr. Asquith half-way to his motor-car. "Votes for Women, sir!" I said straight in his face. "Votes for Women!" Mr. Asquith vouchsafed no answer as he hurried into the car, but Lord Carrington turned round and gave me a look of pained surprise as the police from Bletchley closed round. "Well," said I to the nearest Robert, "we've had a jolly day, haven't we?" But again there was no response. Possibly our points of view were different. F. R.

MR. HALDANE AT BRADFORD, AUGUST 13.

As we had widely advertised, by means of handbills, a protest meeting to be held outside the St. George's Hall, Bradford, against Mr. Haldane "as a member of a hostile Cabinet," there was a large crowd waiting when the first detachment of women came up at 8 o'clock and commenced to hold their meeting. They got on the steps of the hall, but were soon "moved on" by the police, 400 of whom were out that night to guard the purlieus of the hall and give protection to the Minister for War. Gaining a foothold once again, a woman rushed towards the door, only to be hurled down the steps by the police. While the police, decoyed from their post, were concentrated on two more women, who had with the support of the public managed to reach the top step of the flight, a local member, seizing her opportunity, ran up the steps and found all doors locked. The centre ones were swing doors, and were chained and padlocked on the inside; these she pressed with all her strength, obtaining a space of two inches wide, through which she could see the party men of to-day learning from their leader the lesson of injustice and oppression. She put her mouth to the opening and shouted in no feeble voice, "You cowardly Liberal Government! How dare you imprison our grand and noble women? Votes for women! Votes for women! Votes for women!" a cry which she kept up until six policemen came back to their post and helped her down the stairs.

The attack went on vigorously outside. Many times the cheering of the crowd, as one woman after another attempted to hold a meeting or rush the doors, was said to drown the voice of Haldane and disturb the smug, contented peace of the Liberals inside.

It was evident that no arrests were to be made, and the result was roughness and brutality towards the women such as has not been met with since the early days of the movement. Several women were struck violently. It was noticed that when a man in a silk hat was struck by accident he was apologised to by the police, but defenceless women were hustled about and struck ruthlessly, the brutality of the assaults being beyond conception.

Two city officers told me afterwards they had never seen such treatment of women, nor could have believed it possible in this present century. Yet this is what the Government has been

driven to. Knowing that prison in the second division is played out, knowing that the spiritual power of this movement is superior to tyranny and oppression, they are now trying physical force and brutality. All this rather than give women justice—rather than put their principles into practice.

MR. HALDANE AGAIN QUESTIONED AT BATH.

When the large motor-car containing Mr. Haldane drew up at the main entrance to the theatre in Bath, where he was to speak, there were few more than a score of people present. Three apparently uninterested women stood near, and as soon as the car was brought to a standstill they converged and stepped on to the foot-board at both sides, putting their heads in at the windows and facing Mr. Haldane with their questions, now well known to all. As the War Minister stepped from the car the police came forward, but these three members of the Bristol branch of the Women's Social and Political Union managed to get near and to make their cries heard. A protest meeting was then held opposite the theatre, Miss Walters addressing a crowd for some thirty minutes, with but few interruptions. As Mr. Haldane drove away Miss Fussell and Mrs. Lummis pursued his car a short way, calling out "Votes for Women!" and Miss Fussell was successful in throwing a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN in at the car window. The crowd was on the whole sympathetic, and the police were forbearing and courteous throughout.

Mr. Squires inside the meeting asked Mr. Haldane: "When are you going to give votes for women?" He was pounced upon and ejected by some ten stewards. One lady in the meeting sent a note up to Mr. Haldane asking the same question.

LORD CARRINGTON AT EARL'S COURT.

A good protest was made on Wednesday afternoon at Earl's Court Exhibition, where Lord Carrington distributed the prizes won in the "Lloyd's News" Land Competition. His speech had barely started with a remark about the advisability of placing a "Small Holders" Bill on the Statute Books, when a woman rose and asked, "When is the Government going to place Votes for Women on the Statute Book?" following this up with some statistics regarding women agricultural labourers. She was immediately pounced upon and dragged violently over the backs of a row of chairs, and forcibly ejected, and afterwards seen safely through the exit from the Exhibition. Shortly afterwards, when the subject of taxation was raised, another woman protested against tax-paying women being denied the vote, and she also was very roughly thrown out. A third protester was thrown to the ground with great violence during the process of ejection. Later on a man sympathiser was also hustled out.

Precautions of the most elaborate character were taken to prevent the unwelcome intrusion of Suffragists. Not only at the railway station on Mr. Asquith's arrival, but in the grounds of Bletchley Park, which Mr. H. S. Leon placed at the disposal of the gathering, quite a swarm of policemen were on duty. Most jealously guarded, too, was every entrance to the large marquee in which the Prime Minister spoke. Holders of the tickets which were the sole passports to admission had to show these at every turn.

—Daily Telegraph

Mr. Asquith, reposing at Lympe,
Runs risks that are ghastly and grimy;
But he hears not the din
Of remote Clements Inn—
Suffragettes have no terrors for Lympe!

—Westminster Gazette.

The assertion that women are thrown out of meetings simply because their interruptions are annoying was strikingly disproved at Woolwich recently. Mr. Will Crooks, M.P., was addressing a meeting of workmen, and was twice interrupted by a Tariff Reformer. The crowd became angry and began to hustle the man, whereupon Mr. Crooks shouted, "We'll have none of that," and rushed into the crowd to help the interrupter, and even succeeded in getting him to a place of safety until the police could protect him.

GRAMOPHONE "SPEECHES."

Considerable amusement has been caused in Willesden and various parts of the North-West of London by meetings held at street corners by the Budget League in support of the Budget. A gramophone is used to reproduce speeches by Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, not a word, however, of which is intelligible to the audience standing around the instrument.—Standard.

THE HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

The Holiday Campaign is being carried on with unflagging zeal in all parts of the kingdom, and members are doing valuable work. More meetings are almost invariably asked for, and supporters and sympathisers increase daily, while the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN shows a gratifying increase.

BARMOUTH.

Cripps, Rev. J. Ivory, B.A., Sheridan, Bath Road, Swindon.
Keevil, Miss Gladice, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham.

BASLOW, DERBYSHIRE.

Bartlett, Miss, and Miss W. D., The Hydro.

BLACKPOOL, LYTHAM AND ST. ANNE'S.

Gawthorpe, Miss Mary, Lytham Hydro, Lytham.
Hall, Rev. R. J., M.A., Ansdell, near St. Anne's.
Johnson, Miss, Lytham Hydro, Lytham.
Rigby, Mrs., 34, Park Road, St. Anne's.
Wallwork, Miss.

Most encouraging meetings have been held, and a large number of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold. Mrs. Rigby, Miss Johnston, and the Rev. R. J. Hall, M.A., all helped splendidly in making the preliminary campaign a great success.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Howes, Misses, Seamoors Chambers, Bournemouth West.
Marples, Mrs., c/o Mrs. Lambert, 4, Alton Terrace, Frigonwell Road.
Turle, Mrs., Overdale, Munster Road.

BRIDGWATER.

Rowe, Mrs., Pardlestone Cottage, Holford, Bridgwater.

Mrs. Rowe very kindly offers hospitality to one or two W.S.P.U. workers during the next week. Her house is twelve miles from Bridgwater. Mrs. Rowe has a poster of VOTES FOR WOMEN on her gate, and finds it an excellent method of selling the paper.

BRIGHTON.

Clarke, Mrs., and local workers, 8, North Street Quadrant. (Office hours 10-1, 3-5, 7-9.)
Dugdale, the Misses, 8, San Remo, Hove.
Goldring, Miss Constance A., Woodlands, Cuckfield, Hayward's Heath.
Layton, Miss.
Stearns, Miss, Blenheim House.
Turner, Miss.

Enormous crowds have been addressed on the front daily. On Wednesday Mrs. Lavencour gave an At Home, and a special class is being held for coaching new speakers. The outdoor meetings now begin with the singing of the woman's "Marscellaise," greatly to the interest of the crowd, an explanation of the song being given by Mrs. Clarke. The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN increase weekly.

BROADSTAIRS.

Myers, Miss E., "The Kingsley," Godwin Road, Cliftonville.

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Casserley, Miss E. M., The Ark, Longdown Farm, Prince's Risboro'.
Jacobs, Miss.

Miss Casserley is only able to be in Buckinghamshire for week-ends, but Miss Jacobs will be there until the 28th. Much good work has been done by Mrs. Caprina Fahey, whose stay, however, will come to an end this week.

CIRENCESTER.

Bickerton, Miss B., care of F. Smith, Esq., Hatherop, near Fairford, Glos.

COLWYN BAY.

Clarkson, Miss Florence.
Dixon, Miss Eva, Coed Myrddin, Conway Road, Colwyn Bay.
Neal, Miss, Colwyn Bay.
Roberts, Miss F., Ashleigh, Grove Park, Colwyn Bay.
Excellent meetings continue to be held.

CROMER.

Middleton, Miss E. M., 9, Rosein Road, Hathersage, Sheffield.

CUCKFIELD.

Goldring, Miss Constance A., Woodlands, Cuckfield, Hayward's Heath.
Miss Goldring will be helping at Brighton during the summer, so her name appears under that heading also.

DERBY.

Dowding, Miss, Little Eaton, Derby.

DOVER.

Hay, Miss Patricia G., 2, Cranbrook Villas, Buckland.

EASTBOURNE.

Haslam, Miss Ethel, 45, Pevensey Road.

Miss Haslam will be at Eastbourne for another week, and will be glad to meet other members who will help her to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN.

FOLKESTONE.

Knyvett, Lady, Burlington Hotel.
Marsden, Miss Constance, Feltonfeet, Shorncliffe Road.

GRANGE-OVER-SANDS.

Ecroyd, Mrs. and Miss E. R., Pilgrim Cottage, Cartmel, Grange-over-Sands.
Good meetings have been held here, attended by a large proportion of the local population. The women in the district show great and intelligent interest in the movement, and the militant methods especially are a fertile topic of conversation.

HASTINGS.

Broad, Miss K. P., Hillside, Cornwallis Gardens.
Clarke, Mrs., 8, North Street Quadrant, Brighton.

HUNSTANTON.

Dove-Wilcox, Mrs., Kingsthorpe, Hunstanton.
Ducker, The Misses, 1, Beach Terrace.
Moore, Miss Muriel G., Greenaway Tea Rooms.

Excellent work has been done in Hunstanton by Miss Bertha

Ryland, whose holiday has now come to a close, and Mrs. Cameron, who, although not a member, has been doing splendidly. Mrs. Dove-Wilcox, who will be in Hunstanton for a fortnight, is spending her time in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, of which she is disposing of large quantities, finding buyers very sympathetic.

ILFRACOMBE.

Inglis, the Misses.

The paper is eagerly bought and the town is ripe for meetings, but helpers are very urgently needed, especially speakers.

KESWICK.

Mansell-Moullin, Mrs., Ullock Farm, near Keswick.

LETCHWORTH GARDEN CITY.

Brown, Miss M., "Kelfield," Norton Way.
Hare, Miss, 345, Norton Way.
Westbrook, Mrs., Ickfield Way.
White, Miss, 345, Norton Way.

Meetings have been advertised by means of a procession and a bell-ringer. Supporters are very numerous, and show their appreciation of VOTES FOR WOMEN by buying up all the copies procurable. Help will be very greatly welcomed to carry on the campaign in this part of the country.

LEWES.

Clarke, Mrs., 8, North Street Quadrant, Brighton.

An open-air meeting was held on Sunday, when Mrs. Clarke was the principal speaker. Miss Purvie also spoke, and Mr. Frank Rutter acted as chairman. A second meeting was announced for Wednesday evening at Castle Bank, and several copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold.

LITTLEHAMPTON.

Wingrove, Miss Edith.

LLANDUDNO.

Barry, The Misses, Llandudno.
Clackson, Miss Florence, Llandudno.
Duncan, Mrs. Herbert, Llandudno.
Grundy, Miss, Oxford House, Llandudno.
Jones, Dr. Helena, Llandudno.
Lea, Miss Alice, "Ailsa Craig," Nantygamar Road, Llandudno.
Palister, Miss.
Preston, Miss Hattie, Nantygamar Road, Llandudno.
Williamson, Miss Lillian, B.A., Llandudno.

The Llandudno meetings have been eminently successful from every point of view.

LOWESTOFT.

Evans, Miss Gladys, 9, Manchester Street, Manchester Square, W.
Friedlaender, Miss V. H., c/o Mrs. Gray, 43, St. George's Road, Pakefield, near Lowestoft.
Ramsbottom, Mrs., Waveney House, Bungay.
Seymour, Miss Isabel.

Miss Isabel Seymour is holding an open-air meeting to-night, to meet the widespread demand for fuller information. There has been an excellent sale of papers again this week, and the order is once more being largely increased. Will any friends undertake the continuation of work after August 24?

LYNN, NORFOLK.

The Lynn Advertiser says:—"The Suffragettes are again in the neighbourhood, and were very much in evidence on Saturday, when they promenaded the front selling VOTES FOR WOMEN literature."

MARGATE.

Closenberg, Miss Gertrude.
Leiben, The Misses.
Lennox, Miss Laura, Capita, North Down Road, Cliftonville.
Myers, Miss Elsa, "The Kingsley," Godwin Road, Cliftonville.

MORECAMBE.

Billing, Miss.
Hamshaw, Miss.

Miss Burkitt has now left Morecambe, after starting the holiday campaign there most successfully. The sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been excellent, and the collections good.

OXFORD.

Graham, Miss, 19, Bardwell Road.
Pole, Miss Harriet J., The Hydro, Boar's Hill.

Several very successful meetings have been held, at which new members have been made. Miss Pole will remain at Oxford through the summer, and has a boat on the river, from which she sells VOTES FOR WOMEN. Votes for Women is the principal topic of conversation throughout Oxford.

PORTSLADE.

Andrews, Miss Edith M., 15, North Street.
Clarke, Mrs., 8, North Street Quadrant, Brighton.

Several meetings have been held, and the people are deeply interested and most friendly. A local sympathiser, Mr. E. J. Parker, has generously lent a van to the speakers, and is exhibiting a poster of the paper. More helpers are very urgently needed to sell the paper, especially on Saturdays.

RAMSEY, I.O.M.

Flatman, Miss S. A., 1, Queen's Drive.

Some grand meetings are being held here.

RHYL.

Francis, Miss, Mayfield, Rhyl.

Miss Francis reports that the rowdy meeting on the Rhyll shore on Tuesday last has been much exaggerated by local Press reports, although it is a fact that a hostile councillor at a council meeting

said there was nothing to prevent anyone legally from walking through a Suffragette meeting on the shore. This gentleman and others are to be looked up in the coming week.

RICHMOND, SURREY.
Barnett, Miss, 4, Queen's Gardens.

A successful open-air meeting was held last week, and a large number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN have been sold in the streets at Richmond and Twickenham.

SCARBOROUGH.
Coombs, Miss Daisy.
Suffield, Miss Ada, 26, Barwick Street.

SHERINGHAM.
Ayrton, Miss Phyllis A., care of Mrs. Middleton, Kingsmuir, Morris Street, Lower Sheringham.

Headway is being made here. Meetings are announced, among other ways, by seaweed inscriptions on the beach, and after one of them some local men asked permission to hold a debate on the subject, at which the Union methods were heartily defended.

SKEGNESS.
Crocker, Miss Nelly, care of Mrs. Caldwell, Sunny Dene, Ingoldmells, Skegness.

SKIPTON.
Kerry, Miss F., Kirkstille, Linton, Skipton.

A very good meeting was held last week. The crowd was most interested, made no interruptions asked many intelligent questions, and a special request was made for pamphlets.

SOUTHPORT AND BIRKDALE.

Ashby, Miss, 110, Liverpool Road, Birkdale.
Jardine, Miss, 61, The Promenade, Southport.
Marsden, Miss Dora, P.O., Southport.
Rosling, Mrs., Local Corresponding Secretary, 47, Sydney Street, Southport.
Russell, Miss Jessie, care of Mrs. Butterworth, Sydney Street, Southport.

Miss Jessie Russell has just concluded quite a triumphant campaign, having addressed fourteen meetings herself during the past fortnight. The district is strongly favourable for the cause.

SOUTHWOLD.

Lutyens, Lady Emily, Park Lane Cottage.
Medwin, Miss Florence, Venlaw, 5, Corporation Road.
Webbe, Mrs.

Lady Emily Lutyens and Mrs. Webbe have been indefatigable in selling the paper, but would be very glad of further assistance from any members who are staying in the neighbourhood.

ST. IVES, CORNWALL.

Bell, Mrs. Mary E., care of Miss Wade, York House.
Brown, Miss.
Mansell-Jones, Miss.

Several good meetings have been held, the town being well chalked beforehand. Good collections have been taken and a large number of VOTES FOR WOMEN sold. Six regular subscribers have been obtained, and two of the local news-agents have promised to display a poster and take the paper on sale or return.

TORQUAY.

D'Grenze, Mrs. Hoff.
Mills, Miss.
East, Miss.

Splendid meetings have been held during the week at Torquay, Paignton, St. Mary Church, and Teignmouth. Miss Mills is being most ably helped by Mrs. Hoff d'Grenze and Miss East, both of whom are devoting their holidays to the cause.

TRURO.

Hall, Mrs. St. John, 5, Rynance Terrace, Lizard.

The great event which is being looked forward to is the meeting on the evening of October 22 at the Public Rooms, when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney will speak.

VENTNOR.

Meikleham, Miss Marian, The Solent Hotel.

WESTGATE-ON-SEA.

Lieben, Miss Gertrude, 5, Ethelburg Terrace.

WEYMOUTH.

Dowell, Miss Gertrude, Brierley Wood, Wyke Regis, Weymouth.
Kendall, Miss M. E., Windsor House, Brownlow Street.
Marshall, Miss I. D., Winton Villa, Abbotsbury Road.

Miss Gertrude Dowell will be helping at Weymouth during the next fortnight.

WHITSTABLE.

Wilkinson, Mrs. Gertrude, Belrapar, Whitstable, Kent.
Yates, Mrs. Lamartine, The Cottage, Seasalter, near Whitstable.

Mrs. Lamartine Yates will be at her cottage near Whitstable from August 23. A flag will be hoisted over the cottage and a poster exhibited in the front garden. Mrs. Yates will be glad to hear of anyone willing to assist her with propaganda work of every description.

WORTHING.

Bartels, Miss Margaret, Fernleigh.
Kelly, Miss, Rowlands Road.
Ward, Miss F., 5, Prince's Street, Peterborough.

A site for meetings has been secured, with a hoarding on which to exhibit a poster of the paper. It is hoped that a poster may be exhibited at the railway station, and the paper displayed on the bookstall there. VOTES FOR WOMEN is having a tremendous sale, and many extra copies have had to be ordered.

YARMOUTH.

Ford, Dr. Ross, 2, South View Cottages, Caister.
Tyson, Mrs. M. ss Leconora, 4, Wellesley Road, Great Yarmouth.
Tyson, Miss K., Stradbroke, Gorleston.

A meeting will be held at "The Criterion," 90, Regent Road, Yarmouth, on Tuesday, August 24, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Leach will take the chair. All sympathisers in the neighbourhood are asked to attend, and offers of help in speaking, selling, etc., will be gladly welcomed. Volunteers should address Dr. Ford, 251, Queen's Road, Peckham, S.E. Through the generosity of Yarmouth friends, one more worker can be offered hospitality. There is an eight-day excursion from London for 11s. 6d.

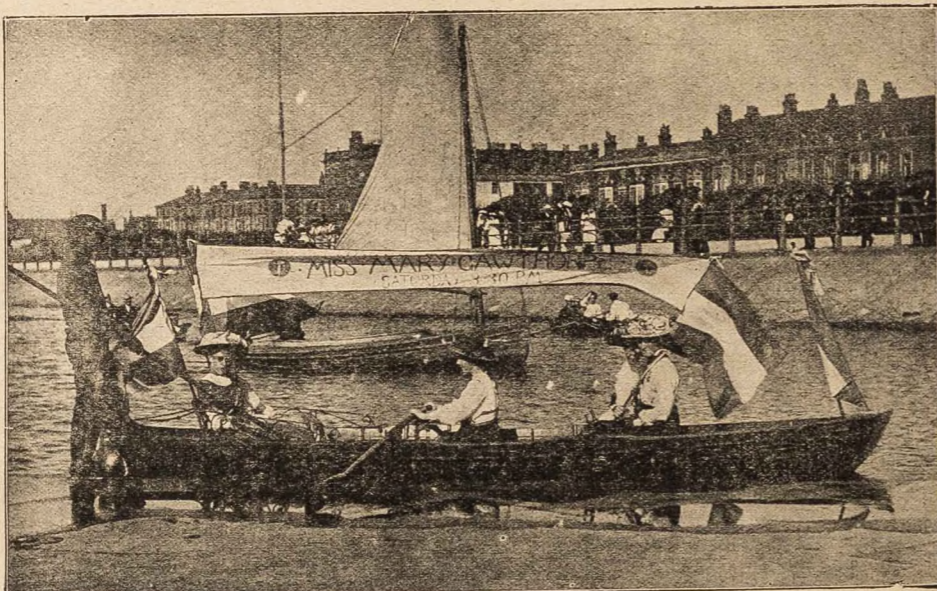


Photo by W. J. Eastwood, Southport.

[By courtesy of "The Southport Pioneer,"

Advertising a Suffrage Meeting in Southport.

Suffragettes Afloat.

Quite a mild sensation was created at the Brighton Regatta by the local Suffragettes, a number of whom were afloat in a motor-boat strikingly decorated in their colours—purple, green, and white—and flying a banner with the no longer strange device, "Votes for Women." They spent the afternoon flitting about the course. Although much chaff was aimed at them, nothing could damp the enthusiasm of the fair occupants, who waved flags and indulged in ecstatic cries of "Votes for Women."

—Sussex Daily News.

From Cornwall comes the news that the "Votes for Women" standard is about to be planted on the extremest point of Land's End and left proudly waving there; while a tourist in the Cheviots found a few days ago on the summit of one of the highest peaks a card inscribed "This is the pinnacle of perfection. May the women of Great Britain rise to the height of Political Liberty. Three cheers for Mrs. Pankhurst and her tribe, by Mere Man, Newcastle." The card bore a date of over a year ago.

Miss Burgis, of Nottingham, while travelling on a boat to Bordeaux last week, was asked by Mr. Wildash, a fellow traveller from London, if she would give an address on the movement. A meeting was therefore held on board, and was a great success. Much interest was aroused, and the question was warmly discussed for several days.

OUR POST BOX.

THE WIMBLEDON ELECTION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—A copy of last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN has just reached me. I regret that owing to absence from England this letter will be too late to appear in your next issue, but will you kindly give me space in one of your early numbers to correct a few mistakes which have found their way into Chapter XLIX. of "The History of the Women's Suffrage Movement" (see page 1,000, date July 30, of VOTES FOR WOMEN).

I have no wish to enter into any discussion as to "whether the game of running Parliamentary candidates is worth the candle to women's suffrage societies," for, as Miss Sylvia Pankhurst well says, "opinion" on this policy "may reasonably be divided." My sole object in writing is to give a brief statement of fact, based on first-hand personal knowledge of the conditions and circumstances under which the Wimbledon election of 1907 was fought.

(1) "In this election"—so says the writer of the article referred to—"the Suffragists (i.e., the committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies) did not nominate in opposition to Mr. Chaplin either a Conservative or a non-party man, but chose instead a strong Liberal who was determined to make the election contest an opportunity for propagating his Liberal principles." This is not correct. My committee chose Mr. Bertrand Russell to fight their battle on behalf of the enfranchisement of women, not because he was a "strong Liberal," for as a non-party organisation they have no concern with the private views of their members outside their own question, but because he was a keen and ardent believer in and supporter of the enfranchisement of women, and because he was willing and ready to place the cause of women's suffrage before his own personal and party interests. Mr. Russell stood as a Women's Suffrage candidate, and he was pledged, should he be returned to Parliament, to make the enfranchisement of women his first and primary consideration, putting it above and before any and every purely party consideration.

This was the agreement. Upon all other questions my Committee left Mr. Russell free to vote with the Conservative, the Liberal, or the Labour party, as might seem good to him at the time.

(2) The writer is mistaken in saying that "the question of Women's Suffrage was always treated by the candidate as a side issue, and gradually became crowded out." Those who, like myself, worked side by side with Mr. Russell throughout the contest will bear me out when I say that Mr. Russell at all his meetings clearly and definitely stated that he appeared before the electors primarily as a Women's Suffrage candidate, nominated by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. Never once, so far as I know, did he "apologise for his belief in Women's Suffrage"; never in my hearing did he try to assure the electors that upon this question he was not after all so very keen." That few of Mr. Russell's pronouncements on Women's Suffrage were reported in the Press is no proof that such were not made. All workers for Women's Suffrage know to their cost, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be the first, I am sure, to admit, that speeches on Women's Suffrage are far too often cut down or entirely ignored by the ordinary Press—and no exception was made for the Wimbledon election. The fact that no official support was given to Mr. Russell by the Liberal party, that many influential local Liberals held aloof or openly dissociated themselves from his candidature, while members of the Unionist and Labour parties, putting aside all party considerations, worked and spoke for him, clearly proves that the election was not fought on party lines.

(3) The writer goes on to say that "one of the most unfortunate features in the contest is to be found in the fact that the Suffragists themselves, instead of showing that they at least were determined to make Women's Suffrage the outstanding feature of the election, very largely took their cue from the candidate, were far too prone to lock upon their cause as a side issue, and to apologise for any impatient attempt to press it to the front." So far from this being the case, the one and only question pressed to the front by the Suffragist speakers and workers was the question of women's enfranchisement. It was their sole and only topic from morning till night, from the beginning to the end of the election contest. Many who had nothing in common with Mr. Russell but the question of Women's Suffrage, went down to work and speak for him, while others who could do neither subscribed willingly and liberally to his election expenses.

In conclusion, let me say that I am quite sure that Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will be the first to admit and accept the facts which in the interests of justice and fair play I now ask you to publish. I am equally sure that she had no wish to willfully misrepresent either the attitude taken up by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, much as she may disagree with its policy, or the words and actions of its candidate, who so loyally stood and fought for the

cause which we both have so much at heart, though we may differ in regard to the method and way of attaining our object.—I am, Sir, yours, etc.,

BERTHA MASON.
Treasurer National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

Palace Hotel, Roncegno, Austria, August 3, 1909.

OFFER OF BANNERS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—If other districts are organising receptions for hunger-strikers I will gladly send the banner "Welcome the Holloway hunger-strikers," which I painted for our Newcastle reception. It is six feet by three, and fastens by two eight feet poles on to the box of a landau or brake.

I have also small folding banners made of cloth in the colours, with "Votes for Women" in clear letters. Size of banner, two feet six inches by one foot eight inches, which we find very effective in drawing an audience quickly at any open-air meeting. I have five of these to give away. The banner is attached to the bamboo pole by hooks.—Yours, etc.

M. TAYLOR.

Chipchase Castle, Wark-on-Tyne, August 16.

MRS. BULLOCK WORKMAN'S SYMPATHY.

Miss Pankhurst has received a letter from Mrs. Bullock Workman, the famous Himalayan explorer, who, as recorded in VOTES FOR WOMEN (May 28) recently climbed alone a peak 21,350 ft. high, a feat never before attempted. Mrs. Workman writes:—

"I am writing to you direct because I wish to tell you how much I admire you and the splendid work you and the Union are doing for women. I am an American, but I live mostly, I fear, in many countries. I should like to become a member of the National Women's Social and Political Union, although I shall never be likely to do any active service for the cause. It may, however, interest you, if you have heard of me, to know that my sympathy is entirely with you brave women who are doing such splendid work for our sex."

POINTS FROM LETTERS.

Lady Emily Lutyens writes to urge members to wear the badge as well as the colours on all occasions. The badge is a sign of membership, and is very useful in enabling members to recognise each other. It also arouses the interest of the public. Lady Emily Lutyens has personally found it of the greatest value on a holiday campaign.

Miss Keegan writes from Canada that VOTES FOR WOMEN, which is distributed widely there, arouses a great amount of interest, and is doing splendid work in propaganda. She thinks that Canada is quite ready for the forward Suffrage movement.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

August 11 to August 17.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	45,044 7 7	Per Miss D. Pethick—	£ s. d.
Miss M. Wadham	0 1 0	— Mather, Esq.	0 10 0
Anon.	0 3 0	(Is. for every woman ejected from Liberal demonstration at Saltburn.)	
A Sympathiser, per Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D.	25 0 0	For By-election Fund—	
Miss Muriel Turner	0 2 0	Mrs. Powell	0 10 0
Mrs. J. Crawford	0 10 0	For Organiser Fund—	
Miss C. Kilburn	0 15 0	Miss M. G. Houston	0 8 0
Miss S. Browne	0 1 0	For Exhibition Fund—	
Miss D. Scammell	0 5 0	For Mrs. Kerwood	2 9 0
"Votes for Women" (extra paid)	0 0 5	For "Precious Stones" Fund—	
"A little girl whose father is very anti in his ideas."	0 2 0	Mrs. H. Whitten	0 5 0
Mrs. W. Green (Tilchurst)	0 2 0	Miss E. M. Middleton	0 1 0
"Rummage sale"	0 6 6	Misses G. and B. Wylie	0 2 0
"F. M. D." per A. E. W.	0 1 0	M. D.	0 2 0
Mrs. Mary Butler	5 0 0	Mrs. E. Dodwell	0 1 0
F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq.	50 0 0	Mrs. E. E. Jacobs	0 2 0
Miss Beryl Reeves	1 0 0	Miss C. Marsh	0 1 0
Nos. 6, 24, and 26	1 0 0	Miss Canning	0 1 0
Anon.	1 0 0	Miss D. A. Bowker	0 0 6
Per Miss Flatman—		Miss Dorothy Pethick	0 1 0
Two Friends	0 10 0	For Prisoners' Fund—	
Miss Llewellyn	10 0 0	Mrs. C. Mildred Skipwith	5 8 0
"Coalite"	0 0 10	Miss M. M. Scholefield	1 1 7
Mrs. Howard Shaw	0 5 0	Miss M. S. Gratton	5 8 0
"Quartette"	0 2 0	For Scottish Campaign Fund—	
Per Miss Marsh—		Mrs. Wilson	1 0 0
Miss Symes	0 1 6	Miss C. Marsh	1 0 0
Per Miss Phillips—		Membership Entrance Fees	3 7 0
Mrs. Hermon	2 2 0	Collections, etc.	13 15 3
Miss Glubb	0 5 0	Exhibition Stall Takings (additional)	0 11 8
		Total	£45,179 5 10

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

The Future of the Franchise.

Because we believe that the question of the franchise is not only immensely important in itself, but also an urgent issue of practical politics, it seems to us essential to press now for careful reconsideration without too much regard for the positions that one section or another has too hastily adopted. The general merits of the question we regard as past the stage of debate. This paper has consistently advocated the principle of Woman's Suffrage, and an overwhelming majority of Liberals are, we believe, of our opinion—not to mention organised Labour and a large section of the Conservative party. It is the democratic creed that all who can be affected for good or ill by government should share by representation in the making of laws and the control of the Executive. . . . Every democrat who understands his own creed is committed to Woman's Suffrage. He must also desire, at least as his ultimate goal, the enfranchisement of all adult women, married as well as single, the poor as well as the rich.

Such, we think, is the line of approach to this question which most Liberals have adopted. But it is sometimes desirable to get outside one's sex in such a debate, as in other questions it is desirable to get beyond one's class or one's race. There is another line of approach. "You are talking," a woman might object to us, "precisely as you might talk about the stupid disqualification of male voters by our bad registration laws. But the two questions are not at all on a par. No man is disqualified because he is a man. He is disqualified simply because of some absurd technicality about removals or latchkeys. He does not like it. It is not just. But it inflicts no stigma of inferiority on him. We, on the other hand, are disqualified because we are assumed to be the inferior sex. That opinion sanctioned by the State tracks us in every rank of life. It helps to fix the attitude of a young boy to his sister, it haunts us alike in our professions, if we are of the middle class, and in our factory if we are manual workers. It is to be traced in the laws of inheritance, of primogeniture, and of marriage, as well as in the practice of the less enlightened trade unions. It thwarts and depresses the development of a young girl's mind and character. It makes the career of a self-respecting woman a continual struggle for her rights. Give us the vote, be it only to some of us, and you begin to change all that. Parties will have to consider us. Politicians will have to study us. Legislation will begin to be more fair and equal. When Parliament has begun to take account of our opinions the least enlightened strata of the male population will insensibly have to follow." Until men, and especially Liberals, have grasped this position the real debate has not yet begun. . . . The women themselves, thinking mainly of their status as a sex, ask for what is called the limited Bill—and here most, if not all, the various societies are agreed. Many Liberals answer that we will give either to all women or to none. . . . We are told that reform in this country comes always by instalments, that there is no organised demand for adult suffrage at present, that the more foolish among men dread a slight majority of women at the polls (as if, forsooth, all women were of the same party). On the other hand, it is said that Liberalism is necessarily committed to the largest democratic measure, and that married women, and more especially mothers, have the largest of all possible stakes in the country. Our sympathies are in principle strongly with the latter view. Adult suffrage is the ultimate goal. But can the larger measure be realised as rapidly as the less general Bill? And would a limited Bill, if it could be carried now, involve any real danger to democracy? These are questions which we think call for the most careful consideration. —Daily News.

Why not give the Vote?

The women's war—with its mingling of self-sacrifice, wildness, and ardour—continues with unbroken fury. Every week provides fresh incidents, sometimes grotesque, sometimes violent, always defiant of convention and of mockery. Now megaphones shout through the roof of a meeting, women hide in cupboards, in order suddenly to burst out and create a disturbance, men are plucked from pillars or chain themselves to chairs while they proclaim the watchwords of their cause. Now great meetings—orderly, enthusiastic, passionate—are addressed in dignified and convincing

fashion by many of the same women who have been performing these queer antics. Now disturbers of order, refusing to give surety for good behaviour, are sent to gaol; and from behind the prison walls comes news of scuffles and punishments and hunger-strikes, which baffle the authorities and excite pity and disapproval and concern in the hearts of the male supporters of the movement. . . . Meantime a kind of chorus of comment and protest is kept up by the many distinguished supporters, who draw attention to the heroism and suffering thus so freely given, and ask, with increasing emphasis, why a Liberal Government does not end it all by giving the women the vote. —The Nation.

Anti-Suffragist Argument.

The more Professor Dicey proves that physical force is in the hands of men, the more ground he shows to the democrat for contending that political arrangements should seek as far as possible to redress the balance. If force were, as Professor Dicey appears to think, the basis of the State, it would indeed be a gloomy prospect not only for the rights of women, but for our civilisation. Fortunately the doctrine is both historically and philosophically false. It is only in proportion as force has been subordinated to ethical conditions that the State, in the true sense of the term, has arisen either within the shell of monarchy and feudalism or upon their ruins.

As to the abstract right to vote, we are not disposed to argue with Professor Dicey. We agree with him in discarding all absolute rights as such. It is enough that the mass of considerations, which in the case of the adult male have convinced the world that the right to vote is a necessary feature of the modern State system, are applicable without alteration of a jot or a tittle to the case of women. Of this it is sign sufficient that the opponents of Women's Suffrage have, after all these years, nothing new to say that so much as touches the point of principle. Two arguments, and, so far as we can see, two only, can, in fact, be relevant. The first of these is that women have no interests to maintain; the second, that they have no capacity to maintain them, or, in fact, to form any valid judgment on public affairs. The first position nobody could nakedly assert. Professor Dicey, however, draws a distinction between their civil rights, to which he attaches great importance, and their political rights, to which he attributes no validity. But suppose the political rights to be necessary as guarantees of the civil rights? To this suggestion Professor Dicey has the ordinary reply of the Reaction—that the governing class will provide, indeed has provided, for all that. Women have, in fact, obtained "relief from every proved wrong"—every wrong, that is to say, proved to the satisfaction of the ruler. . . . There never since pamphleteering began was an unfranchised class or race or nation or sex that was not relieved from every wrong proved to the satisfaction of the ruling class, race, nation, or sex. So far the ruler's point of view. The democrat's question is, "What satisfies the ruled? Are all wrongs proved to their satisfaction removed, and, if not, what means have they of voicing the wrongs about which they are not satisfied and of pressing for redress?"

This is, in fact, weak ground for the anti-Suffragists, and accordingly most of them, and Professor Dicey among their number, lay more stress on the incompetence of women in public matters. . . . All sorts of things may come about from a constitutional change, and the business of the pamphleteer is to picture all the evils, compatible or incompatible, in close juxtaposition. Thus in one place we are told that women's love of peace is something quite imaginary. In another we are asked to conceive the consequence if the majority of the electorate consisting mostly of women wished to terminate the horrors of war by a dishonourable peace. In one passage we are told that "participation in sovereignty" "depends on capacity to perform all the duties of citizenship," so that women cannot have votes because they cannot be soldiers, and positively within two pages we read that women are "as a class burdened with duties of the utmost national importance, and of an absorbing and exhausting nature, from which men are free." They cannot have votes because they must be mothers. Each argument might every whit as well be turned the other way, and the vote be refused to men (a) on the ground that they cannot perform the absorbing national duty of motherhood, or (b) on the ground that their energies are exhausted by the absorbing national duties of the soldier, the policeman, the business man, and the wage-earner. —Manchester Guardian.

The tendency to a diminution in the devotion of women to domestic life, which the Attorney-General for New Zealand seems to have attributed, at least in part, to the grant of the franchise,

is, we imagine, due in the main to other and broader causes. Both this change itself and the demand for the franchise would seem to be manifestations of a general revolt against the different conditions of the sexes, which has had many grave results, and some very pernicious results, in those communities where it has made most progress. The change would, we imagine, be regarded as an unmitigated evil by an overwhelming majority, both of men and of women in this country. They are firmly convinced that the greatest service women can do to the State is to remain "domestic." They believe that it is the glory of women to be womanly, as it is that of men to be manly. . . . Then there are the Suffragists themselves, with the active section of whom we cannot suppose that the domestic character of woman stands in the highest place. There is, no doubt, another section, who do not believe that the extension to women of the fullest political rights need, or would, prejudice their womanliness. But there they are at issue, not only with some of the chief male champions of female suffrage here and abroad, but with the bulk of their own sex. The fact that 250,000 women have signed a petition to Parliament against the grant of the franchise to women cannot be lightly ignored. —Times.

Political Insanity.

Quos Deus vult perdere, prius dementat.

To protest and profess to believe, as some politicians and journalists are doing, that the Women's Social and Political Union and the Women's Freedom League are negligible quantities in party warfare betokens either conscious insincerity or acute dementia. Nobody knows so well as participants in bye-elections to how large an extent the Suffragettes divert votes from Government candidates. The absurdity of the position is that, though two-thirds of the members of the House of Commons and three-fourths of the Cabinet have proclaimed themselves in favour of extending the franchise to women, the Government refuses to take the next logical step which would turn an army of relentless opponents into ardent friends. The situation is positively Gilbertian in its comicality. Everybody now well understands that it is through sheer obstinacy and a natural distaste for the humiliating exercise of climbing down that Mr. Asquith refuses to budge from the unfortunate position he first took up, and which probably nobody now regrets more than he does himself and his fellow-Ministers; and that the only reason why Suffragettes are not treated as first-class misdemeanants is the knowledge that large numbers of gently nurtured women who shrink from

the degrading ordeal of the second division would cheerfully suffer imprisonment in the first. But Mr. Asquith, his colleagues, and his subordinates have got to give way sooner or later, and, if only from motives of political self-interest, they should do it without further delay with as good a grace as they can command. The modified attitude of the authorities, as seen in the opportunity afforded, after two years' ceaseless agitation, for appealing to a higher court, and Sir Albert de Rutzen's pathetic appeals to the women not to go to prison, shows that some impression has at length been made on the adamantine hide of officialdom. —Christian Commonwealth.

MRS. ZANGWILL'S REPLY TO THE "TIMES."

Writing to the *Times*, in answer to the leader from which we quote above, Mrs. Zangwill says:—May I suggest that, far from the enfranchisement of women prejudicing their domesticity, it is the domesticity of women that is causing their demand for the franchise? With a legislation that tends to become increasingly domestic, we naturally feel that "woman's place is the House." Having perhaps had a wider acquaintance with militant Suffragettes than your able writer, I should like to assure him that even among these ladies domestic devotion is not unknown. No doubt the militant Suffragette is taken away from her home duties, but not more so than the society woman whose country house visits are paid in other places than Holloway. The Suffragette, however, unlike the society woman, resents the separation from her family.

With regard to the latter part of your article, I think that some misunderstanding must have inspired the phrase, "that they (the hunger-strikers) are being allowed to defy the law of the land almost with impunity." Liberation after a fast of six days can hardly be thus classified. It would, I imagine, be quite safe to offer the male prisoner his choice between nearly a week of absolute starvation and a month in the second division. It is true that in the two cases you quote, the prisoners were liberated after three days, but you omit to mention that it was the second hunger strike these ladies had undertaken within three weeks. It was merely a question as to whether the prison authorities or death would release them first. The masculine distaste for a possible future "petticoat government" has been frequently brought forward during this Suffrage controversy. The present absurd trouser government is equally intolerable to many women. What Suffragists are urging is a logical and satisfactory compromise—the divided skirt government.



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London.—Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.
West of England.—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton, Plymouth: Miss Vera Wentworth, 11, Alfred Street, The Hoe, Torquay; Miss Elsie Howey, Victoria Parade, Truro; Miss Mary Phillips, 8, The Parade.
Lancashire.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Liverpool: Miss S. Ada Flatman, 28, Berry Street. Preston: 41, Glover's Court, Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street.
Midlands.—Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham. Nottingham: Miss N. Crocker, 8, East Circus Street; Miss Helena Watts, Lenton Vicarage.
Yorkshire.—Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.
Newcastle.—Miss Edith New, 284, Westgate Hill.
Glasgow.—Mrs. A. K. Craig, 141, Bath Street.
Edinburgh.—Miss Florence E. M. Macaulay, 8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street; Mrs. Drummond, 63, Princes Street. Dunbar: Miss Cecilia Haig, Hawick: Miss G. Roberts. North Berwick: Miss M. Roberts.
Aberdeen.—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 41½, Union Street.

The reports received from organisers all over the country show that public interest in the cause is steadily increasing, and that the sympathy of the country is daily strengthening. Strenuous work is being done, great meetings, both indoors and out, are being held, and numberless people are being interested and won over. The campaign has now reached the far Orkney Isles, and to-morrow the "Votes for Women" flag will be planted at Land's End, so that from end to end of the kingdom the work is going forward. From every quarter increased sales of VOTES FOR WOMEN are recorded.

The campaign in the Isle of Man is lasting much longer than was originally intended, in consequence of the hearty invitation received everywhere to pay return visits. Miss Flatman and her colleagues are doing really splendid work, but far more helpers are needed to cope with the huge crowds, and members who can help are very earnestly asked to do so.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

In spite of the holidays, energetic work is being carried on, special attention being devoted to protests at Budget meetings in and around London. Town members are also doing splendid work in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

One of the special events of the near future will be a reception on September 4 at Bristol to Mrs. Dove-Willox and Miss Mary Allen. A procession will form up at Temple Meads Station at 3.30 on that day, and will march to the house of Miss Brand, "Henley Grove," where the reception will take place in the garden, weather permitting, and speeches will be made by the ex-prisoners. Tickets, 1s. each, are now on sale at 37, Queen's Road. It is hoped that all members in the West of England who can will be present, and members in Bath, Newport, and Cardiff are asked to assemble in a group and take part in the procession headed by their banners. On September 7 Mr. Forbes Robertson will speak at Cory Hall, Cardiff, and on September 11 Mrs. D. A. Thomas, of Llanwern Park, will hold a reception in her garden for the ex-prisoners. All members wishing to attend are asked to write to Mrs. D. A. Thomas.

LANCASHIRE AND NORTH WALES.

Miss Mary Gawthorpe has returned to Manchester from the special holiday campaign in the busy Blackpool district, and is arranging campaigns in connection with the unopened Burnley and Accrington district, and also in connection with the forthcoming visit of a Cabinet Minister to the "White City," Manchester (in the Stretford division). She will have the assistance of Miss Rona Robinson, who is conducting the Eight Towns' campaign, and of Miss Dora Marsden, who is responsible for the North-West Lancashire campaign for the time being. Lady Constance Lytton has promised to give a week to speaking, and members are asked to give as much time as they can spare to working up special meetings for this purpose.

Other plans for the immediate future include a week's visit from Miss Beatrice Harraden. It is hoped to include visits to Buxton, St. Anne's, Llandudno, Liverpool, Manchester, and Southport in the tour.

The date of the opening of the shop at 28, Berry Street, Liverpool, has been postponed until September 29. More office furniture is still needed—chairs especially, or donations towards procuring them will be much appreciated. Will any members or friends who are willing to help kindly write to Miss Dunn, Clare Mount, Wallasey?

MIDLANDS AND SOUTH WALES.

A special event in the future is the Coventry Demonstration on September 25. Splendid meetings have been held at Aberdovey, Borth, and

Aberystwyth, at which Miss Keevil, Miss Hooper, Miss Phillips, and Miss Young were the speakers. Some hooliganism was manifested at the beginning of these meetings, but this gradually quieted down, and the hearers became intensely interested, cheering the purple, white, and green, and giving the speakers an enthusiastic send-off at the stations. An enormous quantity of literature was sold, and very creditable collections taken.

The Caravan is still doing excellent work in the Midlands. Meetings have been held during the week at Bedworth and Longford. Mrs. Fewins, Miss Jennings, and Miss Noblett are all doing splendidly, with most encouraging results.

YORKSHIRE.

After the strenuous work of the last few weeks Miss Marsh is now taking a holiday, and the office at 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford, will be closed until the end of the month. In order that the sale of the paper may not suffer members are asked to take extra copies with them on their holidays. VOTES FOR WOMEN may be obtained during the holidays from Miss Roberts, 5, Cornwall Place, Bradford; Miss Irons, 240, Duke Street, Sheffield; and Mrs. Swales, 54, Belle Vue Road, Leeds. Among specially interesting future events are the meetings at Redcar and Middlesbrough on September 28 and 29 respectively, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak.

NEWCASTLE.

Several good meetings have been held at Tynemouth, Whitley Bay, Walker, and in Newcastle itself, and others will be held during the coming week. Preparations are being made for a tour of the neighbouring mining villages and seaside towns. An appeal is made for funds to cover the first quarter's rent of the shop and incidental expenses, and there is urgent need of volunteers to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN, visit newspapers, and take charge of the shop for a day, half-day, or week.

EDINBURGH.

Mrs. Drummond, with a strong band of energetic workers, is concentrating her efforts on the Scottish campaign in anticipation of the great demonstration on October 9, particulars of which will be found on page 1097. Help of every kind is needed to make the campaign a thoroughly successful one, and to lead up to a strikingly impressive finale on the day of the demonstration.

At Dunbar, North Berwick, and Hawick large meetings have been held by Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and others.

The Orkney Isles have just had their first visit from Suffragettes, a most successful meeting being advertised by means of a bell-ringer. The people of the Orkneys are keenly and intelligently interested in politics, and there is a fine field for work in the islands.

GLASGOW.

On Saturday last, August 14, a large open-air meeting was held at Glasgow Green at 3.30. Lord Crewe speaks in St. Andrews Hall on August 20, and there is to be a protest meeting outside. At Oban open-air meetings have been held by Miss Adela Pankhurst, and Mrs. Pankhurst will speak in the Volunteer Hall on August 27 at 8 p.m.

The War Chest.

Contributions are coming in well, and amounts are acknowledged on page 1089.

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THE SCOTTISH DEMONSTRATION, October 9.

The Plan of Campaign.

Central offices have been taken for the demonstration at 63, Princes Street, Edinburgh, and Mrs. Drummond, the "General" of the historic Hyde Park demonstration of June, 1908, is in charge of a comprehensive plan of campaign. She has the help of Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Macaulay, Miss Conolan, Miss Cameron, and other Scottish organisers. Voluntary workers in every town of Scotland are needed, and those who can help are requested to put themselves in communication with Mrs. Drummond at once.

In addition to the Edinburgh offices, temporary offices or shops will be taken in several towns. The expenses of printing, rent of halls, and railway fares must be met, and the country districts have to be reached by motor cars. The procession, which will be organised on an impressive scale, will entail considerable cost, and contribution forms, which should be filled up and sent immediately to one of the three joint treasurers of the Scottish Demonstration fund, as well as collecting cards, can be obtained from either of the treasurers or from Mrs. Drummond. The treasurers are: Mrs. Ivory, Laverockdale House, Colinton, N.B.; Miss Burnet, 2, St. James's Place, Hillhead, Glasgow; and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

The work now being carried on in Scotland—some details of which will be found under Glasgow and Edinburgh in "The Campaign Throughout the Country" from week to week—will culminate in a great procession and Women's Demonstration, to be held in the Waverley Market, Edinburgh, on October 9. A mass meeting will take place at 2.30 on that day, at which Scottish and English leaders of the Votes for Women movement will speak.

SUFFRAGETTE WEDDING.

Last week a wedding was solemnised at Bowes Park between Miss Ruth Robson, a member of the W.S.P.U., and the Rev. T. Dring, an ardent supporter of the movement. The colours were greatly in evidence, appearing in the bride's bouquet, the wedding favours, and buttonholes, while the bride's "going away" dress was in purple, white, and green. Members of the local union, dressed in the colours, wearing the regalia and carrying banners, formed a guard of honour at the station and gave the bride and bridegroom a hearty send-off.

SYMPATHY AND NOTHING MORE.

A deputation from the Liberal Women's Suffrage League, consisting of Mrs. Tattersall (President), Mrs. J. J. Findlay (Hon. Sec.), and Mrs. Sandys, was received recently by the Executive Committee of the Manchester Liberal Federation. Mrs. Tattersall said that as the Suffragette League which she represented was strongly Liberal, and was prepared to do hard work side by side with the Liberal Federation, she believed that the question of Women's Suffrage could only be settled safely by the Liberal party, who would prevent any purely property qualification being made a reason for granting the vote to women. The Chairman (Mr. W. Royle), in replying, said that his committee were practically unanimous in their sympathy towards the claims of women.

If the women's Liberal associations cared for the Suffrage, or if they had any regard for their sex, they would say to the Liberal leaders, "Not another thing shall we do for any Liberal candidate until the leaders take up Women's Suffrage and make it the first plank in their programme." If every women's Liberal association were to come out on strike until that were done, the Liberal leaders would soon take up the question. And that is much easier than a hunger strike.—Philip Snowden in *The Christian Commonwealth*.

One of the latest converts to the Woman's Movement is Mrs. Oliver Belmont, mother of the Duchess of Marlborough. Mrs. Belmont is building a large hall for meetings, and intends to devote herself heart and soul to the furtherance of the cause.

THE W.S.P.U. MOTOR AND ITS CHAUFFEUR.

Miss Vera Holme, chauffeur to the W.S.P.U., made her first public appearance in this capacity on Friday, when she took charge of the motor in which Mrs. Pankhurst started for Scotland. Miss Holme wore a striking uniform in the colours, with smart peaked cap decorated with her R.A.C. badge of efficiency. In our illustration Miss Holme is seen driving with Miss Edith Craig (daughter of Ellen Terry) beside her, and Mrs. Pankhurst seated inside. Great interest was shown in the decorated car as it passed through London. Mrs. Pankhurst goes to Scotland to speak at various meetings, concluding with the great Scottish Demonstration on October 9, after which she leaves for America.

DRINKING "THE SUFFRAGETTE."

At the Savoy Hotel there is a so-called American bar for the delectation of residents only, and a visit to this bar is a liberal education in glorified drinks, not only for summer, but for all the year round.

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—*Pall Mall Gazette*.



Miss Vera Holme driving Mrs. Pankhurst to Scotland.

LOCAL NOTES.

CAMBERWELL AND PECKHAM W.S.P.U.—A meeting of members will be held at 74, Peckham Rye on Wednesday, August 25, at 8 p.m. Will all members who possibly can be present, as there is urgent business to discuss? An open-air meeting will be held on Saturday, August 28, at the Triangle, Rye Lane, at 7.30 p.m. Paper-sellers are needed for this and other meetings which will be held during September. C. DAWSON.

CROYDON W.S.P.U.—Our next meeting will be held at Duppas Hill on Sunday, the 22nd, at 6.30 p.m. This will be our first meeting here, and we want the help of our members.

ILFORD W.S.P.U.—We held a meeting on Wednesday, August 11, at which Miss Agnes Kelly kindly spoke and Miss Ethel Haslam took the chair. We hold meetings every Wednesday evening opposite Ilford Station about 7.45. Paper-sellers are always welcome. Will new members please note this? Forty papers were sold last week. Until August 27 communications should be addressed to E. Haslam, 45, Pevensey Road, Eastbourne. ETHEL HASLAM, Hon. Secretary.

MARYLEBONE W.S.P.U.—The speakers' class is now holding three open-air meetings weekly, including one in Regent's Park on Sunday evening. We hope to open a shop as soon as the holiday season is over. This can be done if a number of our local members will guarantee a small sum weekly towards the rent. Marylebone would probably well repay such an outlay, as in one week during the June campaign 500 copies of the paper were sold at the committee room and the street corner meetings. GENIE SHEPPARD.

STREATHAM AND DISTRICT W.S.P.U.—That we were well advised in changing the time of our Sunday meetings on Streatham Common from 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. was demonstrated by the size of last Sunday's crowd. Mrs. Lamartine Yates's speech was much appreciated, and it was with reluctance that the audience dispersed at sunset. The paper sold well, and a good collection was taken. Next Sunday our speakers will be Miss M. Brackenbury and Mrs. Duval. Will members and friends make a special note of the fact that the time of our Sunday meetings is 6 p.m. LEONORA TYSON.

WIMBLEDON W.S.P.U.—On Sunday, August 15, the speaker on the common was Miss L. Tyson, and the chair was taken by Mrs. Knight, of Mitcham. Next Sunday, August 22, Miss Wylie will be our speaker. The meeting will be at 8 p.m. S. B. for M. G.

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