# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

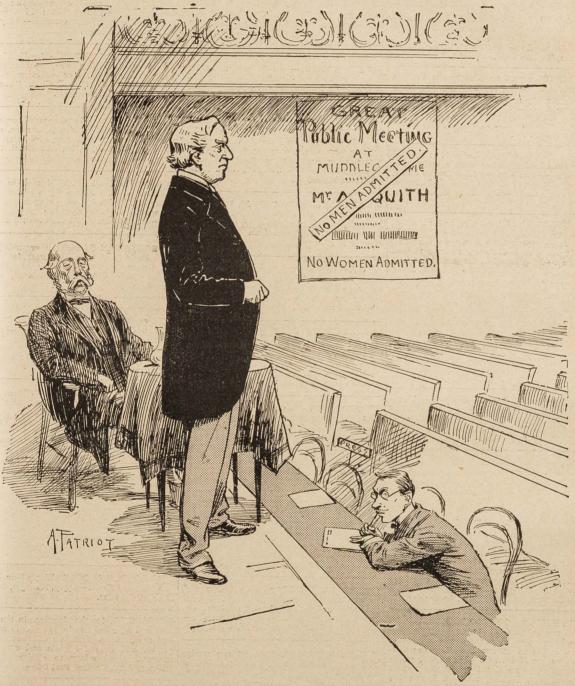
EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 73.

FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1909.

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Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and book-

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

#### DEDICATION.

dom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the to give way. 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 proposition I submit is, wherever and whenever Liberalism has permanently lost ground, whether it has yielded to reaction or to Socialism, it has been because it has ceased to keep abreast or its best traditions and be true to itself.

As regards political authority [the specific aim of Liberalism is] to make it stable and rest it upon the broadest possible basis of popular responsibility.

Are we, the Liberals of to-day, following these ends in acting in this spirit? If we are, we justify our existence; if we are not, we deserve as a party to come to an end.

Thursday, July 22, at the Eighty Club. "To make Page. political authority stable by resting it upon the broadest possible basis of popular responsibility." Is it credible that the man who could claim that this was one of the principal objects of his Party could be found not merely refusing to extend the suffrage to women, but refusing even to admit a deputation of women which desired to instruct him as to the urgent need of the extension of the franchise?

#### Votes for Women in 1910.

But the tide is with the Woman Suffragists. Next session, that of 1910, is likely to be the last of the present Parliament. Unless Mr. Asquith is prepared to justify the existence of the Liberal Parliament by carrying out Liberal principles he will be wilfully bringing that party to an untimely end. In our leading article this week Christabel Pankhurst lays down the irreducible minimum of Woman Suffragists. They demand from the Government nothing more and nothing less than the passage through Parliament during the session of 1910 of a Woman Suffrage Bill extending the vote to women on the same terms as at present it is granted to men.

#### A Private Member's Bill.

In order that this may be effected she demands that the Government shall introduce this measure at the beginning of the Session. But following the example very profitably set by the Labour Party with regard to Trades Disputes and other questions, she also asks the private members to come forward to assist the Women's Social and Political Union by balloting for a Woman Suffrage Bill on their own initiative. This will serve the purpose of striking the hour of day, and of keeping the Government up to the mark in the matter.

#### The Hunger Strikers.

Another Suffragette-Miss Kirby-has carried out the hunger strike in Holloway, and has been released; and the triumphant victory thus gained over the Government by all these women has formed the subject of much comment in the Press and elsewhere. Though some papers, notably the Daily News and the Nation, extracts from which will be found elsewhere, directly support the women in their action, others have professed to see in the release of the Suffragists a humanitarian weakness on the part of the Home Secretary. How little these gentlemen of For Quotations for Advertisements, apply to the Press understand the forces which underlie the govern-Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN ment of the world! The women who went thus bravely forward took their lives in their hands, and had Mr. Gladstone refused their release he would have been saddled with the everlasting odium of the death of those women to whom he refused justice. He knew this and knew that the country To the brave women who to-day are fighting for free- would not tolerate such action, and therefore he was obliged

#### A Cowardly Attempt.

Mr. Gladstone has, however, endeavoured to blacken the character of these women by accusing some of them of "kicking and biting" the wardresses. This charge has been dealt with by Miss Pankhurst in a special statement which we print elsewhere. After making this ex parte accusation, Mr Gladstone has expressed his intention of taking proceedings against two of the women involved. And we understand that summonses for assault have been taken out.

#### Miss Clarkson's Release.

On the morning after this paper goes to press another of the Women Suffrage prisoners is being released-Miss Clarkson. The silence of the prison walls of Strangeways Gaol has prevented us from knowing in what form Miss Clarkson has made her protest against the treatment meted out to her These are not the words of an advanced Suffragist in the by the Liberal Government in prison, but before these lines ranks of the Liberal Party, but of none other than the Prime are in print our readers will be in possession of the facts. Minister himself, delivered in the course of his speech on One other prisoner-Miss Corson-is due to be released from who are still in London then will assemble in large numbers they are doing. In particular we wish them to help to it the gates to give her a rousing welcome.

#### Protests at Meetings.

A series of very vigorous protests has been made at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers during the week. At Mr. Herbert Samuel's in Bedford and again at Mr. Asquith's at the Cannon Street Hotel a number of men protested during the meeting, while women excluded from the meeting carried on their protest outside. On page 1,010 of this issue we these interruptions. Following upon this will be found graphic accounts of the protests which were made outside by the women. At Norwich three women-Miss Paul, Miss Jarvis, and Miss Cullen-were arrested for the part they took in the proceedings. Miss Ainsworth, Miss Martin, Miss Pitfield, Miss Capper, Mrs. Leigh, and Mrs. Baines were arrested at Bedford; and Miss Marsh, Miss Crocker, and Miss Watts were arrested at Nottingham. At Wolverhampton Miss Ainsworth, Miss Marsh, Miss Young, and another woman were arrested and charged with obstructing the police. All were subsequently released. The latest device for avoiding "troublesome Suffragettes" is to abstain from going in person to make speeches, and to send gramophone records instead!

#### The At Homes.

During the week in London two splendid meetings have been held. At the St. James's Hall on Thursday evening Miss Wallace Dunlop was received with tremendous enthusiasm and described her hunger strike. At the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst gave speeches to a large and enthusiastic audience. These meetings, together with the one which is being held in the St. James's Hall to welcome the Hunger Strikers on July 29, bring the series of At Homes to an end for the season. The next At Home in London will be held at the St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, September 16, and the first Monday At Home of the autumn in the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon,

#### An Object Lesson.

In spite of their opposition to the enfranchisement of women the Liberal Party are becoming increasingly conscious of the need of women in all their political work. At the recent Budget protest in Hyde Park on Saturday last one of the special attractions that was offered to the intending demonstrators was that on every one of the platforms would be a Liberal woman prepared to defend the Budget. And yet we are told that women are not fitted to enter the rough and tumble of political life!

#### Married Women Wage Earners.

An interesting commentary on the attempt to exclude married women from the better-paid professions is provided by the paper read by Miss Eva H. Jones, Chief Woman Sanitary Inspector, at Bradford at the Congress of the Royal Sanitary Institute. She pointed out that under present economic conditions any attempt to limit the wage-earning of married women would probably lead to worse evils than those which existed at present, and she showed that the comforts of the home and the health of the family depended upon the right of the married woman to supplement the at the commencement of the Session of 1910. But with the inadequate earnings of her husband.

#### Holiday Campaigns.

We call the attention of our readers to the two pages in this week's issue relating to the campaign in holiday resorts, of these members obtains a place among the early numbers in showing that a large number of members of the W.S.P.U. are now taking part in these campaigns, which bid fair to be extended all over the country. We commend to our readers is important, therefore, that all friends of the movement shall this means of combining pleasure and work, and urge as urge this course upon members of Parliament of their acmany of them as are able to assist the movement during their quaintance.

Holloway on August 15. We hope that London members holidays in this way, and to send us short accounts of what push forward the circulation of this paper by taking holiday parcels for sale or distribution among their acquaintances.

#### Contents of this Issue.

Among the interesting contents of this issue is the stirring letter by Miss Elizabeth Robins which we reprint from the Westminster Gazette. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, in the fortyninth chapter of her "History of the Suffrage Movement," deals with the Wimbledon election, in which a Liberal cangive an account written by one of the men who took part in didate in the guise of a Woman Suffrage candidate, was put forward by the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies.

As Monday next is Bank Holiday, our contributors will greatly assist us in the production of the paper if they will forward their reports, etc., as early as possible. We shall be particularly glad of any contributions which reach us by Saturday in the present week. Among the interesting features of next week's issue will be a special article by Miss Adela Pankhurst, dealing with the great demonstration which is to take place in Edinburgh on October 9, and referring to the splendid part which Scottish women have played in the past in the history of their country.

WOMEN in sympathy with this Movement should join the 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.

#### BALLOTING FOR BILLS.

Bills discussed in Parliament are either introduced by a member of the Government or by a private member. Those introduced by a member of the Government are known as Government Bills. They are usually referred to in the King's Speech, and the whole authority of the Government is used to get them carried through Parliament during the session.

Bills introduced by private members, on the other hand, have little or no chance of becoming law unless they are accepted or supported by the Government, because after the first few weeks in the session no time is available for their discussion. They are regarded, however, as valuable, inasmuch as they record for the information of the Government the views of the House on any particular question. Moreover, if the Government in consequence accepts them or if it provides special facilities in the matter of time for their further discussion they may pass into law.

The introduction and first reading of private members' Bills are generally matters of form only, and no difficulty with respect to this is encountered. The important part is the second reading discussion, which can only take place at all provided a day is available. As only the first few Fridays in each session are available altogether for private members' Bills it is only a few of them which are discussed at all. At the opening of each session a large number of private members ballot for having a Friday allotted to them for the discussion of one of their Bills. The chance of any one particular member obtaining one of these is small. If a large number of members all ballot for the right to discuss one particular measure, such as a Woman Suffrage Bill, the chance that one of them at least will obtain a good place is proportionately

The Women's Social and Political Union are demanding that the Government shall introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill view of keeping the Government up to the mark, they are also anxious that a very large number of private members shall ballot for a place for the Woman Suffrage Bill. If any one the ballot, he will then select the best Friday available, and will put down the second reading of the Bill for that day. It behear of His

#### SUFFRAGETTES IN PRISON.

#### By Elizabeth Robins.

Without going into the question of the lawfulness or the unlawfulness of the actions of the militant Suffragettes (about which even the Doctors of the Law appear to disagree), I would like, as dispassionately as possible, to draw attention to a factor in the case not yet touched upon, not even recognised.

I would first of all remind you that for several years women as is meted out to drunkards and to thieves. Suffragettes have endured this for a cause which has been before the country for forty years, a cause to which 420 members of the present Parliament have given their adhesion, a cause of which a majority of the present Cabinet are in favour. Now, if the traditional avenue through which voteless citizens can carry a grievance (the orderly petitioning of the King's repre-

If they are men their practice has been either to make the general public suffer for its apathy (by burning down buildings and by indiscriminate bloodshed) or else they have made their opponents suffer in person.

The women's way has all along been to take the brunt of the suffering upon themselves.

force that lies behind the woman's movement. It has led think he has only to break a few windows and gather a crowd responsible officials to jeer at a "policy of pinpricks," and to in Westminster to get his will. But that is childishness. speak with pride of the way in which men forced the door "at which the ladies are scratching."

The time has come when any available light should be shed upon this darkness, especially as a new phase has been entered upon by the fourteen members of the W.S.P.U., who feel that enough Suffragettes have undergone punishment in the Second Division. These latest prisoners are trying in their own persons to ensure that the indignities they suffer will be no accident. But for the Government it would be a shall be the last inflicted upon the women of this country on misadventure which even their opponents would gladly see account of political agitation.

My sympathies are somewhat engaged for the luckless persons to whom falls the no doubt repellent task of attempting to carry out the police magistrates' sentence upon the women who "for a sign" broke windows in Government offices on that evening when the thirteenth deputation was with honour may.—Reprinted from a letter appearing in the forcibly turned away from the door of St. Stephen's. The wisdom that stepped in earlier to extricate the prison authorities from a single dilemma (in the case of Miss Wallace Dunlop) may desert them when they are asked to apply it to fourteen.

I find that no one thing so divides the world as the opinion as to how much may be expected from self-interest. To discover that certain people are ready to lay down what most regard as of paramount importance, that is perplexing enough. Though the story of human fortitude is older than any history that is written in any books, the fortitude that will go any length still wears to the average mortal an air so strange that it runs the risk of not being recognised. Now. Sir, my point is that these women know that. They undertake their "hunger strike" realising that it will be supposed they will not go so far with it as to do themselves a mortal injury. They know it will be supposed that they are trying merely to frighten authority, and that they will prudently stop this side of a course that will bring them a release for which neither the Home Secretary's order nor that of the King will be needed.

There are, without doubt, persons so angered against the Suffragettes as to say, "Very well, let them expiate their foolishness with their lives.'

But that will not be the public view of the matter. Nor will it be the (intended) view of the Government. It therefore seems necessary to say that in dealing with these women it will not do to count upon the usual canons of self-interest. There are those (whether among the Suffragettes now in have endured for their political opinion's sake such treatment Holloway or the thousands outside)—there are those prepared to pay any price that may be exacted for protesting against more women being made to suffer the indignities of the Second Division—for what? For following to its logical conclusion an opinion they share with the majority of the legislators of this country. The prisoners know quite well how it may end for any one of them. The people who are not fully informed are those whom the country will hold responsible for the issue. And that seems to me not fair. sentative)—if that be barred, what are voteless citizens There should be no avoidable misunderstanding as to the spirit (however reprehensible) in which the "Hunger Strike" is undertaken. The women are laying hands upon a very terrible weapon, but there is no ground for hoping that if they let it fall others will not take the weapon up. That this should be so may be fanaticism. But it is also hard fact. Calling it names, good or bad, will not alter it.

I know it is said that if the authorities do not deal stringently with these cases general disorder will ensue in It is this difference which has blinded many men to the England; and everyone hereafter who has a grievance will "Anyone," with a grievance hereafter who can get thousands of reputable people to espouse his cause, hundreds to go to prison for it, and the general public to give him fifty thousand pounds a year to spend on it, will have reason to be listened to. No cause is fed so fat on air.

> But my aim, Sir, in addressing you is to prevent anyone having a right to say, when one of these women succumbs in Holloway Gaol, that it was "death by misadventure." It them spared, if one of these women (with the memory of the smiling members of Parliament out for "fun," to see how women meet the nerve-shattering horror of a contest with mounted police)-if, with that memory to nerve her, one of these prisoners force the gates of Holloway and sets out upon the Great Adventure that even heroes evade as long as they "Westminster Gazette" of July 22.

#### LIFE AND DEATH (Echoes).

Out of the night that covers me, Black as the pit from pole to pole, I thank whatever gods may be For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance I have not winced nor cried aloud. Under the bludgeonings of chance My head is bloody, but unbowed.

Beyond this place of wrath and tears Looms but the Horror of the shade, And yet the menace of the years Finds, and shall find me, unafraid.

It matters not how strait the gate, How charged with punishment the scroll, I am the master of my fate: I am the captain of my soul.

WILLIAM ERNEST HENLEY.

## HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By Sylvia Pankhurst. XLIX.—The Wimbledon Contest.

Whilst the Suffragettes (as we saw last week) were playing so under very different circumstances at Wimbledon. It will be remembered that the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies had recently announced that its future policy at bye-elections would be to support the candidate most favourable to the enfranchisement of women, or to remain neutral if both or all candidates were equally favourable. If at any bye-election there should be no candidate whom the N.U.W.S.S. considered favourable to the cause, the Society would consider the advisability of running a fought. It is true that prominence was at first given to the separate candidate of its own.

At the Hexham bye-election, which, as we have seen, was the candidate, Colonel Bates, stated in reply to questions put to him by the N.U.W.S.S. that he believed in the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women upon the same terms as to men. The reply given by the Liberal candidate, Mr. R. D. Holt, was said to be unsatisfactory, and the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies therefore decided to support the Conservative candidate This action attracted little public attention owing to the fact that those experienced and popular election campaigners the Suffragettes were already in the field opposing the Liberal Government's nominee. It caused, however, great discontent amongst the Liberal members of the N.U.W.S.S., and, as already stated, some of these even went so far as to work for the Liberal candidate in opposition to the Secretary, Miss Edith Palliser, and the rest of the Society. To render matters even more embarrassing for the N.U.W.S.S., the Liberal candidate now veered round a point or two, as candidates so often will, and protested that he had always been in favour of women's enfranchisement, his only fear being that the women were not asking for their votes upon a sufficiently democratic basis. He was thereupon proclaimed by his supporters to be a staunch and devoted friend of the Woman's Suffrage cause. As candidates were only too likely to change their minds for election purposes, the weakness of the N.U.W.S.S. policy was thus clearly demonstrated.

When the Wimbledon vacancy occurred in May, the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies took their second plunge into the vortex of contested elections, and decided to run a candidate of their own. They chose as their nominee the Hon. Bertrand Russell. The crushing defeat which resulted has, unfortunately, sometimes been quoted as a proof that the majority of the Parliamentary voters in that constituency were opposed to the principle of women's enfranchisement, but an impartial examination of the facts shows clearly that they do not in any way justify this conclusion.

The Wimbledon seat had always been held by the Conservatives, and their majority at the General Election, in spite of the then great Liberal revival, had numbered more than 2,000 votes. At the bye-election, with that well-known and typical old Conservative Mr. Henry Chaplin as a candidate, the Liberal Party had decided not to fight. Therefore, but for the intervention of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, who opposed him because of his anti-suffrage views, Mr. Chaplin would have been returned without a contest.

Opinions may reasonably be divided as to whether the game of running Parliamentary candidates could possibly have been worth the candle to women's suffrage societies, but it will surely be conceded that if suffrage candidates were to be run the chief object of the Suffragists ought to have been to efface as far as possible all other points of political difference between the rival candidates in order that upon the question of Votes for Women, and upon that alone, the electors might have decided how to vote. To ensure that the single issue should predominate it might have been well to have chosen as the Suffrage nominee a candidate whose views upon general political questions were either similar to those of his anti-Suffragist opponent who was already in the field, or somewhat colourless or obscure. In any case, however, it was certainly essential that the Suffragist candidate should be willing to subordinate all his other political opinions and to concentrate his attention absolutely upon the question of Votes for

In this election, however, the Suffragists 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

That Mr. Bertrand Russell cared very much more for important a part at Stepney, a bye-election was being fought Liberalism than he did for women's suffrage was at once apparent. With the news that he had consented to stand as the Women's Suffrage candidate came the announcement that he would not under any circumstances have agreed to do so had an official Liberal been nominated. Right from the outset Free Trade, the record of the Liberal Government, and the general principles of Liberalism were the points constantly put before the electors, and it was upon these points that the election was really question of women's enfranchisement, but it was always treated by the candidate as a side issue, and it gradually became almost first at which this policy was put into practice, the Conservative entirely crowded out. Proofs of this were to be found upon every hand. The Daily News, the paper which mainly supported Mr Russell's candidature, summed up his first meeting in the con stituency in the following words: - "Mr. Russell's closely reasoned exposure of the failure of Protection was supplemented with admirable effect by his wife's plea for political justice for the 'mere girl.'" In spite of the fact that it has been clearly proved that Liberalism had no chance in the division, Mr. Russell boldly proclaimed himself a Liberal, but apologising for his belief in woman's suffrage, he tried to assure the electors that upon this question he was not after all so very keen, and certainly no keener than many of those who were already in Parliament. In his last message to the electors he said :-

"I ask for the Liberal vote because I am a Liberal through and through. I am just such a Liberal as dozens of the Ministerialists in the House who are as keen as ever I can be upon the women's suffrage restion. To those who waver about giving me their voticause they have doubts on the women's question I would say:—'De you prefer Mr. Chaplain, the Protectionist and crusted Tory, to one who is at least a Free Trader and a Progressive?' Such persons should remember that every vote not given to me is a vote given to my

The Conservatives eagerly seized the opportunity of fighting Mr. Russell on the ground of his Liberalism, and the anxiety which right from the opening of the contest they showed to prove that Mr. Russell was running rather as a Liberal than as a Suffragist certainly lends colour to the idea that they did not consider his belief in women's suffrage likely to render him unpopular with the electorate.

We see, therefore, that Mr. Russell fought and was fought mainly as a Liberal. He was handicapped in his fight by not receiving the official support of his party, and by the fact that almost all the influential local Liberals who had in the first place judged it wisest for Liberalism not to contest the seat now either neld aloof entirely or openly dissociated themselves from his candidature. It was no great matter for surprise, therefore, to find when the result of the poll (which took place on May 14, 1907) was declared that Mr. Russell had been defeated by more than 6,000 votes. The figures were:-

H. Chaplin (C.) .. .. .. B. Russell (W. Suff. and L.) 6.964 Majority

At the General Election the figures had been :- G. E. Hambro (C.), 9.523: Lane Fox Pitt (L.), 7,409; Majority, 2,114.

It is interesting to note that in the six elections which had taken place in the constituency since 1885 the Liberals had only thought it worth their while to contest the seat on three occasions and on one of these the Liberal vote had fallen below that recorded for Mr. Bertrand Russell.

Perhaps one of the most unfortunate features in the contest was 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, and of guiding their candidate aright, very largely took their cue from him. The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies was professedly, it must be remembered, a non-party organisation which women of all shades of political opinion were invited to join, and yet this election contest of theirs was allowed to become very largely a Liberal fight.

very largely a Liberal right.

Herein lay the great point of difference between the Suffragists and the Suffragettes. The Suffragists were ever too prone to look upon their cause as a side issue and to apologise for any impatient attempt to press it to the front. The Suffragettes, on the other hand, were eager to stake their all upon it and proclaimed it the highest and greatest in the world.

(To be continued.) avid to state

## SOME RECENT BOOKS.

#### TRIALS OF FIVE QUEENS.\*

JULY 30, 1909.

This book tells the story of five remarkable trials of women, and reproduces to the imagination the historic persons who took their various parts in the drama which is enacted in a court of justice when the defendant is on trial for honour or for life.

In the scenes depicted, the defendants are queens, every name is known to the children in our elementary schools, but there are few people who have ever in thought or imagination entered into the passion and tragedy of their lives.

Katherine of Aragon, the patient, faithful, and loyal wife, is a pathetic figure as with utmost dignity she refuses to appear before the Tribunal whose legality she absolutely denies. The regal heart that will not bend to accept humiliation breaks with grief. Before she dies she dictates to the king one of the most moving letters ever

'All Europe," says the author, "is still feeling the effects of the upheaval caused by the repudiation of this faithful woman and loving

Curiously enough, though Mary Queen of Scots, Marie Antoinette. and Charlotte of Brunswick appeal to the imagination by reason of their courage, their wrongs, and their fate, the most interesting chapter in the book is that which deals with Queen Katherine's rival, Anne Boleyn. "She was braver than any other woman of her day or generation," says the chronicler. We might add she was braver than any man we read of in connection with her history, for her judges were the tools of Henry the Eighth, her friends were sycophants of the Court, and nothing in the pages of history is more cowardly than the King's treatment of the girl, who by her charm had once brought him to her feet and made him her slave. To read the history of the trial of Anne Boleyn is to win a new understanding of the character of her daughter, the renowned Elizabeth, who created the maritime strength of England and founded the British Empire. As for her royal Consort, his behaviour is that of a spoiled Though for the sake of his favourite, he as lover and husband had defied the greatest power in the world, yet the love that was so exceeding hot grew cold at the first disappointment. The son whom the king so ardently desired as his heir to the throne was denied, and a few months after the marriage ceremony a girl was born. From that moment Anne Bolevn was doomed. The barrier between her and the numerous intrigues of those who resented her elevation from comparative obscurity to regal estate was thrown down.

"The marvellous thing about it was that Anne never lost her abundant high spirits. She saw herself conspired against. She felt the skill and power of her enemies. She knew she had lost the shield and buckler of the king's love. Yet she never quailed for an instant. Gayest of the gay, merriest of the merry, she meant to give her enemies no cause to triumph.

When at last she is hailed before her accusers and judges to answer to various ridiculous and trumped-up charges, her wit, resource, and presence of mind never for one moment fail her.

While awaiting her execution, she laughs heartily, making jokes at her own expense. "I suppose that people who found such an infamous name for the late queen will not lack to find one for me; they might call me Queen Lackhead."

She dies full of courage, with magnanimous words upon her lips of goodwill to all, and acceptance of her own fate. 'Most unjustly condemned and foully murdered," is the verdict of

the historian, and in this verdict we heartily agree.

And upon the book as a whole our verdict is: "A most fascniating record of ill-fated women who, dispossessed of all else beside, remained possessed of the 'unconquerable soul.'

E. P. L.

## WAYSIDE PICTURES IN FREEDOM'S BATTLE.

Mr. Nevinson has travelled much, seen much, suffered much in the sight of others' suffering. He is sick with the failure of those that fight for freedom. And so when he sits down to write "Essays in Freedom" the does not write of the glory of victory or even of the glory of defeat, but he bids us remember the wounds that are gotten by the way. Of himself he

I am aware that I exaggerate the sphere of strict reality and downright experience in life, and I envy the people who live habitually on the higher planes of imagination or abstraction.

So, I fear, it may also be with that dear abstraction called Free-

\* The Trials of Five Queens, By R. Storry Deans. (Methuen: 10s. 6d. net.) † "Essays in Freedom." By H. W. Nevinson. Duckworth and Co. 63 net.)

dom, whose holy name I have inscribed on my title-page. I know Goethe's saying that there breathes so sweet a sound in the word Freedom that we could not do without it even if it always implied error. I know rebellion's universal anthem of "Liberté, Liberté, chérie!" But I can form no vivid conception of Freedom apart from what I have seen. To me the word conveys nothing as a Natural Right, nothing as an abstract idea, and nothing as a symbolic woman with wings blowing a trumpet into the ears of marble captives, decoratively asleep in chains. I have learnt the reality of the thing only from the misery of its opposite, and when I hear the word Freedom I see shaggy farmers, rough with mud and storm, clad in leather cut from outstarved horses, waiting at the bottom of a watercourse, rifle in hand. Or I see a woman in rags cowering under a ruined wall while sleet hisses upon the charred and open patch of ground which was her home. Or I see a pale man and girl hurried over the snow between brown-coated soldiers with fixed bayonets to be hacked to pieces in a barrack yard. Or I see a herd of black Africans, men and women, huddled together upon a steamer's deck, gazing like driven cattle towards the misty slands where they will toil until they die, in order that our chocolate creams may be cheap. Or I see a white-robed crowd gathered upon a beach where the surf beats heavily under a stormy moon, and from the crowd goes up a cry in honour of a prisoner spirited away from his country, untried and uncharged, for the cause of Freedom. Or I see a great city whispering in terror at a decrepit and terrified old man who sits above the city like a spider in a web sensitive with treachery.

It would take too long to tell you all the hideous examples of slavery, despotism, and injustice I have seen. It is only as a camp-follower on the battlefield of freedom that I have learnt what free-

I am inclined to think that lookers-on do not always see most of the battle. They see the wounds and the bruises which hurt the flesh; they do not see the triumph of the spirit which transcends the physical suffering; they do not see it unless they possess the eyes of imagination. Mr. Nevinson, for all his disclaimers, possesses this inner vision, but he distrusts it. Therefore he only gives the world half himself. When he trusts all his powers equally he will give the world a true

F. W. P. L.

#### IN MANY LANDS.

A very useful little handbook, "Women's Suffrage in Many Lands,"\* by Alice Zimmern, supplies in clear and convenient form the information which students of the suffrage question are always wanting. The book contains a brief summary of the history of the franchise movement in twenty-one countries dealt with, and the aim is to show the wide extent of the demand being made by women all over the world for a voice in the government of their land. In the chapter on Great Britain, after tracing the history of the agitation, Miss Zimmern points out that it is the militant tactics which have made Woman Suffrage the question of the day. Summing up the record of the last three years, she says :-

The record of the last three years would fill a volume. Mass meetings have been held, processions have traversed the streets of London, Edinburgh, and Manchester, the Suffrage has become a factor at byc-elections, a lady graduate has pleaded her own case before the House of Lords, there have been "raids" on the House of Commons, bazaars and self-denial weeks with amazing financial results, Suffrage plays at the theatres, "Votes for Women" kites flying over the Houses of Parliament, debates with opponents, a

war of pamphlets and newspapers.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

"From Hampstead to Holloway." By W. Burton Baldry. (John Ouseley, Limited, 1s. net.)

"Woman Suffrage: A National Danger." By Heber Hart, LL.D. (Thomas Murby and Co., 1s. net.)

"Press Cuttings." By Bernard Shaw. (Archibald Constable and Co., 1s. net.). This can also be obtained from the Woman's Press, 4. Clements Inn. W.C.

"Englishwoman's Review," July. Edited by Antoinette M. Mackenzie. (23, Berners Street, W., 1s., monthly.)

"New York Suffrage Newsletter," July. Edited by Harriet May Mills. (Syracuse, N.Y., 25 cents a year.)

British Health Review," July. Edited by L. Hodgkinson. (21, Paternoster Square, E.C., 3d. monthly.)

\* "Woman's Suffrage in Many Lands." By Alice Zimmern. (Woman Citizen

## OUR HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

And on and on without a pause, untired they bounded still; All night from tower to tower they sprang; they sprang from hill to hill:

Till Skiddaw saw the fire that burned on Gaunt's embattled pile, And the red glare on Skiddaw roused the burghers of Carlisle

When Macaulay wrote, it was an alien foe that the people of England were ready to fight, and of whose reported approach they warned one another by bonfires from point to point. Now the foe is "of our own household"—the Government of the country-but the fires are lighted all the same! Round the coast of England and up beyond the border, the bonfires of protest against the Government's tyranny form a ring of light, and dotted up and down, in towns and country villages hitherto unreached, the jets of flame have sprung forth-until "such a fire has been lighted in England as can never be put

And this is how the women of the Women's Social and Political Union spend their holidays. They have worked hard and well all the year, and have earned a rest. But they do not rest. Untiringly they volunteer for holiday duty, and carry on their vigorous propaganda just the same, only in other surroundings and in other scenes.

Will not the women who have done nothing yet to win the vote come forward and help these holiday campaigners and lighten their work? Especially are workers appealed for by Miss Mary Gawthorpe for North Wales to help her to accomplish the extensive campaign she has planned out.

Among the most important work to be done in these holiday campaigns is the holding of meetings. At these a special appeal for new members should be made, and collections should be taken, which should be sent up to the treasurer at Clements Inn. Addresses should also be taken of any sympathisers not yet willing definitely to enrol themselves as members; these should be sent up to Mrs. Tuke, 4, Clements Inn. Particular efforts should also be directed to the sale of the paper Votes for Women. The special arrangements for supplying this and other literature will be found on the next

In response to our "Holiday Directory" in last week's Votes for Women, a number of interesting and suggestive letters have come from all parts of the country.

Owing to Monday, August 2nd, being Bank Holiday, reports for our next issue should reach the office by to-morrow (Saturday) morning,

BARMOUTH.

Rev. J. Ivory Cripps, B.A., Sheridan, Bath Road, Swindon.

A campaign is being organised by Miss Gladice Keevil, the Midlands national organiser, and all W.S.P.U. workers going to Barmouth should communicate with her at 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham. The Rev. J. Ivory Cripps has kindly offered his services as a speaker between August 4 and September 1.

#### BLACKPOOL, LYTHAM, AND ST. ANNE'S.

Costain, Mrs., care of Mrs. Littlemore, Station Road, South Shore, Blackpool.
Johnson, Miss, Lytham Hydro, Lytham.
Owen, Miss, care of Mrs. Coulston, Athol House, Mount Street, North Shores

Rigby, Mrs., St. Anne's.

Mrs. Costain and Miss Owen are already at Blackpool, and will be there until August 4. They will sell Votes for Women and assist at meetings; and act as stewards at the St. Anne's indoor meeting on Monday. Miss Wallwork, one of Manchester's hardest workers, will do the same. Miss Johnson will be glad to see members and assist in propaganda work to the end of the season in Lytham. Mrs. Rigby will be at St.Anne's from August 13, and will be glad to know of members visiting St. Anne's and the Lytham and Blackpool district generally.

BOURNEMOUTH.

Marples, Mrs., c/o Mrs. Lambert, 4, Alton Terrace, Frigonwell Road.

Turle, Mrs., Overdale, Munster Road.

Mrs. Marples will be in Bournemouth during August, and is anxious to help the cause. Mrs. Turle, at the above address, offers her drawing-room for an At Home. Will members going to Bournemouth communicate with either Mrs. Marples or Mrs. Turle?

BRIGHTON.

Dugdale, the Misses, 8, San Remo, Hove.
Goldring, Miss, Woodlands, Cuckfield.
Ogston, Miss Helen, and local workers, 8, North Street Quadrant.
(Office hours, 10-1, 3-5, 7-9.) Stearus, Miss, Blenheim House.

Daily meetings are being held on the front at 3.15. p.m. There Mrs. Mansell-Moullin will be at the above address for five weeks

the meetings in other ways. Eastbourne, Lewes, and Portslade are among the places visited by Miss Ogston. Inquiries at the office and offers of help in speaking, advertising, selling Votes for WOMEN, etc., will be welcomed.

In response to the generous offer by Miss M. Lawrence, Roedean School, Brighton, who wrote, "We are keeping our house open during August, and would be glad to entertain two or three Suffragettes at a time here," Miss Kathleen Streatfield has written to say that she is already intending to go to Brighton, and would like to stay at Roedean. She will devote her spare time to W.S.P.U. work. Miss Streatfield, it will be remembered, was one of the quick-sketch artists at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition. Others wishing to stay at Roedean should write to the Holiday Secretary, 4 Clements Inn, W.C.

#### CIRENCESTER.

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

Miss B. Bickerton writes that she will be spending her holiday in the Cirencester division of Gloucestershire, and would gladly give her time to assist any members who may be there by selling literature or helping in other ways. She will be in Gloucestershire from August 14 to 29, and will gladly go to a little inconvenience to assist the cause "after such a brave and plucky stand made by the women in Holloway."

#### CROMER. Middleton, Miss E. M., 9, Rosein Road, Hathe sage, Sheffield.

Miss Middleton writes that, having seen it stated in Votes for Women that some members of the W.S.P.U. are going to Sheringham, she would like to communicate with members spending their holiday in that neighbourhood. (See Sheringham below.)

#### FOLKESTONE.

Cutten, Miss, 49, Bournemouth Road. Knyvett, Lady, Burlington Hotel. Marsden, Miss Constance, Feltonfleet, Shorncliffe Road.

Miss Constance Marsden will be in Folkestone for five weeks from August 4, and Miss Cutten will be there from August 4 to August 20. They will be glad of help in selling Votes for Women and in

other ways. Through the generosity of Miss Marsden's sister, Mrs. Levy, copies of Votes for Women will be left at the hotels for their reading-rooms during the whole of the five weeks. This excellent suggestion might be followed with advantage in other sea-

#### HASTINGS.

Broad, Miss K. P., Hillside, Cornwallis Gardens.

Miss Broad is at Hastings for three weeks, and will be glad to hear from other members spending their holidays there.

#### HUNSTANTON.

Ryland, Miss Bertha, Beaconsfield, Hunstanton.

Miss Bertha Ryland is giving some part of her time during her visit to Hunstanton to pushing the sale of Votes for Women. She writes that the local newsagent is selling the paper at each of his three shops, and is also displaying a poster. She has already been asked for a meeting, and suggests that a splendid pitch may be found on a large green near the promenade. If any speaker is going to Hunstanton or the neighbourhood, will they communicate with Miss Bertha Ryland at the above address? She will gladly make all arrangements for an open-air meeting, and suggests that Saturday (to-morrow) and Bank Holiday would be the best days for collecting

Rind, Miss G., 5, Bloomfield Terrace.

Will those planning to spend their holidays in Ilfracombe or the neighbourhood communicate with Miss Rind at the above address? She is anxious to undertake the sale of Votes for Women in the

#### ISLE OF MAN.

Flatman, Miss Ada S., G.P.O., Douglas. Llewellyn, Miss Gertrude, 62, Lancaster Gate, W.

Miss Gertrude Llewellyn writes that she intends to join Miss Flatman in the Isle of Man: will other workers communicate with Miss Flatman at the above address? Miss Llewellyn also generously offers £10 for a committee room. The campaign will last throughout August, and among places visited will be Douglas, Peel, Ramsay, and Castletown. Miss Flatman appeals for help in speaking, advertising meetings, selling Votes for Women, taking collections, etc., etc. She also suggests that the loan of a motor-car to be placed at the disposal of the workers would save an enormous amount of time and expense. Donations towards a travelling fund

#### KESWICK.

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

is room for volunteers to sell Votes for Women and to give help at from August 19, and is anxious to help the cause during her stay.

Mr. Mansell-Moullin will take the chair at meetings within easy distance of Ullock Farm, and Mrs. Mansell-Moullin will speak. Any meetings arranged must be within bicycling distance.

#### LITTLEHAMPTON.

Wingrove, Miss Edith, 17, St. John's Villas, Holloway, N.

Miss Wingrove is in Littlehampton for a few weeks, and will be happy to hear from other members spending holidays there.

#### LOWESTOFT.

Friedlaender, Miss V. H., c/o Mrs. Gray, 43, St. George's Road, Pakefield, near Lowestoft.

Medwin, Miss Florence, 191, Shoreditch High Street, E.C. Ramsbottom. Mrs., Waveney House, Bungay.

|ULY 30, 1909.

In response to the paragraph in last week's Votes for Women, Miss Florence Medwin writes that she will be in the neighbourhood of Lowestoft, and would be glad to help at meetings, selling Votes FOR WOMEN, etc., on Fridays, August 13 and August 20. She is in communication with Miss Friedlaender, who, with her mother, is at Lowestoft until August 24. Mrs. Ramsbottom has promised to help at Lowestoft at least one day a week.

#### MARGATE.

Lennox, Miss Laura, Capitola, North Down Road, Cliftonville. Myers, Miss Elsie, 16, Mowbray Road, Brondesbury, N.W.

Miss Myers is going to Cliftonville on August 9 or 10, and is anxious to help in a campaign there. She will be glad to hear from others going to Margate. Miss Lennox offers hospitality to a speaker for a night or two, and would be glad to do anything for the W.S.P.U. during August. She is quite a new member, only having joined the morning after the deputation to the House of Commons (June 29). She would be very glad if it could be arranged for metings to be held in Margate, where thousands of people will flock during the cummer.

#### MORECAMBE.

Burkett, Miss Hilda, 48, Alexandra Road.

Miss Burkett will be glad to hear from other friends going to Morecambe, and will help with meetings and general propaganda work during the next fortnight.

#### NORTH WALES.

Barry, the Misses, Llandudno. East, Mrs., Llandudno. Francis, Miss, Mayfield, Rhyl. Jones, Dr. Helena, Llandudno. Preston, Miss, Llandudno. Stead, Miss E., Rhos-on-Sea. Williamson, Miss. B.A., Llandudno,

It is hoped to make Llandudno the healthy centre of a district including Colwyn Bay, Llanfairfechan, Conway, Bangor, Rhyl, etc. Miss Barry and her sister are already there, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe hopes to be there from August 2 to 6 at least. Miss L. Williamson, B.A., will be there from August 14 to 21, and Dr. Helena Jones wants to see her birthplace (Conway), so will be there on the return journey from Anglesca from August 17 to 23. Mrs. East is going to give the whole month, if possible, from August 2, and will help at meetings or act as "mother" to a group of Suffragettes working together.

#### OXFORD.

Clarence, Miss Edith, 52, High Street.
Pole, Miss Harriet J., The Hydro, Boar's Hill.
Sproul, Miss Helena, Oxenford Hall, Magdalen Street.

The University Extension Course opens to-day (Friday) and lasts till August 23. Miss Helena Sproul is in Oxford until August 11, and Miss Edith Clarence will be in Oxford from to-day to August 12 or 17. Miss Pole will be at Oxford all the summer, and hopes enertly to have a boat of her own on the river. She would like to help in selling Votes for Women and other Suffrage literature from the boat, and asks for the help of an experienced speaker and literature seller.

#### SCARBOROUGH.

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

Miss Daisy Coombs is going to Scarborough in August, and will be glad to help in the campaign there. Miss Suffield is anxious to open a stall for the sale of Votes for Women, literature, colours, etc., in the covered-in market every Saturday. She intends to work for the movement during her holiday, and would be glad to have names and addresses of other Suffragists in Scarborough willing to help her. During the first week in August Miss Suffield will be at Fulford, York, and during the second at Caistor, Great Yarmouth. The address above is permanent.

#### SHERINGHAM.

Ayrton, Miss Phyllis.

Maguire, Miss Cynthia, care of Miss Woollen, Grove House, Beeston Road,

Miss Cynthia Magnire will be glad to hear from Miss Evelyn Branch as to when she is going to Sheringham. Miss Avrton and Miss Hardy arrive on August 14 and 18. Will other members and

friends going to Sheringham, Cromer, or the neighbourhood communicate with Miss Cynthia Maguire at the above address?

#### SOUTHPORT AND BIRKDALE.

Ashby, Miss, 110, Liverpool Road, Birkdale.
Pallister, Miss, Southport.
Russell, Miss Jessie, care of Mrs. Butterworth, 23, Sidney Street, Southport.

Miss Jessie Russell, of Manchester, will give at least a fortnight of her holiday to the cause while in Southport; whilst Miss Pallister, of London, will also help; and any visitors in Southport can get into touch with them and with the Southport members through Miss Ashby or Mrs. Butterworth, whose addresses are given above.

#### SOUTHWOLD.

Lutyens, Lady Emily, Park Lane Cottage.

Lady Emily Lutyens is at Southwold, and other members of the W.S.P.U. going there are asked to send their names and addresses to the Holiday Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

WENTNOR.

Meikleham, Miss Marian, The Solent Hotel.

Will anyone going to Ventuor communicate with Miss Meikleham at the above address? She reminds readers of Votes for Women that Ventnor is not only a charming holiday locality, but also an open field for propaganda work.

#### WESTGATE-ON-SEA.

Lieben, Miss Gertrude, 5, Ethelburg Terrace.

Miss Lieben is spending a fortnight at Westgate-on-Sea, and will be glad of help in selling Votes for Women, literature, etc.

#### WEYMOUTH.

Kendal, Miss M. E., Windsor House, Brownlow Street.

Miss Kendal is at Weymouth until August 16, and would be glad to hear from other members who would help her in selling Votes FOR WOMEN, distributing literature, etc., or in any other propa-

#### WORTHING.

Ward, Miss F., 5, Prince's Street, Peterborough.

Miss Ward is going to Worthing during August, and would be glad to meet anyone interested in Votes for Women while there.

## YARMOUTH. Ford, Dr. Rosa, 251, Queen's Road, Peckham, S.E. Tyson, Miss Leonora, 37, Drewstead Road, Streatham. Underwood, Miss Dorothy.

The Yarmouth campaign (August 24-31) promises to be vigorous. The workers are delighted to have Miss Tyson, one of the "108," with them. Local friends have been very generous in offering hospitality, but further offers in this direction would be exceedingly helpful, even if for only one or two nights or for the week-end More workers will also be welcomed, whether speakers or not, and whether for the whole or part time, as it is intended to hold daily beach meetings, drawing-room meetings, and evening meetings in hotels. There is an eight days' excursion from London for 11s. 6d.; week-end, 11s. Anyone able to help is asked to write to Dr. Ford

#### HOLIDAY LITERATURE.

In order to facilitate the supply of literature to members and friends who are carrying on a holiday campaign, the Women's Press is making special arrangements for the supply of literature.

#### "Votes for Women."

Copies of the paper Votes for Women will be supplied on the following terms :-

Any number of copies up to one dozen will be supplied at the usual rate-1d. per copy and 1d. each for postage. We suggest to our readers, however, that they should buy small quantities through the local newsagents.

Any number of copies, from one dozen up to fifty, will be supplied at 1d. each, with a charge of 5d. altogether for carriage.

Fifty copies and upwards will be supplied at 1d. each, and no charge whatever will be made for carriage.

#### Pamphlets, Post Cards, and Leaflets.

Special packets of pamphlets, post-cards, and leaflets, available for propaganda work, will be supplied at special rates. For the convenience of members it has been arranged to send in return for 2s. 6d. in stamps or postal order a specially selected parcel, post This will contain ten assorted pamphlets, namely, two copies of each of the following :- "The Importance of the Vote," by Mrs. Pankhurst; "The Faith that is in Us," by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; "The Militant Methods," by Christabel Pankhurst; "The Bye-election Policy of the W.S.P.U.," by F. W. Pethick Lawrence; and "The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders"; also forty-eight assorted post-cards and 150 assorted leaflets. Friends writing for one of these parcels will be at liberty, of course, either to sell or give away its contents.

A larger parcel will be sent post free for 5s. This will contain twenty-four assorted pamphlets, seventy-two assorted postcards, and

For 10s., post free, a larger parcel, containing forty-eight assorted pamphlets, 120 assorted post-cards, and 1,000 assorted leaflets.

## FURTHER PROCEEDINGS AGAINST THE HUNGER STRIKERS.

Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Garnett Summoned to Answer the Charge of Assaulting Wardresses.

Miss Kirby Released from Holloway.

Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Garnett, and to call upon them windows committed after the prisoners were confined in the cells? to answer the charges of "kicking and biting" wardresses. We understand that a summons has been taken out against them for this purpose.

On Tuesday evening Miss Kirby, the thirteenth of the Suffrage prisoners sent to Holloway on Monday, July 12, was

On Saturday, July 17, she commenced her hunger strike, but after fifty-five hours was constrained to desist. Nothing daunted, however, she commenced a fresh strike on Friday, the 23rd, and in spite of assurances that the other prisoners had now abandoned the hunger strike, she persisted until the evening of Tuesday last, when she was released. She went straight to her home, and is making good progress towards recovery.

Mr. Gladstone's Statement.

In the House of Commons on Wednesday, July 21, Mr. Snowden asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he had received any report as to the punishment of the women Suffragists in prison for alleged breach of prison regulations; and if he could state the nature of the alleged insubordination and the punishment

The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. H. Gladstone): Fourteen women Suffragists were brought before the Visiting Committee on the 14th inst., thirteen for misconduct on reception in refusing to change into prison clothing, to give up private property, or to be medically examined, and for wilfully breaking prison windows; and the remaining one for the like offences excepting refusal to be medically examined. They all admitted the offences, and declined either to express regret or to promise amendment. They were sentenced to "close confinement" for the following periods: -Two for ten days, two for eight days, and ten for seven days. Some of them have subsequently been guilty of other offences, namely, kicking and biting the female warders, throwing their food out of the cell windows, which were not dealt with while the prisoners were undergoing the punishments I have mentioned. I must add that most of these prisoners have obstinately refused to take any food for several days, and that I have had, on medical grounds, to discharge six of them, and anticipate that several others will be discharged on the same ground to-day or to-morrow.

Mr. William Redmond: May I ask the right hon. gentleman if he can say for what period of time any of these ladies were deprived of exercise, how long they were kept in the cells without any exercise or fresh air, and what is the size of the cells?

Mr. Gladstone: The cells are of precisely the same dimensions as the other cells, the chief difference being that the windows are unbreakable. (Laughter.)

Mr. William Redmond: This is not a laughing matter at all.

Mr. Gladstone: I quite agree that this is not a subject for laughter. As regards the question of the hon. member, I cannot at the present moment give a precise answer. It is quite obvious that when prisoners refuse food they are hardly fit subjects to take exercise out-

Mr. William Redmond: Can the right hon. gentleman give some undertaking that, if punishment is to be meted out for breach of prison regulations, it shall not take the form of deprivation of exercise and fresh air, and confinement for long periods in small cells?

Mr. Keir Hardie: Will the Home Secretary say whether the cells in which the prisoners have been confined are underground and in an insanitary condition?

Mr. Gladstone: No, sir; they are not underground. It is quite obvious, and I am sure the hon. member will agree, that no prisoners would be confined in cells underground. The statement that they are underground is a complete fabrication. The cells are on the ground floor of the prison, and before the prisoners were put into them they were carefully examined. They were quite dry, perfectly well ventilated, and, as I stated, they are of the same dimensions as other cells, and similar in almost every respect, except as regards the windows.

Mr. Snowden: To what class were these prisoners committedfirst, second, or third?

Mr. Gladstone: The second class.

Mr. Snowden: Was the breaking of the cell windows committed at the time of admission to the prison, which is what I gathered of Mr. Gladstone to Holloway, in the course of which further

The Home Secretary has decided to take proceedings against from the right. hon, gentleman's reply, or was the breaking of the

Mr. Gladstone: I am under the impression that the breaking of the windows followed the admission

Mr. William Redmond : May I ask-

Mr. Speaker: The hon. member has had his share of supplementary questions.

Mr. William Redmond: The right hon. gentleman has not answered my question.

Mr. Gladstone: I have answered.

Mr. William Redmond: I beg to give notice that I shall call attention to the treatment of the prisoners, which is disgraceful perfectly disgraceful.

Mr. Speaker: I must ask the hon. gentleman to behave in a seemly way at question time.

Immediately on learning of these accusations by Mr. Gladstone an inquiry was set on foot by the Union, and the following statement was issued: -

#### A FALSE ACCUSATION.

#### "Kicking and Biting the Wardresses."

In the House of Commons, on July 21, when pressed for a statement as to the action of the Government with regard to the Suffragists who have carried out, at enormous personal cost, a hunger strike, as a protest against being treated as common criminals, Mr. Herbert Gladstone took refuge in accusations against the women. He stated that they were all charged with having broken prison regulations, which charge they did not deny, and that in addition some of them kicked and bit the wardresses.

It is quite true that these women went into prison prepared to make a vigorous protest, all ordinary methods of securing the treatment due to political offenders having been tried with no result. Their protest they carried out intentionally, and when charged with having made it they did not deny the charge, but stated the reasons for their action. Such a protest cannot naturally be made without some friction arising between the prison officials and the women who are in revolt against a system of prison discipline which they think unsuited to their condition as political offenders.

As to the charge of assault, I have made immediate inquiries of all the twelve women already released as to the actual facts of the case. The answers I have received enable me to make the following statement. Our prison friends, realising the extremely difficult position in which the prison officials were placed, were most scrupulous in their behaviour to the wardresses and other officers, and did their best to show that they had no quarrel with them, but with the Government who were responsible for what was happening.

I find only two cases in which this rule of action was in any way departed from. One of the prisoners was in the charge of a wardress who persistently disregarded the regulation requiring prison officials "to do nothing, by word, gesture, or demeanour, which may tend to irritate any prisoner." This officer was indeed most insolent in her behaviour, to such a point that the prisoner in question ordered her to leave the cell, and, when she remained there, pushed her, using no unnecessary force, out of the cell and shut the door. This action was reported to the Governor, who had the prisoner removed to a more severe punishment cell. At the same time her complaint as to the behaviour of the wardress was also listened to, with the result that she thereafter behaved in a more courteous fashion.

Another prisoner refused to go of her own accord into the punishment cell, and was, therefore, forcibly removed by five or six wardresses. As this was being done two of them pummelled her with such roughness that she had serious bruises. In the struggle, and under this provocation, two of the wardresses were kicked by

As to the charge of biting, it is indignantly repudiated by every one of the prisoners.

In making this statement as to the conduct of certain prison officers, I desire also to say that our friends bear testimony to the fact that the great majority of the prison officials, including the wardresses, behaved remarkably well under difficult circumstances, and no complaint would have been made, even in these individual cases, but for the unwarrantable charges brought by the Home

On July 24 there appeared in the Press an account of a visit

statements were made on the strength of evidence by prison officials as to the behaviour of Suffragettes in prison.

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Miss Pankhurst accordingly wrote to the Home Secretary a letter, in the course of which she said :-

We would point out to you the utter unreliability of this onesided evidence, which has not been subjected to the test required in any proper investigation. We claim, therefore, the right to present the other side of the case to you, and we ask that you will accord an interview to the fourteen members of the Women's Social and Political Union (two of whom are still in Holloway) who made their protest against being treated, not as political prisoners, but as common criminals. They will give you their account of what occurred in Holloway.

I shall be glad of an early reply appointing a time and place convenient to you for the purpose of this interview.

Meanwhile a letter appeared in the Press over the signature of Sir Alfred Reynolds, in the course of which he supported the accusations made by Mr. Gladstone and made specific charges against Miss Garnett.

On Wednesday the following letter was received from the Home Office :-

Madam,-I am directed by the Secretary of State to reply to your letter of the 24th inst., in which you ask him to accord an interview to yourself and certain members of the Women's Social and Political Union in order that you may be able to lay before him your account of recent assaults on women warders in Holloway Prison. When he received your letter he had already under his consideration the question what action should be taken with regard to these assaults, which could not be dealt with at the time because those who committed them were placed under nunishment for other offences, and subsequently had to be discharged on medical grounds. To the consideration of this question the delay in answering your

Having come to the conclusion that the ascaults in question were of so serious a nature that they should not be passed over, he has directed proceedings to be taken against Miss Garnett and Mrs. Willcox, and the hearing of these charges will afford full opportunity for those members of the Women's Social and Political Union who are concerned to place before the Court their version of the facts on oath .- I am, your obedient servant, EDWARD TROUP.

To this letter Mrs. Pankhurst wrote the following reply:-I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday, and in reply desire to inform you that Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Garnett will await any further steps you may take in the matter, confident that whatever may be the decision of the Court after you have prejudged the case by your statement in the House of Commons on the 21st inst., the general body of public opinion will support them in such means as they actually took to make an effective protest against the treatment meted out to them in prison.'

Shortly after despatching this letter emissaries of the police arrived at Clements Inn, to whom the addresses of Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Garnett were given.

#### OTHER QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE. Prime Minister and a Women's Deputation.

Mr. Charles Duncan on July 26 asked the Prime Minister whether he was aware that over 100 members of the Women's Freedom League had during the last three weeks stood outside the gates of the House of Commons, an aggregate of over 3,000 hours, for the purpose of obtaining an interview with him; and whether he could now see his way clear to grant the interview thus sought?

The Prime Minister: I am extremely sorry, so far as the personal comfort of these ladies is concerned, that they should have exposed themselves to so much inconvenience. I may say, however, that on July 9 I was handed a memorial or resolution by one of these ladies, and shortly afterwards I was requested to receive a further petition and remonstrance, which I offered to consider if it were ent to me. They were informed with all courtesy at the beginning of these proceedings that I did not see that any public interest could be served by my receiving at this juncture another deputation on the subject. I understand, however, that the ladies are engaged in the assertion of an alleged legal right which is in train for deci-

Mr. Keir Hardie: May I ask whether, as the object of the deputation is to impart information, the Prime Minister would not be willing to receive this deputation to see whether any new facts have

'The Prime Minister: No, sir. If they can indicate any new facts I will consider whether they can be elucidated in a personal

#### Political Prisoners.

Mr. Silcock on July 27 asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he had considered the question whether the bifferes of which the Suffragists had been convicted were or were not to be regarded as political offences; and if he would state

whether the Home Office had received any legal advice on the

Mr. Gladstone (Leeds, W.).—Political offences are not in any way recognised by the common law of England, nor can political motive be pleaded in justification of an offence or as in itself entitling the offender to special treatment in prison. Persons guilty of certain offences specified by statute, such as sedition and seditious libel, must by statue be placed in the first division, but it is not, and never has been, the law or practice in this country to accord special treatment to prisoners who, like the Suffragists, have offended against the ordinary law in the course of a political agitation or from political motives, and the introduction of such a practice would be likely to have dangerous consequences. If special treatment were to be provided by law for prisoners who have committed offences, and who could prove that they had acted with a political motive, any persons able to show that they were in earnest on some social or political question could create obstruction, assault policemen, and break windows without having to anticipate any punitive consequences beyond detention for a short period. In the gradation from trifling offences to murder it would be impossible to fix the point where such leniency should cease. The provision in the Extradition Acts has reference to offences committed abroad, is designed to protect the right of asylum, and has no bearing whatever upon the punishment of offenders for offences committed in this country. The answer to the latter part of the question is in the affirmative.

Mr. Keir Hardie (Merthyr Tydvil, Lab.) asked whether the right hon, gentleman had given the ladies who had been accused and punished for breaches of discipline in Holloway Prison, including charges of biting and kicking officials, an opportunity of stating their version of what took place, or whether in his replies he was relying on the ex parte statements of the officials.

Mr. Gladstone.-I do not see how that arises out of my answer. Perhaps the hon. member will put his question on the paper. I cannot answer it now.

Mr. Flynn (Cork, N., Nat.).—Is the right hon. gentleman aware that his Government differs from all other civilised Governments in connection with the treatment of political prisoners?

Mr. Gladstone. Then it is about time other Governments imitated

Mr. Keir Hardie asked whether the right hon, gentleman's attention had been drawn to the sentence of four months' imprisonment in the first division passed on Arthur Fletcher Horsley for unlawfully printing and publishing a scandalous and seditious libel against the members of the Government of his Majesty and against the peace; whether the offence was a political one; and, if so, whether he would seek to so amend the law as to ensure that women convicted of political offences should not be subject to less-favoured treatment than men.

Mr. Gladstone.—It was pleaded on Horsley's behalf that, so far as he was concerned, the offence was not political, and that plea was accepted by the Judge in passing the lenient sentence of four months' imprisonment. Had he been actuated by political motive his offence would have assumed a much graver aspect. Prisoners, whether male or female, convicted of publishing seditious libels must by statute be placed in the first division. There are no grounds for suggesting that women are subject to less-favoured treatment than men convicted of similar offences.

Mr. Keir Hardie.—Is not publishing a scandalous and seditions libel a more heinous offence than seeking to interview the Prime

Mr. Gladstone.—The question of the magnitude of an offence is one for the Courts.

#### PRECIOUS STONES.

The stones that (for a sign) broke the windows of the Government offices in Whitehall were precious stones. We honour the women who were fearless enough to take upon themselves the blame and the punishment that they knew would follow upon their action. Not in heat or in anger, but with deliberate intent for the vindication of a great principle, as the next move in a well-thought-out policy, was the action done.

By what sign can the Union show in return their honour and lovalty to these fourteen members who showed by deeds not words women's determination to fight for their political freedom?

The first At Home after the holidays will be a special reception to the fourteen stone-throwers. It will be held in St. James's Hall on September 16, at 8 o'clock. As a little memento of the occasion, each of the fourteen will receive from Mrs. Pankhurst a gold safety-pin brooch, with a bit of flint stone set in gold. It has been suggested that members would like to send contributions for this purpose. No subscription should exceed one shilling. Smaller amounts can be sent in by anyone who wants to signify appreciation and gratitude. The value of the gift will be the feeling of which it is the token. right of access to Ministers for the purpose of presenting a petition established, as they allege, by a statute of Charles II. and by the leading case of the Seven Bishops. Ministers decline to receive their petition. They insist on presenting it, and are arrested and sentenced for various excesses and acts of disorder. They claim that since these acts of disorder were done with a "political object," they come under the classical definition of "political offences." As political offenders they demand "first division" treatment instead of the "second division," with its humiliation of prison clothes and medical examination by male doctors. They determine to resist. For this resistance they are punished by confinement in closed "punishment" cells. Their reply is to refuse all food. For several days, in some cases for five or six, they are allowed to starve themselves. In the end the prison authorities are obliged to release them.

It is the general feeling, we think, that a way out must be found. But suppose, it may be argued, that we announce by a Home Office circular, or a resolution of the House, or even by an Act, that all political offences are to receive only the lenient punishment of the first division, we might find ourselves faced with much more serious offences than any of which we now have experience. Dhingra's murder was clearly a political offence, but no one would say that that fact would have any bearing on the punishment inflicted. We admit the difficulty, and a very grave difficulty it is. Yet we think a distinction can be made. The first division exists for offences which the law cannot ignore, but which are none the less of such a character that no one can regard them as dishonouring, or so open to moral reprobation, as to deserve a degrading punishment. Now we should say that the motive has first to be considered. The political object creates a presumption in the prisoner's favour. But still the offence itself has to be considered. If a woman pushes or shoves or obstructs a policeman, she commits a technical offence. If she commits violence then she must be punished for violence, no matter what the motive may be. But it would, we think, be possible to lay down the general principle that an offence not in itself criminal, if done with a political motive, is entitled to the lenient treatment of the first division. In the interests of all, we should like to see the Government attempt to state a general principle, and to embody it in some form which will serve as a guide to magis--Daily News.

The Home Secretary has been compelled to release a dozen of the imprisoned Suffragettes, who have carried on a "hunger strike" as a protest against their treatment as second-class misdemeanants. Wrong on some points of tactics, in this respect the Suffragettes have been absolutely right, and we are astonished that a humane and enlightened Home Secretary like Mr. Gladstone has not long ago admitted their case. Even on the point of tactics the Government has made a mistake. With the crowd, the physical courage of Suffragettes has gone far to redeem their violence; and when this courage is exercised in the just cause of the rights of political prisoners a Liberal Government is disarmed. -The Nation.

#### Political Offences.

Whether the Suffragettes were within their rights in attending at the House of Commons with a petition and refusing to go away when called upon to do so is to be made the subject of further inquiry, but this has nothing to do with the claim that those who threw the stones through plate-glass windows in Whitehall should be treated differently from persons who break windows to satisfy a private grudge, to gain a private end, or in a pure spirit of wanton

If once the Suffragette claim were admitted, then anyone who objected to any act of the Government would be at liberty to come down to Whitehall and smash windows at his own sweet will until he was captured by the police, after which he would be entitled to claim treatment as a first-class misdemeanant. As there are many people in the community to whom such treatment would not come at all amiss, the danger of admitting such a plea is obvious.

The reductio ad absurdum of the case is this, that a political assassin under the Suffragette claim would only be subject to firstclass treatment—perhaps he would be treated to a first-class execu--Evening News.

#### The Suffragette Scandal.

A motion for adjournment to consider the failure of the authorities to keep certain female prisoners at Holloway in order would be more to the point than the motion to consider the strictly be forced to a humiliating surrender later on. First-class misregular disciplinary treatment of these women, which the Speaker vetoed. If a prisoner refuses to wear prison clothing (as of these cases from the beginning. The O'Breeches, M.P., did on a memorable occasion), and

The train of evils in the deplorable feud between the militant proceeds to break prison windows (as that mere man did not), she Suffragists and the Government runs lengthening on. It is worth while to set out the sequence of events. These women claim the able, however "political" she may choose to call herself. When she proceeds to kick and bite female warders, as some of these "martyrs" have been doing, she merely proves that, if such disgusting conduct is to be taken as the feminine conceptions of politics," female suffrage is even more impossible than we knew it to be already. But the scandal of the "starvation" strike is becoming intolerable. At least six of these women have secured their release thereby on medical grounds already, and the Home Secretary can only pathetically add that there are more to follow. What will he do if other female prisoners, and after them male prisoners also, take to following the same policy?

—Pall Mall Gazette.

#### The Law and the Women.

We do not see, however, what, under the system now adopted, is to prevent Mr. William Sikes from declining to take his meals because he disagrees-no doubt on the most solid grounds-with the judge who ordered him to be flogged instead of directing that he should be confined as a first-class misdemeanant. Either the energetic Suffragettes ought not to be punished at all, or, in default of new facts being brought before the authorities, their sentences, whatever they may be, ought to be carried out. To punish them only so far as they are willing to be punished is ridiculous. The law neither knows nor ought to know any difference between political and other prisoners, and to admit the distinction is to say that there is a class of offenders who ought not to be punished. It is no question of the rights or wrongs of the suffrage agitation, but simply and solely of the vindication of the law as such, and the most rabid Suffragette must admit the force of the dilemma we have stated.

#### Broken Windows.

The Suffragettes in Holloway Gaol are fighting a battle waged in Ireland more than twenty years ago with some measure of decisive-. . Following upon a series of struggles in various Irish gaols, it was deemed advisable to alter the prison regulations slightly. Mr. Wyndham's Coercion "converts" during 1900-1903 were treated as "ordinary criminals" in most respects. They were confined in the usual cells for twenty-two hours every day. "plank-bed" was their portion; and the food supplied them was the customary prison fare. But, on declaring their willingness to pay for their food and certain "privileges," they were allowed to take exercise for two hours daily apart from the "ordinary" prisoners, and were exempted from "work" in their cells or outside . But it would have been wiser and more just to have dealt with all the Suffragette prisoners as political offenders -Irish News. from the outset.

#### The Endurance of Suffragettes.

Mr. Redmond is quite justified in describing the treatment of the

Suffragettes in gaol as perfectly disgraceful.

Though they had been malefactors of the lowest class they could not have been more harshly dealt with. Incarcerated in small, illventilated cells, they broke windows to get fresh air, and were at once sentenced to close confinement.

In protest against the cruelty to which they were submitted they refused to eat, and after starving five days most of them have been released. The Government's minions are prepared to torture, but dare not kill the victims of their oppression.

Mr. Gladstone may rest assured that these scenes will not in any way retard the Women's Suffrage Movement. It will be universally recognised that a cause whose advocates display great self-denial and endurance cannot be easily dismissed. Refined and intelligent women do not brave the terrors of prison life through mere caprice

As a matter of fact, the justice of the claim put forward cannot be disputed. Women who possess the necessary property qualification are obviously entitled to the Parliamentary as well as to the -- Dundee Courier.

#### Second-Class Treatment.

The "hunger strike" of the Suffragettes in Holloway Gaol gives point to our argument that, as political offenders, they ought to be treated as first-class misdemeanants. Already three of them have been discharged before the expiration of their sentence, and it may be taken for granted that all Suffragettes henceforth sentenced will refuse to wear prison clothing or to conform to the degrading conditions of imprisonment in the second class. In such a conflict as this victory cannot fail to be with the women; and, quite apart from the merits of the question, the authorities would do well to concede the point with such grace as is now possible rather than demeanant treatment ought to have been allowed in most, if not all,

-Northampton Daily Reporter.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Mr. Lloyd George will be speaking at Limehouse to-night, and a special appeal is made for helpers to sell papers and to speak to the crowd. As Cabinet Ministers will be speaking at various meetings during August, arrangements are being made to hold counter demonstrations and to make effective protests at such meetings. Volunteers for this work (men Pankhurst, at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### Release of Prisoners.

It is anticipated that Miss Corson will be released from Holloway on Monday, August 15, at 8 a.m. As many members of the W.S.P.U. are away from London on their holidays it is July Fri. 30 Birmingham, Bull Ring Mrs. B. Smith hoped that all those who are still in London will make a special point of welcoming her at the prison gates. She will be entertained privately to breakfast.

#### Votes for Women.

The sale of the paper is still going well. At St. James's Hall on the 22nd 1,500 copies were sold, over 600 outside the House of Commons on the 23rd, 500 on the Embankment on Saturday, and 750 at the Queen's Hall on Monday. At Southend the sales showed a steady increase during the visit of the Fleet last week, and in the provinces large numbers have also been sold at the meetings and elsewhere.

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 altogether for any number of copies from twelve to fifty, and one penny each, with no charge for carriage, for any number of opies from fifty upwards. A few copies are still left of the Special Deputation Number, July 2; these can be had on application to the Publisher, 4. Clements Inn, W.C. Volunteers are wanted for the ordinary street selling of the paper, especially during the holiday time, when many workers will be absent from London. They are asked to communicate with Miss Mills, 4, Clements Inn, and to present themselves at the office at 10.30 a.m. or 2.30 p.m.

#### A New Leaflet.

A new leaflet has just been issued, giving Miss Christabel Pankhurst's letter to the Press denying the false charges brought against the fourteen "hunger strikers" in Holloway. This leaflet also contains two most interesting accounts of what really occurred there, written by two of the brave band of exprisoners, Miss Florence E. Cook and Miss Elsie McKenzie. Members are asked to take parcels of these for distribution. They are to be had from the Woman's Press, price 9d. a hundred, or 5s. a thousand, post free.

#### Mr. Shaw's Play.

Mr. Shaw's banned play, "Press Cuttings," which deals with the Suffrage question, may be obtained from the Woman's Press, price 1s.

#### The Woman's Press.

Attention is directed to the special parcels of literature which will be despatched post free for 2s. 6d., 5s., and 10s.; particulars are given on page 1003. Motor scarves in the colours can be obtained, price 2s. 11d. and 4s. 11d. These and other articles in the colours, a list of which is given on page 1015, will be found useful as a means of popularising the movement among strangers.

#### The Next Deputation.

Another deputation will be sent to Mr. Asquith in the new year, when the time limit of Mrs. Pankhurst's undertaking will have expired. A large number of volunteers have already sent in their names, and those of others will be welcomed. Names should be sent to Miss Christabel Pankhurst at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### Summer Holidays.

On page 1002 will be found a holiday guide for members and friends arranging their summer holidays. They are asked to put themselves in touch with other members of the W.S.P.U. who may be staying in the same place, and to give all the time possible to propaganda work, holding meetings, selling Votes FOR WOMEN, etc. Should any bye-elections occur during the

holidays, helpers for this work will also be required, and volunteers should communicate with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### At Homes.

There will be no London At Homes held during August and the first part of September. The first Thursday evening At Home will be held at the St. James's Hall on Thursday, September 16, at 8 p.m. The first Monday afternoon At or women) are invited to send in their names to Miss Christabel Home will be held in the Queen's Hall on Monday, October 4, at 3 p.m. Arrangements for the resumption of the At Homes in different parts of the country will be announced from time to time under the "Country Campaigns."

#### PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Fri. 30	Birmingham, Bull Ring Birmingham, Alum Rock Rd.,	Mrs. B. Smith Miss Hazel	3 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
	Saltley Birmingham, Church Vale, Handsworth	Miss Laura Ainsworth	7.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Empire, Old Market	Miss Annie Kenney	11.30 a.m.
	Street Bristol, Eastville Park Bury, Circus Ground Dingle	Manchester members	7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
	London-	Miss Flatman	8 p.m.
	Limehouse, opp. Edinburgh Castle	Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 31	Teignmouth York, St. Samson's Square Ashton, Market Place Bath, Saw Close Bristol, College Green Leigh, Hippodrome	Miss Newton, Miss Marsh	8 p.m.
Sue. 01	Bath, Saw Close	Mi 4	8 p.m. 7 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
	Leigh, Hippodrome	Miss Annie Kenney Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Florence Clarkson	11.30 a.m. 7.30 p.m.
	New Brighton Sands	Miss Flatman and others	7 p.m.
	Preston, Market Square, Shirley, Cycling Scouts	Miss Dale, Miss Burkitt	3 p.m. 2.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
	Southport, Shore Meeting Staines		
Aug. Sun. 1st	Stalybridge, Grosvenor Sq.	Manchester Members	7 p.m.
Sun. 1st	Leeds, Woodhouse Moor	Mrs. Swailes, Miss Newton	3.30 p.m.
	Llandudno and district London—	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	
	Streatham Common Wimbledon Common	Dr. Rose, Miss L. Tyson Miss Wylie, Mrs. Lamartine Yates	3 p.m. 3 p.m.
	Rochdale	Yates	
Mon. 2	Southport Birmingham, Ward End	Mrs. B. Smith	7.30 p.m.
	Blackpool Llandudno		
Tue. 3	Southport Birmingham, At Home, Mid- land Hotel		3.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, At Home,		7.30 p.m.
	Priory Rooms		
	Leeds, Meadow Lane Leeds, Penny Hill Liverpool, Old Swan	Mrs. Swailes, Miss Newton Miss Marsh, Miss Halliday	6.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
		Mas. Morrissey, Miss Broughton	8 p.m.
	Oldham, Park Gates St. Anne's		7.30 p.m.
			7 15 n m
Wed. 4	Torquay, Strand Birmingham, Junction High Street, Ladywood	Miss Burkitt, Miss Dale	7.15 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
EP. N		Mrc Barrett	11 70 0 00
	Bristol, Old Market Street Leeds, Woodhouse Moor Leeds, Armley Park	Mrs. Barrett Miss Halliday, Miss Newton Miss Marsh, Mrs. Swailes	11.30 a m. 7.30 p.m. 7.30 p.m.
		Miss Marsh, Mrs. Swalles	Maria Cara
	Paignton, The Green St. Anne's		7 p.m.
	Southport Stockport, Armoury Square		7.30 p.m.
Thu. 5	Birmingham, Ashted Row and Vauxhall Road	Mrs. B. Smith	
	Blackpool Bradford, Morley Street	Miss Marsh	7.30 p.m. 11.30 a.m.
10.23	Bradford, Morley Street Bristol, College Green Edinburgh, At Home, 8, Mel-	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 n.m.
	Hull, Docks	Miss Newton	and 8 p.m. 12.30 p.m.
	Hull, Station Square Llandudno	Miss Newton	7.30 p.m.
	St. Annes Southport		
	Stalybridge, Market Place		7.30 p.m. 7.15 p.m.
Fri. 6	Birmingham, Bull Ring	Mrs. B. Smith Miss Annie Kenney	3 p.m.
	Birmingham, Bull Ring Bristol, Horsefair Bury, Market Place Dawlish	Miss Annie Kenney	3 p.m. 11.30 a.m. 7.30 p.m.
		Miss Marsh and others	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 7	Acocks Green, Cycling Scouts Ashton, Market Place	Miss Burkitt, Miss Dale	12.30 p.m.
	Bath, Saw Close Bristol, College Green	Mrs. Barrett	7 p.m. 7.30 p.m. 11.30 a.m.
	Hull Liverpool Wellington Column	Miss Broughton, Mrs. Morris	7 p.m.
	Preston, Market Place Southport, Shore Meeting		3 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Carrie Sale			Print

#### IMPORTANT FIITURE EVENTS

Aug. 8	Leeds, Open Air Demonstra-	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Marsh, and others	
Sept. 4	Bristol, Miss Bland, Henley Grove	Welcome to Mrs.Dove-Wilcox and Miss Mary Allen (ex- prisoners)	
Sept. 7	Cardiff, Cory Hall	Mr. Forbes-Robertson. Chair: Mrs. S. A. Thomas	3.30 p.m.
Oct. 9	Edinburgh, Great Scottish Demonstration, Waverley Market	•	2.30 p.m.
Oct. 27	London— Whit field's Tabernacle, Tot- tenham Court Road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Chair: Mr. Sylvester Horne	

1008

# The National Women's Social & Political Union.

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

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 disgualification 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 vate in addition 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.

#### **VOTES IN 1910.**

The Prime Minister in a recent speech declared one of the ends of Liberalism to be, "as regards political authority, to make it stable by resting it upon the broadest possible basis of political responsibility," and then went on to say: "Are we, the Liberals of to-day, following these ends and acting in tion. this spirit? If we are, we justify our existence; if we are not, we deserve, as a party, to come to an end."

With this statement of Mr. Asquith no one agrees more heartily than the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. We say that if the present Liberal Government ing on the Government to carry, runs as follows:goes to the country without having conferred votes upon women possessing the qualifications entitling men to vote they will have betrayed their trust and deserved destruction at the hands of the electors.

If they persist in their present opposition to women's enfranchisement, what a record theirs will be! While claiming law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding. to be a Liberal Government they refuse to carry out the root principle of Liberalism. Professing to believe that the will of the people must be obeyed, they remain deaf to the demand for women's enfranchisement, in spite of the acknowledgment the Government to complicate women's enfranchisement with made by a member of the Government-Mr. Winston Churchill -that the Woman Suffrage agitation has attained the same widespread national character as previous movements hostility. Women's enfranchisement deserves a separate and for the enfranchisement of men. When this demand for polispecial measure, to be discussed on its own merits, and theretical liberty (as always happens when a claim for justice is fore we demand, even if the Government really intend to alter ignored by obstinate and tyrannical rulers) is expressed in the franchise laws by means of a general Reform Bill, that acts of protest and defiance the Government attempt to crush before such a Reform Bill is introduced, the Women's Enfranthe revolt by methods of coercion, and in applying these refuse chisement Bill shall first be carried into law. We lay great the privileges accorded in all civilised countries to political stress upon this point, because the present policy of the Go-

back their reputation is to amend their policy, and to see to when the pressure upon them becomes irresistible, to sideit that before the General Election the Women's Enfranchise- track (and thus delay the success of our movement) by comment Bill is carried into law. That they are at present wil- plicating the issue of Woman Suffrage with a large and unling to take this action is doubtful, but it should not be wieldy proposal for registration reform, proportional reprebeyond the power of that great and influential body of men sentation or second ballot, payment of members, and so forth. and women who support women's enfranchisement, to compel The Women's Social and Political Union call upon all Sufthem to act. The attempt to get the Women's fragists to unite in the determination to frustrate this Enfranchisement Bill carried before the General Election stratagem. ounce of power and energy to get the measure carried.

Welsh people this Bill for disestablishment is less vital than a Bill granting votes to women, because citizen rights, which imply the recognition of a man or a woman as a full member of the human family, and upon which depend all other rights, are first in importance, as the men of Wales would at once recognise if they were suddenly reduced to the voteless position occupied by their countrywomen. The introduction of social reform measures is further vaguely foreshadowed by the Government. Questions of social reform are those which are of particular importance and interest to women, and the women's point of view must be taken into account by Parliament if measures of this kind are to be genuine, adequate, and fair to all. There is no guarantee that legislators who are not responsible to women at the polls will regard their wishes or interests. But if (as we intend shall be the case) a part of next session is devoted to the enactment of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, we may be quite certain that any social reform legislation will be framed with a view to pleasing and satisfying the prospective women voters, to whom, equally with the men voters, members of Parliament will have to appeal for support at the coming General Elec-

It is not enough that the King's Speech shall contain a promise of women's enfranchisement. It is all-important that the Bill introduced by the Government shall be drawn on right lines. The Women's Enfranchisement Bill, which we are call-

In all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of Members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any

And it is only by such a measure that the issue of Woman Suffrage can be satisfactorily conceded.

We shall be utterly opposed to any attempt on the part of a general measure of franchise reform, and we should regard such an attempt on the part of the Government as an act of vernment, as indicated by Mr. Asquith in a speech made in The only way in which the Government can in any way win May, 1908, to a deputation of members of Parliament, is,

could only fail owing to want of faith and capacity on In view of this possibility that the Government may, in the part of the advocates for that measure. The Women's the pretended fulfilment of the promise to give votes to Social and Political Union, at any rate, intend to use every women, introduce a measure which cannot be carried and will hinder the realisation of our object, the plan The time remaining for the performance of this task is adopted with success by the Labour Party in Parliament short; our plans must, in fact, be based upon the assumption will be adopted by us. The Labour Party's plan is that the session of 1910 will be the last of this Parliament. briefly this. Having prevailed upon the Government to em-Deliberately and formally, the Women's Social and Political body in the King's Speech a promise of legislation upon some Union demand of the Government that they shall introduce topic in which they are interested, they themselves introduce and carry into law next session the Women's Enfranchisement and get discussed a measure of their own, dealing with the Bill. This claim is perfectly reasonable. The Government same topic. This enables them to show the Government and are committed to no other measure of equal, or anything the country in the plainest and most unmistakable way the approaching equal, importance. They have promised to in- lines on which they desire the Government's measure to be troduce a Bill for Welsh Disestablishment. This is a ques- drafted. This procedure they adopted in regard to the Trades tion of merely local interest, whereas the Women's Enfran- Dispute Question. The Government promised to legislate chisement Bill affects the nation as a whole. And even to the upon this matter, and actually introduced a Bill. The Labour

Members introduced a Trades Dispute Bill of their own. The Government measure fell short of the Labour measure, and accord with the one introduced by the Labour Members. The Women's Social and Political Union wish to follow this ment Bill.

JULY 30, 1909.

As is generally known, although most of the time of the House of Commons is at the disposal of the Government, cer- accept the challenge. tain days (Fridays, in the early part of the session, according of the House of Commons, obviously not all the measures introduced by private members can be discussed, and therefore value, and therefore it is essential that a large number of members of Parliament should be induced to promise that they will take part in the ballot, with the object of securing a place for the second reading debate on the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. The Women's Social and Political Union are approaching officially several members of Parliament, but every member and friend of the Union should write to those members with whom he or she has influence, asking them to ballot for the Bill.

We of the Women's Social and Political Union say that we demand that the Government shall deal with our question. How is this demand to be enforced, the onlooker will ask. By means of militant methods, is our answer. At bye-elections we are able, as those Liberal organs, the Daily News and the Nation, have recently admitted, to induce electors to vote against the Government, on the ground that they deny votes to women. The platform appearances of Cabinet Ministers we can rob of their effect in rallying the country to the Liberal standard, by protests made inside their meetings, and by counter demonstrations of protest held outside. At one time, a temporary check was suffered by the decision of Cabinet Ministers not to address meetings at which women were present, but this weakness has now been repaired, because men supporters of our cause now go to Cabinet Ministers' meetings and protest on our behalf.

Further deputations are to wait upon the Prime Minister at Westminster, and every such deputation makes more evident the fact that the Prime Minister and his colleagues are seriously at fault in refusing to satisfy women's claim to the vote. A great impetus has been given to our movement by recent events, and the next deputation, judging by the response already made to the call for volunteers, will far exceed in numbers all the deputations of the past.

A tremendous new factor has entered into the situationthe breakdown of coercion! Miss Wallace Dunlop and thirteen other prisoners recently sought to enforce their claim to be treated as political prisoners by means of a "hunger strike." Rather than yield on this point, the Government set them at liberty. This, from the Government's point of view, was a colossal blunder, for it revealed to the members of this Union that they possessed a hitherto unsuspected power—the power, namely, to regain their liberty at the price of a period of starvation. If the Suffragists choose to use this weapon, the Government will be deprived of their chosen means of repressing the militant agitation. All they will then be able to do to remove the impasse, of which the Home Secretary has complained, is to adopt the course that we point out to them and carry a measure giving votes to women. We have, therefore, the game in our own hands, and we intend so to play it that 1910 shall see our enfranchisement, and that at the next General Election women shall take part with men in selecting those by whom they are governed.

Christabel Pankhurst. On Miss Wallace-Dull 91 0 0

#### THE TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Government have been beaten, signally beaten, and they the Labour Members insisted, and insisted with success, on know that they may be beaten again. We know that they will be the Government bringing their Trades Dispute measure into beaten again because they have set themselves in opposition to a spirit which is unconquerable. The action of our thirteen heroines in prison has broken down the forces of coercion. But 'bese forces will rally again, reinforced. We shall have to beat them down many example, and accordingly they are calling upon members of times by policy, by determination, by numbers, and by organisa-Parliament to ballot for a place for the Women's Enfranchise- tion. They hold entrenched positions, they possess powerful weapons, and they are going to make us fight every inch of our way

With all seriousness, yet with great certainty of victory, we

A new campaign of misrepresentation has been started against to the present rules) are allotted to the discussion of Bills in- us. Gossip, which originates from anonymous sources, is publicly troduced by private members. As there are 670 members given the weight of official authority in the attempt to discredit and belittle this movement. But these false accusations do not find credence except in those parts of the country where our organisatroduced by private members can be discussed, and therefore tion is not represented. We must cover the country with our these members ballot for a place for their Bills. For various organisers. Wherever we are seen and heard public opinion is reasons, only the first few places in the ballot are really of on our side. We must have money for the purposes of organisation, and we rejoice at the generosity and devotion that keeps the war chest full

## CONTRIPUTIONS TO THE \$50,000 PIND

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lop's fast)	91 0 0	Total £	14,569 17 6

#### BETTER THAN ARE WORDS. ACTIONS

How we Supported the Women at Bedford and in London.

protests. The only result of these futile tactics has been to exasperate the increasing number of men who regard the Woman Enfranchisement Bill as the most important measure

#### MR. SAMUEL AT BEDFORD.

men belonging to various male Suffrage societies journeyed to Bedford where Mr. Herbert Samuel was to speak in support of the Budget, his first address to a public meeting as a Cabinet Minister. We were admitted to the Corn Exchange without difficulty, and schooled by the example of women, we allowed the speeches of the Chairman, of the local member (Mr. Percy Barlow), and of the member for North Bedford (Mr. Black) to pass without comment, though already we heard the roar and tumult resulting from the efforts of our gallant sisters outside to rush the building.

These preliminaries over, Mr. Herbert Samuel rose to support the Budget, and ended his second sentence by asking, rhetorically, "Why has the Government been obliged to ask the nation for larger funds?

"To give Mr. Asquith police protection from the Suffragettes," I shouted, rising and displaying the regalia of the W.S.P.U., which I was proud to be permitted to wear. Amid the uproar which followed I asked leave to move an amendment concerning the just claims of women to vote on a Budget which affected them as well as men. But by this time I was in the hands of the Philistines, the Corn Exchange resounding with cries of "Throw him out," and after two rows of seats had been overturned, this was done. Another sympathiser who raised the cry of "Votes for Women!" was ejected at the same time, our handling being decidedly rough, but the policemen who met us at the streetdoor declined to make any arrest, and most considerately escorted us through a hostile crowd.

#### His First Male Suffragist.

Order being once more restored within, Mr. Samuel remarked that it was interesting to meet at last a Suffragist of the male persuasion, but he suspected the interrupter of being a Conservative hireling.

"If that gentleman is a Conservative, which I know he is not, I am a Liberal," interrupted another man, who had found a seat on the platform behind the chairs reserved for the "sisters, cousins and aunts" of the local Liberal bigwigs. "On behalf of the ladies on this platform I protest against the Government's treatment of women," he continued, but by this time the stewards had closed with him. In the struggle which followed several members of the audience showed real brutality, and he was thrown on his back down a dark staircase and knocked senseless, though the stewards showed some consideration in putting him into a cab when he recovered consciousness.

Mr. Samuel made a fresh start to speak on the necessity of increased taxation for the purposes of the Navy, when a retired naval officer rose in another part of the building and said, "The taxation of voteless women is unjust, illogical and unconstitutional." His last words were drowned in the uproar which accompanied the violent ejection of this last member of the Suffragist quartet.

### At the Station.

When the protester who had been injured in the fray arrived at the station in a cab his comrades saw that he had medical attendance, and we were greatly relieved to hear authoritatively a male sympathiser. that though seriously bruised no bones were broken. Making

At last the men are marching. The elaborate precautions him as comfortable as we could in the waiting room, two of us. taken to exclude women from Budget League meetings have wearing the W.S.P.U. colours, returned to the platform, where a been powerless to protect Cabinet Ministers from Suffrage crowd was beginning to assemble to see Mr. Samuel off. Immediately they espied us they clustered round us like a swarm of bees, and we began to hold an impromptu meeting. We explained that we had no animus against Mr. Samuel person. before the House, and rouse up these to the point of militant ally, and that as Socialists we should be supporting the Budget if Mr. Stanger's Bill had become law. After some hustling we were given a very fair hearing, and we promised Accordingly last Thursday, the 22nd inst., a little knot of to come to Bedford again and hold a meeting in favour of "Votes for Women."

Meanwhile Mr. Percy Barlow, M.P., had very courteously visited the waiting-room and inquired after the condition of our wounded warrior. As we conveyed the latter to the railway carriage several stewards helped us and expressed their real regret at the accident. They shook hands with us and admitted that there must be "something" in our movement. At the last moment a few violent "antis" rushed at our carriage with the object of snatching the regalia which I had succeeded in keeping flying. But forsaking the Cabinet Minister the police guarded the door till we steamed out cheering for the Suffragettes.

#### MR. ASQUITH AT CANNON STREET.

At the beginning of his speech in the large hall of the Cannon Street Hotel last Friday the Prime Minister had hardly started to say how pleased he was to be present, when a young man at the rear of the hall shouted out, "How dare you come here when the women are excluded?" He was immediately overpowered and ejected.

A still warmer reception greeted Mr. Asquith when he came to address the overflow meeting in the Pillar Hall of the same hotel. Confessedly a "stop-gap" till the arrival of the Prime Minister, Mr. Samuel evidently tried to draw ambushed fire by referring to the opposition of the Suffragettes to the Ministerial candidates at bye-elections and stated that when women had the vote no doubt they would insist on taxing bachelors. But we had a bigger fish to play, and allowed the Chancellor of the Duchy to have his

Immediately Mr. Asquith arrived he explained in his opening sentence that he had only a few words to say, and that these would be chiefly about the land tax.

Jumping on a chair, and displaying the regalia, I shouted 'Votes for Women are more important than the land tax."

"Why did they let him in with that sash on?" asked an astonished Budget Leaguer.

"Because you can't escape the Suffragists," shouted another sympathiser.

After our ejection the Prime Minister made a fresh start, and was referring to Liberal principles, when a third interrupter, firmly clasping a pillar, interrupted him with the cry, "Why don't you put your Liberal principles into practice, and give women the vote?" Gallantly struggling against a dozen stewards, he was ejected, still shouting at Asquith, "You're a sham Liberal."

The Prime Minister recommenced his speech, but before he had finished his second sentence a fifth Suffragist, jumping on to a chair, shouted, "When are you going to pay attention to the just claims of women?" A sixth man, after the ejection of the last, began, "I quite agree with the women-" when he was overpowered and thrown out.

A seventh man, from the extreme end of the hall, interrupted Mr. Asquith a little later on with "The Budget concerns women as well as men," and I understand that shortly before Mr. Asquith left there was an eighth interruption from

F B.

#### HOW WE TACKLED MR. SAMUEL. At Hampstead.

(ULY 30, 1909.

Nearly one-half of the account given by one of the leading daily newspapers of the distribution of prizes by Mr. Herbert Samuel at University College, Hampstead, was taken up by describing the interruptions of the two Suffragettes who went there for the purpose of making things pleasant for the new Cabinet Minister. It was to be his first ordeal by fire of the Suffragettes, so we determined that

After a wait, clapping greeted the arrival of the Headmaster with Mr. and Mrs. Samuel. We two were more than thankful to hear that, owing to multitudinous duties at the House of Commons (including a kig dinner that evening), the prize distribution would take place after the first item on the programme. After giving out the books, Mr. Samuel, who had been looking about rather neryously, got up and began his speech in a rather low, uncertain tone. After a few minutes I got up, and in a very loud voice made my of the tactics. speech, for speech it was.

'Why do you not give the boys of this country a better chance of being trained as good citizens by giving their mothers the vote? Instead of which this Government will be handed down to posterity as the one which preferred to put women into dark cells and let them starve rather than treat them as what they are-political prisoners. I call upon you, as a new member of this Cabinet, to see that this terrible iniquity is done away with."

By this time I found a constable at my elbow, who very kindly led me out slowly, so that I was able to give Mr. Samuel many other words before I got outside.

Mr. Samuel afterwards remarked that he supposed that, as a member of the Cabinet, he would have to get accustomed to these little amenities. My companion waited for a favourable opening, which she got at his word "afraid."

"Are you not afraid to belong to a Cabinet which treats women so unjustly and puts them into dark cells?" She, too, was slowly

At the door we found our Votes for Women sellers, who with us made a goodly concourse to descend upon Mr. Samuel. He tried to escape us by using a side door, but we were too quick for him, and made him take a copy of Votes for Women, reminding him to have women prisoners properly treated. So he passed his first ordeal by

#### At Bedford.

An account of the men's protest at Mr. Samuel's meeting at Bedford will be found on the previous page. A crowd of thousands of people gathered outside the Exchange, and no sooner did the women arrive than three of them, Miss Ainsworth, Miss Martin, and Miss Pitfield, were arrested. Miss Capper and Mrs. Leigh then made for the Market Place, where they held a meeting, ubsequently going back to the hall, when Mrs. Leigh and Miss Capper were arrested. A little later on, while making inquiries as the fate of her friends, Mrs. Baines was seized by the police and marched to the station, followed by a large crowd. The women were kept at the police station until 11.30 p.m., Mr. Samuel in the meantime returning to London by the 10.52 train. The women were not charged, and were released when Mr. Samuel was safely out of town, the object of the authorities evidently being a vain endeavour to protect the new Cabinet Minister from those trouble-

#### At Nottingham.

On the occasion of the Right Hon. Herbert Samuel's Budget campaign meeting at Nottingham an enormous crowd assembled at protest meeting in the Market Place, and with marked sympathy gave the speakers an intent and eager hearing. It was noti ed that a Budget campaign orator attempting a hearing at one corner had the barest fringe of hearers. At 8.30 the speakers appealed to their hearers to follow them to the hall, announcing their intention of claiming their right, in view of the vital interests of women at member of the Cabinet, was responsible for imprisoning women for stake in the proposed Budget now before the country, to enter Mr. Samuel's meeting and protest against the exclusion of women from it. It was only through the rapid barring of the doors and the equally speedy arrest of Miss Marsh and Miss Crocker that an entrance was not gained. These arrests were quickly followed by those of Miss Watts, daughter of a well-known local clergyman and an ex-prisoner, and Miss Ainsworth.

The crowds were enormous, and it is stated in the local Press that Burton Street, near the police station, was "literally packed." Previous to her arrest Miss Ainsworth made another plucky attempt to reach the hall, and was followed through by-streets by

a large and excited crowd. She was then taken in charge. At the Guildhall the women were detained till after the meeting had terminated. There was a consultation between the Chief Con stable, the Chairman of the Watch Committee, and the Chief Superintendent, and then several gentlemen who were waiting to bail the Suffragists out if necessary were informed that their offers were not necessary. The police took the names and addresses of all the arrested women, who were released late in the evening, the authorities stating that action against them would be

Meanwhile, the meeting inside the hall was carried on under the ceaseless fusillade of very pertinent and timely remarks, from a megaphone, which issued from an overlooking window conveniently close to the hall. Finally Mrs. Leigh delivered a rousing speed therefrom, asking the men inside the hall to show courage and stand up and protest against the present injustice. Three members of the audience did so, and added greatly to the discomfiture of the speaker within. That the meeting closed early, after lasting little over an hour, is a remarkable testimony to the effectiveness.

Inside the hall Mr. C. L. Rothera, city coroner for Nottingham, speaking amid much interruption and cries of "Sit down," that, believing it was a cardinal principle of Liberal policy that taxation and representation should go together, he wished to ask if Mr. Samuel, as a member of the Cabinet, would use his influence with the Home Secretary to secure for Suffragists in Holloway that treatment accorded by all civilised communities to political prisoners; and also with the Prime Minister to receive a deputation of women on the subject of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women, on the same terms as it is or may be enjoyed by men?

The Chairman had some difficulty in restoring order, and Mr. Samuel, replying to Mr. Rothera's question, said that the ladies in Holloway prison could get out any moment they liked merely by promising not to commit any breach of the peace. He also added that after the passing of the Prisons Act of 1898 the Home Secretary had no power to order persons who had been sent to prison in the second division to any other division.

N. C.

## MR. HALDANE ON "THE NURSE AS PATRIOT."

When the organisers of the International Congress of Nurses, which was sitting in London all last week, chose to invite a Cabinet Minister to address one of their meetings, they may not have realised that they were offering up an honourable body of women workers as a doormat for the Government to wipe its feet on; but two dozen members of the W.S.P.U. went to that meeting to protest, not against nurses as patriots, but against nurses as doormats. The result was that the patriotic platitudes of the Secretary of State for War failed entirely in their mission. The only successful element in that nerveless speech of Mr. Haldane's was the interruption to which he was constantly compelled to

Who can say that this was not another insult in the long list of insults which the present Cabinet has offered to women? Here is a Minister who, having betrayed his own convictions on the subject of woman's suffrage, and taunted the women who are fighting for theirs to use violence, dares to come and ask women for their help in one of his schemes for national defence! What can be said of a man who thinks women good enough to give their services to the State, but contemptuously denies that they have a right to be paid for those services in the usual way-by the vote?

So there was an intense note of indignation in the interruptions some questions which, in his position, he must not expect to which spoiled Mr. Haldane's speech on patriotism. He had hardly opened his mouth when a woman asked him if he thought he had any right to talk to women about patriotism so long as he was a ember of a Government which denied them political justice? Mr. Haldane was forced to remain silent for two or three minutes, until the first interrupter, chivalrously refusing to take advantage of the absence of male stewards, consented to leave the hall. When Mr. Haldane started afresh with the words :- "I was about to make the observation," another woman rose in the middle of the hall, and told him that she also had an observation to make. Did Mr. Haldane think it becoming to appeal to women as patriots, when he, as a making a patriotic demand for the vote? This woman also reminded Mr. Haldane that he had taunted women with using a policy of pinpricks, and was therefore responsible for the windowbreaking which had recently been punished so severely. "You ought to have been in the dock with them, Mr. Haldane.'

Similar remarks were delivered at short intervals during the rest of Mr. Haldane's address, and the help of the police was called in to turn out the Suffragettes. The audience was, on the whole, friendly to the interrupters, only a very perfunctory hissing greeting their indictment of Mr. Haldane. Most of those present were obviously sympathisers with the demand for the vote. But when will they, and all the other so-called constitutional supporters of this demand, realise that they cannot serve God and Mammon? C. St. J.

TOT2

#### CHASE AND COUNTER-CHASE.

July 22.

On Thursday the Postmaster-General visited Hull to open the new post-office. Before this ceremony Mr. Buxton, together with local officials, inspected the docks. A Suffragette attempted to follow the party, but was stopped by the police. Indignant at this she jumped a considerable height down on to the railway metals, and ran as quickly as possible to catch the Cabinet Minister. The police, however, gave chase, and managed to surround her. On her attempting to pass them the inspector forced her into a neighbouring railway office, and, with two policemen and an inspector on guard, she was kept until the visitor had left the docks

Later in the day a procession of officials passed from the Town Hall to the post-office. Numbers of policemen were in evidence, but a woman managed to rush forward, shouting, as Mr. Buxton passed, "When are you going to do justice to women?" She was arrested and taken to the police-station. After being detained one and a-half hours she was released. In the meanwhile, the crowd had taken up the cry of "Votes for Women," and as Mr. Buxton turned the key in the door loud cries were heard on every side. Evidently another scene was feared, for the procession hurried into the new building.

Another opportunity occurred as Mr. Buxton left after luncheon. Here a woman managed to board his motor-car as it passed her, and as no police were near there was time enough for several questions. The Postmaster-General muttered, "I've heard this before." Yes, but when are you going to do something?

The car was then stopped, and the police came to his rescue. Another woman managed to call out, "We demand the Vote!" as the party reached the post-office. In the evening, after holding a huge meeting opposite the hotel where Mr. Buxton was dining, two women attempted to enter the hotel. Admission was refused, instructions being given that no women were to be admitted that night. The Suffragettes were recognised by detectives, and the crowd raised cheers for the women.

The following morning Mr. Buxton went over the Hull Exchange. Two Suffragettes were present, and, being recognised, a large crowd soon collected. The women were followed everywhere by plain-clothes men, and the Cabinet Minister at last arrived, coming from a side street. As Mr. Buxton left, the women took a cab t follow him to the station. An inspector seeing them mounted the box beside the driver. The Suffragettes at once descended, although the cab was in motion, and hailed a hansom. The detective spied them, and took a cab to give chase. An exciting run followed. Arrived at the station, the women hurried on, followed by the chief constable and several inspectors and policemen. Men in blue seemed to rise from the ground. They surrounded the Suffragettes, and refused them admission to the platform. The station was soon packed with interested spectators, and the poor policemen had a well-earned respite.

'I hope I'll be on my holidays when you come again," said an

Throughout these exciting episodes the behaviour of the crowds was admirable, their sympathies evidently being with the women. Miss Marsh, the chief actor in the drama (whose spirited chase made a great impression on the local Press), addressed a large and attentive crowd, mainly composed of men, and when a girl with a shawl over her head exclaimed, "Go and clean up your fireside," the men, says the Hull News, "evidently impressed with the tenour of the address, angrily turned upon the would-be interrupter, telling her 'not to be so ignorant.' 'Sellers of Votes for Women next day were frequently asked when the next meeting would be held. Before leaving the town Mr. Buxton asked the Postmaster (Mr. Dowling) to convey to the chief constable and his staff his thanks for "the very able and successful way in which they had discharged their duties.

#### AN ENTENTE CORDIALE?

We-my friend of German descent and myself-entered Mr. Lloyd George's "henroost"-yes, actually went right into his drawing-room—in order to put the question which we have so much at heart. She naturally was interested to hear what Mr. Lloyd George had to say about a friendship between the women of England and Germany, for she knew how unchivalrously he had treated the women in his own country. How did we get there? Well, we just walked in. My friend led the way upstairs. I heard her say, Ach! Bitte? So!" and we were inside

The proceedings had already begun, and a lady was making a speech about the desirability of women joining this "entente." She thanked Mr. Lloyd George for lending his drawing-room, and hoped that their next gathering would take place in some other "Hen-

Then she called upon Mr. Lloyd George to speak, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer began by saying how desirable it was for the women of England and Germany to join hands in harmony

"Mr. Lloyd George, surely it is better to have a good understanding between the women of this country and the Cabinet, and to give them the vote.

The audience was very much startled, and I was requested to sit down. Mr. Lloyd George begged me to remain, but I refused, saying as I left, "It is a disgrace for any woman to be here and quietly listening to you. How dare you come here and address a gathering of women?

Mr. Lloyd George stammered and stuttered a good deal, and then began again. My friend, however, very soon reminded l of the folly of preaching about a friendship such as he proposed when there was no peace between the Cabinet and the women England. Peace-making, she told him, should begin at home, and his Cabinet should see to it that English women obtained their pol tical freedom, for in this manner only could peace be procured. Exit my friend

#### AT NORWICH.

July 26.

VOTES FOR WOMEN! COME IN YOUR THOUSANDS AND HELP THE SUFFRAGETTES!
TO-NIGHT ON
ST. ANDREW'S HALL PLAIN, AT EIGHT O'CLOCK.

'VOTES FOR WOMEN, one penny," rang out through the Market Place of Norwich on Thursday last, and the people stopped and

Why, them's the Suffragettes come again." "They've come for

Churchill's meeting!" "All right, missus, we'll be there."
Up to Monday we had held a dozen meetings since we arrived on Thursday afternoon, and, although small at first and a trifle unsympathetic, they have grown to very large and extremely sympa-

At all our meetings there were plain-clothes men reporting our speeches. We never for one moment hid the fact that we were there to spoil the meeting or "know the reason why." Miss Paul went to the hall on Saturday, and mingled with others as a tourist; but the door of the hall was opened only one inch 'Because, you know," explained the caretaker, "the Suffragette are about, and they mustn't get in.'

The utmost precautions had been taken to prevent the Suffragettes from entering the hall, but in spite of this two or three were found inside the building. As for the outside—at times it was a perfec pandemonium, and Mr. Churchill's speech was frequently inaudible Some of the audience tried to leave the hall, but all doors were barred, for fear of Suffragette attempts to enter. Police were hidden at all points, and the place was practically in a state of

All precautions, however, were unavailing, and when Mr. Churchill reached his third point, "the subject of taxation," a man shouted, "Why do you tax voteless women?" The audience seemed too astonished to interfere, and he walked out saying That's my protest, and I'm a Radical-disgusted!" Anoth man sprang up the next moment, shouting. "Votes for Women! and he was roughly hustled downstairs and thrown into a litt side-room, the door of which was banged. The speaker made some facetious remark, which failed to arouse much hilarity, and con tinued his speech, punctuated by the shouting of the people outside, who charged the police again and again.

"What," said Mr. Churchill-"what has the Liberal Government not done?" and quick and ready came the response, "Not given Votes to Women, sir; not given Votes to Women!" At once the real "howling Dervishes" pounced upon the interrupter, but he succeeded in evading them long enough to get in another shot. "Where are your Liberal principles? I'm a better Liberal than you are." And several voices said "Hear, hear.'

Of course, the protest was answered by that argument which men resort to when beaten in reasoning—physical force! The man was struck by several men at once, while another man held him and brutally thrown down stone steps into a back yard, injuring

Before the meeting closed Mr. Churchill left by a back door and slipped into a private motor-car, which took him to the station, where he entered his sleeping-car half an hour before the departure of the train. But the crowd continued its shouting and charging until long after the meeting was over.

Norwich has registered its protest against the treatment of women by this hypocritical and tyrannical Government. Of course, the papers continue the conspiracy of silence, but when this sort of thing has been done all over the country we shall find a stronger champion than the Press-the British Public-

#### A PROTEST AT WOLVERHAMPTON.

JULY 30, 1909.

In spite of careful police precautions at the station, a Suffragette was able to question Mr. Winston Churchill on his arrival at Wolverhampton; she was, however, quickly hustled away by police.

In spite of pouring rain a large crowd waited outside for the arrival of the Suffragettes, who began a meeting immediately outside the theatre. They were then moved on down the road, where the resolution that "Women as taxpayers should not be excluded from a Budget meeting" was passed. Miss Marsh, Miss Earl, and Miss Ainsworth then attempted to go into the theatre, the crowd following and helping them to force an entrance. One after nother they were arrested and taken to the police station, followed y a crowd, crying "Votes for Women!" A taximeter with our other Suffragettes drove round and round the crowd, the women addressing the people through a megaphone. One of the women, Miss Young, was followed by a cheering crowd round the heatre. She addressed the crowd, and was moved on by the police and eventually arrested.

At an overflow meeting at the Agricultural Hall, Mr. Churchill At an overflow meeting at the Agricultural Hall, Mr. Churchill was again questioned by a woman. The women subsequently were sent at the College on Tuesday, Domum Day. In the Prefect's

#### MR. GLADSTONE AT READING.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone spoke at the Town Hall, Reading, on Tuesday night, July 27, and in spite of the heavy rain a large audience—from which women were rigidly excluded—assembled to hear him. On the way to the hall a man behind the police lines shouted "Why don't you be a man and give justice to women?' He drove up from the station in a shabby brougham, escorted police in a motor-car, and entered by a side door. Over a hunred policemen were hidden in various parts of the hall, and the punted police were ready to be called out in case of need. The Suffragettes, though prevented from going inside the building, had heir own meeting outside, and as the audience entered many eartily wished them good luck and success, and said they wished hey were going in also. Inside the hall some vigorous protests ing to give votes to women? Over 500 have now been sent to prison criminals for political offences." Two men were thrown out er a tremendous struggle, and proceeded to hold a protest meet- in the street rather regards that as legitimate political sport. g in the Market Square, where they spoke to a cheering multitude nearly an hour, though several young hooligans made themselves ould remain. Mr. Gladstone—no doubt feeling nervous—started is speech with the usual "Ladies and gentlemen," which caused eat laughter and cries of "Where are they?" to which he replied, nirty constables marched to the station and hid themselves in the eft luggage" office, the station being barricaded to keep out the affragettes, who were informed that Mr. Gladstone would motor Twyford and join the train there. In spite of this assertion he wo women who questioned him regarding votes for women, and asked him what was being done about the include.

The police closed round him and prevented any further protest.

M. H.

#### MR. SAMUEL AT NORTHAMPTON.

When Mr. Herbert Samuel visited Northampton to address a neeting at the Corn Exchange on the question of the Budget last Tuesday, such precautions were used to protect him from the nine whether it is not a fact that men wear bigger boots. omen who were there to urge the Liberal Government to put heir principles into practice and give women political freedom that both the night and the day police were on duty in his service. Not a single member of the force was within sight to keep order while the women were addressing many thousands of people in the great Market Square. Gangs of youths did their utmost to prevent a hearing being given, shouting out "We have been paid to disturb you, so we will do it," and repeatedly rushing the steps of the ountain where the women stood. One of the speakers secured a good hearing by climbing to the top of the 20 ft. fountain, thus getting well above the noise of the rough lads and also eliciting the sympathy of the audience, who, as Britishers, admire pluck and determination even though they may not always understand the principles which inspire it. Not a single grown man or woman showed hostility to the Suffragettes, the whole trouble being caused by the hooligan youths in the most conspicuous absence of the

women attempted to get a written petition taken in to Mr. Samuel, trative Council of the Independent Labour Party on Friday:but was insolently spoken to by the officials, who said, "We are not your servants." and threw the paper on the ground.

gettes' cause was thrown out for shouting "Votes for women! Why not treat them as political prisoners?"

It was about 9 o'clock that the real hard work commenced, for, backed up by the crowd, the plucky little band of women attempted to rush the strong iron gates, but the cordon of police in front of them proved massive as walls, and despite every effort admission was impossible. During that time the women were roughly treated by the hooligans, the better element of the crowd crying out that they ought to be ashamed of themselves. The same woman who had climbed the fountain once more gained the ear of the crowd by climbing to the top of a 40 ft. scaffolding adjoining the Exchange and addressing them from that height. One of the women succeeded in getting beside Mr. Samuel as he was entering his motor-car and said, "How can you, who as an alien have achieved your political rights through the help of the men and women of this country, dare to refuse women the freedom that they have a greater right to claim?'

At the finish five of the band were put under temporary arrest. The rain came down mercilessly throughout the whole proceed-

#### THE PREMIER'S THANKSGIVING.

address of welcome was an allusion to "the Furies whom report credited with pursuing him." Mr. Asquith (who replied in Latin) ended his speech with an expression of pious gratitude for safety thus :- "But if, as I lately understood, you are able to offer me not only refreshment of mind but safety of person, then I will enter these courts in perfect safety, and I may be allowed to greet at a distance those Furies to whom you have referred.'

#### EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"It is kindness such as this which makes me forget all-night sittings and suffragettes—they are all dissolved by such a genial

-Mr Herhert Samuel at the National Liberal Club.

Cabinet Ministers are to take part in sundry meetings promoted there made by several men, one of whom, said to be a naval officer, by the New Budget League, but are consenting to do so only under certain specific conditions. Evidently they are nervous of women Suffragists.

People do not mind Cabinet Ministers being badgered. The man

-Western Mail

Mr. Asquith is to address a meeting in the City on the subject jectionable at both outdoor meetings. Another man would have of the Budget. Precautions, we understand, will be taken to pre-en ejected, but the audience intervened and insisted that he vent Lord Rothschild and Lord Avebury from disturbing the gathering disguised as Suffragettes. -Punch. There has been a large application by ladies for tickets for Mr.

Churchill's meeting in Edinburgh. Places have been balloted for, Well, they are not far off, anyhow," a remark which was greeted with great applause. Just before the close of the meeting some but before the successful ladies can receive their tickets they have to sign and return a postcard which has been issued to them in these terms: - "I promise that the ticket will not be transferred to any other lady, and also that I shall in no way disturb the meeting.

In heckling encounters with the suffragettes, man invariably comes lrove up to Reading station in a taxi-cab, and was confronted by off second best. Questions were invited at the Market Place meeting on Tuesday, and Mrs. Baines was asked whether it was not asked him what was being done about the women in prison. a scientific fact that woman's brain was inferior in size to that of a man. She confessed that it was, and males in the crowd chuckled at this admission of their intellectual superiority; "but, you see," Mrs. Baines went on, "we go in for quality, not quantity." Whereat her interlocutor withered away. It was an absurd question, of course, as touching the right of women to a vote. As well ask

## Blackburn Telegraph.

A New Method of Avoiding Suffragettes! The Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the President of the Board of Trade have been induced by Sir Henry Norman, as hon. secretary of the Budget League, to make speeches into gramophones in support of the Finance Bill. Records of these addresses have been prepared for use in six large gramophones, and during the next few months the speeches will be reproduced at meetings in various parts of the country. Sir Henry Norman gave a rehearsal at the House of Commons last night in the presence of a number of newspaper representatives. Mr. Lloyd George's speech was not available, but those of the Prime Minister and the President of the Board of Trade were reproduced with a fair amount of success. The first meeting at which these Ministers will be heard through the gramophone takes place on Monday.

Then a rush was made for the Corn Exchange, where one of the The following resolution was adopted by the National Adminis-"That this meeting of the National Administrative Council hereby expresses its strong condemnation of the action of the Government During the meeting in the hall a male champion of the Suffra- in allowing the women Suffragist prisoners to be placed in the second and third divisions, and demands that they should be accorded all the privileges ordinarily accorded to political prisoners."

#### AT THE ST. JAMES'S HALL.

1014

The audience at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening, July 22, was an enormous one, full of enthusiasm and cheery optimism, and—most significant of the trend of public opinion—the applause was frequently started by the men visitors present, who followed the different speakers with keen and appreciative interest.

Miss Pankhurst, in the chair, spoke once more of the splendid women who had won their way to freedom by their heroic struggle in Holloway, and referred to Mr. Gladstone's public rebuke in the House of Commons by Mr. Philip Snowden and Mr. Keir Hardie, to whom the hearty thanks of all women were due. She had that day received a letter from a member of Parliament in which he said that it was hoped that these revelations would result in the abolition of punishment cells for men as well as women, and also the system of twenty-four hours' solitary confinement in one day, and he added "this is not the first service to men that the women in your movement have rendered." (Great applause.) Miss Pankhurst spoke very strongly of the unfounded charges that had been brought against the "hunger-strikers" of violent behaviour in prison.

#### Miss Wallace Dunlop.

Miss Wallace Dunlop's opening words were the signal for a furore of cheering and applause. Many at the back of the hall mounted their seats, handkerchiefs and scarves were fluttered and hats waved, and many a catch in a cheering voice gave testimony of the deep feeling underlying the applause. To a listener it sounded as if those who cheered the loudest did so to cover an involuntary sob. Miss Dunlop said that she stood there the proud yet humble mother of fourteen heroines, and once more the applause broke out. She had only pointed the pathway that they trod so magnificently. But she was the only one present who could fully guage their sufferings.

Her own, she insisted, were far less, as she was in the infirmary. with light, air, and books, and people continually coming and going, and her fast lasted only ninety-one hours. The others were in dark, lonely cells, deprived of everything that could have ameliorated their sufferings, and when she thought of their endurance she wanted to use all the biggest words in the language-magnificent-stupendous-colossal-there was no adjective big enough. One has confessed to being hungry for four days; she had only been hungry for half a-day. She had one piece of advice for those who might follow-to keep on smiling. That nonplussed the authorities more than anything else. The doctor came to see her six or seven times a day, and every time she told him cheerfully that she was going to keep on starving until the end of her month's sentence. She did not know then that the use of the threatened nostril-pump was illegal, or she would have told them so. She was glad that she had adopted the hungerstrike; it had proved so tremendously effective, and though she felt that she personally had done a small thing in comparison with the others (No, No!) it was an immense satisfaction to her to know that it had led to so much.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence also dealt with the hunger-strike, and compared it to a weapon pointed at both ends that inflicted pain upon both wounder and wounded. So far, the brunt of the pain had been borne by the brave women who were using this weapon, which had pierced their own breasts, while the wound inflicted on the Cabinet Ministers at the other end was the loss of prestige, because they stood on the dignity of a Liberalism they did not practice. The important issue was, that these women went to prison with a definite motive and a definite duty to perform, and that enabled them to stand out against the tremendous suffering entailed by the hungerstrike. The test was like the fire that tries gold-only what was strong and great could possibly survive it, and those outside could only honour and revere those who had gone through that test. The hunger strike was the strongest weapon they had ever used against the Government, and the visiting Governors were afraid of its effect upon other prisoners, but all responsibility rested with the Government who had denied justice. The militant methods were daily becoming deadlier in their effects, and the Government was smarting under the blows inflicted by them.

#### AT THE QUEEN'S HALL.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence received a royal welcome at Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon, July 26, on their return from bye-election work. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, as chairman, referred to the enormous advance that had been made in the movement during the past few weeks, and to the spiritual as well as outward victory that had been gained through the action of the

fourteen militants in Holloway and their pioneer, Miss Wallace-Dunlon. All in the movement were so closely united that they felt that they also had had a share in the baptism of fire, and had come out of the vicarious struggle with a new capacity to dare, to suffer, and to achieve-veterans in the fight, with a stronger assurance than ever that no power on earth could stay the progress of the move ment. The power of tyranny had been broken-to some extent for ever-and the Government had been made to see the weakness of their position. The Government realised that had one of these women died in prison-as they were quite prepared to do-it would have meant the death of the Government also, and their ever lasting disgrace in the eyes of the country. The militant movement had found its final expression in the hunger strike, in which the women instead of inflicting violence took the suffering on them selves. Inasmuch as the Government was animated by self-interest and women by love of humanity, the former was bound to break down as it had done in the case of the prison revolt, and the endur ance and strength of spirit that had prevailed in prison would prevail in the great issue, and the great inheritance of womanhood would be won for ever. Never in the whole history of the move ment had there been such cause for joy and thankfulness, or such certainty of triumph.

Mrs. Pankhurst said that much of the misrepresentation that had been made in the past was due to misunderstanding as to their real objects, and also the fear as to what use would be made of the power when it was gained by those from whom it had for so long been withheld. It was largely misrepresented by those who wer responsible for the policy of the Press. For long there had been a growing restlessness and dissatisfaction among many women who recognised that something was wanting in their lives, but could not understand or explain the cause of their dissatisfaction; and wha ever the W.S.P.U. had done or failed to do it had succeeded bringing all this indeterminate unrest of women to coherent expre sion. The hunger strike was the supreme effort to show that dis satisfaction, and the protests at Cabinet meetings were another mos unselfish way of expressing the feeling. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke most strongly of Mr. Haldane's appeal to nurses to do their utmo for the country, while he refrained from any promise to give the the rights of citizenship. Men Territorials, if treated in a similar manner, would have hounded him out of the meeting. It was a public scandal that a politician should dare to appeal for the help of women to aid the country until they were acknowledged as

#### The Mistaken Bye-election Policy of the N.U.W.S.S.

Mrs. Pankhurst spoke also of the hindrance to the cause that was being brought by the action of the Union of Women's Suffrage Societies at the bye-elections. That Union had no bye-ele tion palicy until the W.S.P.U. found one, but since then they had adopted a policy which cut right across that of the W.S.P.U. Man voters went to the poll ready to vote against their own party and in favour of women, and were met at the polling booth by women of these other societies, who said to them, "Vote as like, but sign our electors' petition," and it was only natural that the voters should seize on any pretext for recording their vote for the party with which they had always been in sympathy. These ladies did not seem to comprehend that a vote for the Government was a sign of approval of the way in which they had treated women and meant a vote of confidence in that Government and its doing If women did not resent the grievous insults put upon other women who were working might and main for a noble cause it could not be a matter for surprise that men should shuffle out of a difficult position. Yet so little did the Union of Women's Suffrage Societies appreciate the cituation that their agents at Dumfries actually wen out calling upon the electors to "Vote for Gulland and Woman

Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke of the futility of waiting for the new Reform Bill. The W.S.P.U. were going to put in a claim for the first hearing in the Session of 1910; Woman Suffrage must and should take precedence of any such sectional question as the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, or of any question of social reform. No real social reform was possible until legislators were responsible to women as well as to men. In order to secure the passage of a satisfactory Bill they intended to adopt the excellent tactics of the Labour Party, who, in addition to obtaining a pledge for the introduction of a Government measure, introduced their own Bill and had it discussed. The W.S.P.U. proposed, therefore, to ask a private member to ballot for a Woman Suffrage Bill, at the same time that it called on the Government to introduce a Government measure. She already had a promise from one private member, and she hoped everyone would do her best to get many more.

Much enthusiasm was evoked by the announcement that another deputation—the fourteenth—would be sent to Westminster early in February unless the Government gave in before that date.

The At Home—the last at Queen's Hall until October—then closed with hearty cheering and the singing of the "Woman's Marseillaise."

# THE WOMAN'S PRESS,

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#### PENNY PAMPHLETS.

Lady Geraldine's Speech: A Comedietta. By BEATRICE

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The Bye-Election Policy of the W.S.P.U. By F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Earl of Lytton on Votes for Women.

JULY 30, 1909.

The Faith that is in us. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Importance of the Vote. By Mrs. PANKHURST.

The Meaning of the Woman's Movement. By Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Militant Methods of the N.W.S.P.U. By Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

The New Crusade. By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The "Physical Force" Fallacy. By LAURENCE HOUSMAN.

The Struggle for Political Liberty. By CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN, MA BSc.

The Trial of the Suffragette Leaders. Illustrated.

Votes for Men. By MARY GAWTHORPE.

The Constitutional Basis of Woman's Suffrage. By C. C. Stopes. Woman's Franchise. By Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

#### LEAFLETS.

- 21. The Tactics of the Suffragettes, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
- 22. Why We Oppose the Liberal Government.
- 23. Why We Protest at Liberal Meetings.
- 24. Some Questions Answered, by Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.
- 27. Why Women Want the Vote.
- 32. Women as Race Builders, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
- 33. What Conservative Prime Ministers Have Said.
- 34. What Liberal Statesmen Say About Militant Action.
- 42. Why I Went to Prison, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.
- 43. The Opposition of the Liberal Government to Woman Suffrage, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
  44. The Signs of the Times, What Prison Means. By Elizabeth
- 45. Heckling Cabinet Ministers, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
- 47. Treatment of the Suffragettes in Prison, by F. W. Pethick Lawrence.
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- 16. The Suffragettes and their Unruly Methods, by T. D. Benson.

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and Christopher St. John	
"No Votes for Women." By LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON	3d. net.
Press Cuttings. By BERNARD SHAW	1/- net.
Record of Women's Suffrage. By HELEN BLACKBURN	6/-
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The first arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst.

Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Lawrence, and A. Kenney in Motor

Scenes from the Hyde Park Demonstration:

In the Park.
 The Embankment.
 Euston Road:
 Mrs. Drummond opposite the Terrace.
 At Trafalgar Square:

1. Mrs. Bunkhurst. 2. Christabel Pankhurst. 3. Mrs. Drummond.

Mr. Jarvis reading the Warrant. On the way to Bow Street.

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#### IN MEMORIAM.

With feelings of the deepest sorrow we heard last week that one of our dearest comrades, Miss Cypka Hughes, passed away from us at Milan on July 19, a victim to typhoid fever. She was only nineteen years of age, yet within that short span her soul had evolved to the highest and noblest magnitude, and all who came in contact with her felt the strength of her personality.

It was after hearing Mrs. Pankhurst speak, eighteen months ago, that she realised this women's movement was the one and only step necessary to the attainment of her highest ideals for humanity, and, proud of the title of Suffragette, she threw herself heart and soul into the effort of advancing it, deeming no task too hard or too heavy to undertake.

Possessing an unusually strong and clear intellect, her power of winning people over to the women's side was very great, and at the Queen's Hall meetings, where she made a most graceful and charming hostess, many members were brought into the Union through her influence. Whether selling papers in the streets, canvassing, working up meetings, speaking, or raising funds (her contributions nearly reached £150 in one year through the concert and ball she helped to organise), all was inspired by that love and sympathy for suffering humanity which has ever been the mark of great women.

The writer knows our dear friend would gladly have suffered imprisonment, and more than that, for her convictions' sake had she been free to do so. The Russian blood knows no faltering when liberty is at stake. In a letter to Mrs. Pankhurst just before the 29th she says, "God bless you and keep you, and may this be the last time you will sacrifice yourself for us. It is the hopes and heart of womanhood, not only present but past and future, you are taking with you. . . . . And in another letter, "All my heart and soul is with you all these days, and from afar you cannot imagine how still very much greater, heroic, and splendid this fat seems. Women have already done so much, but in this movement there is no such thing as enough. . . .

During the early days of the fever her one interest was reading all the newspaper reports bearing on the 29th and events following, and her last conscious words on being told of the hunger-strike in Holloway were: "The women are right. . . . Yes, they are right." Cypka Hughes will ever remain with us as an example and inspira-

## Derbyshire (High Peak).

RESULT.			
Mr. O. Partington (Liberal) -		-	5,619
Mr. A. Profumo (Conservative)	-	-	5,272

Liberal majority - - - 347 The figures at the last election were :- Mr. Oswald Partington (Lib.), 5,458; Mr. A. Profumo (Con.) 4,662. Liberal majority, 796.

Once again the Women's Social and Political Union may congratulate itself on having effected a considerable reduction 449in the Liberal majority. Mr. Partington, the Government candidate, goes back to Westminster with a majority of only 347 votes over the Conservative nominee, instead of, as at the General Election, 796. In this result there is no doubt whatever that the women suffragists had a large share, and had they had a longer time in which to extend the campaign it is probable that even this narrow majority would have been wiped out.

#### DUMFRIES ELECTION.-A CORRECTION.

In our special correspondent's account of the Dumfries Burghs bye-election campaign last week the Queensberry Arms was mentioned in error. This should have been the King's Arms Hotel, the proprietress of which is Miss Prince. The island of Arran should have been printed Annan.

### PRESS COMMENTS.

A rumour is afloat that the Suffragettes intend to attack the strike.' House of Commons from the river with a flotilla of wherries disguised as torpedo-boats. . . . Man on the Embankment (to Suffragette selling Votes for Women): "Wat's these boats 'ere for? 'Cos they think yer goin' to 'ave a raid by water?'

Evening News.

the recent bye-elections to the strenuous electoral work of the women, August 5.

who have bent all their splendid abilities and energies to defeat the party led by Mr. Asquith, who, we admit, has adopted a tone and a method towards women which fill us with surprise and indignation.

One hesitates to say anything unkind about those who are suffering under injustice for which every citizen has his share of responsibility. It is impossible not to admire the unflagging energy and the indomitable courage of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union. To their work it is largely due that the question of Woman Suffrage is to-day recognised as an immediate issue. It does not seem pertinent to address to them arguments based or the importance of other reforms now in process of realisation which their action, if it were successful, might jeopardise or delay. Naturally to them their own question is the most important.

-Yorkshire Daily Observer

#### Kuropatkin and Christabel.

Walking down Bond Street last week after reading General Kuro petkin's mind-stretching survey of Russia during the last two centuries, my attention was suddenly distracted by the spectacle of a refined-looking dame shouldering a pair of sandwich boards with the legend "Votes for Women." I learned afterwards that the sand wich-lady bears an historic name. The enthusiasm, if not the sacrifices, with which Russians during the eighteenth and nine teenth centuries struggled to reach the shores of the Baltic and Black Sea is almost rivalled in the twentieth by the women consumed with desire for "emancipation." The Bond Street lady with the board on her back is in the front rank of the women engaged in the attempt to force the Dardenelles of the ballot.

-The Referee

#### Kaiser as Suffragist.

Is the Kaiser a believer in women's rights? It might seem so from a recent action of his Imperial Majesty. He has appointed his daughter-in-law (wife of the Crown Prince) to be colonel of a regiment of dragoons. Since, however, the Crown Prince himself is only a major, he must render obedience to his wife. . . . The Kaiser must really add purple, white, and green to his extensive wardrobe of uniforms. -Daily Sketch.

#### "Votes for Women."

This enterprising paper has met with unprecedented success. It began with a circulation not exceeding 5,000; last week it ran up to 50,000, and is a most powerful lever in the cause it advocates. It seizes at once upon every possible argument in favour of the desired reform, and refutes the arguments against it in an unanswerable manner, while its articles are clever, forcible, and convincing Whatever adverse criticism may be showered on the Suffragette tactics no one will deny that the establishment of Votes for Women was a stroke of genius, for, in some measure, it nullifies the efforts of a hostile Press to suppress the women's movement, and at the same time gives a faithful record of what is happening in the country with regard to the movement.

There is no doubt that the cartoons in Votes for Women are among the most remarkable features of that remarkable journal. Drawn by one, "A Patriot," they show in fantastic line and humorous suggestion the chief events in the history of Woman Suffrage. The great fund for the cause now amounts to over £43,000, pouring in at the rate of £1,300 a week.

-Liver pool Courier.

We have great sympathy for the cause which the Suffragettes have at heart, and we repeat that, had it not been for their courageous agitation, the question of Votes for Women would have remained purely academic and unimportant. -Western Mail,

Most women form their letters boldly and gracefully, with far more character than the average man. Can it be that the force and initiative of the world is with them? The science of caligraphy is very disturbing. We hasten to assert that we do not believe in it. -Evening Standard.

Mrs. Jessie Ramsbottom, Waveney House, Bungay, Suffolk, in tends to send a marked copy of last week's Votes for Women, containing the Rev. Hugh Chapman's article, to every clergyman in the neighbourhood in which she lives. She has also most kindly offered to entertain one of the released prisoners, and Miss Theresa Garnett is going to Bungay for a rest after her heroic "hungel

#### EXHIBITION TEA SETS.

Mrs. Frederick Edwards asks us to announce that all the tea sets of exhibition china have now been dispatched. She asks anyone who has not received what was ordered kindly to communicate with We are among those who attribute much of the retrogression at Mrs. Knight, Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn. W.C., before FORMA,

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#### STATUETTES

MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST & MISS ANNIE KENNEY.

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# THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Owing to Monday, August 2, being Bank Holiday, reports for the following week should reach the office by Saturday morning, first post.

London .- Mrs. Flora Drummond, 4, Clements Inn.

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.

Lancashire.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester; Liverpool (Miss Flatman), 22, Mulgrave Street; 41, Glover's Court, Preston 84, Yorkshire Street, Rochdale.

Midlands.—Birmingham: Miss Gladice G. Keevil, 14, Ethel Street. Nottingham: (Miss N. Crocker), 8, East Circus Street.

Workshire.—Bradford: Miss C. A. L. Marsh, 68, Manningham Lane; Redcar: (Miss D. Pethick), 25, Queen St.

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. Aberdeen .- Miss Adela Pankhurst, 41%, Union Street.

As the At Homes have been discontinued in most of the campaign centres throughout the country, many more meetings-both in and outdoor-are being held to take their place, at all of which the attendance has been most encouraging, questions being asked that proved the real interest and sympathy of the audiences. Much literature has been sold, and several organisers report that a number of newsagents now stock Votes for Women regularly. Bristol workers are holding daily meetings and arranging welcon demonstrations for September 4 to their released prisoners. Cardiff and Newport follow suit a few days later. Cardiff is also looking forward to a visit from Mr. Forbes Robertson on September 7. Special protest meetings were held outside Strangeways Prison every night until Miss Florence Clarkson's release (yesterday). The Eight Towns Campaign is being vigorously conducted.

The Midland Caravan and the Birmingham Cycle Scouts continue their useful propaganda work. The Yorkshire organiser, Miss Marsh, is conducting a vigorous campaign in preparation for several Cabinet Ministers' visits in connection with the Government Budget Campaign. Miss New (Newcastle) appeals for workers to enable the shop to be kept open every evening. The Scottish centres are looking forward to the Great Scottish Pageant and Demonstration, October 9, to culminate in a meeting in Waverley Market, at which Mrs. Pankhurst and other leaders will speak. General Drummond is on the spot, and is engaged in organising the demonstration, her headquarters being 63, Prince's Street, Edin-

Workers are wanted to help in protests in connection with the meetings of the Budget League. Mr. Churchill is announced to speak at Dorset on August 2, Mr. Samuel at Rochester on August speak at Dorset on August 2, Mr. Samuel and Mr. Samuel and Mr. Churchill at Saltburn on August 7. Specially organised protests will be made at each of these meetings.

#### LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

London members are asked to concentrate their efforts on selling Votes for Women on any and every possible occasion. Large numbers were sold last week outside Cannon Street Hotel, where the Prime Minister and Mr. Samuel spoke; along the route of the Budget League Procession to Hyde Park; outside the House of Commons last Saturday, Monday, and Tuesday; and at Limehouse during the week. Volunteers are specially asked to sell papers at the open-air Budget demonstration at Barnet to-morrow, July 31.

#### WEST OF ENGLAND.

Two very important events are to take place in the near future. The first is a great public reception at Bristol to the two West of England ex-prisoners-Mrs. Dove-Willcox and Miss Mary Allenon Saturday, September 4, for which Miss Bland, of Henley Grove, has most kindly promised the use of her large garden, which will be lavishly decorated. Members and friends joining in the procession are asked to dress in the colours-white if possible-and to let their children take part, dressed in white and carrying flowers. Miss Kenney says, "It will be something to remember whan they grow up and have votes themselves." It is hoped that sympathisers will be present from all the neighbouring districts to make the event a memorable one in point of numbers and enthusiasm. Tickets will be 1s. each (children free), and speeches will be made by the noble women in whose honour the demonstration is being organised. "They have done more," writes Miss Kenney, "to rouse public interest and attention to our cause than the Liberal Government dreams of.'

Next comes Mr. Forbes Roberston's speech at Cory Hall, Cardiff, at 3.30 on Tuesday, September 7, when Mrs. S. A. Thomas (wife of the Liberal M.P.) will take the chair. Tickets will be 3s., 1s., 6d., and 3d. During Mrs. Dove-Willcox's absence Mrs. Barrett has filled her place most ably, while Miss Rigg undertook the organising secretaryship vacant by Miss Allen's absence; and many speakers and several most successful meetings have been held, which were

have been doing splendid work in rousing public interest for the protest that will be made to-night at Earl Carrington's Budget meet ng, details of which will appear next week. Meetings have been held at both Cardiff and Newport, and plans were formed to open a shop in each, members pledging themselves to collect specially for that purpose. Miss Butler, of Griffe's Town (in Mr. McKenna's constituency) is working up her district, and Miss Rodney in Torquay is doing yeoman work with Votes for Women. Excellent receptions have been given to speakers at Saltash, Torpoint, Penzance, St. Just, Pendeen, and Truro, and it is hoped that many other meetings may be arranged. But for this helpers are urgently needed, and it is hoped that all who are taking holidays in the West will write to Miss Kenney or Miss Phillips, that they may have an opportunity of working for the cause under the most encou-

#### LANCASHIRE.

The special feature in Manchester this week is the "rousing welcome" to be given to Miss Clarkson as this paper is in the press, with the procession and supper in honour of her release. To-morrow (Saturday), at 7.30, a great meeting will take place at the Hippodrome, and it is hoped that the result will establish the right to claim Central Lancashire for "Votes for Women," as the South-East, South, and West already are thus claimed. Meetings have been held at Oldham and Stockport (at which Miss Patricia Woodlock spoke), Southport, Birkdale, Blackpool, Lytham, and

The Isle of Man campaign will start on August 1 for one month, and for this work one speaker at least is urgently needed, and help is also wanted for chalking, selling Votes for Women, etc. Miss Flatman promises those who help a "real good holiday," while at the same time they will be helping on the work that is so important and should not be allowed to slacken, even during the holidays, while those who have no time to spare are asked to help by sending a donation to speed forward the good work. All communications should be sent to Miss Flatman, at the G.P.O., Douglas, Isle of Man. Miss Stephenson (Ashbourne, Queen's Drive, Walton) is arranging the outdoor meetings in Liverpool during Miss Flatman's absence, and will be especially glad to hear from members who will undertake to dispose of a definite number of Votes for Women during the holidays. Splendid meetings have been held in Liverpool and on the Cheshire side, members in the latter district who can help being asked to send their names to Miss Edith Dunn, who is anxious that the militants should spread their work in this direction also. Miss Jessica Walker, one of the Deputation, made her maiden speech last Tuesday, and gave great delight by her lucid description of the events of that night, and Mrs. Griffiths, of South Africa (who also was one of the Deputation) gave some interesting facts as to the suffrage demand in that country.

The work in Birmingham has been going ahead, each meeting attracting a larger audience than the last. As the majority of workers will be away during the coming month an appeal is made to those remaining to keep the movement well to the fore. It is hoped that at least three meetings may be held each week, with Preliminary Protest meetings have been held at Limehouse and at Miss Burkitt and Miss Dale as the principal speakers, and members are asked to give what time they can for this and other work. One result of the successful work of the cycling scouts is the formation. by the Liberals, of similar parties on their own account, a very sincere tribute to their efficiency. The caravan has been working in Lichfield, which has hitherto been untouched ground, and the diligent chalking attracted large crowds to the Market Place on Friday and Saturday, when many copies of Votes for Women were sold, and a collection of 10s. taken. Dr. Helena Jones gave a most educative address, and many requests have been made for more meetings. Successful meetings have also been held at Whittington and Brownhills. At Wolverhampton the people are most anxious to hear the latest news about the prisoners, and great indignation has been aroused by their treatment. Very good meetings have been held, and a protest has been made at the Budget meeting. At Burton-on-Trent good propaganda work has been done, and at Leamington Lady Isabel Margesson gave an illu-minating address on the great subject of the vote, when a good collection was taken and excellent sales of Votes for Women recorded. The campaign in Rugby is suspended during August, but much useful work is being done throughout the Midlands. It is earnestly hoped that more women will come forward to help, especially in making protests at Budget meetings.

During the past week Hull has been the chief centre of activity,

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JULY 30, 1909.

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Yours very truly, EMMELINE PANKHURST. Mr. Holden

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very fully reported in the local press. The audiences have been large and sympathetic, and there is no doubt that the people of Yorkshire are on the side of the Suffragettes. A special appeal is made for helpers for coming protests against the Government to be made at Hull on Friday, August 9; at Leeds on Saturday, the 10th; and at Bradford on Tuesday, the 13th. It is essential for the success of these protests that they should be widely advertised beforehand, and those who cannot join in the actual protest are asked to sell Votes for Women in the crowd. On Saturday last, July 24, Rotherham had its first Suffragette meeting, which was most successful, and gave great promise for the future in this district. The same night a huge open-air meeting was held in Sheffield, and on Sunday, the 25th, another on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds, both of which were strikingly successful in every way.

In the scattered constituency of Cleveland a strenuous week has been passed in personal encounters with sympathisers, in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, building up the circulation of the paper by getting promises to order locally, and inviting many to become members of the Union. As a result of this much ground has been gained, and it is felt that already Cleveland has quite recognised that Votes for Women has come to stay, and, what is more, that Cleveland also is shouldering the responsibility of seeing that the fight shall not be prolonged. Next Friday Mrs. Edward Harris has kindly offered her drawing-room for a meeting for Saltburn ladies, when it is hoped that many objections and difficulties may be cleared away which at present prevent full support being given to the movement. Other At Homes are also in prospect. Miss Pethick -"Our paper is so excellent that I am sorry for every town that does not get it." Volunteers are specially wanted for Eston, Guisborough, Skelton, Loftus, Redcar, Great Ayton, Saltburn, and Middlesbrough. They will find the work easy, and altogether most interesting, and people ready to buy. Communications should be addressed to Miss Dorothy Pethick, at 25, Queen Street,

#### NEWCASTLE.

An outdoor meeting was held at Whitley Bay last Saturday, which was very well attended, an unusual feature being the fact that the audience remained on the ground after the speakers left, and held a meeting on their own account, to discuss the various points that had been raised. It would be a great advantage if the shop could be kept open in the evenings during the holidays, and any members who could help between 6.30 and 8.30 are asked to send their names to Mrs. Atkinson at 2, Devonshire Terrace, who will gladly welcome all offers of help. A welcome is being arranged to celebrate the return of Miss Kathleen Brown, Newcastle's brave "hunger-striker," particulars of which will be announced in a later

#### EDINBURGH.

The important event which is now being looked forward to is the great Scottish Pageant and Demonstration, to take place in Edinburgh on Saturday, October 9, to culminate in a mass meeting in the Waverley Market, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe. General Drummond is already in Edinburgh organising the demonstration, and has taken up her headquarters at 63, Princes Street, which will be the central office for the whole of Scotland, B, Melville Place remaining the centre for Edinburgh itself. Volun teers are urgently needed, and all offers of help, both personal and financial, should be sent to Mrs. Drummond, 63, Princes Street.

The historical pageant will be a very interesting feature of the demonstration. Scottish women of the past, among them St. Margaret, Black Agnes of Dunbar, and Jeannie Geddes, will once more tread the streets of the city they knew so well of old. One can imagine their indignant astonishment at realising the recent and unjust sex disqualification which has deprived their descendantsthe women of to-day-of the political freedom which they themselves all enjoyed, and their sympathy with the Suffragettes in their struggle for liberty. "Mr. Asquith and his colleague, Mr. Herbert Gladstone," says Miss Macaulay, "will be well advised to keep out of the range of Jeannie Geddes's stool." The At Homes on July 22, at which Miss Adela Pankhurst and Dr. Bertha Van Hoosen, of Chicago, spoke, were enthusiastic and crowded. The appeal for Votes for Women sellers met with a good response. Miss Macaulay asks members to do their very utmost to increase the sale of the paper, one of the most effective means of propaganda and of making the general public acquainted with the real facts of the movement.

#### FUTURE EVENTS

Readers are asked to refer carefully to the Programme of Events, page 1007, for the meetings being held in the various localities They are given under the name of the town, and not, as has hitherto been the arrangement, according to the time at which the meetings are held. It is hoped that this new arrangement will facilitate

#### OUR POST BOX.

#### QUOTATIONS.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Sir.—The following passage from Coleridge's "Table Talk" May 3, 1830, was pointed out to me to-day:—"Can a politician, a statesman, slight the feelings of the whole matronage of his country? The women are as influential upon such national interests as the CHARLES SWYTH.

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

DEAR SIR,-The other day, when reading Mr. Augustine Birrell's essay on John Wesley, I lighted upon a remark of his that may interest your readers. Speaking of the prison system of the eighteenth century, he says "that devilish dévice of a later age, solitary confinement, was then unknown." One wonders whether Mr. Birrell still considers solitary confinement a "devilish device."

A. CLAIR UNDERWOOD.

"Ashcroft," Upperton Road, Leicester.

#### AN INTERESTING QUESTION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I have been asked on more than one occasion what women would do with votes if they had them. It is always dangerous to prophesy, but may I be permitted to express the hope that women would use their political influence in prosecuting strict inquiry as to what becomes of the £160,000,000 annually raised in this country by taxation? Fear that they may thus influence matters at once explains the hostility of the professional politician. There are many who would be interested to have official assurance on this point.—Yours, etc.,

13, Ladbroke Grove, Holland Park, W.

[Naturally, we cannot make any attempt to answer the general question propounded to Mr. Gattie, as women are not all cast in one political mould any more than men are. We can assure him, however, that women, "the chancellors of the home exchequer,' will scrutinise carefully the raising and spending of the national revenue.—ED., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

#### MISS FLORENCE CLARKSON.

Miss Mary Fitzsimon writes from Manchester protesting against the imprisonment of Miss Florence Clarkson in the second division of Strangeways Gaol. After more than ten years' experience as a Manchester prison visitor Miss Fitzsimon is of an opinion that it is not fair to the prison officials that they should be forced to treat as a criminal a woman whom they would otherwise be obliged to honour. From her personal knowledge she is sure that the duty will be a most painful one to the prison authorities. She adds: "If some public-spirited magistrate would voluntarily undergo a term of imprisonment in the second division the magistrates would themselves insist on the power of placing political offenders in the first division. I know a prison official who on taking duty in the service had himself locked into a cell for twenty-four hours. He described his experience as 'awful.' "

Miss Flatman has received a letter from a tradesman in Leigh, in the course of which he says:-Much sympathy is expressed for Miss Clarkson, and I think a visit immediately after her release would not only be productive of much good, but would be appreciated by Leigh people. It is quite astonishing how many male converts you made on what is practically your first visit, and many of my customers tell me how delighted they were with the addresses.

A correspondent suggests that members of the W.S.P.U. should as often as possible leave copies of Votes for Women on doctors and dentists, at boarding houses, restaurants, and teashops, and at

#### HIGH PEAK BYE-ELECTION.

Mr. Arthur Piggott has forwarded us a letter sent by him to Mr. Partington, in which he makes the following statement:

The Prime Minister's action in refusing even to receive a deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union is, in my opinion, detestable, and I will no longer be a party, by implication, to the Government's taboo of the women's cry for justice and fair dealing. I am sure you will believe me when I say that, Liberal as I am, it is with the greatest regret I have decided only to vote again for a Parliamentary candidate who is not only pledged, but manifestly desirous to give women votes on the same terms as men, and that not to be postponed indefinitely, or while "more pressing matters" are dealt with, but now, for there can be nothing more pressing than to do the just thing, and to do it at once.

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a successful beginning was made at Lewes, which STIRLING W.S.P.U.—Our members are delighted with the success of the meetings which have will be staying at 8, San Remo, Hove, from July 20, and they hope members of the local Union will call on them. They have also promised to hold meetings on the Front for us. Two other visitors have also kindly offered to help during August—Miss Stearns, Blenheim House, Brighton, and Miss Goldring, Woodlands, Cuckfield. We shall be glad to avail ourselves of their help. There is a chance of the Drum and Eight Band coming to us in the control of the Drum and Eight Band coming to us in the sale of Vortes for Women, Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, while here work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country places in the district, so that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country also that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country also that the work in Stirling may be continued and interest roused in the country also the fighted with the success of the least week. It is the lighted with the success of the least week. It is the last week. It is the lighted with the success of the lighte

means for getting a shop in Croydon. Please come with heaps of suggestions and ideas.

Procession, and our colours won applause from the people along the route. One of the Liberal speakers, Father Hopkins, gave Miss Grahom a lift, and allowed her to sell our paper and display our colours

H. ROBERTS and L. CUTTEN, Hon. Secs.

LOCAL NOTES.

and others will speak. The Library Committee having consented, the Richmond Public Library is having consented, the Richmond Public Library is now regularly supplied with VOTES FOR WOMEN. A poster is exhibited at the Railway Station.

CLARA T. CLAYTON, Hon. Sec.

This arrangement has, so far, worked admirably, and has considerably reduced postage, and lessened

STIRLING W.S.P.U.—Our members are de-

to avail ourselves of their help. There is a chance of the Drum and Fife Band coming to us in the autumn if we can work up a good meeting and guarantee the expense of the visit. It is hoped members will respond to this. Mary Hare, CROYDON W.S.P.U.—Our meeting on Thursday last was a great success, Miss Leonora Tyson speakming most ably for us at Broad Green. The meeting most ably for us at Broad Green. The meeting finished with a splendid sale of Votes for Women. Next week we hope to have a private meeting for all our members to discuss ways and means for getting a shop in Croydon. Please come success which has attended the meeting for all our members to discuss ways and means for getting a shop in Croydon. Please come success which has attended the meeting for all our members to discuss ways and means for getting a shop in Croydon. Please come success which has attended the meeting for all our members to discuss ways and means for getting a shop in Croydon. Please come success which has attended the methods of the W.S.P.U. Mrs. Knight be held without intermission every Sunday. The speaker next Sunday afternoon will be Miss Wylie.

The REFUSAL OF A SCHOOLBOOM.

The dimenders please turn up in good at the elevation of the status of nurses, while her Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, while her Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, while her Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, while her Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, while her Alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, alliance sought nothing less than the elevation of the status of nurses, validation of the status of nurse

E. B. (for M. GRANT).

with heaps of suggestions and ideas.

G. CAMERON SWAN, Hon. Sec.

HAMPSTEAD W.S.P.U.—The Hampstead members had an opportunity of showing the public of this district how determined they are to with the district how determined they are to district how determined they are to with the district how determined they are to with the district how determined they are to district how determined they are to with the house of the comment of the comme

WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE.

Father Hopkins, gave Miss Grahem a lift, and allowed her to sell our paper and display our colours from his motor-car. At Hyde Park, by special request of the people, Miss Graham and Miss Steele held an impromptu meeting. On Sunday Miss Freeman spoke on Blackheath to a gathering of unemployed.

R. MAY BILLINGHURST.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM W.S.P.U.—A wellattended drawing-room meeting was held on Thursday, July 22, at Mrs. Sydney Woolf's. The chair was taken by Miss Thompson, the chief speaker being Miss Louisa Phillips. There was a proportion of "unconverted" among the audience; much interest was aroused, and 7s. 6d, worth of literature, etc., was sold. Open-air meetings were held at Walham Green and on Putney Heath on Sunday. The olleloth for two first-floor rooms and staircase has been put down (ordered, of course, from Derry and Toms). The front of the shop is being painted, so that after the holidays we hope to present quite a small angel and the stague have continued to picket the House of Commons in order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed the House of Commons in order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed the House of Commons in order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed the House of Commons in order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed the House of Commons in order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed in the San Francisco Call, issued on July 4. The number is printed with a coloured cover representing the House of Commons the order to present Mr. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed in the San Francisco Call, issued on July 4. The number is printed with a coloured cover representing the House of Commons the North Mrs. Asquith with their remonstrance and petition passed in the San Francisco Call, with the San Francisco Call, with San Francisco Call, with San Francisco Call, with San Francisco Call, with San Francisco Call,

## FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

RICHMOND AND KEW W.S.P.U.—Two wellattended meetings were held last week: on Monday evening, July 19, at St. John's Road, when
Mrs. Archibold and Mrs. Wheatley were the
speakers, and on Saturday morning, July 24, near
Whittaker Avenue, when Miss Jacobs spoke for an
hour, and Mrs. Archibold took the chair. We are
arranging to hold our open-air meetings for the
present at the corner of Hill Street and Heron
Court, instead of at St. John's Road. Next Saturday's meeting will be at 11.30 a.m.; Miss Jacobs

FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

After two years' absence Lady Cook, to whose
generous support the Women's Social and Political
Union owed much during the struggles of its early
days, has returned to London from abroad.

FOR THE FUNDS.

Mrs. Offer, of 1, Ravenna Road, Putney, S.W.,
writes that she has a Chinchilla Smoke Persian kitten to be sold, the proceeds to go to the W.S.P.U.
funds. Anyone wishing to purchase the kitten
should apply to her for it

issue (p. 973), continues to engage the attention of the authorities. Mr. H. J. Waters, at the quarterly meeting of the Norfolk County Council, made a

m Green and on Putney Heath on Sunday. in £5 went to prison for twenty-one days in the first-floor rooms and staircase ten put down (ordered, of course, from Derry oms). The front of the shop is being painted, tafter the holidays we hope to present quite to the present quite to the present quite to the present quite to the property of this has been forwarded to Mr. Asquith, and to Mr. John Burns, who is the President of the League.

## LADIES ARE ADVISED

JULY 30, 1909.

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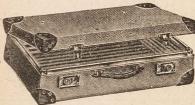
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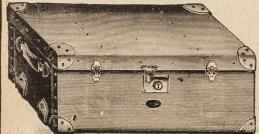


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