

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. III. (New Series), No. 128.

FRIDAY, August 19, 1910.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

ANTI-SUFFRAGE ARGUMENTS ILLUSTRATED.

I.—The "Woman's Place is the Home."



Who Will then Earn the Daily Bread?

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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.

On Thursday in last week, following upon the campaign which the Women's Social and Political Union have been holding in his constituency, Mr. Lloyd George addressed the Women's Liberal Association in Carnarvon and discussed on the Woman Suffrage Bill, endeavouring to explain his attitude towards it in the House of Commons.

Principal Points of his Speech.

In the course of his speech he made the following points:— His action in voting against the second reading of the Bill was not a breach of the pledge made by him at the Albert Hall because the conditions which he had then laid down had not been fulfilled. He was opposed to the Bill because he was opposed to plural voting, and the Bill would increase

the number of plural voters and would also enable every woman of property to get a vote, while enfranchising only a small proportion of working women; moreover, the Bill did not enfranchise the wives of working men; these were the women who ought to be enfranchised as they had been in Australia and New Zealand. He was not prepared to place the question of Woman Suffrage in front of the House of Lords question or Welsh Disestablishment. He deprecated the cry of "deeds not words," believing that arguments must first be adduced, and he did not consider that Woman Suffragists had waited very long for what they wanted— certainly they had not waited so long as the Irish or the Welsh. The adoption of militant methods by the women was as stupid as it would be by the Welsh Party. Finally he urged that to carry the Bill would be impossible in view of the fact that the Lords might throw it out and that he and Mr. Asquith would then have to fight the Lords on a matter on which he considered the Lords had right on their side.

Point by Point.

It is difficult to deal fully and adequately with such a bundle of incorrect statements and fallacies as those put forward by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but we shall deal with them as fully as space allows. In defending his vote on the second reading of the Bill as not being a breach of his Albert Hall utterance, Mr. Lloyd George is confounding two issues, firstly, the refusal of the Government to provide time for further discussion of the Bill, and secondly, their attempt to defeat it on the second reading. Suffragists rightly condemn the Government as a whole, and Mr. Lloyd George as a prominent member of it, for refusing to the House of Commons time for effectively dealing with the question of Woman Suffrage in a manner

of which the majority had shown their approval; but they also condemn Mr. Lloyd George more especially for his duplicity in pretending to be a friend of Woman Suffrage and at the same time opposing, fortunately ineffectively, the one Bill which, by uniting opposite sections of political opinions in the House of Commons, possesses the likelihood of becoming law this Session.

Plural Voters.

As to the principal points of Mr. Lloyd George's speech, in which he argued quite incorrectly that the present Bill would largely increase plural voting, and would give undue prominence to the propertied classes, his arguments and misstatements are dealt with fully by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in her leading article in our issue this week. She also shows up his futile treachery in attempting to sow dissension between those women who are wives and those who are spinsters or widows by his pretended advocacy of the former as against the latter. Mr. Lloyd George knows perfectly well that he cannot produce any Bill likely to pass into law at an early date which will effect the result which he professes to desire, and that therefore his tactics are directed towards delaying, and, if possible, preventing any enfranchisement of women whatever.

"Deeds, not Words."

When Mr. Lloyd George jeers at the aphorism "deeds, not words" and pretends that in the case of Woman Suffrage words do not precede deeds, he is at direct variance with facts. As is well-known, a constitutional struggle for the Vote went on for over 40 years and is still proceeding with the utmost perseverance, something like 50,000 meetings in advocacy having been held during the last four or five years by the Women's Social and Political Union alone. If this

time is not long enough for men, as Mr. Lloyd George seems to suggest by his reference to the question of Welsh Disestablishment, it is certainly quite long enough for women. In this connection it is interesting to know that when Mr. Lloyd George was a private member, and not therefore concerned as he is to-day to defend the action of the Liberal Executive, he took an entirely different view. Speaking at Bangor on May 17, 1894, he said:—

Someone had spoken of the dog-like fidelity of the Welsh members. They had suffered for their loyalty. When a Liberal Ministry whistled for them the Welsh members scampered away in the Liberal service, until they were almost out of breath, and they occasionally barked for want of a bone, their masters had simply to appear on the scene and they slunk back to their kennels like whipped curs. They were fighting now for their national character, and must have a resolute, strong, independent policy.

The advice that Mr. Lloyd George gave to the Welsh men in 1894 is the advice that we give to the Liberal women of to-day.

Previous Utterances on Militant Methods.

Anent his denunciation of all methods to-day other than those of peaceful persuasion, it is interesting to recall some of the speeches he made in Wales in deliberate incitement of the defiance of the law practised by the Welsh County Councils in view of the Education Acts. Speaking at Cardiff on June 3, 1903, Mr. Lloyd George said:—

The Government of the day had simply flouted the principle of representative Government. But the question being reopened, it must not be closed until it was satisfactorily settled.

The next step was to fight—and fight it out—and appeal for unity, absolute unity in carrying out the policy now adopted.

Again, at Carnarvon, on January 6th, 1904, he said:

The Welsh Councils would absolutely refuse to administer the Act, and the Church and present Government must be held responsible for consequent anarchy.

Again, at Llanfyllin, February 29th, 1904, he said:

They were told they were engaged in an illegal conspiracy. They might depend upon it the hearts of Welshmen would never be roused by an impulse of illegality. It was not merely a passion for breaking the law that had inspired his countrymen; there was not a more law-abiding or more loyal portion of the Empire than Wales.

Wales never had more friends than now, and all were trusting to Wales and admiring the courage Welshmen were showing.

And again at Llandrinod Wells, April 3, 1904, he said:

We are charged as law-breakers. We do not break the law, but we decline to become instruments to carry out an oppressive law-breakers, but there is a danger which we have got to avoid, it is the danger that we should become docile, and would bend without protest to an act forced upon us against our will. A nation as poor spirited as that has no future of honourable service for humanity.

Extracts might be multiplied almost ad infinitum, but one more must suffice. Speaking at Pwllheli, August 6, 1906, Mr. Lloyd George gave utterance to the following:

There was a time when people laughed at Wales. They were beginning now, thank God, to get angry with Wales. When a man got into a temper with one then one could rest assured that he was worth something. People were getting very angry with Wales, and the more angry they got the more glad would he be. By-and-by they would cease to be angry.

Mr. Lloyd George is certainly angry with the Woman Suffragists at the present time; perhaps he will have to be more angry before he will give in, but neither his anger nor his double dealing will suffice to check the progress of the Woman Suffrage movement.

Mr. Lloyd George and Home Rule.

Moreover, though Mr. Lloyd George referred to the position of Home Rule, he failed to point out to his hearers that, according to no less an authority than Mr. Parnell that had made the problem of Home Rule one of urgent practical politics. And who is there who will doubt that the prospect of success of the Irish party to-day depends more on the power of Mr. Redmond to strike a blow at the Liberal Government than on any question of abstract justice?

Mr. Lloyd George shown up.

Mr. Lloyd George has not remained without answer in the public Press. In *The Times*, on Monday, appeared a letter from Mr. Brailsford, written in the convincing style which we have learnt to look for from this distinguished writer. Mr. Brailsford, in the midst of other pertinent remarks, asks how it is that, if the municipal franchise for women is so shamelessly defective as Mr. Lloyd George would have us believe, successive Liberal Governments since 1868 have been content to leave it unreformed. A longer extract from his letter will be found on page 768. *The Scotsman*, in a strong leader, from which we also give extracts on the same page, shows up the hollowness of Mr. Lloyd George's arguments, adding, "Mr. Lloyd George has incurred grave responsibility—he has embittered the Suffrage controversy, for he has treated the women who are earnest in it with contempt." On the same page will also be found other interesting extracts of opinion from different sources.

Party before Justice.

By his speech on Woman Suffrage Mr. Lloyd George has for once succeeded in pleasing *The Times*. In a leading article that journal applauds the way in which he performed "what might for a less courageous and less versatile speaker, have proved a somewhat delicate task"—the task, namely, of explaining his vote against the Conciliation Bill. "He is quite right, from his point of view," further says this anti-suffrage organ, "to oppose a measure which not only is not democratic, but is in many respects anti-democratic, and is supported not without a touch of levity and even cynicism by many politicians for that very reason." *The Morning Post* in commenting upon Mr. George's speech begins by condemning the party spirit by which it is inspired in the following terms:—

The mere fact that he is pledged up to the eyes to support the enfranchisement of women and yet opposed the Bill in support of which all advocates of that cause had united gives him no cause for self-reproach. He has an explanation which, however little it may commend itself to those who had been led to depend upon his support, is perfectly satisfactory to himself and, it may be added, per-

fectedly consistent with the rule of his political career. He voted against the principle of women's suffrage because the form in which it was presented offered little chance of party gain. The so-called Conciliation Bill, he declared, was undemocratic, by which he means it was not deliberately biased in favour of the faction by whose assistance he himself has climbed to power and occupied a position that was counted one of the most responsible and dignified in the State.

The *Morning Post* discerns in the speech an outline of a plan of campaign to be adopted should the Conference result in a settlement of the Lords question.

Their one object is to find some specious cry which will distract attention from the bankruptcy of Liberal administration. In the art of window-dressing they are supreme, and this preliminary advertisement indicates their latest scheme of decoration. A great demagogic measure to extend the franchise, to lower the qualifications of the voter, to make registration easy, will be coupled with the abolition of the right of the property-holder to record his vote in the localities where he has a real and unquestionable interest. This measure, which Mr. Lloyd George openly defends on the ground that it will strengthen his faction, will be represented to the Suffragists as the necessary preliminary to granting the vote to women.

The Unionists who voted against the Suffrage Bill did so because they believed the principle of women's suffrage was bad. The fact that the Unionist Party might gain some immediate advantage did not weigh with them. They did simply what they believed to be right. The result is that Mr. Lloyd George can angle for the support of the Suffragists to carry through a policy invented solely for the benefit of the Liberal Party.

We can assure the *Morning Post* that if such be the policy of the Government, their angling for the support of Suffragists will be in vain.

Florence Nightingale.

The most popular heroine of our time has passed away in the person of Florence Nightingale, who died last Saturday at the age of 90. On page 764 we give an account of her work, not only the splendid achievement in the Crimea, but her less-known work for half a century afterwards. This woman, who by her splendid organisation literally saved half the British army from death, who reorganised the whole of the army medical arrangements, who practically founded a new skilled profession for women, who received from a grateful country a sum of £50,000 (devoted by her to found a training school for nurses) and the rare honours of the Order of Merit and the Freedom of the City of London—this woman was met by the same senseless criticism that meets the women of to-day who are seeking wider opportunities of service. As the *Daily News* said in its leading article on Monday last:—

Miss Nightingale was, after she carried her points, the subject of so much sentimental enthusiasm that one is perhaps in danger of forgetting her originality and her qualities of intellect. She was by no means a person who leaped easily into the limelight and won cheap and universal applause by doing with dash and bravura an obvious thing. On the contrary, all her early steps were taken in the face of social prejudice and dogged by calumny and ridicule. Some people in these latter days have fancied her name as a stick to beat other pioneering women with. Miss Nightingale, they say in effect, is the conspicuous example which shows that women can richly serve the world while remaining "womanly" in the most orthodox sense. But the fact is that Miss Nightingale in her day incurred about as much obloquy on the score of "unwomanliness" as anyone has in ours. It was only her success which acquitted her, and enabled her to secure a definite advance at once for women and for humanity.

Miss Nightingale through the wisdom of her father had received the full equivalent of a University training, being a good Greek and Latin scholar, and having a thorough knowledge of mathematics. Without such a training, and the subsequent special training she imposed on herself, her work could not have been done, and the world would have been immeasurably poorer. When will men and women learn the folly and wickedness of attempting to block the way of human development and emancipation?

Testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy.

Our readers will learn with pleasure that it is proposed to give a public testimonial to Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy in recognition of the splendid work for Suffrage done by her for nearly fifty years. Mrs. Elmy began work on behalf of women in 1861; four years later she helped to found the Manchester Suffrage Society, and in 1866 she collected three hundred signatures to the original Suffrage Petition presented to the House by John Stuart Mill. Since then Mrs. Elmy has worked constantly for Woman Suffrage and was instrumental in securing the passing of the Married Women's Property Act, and the Infants Act. When the Women's Social and Political Union was founded, Mrs. Elmy realised at once that here was the force needed to bring to success the patient efforts of all the older suffragists, and she has been the Union's faithful and devoted colleague. Particulars of the memorial will be found on this page. Many of our readers will feel it a privilege and a pleasure to show their recognition of the splendid work done by this veteran suffragist.

Seed-Sowing.

The present moment provides a unique opportunity for introducing the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* newspaper to new readers, and increasing its circulation and its usefulness. The Members of the Union are scattered far and wide. They find themselves after months of strenuous work with comrades of the same vision and faith in new surroundings, brought into contact with a new set of people, every one of them a centre of some circle of human association. And these people also have escaped from the usual ruts, and are ready for new ideas and new interests. This time, therefore, is the precious time for sowing the seed. In a few weeks the harvest will be made manifest. There will be new faces in the Queen's Hall audience when the regular meetings begin again. Above all there will be new and regular subscribers to the paper, and that means a new force of trained and equipped fighters in the battlefield.

The Competition.

The Competition Scheme, which is to be found set forth in detail on page 766, supplies an element of sport to the work which the members of this Union are doing so loyally and well. Those who enter into the lists of competitors find

that work becomes play, because it is turned into a game, where each is trying to out-do the other in friendly and happy rivalry. It is a sort of *Votes for Women* tournament. It is not too late to enter the lists. This is a race where the tortoise often overtakes the hare. No member of the Union should go away without taking the book of ten order forms which is supplied free by post from 4, Clements Inn. Her holiday will be ten times more sweet in the remembrance, if she comes home with that little book filled up with names. There are six events in this tournament, and competitors can enter for them all, or select those which are most promising of results. There is no entrance fee, and though not all can win the specified prizes, all will win success. And all will achieve the reward which is dearest to those who belong to the W.S.P.U.—the happy knowledge that they have, during the holidays even, done signal service to the movement which signifies to us all that is best in life. We urge our readers to apply themselves with zest to winning new honours upon the "tentled field."

Woman the Scapgoat.

We commented recently on a foolish speech by a medical man, who ascribed the falling birth-rate to women's interest in the Suffrage question. We are glad to hear that on the occasion of that speech four medical women protested, and that one of them pointed out in a speech—which curiously enough was not reported anywhere—that it was shameful to blame women only for a falling birth-rate, when, in too many cases, as medical men and women know perfectly well, sterility in a wife is the result of illness contracted from a vicious husband.

Items of Interest.

Mrs. Pankhurst will have the opportunity of replying to Mr. Lloyd George at the end of this week, as she is speaking in Bangor this (Friday) evening at a public meeting, and addressing a meeting of women at the same place on Saturday afternoon.

At the end of August Mrs. Pankhurst goes to Scotland, where she will address several meetings. Some particulars will be found on p. 763.

In the course of a speech delivered in Glasgow, Mr. George Barnes, M.P., said that if the working men here had only half the pluck, the resource, and the statesmanship exhibited by the women of late, then Britain would have had as good a Pensions Bill as Australia.

PUBLIC TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In this year, when the successful issue of the long struggle for women's enfranchisement seems at last to be assured, we feel it to be a most appropriate time for women suffragists to come forward and show as far as they can their great appreciation of the noble work done by one of the oldest workers in our great movement. Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, whose devoted work is so well known to us, began her efforts for the improvement of our countrywomen in 1861, having assisted in forming an association of schoolmistresses and a society mainly composed of ladies whose object was to obtain better opportunities of technical training for women, and to secure their admission to various employments for the higher education of women. In 1865 Mrs. Elmy helped to found, and became the first hon. secretary of, the original Manchester Woman Suffrage Society. She collected more than three hundred of the signatures to the original Women's Suffrage Petition (numbering 1,499 signatures) which was presented to the House of Commons by John Stuart Mill, on June 7, 1866. From that day to this her efforts to secure the enfranchisement of women have been persistent and untiring.

Mrs. Elmy was one of those who revived the agitation in support of the Married Women's Property Act in the year 1867, and in 1868 became Secretary of the Married Women's Property Committee, which office she held until the year 1882, when the last Married Women's Property Act was carried. In the year 1883 Mrs. Elmy, with the aid of but a few other devoted workers began the agitation to improve the law in regard to the custody and guardianship of children, and the Infants Act of 1886, which gave a widowed mother the right to the custody and guardianship of her children, was placed upon the Statute Book largely owing to her efforts. In 1892 Mrs. Elmy founded the Women's Emancipation Union, a Society which did much to further the legal, social, and political interests of women. Mrs. Elmy is the author of a number of most valuable books, papers, and pamphlets on a variety of subjects dealing with the emancipation of women. It is impossible adequately to express the wonderful influence which she has exercised for so many years, for there are few prominent social workers with whom she has not corresponded, and who have not received from her both encouragement and stimulus in their efforts.

We believe that in this moment, when the promise of speedy victory for the Suffrage cause is before us, our fellow-workers will feel themselves privileged, as we do, in being able to join in showing a mark of gratitude to one who began to work long before we did, and who has done so much to make possible this victory in which we all rejoice.

A committee has been formed for the purpose of giving practical expression to the appreciation felt by men and women for Mrs. Elmy's long and untiring efforts in the interests of women. It is proposed that it shall take the form of a public testimonial.

We cordially invite all members of the W.S.P.U. and all friends of the cause of women's emancipation to co-operate with us in making this testimonial a success. Donations should be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Mrs. Martindale, Horsted Keynes, Sussex.

LOUISA MARTINDALE,
JULIA SMITH HOLYOAKE,
EMMELINE PANKHURST,
EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE,
CONSTANCE LUTTON,
JANE GOLDEN URWIN,
MONA TAYLOR.

THE STORY OF THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

By Frederick W. Pethick Lawrence.

The story of the Women's Social and Political Union is the last chapter in a book the earlier chapters of which are not familiar to the general public. Long before the foundation of the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903 women were working and agitating for the extension to them of the Parliamentary vote, and they succeeded in showing a demand among women on an enormous scale.

As early as 1816 women were taking part with men in the great movement which ultimately led to the passage of the Reform Bill of 1832, but although their work was in part responsible for that measure, yet they did not share at all in the result; on the contrary, they were by its enactment for the first time in British politics wholly excluded from exercising the franchise. It was not, however, till 1867 that they made a strong and concerted effort to be recognised as citizens. During the years from 1867 to 1884 their agitation grew in numbers and influence, and was supported by leading men and women all over the country, who sent up an immense number of petitions and memorials to the House of Commons. During the fourteen years 1866 to 1879 there were over 9,000 petitions, with 3,000,000 signatures. Following upon this, from 1879 to 1884, public meetings by women were held in all the largest halls of the country, and in every case an almost unanimous vote in favour of the possession of the franchise was carried. Meanwhile, candidates for Parliamentary honours were being pressed to declare themselves favourable to Woman Suffrage, and this they did in such numbers that when the Reform Bill of 1884 was under discussion a clear majority of the House were pledged to support a Woman Suffrage clause. In that year took place one of the most shameful incidents of British politics, when at the dictate of Mr. Gladstone, the leader of the House, members broke their pledges and were false to the women of the country.

At that time women were not prepared to adopt a fighting policy and as a result they were completely discomfited by this dishonesty on the part of M.P.'s. The supporters of Woman Suffrage lost heart; many keen Woman Suffragists diverted their energies into other channels, and up and down the country the cause retrogressed. Meanwhile, in the House of Commons the question was treated as one for ridicule only, and by the deliberate connivance of the Governments of the day candidates were allowed to pledge themselves to Woman Suffrage on the distinct understanding that it would never be necessary to carry their pledge into effect. Time after time the Woman Suffrage Bill was talked out amid jeers and ridicule, or by some such creditable device as the prolonged debate upon the "Verminous Persons Bill" the discussion of the question was never reached. Even where a second reading division was taken on the measure it was done on the definite knowledge that no further time would be given to the later stages of the Bill.

The Birth of the Women's Social and Political Union.

This was the position of affairs when Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst formed the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903. At first there were no signs that this new society would adopt a different policy from that of its predecessors. The members of the W.S.P.U. spent their time in addressing meetings in different parts of the country and carrying on the usual kind of peaceful propaganda. It was in the year 1905 that a new departure was taken which was to revolutionise the whole Woman Suffrage agitation. In the Autumn of that year the Conservative Government was in a moribund condition, and it was evident to everyone that before long a Liberal Government would come into power. On October 13 a great meeting was held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, at which Sir Edward Grey was the principal speaker. Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney accordingly went to the meeting to find out what would be the policy of the Liberal Government if they were returned to power at the next General Election. They waited till the close of Sir Edward Grey's speech, and then put their question, among others which were being put by men from various parts of the Hall. When these other questions were answered theirs was ignored. They accordingly rose again to put it, and no answer was given. They persisted, and were thrown out of the hall with violence, and were arrested for holding a protest meeting in the street; they were sentenced to prison, Christabel Pankhurst to one week and Annie Kenney to three days.

From that day in October 1905, when the Union first came into public notice on account of the action of these two women, it has grown with startling rapidity until it has assumed its present gigantic proportions. In the spring of 1906 the Union set up headquarters in London. During the first year of its existence it raised amongst its members and friends £2,700, in the second year it raised £7,000, and in the third year over £20,000, while last year the contributions, exclusive of the takings for literature, were over £30,000. At the end of the first year it had premises in London consisting of seven rooms, and it employed eleven women as inside and outside staff; at the end of the second year it had thirteen rooms and was employing thirty people; at the present time it has one of the best equipped political offices in the country, having twenty-one rooms in its London offices alone and employing over one hundred persons.

The work of the Union is along three main lines: firstly, education, secondly, organisation, and thirdly, militant action. These three activities are all pursued concurrently and are interdependent.

Educational Work. Never by any society in this country has the work of political education been carried further than it has by the Women's Social and Political Union. During the four and a-half years since its foundation in London as a national organisation it has held upwards of 50,000 public meetings in different parts of the country; many of these have been on a gigantic scale, for in every large town the greatest halls have been taken and filled repeatedly with enthusiastic gatherings of women. In London the great Albert Hall, containing many thousand seats, has been filled on eight separate occasions by the W.S.P.U., and in the Queen's Hall a regular *At Home* is held every Monday afternoon, and in the St. James's Hall every Thursday evening, which are crowded with men and women anxious to hear the latest developments. In Manchester, the great Free Trade Hall has been many times crowded. In Bristol, the Colston Hall; in Birmingham, the Town Hall; in Leeds, the Coliseum; in Bradford the St. George's Hall; in Liverpool, the Sun Hall; in Glasgow, the St. Andrew's Hall; in Edinburgh, the Synod Hall—here and elsewhere great gatherings have assembled and have given enthusiastic support to woman suffrage.

But the largest of all meetings have been held in the open air. The most memorable of these are the two great meetings which have been held in Hyde Park—on Sunday, June 21, 1908, and on Saturday, July 23, 1910. At the time of the first demonstration the correspondent of *The Times* wrote:—

"The Organisers of the demonstration had counted on an attendance of 250,000. That expectation was certainly fulfilled. Probably it was doubled; and it would be difficult to contradict anyone who asserted confidently that it was trebled. Like the distances and numbers of the stars, the facts were beyond the threshold of perception.

And the latter the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* described as follows:—

"In mere size this Demonstration of the Women's Social and Political Union was certainly the most momentous thing of the kind that London has ever seen."

This last gathering was not only remarkable, like the other, for its success but for the wholehearted sympathy and support of the crowd.

The Woman's Press and Shop.

One of the signs of the great interest aroused by the Women's Social and Political Union has been the rapid growth of the *Woman's Press*, which is the literature department of the Union. During the first year a trade of £60 worth of literature was effected, in the second year the figure had risen to over £600, and it is now over £9,000, including the sale of the colours of the Union and of the paper *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

At the beginning of the present year, in view of the increasing trade, it was decided to take a shop in the centre of London, and very suitable premises at 156, Charing Cross Road, close to Tottenham Court Road, were taken. Here, with the *VOTES FOR WOMEN* clock to mark the time of day outside, a brisk business is done, and many are the passers-by who stop to interest themselves in the movement.

"Votes for Women" Newspaper.

The paper itself was founded in October, 1907, by Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as a monthly periodical. It was transformed by them into a weekly paper in April, 1908, and has been growing in size and in circulation ever since. At the present time it has a circulation of over 30,000 a week, and its success is so well recognised in the advertising world that it pays its own way.

Organisation. The second matter of supreme importance in carrying on a movement is organisation, and in this the Women's Social and Political Union has made itself thoroughly effective. In addition to the offices at headquarters which have been already referred to it carries on its work in the provinces from twenty-five main centres, from which proceed a network of organisations. Thus in London alone twenty local unions are in existence, which cover the different areas of the metropolis.

Militant Action.

But though the W.S.P.U. carries out educational work on a gigantic scale through its vast organisation, it realises that something further may be necessary to compel politicians to take notice of the question, and it therefore carried on for four years militant action of three kinds. First, at every by-election and at the General Election it threw its influence into the scale against the Government because of the opposition of the Government to Woman Suffrage. In the second place, women have made protests in the same way as men have done at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers, and for this they have been ejected with violence. In the third place, women have gone on deputations to see the Prime Minister, and on his refusal to receive them have persisted until they were arrested and taken into custody. At the beginning of 1910, after the General Election, a truce in militant activities was declared, and this has continued until the present time, but the Women's Social and Political Union recognise that unless the Government are prepared to remove their veto from the

Woman Suffrage Bill militant tactics may have to be resumed. (A fuller explanation of the militant tactics of the *Women's Social and Political Union*, together with an answer to the question why women want the vote will be found in "*Women's Fight for the Vote*," by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Paper, 6d. net, cloth, 1s. net, from *The Woman's Press*, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.)

The Membership of the W.S.P.U. Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

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

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

THE MASTER-JOY.

We shall not travel the road that we have made; Ere day by day the sound of many feet Is heard where we have toiled and fought and prayed, We shall be come to where the Cross-roads meet.

For us the heat by day, the cold by night, The inch-slow progress and the heavy load, And Death at last to close the long, grim fight With man and beast and stone: for them—the Road.

For them the shade of trees that now we plant, The safe, smooth journey and the ultimate goal— Yes, birthright in the Land of Covenant— For us day-labour, travail of the soul.

And yet—the Road is ours, as never theirs; Is not one joy on us alone bestowed? For us the Master-Joy, O Pioneers! We shall not travel, but we have made the Road.

V. H. FRIEDLAENDER.

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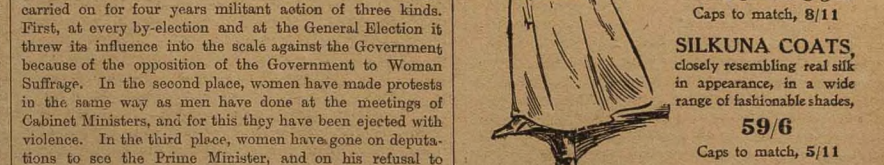
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Class A—Obtaining New Subscribers. The competition in class A is for those who obtain and send to the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, during the months of July, August and September, the largest number of subscriptions (of not less than six months) to VOTES FOR WOMEN.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10. To help competitors a special book, containing ten order forms, has been prepared. These books can be obtained free at all the W.S.P.U. shops and meetings, or will be sent post free on application.

Class B—Individual Selling. Class B is a competition of individual sellers. Prizes will be awarded to the sellers who dispose of the largest number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Lady's Bicycle. 2nd Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 3rd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women," 1909-10. Competitors should obtain a special card. These cards can be obtained free at all shops or meetings or by post from the Publisher, VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Class C—Pitch Selling. Class C is a competition for Pitch Captains. Two prizes will be given for the captain at whose pitches the largest aggregate number of Votes for Women are disposed of during the months of July, August and September.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch to Captain and bound volume of "Votes for Women" to each of her sellers. 2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women" to Captain and memento to each of her sellers.

Class D—Local Unions. Class D is a competition for local Unions. First and second prizes will be given for the largest aggregate sales by local Unions during the months of July, August and September.

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(Form of Prizes in Classes D and E not yet decided.) Class F—Posters. Two prizes will be given to those who are most successful in interesting newsgivers in the paper and inducing them to exhibit a poster each week. The prizes will be for the largest number of promises obtained to show posters regularly. Orders obtained should be sent direct to the Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn.

1st Prize: Gun-metal Watch. 2nd Prize: Bound volume of "Votes for Women."

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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 19, 1910.

THE WRECKER.

Mr. Lloyd George may have thought that his recent speech on Woman Suffrage would have the effect of reinstating him in the confidence of women and allaying their indignation at his opposition to the Conciliation Bill. This latest utterance of his has, however, confirmed us in the belief that the Votes for Women cause has no more determined and mischievous enemy.

Mr. George's attack upon the political liberties of women began in 1894, when he voted with the Liberal Government then in power against giving votes to women under the Local Government Act. Fortunately the Government were defeated, as the present Liberal Government have been on the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, otherwise women would not now be able to vote for district and parish councils and for boards of guardians. But the incident is important as showing that sixteen years ago Mr. Lloyd George, then a private member, was already opposing all extension of the rights of women.

But even without the guidance afforded by his unworthy record it is perfectly easy to see Mr. George's democratic pose is a sham by which he hopes to conceal his hostility to women's enfranchisement. The use of this method of disguising his animosity is an interesting sign of the strength of our movement, but it excites the indignation and contempt of all who love straight dealing in political affairs.

Mr. George in the course of his speech was at great pains to establish his contention that the Conciliation Bill is undemocratic. Trading on the susceptibilities of Liberals he dwelt at length on the evils of plural voting and declared: "As a Liberal I cannot vote for any bill which increases the number of plural votes!" Now this suggestion as to the effect of the Conciliation Bill which Mr. George sought to convey is without foundation and for the following reason. The male plural voter obtains the plurality of votes of which Liberals complain under the ownership franchise. This franchise is not given to women under the Conciliation Bill—the denial of the vote to women as owners being one of the concessions made to secure Liberal support. Therefore Mr. Lloyd George in describing the Conciliation Bill as one to increase plural voting is either misinformed or is wilfully misrepresenting the facts.

When Mr. Lloyd George, who is trying to block the one and only measure of Woman Suffrage which the House will carry, complains that it does not enfranchise every working woman, and talks of giving votes to all married women, he adds insult to injury, for he knows that such a proposal is entirely outside the range of practical politics. Despite some vague talk of such a measure commanding his support and influence he makes no pretence even that he means to pursue a serious advocacy of it, and actually admits in all too familiar phraseology that other causes have a prior claim upon him. Moreover, he knows, and we know, that his influence and support are far from being powerful enough to carry through a suffrage measure such as he professes to approve.

Married women will strongly disapprove of Mr. George's attempt to use them to destroy the chances of the Conciliation Bill, a measure which while it does not enfranchise them as a body, enables them to vote if they have a

distinct qualification. To set women against women is the method by which certain men constantly seek to attain their own ends—such an attempt will not succeed at the present day, as Mr. Lloyd George will discover. The solidarity of women does not permit of its success.

Moreover, marriage obviously could not constitute a barrier between woman and woman. The single woman of to-day is the married woman of to-morrow; the wife may at any time become the widow. The Conciliation Bill, though it will enfranchise more widows and spinsters than wives, is supported by married women because, whether they individually get votes or not, it gives representation to their sex. But Mr. Lloyd George's illusory promises and wrecking methods could have no effect save that of definitely postponing the enfranchisement of any woman whatsoever. In fact, Mr. Lloyd George is as much a wrecker, as much bent on killing every practical proposal for Woman Suffrage as were those opponents of Old Age Pensions whom he denounced because they tried to extend and so destroy his Old Age Pension scheme.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that the Welsh Herald, the leading newspaper on the subject of the Conciliation Bill. In the course of a leading article this journal comments upon the attitude of Mr. Lloyd George and describes the Bill as one to ensure a certain measure of justice between men and women under our present defective franchise laws, and says, "We fail to see anything unreasonable in the demand of the women to be made sharers in the same unjust system from which men suffer. . . . Our experience is that those who refuse every good thing that comes to them because it is not perfect have to do without anything at all. The franchise was extended to men only by degrees, and this is the most probable course in the case of women."

The Chancellor's argument that because the Colonies and the four Suffrage States of America have given votes to all adult women the same procedure must be adopted here does not of course hold water. In those countries men had Universal Suffrage long before women were enfranchised, whereas in this country men have a restricted franchise. Further, ours is a more conservative country than these others, sudden and sweeping changes for the constitution being rare. Enfranchised women who, like Lady Stout, the Rev. Anna Shaw and others, come from the Colonies and America to help the cause here, ally themselves with the Suffrage Societies and not with those who adopt the methods of Mr. Lloyd George. But his words will produce a painful impression upon many who have hitherto been his most ardent admirers. His condemnation of active resistance to injustice and subjection will seem to them like a repudiation of his own past, of the action which won him a place in their esteem, for his early career was one of incessant resistance to what he deemed unjust, and only last year he said: "Freedom does not descend like manna from heaven. It has been won step by step, by tramping the wilderness, fighting enemies, crossing Jordan, and clearing the Jebusites out of the land. I do not regret that we cannot obtain these blessings except by fighting. The common people have taken no step that was worth taking without effort, sacrifice and suffering. I cannot pretend to regret this conflict with which we are now confronted. It is well that democracies should now and again engage in these great struggles for a wider freedom and higher life. They represent stages in the advance of the people from the bondage of the past to the blessings of the future. Those who dread these political convulsions, who apprehend from them nothing but destruction and danger have read their history in vain. The race has nothing to fear except from stagnation."

These are brave words whose spirit the Suffragette endeavours to carry out in action. With the excuse (one of a long series brought into play against us during forty years) that the House of Lords question must be settled before women get the vote we have no patience at all. We seek to make the reform of the House of Commons a constitutional matter more vital and urgent than that of adjusting the relations between Peers and Commons. We are the more intolerant of this excuse, that the Government show no real eagerness to bring the Lords' question to a settlement. In fact, their laxity in this regard is the subject of bitter complaint from the Liberal rank and file. It may be months before the struggle begins and if it is fought by the Government in the same feeble spirit they have displayed up to now, it will drag on interminably to an unsuccessful issue.

We, of the W.S.P.U., are confident that if the Suffrage Bill passes the Commons it will pass the Lords immediately or as the result of agitation. We protest, therefore, against being kept waiting until the Government have finished their quarrel with the Lords. The present difficulty is the veto placed upon the bill by the Government to which Mr. Lloyd George belongs, and we call upon them to remove that veto. Unless the Government allow the will of the Commons, expressed in favour of this Bill, to prevail they will be guilty of the same breach of the constitution which they allege against the Lords. But the fact is that the Government's real quarrel with the Lords is not that Bills approved by the Commons are rejected but that Bills approved by this Government are rejected. This Mr. Lloyd George admitted when he said that the Lords would be "on the whole right" in rejecting the Conciliation Bill after it has passed the Commons.

Such want of principle as this will bring retribution upon the Government, and while women are marching to triumph the Government are moving to their political doom.

Christabel Pankhurst.

ANTI-SUFFRAGE AND SEX-WAR.

By Laurence Housman.

"Follow an owl," says an old proverb, "and she will lead you to a ruin." Follow an Anti-Suffragist, and you come before long to an antiquated mansion, furnished in the worst taste, and bearing on its front a large and threatening notice—"Trespassers will be prosecuted." It is for the defence of this mansion that the Anti-Suffragist arrays his forces and erects his barricades. But when you come to examine his title to the property, you find it to consist mainly in the fact that there the notice-board has stood unquestioned and undisturbed for hundreds of years, and that for all that time he has merely been bluffing the true owners out of their rights. Conscious that his claim cannot stand investigation, he denounces any examination into the genuineness of his title as "an attack on property," and abuses those who have dared to question his credentials as "instigators of sex-war." By so doing he is wise according to his lights, for his best chance of averting discovery lies in raising a cloud of prejudice; and "sex-war" has indeed for many a horrible and upon the State, but upon that more sacred and more fundamental institution, the Home.

Now it is true enough that where common rights have been absorbed by individual or by class, or where right-of-way has become obliterated through the raising of impediments to traffic, there does exist a kind of a peace so long as people submit to be defrauded; and for the recovery of lost right from unjust ownership it is generally necessary to carry on some kind of a war. If, therefore, the claim of right happens to be a sex-claim, it is also a kind of a sex-war. But in a civilization where the most hideous and the most unsoftened social evils are sex-evils, where, on the testimony of a London magistrate, more than one-half of the cases which come daily before him are cases of wrong done by men to women, and that have to be dealt with under laws which are often an aggravation of the evil—when those are the internal conditions of our modern community, it cannot be maintained that any attack upon such conditions is an attack upon sex-peace, for our legal system and the average moral sense of the community have not yet provided us with a sex-peace worthy of the name.

The Solution That Failed.

Yet in no other department of life has any would-be solution of the social problem received so limitless, so continuous, and so unconditional a trial as that dominance of the male over the female which the Anti-Suffragist regards as both naturally and divinely ordained. Other problems have formed the subject of vast controversy and of sharp political changes, some of them not having reached a settlement even in our own day, and we might, therefore, expect to find civilisation far more crude in its solution or temporary adjustment of these matters than of one where, on the surface at least, the whole civilized world has been in agreement for generations and for centuries. Yet round this great point of apparent agreement centre the worst moral and social evils of modern civilization, and in every country whose laws one comes to examine there are enactments enforcing the subjection of woman to man which no right-thinking person can possibly regard without shame. How strange it is that, so age-long an agreement has done so little to produce anything that can honourably be termed a peace!

But we have to remember that throughout history subjection and peace have not been synonymous terms and that quiescence has never meant more than an absence in subject races of the determination to be free. So it has been with many women in the past, and so it still is with some women to-day. Yet we have only to read Euripides to know that the protest of women against subjection is many centuries old, and that it found voice in the noblest race, civilisation, and literature of ancient times. And in so far as women have been noble in the past, always under the surface of apparent consent has gone a current of revolt. For

many centuries it is likely enough that to such women escape seemed only possible by sex-war, by a banding of woman's forces against man's; and that in so unnatural a division of humanity they saw no hope for their cause. Yet even then, with the world so divided, such a sex-war would have been not against but in support of that true union of interests which subjection is powerless to produce; and in any sense it is a sex-war which faces us to-day, it is one, at least—and this is surely an important proof of human advance—which does not any longer divide men and women into two separate camps, any more than was the fight for the emancipation of slaves a fight between slaves on the one hand and slave-owners on the other. Many slaves took sides with their owners against freedom, while the bulk of those who fought against slavery were themselves free men, some of whom had been slave-owners in the past. So in this war for the re-valuation of sex, the men who are most morally free and enlightened are rallying to the side of the women, and are fighting against that misdirection of sex-influence which spells not merely the subjection of women to men, but a corresponding and more carefully concealed subjection of men to women.

How to "Manage" a Man.

To rule men, to extract from the existing sex-relations the last ounce of influence that by hook or by crook she can possibly secure, is the definite and calculated policy of that commanding type of woman Anti-Suffragist which has of late years been adapting itself to public life and the political platform with such conspicuous facility. It is not the claim to wield influence that is objectionable, but rather the "by hook or by crook" method through which it is to be obtained, for it is not an open or an honest method, or one that is likely to produce candour and mutual respect between the sexes; it is merely sex-war, conducted, not in the open, but in ambush, with traps and gins and small venomous darts, which, while failing to kill, produce bad blood, and breed infection in the race. Generally these methods of warfare are privately conducted, and it is only in the sphere of the home that one perceives their effects. But a few months ago I had the unhappy satisfaction of hearing a very prominent Anti-Suffragist make a public boast of her method—the right one, as she conceived it—of dealing with men. The only effective policy, she maintained, for women to employ towards men was that of "the iron hand in the velvet glove"; and she added the quaint warning that if ever woman removed the velvet glove she would find that "the iron hand had melted." She then proceeded to give a practical illustration of that ideal policy which, in her own dealings with men, had proved so successful. "When my husband," she said, "consults me on any important point, and I advise him as I think best, he always says at once, 'Oh, no, my dear, that would never do at all!' but after a time he goes and does it. Then, if it turns out right, I hear him presently saying: 'Yes, I think I decided for myself very well in that matter.' If, on the other hand, it turns out badly, he immediately says, 'See what comes of taking the advice of a woman!'" And the moral was that in either case the man was to be left contented and happy in his own self-esteem, and more confirmed than ever in his false notion of male superiority. In the very statement of that ideal policy the wife was holding up her husband to public derision: for exhibition purposes she had taken off the velvet glove; and one can only charitably hope that her husband was not among her audience.

There, then, in all its naked deformity, is the doctrine of the true sex-partnership as laid down by one of the most prominent of our woman Anti-Suffragists, ready herself to accept contentedly as an eternal law the inbred conceit of the male mind in its intellectual superiority over the woman, a conceit of which many of us are acutely conscious as an inheritance of almost atavistic force, but of which we do not, if we are wise, ask our women folk to make us proud, or seek to see the perpetuation in their mother-training of the race. Stated thus nakedly in a concrete example, we see how ignoble is the policy, and how ignominious are likely to be its results—how in the woman's mind it must needs produce a veiled scorn and contempt for the duped partner whose abuse she accepts as the price for obtaining her end, and in the man's, encouragement to shift from himself all blame and appropriate all praise over those things wherein they share a common responsibility. If in the past such sex-peace as we possess

has only been obtained by such means, then, assuredly, the breaking of it is not war but deliverance, and those who break it are those whose belief is firm that "honesty is the best policy."

TREASURER'S NOTE.

All the world is making holiday. And yet the movement which has secured the loyal devotion and service of women is not forgotten. Small sums spared from holiday funds are sent day by day into the treasury. One young member of the Union who had no money to give begged for a little plot of garden ground, and invested a few pence in seeds. During the summer she has sold her carefully-tended flowers, and she joyfully forwards £1 to the £100,000 Campaign Fund.

These contributions sent in during the slack time are specially welcome, for during the month of August the ordinary working expenses have to be met just the same as always. The rent of our extensive offices all over the country has to be paid, and the rent of our many shops also the salaries of our large staff, many of whom are now taking a well-deserved holiday. The Treasury becomes depleted, and must be replenished.

As Treasurer of the Union I specially invite women and men who have hitherto taken no part in this struggle for human liberty for one half of the race to send their first contribution to the Campaign Fund—and to send it now!

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

August 4 to 13.

Table with columns for names and amounts. Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged', 'Mrs. L. Dalton', 'Miss Ada Wright', 'Mrs. Throup', etc., totaling £73,735 16 4.

THE WOMAN'S "SURSUM CORDA."

Lift up your hearts! Glory in pregnant struggle and world labour; Joy in the mighty sweep of inspiration Killing old sloth and lies with flaming sabre, Waking to new-found life a weary nation. Lift up your hearts! 'Tis meek and right, See England's womanhood: "unsexed" and "shameful" Into the fire unfinching woman descended. Strong as the Phoenix, fair from the cleansing flame, full Glorious comes, age-old experience blended With youth's new night, Lift up your hearts! All that have life and breath, with hands and voices Raise a great psalm of praise that ye are living, Sharing this thing in which the world rejoices, Able to do your mite of glorious giving. Lift up your hearts!

MARJORIE COSENS.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S ATTACK ON THE CONCILIATION BILL.

Last week Mr. Lloyd George "explained" to the Liberal Women of Carnarvon his opposition to the Conciliation Committee's Bill...

An "Explanation."

At Bodnant Hall, near Talycu, in Conway, Mr. Lloyd George addressed the members of the Carnarvon Women's Liberal Association...

The Effect on Parties.

"Now, what is the Bill? A Bill which would give a vote to every lady of property, if she chose to take the trouble, throughout the country...

You must not promote by either the written or the spoken word.

And, after all, has it really taken such a long time when you regard the magnitude of the change? Take the case of Irish Home Rule...

Don't be Bullied!

Well, there are many ways of looking at that, but my own view is that it is a fatal method. I know it has done harm. I know that it has put back the cause of the suffrage in very influential quarters...

You are my constituents, you work here for me at elections, and I frankly acknowledge the services rendered by the Women's Liberal Association during the past twenty years...

SOME OPINIONS OF THE SPEECH.

MR. BRAILSFORD IN "THE TIMES." Mr. Lloyd George's case against our Bill is that it would "double the number of plural votes on the register..."

Labour Party is all but unanimous in its support of our Bill.

Again, he points out how unpleasant it would be if after our Bill had passed the Commons the Lords should reject it...

"THE GLOBE."

At the Albert Hall Mr. Lloyd George not long ago delivered a speech which certainly seemed to range him among the most enthusiastic advocates of Women's Suffrage...

"THE TIMES."

The Carnarvonshire Women's Liberal Association has given Mr. Lloyd George very little breathing space after the labours of the Session. Meeting on Wednesday at Bodnant, on the invitation of Lady McLaren...

"THE SCOTSMAN."

An apologist could hardly be more awkward than Mr. Lloyd George is in the defence he has attempted of his position on Women's Suffrage. Insincerity and uncompromising partisanship and travesty of fact are obvious in every passage of his speech to the Carnarvonshire Women's Liberal Association...

I beg to enclose a trifling donation to the funds of the W.S.F.U., and, as a "Liberal woman," to express my indignation and disgust that the Women's Bill should have been subjected to such unfair and libellous treatment at the hands of those who still call themselves Liberal statesmen...

"with its hungry and ragged children—it was she who suffered the perdition of it. And in such a case she above all others ought to have the vote to protect not merely herself, but her little children as well..."

Women's Suffrage just now is at a stage remarkably like that of the working man franchise in the days of the early Radicalism. What a disappointment was the First Reform Bill!

Mr. Keir Hardie at the Durham Miners' Demonstration. If they wanted women to remove all their grievances, let them help the women to get the vote. (Cheers and laughter.)

FROM A LIBERAL WOMAN. I beg to enclose a trifling donation to the funds of the W.S.F.U., and, as a "Liberal woman," to express my indignation and disgust that the Women's Bill should have been subjected to such unfair and libellous treatment at the hands of those who still call themselves Liberal statesmen...

THE CONCILIATION BILL.

Two Leaflets worth Circulating. We referred last week to a short leaflet on the Conciliation Bill to be obtained from the Woman's Press...

What is the Conciliation Bill? An attempt to bring all political parties together in support of a moderate and practical plan for giving votes to women. The Bill was drafted by a committee of fifty M.P.'s...

What Women Will Get the Vote? Chiefly Women Householders. A householder is a woman who occupies a dwelling house, or part of a house over which she has full control...

Why Are These Women Chosen? Because they are heads of households which at present are unrepresented. Every man who is the head of a house may qualify as a voter...

What About Married Women? A wife will not get the vote unless the house is rented in her name. But a woman will not be disqualified simply because she is married.

How Many Women Will Get the Vote? About one million in the three kingdoms. Will it stop there? That depends on men. They will still be the vast majority of the electors...

Is the Bill Fair to the Working Classes? Well, the Labour Party think so. Mr. Shackleton introduced it. Thirty-two Labour members voted for it, and only two against it.

On What Grounds Was the Bill Opposed? Some speakers in the debate objected to giving votes to any women. Others said that all women should be given the vote at once.

Why Has Not the Bill Been Passed? Because the Prime Minister refuses to give time. Yet Parliament has never had less to do than it has this session.

Electors! Tell Your Member to Insist. The Government must give time for this Bill to be passed through all its stages in the autumn session.

The leaflet concludes with the text of the measure and an appeal to support the Bill. Cordially yours, A Liberal Woman.

WOMEN IN THE MINISTRY.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Sir,—May I state, with reference to the interesting letter, "A Call to Women," that the Rev. Hatty Baker's argument in favour of women in the Ministry, is a point that was strongly urged by the first woman minister, who, at the request of the Daily Mail, wrote an article on the subject, concluding with the Psalmist's words:

"The Lord giveth the word, The women that publish the tidings are a great host."

Again, I remember a sermon in which she took as her text these words from the book of Judges: "And there was at that time Deborah, a prophetess, the wife of Lapidoth, who judged the people. And she sat under a palm tree which was called by her name, between Rama and Bethel in Mount Ephraim; and the children of Israel came up to her for judgment."

But her favourite text was ever the glorious words in Galatians: "There can be neither bond nor free, there can be no male and female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus."

She was inducted into her church in September, 1904. In giving the charge to her hands it was stated that the world stood in need of women's contributions and views on grave moral problems, social questions and religious difficulties.

On July 1, 1905, she solemnised her first marriage, when for the first time in our religious history the wedding certificate bore the name of a woman as the officiating minister.

In conclusion may I say that no woman to whom has been given the great privilege of listening to a woman preacher but must have been struck by the suitability of woman for the high profession of the Ministry. Yours, etc., AGNES CLARKE, Leicester.

Dear Sir,—I was very pleased to see the Rev. Hatty Baker's letter in VOTES FOR WOMEN, and I heartily endorse all she says. Those of us who have read, marked, and inwardly digested Charlotte Brontë's "Shirley" know what was wrong, and the same thing survives to-day. All honour to many of our good ministers who nobly try to do all they can in the way of uplifting the people, but is the hothouse, conventional atmosphere in which many of them are forced to live conducive to the best growth of a wholesome spiritual life?

Manchester College "adheres to its original principle of freely imparting theological knowledge without insisting on the adoption of particular theological doctrines." Its students are free to work for the denomination to which they feel most drawn.

Manchester College asks that a University degree should be obtained before the theological course of three years' duration is entered upon; and offers exhibitions that can be held by the "external" student, who is studying at some University, and others for the three years' theological course at the College itself.

MRS. PANKHURST'S HIGHLAND TOUR. The arrangements for Mrs. Pankhurst's Highland tour are progressing favourably. The following is a list of some of the meetings: Aug. 29 Bridge of Allan Music Hall, Sept. 2 North Berwick, 5 St. Andrew's, 7 Lossiemouth Drawing-room Meeting, 8 Elgin Public Meeting, 9 Inverness, 12 Craigellachie, 13 Grandton, 14 Newton Moor.

After September 16 Mrs. Pankhurst will take meetings in Thurso and Orkney. Miss Una Dugdale will be glad to hear of members and sympathisers living in these districts who could give hospitality to Mrs. Pankhurst and worker, lend motor cars, or help in arranging and making the meetings known among their friends.

All communications to be addressed to Miss Una Dugdale, 15, Stanhope Place, Marble Arch, W.

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Work is going steadily forward. Members, even during their holidays, are organising meetings and selling the paper in places hitherto unreachd, and many reports have been sent in of campaigns started in some of the holiday resorts. No member will wish to be out of it, and there is no need, for there is plenty of work for all. Members going on holiday are asked to keep the flag flying. Wear your badge, sell or distribute VOTES FOR WOMEN, hold meetings wherever possible, and do all in your power to spread the movement amongst those who are as yet outside.

HAMPSTEAD. Shop and Office—89, Heath Street. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. A. B. Weaver, 11, Gainsborough Gardens, Hampstead Heath, N.W. An appeal is made to all local members and sympathisers to help in obtaining subscriptions for shop expenditure; also any friend having a good-sized cupboard to lend is invited to send it along, as one is greatly needed to keep stock, etc. Will anyone volunteer to keep shop on Saturdays from 10.30 to 1.30, or 1.30 to 5.30, and Mondays 10.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m.?

HENDON. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Noble, Derby Lodge. I.L.F.O.D. Work progresses most satisfactorily. Miss Haslam's meeting at Barking was as successful as usual. Members drove down with colours flying; while at Ilford on Saturday, in spite of the downpour, Mr. Bowden-Smith addressed a splendid crowd that gathered and remained, dripping but cheerful, for two hours, and then asked for more. Members and friends will be glad to know that Mr. Wilson, stationer, High Road, now sells the paper and displays a VOTES FOR WOMEN poster. It has been suggested that a Drawing-room Meeting be held for new members. The secretary would be glad to hear from any members or friends who are interested.

ISLINGTON. Hon. Sec.—Miss E. M. Casselley, 38, Church Crescent, Muswell Hill. An excellent meeting was held at Copenhagen Street on Wednesday evening, when Miss Jacob addressed an interested audience. Will members returning from holidays kindly communicate with the secretary, who is in need of helpers for open air meetings and paper selling?

BATTERSEA AND OLAPHAM. Hon. Sec. (pro tem)—Mrs. Halsey, 45, Cambridge Mansions. The attention of members and friends is called to the change of time of the Sunday meeting, which is from 10 to 6 p.m. A most successful meeting was held in the park last Sunday, when Miss Barton made a



The N. W. London Union Shop in Kilburn.

KENSINGTON. Shop and Office—143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Tel. 2110 Western. Joint Hon. Secs.—Mrs. E. C. 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, and Miss Morrison, B.A. Organising Sec.—Miss Leonora Tyson, 37, Drucestead Road, Streatham. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bartels, 23, Acacia Grove, Dulwich.

LEWISHAM. Shop and Office—107, High Street, Lewisham. Shop hours 2 to 8 p.m. Thursdays 10 a.m. to 12.30 p.m. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road. "What, already?" was said with a sigh of regret by several people on Hilley Fields last Sunday, when Nurse Pittfield declared a most successful meeting closed. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well and people are looking forward to hearing Miss Emily Davison next Sunday. Mr. Bowden Smith addressed a large audience at the Obelisk on Friday, August 12. Thanks are due to Miss Steeds for tea (promised), Mrs. Brown who has become a contributor to the shop rent fund, and to Miss Jones for some home-made coconut-ice. Will members and friends bear in mind that home-made sweets and jams are always in demand, and that parcels for the autumn Jubilee Sale will be most welcome.

NORTH ISLINGTON (LATE HORNSEA). Hon. Secs.—Miss Clara Browne, 11, Gainsdale Road, Highgate, and Miss Jackson, 46, Langdon Park Road, Highgate. N.W. LONDON. Shop and Office—215, High Road Kilburn, Tel. 1183 Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden. Will all members who from September 1 can help in the shop, etc., kindly communicate with Miss Woolan,

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK.

Table with columns for Day, Time, Location, and Organiser. Includes meetings for Saturday, Sunday, and Wednesday in various London districts like Kilburn, Islington, and Walthamstow.

the organiser pro tem? Members have been making good use of the holidays in selling the paper.

PADDINGTON AND MARYLEBONE.

Hon. Sec.—Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, 50, Praed Street, W. 2.

PURTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop—905, Fulham Road.
Hon. Secs.—Miss Cotton, 37, Parson's Green, S.W., and Mrs. H. Roberts.

RICHMOND AND Kew.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Clayton, Glangariff, New Road, Richmond.

SYDENHAM AND FOREST HILL.

Hon. Sec.—Miss A. M. Folland, Marshwood, 6, Burg-hill Road, Sydenham.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop: 6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Tel. 1024.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. L. G. Wood, 27, Watton Hall Road.

In spite of the fact that many members are away on holiday the shop has been kept open all day and business almost up to the average.

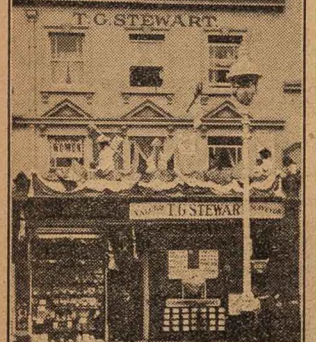
Will members announce their return from holidays as soon as possible to Mrs. Lamartine Yates, Dorset Hall, Merton, in order to release those who have de-layed their holidays to help with the extra work?

The Friday tea rally at 4 p.m. during the suspension of "At Home" is proving both pleasant and useful, and it is hoped more members and friends will attend each week, forming a nucleus of large gatherings when the autumn campaign opens.

Flowers are still on sale on Fridays and Saturdays. The Sunday evening meetings continue to be a great success, the crowds being larger than ever in the afternoon and full of new faces.

Members will be sorry to hear that the Hon. Sec., Mrs. Longdon, has been once more withdrawn from our midst, this time by the illness of her little son.

Home Counties.
BOURNEMOUTH.
Hon. Sec.—Miss Gwenllian Lewis, 221, Old Church-church Road.



Bournemouth "Votes for Women" Shop Decorated for the Centenary.
Office—5, North Street, Quadrant.
Tel. 4683 (Nat.). Organiser—Mrs. Clarke.

Large crowds attend our open air meetings on the beach each evening, thanks to all those who have helped speedily by selling the paper, speaking, &c.

Wales.
NORTH WALES.
Organiser—Dr. Helens Jones, "Talafof," St. David's Row, Carnarvon.

Members and friends will be delighted to hear that Mrs. Pankhurst will address a public meeting in Bangor this (Friday) evening, and to-morrow (Sat-urday) afternoon will speak to women only.

The campaign in the Carnarvonshire boroughs is proceeding well. Successful meetings have been held in

and varied choice of literature, ladges, stationery, etc., in the colours, as well as a "Pound Stall," where tea, cocoa, jam, etc., may be purchased, also Miss Rosa Lightman's lavender preparations.

RAYLEIGH.
Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Warren, B.A., The White Cottage, Reading.
Shop and Office: 22, Wat Street.
Organiser—Miss Margesson.

The open-air campaign is now in full swing, and Mrs. Bartlett hopes that all members at home during this week will come forward and help her to make it a complete success.

HULL.
Hon. Sec.: Miss Harrison, 14, Welbeck Street.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.
Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 301, Westgate Road.

During the organiser's absence the flag is kept flying in Newcastle. Mrs. Atkinson and Miss Nora Ballare holding successful meetings in towns and villages in the district, while Miss Jessie Wilcox is in charge of paper-selling.

On Thursday, August 11, at the weekly evening At Home very happy and helpful addresses were given by Mrs. Clifton and Mrs. Foster.

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West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.
Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton, Tel. 1345.
Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney.

Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT.
Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 19, Silent Street, Ipswich.

YARMOUTH.
Hon. Sec.: Miss Grace Roe, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Members please do not forget our splendid paper sellers! Come to the Market Place on Wednesday and Saturday mornings, and bring all your friends to buy a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN from them.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting in the Town Hall, on September 3, will be a ticket meeting, therefore many canvassers will be needed.

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BLOUSES - - Dry Cleaned for 1/3 fixed charge.
DRESSES - - " " 4/- " "
GENTS' SUITS " " 4/- " "

POSTAGE PAID ONE WAY ON EVERYTHING.
CLARK & CO., The Cleaners, 14, Hallcroft Road, RETFORD.

North-Western Counties.
MANCHESTER AND DISTRICT.
Central Office—184, Oxford Road, Manchester.
Tel.: 3621 Manchester City.
Organisers—Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Rosa Robinson.

Final arrangements have now been made for the holiday campaign, which commences on Monday, August 22.

Members are working strenuously for the Southport Exhibition to be held in December.

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week was \$25. It is hoped to increase the sale steadily; but this can only be done by united and systematic effort.

Through the kindness of Miss Hutchinson, of South-pton, who has given hospitality, Miss Fraser Smith started the East Fife open-air campaign on Wednesday, 17th inst., with Kirkcaldy as centre.

Friday, August 19.—Uphall, Mrs. Charlton, Miss B. Gorrin, 7.30 p.m.
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