

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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The Sentences.

Twenty-five of those who were sentenced on Wednesday last are described as unconvicted prisoners. They have gone to Holloway in default of finding sureties and of being bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. Their offence was purely technical; they were charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty. The magistrate, however, did not convict them, but instructed that they should be bound over to keep the peace. This they all refused to do, because this would have prevented them from taking an active part in the fight for the vote for a whole year, and in consequence of this refusal they have all been sent to prison—the new offenders for one month, and those who had been before for three months. Further than this, these women are not treated as political prisoners, but as common criminals, being placed in the second division, and subject to the full stringency of prison regulations.

Mr. Gladstone's Views.

When questioned on the subject in the House of Commons, Mr. Herbert Gladstone refused to admit that any injustice had been perpetrated in the sentences on the women. He does not choose to regard the women as political prisoners, and he holds that as they are unconvicted prisoners, there is nothing wrong in placing them in the second division.

Political Prisoners.

It seems hardly necessary to point out the monstrous anomaly of this position. In the first place, there is not the shadow of a doubt that the women are, as a matter of fact, political prisoners, and although several members of Parliament and others have sought to deny this, it is only necessary to turn to the definition of the nature of political offences as given by the English Law Courts themselves to establish the point. The question has been decided in the case of extradition, for it is well known that the Courts will not grant extradition in the case of political crimes. In the year 1891 an English Court, comprising three judges, decided that any crime "becomes a political offence when it is committed incidental to, and as a part of a political disturbance," and that this is true, however serious the crime may be, even when it is actually the crime of murder itself. The only thing necessary is that the act must not be one of private malice, but must be done in the belief that it promotes the political end in view.

"Unconvicted."

In the second place, it seems still more incredible that the fact that the women are unconvicted should be urged as a reason for extra severity in their treatment, yet such is actually the case, for Mr. Gladstone definitely stated as a reason for the more lax regulations which were enforced against Dr. Jameson, that his case was different on account of his being a convicted prisoner.

A Serious Defect in the Law.

If the sentences upon these suffragettes are legal, then it is clear that the law of England is in need of radical amendment in this particular. For it is open to a magistrate to sentence a prisoner who has conscientious objections to being bound over, to a far longer term of imprisonment, though unconvicted, than he would be able

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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

Since VOTES FOR WOMEN went to press last week 27 women have gone to serve out their sentences in Holloway Gaol. Among them are included many of the best workers of the National Women's Social and Political Union; sensitive and generous-hearted women, who are willing to undergo a long term of imprisonment in order to win enfranchisement for their sex.

to give where the man or woman was declared guilty of a definite offence.

Stone Throwing.

In addition to the twenty-five women who are serving various terms of imprisonment as unconvicted prisoners, two women are in Holloway for two months for having broken the windows of Mr. Asquith's house in Downing-street. As Miss Pankhurst deals with this matter at some length on page 297 of this issue, we do not propose to deal with it fully here, except to say that we are not in any way surprised that some women regard this as the only answer to a Government which allows women to go to gaol for three months for a technical offence.

The Vote Must be Conceded.

We have laid considerable stress upon the length and nature of the imprisonment inflicted upon the women, because there is still in the House of Commons and elsewhere, definite misunderstanding on this point, but at the same time, it must be distinctly understood that the women themselves do not place this question in the front rank of their concern. To them the all-important question is the refusal by the Government to grant them the vote, and so long as this is withheld they are ready to continue to take the consequences of any and every act necessary for the furtherance of the militant operations.

Women and the Police.

That the women have no quarrel with the police was shown on Thursday last. An arrangement had been made by which the second session of the Women's Convention was to have been held in the Caxton Hall on that day, and a further attempt to reach the House of Commons had been planned. It was found, however, that this would have implied the retention in London of a very large number of police, who had been in the hopes of obtaining leave to attend their special fête at the Crystal Palace. Learning this for the first time on Tuesday, the women accordingly decided to alter their arrangements, to cancel the meetings at the Caxton Hall, and to postpone militant operations to a future date. This courtesy was highly appreciated by the police.

"At Home" in the Queen's Hall.

On Monday last a very successful "At Home" was held at the Queen's Hall, the first of a series of Monday "At Homes" which are being held in that place during July. A large gathering, almost entirely composed of women, was present, and listened with enthusiasm to the speeches by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst. The various points of the speeches were applauded vigorously, and a sum of £75 was collected during the meeting.

Demonstrations in the Provinces.

During the ensuing weeks special efforts are being made to turn to account the work of the women who have gone to prison on account of the cause. Demonstrations are being held in many of the provincial centres, particulars of which will be found in another column. In connection with the demonstration in Manchester, Mrs. Annot Robinson was arrested, and sent to prison, for insisting upon holding a meeting by the John Bright Statue. After she had been in prison a few days her fine was paid without her knowledge by some unknown person, and she was accordingly released. There are also very encouraging accounts of the progress of the Pembrokeshire by-election, where the Welsh men are showing every respect for the women who have dared so much.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Workers are urgently needed in the by-election in Pembrokeshire. If there are any women who are able to speak Welsh they will be specially serviceable, as in many of the outlying districts in the constituency English is only partially understood.

"At Homes" in the Queen's Hall.

An "At Home" will be held every Monday afternoon in July in the large Queen's Hall, Langham-place, from 3 to 5. Admission is free, and all friends and those interested in the movement are cordially invited. Speeches will be given in the course of each afternoon by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others. Members are invited to avail themselves of the facilities afforded by the increased accommodation of introducing their friends to the movement.

Evening "At Homes."

An "At Home" is also held every Thursday evening, in the small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, from 8 to 10. Visitors are invited.

London Campaign.

The London campaign, started for the purpose of working up interest in the Hyde Park Demonstration, is continuing now that that great day is over. Mrs. Drummond will be glad to hear of workers who are prepared to assist.

Demonstrations in London and the Provinces.

A great demonstration is to be held on Peckham Rye on Sunday next, at 7.30 p.m., when Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and several others are expected to speak. There will be three platforms, and a very large gathering is expected. Workers are wanted to assist in advertising this great meeting. They should put themselves in touch with Mrs. Drummond, 4, Clements Inn, at once.

Great demonstrations are also to be held in different parts of the country. The principal of those which have been arranged up to the present time are as follows:—Nottingham, on July 18; Manchester, on July 19; Leeds, on July 26; and Bristol, on a date which has yet to be fixed. Anyone who is willing to co-operate in organising these demonstrations is asked to communicate with the Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn.

Albert Hall Meeting.

Arrangements are already being made for the autumn campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union. A great meeting is to be held in the Albert Hall, on Thursday, October 29. Tickets are already on sale:—Amphitheatre stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; gallery and upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.; and boxes at various prices, can be obtained from the ticket secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Application should be made early for tickets. Friends who are going away for their summer holidays are recommended to buy tickets before they go away, and are also urged to take tickets with them to sell to those whom they are likely to meet on their holidays.

The Union Colours.

The colours of the Union are still in great demand, and can be obtained from the offices of the Union, and from many leading drapers. Ribbon of two widths at a shilling and at ninepence a yard, badges at one penny each, and scarves at 2s. 11d. each. Every member is invited to co-operate in "popularising the colours."

An enterprising firm has also brought out National Women's Social and Political Union ties, which are in the colours of the Union, and are very charming in appearance. They can be had for 1s. each, either from the offices of the Union itself, or from many shops which are beginning to stock the National Women's Social and Political Union colours.

WHAT PRISON MEANS TO SUFFRAGETTES.

A TALK WITH A MAN ON THE TOP OF A 'BUS.

"So there's another seven and twenty of these Suffragettes got locked up. Serve 'em right, that's what I say."

The man on the 'bus was reading his evening paper, and commenting on it out loud.

"It's a long time, three months in prison," I said.

"Ah, but they don't have a bad time there; they're well looked after."

"What do you know about it?"

"Well, I know they're toffs, and when they send toffs to prison they always treat them well. I remember when Dr. Jim went to prison he lived like a fighting cock, and had his friends to see him whenever he liked, and a fine set of rooms, and anything else he fancied. No, prison isn't a bad place for the Suffragettes, you may depend upon it."

"You're quite right about Dr. Jim," I said, "he was treated as a political prisoner, but all wrong about the Suffragettes; these women are treated no better, and no worse than if they were pickpockets. They don't even treat them like the best class of ordinary criminals, they just have to rough it with the rest."

The man on the 'bus was evidently interested, so I continued.

Solitary Confinement.

"To begin with, they have solitary confinement; twenty-three hours out of every twenty-four in a cell no bigger than the top of this 'bus. Of the other hour of the day one-half is spent in chapel and the other half at exercise in a yard, in company with the other prisoners. But even then they are not allowed to speak to one of their companions. They have to wear prison dress, ill-fitting and ill-made. They have coarse prison food to eat. They are not allowed to see their friends or to have letters from them, or to have any books or newspapers except one book a week from the prison library, which they are not allowed to read till after 5 p.m. Their cell is dark and gloomy, and no ray of the sun is allowed to enter. Their porridge is given to them in a tin pot, and they have to eat with a wooden spoon, which hundreds of other prisoners have used before them. These are but a few of the things the Suffragettes have to put up with in prison."

The man was silent for a little while; then he said, "Well, evidently they like it, or they wouldn't go."

"Like it," I said. "Would you like it?"

"Oh, I shouldn't; but, then, I'm not a Suffragette. Why, look here," triumphantly pointing to the paper, "see what it says: 'The prisoner *smiled* on the magistrate as she replied, I prefer to go to prison.' She could have been bound over to keep the peace if she had liked, but she wouldn't. She just chose to go to prison. They like it, that's what I say."

He leant back triumphantly, feeling he had scored the point.

I wondered how I should make him understand. After all, he was not more stupid than Mr. Herbert Gladstone, who has frequently said in the House of Commons that he sees no reason to interfere with the sentences of the

Suffragettes, for they can always come out of prison if they like. Should I ever be able to make him feel how impossible it was for a woman to accept the alternative demanded by the magistrate?

"Did you ever know anyone in the Army," I said, at last.

"My father served under Wolsely in the Egyptian campaign, got wounded in the Battle of Tel-el-Kebir."

"Did you ever ask him why he didn't run away before the battle?"

"Run away? Dad run away? They didn't catch my dad running away."

"But he could have done, you know; he wouldn't have got wounded then."

The man looked at me; he was evidently preparing something particularly choice to say, but it wouldn't come at once, and before he got to it my turn came again.

"No," I said, "of course your father didn't run away, and no more does a Suffragette. A soldier goes into battle to fight for his country. He knows that upon his pluck and daring the honour of his country rests. But he knows that whatever happens to him personally the fight will go on until victory is won. And when he is led by a brave general he fights with courage in his heart, determination in his step, and a light in his eyes."

"And the Suffragette?" he said.

"The Suffragette," I replied, "fights for the honour of her sex. She knows that upon her pluck and her daring depend not merely the winning of the vote, but the honour of the womanhood of the whole world. Because she has confidence in her leaders she fights with a light in her eyes, and a smile upon her lips. Because she is upheld by an indomitable resolve she does not flinch when the magistrate sends her to prison, even if it is for three months. Two hundred and fifty women have already gone to prison for the vote; how many more will have to go, do you think?"

"I believe they'll get it soon," he said.

THE PIONEERS.

They left their homes to wander through the world,
In search of wider seas and fairer lands:
Northward they went to where the frozen pole
Stretches o'er boundless plains its icy hands.

Southward they went to meet the desert's sands,
And left their bones to whiten 'neath the sun:
Long weary days they spent and endless nights:
They never knew the prize their courage won.

Not only on the highways of the seas,
Not only in the forest, on the plain,
But in the city, in their own loved lands
They fought for wider lives and not in vain.

The flag has fallen from their stiffen'd hands!
The world stands still soft brooding o'er the past.
But hark! A woman bids the world awake—
Unfurl the flag of freedom to the blast.

The old, old laws that shelter wrong are doomed,
The long, long years of servitude are o'er:
What though the road leads through the prison cell!
Life waits beyond that barred and bolted door.

WINNIFRED PATRICIA LYNCH.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XV.—*Reform Bill Manœuvres.*

We have seen that on the second introduction of the County Franchise Bill in the House of Commons the so-called supporters of Women's Suffrage, both Liberals and Conservatives, had failed even to ask that women should receive votes under the Reform Bill, because their party leaders had agreed that the Bill as it stood might go through.

On December 1, the County Franchise was again before the House of Lords.

It was at once evident that Lord Salisbury was now acting in perfect accord with the Liberal leaders, and that not one of those influential members who had raised the question of votes for women during the previous Session was now disposed to champion it.

Lord Denman (who, as I am told by one of the most earnest of the early suffragists, had little or no influence in the House) was the only one to put down an amendment, and on December 4 he moved to add four new clauses to the Representation of the People Bill.

The first clause provided that no one should be entitled to vote at the Election of a Member of Parliament who could not write a legible hand. Under the second clause no person who had been three times convicted of drunkenness might be entitled to be registered as a voter in the next election after the last conviction. The third clause was as follows:—

That during the continuance of the Contagious Diseases Acts no person receiving a registered woman or women as a lodger or lodgers shall be entitled to vote during the continuance of the harbouring of such woman or women.

The first of these clauses was negatived, the second withdrawn, and the third, which Lord Denman said was to prevent the vote falling into bad hands, was also withdrawn.

The fourth clause, moved by Lord Denman, was designed to enfranchise women on the same terms as men. It provided that:—

All women not legally disqualified who have the same qualifications as present or future electors for counties and boroughs shall be entitled to vote for knights of the shire and burgesses for boroughs at every election.

Speaking in support of this clause, Lord Denman said that one reason for having framed it was that in Mr. Woodall's Bill, which had been introduced into the House of Commons, a marked exclusion of married women existed.

He had hoped that sufficient time might have been given to add this clause to the Reform Bill, and if it had been rejected by the Government for it to have been reinstated by the House of Lords, and to have been made the subject of a free Conference between the two Houses of Parliament. But as Lord Salisbury had pledged himself to expedite the passing of the Representation of the People Bill, with the principle of which the entire House was agreed, he had decided not to press for this addition. The clause was, therefore, withdrawn, and with it the last hope that women would be enfranchised under that Reform Bill.

No further amendments having been moved in any interest, the County Franchise Bill was finally passed on December 5, and in exactly the same form in which it had first been carried by the House of Commons it received the Royal assent on December 6, 1884. In passing this measure, Parliament had enfranchised the agricultural labourers, but had left the women's demand still unanswered.

As for the women, their Liberal supporters had thrown them over for the sake of party unity, and their Conservative friends appear to have sold them for Governmental concessions upon Redistribution.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the compromise which had been effected between the leaders of the two great parties, the Redistribution Bill was introduced into the House of Commons on December 1. Shortly after this Mr. Leonard Courtney (Lord Courtney) resigned his office of Financial Secretary to the Treasury because he disapproved of the increase in the number of single member constituencies which the Redistribution Bill was designed to bring about. It will be remembered that earlier in the year Mr. Courtney had obeyed the call of the Prime Minister and the pressure of the Government Whip, and had refrained from recording his vote in support of the Women's Enfranchisement Amendment, to which he was so deeply committed.

Suffrage Bill Again Shelved.

On February 19 Mr. Gladstone moved that the Redistribution Bill should take precedence of all other business on the days for which it might be put down. In spite of some protests, this was carried; the Women's Suffrage Bill had therefore no chance of coming on.

On June 8 the Government was defeated on a vote on the Customs and Inland Revenue Bill. In consequence of this defeat, the Liberal Government resigned, and Lord Salisbury was called upon to form a new Ministry.

Now followed a series of negotiations and delays, for the Conservatives were in a distinct minority, and Lord Salisbury was reluctant to take office without definite promises of support on behalf of the late Government.

Meanwhile, progress was made with the Redistribution Bill, and it received the Royal Assent on June 25, 1885.

Two days before this, on June 23, a Women's Suffrage Bill, which had been introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Denman, came up for second reading. Protests were made by Earl Rosebery and Earl Kimberley against raising the question at such a time, and the Bill was defeated by 36 votes to 8.

On July 6 Parliament met after the re-election of the Conservative Cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer (Sir M. Hicks-Beach), now moved that during the remainder of the Session the Government should take all Private Members' Tuesdays and Wednesdays. Mr. Gladstone supported this proposal, but many Private Members, including Mr. Woodall, who had secured the following Wednesday week for the second reading of his Women's Suffrage Bill, objected to their business being shelved in this way. After several protests had been made, Sir Wilfrid Lawson moved as an amendment:—

That this House, not having confidence in the present responsible advisers of Her Majesty, declines to entrust the Government with the disposal of the time of the House.

Notwithstanding all that they had said both against the Conservatives and in support of their own private measures, however, the Liberals, and even the most extreme Radicals, took fright when they saw their words taking definite form and shape, and in the result only two votes were cast in support of Sir Wilfrid Lawson's amendment.

On August 14 Parliament was prorogued, and did not assemble until after the General Election.

(To be continued.)

PEMBROKE BY-ELECTION.

Conservative J. Lort Williams.
Liberal Walter F. Roche.

The figures at the last election were:—J. W. Phillips (Lib.), 3,886; J. Lort Williams 2,606. Liberal majority, 3,280.

Special Meetings.

Thursday, July 9.—Little Newcastle.
Friday, July 10.—Tegryn.
Saturday, July 11.—Haverfordwest, 2.30.
Solva.
Monday, July 13.—St. Dogmells.
Tuesday, July 14.—Haverfordwest, St. Thomas Green, Great Cattle Fair, 11 a.m.
Penbryn.
Wednesday, July 15.—Narberth.
Thursday, July 16.—Fishguard, 7.30.
Goodwich, 2.30.

Speakers: Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massey, Miss Mulholland, Miss Douglas Smith, Miss Keegan, Miss Sada Flatman, and others.

The organisers of the Pembroke campaign will be glad to hear from Welsh-speaking members willing to interpret the English speakers and render other services to the campaign.

Mariner's Hotel, Haverfordwest, Pembrokeshire.

This election promises to be one of the most interesting and exciting in which we have taken part. The events of the past week in London have roused the greatest sympathy, and a very widespread desire to see and hear our speakers and workers. It only needs to be known that we are coming to a district for large crowds to assemble.

Our fight for freedom appeals to the freedom-loving people of Wales, cherishing, as they do, the memory of those brave men and women who live in the history of their country's struggles for national liberty; and there is every reason to expect that the voters of Pembrokeshire will stand by us in our struggle with the Government.

The chief local difficulty is the bad train service which makes it impossible to move from place to place without motor-cars. It is an agricultural county, and the people are busy hay-making, so that we are compelled to seek them in the hay fields.

Will our members and friends who have motor-cars send them to our assistance at once? We need at least three—four would be better—to work effectively the districts I have mapped out. Each district being in charge of a band of speakers and workers with cars, meetings can be held morning, noon, and night in every village and hamlet in the county, and the result will be almost certain defeat of the Liberal candidate. If it is impossible to lend cars, then a motor-car fund should at once be raised.

It is hardly necessary for me to point out that this election is a most critical one for our cause. If we capture a Welsh stronghold following immediately on the Government defeat in the Pusey division, the great demonstration in Hyde Park, and the splendid protest in Parliament-square with its arrests and imprisonments, Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet would realise the insecurity of their position of blind resistance to the just demands of women. I therefore urge on all our members the importance of doing everything in their power to help us to win the Pembrokeshire by-election for "Votes for Women." All offers of local help should be addressed to me here.

Before this paper is in its readers' hands we shall have been reinforced by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and a band of new workers.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

The place of the by-election campaign is now settled. We have four centres, the headquarters being at Haverfordwest, where Mrs. Pankhurst is staying. Mrs. Martel, Miss Elsa Gye, and I arrived on June 30, the first meeting being held in Castle-square, Haverfordwest, on July 1. The feeling from the first was extremely friendly even before the first meeting had taken place.

On July 2 we held our first women's meeting in the Masonic Hall, a large number of professional and middle-class women

attending. On July 3, Mrs. Martel and I visited Fishguard, a Liberal stronghold near Mr. Lloyd George's birthplace. About 700 people were there expecting us. We met with a certain amount of opposition, but were sent off with loud cheers and requests that some of us would go and live there.

The same evening, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Keegan, Miss Douglas Smith, and Miss Sada Flatman arrived and held a meeting in Haverfordwest. The enthusiasm and sympathy were very great. On Saturday, July 4, Mrs. Pankhurst, with myself in the chair, spoke from the balcony of Mariner's Hotel to a number of farmers in for the day from outlying districts. That evening Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Sada Flatman, and Miss Douglas Smith held a splendid meeting at Langune, a Liberal stronghold. Every man, woman, and child living in the fishing village were on the green and listened with great interest for two hours. A second meeting was taken by Mrs. Martel, with Miss Elsa Gye in the chair, at St. David's. The audience appeared quite won over. A third meeting was held in Pembroke, with at least 2,000 persons present. Mrs. Pankhurst spoke, and I was in the chair. There was a certain amount of organised opposition, but we were sent away with great cheering and waving of hats. The mayor came up and spoke to Mrs. Pankhurst, and said: "The Mayor of Pembroke wishes you good luck." We were also offered hospitality by one of the doctors of the place if we would stay in Pembroke.

The people are most enthusiastic and most pleased with our paper and literature. The country is beautiful about here, and we are thankful that during this heat the by-election is not taking place in a large city.

ROSAMOND MASSY.

WOMEN AND WAR.

(By a Pembrokeshire Elector.)

It is sometimes said that if women were accorded the franchise they could not, like men, fulfil the obligation that follows—of fighting for their country. Now, women have shown that they can even come into the fighting line; but, apart from that, has not the unenfranchised sex demonstrated in the persons of Miss Florence Nightingale and numbers of others that they can render nursing services in the field hospital as valuable as the services rendered in the fray itself? But Wales, and Pembrokeshire in particular, is proud of a woman's name, and an historic character, which proves Welsh women are as patriotic as men, and that on a memorable occasion they rendered services most effective in disheartening a bold and desperate foe.

History has it that in 1797 some French troops, under one General Tate, endeavoured to effect a landing at Fishguard. It was then that Jemima Nicholas and other Welshwomen distinguished themselves in the moment of danger. The French had landed, and in order to see the French outpost at a place called Carnunda a number of women gathered on a neighbouring height to see as much as possible of whatever was going forward. Part of their distinctive Welsh dress was of scarlet colour, with high black hats, and, thus attired, they would easily look at a distance like the uniform regimentals worn by soldiers. These noble women so ably responded to Lord Cawdor's call, and so effectively executed the manœuvre of marching round and round the foot of a hill in view of the startled invaders, as to give the latter the impression that a large body of English regulars was coming to attack them; and this, the French General himself afterwards admitted, made his soldiers utterly lose heart and surrender.

The stalwart female, Jemima Nicholas, who was one of the leaders of this "Amazon band," further distinguished herself by conducting, unaided and alone, twelve Frenchmen into the guard-house at Fishguard. The following is the inscription on this brave woman's tombstone, to be seen to-day in Fishguard Churchyard:—

In Memory of Jemima Nicholas of this town, "The Welsh Heroine," who boldly marched to meet the French Invaders who landed on our shores in February, 1797. She died in Main-street, July, 1832, aged 82 years. At the date of the Invasion she was 47 years old, and lived 35 years after the event. Erected by the subscriptions collected at the Centenary Banquet. July 6, 1897.

THE WOMEN'S DEMAND.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the *same terms* as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service 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. This means that those women who pay taxes, and bear the responsibilities imposed upon men voters, will have the same political rights. Married women will obtain the vote, provided they possess the necessary qualifications; thus where a married woman, and not her husband, is the householder, or where a woman is in business on her own account, she will become a voter.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded about a million and a-half 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 this Session.

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Tyrannical governments are the real cause of anarchy; one accompanies the other in obedience to the natural law of cause and effect. As proof, permit me to draw attention to the condition of Russia and of Persia at the present moment. So also is the conduct of our democratic all-powerful-feeble Government at home with respect to women suffragists. Ladies, whose characters have been hitherto unimpeachable, are now, and so often recently have been, lingering away their wasted time and energies as political criminals in prison cells, because the Prime Minister chooses not only to continue stubbornly obdurate, but, in addition, to add insult to injury. What further proofs does he, or can he, want to convince himself and his small Cabinet clique that women want (and will have) the vote? The Prime Minister may thus be an effective teacher of anarchy, for he practically says, like the Czar and the Shah, "I will not yield to justice and reason, but only to force." Then, no doubt, he will be accommodated, sooner or later, for political tyranny and anarchy and all their attendant consequences have ever gone together. Will he not meet the women's just demands without running the risk of realising such untoward issues? Is it not a right and incontrovertible principle that women who have like qualifications as men possess should have secured to them by law like privileges, including, of course, the franchise, by which they may assist in making these laws in order to emancipate their sex, and free their poorer sisters from those fearful sweating dens and degrading white slavery? Then, why all this delay after such strenuous and active agitation and propaganda, conducted in a strictly constitutional and ladylike manner for the last fifty years? And why the repudiation of such repeatedly large majorities at second readings of Bills in the House in favour of votes for women, and why so many sham and disingenuous promises of support on the part of so many members of Parliament? It is humiliating to know that women have so often suffered imprisonment in endeavouring to obtain the most elementary principles of freedom and justice. When will all this strife, controversy, and wrong cease, and reason be supreme?

Yours, &c.,

E. G. TAYLOR.

32, Ackers-street, Chorlton-upon-Medlock,
Manchester, July 3, 1908.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

I was asked, not once nor twice, but several times, to attend the conference this afternoon; that being so, I consider that the way I was howled at when I wished to ask a question will not induce increased respect for your "methods." I did not go with any brief for the Government, as your supporters seemed to suggest. I merely wished to make it quite clear that the members of the deputation knew beforehand that Mr. Asquith would not see them. You talk of justice and fair play. Is it just or fair to abuse a Minister for failing to do what he distinctly said he would not do? Was it just or fair to assume that I, whose work, such as it is, for the cause is on record, was an enemy instead of a friend? You talk of martyrdom. To be howled down for venturing to ask a question at a conference to which I had been invited, howled at by women working for the cause I care most for on this earth, that is far greater martyrdom than willingly undergoing imprisonment because you believe it will advance your cause. Do you think that if I had not cared intensely for women suffrage that I would have done what I did? If I had been listened to, I would have been able to explain. But if that is all the respect you have for the avowed friends of the cause when they disagree with you in any particular, I can only be thankful that there are other workers more tolerant and more fitted to carry on the great work that we have before us, and who will continue to do so in spite of the shocking exhibition of unfriendliness and intolerance which was witnessed to-day in Caxton Hall.

Yours, &c.,

AGNES GROVE.

51, Bedford-square, June 30, 1908.

[The facts of the case were that Lady Grove presented a series of questions to the chair, just as the deputation was about to leave the hall. Several of her questions were immediately replied to, but it would have been impossible without seriously interfering with the business of the meeting to have discussed the matter fully at that time. As soon as the Deputation had left, Lady Grove was given further opportunity of putting her questions, which were all answered.—ED., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

CAN MEN HELP?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Is it possible for men to be of more help in this agitation? Here are a number of us quite convinced of the first importance of women's political enfranchisement, and conscious that the refusal of the Government to admit women to the rights of citizenship is an insult to men no less than an injustice to women. And the worst of it is we—as electors—are a party to this discreditable and disgraceful state of things, unless we are doing our best to get it altered.

And what are we doing? And what can we do? We can do something at bye-elections to use our vote and influence against the Government candidate, and we can, in whatever constituency we live, make it plain that we are actively opposed to a Government and its supporters which refuses votes to women. As long as the Government is against women we are against the Government.

If we can't take part in politics, what can we do to assist the active propaganda of the women's movement? Obviously, it is not desirable to break the law and get into prison, for constitutional methods denied to women are still open to men. But we might, at least, overcome the natural modesty and shyness of the male, and openly express our agreement by cheering whole-heartedly at demonstrations. For instance, at Westminster on June 30 the majority of men were sympathetic spectators—content passively to admire the "pluck" of the women. I was in the crowd from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m., and heard many quiet expressions of this admiration. It was left to a minority to shout approval. Had we all shouted the still smaller hostile minority would easily have been put to shame and silence, and the House of Commons might have learnt that people with votes were also demanding votes for women.

Then, too, whenever women get up to question Cabinet Ministers at public meetings, why aren't there more of us present to insist that these questions shall be answered? Men can do little, I know, but we need not be so diffident about allowing our convictions on this vital and burning question to be known. In any case, we can buy copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week, and distribute them amongst our acquaintances.

Yours faithfully,

JOSEPH CLAYTON.

Prospect House, Hampstead, N.W.

[We heartily endorse the above suggestions, and add further that men have it in their power to bring pressure to bear on their member of Parliament, both at election times and at other times, showing him the necessity of doing justice to women if he is to retain the confidence of his constituents.—ED., VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

THE CAUSE.

To fight the battle of the market-place,
To share the burden and the suffering
The battle and its thousand chances bring,
These things are given to woman, by man's grace.
But when she asks to run an equal race,
Scarce deigning the ungenerous words to fling,
"What want ye more than pain of child-bearing?"
He answers, and averts a careless face.
This is the mockery of Liberty.
Therefore all they who love her must be bold,
Nor falter in the consecrated fight,
Until a day shall dawn when there shall be
For them that having power to give withhold
Shame, and for woman guerdon and her right.

FRANCIS BICKLEY.

French Woman University Professor.

Although the Moscow University does not admit women as students, a woman—Dr. Dontchakova—has recently been appointed to the position of professor in the University. Dr. Dontchakova is a graduate of Zurich, and is an expert in pathology. It will be interesting to see whether the new decree forbidding all women to enter the Universities issued by the Russian Minister of Education will have any effect on the validity of her appointment.

The Queen and the Nurses.

On Saturday afternoon the Queen, accompanied by the King and Princess Victoria, opened the new building of the Royal National Pension Fund for Nurses in Buckingham-street, Strand. Over 2,000 nurses attended the opening ceremony, which took place in the Embankment Gardens. All of them wore their decorations, and many of them had war medals, indicating the various campaigns in which they had served. Sir Everard Hambro, chairman of the Council, made a brief address, pointing out that the Pension Fund now amounted to £1,265,000; moreover, £300,000 had been paid back to retired nurses, and the fund also paid £21,000 a year to annuitants.

The Nurses' Pension Fund was inaugurated in 1887, with the present Queen (then Princess of Wales) as its first President and the present King as its first Patron.

Women in Norway.

One of the first results of the extension of the franchise to women in Norway is that henceforward women employed in the postal service are to receive the same pay as men. Norwegian women are, and rightly, greatly rejoicing over this victory.

Women as Telephone Operators in Greece.

Although it is generally accepted that women, owing to the pitch of their voices, are better suited to work in the telephone service than men, the Grecian Parliament had great difficulty in

getting the measure passed to admit women to this service. A Bill to that effect has, however, just been passed, and Grecian women are now eligible for posts as telephone operators. Nearly all such positions throughout the United States are held by women.

French Women Honoured.

The Grand Prix Chauchard, given by the Société des Gens de Lettres, has for the first time been given to a woman—Madame Jeanne Marni. One of the second prizes, and the prize of the Congress, have also been awarded to women.

Girls' Friendly Society.

The annual meeting of the Girls' Friendly Society took place last Thursday in the Royal Albert Hall, when for the first time since the formation of the society in 1875 there was an assembly of members from all parts of the world. The Bishop of Southwell presided over a vast audience entirely composed of women and girls. Mrs. Chaloner Chute (President of the G.F.S. Central Council), in her address of welcome, pointed out that there were present representatives from Scotland, Ireland, Wales, Canada, Newfoundland, South Africa, Australia, India, Ceylon, New Zealand, America, and the Continent. Speeches were made by some of the delegates of the Pan-Anglican Congress, and messages of encouragement were read from prominent men and women.

Foreign Women Students at Oxford.

For the past eight years an educational course has been held in Oxford every summer for the benefit of foreign women students. The ninth of these opened last Saturday. The course is to extend over six weeks, the subjects to be studied being English language and literature. Over 1,000 students have attended these courses since they were inaugurated, and some 120 will study this year. In speaking at the garden party which opened the proceedings on Saturday, the Vice-chancellor said that at no place could English language or literature be studied to better advantage than at Oxford. He fancied that some of the students present would become teachers, but those who did not intend to do so would, nevertheless, have an opportunity of teaching in English in a more effective way to the coming generation.

Archdeacon Colley.

Archdeacon Colley, recently preaching at Stockton on Women's Suffrage, said:—

The equality that exists between man and woman is not an equality of the same graces and gifts, but the possession by each of just what the other lacks.

And the State hath need of both. Therefore, of course, every woman who is a spinster or a widow ought, under certain conditions, to have a Parliamentary vote. For it is astonishingly absurd to think that for the best part of our lives we have been well and wisely and graciously ruled by a Royal lady, the late Queen Victoria, Empress of India, and yet that we should refuse to give her sisters the power that many a loafer, hooligan, wastrel, and gin-sodden scamp will sell for a pint of drink.

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Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST

Organising Sec.

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote.

WHAT WOMEN ARE WORTH.

Woman, whoever you are; woman, wherever you are; woman, sad or poor, deserted or lonely! Do you know what you are worth? Do you realise the price that has been paid for you? Have you heard how, for reverence of your womanhood, life and youth and strength have been poured out like water. Do you know that for you hundreds of women have flung away human joy, social dignity, honourable reputation? Have you heard that for you to-day more than five-and-twenty women sit in the twilight and silence of their prison cell, and that the hearts of many more are wrung and torn with grief? Yet no one grudges the price. So dear to them is the honour of your womanhood, so precious to them that which has hitherto been counted of so little value in this world.

You mother, working your fingers to the bone to keep a home together for your children; rising early and sitting up late, stitching twelve hours a day for a penny an hour. Life seems to hold no hope for you, but help is coming; you are not forgotten. For you, the eternal mother that lives in the heart of woman, works out to-day its prison task in the appointed house of shame. There is hope for your children; there is love in the world for you.

Ah! and you who are going down and down in life's vortex; you women who are counted as outcasts; you who are classed as criminals, lift up your heads. For honour of your womanhood, women have gone down into the lowest depths that they may stand by you. They have taken their place amongst the lowest for love of you. You are worth so much to them. You must now be worth something to yourself. They, too, like you are among the rejected and despised of the earth, but the

word of salvation which they bear for you was given them by God, and that word shall not return to Him void.

Woman, with your body broken with long, age-long misusage, and your soul defaced and crushed with long, age-long servitude to subjection; in the face of the whole world a new value has been set upon your life, for though you have been held cheap, now you are held so dear, that your honour is bought with honour and your life with life itself. Look up, and take new heart and new courage.

Women, women of every class, women of every creed, women of every political faith, let us hold together. Come, you who are strong and free; come, you who are weak and bound and helpless; come, you who are rich in all life offers; come, you who are poor and bereft of comfort, let us hold together. Let us work out together our own salvation, not so much for our own sake, but because we know that in the salvation of the womanhood of the world is bound up the welfare of the generations to come, the physical, and the moral evolution of the whole human race.

And yet, though all shall enter with one fellowship, I appeal especially at this moment to the strong to come forward now and take upon their shoulders the burden of the weak. It is not the toiling mother, the sweated worker, the deserted wife, the worsted in life, who can bear the strain and stress of the battle we are fighting for women's deliverance to-day.

You who are young, you who are free, you who are equipped with health of body and of mind, come, for the stricken Christ of Humanity calls you; come, for the voices that are silenced in prison call you; the voices of those who have chosen to carry the cross. They have passed out of sight and sound of the world. You must be their voice, you must lend them your hands, your feet, your body. The people must still see them and hear them through you. Give yourselves to this great life-work—work out the salvation of womanhood and of humanity.

I call upon you to give the next three months of your life in a special way to this service. This period of life which women sacrifice in prison, let it be deeply sacred to us all.

There is work to do. Ten times more work than there ever was, and fewer ardent workers to do it. Give up part, at least, of your holiday, and go to Pembrokeshire to rouse the consciences and hearts of the people there, and to show them how they may strike a blow for freedom. Come and help us in London. Come to the office at 4, Clements Inn, or write and send your name. Get in touch with us at once. And you who cannot give time and labour, give your substance, your money which is stored up, time and labour in another form. We need more money than ever to carry on this great campaign, to convert and educate all the people, who, as soon as they understand what it is we want, are with us and are ready to help us.

We love the people. We trust the people. And wherever we go we win in return their love and their trust. We and you have to go out to them and preach the gospel of Votes for Women. If you cannot go yourself, enable others to go in your places.

Wear the colours as a duty and a privilege. Never be seen without your badge. Be proud to claim kinship and association with the heroic women who fell on the field on the day of our weaponless warfare. Talk to all whom you meet. Bring them every Monday afternoon, at three o'clock, to the Queen's Hall. Consider no sacrifice too great to render, no service too small or too mean to give. In this way shall sorrow be turned into joy, loss into victory. And those who are now numbered amongst the transgressors for your sake shall one day see of the travail of their soul and be satisfied.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL NOTES.

Once more the Liberal Government has seen fit to have women arrested and imprisoned because of the part they have taken in the votes for women agitation. All the Government is asked to do is to observe Liberal principles by granting votes to women taxpayers, yet instead of yielding to this demand they prefer to bring discredit upon their party and upon the House of Commons by forcing women into conflict with the law.

The demonstration of June 30, which led to the arrest of 29 women, was made because the Prime Minister and his colleagues persistently disregard the usual methods of agitation by way of processions, public meetings and the like. The Prime Minister and other members of the Government call for proof of a public demand for women's enfranchisement, and when that proof is supplied they refuse to act upon it. It must be remembered that, apart from and in addition to the militant agitation, there is in progress a steady educational campaign which surpasses that which yielded the franchise to men. Lapse of time has done a good deal to magnify the importance of the meetings held by men in pre-reform times, but there is no real evidence to show that their agitation equalled or even approached our own.

How the Franchise was Won by Men.

It is, in fact, idle to deny that what really led Parliament to extend the men's franchise was not the conviction that there existed a widespread demand for the vote, but fear of serious consequences should the vote be longer withheld. The realisation of what actually led to the enfranchisement of men and their own experience, convinces women that the present Government is to be influenced less by the ordinary conventional means of agitation than by fear, if not of violence, at least of defeat and discredit in the country. If a mere show of numbers and enthusiasm were sufficient to influence the Government, then the recent procession to the Albert Hall and the great Hyde Park Demonstration would have elicited something more from the Prime Minister than a discourteous reply to the effect that in spite of these imposing and peaceful demonstrations, his attitude is unchanged. It is, in fact, only too evident that the present Government intends to resist women's enfranchisement until the last possible moment, and that no campaign of mere persuasion and argument will suffice to overcome their stubborn opposition. Hence the adoption of the more aggressive measures which have, as the Press generally admits, made Woman Suffrage a question of immediate practical importance.

In order to deal with the situation created by the Prime Minister's reply to the resolution carried in Hyde Park, a meeting was arranged in the Caxton Hall, and in consequence of the unsatisfactory nature of that reply, it was decided that a deputation should proceed to the House of Commons in order to seek an interview with Mr. Asquith. Accordingly, a deputation of thirteen was appointed, and it made its way to the House of Commons. A similar deputation, consisting of Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, and eleven others, was, on February 11, arrested, almost as soon as it emerged from the Caxton Hall, but on the present occasion, the police, instead of arresting the women, showed them the greatest courtesy, and escorted them to the House of Commons. That is to say, an act, which was regarded as illegal on February 11, had police sanction on June 30. This suggests the conclusion that members of the former deputation were illegally arrested and imprisoned.

On arriving at the House of Commons, members of the deputation found the entrance barred, and were informed by the police that the Prime Minister refused to receive them. Seeing that the result of the whole episode was to put the Government in the wrong, the deputation decided to return, for the time being, to the Caxton Hall, and to postpone further action until the evening, when a great meeting of the public was to assemble. This gathering had been summoned, not to do violence, but to show in a peaceful manner their support of Woman Suffrage. For some days beforehand there were murmurs that such an assembly was illegal, but the authorities, realising, perhaps, that the public would disregard their order, did not prohibit it, and contented themselves with mildly

calling attention to the fact that to be present in Parliament-square was attended by some risk. For fear of disturbance, more than 1,600 policemen were stationed at the House of Commons, and even this large number had great difficulty in coping with the enormous crowd. Several members of the Union who attempted to deliver to deliver speeches to the crowd, or to break through the lines of police in order to reach the House of Commons, were arrested, but the evening passed, as had been intended, without serious disturbance.

Our object in summoning this meeting was to bring to the notice of the Government the great public interest which our movement has aroused, and to give them warning that we have at our disposal a means which, if we care to employ it, will make further resistance to our claim very undesirable from their point of view. The very fact that in defiance of rules and regulations, Parliament has been surrounded by a great crowd, is quite without precedent, in modern times at least, and we may be sure that the Government are not anxious that the House should a second time be besieged by a gathering which in future may be less remarkable for patience and good humour.

While most of the prisoners were arrested for committing merely technical offences, two of them were charged with breaking windows at 10, Downing-street. For this they are now serving two months' imprisonment in the third division. There is no doubt that this act of theirs has convinced some who before were sceptical on the point that women suffragists mean business, and are likely to increase the vigour of their methods in order to match the strength of the Government's resistance to their demand.

The Change of Public Opinion.

Those eager to condemn these two women are now admitting that the other prisoners have done nothing deserving of blame, but are, in fact, suffering, and not doing, violence. They have not yet begun to wonder why those who have done no wrong, but are wronged by a denial of citizen rights, should suffer, while those who are responsible for the political injustice done to women are to escape the mild inconvenience of the window-breaking in Downing-street.

The attitude of Miss New and Mrs. Leigh in court was most dignified. Questioned as to the words spoken by them after their arrest, both defendants refused to limit their future action, yet made it clear that they did not intend to go further than the opposition of the Government should drive them. Everyone must admire the courage and devotion which prompted the act, and recognise the surprising fact to be, not that the thing has been done now, but that it has not been done before. Certain it is that if voteless men had been treated as women are being treated by the Liberal Government, they would not have been so moderate or so patient.

One of the signs that the recent Demonstration has had an excellent effect is that many questions have been asked in the House of Commons as to the treatment of the suffragist prisoners. It is an encouraging thing that Members of Parliament are protesting against the treatment of these political offenders as common criminals; yet their even more pressing duty is to remove the cause of these imprisonments by securing the enactment of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. On several occasions already, the present Government has been obliged to move in response to united and determined pressure coming from all sides of the House. The inclusion of domestic servants in the Workmen's Compensation Act, and the modification of the Old Age Pensions Bill, by which old people living together are to receive each their full pension, are examples which show that Members of Parliament can, if they assert themselves, compel the Government to bow to the will of the House. Those Members who, at the General Election, pledged themselves to support this movement, have now the opportunity of putting these pledges into practical effect by calling upon the Government to provide time for the further stages of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill. Left to themselves they will not rise to the occasion, but it is for the men and women in the constituencies who support our cause to make Members feel that Woman Suffrage must be delayed no longer.

Christabel Pankhurst.

TWENTY-SEVEN WOMEN SENT TO GAOL.

As a consequence of the proceedings of Tuesday, June 30, described in our last issue, twenty-seven of the defendants appeared before Mr. Francis at the Westminster Police-court, all charged with obstructing the police in the execution of their duty.

Mr. Muskett said that there was really nothing new to be said about the matter. Defendants were charged under the Prevention of Crimes Act, 1885. The arrangements of the Women's Union were known to the police, and the leaders were cautioned by the Commissioner of Police; but meetings were held, and after the second had been broken up the sympathisers made their way into Parliament-square and the vicinity of the House of Commons. A large number of additional police were in readiness, and they managed to keep such order as could be expected. But many of the ladies had to be arrested. Six of them were members of the deputation from Caxton Hall. It was a waste of words to talk more about the matter, and he must leave his worship to deal with each case as he thought the merits justified him.

The first defendant was Ellen Feloon, 50, of 181, Westcombe-hill, and with regard to her Mr. Muskett said she was not one of those taking an active part in the agitation, and was not in any way connected with the W.S.P.U., and he would be content if she were bound over in her own recognisances in £10.

Superintendent Wells related his interview with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and his undertaking to conduct the deputation to the House of Commons, which he had accordingly done. He said that there were enormous crowds, but they were good-humoured, and he was pleased to say that there were no serious accidents.

Mary Phillips, 27, next appeared. "The Government has forced us to adopt these tactics," said Miss Phillips, "and the Government is solely responsible."

Mr. Muskett said this defendant had been previously charged and bound over, and the magistrate, observing that it was evident she paid no attention to being bound over, ordered her to find two sureties in £25 each for twelve months' good behaviour, or be imprisoned for three months in the second division.

Mary Garth, 21, was found trying to force her way to the gates of the House of Commons, and refused to go away.

She was ordered to find a surety in £20 for twelve months' good behaviour, or be imprisoned for one month—second division.

Thirza Cove, 27, Lily Simpson Mosen, 27, and Catherine Alice Gibbons, 45, were dealt with in the same way.

Rose Elsie Nellie Howey, 23, said that, in reality, the police obstructed her. Having appeared before, she was ordered to find two sureties in £25, or go to prison for three months.

Jessie Kenney, 21, Mary Emily Postlethwaite, 33, and Constance Bray, 31, were ordered to find surety in £20, or go to prison for one month.

Florence Haig said: "Mr. Asquith has shown us that peaceful demonstrations are useless."

Having appeared before, she was ordered to find two sureties in £25 each, or go to gaol for three months.

Isabel Logan, 33, of Westminster-mansions, was represented by Earl Russell, who said he did not dispute the facts. He was instructed not to express regret or apologise. Miss Logan was the daughter of a gentleman who formerly represented the Harborough division of Leicester, and belonged to a well-known family. It was impossible to deny that she created a disturbance for a political reason. If persons had a strong conviction in this matter, amounting as it did to a religious belief almost, they could not consent to adopting the course of agreeing to be bound over for good behaviour. Most of the liberties enjoyed to-day were obtained through defiance of the law.

The Magistrate: You cannot suppose I am going to say that is the proper course. My duty is to administer the law as I find it.

Earl Russell: Quite so, but I am pointing out that it would not be consistent with the principles of this defendant to consent to be bound over. These are political offenders, and I suggest they might be treated as first-class misdemeanants.

Mr. Francis: I refuse to do anything of the sort. One surety in £20 or one month's imprisonment.

Dorothy Gibbons, 22, Louisa Phillips, 50, Harriet Marshall, 22, Florence Clarkson, 25, Daisy Offord, 18, and Marion Wallace Dunlop, 43, were all dealt with in the same way.

Maud Joachim, 38, said that the charge of obstruction was the most transparent excuse for arresting people for their political opinions.

As a previous conviction was recorded, she had to find two sureties in £25 or three months' imprisonment.

Florence Lovell, 40, Alice Lea, 45, Mary Clarke, 47, and Stella O'Mahony, 24, were given the option of finding a surety in £20 or going to gaol for a month.

Dr. Octavia Lewin, 36, said that she had never taken part in any of the proceedings, and was discharged.

Dora Spong, 29, and Rachel Townshend, 23, were ordered to find sureties in £20 or go to prison for one month.

Vera Wentworth, 22, concluded the list, having to find two sureties in £25 or suffer three months' imprisonment.

With the exception of Mrs. Feloon, all the defendants refused to find sureties, and were committed to prison in default. They were removed shortly after three o'clock, a large crowd cheering the prison van as it drove away.

At Bow-street.

At Bow-street Police-court, before Mr. Marsham, Mrs. Mary Leigh and Miss Edith New were charged with committing wilful damage to the amount of 10s. at the residence of the Prime Minister, No. 10, Downing-street.

Mr. H. Muskett, who prosecuted for the Commissioner of Police, said he must seriously suggest that the offence was one which should be punished with imprisonment without the option of a fine. These two ladies called themselves Suffragettes. After taking part in the disorderly scenes in the neighbourhood of the Houses of Parliament on Tuesday night they went to Downing-street in a cab, armed with a bag of stones. Miss New threw a stone at a window on the ground floor of the Prime Minister's house, and the other defendant broke another pane in the same way, the damage done amounting to 10s. One of the stones (said Mr. Muskett, producing it) was a large and dangerous implement, and it gave some idea of the lengths to which Suffragettes were prepared to go. What was still more serious, Mrs. Leigh said, "It will be bombs next time," and this was certainly not a feature of the case which called for any mitigation of punishment.

Mr. Muskett further stated that on March 20, 1907, Miss New was fined 20s., or fourteen days' imprisonment, at Westminster Police-court, for disorderly conduct and resisting the police, and at that Court on January 17 was ordered to find securities or go to gaol. Mrs. Leigh had been fined 40s. at Westminster in March, 1907.

Miss New: I wish to say we have no other course to pursue. We have tried every other means to attain our end, and, having failed, we have had to take more militant measures. The responsibility for everything that has been done rests on those who make us outlaws by the law of the land.

On the magistrate asking whether they now repudiated the speech about bombs, Miss New replied: I cannot say what will happen in the future. It depends upon the doing of justice to the women of this country; but I believe that for the honour of the country it will not be necessary for women to go further.

On being pressed further by the magistrate, Mrs. Leigh then said: We have no other course but to rebel against oppression, and, if necessary, to resort to stronger measures. This fight is going on.

The Magistrate: It is said that you stated something about throwing bombs. That is a very serious matter.

Mrs. Leigh: We quite realise that it is a serious position, and we hope the Government will also realise the serious position.

The Magistrate, in giving his decision, said: Men appreciate gentleness on the part of women, and if women attempt to terrify them they are almost sure to be unsuccessful. Methods of the kind you have adopted are likely to set men against you. This kind of thing must be stopped. A fine is not sufficient; you have been fined before. You must each go to prison for two months, and I shall not put it in the second division; it will be ordinary imprisonment.

The following is a summary of the sentences:—

One Month in Default of One Surety in £20.

Miss Florence Lovell.	Miss Stella O'Mahony.
Miss Alice Lea.	Miss Dora Spong.
Mrs. Mary Clarke.	Miss Rachel Townshend.
Miss Mary Garth.	Miss Isabel Logan.
Miss Thirza Cove.	Miss Dorothy Gibbons.
Mrs. Lily Simpson Mosen.	Miss Louisa Phillips.
Miss Jessie Kenney.	Miss Harriet Marshall.
Miss Constance Bray.	Miss Florence Clarkson.
Mrs. Gibbons.	Miss Daisy Offord.
Miss Mary E. Postlethwaite.	Mrs. Marion Wallace Dunlop.

Three Months in Default of Two Sureties in £25 Each.

Miss Mary Phillips.	Miss Maud Joachim.
Miss Rose Elsie N. Howey.	Miss Vera Wentworth.
Miss Florence Haig.	

Two Months Without the Option of a Fine.

Mrs. Mary Leigh.	Miss Edith New.
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Press Comments.

"THE DAILY TELEGRAPH," July 2.

Different judgments will doubtless be passed on the latest escapade of the Suffrage-hunters. Doctrinaire Radicals, who hold that the possession of a vote is in some mysterious way an inherent national right, in spite of the fact that only a very insignificant fraction of the human race enjoy that right, will probably perceive no disgrace in the riotous scenes enacted in the precincts of the House of Commons. Fortunately, the overwhelming majority of English people of both sexes are guided in their judgment by common sense, and not by mere abstract theories. The conclusion they have reached is that the franchise is only a right when it has once been granted by Parliament with the assent of the Crown, and that it is never so granted in deference to abstract propositions, such as the assertion of the equality of the sexes, or withheld, on the same grounds, because that equality is denied. Nor is manhood, as such, recognised in this country as conferring a right to a vote. Nobody claims that the large number of men excluded from the register are entitled to votes, though there are many who demand that Parliament should include all adult males in the electoral lists. The right of Parliament to accede to or to refuse this demand is unchallenged. So it is with Women's Suffrage. If its advocates can persuade Parliament that it is expedient or prudent to extend the franchise to the sex now excluded, Parliament, in the exercise of its power, will do so. Whether it would be in the interest of women themselves, of the country, and of the Empire that the Legislature should listen favourably to such an appeal is a question which, though of the most vital importance, we do not propose to discuss to-day.

There is, however, a certain grim justice in the fact that a Radical Government is the chief victim of these irritating tactics. They and their wirepullers are the authors of this system of pressure by demonstration, which has no place in a country enjoying free institutions, a free Press, and liberty of speech restricted only by regard for the public. Whenever a Tory or Unionist Government has been in power, the controllers of the Radical electioneering machine have never shrunk from the organisation of street demonstrations, monster meetings in public places, and even the forcible breaking up of legitimate gatherings of their opponents held in premises for the use of which they have paid. It is not so many years since a right was claimed to organise demonstrations in Trafalgar-square, with consequences not yet forgotten. Incendiary speeches were delivered, shops were looted, the windows of clubs were broken along the route of procession, and peaceful and law-abiding subjects were offered, as an alternative to being assaulted and robbed, incarceration in their houses till the mob thought fit to leave the streets or were dispersed by the police.

After quoting various instances of demonstrations organised by the Liberal party, the article continues:—

It is astonishing, then, that the Suffragists should declare that they are only taking a leaf out of the Radical book, and are paying the Government the sincere flattery of imitating the methods by which they climbed into office?

The article proceeds to make a comparison between the Women's Campaign and the activities of the United Irish League, especially in the way of picketing and boycotting, and finally concludes:—

It is almost grotesque to compare these tragic tactics with the relatively petty annoyances—unpardonable as they are—to which Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are exposed at the hands of angry women. Yet on the very day on which the Prime Minister was about to undergo his disagreeable experience, he airily brushed aside in the House of Commons the idea that the Crimes Act should be used in Ireland to crush this other and most terrible form of influencing public opinion. There are subterranean passages by which Ministers can escape the unkindly attentions of excited women kept well in hand by a lenient and forbearing police; there are no such refuges for the victims of the League in Ireland, whose sufferings Mr. Birrell could—but will not—end to-morrow by the stroke of his pen, and whose oppression the Prime Minister contemplates with sombre acquiescence.

"THE GLOBE," July 1.

It is by no means probable that the National Women's Social and Political Union have done much good to their cause by making themselves the prime agents in last night's disturbances. . . . It cannot be disguised, however, that a good deal of

the responsibility for the disturbance lies with the Prime Minister himself. If Mr. Asquith had used a normal amount of tact in dealing with the women's deputation the whole discreditable uproar would probably have been avoided. There would have been little harm in consenting to receive a limited number of the women's representatives; and it is exceedingly improbable that if the persons who desired to interview the Prime Minister had been Socialists with votes, instead of merely women who wanted them, they would have experienced the same brusque treatment.

"THE DAILY NEWS," July 2.

It is with reluctance that we criticise women who have shown an intelligence so rare and a courage beyond all praise. Our complaint against them is that they do not themselves realise how near their movement is to complete success. They have broken down opposition in the most powerful quarters. They have seen their question admitted into practical politics. They have even extracted a pledge which makes it, under certain conditions, a plank in the Liberal programme within the life of the present Parliament. With this measure of success behind it, it really seems to us unworthy of an organisation so powerful to trouble itself unduly about the granting or refusal of an interview.

"THE DAILY CHRONICLE," July 2.

(From "The Office Window.")

The smashing of windows is a time-honoured form of showing popular displeasure, and is not a monopoly of women agitators. When the King and Queen dine at Apsley on the 13th inst. they will be entertained in rooms the windows of which the Duke of Wellington was obliged to protect by iron shutters from the fury of his political opponents. The duke never forgot the smashing of his windows, and when the wave of unpopularity had passed, and he was reinstated in his old place as the idol of the people, he still kept the iron shutters to Apsley House, and would point to them as evidence of the fickleness of hero-worship.

"MANCHESTER DISPATCH," July 1.

(By One of the Crowd.)

Why have they done it? What is the sense of summoning these vast crowds? Of risking injury and death? Of causing streams of useful citizens to undergo the horror of imprisonment? Why surround the place where sit the nation's rulers, clamouring for hearing? Why, in short, bring a storm of hate and disgust and violence into being?

The women are doing this because, as citizens, they are inarticulate. They are working to convince the Government that votes for women is a pressing question—that it must come before the Licensing Bill or old-age pensions—because the women of Great Britain want to have a voice in those matters and all matters that affect their well-being and their children's well-being.

So, on this June night, they have come out to make their wish known.

To-night the crowd was with the women, not against them. To-night the public voice has cried out for them. And there is a certain consolation in the storms that have been roused. There was no anger on the women's faces; they looked serene, good tempered. They had come for a purpose. That purpose was not to destroy; only to make known their wish; to demonstrate that votes for women is a crying need.

"THE DUBLIN EXPRESS," July 1.

It is a singular movement, this "Vote for Women" crusade. It introduces a new element into public life; and the struggle has taken the shape of the wit of woman pitted against the slow-moving and not very dexterous mind of the Prime Minister. Mr. Asquith made the initial mistake of underrating his opponents. He foolishly believed that he could persuade the suffragists by sympathetic words, and keep them off by unsympathetic action. But he made a terrible blunder of this policy by facing both ways. He admitted the reasonableness of the feminine demand, apart from the manner in which it was made; but he declined to translate his friendly aspirations until he was convinced that the women of England were behind that demand. The suffragists have taken him at his word, and placed him in a difficulty. They call upon the women to assemble in their tens and hundreds of thousands, and convince Mr. Asquith that the last excuse for his dilatory tactics is no longer tenable. Mr. Asquith demands proof; they are resolved that he will have it.

"THE SHIELDS DAILY NEWS," July 1.

The resourcefulness of the agitators for women's suffrage is well understood by this time, and the uncertainty of legislators and police as to where and when the next attack will be delivered might almost earn for St. Stephen's the right to that familiar couplet—

A sense of mystery the spirit daunted,
And said as plain as whisper in the ear—
"The House is haunted!"

This much is to be said for revolutionary methods of agitation—that there is not much time to lose if women's franchise is to be brought to

a practical issue within the next few years. Parliament has a mandate to extend the franchise forthwith to women on the same conditions as it is exercised by men, and the country is ready for such a reform. It is more than doubtful if the same could be said for the inclusion of women in the scheme of adult suffrage now on the horizon, and even the Bill foreshadowed by Mr. Asquith includes too many contentious items to offer very safe quarters to a women's suffrage clause.

"EAST ANGLIAN DAILY TIMES," July 1.
(London Letter.)

There was no mistaking the change in the temperament of the crowd to-day when the Suffragettes made their last raid of the session upon the House of Commons. Hitherto the spectator has been a scoffer, or he has been unsympathetic; to-day it was different. Every "martyr" was cheered and the police were "booed" in a way which must seem strange to them.

"THE YORKSHIRE HERALD," July 1.

Mr. Asquith refused yesterday to receive the deputation of suffragettes who marched to the House of Commons to interview him in support of a resolution previously passed at a meeting in Caxton Hall. Had such a resolution been carried at a meeting of, say, working men and conveyed to the Prime Minister by a deputation duly appointed, we have no doubt Mr. Asquith would have received them graciously. Working men have votes, while the suffragettes are only looking for votes, which makes a vast difference in the eyes of a political leader.

A good deal of suspicion exists as to the *bona fides* of the Government on this matter, and the women have foreseen from the outset that if the question of their claims is to be mixed up with other matters in a highly contentious scheme their chances of obtaining what they are seeking will not be very bright. In their resolution, passed yesterday, they accordingly demand that the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women shall be enacted in a separate and distinct measure. The evening demonstration was intended, in the words of Mrs. Pankhurst, to "let the Government know that the women of the country were determined." That is quite evident, and it received further confirmation last night in the attempt of the great gathering of women to approach the Houses of Parliament. The House of Commons was under the protection of heavy police guards, and large bodies of police were stationed at all points where disturbance was feared. Indeed, it must have seemed that the metropolis was threatened with attack by some formidable foe, so great were the precautions taken. Considerable disturbance took place during the evening, and several of the women were arrested by the police. This is to be regretted, and might have been avoided if the Prime Minister had consented to receive Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends to present the address.

"THE CHRISTIAN COMMONWEALTH," July 8.

Intentionally or not, Mr. Asquith is undoubtedly playing the game of the suffragettes, and advancing the cause he is supposed to be opposing. Every ungenerous letter he writes them, every time he surrounds himself with police, lest they gain access to him, adds to their sympathisers and practical helpers.

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

On Wednesday, July 1.

Sir J. Brunner (L., Cheshire, Northwich) asked the Home Secretary if he had considered the desirability of according to the women arrested in Tuesday's suffragist demonstration the status of first class misdemeanants; and, further, would he consider the desirability of taking them into safe custody until the House had risen, thus frustrating their anxiety for notoriety.

Mr. Gladstone (Leeds, W.): I have had no notice of these questions.

Mr. W. Redmond (N., Clare, E.): Is it not the fact that these ladies are simply agitating for procedure with a Bill which has already passed its second reading by an enormous majority?

Mr. Gladstone: I am not responsible for that.

Mr. Redmond: Well, if you pass a Bill you ought to go on with it. (Cheers and laughter.)

On Thursday, July 2.

Mr. Gladstone informed Mr. Renton (Gainsborough) that 1,694 extra constables were brought on duty on Tuesday for the demonstration by suffragists. The cost of travelling from outlying districts and a refreshment allowance to men on duty over nine hours was not yet ascertained.

Mr. Claude Hay (C., Hoxton) asked if women sent to prison as political offenders, whether in default of payment of fines or otherwise, could not receive the same treatment as men when imprisoned as political offenders?

Mr. Gladstone replied that except where there was express direction in the statute the treatment of offenders depended entirely on the order of the Court. No distinction of treatment was made as between men and women.

Mr. T. M. Healy (N., N. Louth): In view of the fact that there is

considerable feeling on the question which has brought the women into this position, could not the right hon. gentleman direct some little relaxation of the rules in their case?

Mr. Gladstone said it would be difficult.

Mr. Claude Hay: Will the right hon. gentleman reconsider his decision?

Mr. Gladstone: I cannot.

Mr. Claude Hay: But cannot you issue a circular to the magistrates or take some such step?

Mr. Gladstone: No; it rests solely with the magistrate. I cannot interfere.

Mr. Claude Hay: But have you no discretionary power? You have exercised it before, have you not?

Mr. Gladstone: No.

Mr. Claude Hay: But you have made representations to magistrates.

The Speaker: Really the hon. Member should give notice of some of these questions.

Mr. Healy asked whether, in view of the fact that Dr. Jameson and others were granted special treatment, these women, of highly strung temperament, could not be allowed some little relaxation.

Mr. Gladstone: I really have no power, as I have often said, to interfere with the discretion of the magistrate, and I may remind the hon. and learned gentleman that these ladies are surety prisoners, and can come out at any moment they like.

Mr. Healy: There is one lady, Miss Logan, the daughter of a late highly-respected member of this House, and although the House might have no sympathy with the extravagances of the movement, they have, I believe, sympathy with the ladies. Cannot some means be taken to alleviate the undoubted distress that these educated women feel when subjected to the kind of treatment we know they receive?

Mr. Gladstone: I have no power to interfere with the discretion of the magistrate.

Mr. W. Redmond: But is it not only fair and reasonable to say that they shall not be treated more harshly in prison than Dr. Jameson and the other raiders, who plunged this country into war?

Mr. Claude Hay: Did not the right hon. gentleman two years ago make representations to a certain magistrate, as a result of which ladies got better treatment?

Mr. Gladstone said that was so, but it was the magistrate who ordered the changed treatment, not himself.

Mr. Lupton (L., Sleaford): May I ask whether, considering that these ladies are specially desirous of going to prison, the best punishment would not be to turn them out of gaol? (Cheers and laughter.)

Mr. Asquith informed Mr. Devlin (N., W. Belfast) that he could not state when the Government Bill for the reform of the franchise would be introduced.

On Monday, July 6.

In reply to Mr. D. A. Thomas, Mr. Gladstone said: I am informed that in Ireland, where prisoners are imprisoned for offences against the ordinary law committed in course of a political campaign, no special treatment is accorded on that ground. I cannot grant any special treatment in this case.

In reply to a further question by Mr. Thomas, Mr. Gladstone said: In case of a person committed to prison in default of finding sureties, I am advised I have no executive power to make such an order. The division in which a prisoner shall be placed must by law be determined by the magistrate in his discretion. As regards convicted prisoners also, the Home Secretary has no executive power to alter the division in which these prisoners have been placed by the Court. In two cases prior to the Prison Act of 1898 the treatment of prisoners convicted on indictment was, for special reasons, varied by means of a conditional pardon from the Crown; but I should be acting unconstitutionally if I advised His Majesty to exercise this power in such a way as to over-ride, with regard to any class of prisoners, the discretion now given to the magistrates.

In reply to Mr. W. Redmond, Mr. Gladstone said that Dr. Jameson was convicted before the passing of the Act of 1898, which put the responsibility upon the magistrates.

PRISON REGULATIONS.

Prisoners who are serving a term of one month in Holloway will be released on Friday morning, July 31; the two women who have been sentenced to a term of two months will be released on Saturday morning, August 22; those who are imprisoned for three months will remain in Holloway until Wednesday, September 16.

According to prison regulations, persons serving a sentence of one month or less in the second-class are not entitled to receive any visits from friends, or to have any correspondence with them, or to receive from them any books, papers, flowers, &c., whatever. Special permission to visit may, however, sometimes be obtained by making special application at the Home Office, Whitehall, or through a Member of Parliament.

Persons whose sentences exceed a month are entitled to a visit at the end of a month, and on that occasion not more than three friends are allowed to go together to see the prisoner. The prisoner is also entitled to write a letter at the end of a month's imprisonment, and a reply to that letter may be sent to the prison, and will be given to the prisoner.

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

AT HOMES—61, Manningham-lane, Bradford, every Monday, at 8. Arts Club, Woodhouse-lane, Leeds, every Wednesday, at 8.

Bradford and Leeds are being thoroughly roused for the demonstration on Woodhouse Moor, July 26. Mrs. Hartland and Mrs. Hall are undertaking the Bradford meetings, which are being organised by the Bradford members. Miss Newton and Miss Blamires are working in Pudsey. In Leeds we have had a stirring campaign. Last Sunday we had two splendid meetings in Cross Flats Park, though the weather was almost too hot for the afternoon meeting.

On Tuesday we held an excellent meeting at Burley Park, which only came to an end when the Park gates were shut.

On Wednesday we had a dinner-hour meeting at a mill at Grove Hall Drive. It was right in the fields, and the girls sat on the grass and listened to the speaking until the whistle called them into work. The afternoon meeting was at Ashbourne-terrace, in South Leeds, and at night we held an enormous meeting in Armley Park, right in the heart of Mr. Gladstone's constituency. The crowd was so big as to be almost unmanageable, but it was undoubtedly sympathetic.

Two women's meetings have been held in West Leeds, in Bramley Park and Armley Low Moor. Both were most successful.

The meeting held in Penny Hill on Friday night, and addressed by Miss Hartop, Mrs. Swales, and myself, was an enthusiastic one, but at Morley on Saturday night we secured our biggest triumph, for Morley is Radical to the core, and the birthplace, moreover, of Mr. Asquith. Yet, in spite of the threats and warnings of our friends and enemies, we held a splendid meeting on the recreation grounds, and were followed to the car by a cheering crowd.

We have taken this stronghold of Radicalism by storm, and if there were a bye-election in any part of the West Riding of Yorkshire to-morrow, I believe the most Liberal constituency would follow Pudsey.

ADELA PANKHURST.

MANCHESTER CAMPAIGN.

Last Tuesday's momentous events have not only raised new interest in the constant "Cry of the Women," but, as evidenced in all meetings held since then, are responsible for quite a new feeling of respect for the cause. The man in the street cannot easily dismiss the underlying idea of women being ready to take one, two, and three months' imprisonment. When here and there one blind-visioned man shouts, "They ought to have six months," the angry roar that greets him from the majority of men present shows that the rebellious women are winning that general support which is the beginning of the end. No matter that articles in the Press condemn the militant behaviour, the average person is unconsciously, if not in words, echoing the feeling of the clergyman who yesterday bought a paper from me, saying, "Go on with your tactics; this is the only way you'll get it."

In Manchester the feeling of the members on hearing of the sentences passed in London led to a spontaneous move to Albert-square, where, from John Bright's statue, the protest was made. Miss Gawthorpe opened the proceedings, and was followed by Mrs. Chatterton, Mrs. Wiseman, and Mrs. Annot Robinson, and the last-named on refusing to desist from speaking at the request of the police—on the ground of this being a forbidden spot—was arrested. The tremendous boing of the crowd at this point spoke for itself, though it is only fair to say that the police didn't at all like the job; and had all who protested received equal notice many more would have been arrested.

Mrs. Robinson's arrest produced great local excitement, and next morning the disgraceful sentence of three weeks' imprisonment, as an alternative to a fine of 40s. and costs, only increased the sympathy and general public interest in the national and local arrests, and their reasons. Mrs. Robinson, of course, refused to pay her fine, telling the magistrate that her protest was made against the iniquitous sentences passed on her sisters in London for asking for justice only at the hands of a Liberal Government, and, therefore, against the necessity for such protests being made.

She sent this message to the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN:— "Tyranny produces rebellion. I go to prison as a protest against Mr. Asquith's undemocratic attitude to the men and women of this country in refusing 'Votes for Women,' and also as a protest against the brutal sentences inflicted on my sisters in London, and also against the necessity of women having to suffer imprisonment in order to obtain their just rights."

Great protest meetings were held the same night in Stevenson-square and Marshall's Croft, the meeting in Stevenson-square being particularly enthusiastic and in favour of the women.

Protest meetings were also held in Mrs. Robinson's home district and in Newton Heath the following night, when large crowds gathered. When it was learned the following day that Mrs. Robinson's fine had been paid by a friend, and that she was free to assist

again in the preparations for the 19th much satisfaction was felt by those who know of what value Mrs. Robinson's speaking abilities are. On Sunday she will speak along with Miss Gawthorpe and Mrs. Baines at the preliminary demonstration to be held in Heaton Park. It is expected a huge crowd will be present, and that a further preliminary on July 12 will help in consolidating attention on the much greater meeting of the 19th.

The "Votes for Women" scouts who on Saturday went from the city to Heaton Park to make the necessary arrangements did a great trade, disposing of almost 400 copies. They intend to keep this up. A bustling programme of activities lies ahead, and by next week-end all Manchester at least will be talking of the demonstration.

Mrs. Baines is answering in the same way for the Rosendale Valley and adjoining districts.

M. E. GAWTHORPE.

Special Meetings.

Thursday,	July 9.	—Stevenson-square, 8, Miss Woodlock. Marshall's Croft, 8, Mrs. Robinson. Alexandra Park Gates, 8, Miss Mary Gawthorpe. Bury, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Friday,	July 10.	—Conran-street, 8, Miss Gawthorpe. Newton Heath, 8, Mrs. Robinson. Nelson, 8, Mrs. Baine. Heaton Chapel, 3, Miss Gawthorpe.
Saturday,	July 11.	—Stevenson-square, 3, Manchester Union. Oldham, 3, Manchester Union. Colne, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Sunday,	July 12.	—Alexandra Park, 3, Miss Gawthorpe. Heaton Park, 3, Mrs. Robinson. Rochdale, 8, Miss Woodlock.
Monday,	July 13.	—Seedley, 8, Miss Woodlock. Accrington, 8, Mrs. Baines. Middleton, 8, Miss Gawthorpe.
Tuesday,	July 14.	—Longsight, 8, Mrs. Robinson. Bolton, 8, Miss Gawthorpe. Burnley, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Wednesday,	July 15.	—Crumpsall, 8, Miss Gawthorpe. Chorley, 8, Miss Woodlock. Haslingden, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Thursday,	July 16.	—Hollinwood, 8, Miss Gawthorpe. Stevenson Square, 8, Manchester Union. Blackburn, 8, Miss Woodlock. Ramsbottom, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Friday,	July 17.	—Darwen, 8, Miss Gawthorpe. Blackley, 8, Miss Woodlock. Todmorden, 8, Mrs. Baines.
Saturday,	July 18.	—Stevenson Square, 3, Manchester Union General Scouting Parties.
Sunday,	July 19.	—HEATON PARK GREAT DEMONSTRATION—Mrs. Pankhurst. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, Miss Christiabe Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines, Miss Gladice Keevil, Mrs. Annot Robinson, &c.

NOTTINGHAM CAMPAIGN.

I have no hesitation in saying that I feel sure the demonstration in Nottingham will be a great success.

Last Sunday, June 28, we held a very successful meeting in Leicester Market Place, many people being anxious for more particulars as to the coming demonstration. On Monday, 29th, the Nottingham Union met, and I received a good response to my appeal for workers. On Tuesday we held a very successful meeting at Long Eaton, and the members there are arranging a "women's only" meeting to work up the women to coming in large numbers to the demonstration. (The men are quite sure to come!)

On Thursday night, July 2, we held a very successful open-air meeting in Lenton, preceded by a bicycle parade of members wearing the colours of the Union.

From now right up to the demonstration I have at least one meeting a day, sometimes three, including two Sunday Brotherhood meetings at two of the largest chapels in the town, drawing-room meetings, and a big garden meeting on July 16 at Burton Joyce, in the grounds of Mr. Enfield, for which we are sending out 300 invitations.

The Nottingham workers are most enthusiastic and energetic. I am getting a fresh one to take the chair at every meeting, to give them a start in public speaking.

NELL KENNEY.

ROSSENDALE VALLEY.

Miss Brook and I have taken up the campaign in the Rosendale Valley district, and although at first a sort of indifference seemed to prevail, we find with persistent effort and the valuable assistance of Miss Williamson, a local lady, capital progress is made. The police declare our meetings are the largest and most orderly ever held in the district. Intelligent questioners are numerous, and genuine interest displayed by the men, who openly declare their intention of keenly questioning Mr. Harcourt concerning his unjust attitude to votes for qualified women. We find our paper and literature sell well, and expect a large number of people will be in Heaton Park on July 19.

(Mrs.) JENNIE BAINES.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—The members of this Union have been busy all the week distributing bills and attending the performances at the Court Theatre, where "The Great Suffragist Campaign" films have been on show. We arranged to have two speakers on Wednesday and Saturday nights at 7 and 9 respectively, and to give five-minute speeches in the house before the pictures were shown. On the whole, the audiences received us favourably at the 7 o'clock performances. On Wednesday Miss Hare got a good hearing, but the 9 o'clock audience was not so kind, and I made a speech under difficulties. However, there was a good reception on Saturday night.

Our Level meeting on Thursday, as also our weekly room meeting on Friday, were very successful. We got three new members, and further members are promised.

The propagandist secretary of the Independent Labour Party here (Mr. Norton) told me they had given up their meeting on the Level last Sunday, as their members, being interested in the Women's Suffrage question, wished to hear Mrs. Massy, one of the Hyde Park chairmen.

I. G. McKEOWN.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—This has been a proud week for Chelsea. Three of the 29 arrests made on Tuesday were Chelsea members. Miss Haig, our secretary, Miss Joachim, and Miss Lovell bravely undertook to show our indignation at Mr. Asquith's refusal to receive the deputation sent to him that afternoon. We are thus deprived of their services, and though we held four open-air meetings last week, and have arranged four for this week, the burden of speaking falls on Miss Naylor. Miss Ogston is leaving on Tuesday for the bye-election at Pembroke. Members are requested to send in their names to the assistant secretary at 51, Beaufortmansions, Chelsea, either as speakers, supporters, or helpers for the visiting committee, Miss Haig's last request being that we should form one.

An alteration is to be made at our Friday evening "At Home." The committee will meet at 4, Trafalgar-studios, Manresa-road, at 8 p.m. At 8.30 p.m. the meeting will be open to members and their friends, who will then have an opportunity of undertaking work and helping with suggestions for our future campaign.

CHARLOTTE BLACKLOCK, Assistant Secretary.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—In spite of the rain, our garden party on Saturday afternoon was a complete success. Miss Christabel Pankhurst spoke, and as a result a good many local women came forward and offered to help us in our open-air campaign. Three dozen badges were sold, and we also sold every copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN we had. Our thanks are especially due to the Misses Dugdale, who contributed materially to the success of the afternoon.

We are all particularly proud of our new member, Miss Daisy Offord. This lady signed our membership card on Tuesday. Two hours later she pluckily stood by one of our women who was speaking in Parliament-square. She was arrested, and is now serving her term of imprisonment in Holloway. With such courageous women as these our fight with the Government is a foregone conclusion.

M. E. SLEIGHT.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—We held two well-attended open-air meetings last week, and have now arranged to hold two every Thursday evening during the summer. Of these, one will be held at Argyll-road, at 5.45, and the other at 7 p.m., at a different spot each week. The weekly "At Homes" will be discontinued after Wednesday, July 29, and will be resumed on Wednesday, September 23, when we hope to start an energetic autumn campaign. As our funds are low, we think of holding a jumble sale to raise money for the autumn work. One parcel has already been sent us by Miss Eleanor Whitehead, and we should be glad if people clearing their wardrobes before leaving town would follow her example.

LOUISE M. EATES.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—A slight misunderstanding between Miss Naylor and myself as to the exact time of Sunday's meeting on Blackheath led to the happy result of two meetings being held there, instead of one. As Miss Naylor did not arrive at 3 p.m., I addressed a very large and interested audience for over an hour, and answered many very sensible and earnest questions. The collection amounted to 2s. 9d., and two dozen badges were sold. While we were having tea at Miss Billinghurst's, Miss Naylor put in an appearance. We notified the police of her arrival, and held another most successful meeting at 6 p.m. The crowd was even larger than at the earlier meeting. After both meetings sympathetic inquiries were made about Miss New. Henceforth we shall hold our Sunday Blackheath meetings at 5.30 p.m., owing to the excessive heat of the afternoon. On Wednesday, July 8, our com-

mittee will meet. Agenda: Annual report, general meeting of members and friends, and proposal to form a ward of the Lewisham W.S.P.U. in Forest Hill, which is in our constituency.

J. A. BOUVIER.

London City W.S.P.U.—We held a very successful business and social meeting last Friday, July 3, at 8 o'clock. The proceedings opened with three cheers for our own special six prisoners—Miss Jessie Kenney, Miss Vera Wentworth, Mrs. Clarke, Miss Harriet Marshall, Miss Constance Bray, and Miss Garth—of whom the L.C.U. is exceedingly proud.

A suggestion that an effort should be made to pay off the remaining £5 still owing for the banner before the release of Miss Jessie Kenney met with immediate and hearty response. Several members who were "officers" in the Hyde Park Demonstration contributed the price of their "regalia," and others took packets of the special postcard to sell amongst their friends, with the result that £1 ros. was speedily realised, thus reducing the debt to £3 ros. The treasurer will be glad to receive further contributions from any other members who were not present at the meeting.

Mrs. May, who was privileged to take the luncheon to the prisoners on Wednesday last, gave a graphic account of what she styled "the Rochester-row garden party," and of the visit to the police sports at the Crystal Palace. Refreshments followed, and the meeting closed at 10 o'clock.

During the imprisonment of the secretary, Miss Jessie Kenney, all communications should be addressed to Miss Kerr, 4, Clements Inn.

H. R. KERR (Treasurer and Sec. *pro tem.*)

Manchester W.S.P.U.—I feel rather confused to-day, as I was turned out of prison yesterday, my fine having been paid. I had quite made up my mind to spending three weeks in Strangeways, and feel rather sorry to be out, though it is a pleasant thing to behold the sun again. On Sunday I spoke at Mossley, and arranged to go there on Tuesday again. On Monday we held a very successful meeting at Seedley. We were told when we began that we should have no audience, because there was a band playing in the Park. We proved a bigger attraction, and addressed an audience of some two thousand for more than an hour, and sold 44 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN. On Wednesday we had a crowded Union meeting, and on hearing of the sentences inflicted that day in London we went to hold a protest meeting at John Bright's statue. I was arrested, and sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment in the third division.

Last Saturday 400 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and up till this morning another 400 have been sold this week. We are organising a good many meetings, and the members of our Union are working very hard to make July 19 a red-letter day for Manchester.

ANNOT E. ROBINSON.

The Finsbury Branch of the Independent Labour Party have written to Miss Dora Spong, one of their members, and now a prisoner in Holloway, to express their admiration of the courage and determination displayed in submitting to the onus of the prison cell in the women's cause. They send hearty greetings across the prison wall.

ANY SUFFRAGIST TO ANY WOMAN.

(From the "Evening Standard.")

You peep from your protected shell—
We brave the cold and wet;
And though we, too, like comfort—well,
It isn't what we get.

To criticise you condescend—
"Our methods are not right."
At least, they're means to gain an end,
And, anyhow, we fight.

We shout and clamour only when
It's hopeless to discuss;
What isn't thought "fair play" for men
Is fair enough for us.

We hurl our battle cry with pride
(And swallow back our tears);
You draw your dainty skirts aside,
And join the chorussed jeers.

But when our dawn begins to break,
And when our conflict's done,
With equanimity you'll take
The vote which we have won.

J. P.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

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Hon. Treasurer: MISS BURNETT, 2, St. James Place, Hillhead, Glasgow.

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Telegraphic Address: "SUFFRAGE, GLASGOW."

An open-air meeting was held at Musselburgh on Friday, and I delivered a speech to an interested audience of over 300, when a good deal of literature was sold. Our usual "At Home" on Wednesday was well attended, when descriptions of the procession on the 21st were given by Miss E. G. Haig and Mrs. Saul Solomon, of Cape Colony. Our monthly "At Home" on Thursday evening was also well attended, and many expressions of regret and sympathy were made for the prisoners at present in Holloway. The campaign throughout Midlothian is being continued.

ESSON MAULE, Hon. Sec., Edinburgh Union.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

July 1 to July 7.		July 1 to July 7.	
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Already acknowledged	13,471 15 1	Mrs. E. L. Phillips	0 5 0
Miss Knox (postage fee)	0 2 0	Miss J. C. Methven	5 0 0
Misses M. and W. Turner	0 2 6	Mrs. M. Gillies	0 5 0
Mrs. A. E. Willoughby Marshall	0 10 0	"Vincit Veritas"	1 1 0
Mrs. Florence Fleming	10 0 0	Mrs. Cobden Sanderson	5 5 0
Misses Allen-Brown	5 0 0	Miss D. F. Bracewell	0 5 0
Miss Emma Anstey	0 5 0	Mrs. H. M. Fergus	5 0 0
Miss E. Mills	0 5 0	"Sinister"	0 15 1
Miss E. Clarence	0 5 0	Per Miss T. Bonwick (profit on brake tickets, Hyde Park)	0 10 0
Mrs. A. B. Norman	0 5 0	Miss L. Cook	0 7 6
Miss C. Isabel Green	0 5 0	Anon. (per Miss F. A. Randall)	0 0 6
Miss C. Miller	0 6 6	Miss N. C. Hague	0 6 6
A. Neilson, Esq.	0 1 0	Miss C. Riorden	0 2 0
Mrs. A. J. C. Rodney	0 10 0	Mrs. N. Blatch de Forest	0 17 0
Miss Alice Heale	1 1 0	Lewisham W.S.P.U. (Hyde Park banners and flags)	2 19 6
J. Singer, Esq. (Hyde Park)	2 2 0	Nottingham W. S. P. U. (Hyde Park banner)	0 16 6
Mrs. Greve Fisher	1 0 0	Miss Juliette Heale	1 1 0
Miss Gregson	0 2 6	Miss S. A. Turle	10 0 0
Anon., per Miss A. Pankhurst	0 1 0	Miss N. E. Smith	3 0 0
Miss R. Farmer	0 10 0	Miss E. A. Thompson	0 1 0
Miss V. Margesson	2 0 0	"A Woman with a Vote,"	1 1 0
Miss E. M. Burton	1 0 0	Australia	1 0 0
Mrs. A. K. McLeod	1 1 0	Miss W. Lynch	0 2 0
Miss A. Purver	0 2 6	Miss P. Hoey	0 1 0
Mrs. Kirkwood	0 2 6	J. W. Woodcock, Esq.	0 1 0
Miss A. Bateson (Hyde Park)	5 0 0	P. Brewster, Esq.	0 7 0
Miss E. Lacey	0 2 6	Miss B. C. Hunt	0 10 0
Miss A. E. Willson	5 0 0	Miss O. E. Lehmann	0 5 0
Anon.	1 0 0	"Twenty-six Women," per	0 2 2
Mrs. M. Drake	0 10 0	S. L. Hasluck, Esq.	1 1 0
Miss Ethel Mills	0 5 0	Commander E. Dugdale	3 0 0
Mrs. C. S. Howse	0 10 0	R.N.	6 12 6
Rochdale W.S.P.U. (Hyde Park banner)	0 17 6	Membership Postage Fees	47 1 9
Cardiff W.S.P.U. (Hyde Park banner)	0 8 6	Collections, &c.	13,611 2 7
Miss A. Clark (Hyde Park banner)	0 8 6	Total	13,611 2 7

THE PROTEST MEETINGS.

On going to press (Tuesday night) we understand that successful Protest Meetings, addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, were held in Woolwich, midday, afternoon, and evening. Meeting in Battersea Park, Wednesday, 7.30, addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Drummond. See also Announcements (p. 290).

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A LECTURE will be given by DR. STENSON HOOKER at the Royal Academy of Music, 22, Princes-street (Cavendish-square), on the 10th inst., at 3.30 p.m. Subject—"The Best Diet for Health, Beauty, and Longevity." Admission, 2s. 6d. and 1s.

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PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to July 24 (as far as at present arranged).

July	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond	8 p.m.
Thur.	Leeds, Cross Flats Park	Miss Adela Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
	Leeds, York Road	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, Willenhall	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Nottingham, Drawing - room Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Eastwood, Open Air Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Pembroke, Little Newcastle	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	3 and 7.30
	Chelsea, World's End	Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Argyll Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Macaulay	5.45 p.m.
	Kensington, Earl's Court Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Brackenbury	7 p.m.
	Bury	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Fri. 10	Chelsea, 4, Trafalgar Studios, "At Home"	"The Committee" of Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 4, Trafalgar Studios	Members and Friends	8.30 p.m.
	Nottingham, Drawing - room Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	
	Wednesfield	Miss Keevil	7 p.m.
	Pembroke, Tegryn	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	5 and 7.30
	Nelson	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Sat. 11	Manchester, Alexandra Park	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
	Heaton Park	Mrs. Robinson	3 p.m.
	Parson's Green	Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	Hepworth	Miss Adela Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
	Loughborough, Open Air Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	7.30 p.m.
	Pembroke, Haverfordwest, Castle Square	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	3 p.m.
	Pembroke, Solva	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Stockport	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Sun. 12	Nottingham, P. S. A., Halifax Place Schools	Miss Nell Kenney	3 p.m.
	Demonstration Peckham Rye	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Clapham Common	Mrs. Tanner, Miss Cameron	3 p.m.
	Battersea Park	Mrs. Tanner, Miss Cameron, Mrs. Bartlett	7 p.m.
	Heaton Park	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Mon. 13	London, Queen's Hall, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	Pembroke, St. Dogmells	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	
	Hunslet Moor	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Bradford, "At Home"	Miss Adela Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, E.C.C. Works	Miss Keevil	1 p.m.
	Netherfield, Open Air Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	7 p.m.
	Accrington	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Tues. 14	Nottingham, Drawing - room Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Hucknall, Open Air Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	7.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Armlay	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Haverfordwest, St. Thomas Green	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	11 a.m.
	Pembroke, Penbryn	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	7.30 p.m.
Wed. 15	Burnley	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
	Kensington, "At Home"	"The Committee" of Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6
	Pembroke, Narberth	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others	3 and 7.30
	Leeds, Holbeck	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Nottingham, Drawing - room Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	3 p.m.
	Clapham Common	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Bartlett, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Haslingden	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Thur. 16	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Argyll Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Conolan	5.45 p.m.
	Kensington, Ladbroke Grove, Open Air Meeting	Miss Morrison, Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
	Leeds, Crossgates	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Pembroke, Fishguard	Mrs. Martel	7.30 p.m.
	Pembroke, Goodwich	Mrs. Martel	2.30 p.m.
	Burton Joyce, Garden Meeting	Miss Nell Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Ramsbottom	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Fri. 17	Todmorden	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Sat. 18	Nottingham, Demonstration, The Forest	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others	3.30 p.m.
Sun. 19	Manchester, Demonstration, Heaton Park	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Clapham Common	..	3 p.m.
	Battersea Park	..	7 p.m.
Mon. 20	London, Queen's Hall, "At Home"	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
Tues. 21	Waterfoot	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
Wed. 22	Bacup	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
	Kensington, "At Home"	"The Committee" of Kensington W.S.P.U.	4-6
Thur. 23	Burnley	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Argyll Road, Open Air Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Macaulay	5.45 p.m.
	Kensington, Warwick Gardens, Open Air Meeting	Miss Conolan, Miss Morrison	7 p.m.
Fri. 24	Nelson	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
	Colne	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	

IMPORTANT FUTURE DEMONSTRATION.

Woodhouse Moor, Leeds July 26

For the full list of meetings being held in Manchester in connection with the Demonstration see page 301.

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