

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 179.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

ANTI-SUFFRAGE PHYSIC.



Doctor CROMER: "You don't seem to be much improved by my medicine."

JOHN BULL: "Well, to tell the truth, doctor, I have decided to try a complete change both of doctor and physic; I am going to try Votes for Women Physic!"

["No doctor in the world can do much good for his patient unless the patient responds to treatment, and if our patients—the British public—are so sluggish in temperament that they cannot be stimulated into action, I am afraid we shall not be able to do them much good."—LORD CROMER at the annual meeting of the Council of the Anti-Suffrage League.]

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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.

It is now definitely decided that Parliament shall adjourn next week for a summer vacation, and that the outstanding business of the session, including the National Insurance Bill, shall be held over to the autumn. An interval of several months will therefore elapse before the later clauses of this Bill are reached. This interval will allow time for the public to become better acquainted with its provisions, and if in consequence they find that the Bill, however well-intentioned,

will be detrimental to the interests of the classes most in need of help, they must use all their influence to secure its withdrawal so that it may be redrafted on different lines. On Friday last Mr. Lloyd George made a statement in the House with regard to the future of the Bill, promising certain modifications in the later clauses. We shall deal first with the Bill as it stands and then turn our attention to the modifications indicated by the Chancellor.

The Post Office Contributors.

Three clauses in particular call for drastic amendment: these are the clauses (Nos. 32 and 33) relating to the Post Office contributors, and clause 34, relating to married women. The persons who will come in as Post Office contributors will be those who from one reason or another are not able to join the friendly societies. They will consist largely of wage-earning women and the poorer class of working men. As the Bill is at present drafted, their position is exceedingly precarious. They are compelled to pay insurance premiums, but do not secure insurance in return. All that is assured to a Post Office contributor is that when ill he (or she) will be allowed up to the amount of the fund which he and his employer and the State, on his behalf, has accumulated, to pay for medical attendance, or to be sent to a sanatorium, and to have sick benefit money. When that fund is exhausted he will get nothing. If, on the other hand, he dies while there is

still a balance to his credit, his family cannot draw it out, and it is confiscated by the Post Office for its general fund of insurance.

Better off Without it.

In order to appreciate the effect of these provisions on working people of this class, it is necessary first of all to notice that to them a weekly payment of 4d. or 3d. a week is a serious deduction from wages, and means generally that someone will go habitually short of food. On the other hand, people in this class are accustomed to get medical attendance free at present through the hospitals, and will, therefore, derive little or no advantage from this form of benefit, which will be the first charge on the little fund standing to their credit. Then the employer, though forbidden by law from frankly transferring his part of the contribution to his workpeople, will find when he is dealing with the poorer of his employees ways and means of reducing their wages to approximately the extent of his payment. Finally a large part of the 2d. a week contributed by the State will go in cost of management; estimates place it as high as 1d. a week. Taking all these considerations into account, we hold that the Post Office contributor would actually be better off outside the scheme altogether, and that to compel him to come in to his own loss is a very serious matter.

Married Women under the Bill.

Clause 34 defines the position of the married woman who is not herself a wage-earner, but who, in the

erroneous language of the Bill, is "supported by her husband." No married woman in this position gets any benefit at all under the Bill, neither medical attendance, nor the right to sanatoria treatment, nor sick benefit money. Her services to her husband, to her family, and to the State are entirely unrecognised, and if she is laid up no insurance provision is made under the Bill whereby any substitute can be paid to take her place. It is true that the Bill provides for a 30s. maternity benefit, but this we are told is to be regarded as a benefit for the husband, and not a penny of it will ever be paid to her in cash. Moreover, through no fault of her own, she is liable to be deprived of it altogether if her husband's contributions are seriously in arrears, or if he is a Post Office contributor and has already exhausted his fund.

Widows.

The same clause provides for the re-entrance of widows into the scheme, but this is hedged about with so many conditions that very few widows (practically no widows with young children) will be able to come in. In the first place, the woman must have been an "insured person" before marriage. That rules out those who as girls devoted themselves to keeping house for father, brother, or invalid mother. Secondly, the widow must be a wage-earner (voluntary insurance will be so expensive as to be out of the question). That will rule out all those who have to work at home, including practically all the widows with young children. Thirdly, to secure real insurance, the widow will have to obtain admission to a Friendly Society, which she will almost certainly fail to do. Taking all these facts into consideration, we state deliberately that scarcely any widows at all will obtain insurance.

View of the Manchester Corporation.

That our view of the whole position of women under the Bill is not due to a biased outlook, is shown by the following striking resolution recently carried by the Manchester Corporation:—

"The Bill does not sufficiently safeguard the interests of women, and in particular it does not make proper provisions for their compulsory representation on the proposed new authorities and does not extend to women benefits equivalent to those proposed in favour of men."

An extract from a very able article contributed to the Times by an actuary will be found on p. 731 of this issue.

Mr. Lloyd George's Modifications.

We are glad to see that sufficient criticism has been already advanced against the clauses of the Bill dealing with the Post Office contributors and with married women to compel Mr. Lloyd George to try and meet it in advance. In his speech on Friday last he dealt at length with both these points. With regard to the Post Office contributors, however, he deprecated any amendment which would substantially improve their position, and confined himself to defending the present provisions of the Bill. The criticism which we have levelled above on this point stands, therefore, unaltered.

Married Women—Amended Provisions.

With regard to married women he promised to consider favourably a proposal that they should be allowed to continue their contributions and receive reduced benefits, naming in particular sick benefit as one which they ought not under ordinary circumstances to receive. How far will this suggested amendment really meet the main injustice of the Bill? Will it be in such a form that the great majority, at any rate, of married women will secure benefits under the Bill, a contribution of 2d. a head being paid by the State on their behalf in the same way that it is at present paid on behalf of the men? Or will it merely take the form of a permission to married women to become voluntary contributors paying 2d. or 3d. a week with no assistance from outside and securing in return only medical attendance and the right to sanatoria treatment in special cases? The former, though it would be at least a genuine attempt to amend a Bill originally drawn on a totally wrong basis, would still fall short of anything like equal justice between men and women. The latter would be a mere travesty of equality and only worthy to be treated with contempt.

Payment of Members.

Mr. Walter McLaren has given notice to move, as an amendment to the Government's motion for payment of Members, that "this House declines at present to provide money for Members of Parliament, because it would involve taxing the women of the country to pay for the services of Members in whose election they have no vote." As we went to press it was uncertain whether this amendment would actually come on for discussion, but there is no question that it ought not only to be discussed but to be carried. For the Government to compel women to contribute to the payment of Members before the Bill for Woman Suffrage has been carried will be a gross violation of the ancient constitutional principle that taxation and representation shall go together.

We draw special attention to the case of the Pit Brow Women, which is such a forcible argument for Woman Suffrage that we deal somewhat fully with it in this issue.

PIT BROW WOMEN.

By Sylvia Pankhurst.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In view of the present attempt to prohibit the employment of women upon the brow of the coal mine, some description of the actual work performed by the pit brow lassies may be of interest to your readers.

The pit brow workers wear the usual Lancashire clogs, with bonnets, or bonnets and shawls upon their heads and shawls over their shoulders. In the old days they always wore over their stout corduroy knickerbockers, not the ordinary skirt, but something called a "coat." The coat usually made of blue print, is in reality a kind of apron, the fact that it is open at the back being disguised by wide looping folds. Its advantage over an ordinary short skirt is that should it catch in any of the machinery it would be easy to unbutton it and to allow it to slip off; whereas, in the case of a circular skirt, a woman would be unable to free herself, and would be drawn into the machinery and crushed, as has happened in some cases.

Now that the machinery about the mine is more adequately fenced the skirts are coming back, and the "coat" is beginning to disappear; but its disappearance, I fear, also opens the door to the criticisms which have been made of the pit brow lassies and their work.

The term Pit Brow Lassies includes the Bankswomen, the Pit Brow Lassies proper, and the Sorters or Screen Women. In some collieries all these three classes of women are employed; in others only the Pit Brow Lassies and the Sorters; and in others again only the Sorters.

Bankswomen.

Let us deal first with the work of the bankswomen. They stand, two of them, at the mouth of the shaft that reaches down into the mine below. As the cage laden with coal-filled tubs (tubs are square boxes on wheels) comes to the surface and then stops, they enter it, and between them drag the tubs out one by one, and with a hard push send them rolling off along some railway lines. This work is sometimes done by men, sometimes by women, and one may sometimes see a bankswoman and bankswoman standing together at the shaft, working the same number of hours, and performing their equal share of the same task, but whilst a bankswoman is paid from 4s. 9d. to 5s. a day a bankswoman gets only from 1s. 10d. to 2s. 4d. a day.

The tubs roll off at the push of the bankswoman and bankswomen, and are met as they come by a group of pit brow lassies, who push and drag and guide them on their way to the sorting screens. The wages for pit brow lassies range from 1s. 6d. to 2s. or 2s. 2d. a day. In some cases, one woman with a knowledge of coal is stationed at a point to which all the tubs must come and at which the lines leading to the various screens diverge. Here, according to the size and quality of the coal which it contains, she decides in which direction each tub must go, turning the points for it and pushing it on towards the receiver into which it is emptied, and from whence the coal falls to the sorting screen.

Sorters.

The sorting screens are in the form of long belts, which move continually and carry the coal along with them. They are usually some 3 feet wide, and about 3 feet from the ground. On either side of the belts rows of women stand picking out pieces of stone, wood, and other waste stuff from amongst the coal as it slowly moves past. Sometimes they pick out the waste pieces with their fingers, sometimes they catch at them with an iron hook or rake, and sometimes with a hammer they strike off those which may be adhering to the coal itself. Some collieries supply many more tools for coal sorting than others do, where most of the work is done with the fingers. Serious accidents on the pit brow are now rare, but minor accidents to fingers, caused frequently by the slipping of large pieces of coal upon them, are not more common. The dust from the coal is constantly rising, and the women's faces, hands and clothing are soon blackened by it. Their heads are closely muffled in shawls to protect their hair. In some cases the belt is so arranged that it is necessary for two women to kneel on the ground at the end of it to attend to the aperture by which the coal passes off the belt, and to prevent its becoming clogged. The women who sort the coal are usually paid 1s. 6d. a day, though girls and those who are learning get less, and some get as much as 2s. a day.

The sorting of coal entails practically no physical exertion, but the work of the bankswomen and pit brow lassies necessitates great muscular strength and power of endurance. Both of these things they possess in abundant measure. Indeed, when one sees them working side by side with men, they appear almost stronger than the men. They are many of them splendidly made, lithe and graceful, and, including the sorters, for all the coal dust, have clear, fresh complexions. Their rosy cheeks contrast strangely with the wan white faces of their sisters in the neighbouring cotton mills.

From Mill to Pit Brow.

"My father was pleased when I came to work on the pit brow, because it brought me out so," a coal sorter told me a few years ago, there being at the time no talk of prohibiting the work. I asked what he meant by "brought me out," and he said that since coming to the pit she had felt and looked stronger and brighter than before. I asked whether previous employment had been. She replied domestic service.

A young woman who formed part of the deputation to Mr. Masterman last Friday told me that she had at one time worked in a cotton factory, and was then constantly in the doctor's hands, but that during five years on the pit brow she had had nothing. She had asked who was to blame for the mill, but as she was delicate the doctor had said "I should try and get her to the pit."

But, indeed, one cannot spend any time amongst the pit brow lassies without hearing stories of this kind. I will not give more of them, but will add a word of personal experience. For some time I was engaged in making a series of sketches of women at work in various trades. When, in order to make these sketches, I went for some weeks to a boot factory, I suffered from almost constant headache, owing to the heat and noise of the machines. When I went into a Glasgow cotton spinning mill I fainted after one

hour in the "mule spinning" room, and was literally unable to work in the "ring spinning" room, where I was pained to see numbers of poor little half-timers—tiny, stunted creatures all of them, and a large proportion with bony legs and a curvature of the spine. When I went into the dipping house of a pottery, I fainted during the first morning, and all the time I was going there continually felt a sensation of pressure and discomfort in the ears and throat, and a desire to swallow and to draw saliva into the mouth, and had after a time the nasty sweet taste of which the lead workers complain. In all these places I was struck by the leaden pallor of the workers.

When I went to the pit brow of a Wigan colliery my face was blackened like the faces of the workers, but that did me no harm, and I was perfectly well all the time that I was there. Certainly the work is not what many of us would choose, and the wages are lower than they should be, but one must regard it in comparison with the other trades that are open to women. One must remember, too, that there is no hardship so great, and no temptation so strong, as that of being without work and without means.

Amongst the reasons why the women themselves prefer the work on the pit brow to that in a factory is that in the factories the silent system is usually enforced, whilst there is considerable freedom at the pit, and the lassies laugh and call to each other as they pull the tubs about.

The Duties of the Authorities.

Those who desire to abolish the employment of women on the pit brow contend amongst other things, that the work is carried on in cold and exposed places. Those who wish to retain the women assert that the buildings erected on the brow of the pit are well warmed and ventilated.

In any case, it is quite certain that those who work in the open air, even under conditions of some hardship, are always stronger and healthier than those employed in heated factories. Too much air is always better than too little. But the fact of the matter is that the conditions vary. I have been to collieries where the sorting, &c., took place under conditions admitting of warmth in winter and freshness in summer. At the same time, I know an exposed platform walled in on one side only—roofed overhead, it is true, but open on three sides to all the elements. I have seen the rain sweep across it and drench the women sorters again and again.

As however it has been proved, by their existence in certain collieries, that shelter and warmth for the workers on the pit-brow can be provided, and as the Factory Acts and factory inspectors are there to secure that they shall be provided in every case, it is unquestionably already the duty of all concerned to see that this is done. To put the law into force by bringing into being the least satisfactory collieries with those that are well planned and well managed, and thus to secure proper conditions for all the workers, men and women alike, is surely the right course to take, especially when Parliament has always the power to make the amendments to the existing Acts which changing circumstances may render necessary.

But the chief reason for objecting to the attempt to prohibit the employment of women on the pit brow is that the women themselves, who are fully developed adult human beings, wish to continue the work, and resent this officious and interested tampering with their liberty.

Twenty years ago a similar attempt was made to wrench their livelihood from them. The women then protested loudly, numbers of indignation meetings were held, and a deputation of workers in costume went up to the House of Commons to voice their own claims. It is much to be regretted that on last Friday's deputation, organised not by the women themselves, the women who formed a part of it were there merely as a show and were not allowed to speak. "Why shouldn't we have something to say?" some of them asked.

No Political Power.

Perhaps the saddest aspect of the situation is that the women whose trade is threatened have no shred of political power and little influence. They are allowed no voice in the decision of their fate. The real fight lies between the colliery owners, who wish to retain the cheap labour of women on the one hand, and on the other those who wish to gain power and popularity by snatching more work from the women themselves, the women who formed a part of it (the fact that the under-payment of women tends to bring down wages being their sole shadow of excuse), backed up by their responsible landlords and sentimentalists who wish to treat women as though they were children.

For many years a few isolated men, justly-minded enough to desire equal treatment and opportunities for men and women, have raised their protests in such crises. They have been as voices crying in the wilderness, but now the day of change is at hand, and already the organised forces of women battling for the fullest political freedom, have the power to render it increasingly difficult for the Legislature to deal unjustly towards their sisters—Yours, &c.

Sylvia Pankhurst.

Linden Gardens, Bayswater, W.

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

One man who puts principle before party is Colonel Hanna, author of "The Second Afghan War," who has just resigned from the Presidency of the East Hans Liberal and Labour Association with great regret, because, as he writes to the local paper, "I could not support a candidate who was inimical to the political emancipation of women, because such emancipation, is, in my opinion, a measure of justice long overdue."

A Bill to make women eligible for election to County and Borough Councils and to act as councillors and aldermen in Ireland on the same terms as men, has passed through its Committee Stage in the House of Commons.

The first annual report of the Greenwith, Deptford and Woolwich W.S.P.U., just issued, shows a record of a great deal of very valuable propaganda undertaken and successfully carried through. A sum of £76 has been raised locally during the year.

Owing to the Carmen's Strike it has been impossible to obtain the usual supply of paper for printing "Votes for Women," which therefore appears on a tinted paper this week.

THE INSURANCE BILL.

An actuary, in the course of two very able articles in the Times on Thursday and Friday last week, criticised very severely the Insurance Bill. In the course of his first article he says:—

"There is no help for the widow or for the orphan, for a right of re-entrance restricted to those widows who are sufficiently young and unencumbered to obtain 'employed' work, and charged entirely upon the funds of the women's societies or branches, is no benefit at all. It is not enough to extend it to those who maintain themselves and their children by charring, washing, sewing, taking in lodgers, &c.; to give it substance and value its cost must be covered either by direct grant or by those in whose unpaid service the insurances of the women have lapsed."

The Poverty of its Results.

What it does promise for the contribution of 4d. a week, increased to 9d. by the employers and the State, is an insurance following very closely upon the existing lines, and covering about half the benefits which 9d. a week will now procure in one of the best societies.

Its own estimates place the value of this insurance at about 6d. a week (Actuarial Report, Table 8, page 23), but, according to the standard of the best and most solvent friendly societies, it is worth about 4d. (i.e., with premiums paid from like age and with benefits cut short at 70). That this is the fact is patent to all and any who take the trouble to make the comparison.

How the Help is Wasted.

What becomes of the other 4d.? Can it be that this help of 5d. a week is only going to be effective to the extent of one halfpenny? Surely this small sum is the guaranteed minimum and utterly different from that which the scheme will actually provide. It is only after long and very careful study of this very complicated and indefinite scheme that clear answers can be given to these natural questions.

As far as the poor, the weak, and those who most need the insurance are concerned, the benefits will never exceed the 4d. level which is promised in the Bill, and in many cases they will fall far short of it by operation of Clause 31.

The allowances actually realised in the weakest societies, which provide for those whom all stronger associations have refused, will not be more than half as valuable as the promise held out. The additional allowances will only increase in the scale of allowances will only be realised by the better paid, stronger, and more profitable insurers who succeed in entering one of the more exclusive societies. In the strongest societies (i.e., the most exclusive) these additional allowances will be very great, eventually doubling and more than doubling the value of the original promise.

He enumerates other causes of loss of benefit, and proceeds:—
The most fatal and far-reaching defect in the scheme undoubtedly that it discards the great principle of general mutual insurance, and sets up in its place a keen, self-seeking competition, and places a premium on the discovery and exclusion of the weak. Instead of binding the bonds of brotherhood and comradeship more firmly, this scheme gives to the man who finds himself able to transfer to the State and more exclusive society the greatest inducement to desert his comrades.

In his second article he discusses disablement benefit, and shows that the promises in the Bill on this score are illusory. That the Bill does not do what is supposed, that it does not, as the German Bill does, provide disablement benefit for those unable to earn their own living, but only for those who are totally incapacitated from earning a single shilling.

A WOMAN'S PROTEST.

A meeting of the Women Foresters' Federation was held in St. Paul's Institute, on Monday last, for the consideration of the National Insurance Bill. The criticisms of the Bill by Mrs. W. S. Bennett, of London, as reported in the Manchester Guardian, are so much to the point that we give them below. Mrs. Bennett said that the fact of a woman being a member of a friendly society did not remove the compulsion to join the State scheme. All persons who could obtain admission to an approved society should do so.

Post Office Contributors.

Those who by reason of ill-health or otherwise could not obtain such admission must become Post Office contributors, and for these the benefits were practically limited to the amount of their contributions and interest. A woman who did not go out to work was not included in the scheme, because it was said she had no employer, and a woman who had been contributing under the scheme whilst she was single had to cease her contributions and was not entitled in her own right to benefit upon marriage unless she went out to work. True, as a wife she remained entitled to the maternity benefit, but only by virtue of her husband's contributions. Hence were to be her mind some of the greatest blots on the Bill. When a girl was young and at work and probably in good health she had to pay her contributions; if she got married and did not go out to work she was no longer entitled to any benefits except that if she became a widow and went out to work she might resume her membership. She was not even allowed to continue her membership if willing to pay the contributions, because of the difficulty of checking malpractice, and because the majority of families could

not afford the 10d. a week to insure both husband and wife.

The Domestic Worker.

But in a Bill the very title of which was "to provide against loss of health and for the prevention and cure of sickness" some provision ought to be made for those two classes of women who were now outside its scope—viz., wives and casual workers. One of the most terrible trials to a young married couple was the fear of doctor's bills, and she maintained that a wife working at home for the comfort and welfare of her husband and family was as much a worker as a producer of the national wealth as one who went out to work for wages, and so possibly neglected her home and family. Such a wife could not claim—if she became ill—any of the benefits of the Bill, except maternity; no doctor, and no medicine, if she might employ someone to do her household work and so get well quicker. If the aim of the Bill was to cure sickness, then these amendments to the Bill had been made so that a wife who went out to work, and so had to pay contributions, should receive four weeks' sick pay in maternity in her own right in addition to the 30s. allowed in right of her husband's contributions.

Not Good for the Nation.

Their efforts ought not to stop there. Every woman should have the right to medical attendance when sick and certainly to sanatorium treatment. If they were to be the question from the lowest possible point, viz., that of commercialism, it could not be a good thing for the nation that a consumptive wife should be compelled to stay at home, struggling as long as she could with her work, and so gradually communicating the disease to her husband, her children, and her neighbours. Surely no one would contend that this terrible scourge was going to be stamped out by the treatment of males only. In fairness, however, it must be said that the Bill did provide that when an approved society had an actuarial surplus this might be used to give to the members additional benefits. These additional benefits might or might not include doctor for a wife and children or give them sanatorium treatment, but the realisation of these was very remote.

"Absolute Robbery."

Another injustice in the Bill was that while a person was compelled to have the contributions deducted, no sick benefits were to be paid if the employer provided that person with board and lodging. To compel these to pay 3d. a week contribution for a benefit they could never hope to receive was a thing she was unable to find words adequately to describe.

Another injustice in the Bill was that while a person was compelled to have the contributions deducted, no sick benefits were to be paid if the employer provided that person with board and lodging. To compel these to pay 3d. a week contribution for a benefit they could never hope to receive was a thing she was unable to find words adequately to describe. Absolute robbery was the nearest approach to description of which she was capable. So palpable was this injustice to women that she was in hope before the Bill left the Committee this week to be remedied. Their efforts should be concentrated on obtaining such amendments to the Bill as would give justice and fair play to women, and particularly to provide for medical benefits during maternity, and power to married women to become voluntary contributors. All married women should have the right to medical and sanatorium benefits. Single women upon marriage should have the choice of either receiving in cash the surrender value of their past contributions or of continuing their membership for some or all the benefits under the Bill. Upon the Insurance Commissioners, the Health and Advisory Committee, there should be a fair representation of women. She deeply regretted that there should be any interference with their noble work, for it would do away with the sympathy and benevolence of the Order, of which they had hitherto been so justly proud.

MR. ASTOR, M.P.

Mr. Waldorf Astor, M.P., at a meeting on Saturday evening at the Plymouth East End Constitutional Club, said that he honestly confessed that the Insurance Bill had quite convinced him that women ought to have votes. They were most unfairly treated, and if they had votes they would have been treated in the same way as men. A woman who paid her 3d. a week benefit, whereas in some cases man might only pay 2d. a week and would receive 10s. That did not seem either business or fair play. Then again a woman was compelled to be insured while she was young and healthy, but when she married she was to get no benefit unless she worked in a factory or somewhere else. They realised that women's real work was in the home rearing a family; and if she had been compelled to provide for herself, the Royal Albert Hotel, and a factory, she would have to forfeit all her contributions when she became a wife and a mother.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE ON THE BILL.

To the deputation organised by the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland on July 27, Mr. George replied that he had some of the greatest blots on the Bill. When a girl was young and at work and probably in good health she had to pay her contributions; if she got married and did not go out to work she was no longer entitled to any benefits except that if she became a widow and went out to work she might resume her membership. She was not even allowed to continue her membership if willing to pay the contributions, because of the difficulty of checking malpractice, and because the majority of families could

MISS MALECKA.

Is the Foreign Office going to abandon its claim that Miss Malecka is a British subject? That is the question which Mr. Morrell, M.P. for Burnley, put to Sir Edward Grey in the House of Commons on Tuesday. All that the Foreign Secretary would say in reply to a similar question from Mr. Morrell, M.P. was that Sir G. Parker and Sir W. Byles, was that the Russian Government had put forward a very strong case that Miss Malecka is a Russian subject in Russia. As Mr. Morrell reminded Sir Edward Grey, Miss Malecka has now been 18 weeks in prison, and the only charge formulated against her appears to be that her arrest was "the outcome of her political relations with the Polish Socialist party."

THE W.S.P.U. CALENDAR.

Mrs. Tuke sincerely thanks all who have so generously responded to her appeal for suitable quotations for a special W.S.P.U. Block Calendar, which will be on sale as usual later on in the year. In order that the quotations may be as original as possible, a very large number is needed to select from, and Mrs. Tuke will give to have still more sent in before the 21st of this month. If possible, the author's name should be given.

THE CASE OF MABEL BLACKMORE.

Owing to the indefatigable energy and untiring zeal of Sister Wray, of Swansea, the life of an unhappy girl has been saved. While guilty of the crime of infanticide, this girl, Mabel Blackmore, was looked upon as the victim of a disastrous state of affairs. The mother of an illegitimate child she was herself a handicapped person, and as such, was handicapped from the very start. She committed the crime in desperation, finding herself deserted and alone. Petitions were sent to the Home Office (in Swansea alone one petition contained 22,000 signatures), and a reprieve was secured. Referring to the case when addressing a meeting at Llandrindod, Mrs. Pankhurst said that it was hearing of a tragedy similar to that of Mabel Blackmore which had changed her from a peaceful to a militant suffragette.

A STRAW.

The new constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina has accorded women property owners the right to vote—at least, by proxy. This achievement, though seemingly unimportant, remarks the *Woman's Journal*, "becomes a very significant straw, which unmistakably shows the way the wind is blowing in this twentieth century."

THE BILL.

The Newcastle W.S.P.U. organiser, Miss Laura Ainsworth, has been invited by the Gateshead Liberal Association to speak on the Conciliation Bill.

ASSOCIATION FOR THE WORK OF FEMININE PROPAGANDA.

The general meeting of the above association was held in Lisbon on Thursday, July 21st. Resolutions passed: (1) To form groups for propaganda work, not only feminist, but also patriotic, for the provinces and the north of Portugal. (2) To obtain permission from the Municipal Chamber to form a School of Floriculture for Women. The association also desires to petition the Government to suppress the begging of children, and wishes for an inquiry into the condition of the women workers of the Post Office. The association desires to establish a definite mother house, and a course of civil education for women. A conference on propaganda will be held as soon possible. Among those present at the meeting was Senhora Donna Guilhermina Battaglia Ramos, widow of the great poet, Godeo de Deus.

ON METHODS.

We have always realised that however much they might condemn militant methods when used by women, men of all parties are entirely persuaded that they are entitled to use them when the cause of constitutional liberty is at stake. The recent discussions, both in Parliament and elsewhere, on the subject of the Constitutional Crisis and the political methods to be used in connection with it, have once again proved that the men of this country are to-day, as they always have been, in favour of militant methods when in their opinion peaceful methods have failed. This is a subject to which we shall have occasion to revert at some future time. Another outstanding feature of the recent Parliamentary debates is Mr. Churchill's declaration that

"The Government will not tolerate any longer the continuance of a system whereby the larger proportion of the electorate (that portion which holds Liberal views) is permanently relegated to a status of political inferiority... a status which permanently deprives them, even when they have a majority in the House, of any constitutional means of obtaining redress for grievances under which they have suffered so long. We hope that the conditions may be taken to mean that the continuance of the Government where constitutional injustice is concerned is now so sensitive that they will also refuse any longer to tolerate the political inferiority of that other section of the community, namely, the women, who, being voteless, are deprived of any constitutional means of obtaining redress for their grievances, and that they are determined to see the Conciliation Bill carried into law no later than next year."

THE HOME SECRETARY QUESTIONED.

As we went to press Mr. Rupert Gwynne, M.P. for Eastbourne, had given notice that on Thursday, August 10, he would ask the following question:—

"Whether an application was made to him (the Home Secretary) to receive a deputation from women workers at the pit-brow in connection with the Coal Mines Bill, and whether before receiving such deputation, or hearing any evidence on behalf of women workers on the subject, an amendment was passed in Committee excluding all women and girls other than those employed on or before the first day of January, 1911, from employment above ground or under ground."

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN.

In the course of a leading article on Thursday, August 3, the *Manchester Guardian* said:—"The main argument for the prohibition, if analysed, comes to very little more than this, that measures being employed in the hard and perhaps unpleasant work of separating the stone from the coal. As far as that goes, the sentiment is or ought to be offended at the thought of domestic servants going upstairs from cellar to drawing-room with great buckets of coal. But sentiment is a very unsafe guide where other people's livelihood is concerned. It is a very serious matter, as things are, to close to women any respectable employment. After all, it is not male sentiment that should count, but the instructed opinion of women themselves. It would be juster to wait until women have a voice in shaping legislation before closing any honest employments to them. We hope it may be taken for granted that this absurd attempt at grandmotherly legislation will be defeated at a later stage of the Bill."

A WOMAN ASTRONOMER.

In a short account of the life of Mrs. Williamina Fleming of the Harvard Observatory, who died recently, the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) points out that like her famous predecessor, Maria Mitchell, Mrs. Fleming was a Suffragist. This distinguished woman astronomer, while carrying on her work at the Observatory, also found time to keep up many new stars, was, in 1909, the first to detect the coming of Halley's comet.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The weekly free meetings which have been discontinued for the summer recess, will be resumed on the first Monday in October.

Albert Hall Meeting, November 16.

Members of the Women's Social and Political Union are asked to make it widely known that Mr. Ellis Griffith, M.P., the Leader of the Welsh Party, who has already given splendid help to the Women's Suffrage movement, has kindly consented to speak at the great meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, on Thursday, November 16. Tickets can now be had by members of the W.S.P.U. for themselves and their friends from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices:—Stalls, 2s. 6d.; Arona-blocks A and F, 2s.; Block B, C, D, E, L, 1s. Balcony—first two rows, 1s. other rows, 6d.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s. and 12s. 6d.

Miss Goldstein's Meetings.

Miss Vidin Goldstein is addressing a series of seaside meetings, commencing on August 11. The dates are:—
Friday, August 11.—Gorleston-on-Sea, Ferrydoe, 8 p.m.
Saturday, August 12.—Scarborough, Mechanic's Institute, 8 p.m.
Wednesday, August 23.—Rhyd.
Thursday, August 24.—Llandudno.
Friday, August 25.—Llanfairfechan.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Scottish Tour.

We hope all friends in Scotland will rally round the purple, white and green flag and make the following meetings known:—

- Keswick Aug. 15
- Wemyss Bay " 17
- Helensburgh " 18
- Carnoustie " 21
- St. Andrews " 23
- Blairgowrie " 24
- Pitlochry " 26
- Kingussie " 28
- Grantown " 29
- Forres Sept. 1
- Fraserburgh " 5
- Peterhead " 6
- Ballater " 8
- Dun Echt " 9

There will be further meetings after September 9, but of these the dates have not yet been fixed. It is hoped that all members and friends in or near the above centres will do their best to advertise the meetings, and that they will help by giving hospitality or by contributing to the "Scottish Tour Fund." All information, offers of help, and contributions should be addressed to Miss Una S. Dugdale, Gordon Lodge, Aboyne, N.B.

THE CASE OF THE PIT-BROW WOMEN.

Mr. Masterman Admits the Necessity of Votes for Women.

On Wednesday last a Committee of the House of Commons sat to consider the Coal Mines Bill. On the face of it this fact might seem to have little interest for women. But what happened at that Committee Session is but another instance of the need for woman never to relax their vigilance. In discussing the question of labour in the coal mines, 15 of the members of Committee managed to carry by a majority of two an amendment to close to women and girls the employment at the pit-head, in which over 5,000 women are now engaged in the country. It seems to have occurred to some of those in the minority that such a step was hardly fair. The amendment however, was passed. Yet the next day, to a deputation of the actual women workers, Mr. Masterman was obliged to admit that a strong case had been made out for giving women the Parliamentary vote.

IN COMMITTEE.

Sir A. B. Markham moved the amendment that after January 1 next the employment of girls and women at the pits be prohibited, though the amendment was not to apply to those who were now so employed. There were, he said, 6,188 women employed at the pit-heads throughout the country, and of these 2,000

women ought to count in the matter, and the women concerned were against being deprived of this occupation.

Mr. S. Walsh pointed out that the district where these women were employed in Lancashire was almost wholly a mining district, and there were no factories for the women to be sent to if they were deprived of this occupation. The occupation was honourable, moral, safe, and the women concerned desired to follow it.

On a division the amendment was carried by 15 votes to 13.

THE DEPUTATION.

In VOTES FOR WOMEN last week we drew attention to the proposed deputation of pit-brow women to the Home Secretary. Almost as we wrote the words the deputation was on its way to Westminster to protest against this automatic interference with their affairs, an interference which is, as we pointed out last week, a very striking illustration of the need for votes for women.

The deputation, consisting of 45 pit-brow girls and women, was selected from the various collieries in Ince, Hindley, Aspull, and other parts of the Wigan district. The party was in charge of the Mayor and Mayoress of Wigan (Alderman Sam Wood and Mrs. Wood), and also accompanying them were the Rev. T. B. Twemlow, the vicar of Abram, and Mr. John Knowles, general manager of the

to abandon them in favour of the pit-brow. He denied that the girls were called upon to lift large lumps of coal, and added that the work expected of them was not half so strenuous as that of the housemaid who has to carry bundles of coal up two or three flights of stairs. A good deal, he said, was heard about Suffragists, but why should men come there and say that certain work should not be done by women? Why should the men say that? (Hear, hear.) They did not want to impose upon the women or interfere, unless there was something in which they could not take care of themselves.

Ought not to Limit Women's Work.

Mr. Walsh thought the appearance of the women present spoke for itself. He could assure Mr. Masterman that his knowledge of the work, extending over 30 years, was that it had grown lighter and lighter as years had gone by. They had now got rid of the old screens and used belts instead of the diagonals, which caused a good deal of dust. The present deputation was typical of the rest of the girls employed in the industry. There had been no unfair selection. The women's point of view ought to be considered. It was not the fact that the women engaged in that particular class of labour could easily find other work to do in the area in which they lived. In the district outside Wigan there was a population of 7,000 to

in the Wigan coalfield. Messrs. T. and P. Angion, physicians and surgeons of Wigan for the last 25 years, have been medical officers of the sickness and accident clubs in connection with the collieries of Messrs. Crompton and Shawcross, Limited, of Sowerby and Co., Limited, the Hindley Field Coal Company, and several others where at least 250 girls and women have been regularly employed. During the 25 years in question they have not been called upon to deal with any case of hernia, strain, internal trouble of any kind affecting the bladder, bowels, womb, or other internal organs, arising from the work of a pit-brow girl, nor have they ever heard of such a case. I went further than that. I consulted the matron of the Royal Albert Edward Infirmary, Wigan, which has been open 38 years, and which receives outdoor and indoor patients from a radius of seven miles round Wigan, and during Miss McIntyre's 21 years' service as matron she does not remember a single case of this character being treated either in the institution or in the out-patient department.

The work has been proved by a long period of years to be quite suitable for women, to be in no way detrimental to their health or un-derstandable to their physical capabilities. The women like the work, and view the prospect of being prevented from this employment with great alarm. It has been proved to be healthy and respectable. Those engaged in it will compare favourably with the women workers in any trade or walk of life. Their moral character will bear as keen an investigation as that of any other class of women in the land. Their social and home life and work would be creditable to a class more fortunately situated. The absolute necessity that prevails that they should earn their own living, and the fact that there are not too many suitable occupations open to women, calls for serious thought and consideration before any decisive step is taken to limit their sphere of work.

The Mayor referred to the mass meeting in Wigan on Monday in last week, held at a few hours' notice, when over 2,000 girls and relatives attended and entered their protest against the proposed alteration, and unanimously passed a resolution respectfully asking H.M.'s Government to protect them from this attack, to secure them against this unwarranted and unnecessary interference with the rights of a respectable body of women, who only ask to be allowed to earn their living in an honest, healthy manner and for the assistance of their dependents, as they have been wont to do for many years.

Mr. Masterman's Reply.

Mr. Masterman, replying to the deputation, expressed the pleasure it afforded him to receive a deputation such as that—a deputation, if he might say so, much more attractive than some they received there. He had the pleasure himself of visiting around Wigan some of the mines last November and also some of the factories, and although it was only a superficial view which he had, he came to the same conclusion as the gentleman who had just spoken—that the work at the pit-brow did not tend to degrade the morals of the girls. If he had to choose between the two he would rather choose the work at the pit-brow than that in the factory. (Loud applause.)

He only regretted that the deputation had not come earlier. Yesterday the Committee dealing with the Coal Mines Bill carried a clause saying that although nothing should affect the present workers, in the future female workers should not be allowed at the pit-brow. It was only fair for him to tell them that in the discussion, which lasted for some time and engendered a little heat in that room, no one, whichever side he voted, suggested one word against the morals of the girls. (Hear, hear.)

He found, as he said yesterday, that the chief impression of the argument left on his mind was the necessity of Votes for Women, because the question before them seemed essentially to be one for women themselves to decide. And when he found that the Miners' Federation, all the members of which except Mr. Walsh, their Member, opposed the employment of women, the strength of that opposition was very greatly weakened in his mind when not one woman had a vote on the Federation. He thought the position was unanswerable. If you have an occupation for women which is acknowledged not to be unhealthy, not to be dangerous, and not to be immoral, a man's Parliament, elected by men, has no right to prohibit women from that occupation.

Whatever regulations might be imposed for the protection of the women in that work (and he thought there were several where such regulations were desirable), the Government had been defeated in committee, and nothing could be done in committee at the present time. Mr. Churchill, however, had authorised him to say that although he could not say himself, so far as the Government was concerned they would attempt to oppose the amendment which had been carried—(loud applause)—although they might advise the House of Commons to propose certain regulations. The best advice that he could give to them was that between now and when the discussion came on in Parliament, which might not be for some months, they should convince not only their own members but all other members of Parliament, that the Government's action was the right action, and that the arguments done to see them as he had seen them in, unanswerable.

The deputation then withdrew.



PIT-BROW WOMEN ON THEIR WAY TO THE HOME OFFICE LAST THURSDAY.

(Typical Press.)

were in Scotland. The work was arduous, included the pushing of heavy trucks, and was wholly unfit for women.

Mr. Harmond Banner suggested the postponement of the discussion until the Home Secretary had seen a deputation of pit girls whom the Mayor of Wigan was bringing to London the following day. The work done by the women was neither too arduous nor unhealthy.

Sir Frederick Banbury argued that if the Committee said women were not to work above ground at the pits, though the conditions of their employment were healthy and they were anxious to continue it, there would be a great justification for the claim that women ought to be allowed to have a voice in the framing of the laws that regulated their employment. The women worked eight or nine hours a day, except on Saturdays; they had an hour to an hour and a half allowed for meals; and they earned from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 3d. for a full day. They were employed on high covered platforms, with more ventilation than was available in ordinary workshops, and their duty was to remove small stones from the coal as it came up from the pit mouth.

Mr. Masterman said he had given some consideration to the matter, and he was sorry that the hon. baronet had thought it necessary to move the amendment. Neither safety nor health was involved in the proposal. These pit-head women were healthier than women in other occupations as far as statistics could prove that fact, and there was no proportion of accidents amongst them. Last October he was in Lancashire and saw the women at the pit-brow in their working clothes. Later he went on to some of the factories. He had no doubt that the pit-head work was healthier. The women were stronger physically; they worked fewer hours and for higher wages than were to be found in the factories. The opinion of the

Pearson and Knowles collieries. The party were joined later in the day by Dr. Cooke, of Aspull and Haigh. The girls were mostly under 25 years of age. "No stranger," says the *Manchester Guardian*, "would suspect that they worked at or near a coal mine, and, from a physical point of view, they looked much better than the average factory and indoor worker."

The party was quartered in three hotels in the neighbourhood of Charing Cross, and met later in the afternoon at the Home Office. As they marched there along the Embankment in their shawls, aprons, and cloaks they caused something of a sensation. In one of the Grand Committee-rooms they interviewed Mr. Masterman, Under Secretary of the Home Department. Mr. Churchill looked in for a few minutes. Among others present were Mr. Harmond Banner, M.P., who introduced the girls to Mr. Masterman; Mr. Neville, M.P.; Mr. Stephen Walsh, M.P.; Mr. Gathorne Hardy, M.P.; Mr. W. Adamson, M.P.; Mr. J. Wadsworth, M.P.; Mr. J. E. Sutton, M.P.; and Sir A. B. Markham, M.P., against whose amendment the girls were demonstrating.

Not so Hard as Housemaids' Work. Mr. Harmond Banner, M.P., said that it was a little late in the day for the deputation after the discussion which had taken place the previous day, but in time he hoped to secure the reconsideration of a great question which affected the girls interested as well as the employers. (Hear, hear.) They had a very full discussion the previous day. There was nothing regarding the safety of the mines. The only question was whether that was a fit and proper occupation for women, and whether it was one which they ought to be allowed to follow. He had many instances to show that the work was most healthy; in fact, medical men had advised girls employed in mills and factories

the square mile, the most dense population in the world. The occupations were very limited to which the women could turn. He pointed out that they were legislating not only for to-day but also for the future, and they ought not to put a limit on the occupations to which women in that area could turn. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Neville said pit-brow girls were generally more capable physically and mentally than indoor female workers. He had always noticed that they were always in the best of spirits, and chattered light heartily with each other. He defied anyone in England to find finer figures than could be seen at the pit-brow.

The Mayor of Wigan said: The mover of the amendment prohibiting the employment of women on the pit-brows is reported to have stated that as only 5,000 women workers in the United Kingdom will be affected by the change, the matter is of no great importance. Surely, sir, any movement which will eventually displace so many workers and close an avenue which provides suitable and healthy work for 5,000 women calls for more serious consideration than this. I have resided in Wigan all my life, and been intimately associated with colliery workers during the last 25 years. I can, therefore, claim to have some personal knowledge of the case which we are pleading to-day.

No Physical Ill-effects.

The Mayor then gave a description of the work, for details of which readers are referred to Miss Sylvia Paankhurst's letter on p. 730. He proceeded:—

As to the suggestion of strain or setting up of internal trouble, I have been at some pains to ascertain the opinion of medical men; and Dr. Cooke, of Aspull and Haigh, is here to give you the benefit of his personal experience, which has extended over a period of 30 years

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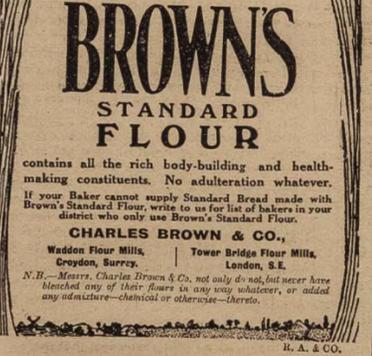
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SOME LEARNED WOMEN LITTLE KNOWN.

In "Woman under Monasticism" Miss Eckenstein unfolds for us a wonderful panorama of learned women in the early and middle ages. It is a panorama absolutely engrossing—a book one cannot put down. In it we find—along with familiar characters, such as Hilda of Whitby, Ethelreda of Ely, Margaret of Scotland, Elizabeth of Hungary, Clara of Assisi, and others—a crowd of wonderful women. One thinks with pride of womanhood, and feels the same great motives stirred the actions of these abbesses, prioresses, and nuns, and caused them to pursue knowledge and wisdom, and to maintain as strong and steadfast courage of their convictions as is maintained to-day in the "Woman's Movement"—actions for political purposes where political reforms were needed, for moral and humane advancement and justice. We thank Miss Eckenstein for introduction to such women as Eadburg, Lioba, Hrotsvitha, Herrad, Charitas Pirkheimer.

Eadburg was abbess of a monastery in Thanet 720 A.D. "A woman of great abilities—zealous in her pursuit of knowledge." Record of her work is due to the fact she was one of many inmates of women's houses in England who corresponded with Boniface while he was in Germany, who, from his answers to her and other learned women, evidently was a man well appreciative of women's worth. Of her letters none are preserved, but their substance is gathered by his replies; and we are convinced she was a remarkable woman. We find her applied to by him for gifts of books and vestments—requests which she complied with bountifully—and asked to write in "gold letters the Epistles of the Holy Apostle Peter." Eadburg had a reputation for writing; we read of her receiving a present of a "silver style." Writing in gold on purple-coloured parchment was an art learnt from Italy and very uncommon.

But we must for brevity let the panorama be wound past us until we halt again at Hrotsvitha, 832. She was the author of legends, Latin verse, dramas, and historical poems. She is thought to have been acquainted, by means of the library at Gandersheim, with the classical writers, Virgil, Lucretius, Horace, Ovid, Terence and Plautus, and the Christian writers Prudentius, Sedulius, Fortunatus, Marianus, Capella and Boethius. It is supposed she read the Greek authors in Latin translation. Some think she had some knowledge of Greek. There is a long and interesting account of her legends; then we come to a time in her life when

conscious of her powers and a need of her time, filled with admiration for the dramatic powers of classical writers, she set to work to compose a series of plays on the model of Terence.

Yet again the panorama goes gliding past, though one would wish to stay and speak of woman after woman, all the wonders of their works, the embroideresses, Aelfied, Emma, Christina of Mergate, Mathilda of Quenlinburg, 999 A.D., and especially of Agnes, Abbess of Quenlinburg, 1184 A.D. We would wish to stay and shout our indignation at certain rules and restraints drawn up by Norbert of France and Gilbert of Sempringham, by which men under the pretext of helping and encouraging women in the convent life undoubtedly cramped their freedom and stunted their intellectual development. And how unjust to women was Gilbert! Read the story of the nun of Watton—a Gilbertine settlement—and the lay brother with whom she transgressed and disgraced the convent. The lay brother's cruel fate was accidental at the hands of her irate fellow nuns. Hers, barbarous as it sounds to us, was praised by the abbot under whom the convent was. Our historian tells us:—

"For trespasses such as hers the rule of Gilbert decreed life-long incarceration, . . . but the Canon, for a like trespass, suffered no punishment beyond being expelled from the settlement."

We pass over Margaret of Scotland, beloved of her people; Hildegard of Bingen and her medical study, 1098 A.D.; Elizabeth of Hungary, 1120. Then comes Saxony again with its painter nun, Elizabeth; Mechthild, who wrote prayers, meditations, and spiritual visions; and of Herrad of Hohenburg and her encyclopaedic work, the "Garden of Delights." One is never weary of picturing this woman in her convent on a "shelt," as it were, of the Vosges Mountains, which rise there 2,600 feet above the Rhine.

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We pass by the period of the dissolution. We see our historian remark: "That wherever property of women was appropriated it was appropriated to the use of men."

Some words of Miss Eckenstein's concluding chapter must be given in full:—

"The career open to the inmates of convents in England and on the Continent was greater than any other ever thrown open to women in the course of modern European history; abilities might raise a nun to the rank of abbess, a position of substan-

tial authority. . . . In Saxony it fell to an abbess to act as representative of the Emperor during his absence. As independent landowners, who held their property of and from King and Emperor, the abbesses took rank with the lords temporal and spiritual in the right of jurisdiction which they exercised, and in the right of being represented in Parliament or at the Imperial Diet as the case might be. While fulfilling the duties which devolved on them in virtue of their station, abbesses did not neglect their opportunities of keeping in touch with culture and of widening their mental horizon. In Anglo-Saxon England many who attained to distinction received their training in settlements governed by and drafted under the auspices of Saxon abbesses. . . . It is in those countries where the change in social conditions has been most complete, where women for a time entirely forfeited all the advantages which a higher education brings, and which were secured in so great a measure to women by convents in the past, that the modern movement for women's education has arisen.

Elinor Postlethwaite.

THE WISDOM OF THE EAST.

Buddhism, one of the most profound and spiritual of Eastern religions, possesses qualities so striking and a literature so poetical that no attempt to treat of it can fail to be of interest. One of the latest to deal with the subject is Miss Sophia Egroff, who shows insight into and great enthusiasm for the beauties of Buddha's teachings. Her book, which was originally published in French, has been, we understand, translated into English by Miss Egroff herself. It is a pity that the work of translation was not left in more experienced hands, for Miss Egroff does not possess sufficient mastery of English idiom to obtain the best result from her material; nevertheless, the book has a quaint charm of its own. Copies can be obtained at Henderson's, 66, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

THE MASTER OF MRS. CHILVERS.

Suffragists who had not the opportunity of seeing Mr. Jerome's fine suffrage play, "The Master of Mrs. Chilvers," when it was produced in London, will be glad to know that they may now obtain it in book form (T. Fisher Unwin, 2s. 6d. net), and although they have missed the delightful presentation by the excellent company at the Royalty Theatre, they have the advantage of appreciating at their leisure the finer parts of the play, which are sometimes lost in the excitement of watching the acting. The play has already been discussed in our pages; it presents fairly the opinions of average people in real life, but who can doubt the author's genuine understanding of the woman's movement when reading Janet's appeal to the man and woman to fight the election as "two people loving one another, honouring one another;" or Elizabeth's reference when Anny is weakening to the women of sad and degraded lives; or Anny's final speech, "You will let me help you make the world better for our child—and for all the children—and for all the mothers. . . ."

"VARSITY TYPES."

A very amusing little book to take on a holiday has just been published by Heffer and Sons, of Cambridge, and Simpkin, Marshall, of London, price 3s. cloth, 1s. paper. It is called "Varsity Types" and is written by our good friend, Mr. Frank Butler. Its chief merit lies in the fact that it succeeds in conveying that mysterious thing "atmosphere"—the nonchalant atmosphere of the University—to the reader. If it had been written by an outsider it might have been labelled "an unfriendly criticism"; but as the production of a "varsity man" the reader will accept it for what it is intended—a delightful and good-humoured comedy. It is well worth reading.

Next week we shall publish an article by Miss Beatrice Harraden, entitled "Some Recollections of Miss Beale."

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London: Smith, Elder & Co., 15, Waterloo Place S.W. and at all Booksellers and Bookstalls.

NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY. 53, Berners Street, W.

WOMEN SANITARY INSPECTORS, HEALTH VISITORS and LECTURERS

SPECIAL TRAINING LECTURES for LADIES, SEPTEMBER, 1911. For particulars apply to the Secretary, NATIONAL HEALTH SOCIETY, 53, BERNERS STREET, LONDON, W.

THE LAVENDER LAUNDRY, Stratford Road, Acton.

Holiday Season. For the convenience of our Customers during the Holiday Season, we beg to announce that we undertake Orders for washing or cleaning, large or small, by Hand or Post, and pay Return Carriage. Blouses, Dresses, Costumes, & Tennis Flannels promptly returned. Latest Testimonial from a Client: To the Manager, Lavender Laundry.—Please accept thanks for your prompt reply to my postcard. In going abroad at short notice I simply sent a postcard asking you to hold my linen till my return. Now I get everything back again (at the end of six months) beautifully done up, ready to wear. I am sure that manyachelors and flat-occupiers generally would be glad to make use of such a convenience if they knew about it.—Yours, very truly, D. F. C.

CREMATION.

Readers interested in this great sanitary reform who would like to make all arrangements for Cremation at death and cause no trouble or expense to relatives should communicate now with JOHN R. WILDMAN, 14, Marchmont Street (opposite Russell Square Tube Station), London, W.C. Telegrams: "Earthborn" London. Telephone: Central 14713. All communications private and confidential.

OPPOSITE THE BRITISH MUSEUM. THACKERAY HOTEL. Great Russell Street, London.

This large and well-appointed THACKERAY HOTEL has Passenger Lift, Electric Light throughout, Billiards on every floor, Spacious Dining, Drawing, Writing, Reading and Smoking Rooms, Forenoon Floors, Perfect Sanitation, Telephone, Lift, and every modern convenience. Address and Table d'Hôte Breakfast, Single from 1/1 to 8/0 Table d'Hôte Dinner, Six Courses, 2/6. Full Tariff and Testimonials on application. Telegraphic Address: "Thackeray London."

VOTES FOR WOMEN. 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 11, 1911.

WOMEN'S RIGHT TO LIVE.

Because they have not the vote women's right to live is in danger. In the case of women, as of men, the right to live depends upon the right to work, for (apart from pauperism, which is open to persons of either sex) the State will no more maintain a woman who is without means of subsistence than it will maintain a man.

Vast numbers of women in all classes are being forced by necessity to earn a living for themselves and often for others. Coincident with this great inrush of women to the labour market is a dangerous movement to restrict still further their already narrow opportunities of employment. Nothing could be more cruel and more disastrous in its results than this refusal of work to those who must have work if they are to live. The position is described by Lady Aberconway in her pamphlet "Better and Happier" in the following vivid and powerful words:

Working women stand to-day with a sea of destitution all around them; their power to labour is like a little strip of land, on which they crowd together, working with incessant toil for a bare life. And every now and then man's laws sweep away first one bit and then another, while the women crowd closer and work harder. What will become of them? No one knows or cares. More legislation is threatened, which may involve thousands of women in disaster—what wonder that women fall in thousands and win in shame the bread denied to labour!

Nothing can prevent this choking by law of the avenues of women's employment save the enfranchisement of women. Here and there some act of aggression may be temporarily checked without the vote, but in the struggle for existence the strong end by crushing the weak. Under existing conditions men are the strong and women are the weak. This is not due to an inherent incapacity in women. On the contrary, they have qualities of insight, quickness, adaptability, dexterity, persistence, and thoroughness that fit them supremely for professional and industrial life. Their weakness arises from their political powerlessness, and the strength of their competitors comes from the possession of the vote, which gives them a commanding influence over the Legislature and other advantages.

We do not make a wholesale accusation against all men of willfully and consciously advancing their interests at the expense of women, but what we do say is that as a consequence of men's monopoly of political power the women's point of view is not taken into account, and women's interests are not understood or safeguarded.

Sometimes the attack upon women's right to work is made to the disadvantage simply of those women who are married. Sometimes it affects all women, whether married or single.

Let us first deal with the claim that married women shall be forbidden by law to work for wages. It has never yet been suggested that married women shall be relieved also of their unpaid work, for this, as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has lately shown in these columns, would destroy the very foundations of our society which is based so largely upon the unpaid toil of married women. In the light of this fact it is exceedingly difficult for those who oppose wage earning by wives to prove that they do so in the interests of mother, child, and home, and this becomes finally impossible when it is seen that they do nothing to secure that, when she is deprived of the power to earn her own and her children's living, she shall have maintenance from some other source for herself and them. As matters now stand a married woman, unless she can earn money for herself, is in a very helpless and insecure position. She has no right in any definite share of her husband's earnings. If her husband is ill or unemployed she is reduced to beggary, and even under the Insurance Bill there will be available in such cases only a bare pittance, which her husband may or may not share with her. In widowhood she and her children are entirely destitute except for such stunted and humiliating assistance as they may get under the Poor Law.

The exclusion of married women from wage-earning would make the position of widows worse, because as a result every married woman would be sentenced to compulsory abandonment of her calling, and a consequent loss through disuse of the wage-earning power which, in the event of widowhood, is so sorely needed.

When married women are given a definite legal share of their husband's wages; when they are adequately indemnified against the consequences of his invalidity

or unemployment; when honourable and sufficient maintenance is provided for widows and orphans, then, and only then, can the question of closing wage-earning occupations to married women be considered. To make such an attempt in the meantime is a positive crime, and no amount of sentiment or special pleading can conceal the fact.

An instance of the exclusion of all women, whether married or not, from certain trades, is afforded by the present campaign against the employment of women on the pit brow. Here, again, the men who want to monopolise this occupation use sentiment as the cloak for their real motive. They assure us that this work, presumably because men are employed in and about the mines, is injurious to women's morals. If the miners' language and behaviour were so evil as this argument suggests they would be even less fit to be the husbands and fathers of women than to be their co-workers. But as the local clergy and others entitled to speak on this point inform us, it is a gross and unfounded libel upon the men and women concerned. We would ask those who adopt methods so strange of promoting morality how the interests of morality can possibly be advanced by driving women out of an honest trade into other trades overworked to such a point that they cannot hope to find employment?

It is further argued that the health of the pit-brow woman suffers from their occupation. Here again facts speak to the contrary. Medical practitioners declare that the health of these workers is exceptionally good. The reason for this is that they work in the open air, and that the physical effort they have to make, instead of injuring them, develops and strengthens them. The pernicious superstition that bodily inaction and an indoor life though had for men is good for women, has been exploded as far as the women of the upper and middle classes are concerned, but it still persists to the detriment of the women of the working class, and so people prefer that working women shall be employed in stuffy workrooms and hot kitchens instead of in the free air of heaven.

Those who speak with horror of the physical exertion required of pit-brow women and the supposed danger of strain seem to forget that the woman who turns a man's leg, instead of a woman's, is still going on, and is, in substance, a continued attack upon their position—an attack for the enforcement of which new weapons are being forged. The Government is calling upon women to pay more now than they have in the past, and to pay for the maintenance of fresh things which the women have not approved. In that direction, therefore, no truce has been established. In the face of this continued attack are women to lay down the arms they have taken in hand?

Resistance to Injustice. The tax-resisters answer, No. That form of protest against the delay of justice, and against definite daily acts of injustice, will still go on; and though this daily may retain the form of passive resistance, there are tax-resisters who are prepared to make it an active resistance, costing the Government as much or more than the amount exacted by distraint, the moment it becomes evident that the Parliamentary wreckers have destroyed the chances of the Conciliation Bill. And in the face of a recent meeting of Liberal members of Parliament to discuss their attitude toward the Bill, it cannot be said that that danger is non-existent.

Now, members of Parliament are often very stupid, especially those who run their consciences in party grooves, or postpone, like Mr. Lloyd George, the carrying out of their principles to a time when it will best suit the party game and their own personal ambitions; and these members of Parliament, if they can interpret the truce as a general consent of women, temporarily secured, to be unjustly and unrepresentatively governed will be quite ready to take advantage of it for the further postponement of unwelcome claims. "If," they may say, "these women will consent to another year of unrepresented tax-paying in return for the hope held out by Government facilities, they may be persuaded to put up with a few more years' waiting to suit the book of Mr. Lloyd George." The wish will father the thought—if women give it the chance—and "facilities" will become the new device for the engineering of further postponements. For these politicians seem only able to calculate on outward and visible signs; inward and spiritual grace lies outside their philosophy, and any grace done them in a temporary acquiescence of women who trusted to their honesty of purpose would assuredly be grace thrown away. It is necessary, therefore, that these clerks of the weather-cock should be made to see clearly in what direction the wind is going to blow; and the women tax-resisters are determined to set before the eyes of these politicians and their constituents the constantly accumulating debt to women which is brought about by delay.

In this connection we have abundant signs that the Executive greatly dislikes proceeding to extremities with women tax-resisters, for at every stage tax-resistance scores a point; it is expensive to the Government, reducing its profits, and taking up the time of its officials, and it asserts the principles of our movement in many localities where Suffrage organisations do not yet exist, and does so in a form of protest so easily understood by the man in the street that sympathy is invariably aroused. More than that, it has the verdict of history on its side, for it brings forward names and

Christabel Pankhurst.

NO TRUCE TO TAX-RESISTANCE.

By Laurence Housman.

It cannot be too clearly understood that a truce is not a signal for the laying down of arms, nor does it involve the giving up of any position already occupied. In one relation, and in one relation alone, Militant Suffragists have agreed to hold their hands. The anti-Government policy was adopted because the Government of the day set up the barrier of its power and authority before a Woman's Suffrage Bill and the time of the House of Commons. The Government has now withdrawn that barrier and has yielded our claim; and so attack, at by-elections and elsewhere, is no longer directed against supporters of the Government as such, but only against those who will not promise their help for the safe passage of the Conciliation Bill through all its stages.

The truce, therefore, is only conceded to meet a concession already secured on one particular point: it does not impose upon Suffragists submission to any of the unjust conditions against which they have been fighting in other parts of the field. There, where no concession has been made and where attack is still being directed against them, Suffragists who believe in fighting for liberty still remain under arms.

And this is especially true in connection with tax-resistance. To refrain from taxing unrepresented women, pending the full recognition of their citizenship, forms no part of the Government's offer; it does not promise to refrain, during the time of waiting, from imposing upon women the payment of Members for the making of laws in which women have no say; it does not promise to refrain from the introduction of legislation which specially—and in many respects adversely—affects women: witness, for instance, the Insurance Bill. In these respects the denial to women by our legislators of all constitutional right is still going on, and is, in substance, a continued attack upon their position—an attack for the enforcement of which new weapons are being forged.

The Government is calling upon women to pay more now than they have in the past, and to pay for the maintenance of fresh things which the women have not approved. In that direction, therefore, no truce has been established. In the face of this continued attack are women to lay down the arms they have taken in hand?

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records of which Englishmen are proud and principles which the Anti-Suffragist finds it hard to wriggle away from. As a proof of this reluctance I may instance the constantly recurring delays of the Executive to put into force the warrants it has obtained; and wherever the enemy is found to be reluctant it is good policy to continue to force his hand. The threat of immediately forthcoming arrest is constantly made, yet it is not put into practice, and sometimes with the threat comes the intimation that if the resister will pay the Government's out of pocket expenses the process will be withdrawn. In one instance that has come under my notice, where a tax of only 4s. 6d. is involved, the Executive's out of pocket expenses amount, according to its own statement, to £2 10s. But not a penny of that is going to be paid, and if the resister is sent to prison it involves the Government in still further expense.

Active Resistance.

Now, it is quite certain that in the future, if our hopes about the Conciliation Bill are frustrated by the wrecking policy of pretended supporters, led by Mr. Lloyd George, tax-resistance is going to loom large; and so it is just as well that during the forthcoming year our legislators should be shown how big it is likely to be. If these things are done in a green year, let them reckon what will be done in a dry, and let them understand that what is passive resistance now may take the shape of more active resistance then—a resistance which may bring many hundreds of women into prison, but will also cost the Government many thousands of pounds.

But altogether apart from the very valuable objection and warning which it presents to members of Parliament, tax-resistance is good propaganda, because it presents one of the straightest and most concise arguments for Woman's Suffrage by which we are able to reach the public conscience and arouse the indifferent. It is so simple and so direct, and nowhere have I seen any real attempt made to meet it. When Anti-Suffragists tell us that the Parliamentary vote "lies outside the woman's function," reduced to its bare skeleton what does that statement mean? That it is the woman's function and duty to pay money to the State for the making and maintenance of laws which affect her life, her home, and the conditions under which she earns her living just as much as they affect men; but it is not her "function" to say how that money is to be applied, or to control the conditions of its expenditure. And this is put forward under a form of Government which has its basis, and can only exist, on the granting to men of that claim which is denied to women! The Anti-Suffragist attempts to meet the case by saying that there are men also in this country who are taxed without having the vote. Against that poor argument I will end by quoting what I have already written on the same point elsewhere:

"The distinction between the unfranchised condition of certain men and the disfranchised position of women lies in all the vast difference between the conditional and the absolute. To no man is the vote denied. It is open to him under certain conditions which with a modicum of industry and sobriety he can fulfil. To woman the vote is denied under all conditions whatsoever. The bar has been raised against her by statute, and by statute and legal decision is still maintained. That is the woman's direct and logical answer to those who say that, after all, she is not on the same footing as the man who, without a vote, has still to pay the tax upon his beer and his tobacco. The man is always a potential voter; and it is mainly through his own indifference that he does not qualify; but the woman is by definite laws placed outside the constitution of those three estates of the Realm from which the sanction of Government is derived. It asks no sanction of her; why should she give it? From what principle in its constitution does it deduce this right at once to exclude and to compel? . . . The Caesar to whom in this country we owe tribute is Representative Government. Unrepresentative Government is but a forgery on Caesar's name."

A MESSAGE FROM MRS. JOPLING ROWE.

I think your VOTES FOR WOMEN paper the best of its kind that has ever been produced. I enjoy sending it to country friends to "flutter their doves." It makes them realise that women are becoming a power in the land and can work shoulder to shoulder as well as men when their cause is just.

"PAINS AND PENALTIES."

We have great pleasure in announcing that the Pioneer Players' Society are giving their third dramatic performance in the autumn and that the play selected is Mr. Laurence Housman's much-talked-of "Pains and Penalties." It will be remembered that Miss Gertrude Kingston intended opening the Little Theatre with this play, but the Censor would not pass it, for political reasons. Miss Kingston will play the leading part, as originally intended by the author. The cast is an exceptionally long one and, as always in the Pioneer Players' performances, well-known names will figure on the programme.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

The Treasurer rejoices greatly in the generosity that has poured so many and so great gifts into the treasury during the past week. The receipts total a sum for the week of £632 13s. Such a replenishment of the war chest is specially welcome at the present moment, because the seven by-elections in July entailed a heavy expenditure, and left a deficit upon the month's balance-sheet of over £1,000. "I enclose," says one donor, "a small contribution to the £250,000 Fund. Every penny I have to spare now I devote to our cause. The cheque I am sending is made up of small diverted subscriptions and money for flowers sold." An interesting item in the financial record of the week is the result of the Newport Garden Fete and Sale. It suggests a capital idea for adding to the war chest during August and September, while all the world (the Suffragette excepted) is making holiday. E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £250,000 FUND. July 28 to August 5.

Table listing contributions to the £250,000 fund from July 28 to August 5. Includes names of donors and amounts.

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and crossed "Barclay and Co."

WOMEN HEROES.

The youngest "Woman Hero" this week is a little girl who recently played the part of detective and secured the capture of two burglars who broke into and ransacked the house of the Rev. G. Slow, of Lower Edmonton.

Prussia, whose prisoner she was at the time, was constrained to remark: "Tant le monde a pas, madoiselle, votre courage et votre presence despit-beurissement-pour nous!"

WOMEN'S GREAT SWIM.

The women's swim through London has been the event of the week in the world of sport. On Saturday morning last sixteen girls splashed into the Thames at Richmond, to start their fifteen miles' swim.

ENGLAND'S OLDEST POSTWOMAN.

Mrs. Elizabeth Fawcett, of Starbottom, Yorkshire, is said to be the oldest postwoman in the Kingdom. She is 72 years of age and has been collecting and delivering letters since 1878.

Mrs. Fawcett, though older in years is yet younger in point of service than Mrs. Ellen Welchman, of Westbury-on-Tyrm, who has just retired after 35 years' service as a carrier of mail.



Block kindly lent by the "Daily Mirror."

THE WOMEN OF NORDERNEY (EAST FRISIA) HELPING TO DRAG IN THE LIFEBOAT.

three people from fire at Chesnut we reported recently, has been presented with a cheque for £10 from the Carnegie Hero Fund in recognition of her courage.

OTHER GOLDEN DEEDS.

Special commendation must be given to Mrs. Mayle, of Lavender Hill, who, seeing a man emerge from her next door neighbour's house while the occupier was away, seized the intruder and demanded his name, whereupon he threatened to hit her if she did not let go.

MRS. PANKHURST IN WALES.

Mr. Pankhurst reached Llandrindod Wells on Saturday evening, and here she and Miss Barrett were the guests of Professor and Mrs. Lloyd Jones, the former of whom is secretary for King Edward VII's Memorial Anti-Tuberculous Crusade in Wales.

After a drawing-room meeting at Stanton Wycombe arranged by Miss Williams, the meeting at Tenby. A party of young men helped in strewing and other ways, and some ladies also very kindly helped.

THE TURN OF THE TIDE.

Writing of a meeting addressed at Colwyn Bay by Mrs. Pankhurst last week the North Wales Weekly News says:—"Harmony was the keynote and the occasion a complete absence of discord."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" NEWSPAPER.

A Balham member, who explains that she is mail-order-work in her household, yet finds time to do a little selling on Fridays and Saturdays, and has met with the greatest success.

WOMEN CANNOT FIGHT?

If, as opponents of Woman Suffrage state, women cannot fight, at all events they can do something as humble as smacking up their fellow creatures, and that is putting them together again when they have been smashed!

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FÊTE.

Preparations are in full swing for the Christmas Fair and Fête on December 4 to 9 at the Portman Rooms, and local Unions are already busy making and collecting attractive articles of all kinds for furnishing their stalls.

DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

Dear Editors.—The leading article in last week's Votes for Women respecting the position of married women under the Insurance Bill reminds me forcibly of a ditty that was going in my native village when I was a little girl.

WAGES FOR WORKING WIVES.

A correspondent (under the signature of B.E.A.K.) writes on the vexed question of the great amount of work, real work, done by so many wives for no payment excepting that of board and lodging.

TO WOMEN MUNICIPAL VOTERS.

Dear Editors.—I wish to call the attention of women municipal voters to the fact that overseers are taking their names off the register without giving any warning.

THE N.U.T. AND THE VOTE.

Dear Editors.—I have been much interested in the various letters that have appeared under this heading. I should like to point out that the N.U.T. is a democratically governed body, with an elected Executive, and a policy made at Annual Conferences of representatives of local associations.

OUR POST BOX.

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WOMAN VOTER OF 1807.

A "Woman Voter of 1807" sends us the following:—"In M. C. G. Sterling's recent most interesting 'Annals of Yorkshire History,' vol. 2, page 319, she writes of Mrs. Mary Winifred Spencer Stanhope."

HOW HE WAS CONVERTED.

"The Price of Freedom is eternal vigilance," is a motto which frequently appears on the banners of the W.S.P.U. The vigilance of one member has recently made not only a convert to the cause, but an enthusiastic reader of, and missionary for, VOTES FOR WOMEN.

ODD JOBS.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, editor of the Woman's Journal, writes from Boston, Mass., to the effect that she has just received a letter from a young man who writes her as follows:—"I have been thinking of you very much lately, and I have been wondering what you are doing."

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THE CIRCULATION GROWS!

Already acknowledged. 483
Miss N. Annenberg 1
Mrs. B. Ambrose 1
Mrs. B. Binnie 2
Mrs. M. Thompson 1
Mrs. O. 1
Miss B. Churchill 1
Miss F. Chambers 1
Miss Y. Cumber 1
Miss D. 1
Mrs. G. 1
Miss M. 1
Miss L. 1
Miss H. 1
Miss J. 1
Miss K. 1
Miss L. 1
Miss M. 1
Miss N. 1
Miss O. 1
Miss P. 1
Miss Q. 1
Miss R. 1
Miss S. 1
Miss T. 1
Miss U. 1
Miss V. 1
Miss W. 1
Miss X. 1
Miss Y. 1
Miss Z. 1

PHYSICAL FORCE?

In a paragraph on the census returns, after quoting some figures showing the preponderance of women, The Christian remarks:—"It is the more curious because we are apt to think the female sex physically inferior to the other sex, but perhaps physical strength does not all consist of indelible muscles. Do women's physical differences mean a greater tenacity for life, or is the masculine superiority in strength more apparent than real?"

NEW YORK HELPS CALIFORNIA.

New York suffragists, says the Daily Express, in order to save money and help the women of California when the issue of women's suffrage is presented there on October 10, have decided to observe a week's fast and to forego many pleasures, including ice-cream, cooling drinks, foot-garden parties, and week-end visits.

RESULTS!

Miss Euphemia L. Farmer writes:—"Particularly did I appreciate your paper when on a lonely farm in Alberta. An absence of two years makes me appreciate the great strides made by our movement at home. Interest in the question had been awakened in Canada when I first landed, but, in general, the attitude of Press and individuals was that of ridicule."

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HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

"Those who are quite satisfied still and do nothing; those who are not quite satisfied are the sole benefactors of the world."—Lauder.

BOGNOR AND DISTRICT.

Very successful bench meetings were held this week. Many of our audience listened to Suffragette arguments for the first time and were greatly impressed.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT COAST.

The attention of visitors to Canterbury and the South Kent Coast is called to the open air campaign now being carried on there. Weekly meetings are held at Canterbury, Canterbury, and Dover.

GHANNEL ISLANDS.

Any member holiday-making here in August are asked to communicate with Miss Buckley, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

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CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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BOURNEMOUTH. Office—291, Old Christchurch Road, Hon. Sec.—Miss N. Blackledge.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. Friday, 11. Harrow Road, Prince of Wales

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT.

Organiser—Mrs. F. E. M. Macaulay, Trevastra, 29, Boyville Road West, Fellingons.

KNEBWORTH. A meeting was held at the Cantons, Knebworth, by kind permission of Mrs. Wilson.

OXFORD. Hon. Sec.—Miss Graham, 27, Northam Road. The Hon. Sec. would be pleased to hear of W.S.P.U. members visiting Oxford.

THE MIDLANDS. BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. Office—57, John Bright Street, Tel. 1413 Midland.

West of England. BATH. Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath, Hon. Organiser—Mrs. Mansel.

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

CORNWALL. Hon. Secs.—Mrs. Powell, Roseleigh, Penzance; Miss Edith Williams, Gleanford, Devonian, N.E.O.

WILTSHIRE. Hon. Sec.—Miss Katharine Abraham, 2, Estcourt Street, Devizes.

Eastern Counties. CLACTON-ON-SEA. Shop—47, Rosemary Road, Hon. Sec.—Miss Lily, Holland House.

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

North-Eastern Counties. LEEDS AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 65, Great George Street.

LONDON MEETINGS FOR THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. Saturday, 12. Lewisham, Whitburn Road

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Kitchen Instruction Book for daily values. Useful for all Housekeepers. 10d. each. The Empire Box of Dessert Papers, containing 14 assorted designs of very pretty designs. 1/11d. per box. Wonderful Value.

SPERS & POND'S STORES.

QUEEN VICTORIA STREET, LONDON, E.C. Free daily delivery by our Vans and Motors in London and Suburbs.

office by the organiser's return. Our meeting on Wednesday evening was addressed by Mrs. Swales and Miss Jessie Pryor.

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and a good collection taken. The paper sold well at both the Levon and Leven. In the latter place a particularly well-attended meeting was held.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND. Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street, Organiser—Miss Lillian Mitchell, Tel. 6182 Central.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND. Shop and Office—502, Sauchiehall Street, Tel. 615, Charing Cross, Organiser—Miss Wylie.

SPECIAL SPEAKERS' CLASS. Miss Rosa Leo is holding a Special Holiday Class for speakers every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday afternoon at 3.30 during August.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman, Office—5, Park Mansions, Arden, Highbridge (opposite Tube Station).

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION For Women's Enfranchisement. Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 8673.

North-Western Counties. BOLTON, BURY, AND DISTRICT. Hon. Sec. (prev. Sec.)—Mrs. Margaret E. Farrington, 115, Dorset Street, Haigh, Bolton.

ROCHDALE. Office—2a, Ballie Street, Hon. Lit. Sec.—Mrs. M. Stott, 10, Mayfair Gardens, Rochdale.

WALLASEY. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Mahood, Burroughs Bridge, Lancs; Mrs. F. Heathcote, 21, St. Martins Lane, Liscard.

COALS. LOWEST SUMMER PRICES. WILLIAM CLARKE & SON, 341, Gray's Inn Road, KING'S CROSS, W.C. 95, Queen's Road, BAYSWATER, W.

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Rendall, Prairies House, Gorey, Jersey. Hon. Treasurer—Miss Monica Whately, 75, Harcourt Terrace, The Boltons, S.W.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. President—The Bishop of Lincoln, Offices—11, St. Mark's Green, Bedford's Park, N.W.

THE ATTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE. 2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 1214. President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson.

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, BELFAST. Office: 22, Wallington Place, Belfast.

THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Members will be glad to know that the Woman's Press is not closing for the holidays.

A MARTIAL SONG FOR SUFFRAGETTES. Tune: "The British Grenadiers." We rise to fight our battle For honour—not renown!

Our victory is certain, And freedom comes our reward, Let those who love each other A brother's help afford.

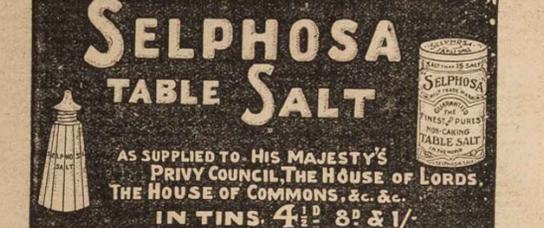
Without representation there can be no freedom or progress. —Florence Nightingale.

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AS SUPPLIED TO HIS MAJESTY'S PRIVY COUNCIL, THE HOUSE OF LORDS, THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, &c. &c. IN TINS 4lb, 8lb & 17lb.

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CHIVERS' CARPET SOAP. 6d. PER BALL. It is the best carpet cleaner in the world. It removes ink, grease, and all dirt from carpets and woollen goods.

"Flako" Regd THE LAST WORD IN SOAP. Try FLAKO this week on your Woolfens, Flannels, Laces, Silks, and Fine Fabrics.

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The only lay paper which makes a Suffrage page one of its regular features.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN seller, who suffers from hip disease, wishes to hear of any reader who can give, or sell cheaply, a second hand bath chair.

W.S.P.U. LOST PROPERTY DEPARTMENT. Enquiries as to lost property and all articles found at W.S.P.U. meetings, demonstrations, processions, etc., should be sent to Miss Kerr, Lost Property Department, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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BRIGHTON—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Lock Gardens, Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms 2s. to 3s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

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CULFINGTON, Margate.—Paying guests received in large house few minutes from sea; tennis, croquet.—Box 368, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

COMMER.—Member of W.S.P.U. can receive Ladies or Gentlemen in her well-appointed house. Good cooking. Bath (hot and cold). Electric light. Near sea, and Golf Links. Terms moderate.—The Haven, Weymouth, Dorset.

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PROFESSIONAL women wanting occupied rest may obtain it at "The Willows," Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks., a private residence where long or short courses of gardening or domestic science can be taken.—Terms on application.

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REALLY Comfortable BOARD-RESIDENCE; luxuriously-furnished drawing, dining, hall, billiard, smoking, and bedrooms, and lounge; excellent cuisine, separate tables, beautiful garden, tennis, croquet, &c.; healthy, open position, five minutes from train, bus, and tube; personal management, single rooms from 3s. 6d.; double rooms from 5s. weekly. Phone 5,158 Western.—13 and 17, Stanley Crockett, Notting Hill Gate, W.

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VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Homelike. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation.—Madame Veigelé, 63 and 65, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

WESTCLIFF-ON-SEA.—Member recommends lady's house; quiet road; very near front; stations and trams, two golf courses; apartments of join family, excellent cooking.—28, Park Terrace.

TO LET.

A LADY wishes to let her charming little house early in September. One or two ladies.—J. M., 25, Alwyne Road, Wimbledon.

DEVON WATERS, YARMOUTH.—To Let, furnished, comfortable Paint-Gunner's Houseboat, suitable for bird watching, boating, fishing, &c. 11s. 6d. per week.—Apply Jones, 38, Queen Square, W.C.

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DEVONSEY BAY.—House to let; pleasantly situated on beach; view of sea and cliffs. Vacant August 21. Moderate terms.—C, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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£52 YEARLY.—First Floor Offices, 2 large rooms, hall, electric light. Also flat, furnished, weekly, one sitting, 2 bedrooms, kitchen, bath, & hand c.—Goodhart, 30, Great Queen Street, Kingsway.

WANTED.

PARIS.—Lady wishes immediately partly furnished apartment, 4 or 5 rooms, airy situation near Latin Quarter, use of bath (h. & c.).—Box 974, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

HOLIDAY SEASON.—If you want Holiday Diggins, or have Rooms, House or Flat to let, you will find these columns a splendid medium in which to advertise. For rates, &c., see top of this page.

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BAGS! VOTES FOR WOMEN BAGS!—Staind and country sellers should provide themselves with one of these useful, artistic and waterproof bags, specially made for carrying our paper. Price 2s., or 2s. 2d. post free.—Apply Miss Helen Craggs, Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

TO SUPFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Sp. U. to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Albany Mansions, Eight Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zaigul writes: "Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness." Write my voice carried to every part of the hall."

BLOUSES. BLOUSES. BLOUSES. BLOUSES.—Any number of Cast-off Blouses wanted. The extreme value realized.—Miss Kate Cutler, 23, Sunninghill Road, St. John's, Lewisham.

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ELECTROLYSIS and Face Massage skilfully performed; also expert Lessons. Certificates given. Special terms to nurses.—Address, Miss Theakston, 65, Great Portland Street, W.

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RUD. Inach Piano, fine tone, like new, 25 gs. Kirkman, splendid tone, 12 gs. Several Bichens. Great bargains, seldom met with.—11, Parkhurst Road, Holloway.

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15/- DUPLICATORS.—100 copies like original can be obtained by using a C. B. D. Multi-copyer. No stencil. No gomme. A striking invention.—Full details from Wood, Davis and Co., 82, Beckenham Lane, Bostons, Kent.

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HOLIDAYS.—Delightful, inexpensive Continental Tours, conducted by Ladies.—Write Secretary, Women's International League, 199, Victoria Street, London, S.W.

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VOCALIST (Soloist) required.—Amateur or one starting seriously. Paying work in Concert, Concert Party, or at Home. Many fees already paid. Summer and autumn engagements looking. Successful operatic introductions. Audition free.—Address immediately, "D. V.," Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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TO SUPFRAGETTES.—Any Lady quickly for London or suburbs, with or without other lady servants, 32 years of age; 3 years' reference; £35.—Write Mrs. Richmond, 25, Ferncroft Avenue, Hampstead.

WANTED.—Suitable post in good school as Music Mistress. Prof. Diploma. I.S.M. Testimonials. Front and Beringer. French if desired.—B. G., Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

YOUNG MAN, age 19, seeks situation with private family or doctor, to live in, has country experience with motor-car, and understands house repairs; 4 years in present situation.—D. S., Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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ADVERTISEMENTS inserted in all PUBLICATIONS, HOME and COLONIAL, at lowest office list rates.—S. THROWER, ADVERTISING AGENT, 20, IMPERIAL BUILDINGS, LUDGATE CHURCH, LONDON, E.C. Established at this office nearly 30 years. Phone: 562 Central.

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TO BE SOLD.—Four eight-roomed freehold villas with extensive gardens. Lovely position, overlooking sea and Kent coast. Cost £4,000. Price £2,700.—Callow, Haldleigh, Essex.

WANTED partner with £400 to join lady who has handsome furniture in boarding house.—Reply, A. J. C. K., Box 592, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

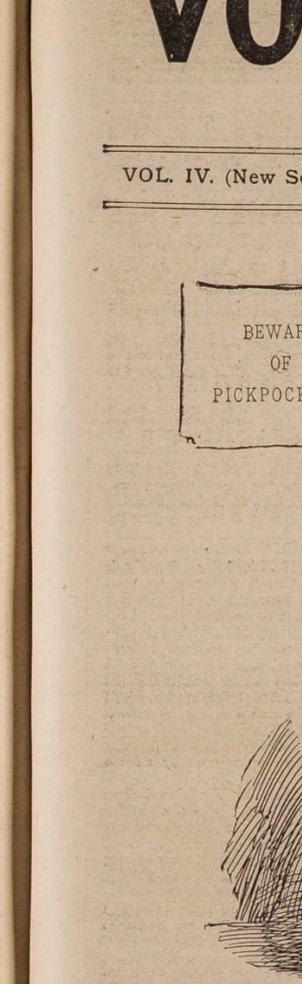
MISCELLANEOUS.

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BEWARE OF PICKPOCKETS.



Mr. LL-D G-RGE (to Anti-Suffragist M.P.): I know you object to her voting for you, but you need not mind taking her money!

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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.

The Parliament Bill is carried, and reformers have now to adapt themselves to the new constitutional conditions. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union were among the first to realise the full consequences of the changes effected by the Parliament Bill. Briefly they are these:—We are now to have five year Parliaments, which in practice will last only four years. Of these four years the two first only are effective for the purpose of getting Bills carried into law before the next ensuing General Election. Bills introduced in the later sessions are subject to the risk,

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 180. FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1911.

Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free.)

A POLITICAL PICKPOCKET.



Mr. LL-D G-RGE (to Anti-Suffragist M.P.): I know you object to her voting for you, but you need not mind taking her money!

may, the certainty, of being held over until after a General Election has occurred. This is the consequence of the powers conferred by the Parliament Bill upon the Lords, who now possess (instead of their former right of rejection which depended upon unwritten law, was uncertain in its extent, and the use of which was generally attended by much odium) a new right of delay clearly defined and based upon statute law.

Lords' New Right of Delay.

This right of delay, whereby the Lords can prevent the enactment of any measure introduced into the two final stages of a Parliament until after a General Election has intervened, depends, so the Prime Minister tells us, upon the principle that a House of Commons in its closing years becomes less representative of the people than it was in the earlier stages of its existence. Thus the Lords will be able to say that they delay the enactment of Bills in the popular interest in order to give the electors the right of pronouncing for or against these Bills. They will claim, and the Liberals have admitted the validity of this claim, that they are protecting the people from being legislated for by a House of Commons which through the expiration of time has lost its representative character. No odium, therefore, will attach to the exercise of this right of delay. The tendency will be to regard it as a perfectly legitimate and constitutional proceeding on the part of the Upper House. Accordingly the W.S.P.U. intend at all costs to get the Conciliation Bill carried through next year, which is the second of the two effective years of this Parliament, for otherwise their hope of Votes in this Parliament would be destroyed.

The Militancy of Men.

We have heard recently from certain Members of Parliament a vigorous defence of the right of active

resistance to what is deemed unjust, and those Unionists who see in the passage of the Parliament Bill the disappearance of a barrier against Home Rule declare that if Home Rule is established "Ulster will fight and Ulster will be right." In another quarter we see militant methods in active use. The country is plunged in industrial warfare. Many thousands of workmen are on strike and are rioting against what they believe to be intolerable labour conditions. As a result of their militancy they are gaining concessions in the shape of wages and improved conditions such as would never have been gained by means of peaceful and patient appeal. All the world is discussing the strikers' demands. The Westminster Gazette devotes a leading article, headed "The Strike and its Lessons," to a careful examination of the causes of the prevailing labour unrest, and contends that these causes ought to be removed. Speaking of the riotous conduct of the strikers the Westminster Gazette says:—

But if we consider the extent of this movement and the grim feelings which are engendered in it we may be thankful on the whole that the peace has been so well kept.

And, again, speaking of the solidarity which has marked the great strike:—"It seems to us greatly to the credit of the men that they refused to leave any of their allies in the lurch."

Acceptance of Evil a Bad Sign.

"It was not," further says the Westminster Gazette, "a good sign that the great masses of irregular and ill-paid labour which exist in East and South London should have been so inert as apparently they have been during the last ten years," thus saying by implication that the rebellious strikers are to be applauded for their present action. Having examined and condemned the conditions against which the

strikers are now in revolt, the Westminster Gazette concludes by saying—

We have not to deal with this problem before we can consider ourselves a fully civilized country, and we may make up our minds that no thoroughly civilized working-class could be content with the conditions as they are.

Militant Suffragists, reading this and other comments which show an understanding of and sympathy with the point of view of the strikers, cannot help remembering the very hostile and condemnatory articles appearing in the Press generally at the time of their own much less violent and dangerous protests against political injustice. Everything which we quote from the Westminster Gazette can readily be applied to the militant movement for Woman Suffrage. Those who are so anxious to understand and remove the causes of men's discontents should be equally ready to understand and remove the causes of women's discontents, instead of dealing out unintelligent and unrestrained abuse whenever women rise in active vindication of their rights as citizens.

Magistrates' Leniency Towards Strikers.

In marked contrast to the severity of the sentences imposed upon Suffragists for merely technical offences is the leniency which Magistrates are dealing with strikers who come before them. For example, a man who has 25 previous convictions against him was charged at the Guildhall with disorderly conduct and assaulting three constables. According to the evidence he jumped on a truck-load of provisions which were being removed from the Cold Air Stores, and endeavoured to turn it over. When a policeman seized him, he turned round and struck him on the jaw. On being taken into custody he became very violent and struck and kicked other policemen who came to assist. He was fined 20s. or in default ten days' imprisonment. Members of the W.S.P.U. have had three months' imprisonment merely for going on a peaceful demonstration to the House of Commons.

Women's Part in the Great Strike.

Women's part in the strike has been mainly this—they have paid the greater part of the price and have endured the greater part of the suffering. For the men on strike, the interest and the joy of conflict. For their wives, the troubles which visit the housewife when the cupboard is bare and the children cry to be fed and when the present lack of the weekly income brings a burden of debt to landlord and pawnbroker, which must be repaid as the result of her self-denial in the future. The irony of it is that, owing to the state of the law, a wife has no guarantee that she and her children will have any share of the increase in her husband's wages secured by her sacrifice. Women wage-earners have been numbered amongst the actual strikers. Thousands of women and girls in South London have struck against their miserably low wages, and already some concessions have been gained. It is said that in Bermondsey and certain other districts these women, low as are their wages (from 7s. to 12s. a week), are the principal breadwinners, and are maintaining both husband and children. One of the most urgent necessities of the time is the raising of the starvation wages earned by women, whereon whole families have to subsist, and the means to this end is the Parliamentary vote.

Payment of Members.

Payment of Members has now been adopted by the House of Commons. The proposal was rushed through in a single evening's discussion by means of a resolution and vote, instead of by means of a Bill. Lord Wolmer and others on the Opposition Benches have since brought forward a motion complaining of this procedure, which they denounce as unconstitutional. Suffragists protest against it too, for the result has been to prevent any proper discussion (such as could not have been escaped in connection with a Bill) of the wrong done to women in compelling them to contribute to payment of Members without giving them the right to share in their election. Mr. Walter McLaren had introduced an amendment to the Payment of Members resolution dealing with this point, but the Speaker refused to allow more than one amendment to be discussed, and this was not Mr. McLaren's amendment, although his was first on the list. The whole thing is a public scandal, and in years to come, when women have the vote, the Government's present high-handed and unconstitutional treatment of women taxpayers will seem incredible. It is more than ever urgent, if only for the sake of the honour of the House of Commons, that the Conciliation Bill be carried into law next year. What will be the attitude of the Anti-Suffragist M.P.'s when the Bill again comes before the House? Are they content to receive salaries from women without giving them the vote, and are they still determined to impose this and all the other burdens of citizenship upon women without giving them the corresponding rights and privileges?

Why Women want the Vote.

No doubt without intending it, the two Ministers—Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Samuel—who took part in the Payment of Members debate, gave cogent reasons why women ought immediately to have the vote. Mr. Lloyd George, arguing that the increasing labours now imposed upon Members of Parliament necessitate their payment by the State, declared "that the abandonment of the laissez faire doctrine of government has resulted in huge programmes of legislation, and involves increasingly strenuous work for M.P.'s," and also means

that the "lives of the people are more and more being affected by legislation." Said he:—

Legislation interferes with trade and commerce, with the lives of the people, with their homes, their workshops, and their amusements. Look [he said] at the legislation of this year. Take the National Insurance Bill, the Shops Bill, the Mines Bill—they are all Bills which interfere at some time or other with the lives of the people.

We thoroughly agree in this with Mr. Lloyd George; but we go a step further, and we say that legislation of this kind ought no longer to proceed until women, whose interests are so vitally affected, have given their consent at the ballot box. Referring to a later stage to the growing public "interest in political questions," Mr. George said:—

We have admitted people in one Reform Bill after another within the purview of the Constitution, and these people have grievances that they want to have redressed, and this is the High Court, the tribunal to which they appeal.

Does Mr. George forget that women too have their grievances, even more serious than any of which men can complain, that the High Court of Appeal is by his fault closed to them, and that as a consequence they can have no redress of the wrongs and grievances under which they suffer?

More Taxes for Voteless Women.

Mr. Herbert Samuel, who is an avowed Anti-Suffragist, informed the House that the Government desire, in addition to providing payment of Members, to place the payment of official election expenses also on the public funds, and he expressed the hope that no very long period would elapse before this is effected by legislation. This news will make women more resolute than ever to get the vote before they are compelled to pay the election expenses of the Members for whom they cannot vote. Mr. Samuel, in defending the principle of payment of Members, said that it will result in making the House of Commons more truly a mirror of the nation than it is to-day. We could suggest a less expensive and even more effective way of attaining this end. A mirror of the nation the House of Commons certainly cannot be until women share in its election.

Pit-brow Women.

The Home Secretary has been asked by Mr. Rupert Gwynne, M.P., whether application to receive a deputation was received by him on behalf of the women workers at the pit brow in connection with the Coal Mines Bill, and whether arrangements were not made for receiving such a deputation before the amendment to the Bill excluding them from their employment was proposed. To this question Mr. Churchill replied that this application was made and acceded to a few days before the amendment in question was urged in Committee, but that it was unfortunately not possible for his honourable friend, the Under-Secretary, to see the deputation until after the discussion in the Committee had taken place. This is a most lame and inadequate reply. Mr. Churchill or the Under-Secretary, Mr. Masterman, ought to have found an opportunity of receiving the deputation before the amendment was discussed in Committee, or else the consideration of the amendment ought to have been postponed until after the deputation had been received. It is perfectly obvious that if the industrial existence of a body of enfranchised men had been at stake, the Home Secretary would not have dreamed of treating them in this fashion. So to deal with men voters would be fatal to the existence of any Government. It is another argument for Votes for Women.

Help needed for Miners' Wives.

If the Members of the Committee on the Mines Bill were so solicitous for the health of women as they profess to be when they carried the clause prohibiting the employment of women at the pit-head, they would, while leaving women in possession of an unusually healthy employment, have relieved the miners' wives of the heavy work of filling and emptying huge tubs of water in which their husbands and sons take daily baths before the kitchen fire (there are no bath-rooms in miners' cottages) on their return from work. Instead of adopting a clause compelling the provision at all mines of baths and of wash-houses where coal-grimed clothing can be cleansed, the Committee has carried a clause which it is to be feared will be a dead letter, and will lead to the provision of baths in connection with mines only in an infinitesimal number of cases.

Imprisonment for Life.

On another page is told the tragic story of Margaret Murphy, who, afflicted by intolerable hardships, sought escape in death for herself and the child to whom the world gave so cold a welcome. The baby died, but the mother was brought back to life, tried and sentenced to be hanged. She has been reprieved, but like Angelina Napolitano, another despairing woman reprieved the other day, she is condemned to serve a life sentence of imprisonment. Only those who, like militant Suffragists, have passed some time in prison, can even faintly understand what a life sentence of imprisonment means. We assert deliberately that so to punish these two women, infinitely more sinned against than sinning, is even worse than their execution. Hanging brings death which has the mercy of swiftness, but a life sentence means that the agony of death is prolonged over many years. The demand for Mrs. Napolitano's release has been pressed upon the Canadian Government. Those who now learn of Mrs. Murphy's case and compare the punishment she is called upon to endure with the acquittal of the man tried on the same day, will insist that the Home Secretary effects her immediate release.

Within Sight of Starvation.

The strike has brought into jeopardy the food supply of all the men, women, and children of the Kingdom. The Daily Mail reminds us that in the event of war our plight would be even worse. Forty-three million of souls packed into these islands are dependent upon

a supply of food from overseas. The danger of national starvation that would arise in time of war is frightful to contemplate. How can this danger be averted? That is a question of terrible import to women. Are they to have a share in dealing with it, or are they to remain the passive, helpless victims of cruel conditions of other people's making? All these matters touching the safety and independence of the nation prove, in spite of all that the anti-Suffragists say to the contrary, to be at least as much the concern of women as of men.

The White Woman's Burden of Empire.

This is one aspect of the White Woman's burden of Empire. Mrs. Macfadyen, in her speech at the Universal Races Congress, dealt with another. She told of the black peril by which white women in South Africa are menaced, and traced it to the corruption of the natives by causes which include the distribution of indecent pictures, the supply of intoxicants, and, worse than all, the evil example set by certain depraved white men in their treatment of native women. No wonder the movement for the enfranchisement of women is growing in South Africa!

PEACE OR WAR?

Statement by Mr. Lloyd George.

As we go to press we receive the information that Mr. Lloyd George, in the absence of the Prime Minister, has replied to Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., who asked whether the Government's promise of facilities for next Session applies to any Woman Suffrage Bill or whether it applies exclusively to the Conciliation Bill. Mr. Lloyd George is reported to have replied that the promise of facilities was given for Sir George Kemp's Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women. The Government, he said, could not undertake to give facilities for more than one Bill on the same subject, but any Bill capable of free discussion and amendment which secured a Second Reading would be treated by them as falling within their engagement.

Mr. Walker McLaren: It might be for the convenience of the House if the Amendment were called upon in the order in which they appear upon the Paper, my Amendment being the first one.

Mr. Speaker: I can only answer that question in the historic words of the Prime Minister.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

In the House of Commons on Thursday afternoon as we went to Press, in reply to a question by Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., Mr. Lloyd George said that the promise of facilities was given to Sir George Kemp's Bill for the enfranchisement of women. This last one—under take to give facilities for more than one Bill on the same subject, but any Bill capable of free discussion and amendment which secured a second reading would be treated by them as falling within their engagement.

PAYMENT OF MEMBERS.

On Wednesday in last week, the day preceding the discussion on the Payment of Members of Parliament, the following questions were asked. Viscount Wolmer said:—

I beg to ask a question, of which I have given private notice, whether it would be in order to move more than one of the Amendments on the Paper to the Chancellor of the Exchequer's Motion on the subject of Payment of Members?

Mr. Speaker: There are five Amendments on the Paper for to-morrow, all of which propose to leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question, and to insert other words. Only one of those Amendments can be moved.

There is another Amendment—the last one—which proposes to add words at the conclusion of the Resolution, and that could be moved.

Viscount Wolmer: Is it in order, Mr. Speaker, to propose a grave constitutional change in such a manner as to render ample discussion absolutely impossible?

Mr. Speaker: It is not for me to say whether there will be ample discussion or not. The Resolution will be open for discussion by the noble Lord and other hon. Members, and at the same time the alterations will be offered to him to take one of the Amendments.

Mr. Clynes: Is it not a fact that this subject has been repeatedly discussed in this House for many years?

Mr. Speaker: I can only answer that question in the historic words of the Prime Minister.

MR. W. McLAREN.

In the course of the debate on the Payment of Members in the House of Commons on Thursday, August 10, Mr. McLaren said:—

With regard to the amendment which I put down, I desire to say that as a matter of principle I do not think we would be justified in taxing women and making them pay towards our salaries. I frankly admit there is no way to avoid it if salaries are to be paid, because these salaries would come out of the common fund. But as one deeply interested in the movement of the enfranchisement of women, I do feel that we do an injustice to women in this matter. I have asked myself what I should personally do. I asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer what portion of the taxes came out of the pockets of women. I did not get any information upon the subject. I shall endeavour, however, to make my own calculation, and I shall give that portion of my salary which comes from the taxes paid by women towards the cause of women's suffrage.

Supposing that portion came to £50, there are 400 of us in favour of the women suffrage movement, and if we all gave that proportion of our salaries towards that movement we should subscribe £20,000 a year to the cause of justice for women. I merely put in that protest. This question has attracted a good deal of attention outside, and I think it is desirable that such a protest should be made in order that the country may see that we are conscious that by this proposal we are actually going to saddle the women of the country with a small expense for our own benefit. Does the House know that in the Grand Committee on the Mines Bill fifteen men have deliberately taken away the means of livelihood of a large body of women workers on the pit-brow, and yet we are now proposing to take women's money to pay our own expenses. I put in that protest against the whole scheme, and I frankly confess that while I shall vote for this resolution, I deeply regret the necessity for this motion.

VISCOUNT WOLMER.

On Monday, Aug. 14, in Committee of Supply, an Amendment to reduce the Vote by £100,000 was moved by Viscount Wolmer, who, in the course of his speech, said:—

We must ask ourselves the question why, if this will ultimately have to be passed as an Act of Parliament, it was not so passed this year. We know what we shall be told. We shall be told that the Government have no time. But that is a difficulty which confronts every single Bill ever passed by this House.

Every Session we see Bills postponed because there is not time to carry them. We have frequently seen such Bills as Shop Hours Bills or Women Enfranchisement Bills postponed because there has not been time to carry them. If those proposals have been postponed, why should not this proposal have been postponed also? The shop assistants may wait and the women may wait, but directly it is a question of the salaries of Members of Parliament the proposal must be hurried through without any reference to the constitution or anything else. These measures which we have seen postponed for lack of time are infinitely more important to the classes concerned than this particular proposal is to us personally. Therefore I believe it to be in every way unfortunate that the Government have decided to rush this proposal through the House in the manner they have adopted.

TAX RESISTERS.

A sum of £100,000 has been raised by the "Suffragettes" for propaganda work, comments that the Government have decided to rush this proposal through the House in the manner they have adopted.

TIN WORKERS IN ONE OF THE STRIKE PROCESSIONS IN LONDON.

"I am a suffragist and I won't pay my taxes!" Out of the far away I heard. "Oh, are you, so am I. Have you read 'Suffragette Sally'?" "I was powerless to answer, although I heard quite well. So I continued on my own account." The Bailiff came on. "I tried to remember the exact date of his coming, for I wanted to tell the far-away person the right day, but I could not do this. I was lying so very flat on the flat of my back and the far-away person seemed to be doing such a lot of things with bottles, out of which a very strange odour came."

"Have you told them to call this the Tax Resister's Bed, Nurse? Have you left the name up?" "Yes, I have, it's there, over your bed, and it's all over."

"What's all over?" "The operation, of course." "But Tax resistance isn't," I said, and I went to sleep again.

"Yes," said the surgeon, as she felt my pulse, "three days more and I will allow you to hold a suffrage meeting for the nurses."

It was a very quiet meeting, no platform, no banners; there were lots of flowers and the speaker lay on an invalid chair; the audience all wore uniform. They arrived at the conclusion that what came from the long wicker chair was right. That nurses are good soldiers of the State and that there ought to be more rights for their uniform. Redirection of railway fares for those who wear it, and a great deal of other things were discussed. By the way, the first right needed, which will bring all others in its train, is the right to vote. "Form a Society for yourselves," came from the chair, a murmur of applause, then one of the audience approached the chair and said, "Let me help you back to your room."

HUNNEWELL'S WOMAN MAYOR.

A splendid fight on behalf of the women's movement and in the interests of public health, morality and good government is being carried on by Mrs. Wilson, the recently-appointed woman mayor of Hunnewell, Kansas. As a result of the misgovernment which existed in that city under masculine rule, the women of Hunnewell decided to put one of their own sex in office, and in spite of the opposition the mayress has to face from the council, her influence is already being felt; drunkenness is reported to be decreasing, and gambling to have ceased. A woman doctor, Miss Bosworth, has been appointed, and a woman city clerk. "This lesson," says Mrs. Wilson, "will go down from Hunnewell, and it will be seen women are not all idle, gossiping creatures. Do you know why women gossip? Simply because they have nothing else to do." If the housework does not keep their mind fully occupied, give them the betterment of a city and its morals to think about, in addition to the making of a home, and they will cease gossiping.

AN ANTI-SUFFRAGIST—BUT?

A correspondent in the Standard, over the signature "A Woman," after referring to the labour unrest, concludes thus: "If the men at the head are not capable of conducting the affairs of the country in a proper and orderly manner let us try some women at the head of affairs. I am an anti-suffragist, but I can plainly see that women will have to try to do something to alter the present conditions before long."

PROFESSOR DICEY.

Professor Dicey is reported to have said recently at an anti-suffrage garden party near Oxford: "The Suffrage agitation is not a decent agitation; it is not a respectable agitation; it is not an agitation of a good man or woman would carry on." The W.S.P.U. speaker at an ensuing open-air meeting called for contributions in order to supply Professor Dicey with Votes for Women. A clergyman in the crowd started the collection and others followed his lead. We wish Professor Dicey a speedy conversion!

PIT BROW WOMEN WORKERS.

In the House of Commons on Thursday in last week, Mr. Rupert Gwynne, M.P., for Sussex, asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether application to receive a deputation was made on behalf of women workers at the pit brow in connection with the Coal Mines Bill; and whether he would explain why arrangements were not made for receiving such deputation or for taking evidence on behalf of women workers on the subject, before an amendment was proposed to the Bill in Committee excluding all women and girls other than those employed on or before January 1, 1911, from employment above ground or in any mine.

Mr. Churchill: Yes, sir; an application that a deputation might be received was made and acceded to, but it was made only a very few days before the amendment of the hon. member for the Mansfield Division was reached in Committee, and it was unfortunately not possible for my hon. friend the Under-Secretary of State to see the deputation until after the discussion in the Committee. As the Bill was before a Standing Committee, there was, of course, no opportunity for evidence to be taken on the subject. The question, which cannot be regarded as settled, will come up again on the report stage of the Bill.

Mr. R. Gwynne: Seeing that when the deputation was received the hon. Member for Bethnal Green stated, on behalf of the Home Secretary, that the Government did not approve of this amendment, will the right hon. gentleman see that when the matter does come up again the hon. Member for Mansfield (Mr. Markham) and others who carried the amendment on that side toe the line?

According to the Daily Mirror, a Colonial visitor to the Carlton Hotel (where a terrible fire raged on Wednesday, August 9) was full of admiration for the coolness and courage of the women, whose behaviour, he said, was heroic.

MRS. NAPOLITANO.

In all the cruel story of Angelina Napolitano's tragic fate there is nothing more cruel than the way in which she was left in ignorance of the efforts being made for her pardon until she heard of her reprieve from a fellow-prisoner. "Angelina Napolitano," says a contemporary, "was not allowed to know that there was any movement on foot to secure a commutation of her sentence. She has been living all these months in the full expectation of death. She fell sewing on some clothes for the expected baby when the news that she was not to be hanged came to her from a condemned burglar in the cell beneath her own. He had learned it from a passer-by, and immediately passed the word to her through a water-pipe by which the prisoners were able to communicate. The thousands have rejoiced over the news, but it is safe to say that she was the gladdest of them all."

It will be remembered that Angelina Napolitano was sentenced to death for the murder of her husband, who brutally ill-treated her because she refused to earn a living in an immoral manner. After attempting to commit suicide she killed him to preserve her honour, and for the sake of her children. She made no attempt to escape, and when arrested made a full confession. Mrs. Napolitano is the mother of four children, and her death sentence (which was postponed to August 9, owing to the expected birth of another) caused great indignation throughout the world, monster petitions being sent to the Governor-General of Canada demanding her pardon.

The baby has since been born. Petitions for her pardon are still being extensively signed in America and release only will satisfy the demand of justice.

THE STRIKE OF THE WOMEN.

Looked at superficially, perhaps nothing is more remarkable during the present manifestations of labour unrest throughout the country than the magnificent way in which the women in sweated trades have come out and have stood together for improved conditions. The very environment in which they live and work is so terribly handicapping. While the men strikers have their strong and wealthy trade unions behind them, strike pay to support them, and years of organisation and experience, the women have none of these things. Many of them do not even know the meaning of combination; their unions are young and poor, and it goes without saying that they lack the one great political lever of the man—the Parliamentary vote—which aids so much to their influence in this present crisis.

But the tragedy is that while the men are striking for shillings the women are striking for pence. Women labour just as hard as men, frequently their hours are longer, yet their rate of wages is so miserably small that the wonder is how they live. Pitiful tales were told us by the women on strike last week—tales of women of twenty-one earning 18d. an hour at making cocoa; tales of the iniquitous system of piece-work by which girls for the first fortnight earn nothing, after that from 5s. to 6s. a week, working from 6 o'clock in the morning till 8 o'clock at night. By the system of piece-work, older girls stand by idle, earning nothing, watching the younger ones earning regular though pitifully small wages. One delicate-looking girl told us that since Christmas she, with her mother, had been practically living on the latter's Old Age Pension, because, under this system, she had been able to earn so little at the factory. Another girl told us of 5s. a week earned by working from 6 o'clock in the morning till



TIN WORKERS IN ONE OF THE STRIKE PROCESSIONS IN LONDON.

L. N. A.

A MEMORY.

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A STARTLING COMPARISON.

We take the following, word for word, from the Manchester Daily Dispatch of Aug. 7:—

Remarkable sentences were imposed by Sir Thomas B. Lennard and Mr. C. Sprooker at Grays, Essex, on five women who were charged with stealing onions from a field at Rainham. The onions were altogether valued at about 1s. 6d. Defendants pleaded that they only went into the field because they saw other people likewise do this, and they expressed deep regret. Superintendent Laver said he knew nothing against defendants. The magistrates sentenced all five to one month's hard labour.

"The same bench sentenced a man to 14 days' hard labour for stealing one shilling's worth of pears, while a London gentleman, charged with keeping a carriage without a licence, was fined 5s."

HUNNEWELL'S WOMAN MAYOR.

A splendid fight on behalf of the women's movement and in the interests of public health, morality and good government is being carried on by Mrs. Wilson, the recently-appointed woman mayor of Hunnewell, Kansas. As a result of the misgovernment which existed in that city under masculine rule, the women of Hunnewell decided to put one of their own sex in office, and in spite of the opposition the mayress has to face from the council, her influence is already being felt; drunkenness is reported to be decreasing, and gambling to have ceased. A woman doctor, Miss Bosworth, has been appointed, and a woman city clerk. "This lesson," says Mrs. Wilson, "will go down from Hunnewell, and it will be seen women are not all idle, gossiping creatures. Do you know why women gossip? Simply because they have nothing else to do." If the housework does not keep their mind fully occupied, give them the betterment of a city and its morals to think about, in addition to the making of a home, and they will cease gossiping.

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PROFESSOR DICEY.

Professor Dicey is reported to have said recently at an anti-suffrage garden party near Oxford: "The Suffrage agitation is not a decent agitation; it is not a respectable agitation; it is not an agitation of a good man or woman would carry on." The W.S.P.U. speaker at an ensuing open-air meeting called for contributions in order to supply Professor Dicey with Votes for Women. A clergyman in the crowd started the collection and others followed his lead. We wish Professor Dicey a speedy conversion!

"How is it you have stood it so long?" we ask. "There's nothing else," is the simple answer. "What you need is Votes for Women," we say. "You're right there," they reply.

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SOME MEMORIES OF MISS BEALE.

By Beatrice Harraden, B.A.

Some few weeks ago I went to Cheltenham to take part in a W.S.P.U. meeting, and whilst there I visited my old college, where I am proud to say I had been brought up under Miss Dorothea Beale. It struck me at the time that I should like to write down a few memories of her for VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Everyone knows, of course, that Miss Beale was one of the pioneers in the education of girls, and that she did fine and far-reaching work, not only in the college she founded, but in the whole educational world. It is not, however, generally known that she was a Suffragist, and that she had come to the conclusion that the vote was absolutely necessary for the bringing about of the many much-needed economic and social reforms.

I cannot answer for it that she would have become a Suffragette! But I am absolutely sure that if I had gone to her and said: "Miss Beale, I have become a Suffragette," she would have answered: "Dear child, no doubt you have your reasons for joining the militants, and I will inquire into the matter myself." This was her attitude towards the advent of the bicycle. She had heard that college girls and, I believe, some members of her staff had taken to cycling. She forbade it. But it still continued, and so she proceeded to enquire into the matter by cycling herself! Then she understood. And without delay cycling was encouraged and arranged for. She had indeed a large and open mind, and her interpretation of life was a generous one.

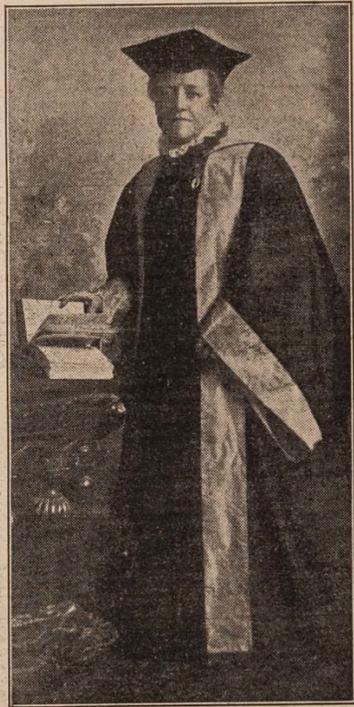
Even as a child I had special reasons for knowing this, and have never ceased to admire and appreciate the tone she took up towards me in a matter of religion. Now, Miss Beale had always made a great feature of religious teaching. We had religious addresses, readings and lectures from herself personally, and from our own class mistresses. We were supposed to reproduce these in two or three pages of essay. I never could and never did. I put down the headings merely, by this means scarcely filling a respectable page. At last Miss Beale sent for me. "Dear child," she said, "your class mistress complains that you take no trouble with your Scriptures. You merely put down the headings. Yet you take infinite trouble with your literatures. How is this?"

I remember that, half shyly, half eagerly, I told her that I could not write the Scriptures in the way required; that, although I was only a child, I had, nevertheless, been taken about by my dear father to all sorts of churches, and places of worship, and had read with him about many forms of religion. She listened attentively, made no comment whatsoever, and dismissed me very kindly. But the wise word came that I need not do the Scriptures. I think that this more than anything won my heart. A child never forgets the respect or disrespect shown by an elder at a critical moment. Indeed, I believe that if we were to go through the chronicles of our lives, most of us would find that our best activities and expressions have been called forth and strengthened, not so much by the love given us, but by the respect for one's motives, one's efforts, one's failures, one's partial successes.

After this, Miss Beale took a great deal of interest in my books and various other treasures, which I had brought along with me as inseparable friends from home to the schoolhouse. These were, amongst others, beautifully bound copies of Shakespeare and Tasso and several sumptuous German volumes, such as Scherer's "Life of Schiller," Goethe's "Hermann und Dorothea," much-prized gifts from my father, who loved to give me beautiful books in splendid bindings and with generous margins. I had also four little busts of Schiller, Goethe, Shakespeare, and Beethoven, and a print of John Hampden, which I had torn out of a history-book and framed to my proud satisfaction. These were odd possessions for a child, and I had to pay dearly for the joy of them, as we always have to pay at any time in our lives for the things we value most. My comrades, of course, chaffed me mercifully and carried on a continuous persecution, which, I am sure, was, on the whole, very good for me. But I never forgave one of them for defacing the countenance of John Hampden, and I still bear her deep resentment; for she had scoffed at my hero-worship and outraged my feelings of reverence. Nothing could reconcile me to her even now, after thirty-five years of anger, unless, indeed, I had heard that she had become a member of the Women's Social and Political Union, when the hatchet would, of course, have to be buried, and go and for ever!

The knowledge that Miss Beale did not laugh at me for my unusual tastes was an immense comfort and encouragement to me during those early days of my college life; and looking back now, I realise how much latitude was given to me for my own development on my own lines, and how little pressure was put on me

to work up at fever heat for examinations. People have often asked me whether I did not find that the college training tended to stereotype abilities and suppress originality and spontaneity. I have always answered that my own experience was entirely the reverse. I only received rich benefit from my life at Cheltenham College under Miss Beale. She encouraged and appreciated originality, and when she started the college magazine she printed a little story from my young pen entirely different from what one might have thought she would choose. I remember it was about Savonarola and a violin, and a mother and the river Arno, and I made the Arno flow in the wrong direction! It was, of course, full of other faults too, but Miss Beale wanted that the child she loved should be encouraged to use her gifts in her own way, and so the story stood, and fearfully pleased and proud was the authoress! I am sure that Miss Beale showed the same generous interest and pride in every one of her scholars in whom she detected the beginnings of some



MISS DOROTHEA BEALE, LL.D.

special gift of expression, either in one direction or another. Then, in addition, habits of industry were implanted or strengthened at Cheltenham. Thoroughness and honesty in one's work were insisted on. The valuable lesson was taught always to finish one's task. I have never forgotten this lesson. Even if I have to tear up this little rambling article afterwards—I hope to goodness I *shan't* be impelled to do this, for the heat is awful, and boasted habits of industry have perished ingloriously—I shall nevertheless be obliged by the necessity of my spirit to finish it first. All this, and much more, too, that has helped me immeasurably in my career, came from Miss Beale's personal influence and training. I look back, too, and realise how much we all owed to her for her fine and spiritual outlook, apart from her religious teaching.

Perhaps the memory which stands out most clearly in my mind, and which I treasure more than anything in my intercourse with her, was her behaviour towards me in connection with a painful lawsuit which came on between herself and the lady of my school house, soon after I had left college. Two or three of us were asked to appear as witnesses on her behalf, against Miss Beale. We did so because we all believed in the justice of her case. We had to undergo a running fire of cross-examination from bullying men of the law. But that was not as great an ordeal as facing the united personalities and forces of Miss Beale and Miss Buss, who had come to support her. I still see them, with my mind's eye, and feel even now, after all these years, frightfully uncomfortable and worried. I need not have suffered then, and need not suffer now. Miss Beale, with a noble generosity, bore me no grudge. She wrote and said that it was right to have done as I had done if I believed that I was doing right, and that, although she

trusted that one day our doubts would be cleared up, yet she was content to wait, and meantime she hoped I would come back to the college and visit her as though nothing in the way of estrangement had happened between us. Back then I went to the old pastures, and I remember how she took me by the hand and led me through the great Hall and the class-rooms so that every-one might see that I was in very truth welcomed home.

I thought of this beautiful experience as I stood in the old Hall again, a few weeks ago. I saw and felt our great Principal's presence amongst us once more. I recalled my young days, my hopes, my ambitions, my friendships. I thought of other occasions, later on in life, when Miss Beale welcomed me back, had the favourite college hymn, "O, God our Help in ages past," sung for me at prayers, and gave me the real joy and pleasure of being presented to the girls and fussed over a little by them as a worker in the outside world, and yet belonging to them intimately in the closest relationship because there I had been bred and nurtured. All this came back to me and brought with it its own thrill from the past. But what chiefly encompassed me was the memory and meaning of Miss Beale's greatness, perhaps only dimly understood at the time, but ever made clearer as the years yield knowledge and experience.

I looked with dim eyes at the place where she used to sit in the Hall, and I thought to myself what a splendid thing it was to know that the strongest and most vibrating note of her nature was greatness, and what an abiding pride and privilege it was to have been one of her old scholars.

RESPECT.

We are hearing a great deal just now about men losing their respect for women. As a matter of fact I have not personally come across a man who has confessed to being attacked by the malady; on the contrary, I know plenty of men, some of them very fastidious and not in the least likely to be attracted by Hooliganism, who assure me that they never respected any woman so much as they do the modern women who are outraging the old-fashioned conventions in a good cause.

But, of course, one's point of view depends entirely on what is meant by respect, and unfortunately many of us have false ideas as to what is worthy of respect. With most men I think the word respect is confused with the words admire, or like, and when they say they don't respect women who do certain things, they mean that they do not admire the things which are done, and they do not like to see women, especially their own women, doing them. It makes them feel uncomfortable—partly, perhaps, because they are beginning to have some faint misgivings that women are being driven to do things for themselves which men ought long ago to have done for them.

For instance, if, five years ago, when a large body of women began passionately to demand suffrage, the men who then uttered pious opinions that it was a reasonable demand and that in justice it ought to be given, had exerted themselves to do something instead of merely talking, the regrettable incidents of which they now complain might not have happened.

But apart from all this it is time that men began to respect women for other qualities than those which served for a long time to content our ancestors.

What do men respect in each other? Strength of character, determination to get on in the world, honesty, uprightiness, pluck and courage, independence and a capacity for making the best out of life, even the power and the spirit to fight for a cause if they believe it to be a right cause and worth fighting for. Now if we examine this list of qualities which men admire in each other, can we honestly say that they are qualities which are necessary for the formation of a fine character in a man but are non-essential to that of a woman? Which of them shall we leave out? Some will say, leave out the fighting capacity. But should we? Do we not admire a mother who will defend her child at all costs, who will allow herself to be torn to pieces by a wild beast before she will let it touch her son, who will defend him from injury even if she have to fight like the wild beast itself in order to do so? But all women have not children for whom to fight; to some of them a cause—the cause of the poor and helpless and downtrodden, the cause of the children outcast from their birth, the belief that political equality must be won in order to remedy these ills—is as dear as is the child's life to its mother. Shall we forbid them to fight for this cause if need be? Above all, shall we really believe that a reasonable man will cease to respect a woman who so fights, even if he believe her to be in the wrong?

Let him respect her all the more for her devotion, her pluck, and her self-sacrifice, and let him show his respect by entering the fighting line himself (with the political weapons which are his and of which she is at present deprived) and so helping on her cause (which is also his), that the time may be hastened when she will be able to lay down her arms and enter into the fruits of victory.

A. P.



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A MARTYR FOR LIBERTY.

The "Letters and Journal of Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg," recently published, with an introduction by Henry Marczali, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Budapest, should prove of especial interest to members of the W.S.P.U., seeing that they are the record of the unswerving devotion to the cause of political liberty, even unto death, of the grandfather of one of our own women who took part in the famous deputations of November, 1910, and suffered a month's imprisonment in Holloway as a result. But that history justifies and venerates the deeds of those who are misjudged in their own day is now vindicated, for our colleague and her mother, the closest relations of the hero, are now the honoured guests of the Hungarian nation, whose liberties were secured by the heroic bravery of their ancestor, on the occasion of the unveiling (62 years after his terrible death) of a statue to Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg at Torok Becse, in South Hungary, the estate of his wife.

The book, which we recommend to our members, is divided into three parts, which are preceded by an interesting Introduction written by Professor Marczali, explaining the circumstances of the Hungarian War of Independence of 1848-1849, and how it was that Count Charles Leiningen-Westerburg, a German noble, connected with the Prussian Royal House and with our own, through Queen Victoria's mother, came to espouse the desperate cause of another country so valiantly, and who did not even know the language of the soldiers whom he led with dare-devil bravery, except a few words of command, until he had been fighting with them for some time. It was his ideal of a great United Germany which drew him to Hungary, and later on he clung to the Hungarian fortunes because he could not desert a cause when it was in danger. It was this intense love of liberty which shows itself in the inspiring words which he addressed to his soldiers on the occasion of the decoration of the colours of his battalion after their thrilling rescue of him from captivity at Czibakháza:—

"Comrades! Look at this standard shining with the colours of Hungary. There is no time for many words, no time to inaugurate the decoration of the colours with the accustomed ceremonies; but here, under the free canopy of God's heaven, let us swear a solemn oath that we will defend them with the last drop of our blood, and that with them to lead us we will save our country and ensure our freedom! Hurrah for our country! Hurrah for Liberty!"

Part I. consists of letters from the Count to his wife Lizzie, showing the tenderest care for her and the children, of whom the daughter, "naughty Bessie," was only four, and the son (of whom he wrote to his wife, "Your son must be a free citizen of the great German fatherland") was only one year old, when Leiningen chose death rather than desert his cause. In spite of his disinterested love for his espoused country, his letters were constantly opened by the authorities.

Part II. is the Count's Journal from February 22, 1849, till the day of his execution, October 6, 1849. This part of the work is especially interesting in his thrilling descriptions of battles, such as those of Czibakháza and Jarkováz. There are also interesting autobiographical sidelights upon the character of Kossuth, whom he did not admire, and of Görgey, whose true worth he fully perceived, and whose good faith he upheld, even in the face of death and apparently contradictory adverse circumstances. The last part, written in captivity, is full of philosophical and criticising touches which reveal his character, and is explained by his remark: "The solitude of a prison makes us look inwards."

Part III., containing his letters written in prison at Arad, will be the most interesting to Suffragettes. They are such brave, unselfish letters! The only thing which troubles him is that his "honourable name has been made the victim of a shameful calumny," because he who had saved the lives of many hundreds of Austrians was vilely accused on a false charge of ordering some Austrian officers to be shot. The last letters are harrowing in their suppressed tragedy. In his last letter to his wife he urges her to bring up the children to know that "their father, though condemned by human law, was at heart an honourable man who died for his convictions." This letter, however, is purposely not so tragic as the last of his own letters written on the morning of the execution to his brother-in-law, urging him to comfort his wife and family, especially in the words: "Four of us have just been done to death; the volleys are still echoing in my heart." The last letter is from this Leopold to Lizzie, in which occur words which form a fitting epitaph to this hero:—

"He passed away with his twelve comrades as a victim, a martyr in the cause of Liberty—a terrible retribution indeed! He bore himself with noble dignity when the sentence of death was read to him; and with manly courage he faced the throes of death. He died the most dignified, the finest death of them all!"

Emily Wilding Davison.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"While Caroline was Growing," by Josephine Daskam Bacon: Macmillan. Price 6s.
"The Harvest," by Evelyn Close. Lynwood and Co. Price 6s.

"Report of National Conference on Lodging House Accommodation for Womankind," F. S. King and Son. Price 6d. net.

"The Letters and Journal of Count Leiningen, 1848-49," by Henry Marczali, Ph.D.: London: Duckworth & Co., 7s. 6d. net.

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4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18, 1911.

AFTER THE PARLIAMENT BILL.

Before the General Election the Prime Minister gave a pledge that full and effective facilities for dealing with the question of Woman Suffrage would be afforded in the new Parliament. That pledge, under the Constitutional conditions then existing, was unsatisfactory, because it specified no definite point of time at which we could claim its fulfilment. As soon, however, as the terms of the Parliament Bill were made known, we saw that this Bill, if carried, would have the effect of supplying the element of certainty as to time which had been lacking when the Prime Minister's pledge was made.

The Parliament Act ensures that all Bills which pass through the House of Commons no less than two years before a General Election shall become law notwithstanding the opposition of the House of Lords. The Act also shortens the duration of Parliaments, and the combined result of these changes is that henceforward only the first two sessions of a Parliament will be effective for carrying Bills without the intervention of a General Election. Thus Mr. Asquith's promise of full and effective facilities for the Conciliation Bill must be either kept or broken before the end of next year, which is the second of the present Parliament.

It is only because the effective period of this Parliament extends until the end of 1912 that we have accepted the Government's pledge for facilities for next Session. An offer for 1913 would have been rejected, and our rejection would have been supported by vigorous and militant protest. Efforts were made to convince us that the next General Election would be postponed until 1915, which would bring the Session of 1913 within the effective period. But we have taken warning by Mr. Asquith's own statement that for four Parliaments will now be the rule, and we are convinced that the next election will come at the close of the Session of 1914. One reason for this is that when, according to Irish expectations, the Home Rule Bill becomes law in 1914, the cohesive force which unites the Coalition will disappear and a General Election will be inevitable. Irish members evidently think so, for Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., writing in the Westminster Gazette, declares that it is the Home Rule issue which alone holds together what he calls "a Coalition composed of singularly heterogeneous elements," and predicts a re-grouping of these elements when the Irish question is settled. Certainly the Irish members will take singularly little interest in the proceedings at Westminster when the Home Rule Bill is carried. Accordingly, we maintained and maintained successfully our demand for facilities before the first two years of this Parliament expire.

If the passage of the Bill through the House of Commons were even now to be postponed beyond 1912, either by direct or indirect means, this postponement would be met by active resistance. It is important to make this clear, because undoubtedly an attempt is being made to rob the Prime Minister's pledge of its reality, and to make it ineffective for the purpose of passing the Conciliation Bill through the House of Commons next Session.

At the head of this hostile movement is Mr. Lloyd George. During the negotiations which took place between the Second Reading of the Conciliation Bill and the making of the Government's pledge we have reason to know that Mr. Lloyd George was opposed to our demand for facilities within the first two Sessions of this Parliament. His desire was that facilities should be given no earlier than 1913, which would have meant that the Lords could exercise, at the expense of the Conciliation Bill, the new right which the Government have accorded to them of refusing to pass Bills until a fresh General Election has occurred. Mr. Lloyd George's plea for delay was overridden by the Cabinet, and it was decided to offer facilities for next Session, and these being effective facilities, they were accepted by all the Woman Suffrage Societies. Mr. Lloyd George has not, however, accepted his defeat, and in order that the Conciliation Bill may not have the protection of the Parliament Act he is making one more effort to prevent its reaching the House of Lords next session, and, consequently, to prevent it from becoming law in this Parliament.

Partisans of Mr. Lloyd George will cry out in horror at this impeachment of him. We do not ask them to believe the fact here recorded upon the sole authority of VOTES FOR WOMEN; we ask them to refer to the words of Mr. Lloyd George himself, and in these they will find ample confirmation of our assertion that Mr. Lloyd George's policy is to make it impossible for the Conciliation Bill to pass the House of Commons next year, before the effective period of this Parliament has come to an end. Mr. Lloyd George's declaration of policy was made at a meeting of Liberal Suffragist Members of Parliament. He advised that a wider measure should be introduced as an alternative to the Conciliation Bill, and that the facilities promised by the Prime Minister should be claimed for the purpose of carrying this measure. If this plan should prove impracticable then he recommended that as an alternative the Conciliation Bill should be so amended as to make it more "democratic."

But further he declared—and here appeared the cloven hoof—that this "democratic" measure could not be carried upon the initiative of a Private Member and could not be carried next year. "This is no news to us. We know full well that the measure which Mr. Lloyd George advocates, enfranchising as it would over seven million voters, and being as it is a purely party measure appealing only to a minority in the House of Commons, could not be carried next Session. Accordingly, we stand by the Conciliation Bill and condemn attempts to widen it; because we want women to vote at the next General Election. Mr. Lloyd George is trying to get the Bill widened; because he does not want women to vote at the next General Election. It is well for the women's cause that Mr. Lloyd George has let the cat out of the bag by admitting that this "democratic" Woman Suffrage Bill cannot be carried and is not intended to be carried through the Commons next year. Had it not been for this revelation, Members of Parliament who are genuine Suffragists might have been tempted to vote for his widening amendments to the Bill. Now that they have been told by Mr. Lloyd George himself that the effect of these amendments will be to wreck the Conciliation Bill they will naturally refuse to countenance them in any way.

We assume that Mr. Lloyd George will be reduced to moving amendments to the Conciliation Bill instead of, as he would prefer, getting precedence for an alternative measure, because we take it for granted that according to the letter and the spirit of his promise the Prime Minister will insist on providing facilities for the Conciliation Bill and no other. Even Mr. Lloyd George himself on May 30, when he gave his very extraordinary account of the Government's intentions, said that facilities were to be given for "the Bill which was read a second time the other day," this being, of course the Conciliation Bill. He also referred specifically to the promoters of the measure, these being, of course, the Members of the Conciliation Committee. The Prime Minister's own statement made it clearer still that the pledge was made to the Conciliation Committee in favour of the Conciliation Bill. His promise of facilities was made, not in the House of Commons, but in a letter addressed to Lord Lytton, as Chairman of the Conciliation Committee.

Mr. Leif Jones, M.P., has decided, notwithstanding the circumstances we have alluded to, to ask the Prime Minister whether the promise of facilities will be available for any Woman Suffrage Bill, or whether his promise refers exclusively to the Conciliation Bill. We are confident the Prime Minister's reply will be that the facilities are exclusively for the Conciliation Bill. But for the information of Private Members who may be disposed to press the claims of an alternative measure, we take this opportunity of explaining why we should regard any other reply from the Government as unsatisfactory. To give facilities for the wider measure advocated by Mr. Lloyd George will be a breach of the pledge of full and effective facilities for dealing with Woman Suffrage in this Parliament. The reason is that this wider measure is, in fact, a party Bill, and could not be carried by our composite majority, which consists of men of all parties.

We want facilities for a Bill which can be carried. We do not want facilities for a Bill which cannot be carried. The prospects of the Conciliation Bill are very bright. The necessary facilities are promised. The Bill has the support of several Ministers, including Sir Edward Grey (who has already pointed out the danger of amendments which would divide the Suffrage forces in the House of Commons), and of many of the most important unofficial members of the House of Commons. Victory seems assured. We do not, however, relax our vigilance, nor does our militant spirit weaken so long as the Conciliation Bill is not enacted. We say to those Ministers who by word and deed are endangering the fortunes of the Conciliation Bill that their tactics, if successful, would drive women to revolt.

Christabel Pankhurst.

Since the above was written Mr. Lloyd George has made a statement which is dealt with by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on page 746.

BEFORE AND SINCE WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

By Vida Goldstein, President of the Women's Political Association of Victoria. I.—THIRTY YEARS' WORK.

The Woman Suffrage Movement in Australia may be said to date from 1869, when Mrs. Dugdale, now Mrs. Johnston, spoke and wrote on the question in Victoria, arousing the usual ridicule and calumny, but it was not until 1884 that the movement was sufficiently crystallised to form a suffrage society. This organisation, the Victorian Women's Franchise League, with Mrs. Dugdale, Mrs. Lowe, and Mrs. Smythe as its chief speakers, carried on such effective propaganda that in 1889, Dr. Maloney, M.L.A., resolved to test Parliament on the question, and introduced a Bill, which received a fair measure of support. Two years later the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Suffrage Leagues co-operated in securing signatures to a Suffrage petition.

Just at this time Miss Annette Bear, the daughter of a former Member of the Legislative Council of Victoria, arrived from England, where she had been engaged for some years in Suffrage and general reform work, having taken a prominent part in the agitation that led to the age of consent being raised to 16. Miss Bear's English experience had developed in her a fine capacity for organisation. Finding a number of loose Suffrage ends in the numerous societies engaged in social reform and in favour of Woman Suffrage, Miss Bear suggested a form of unification for Suffrage purposes. The result was the United Council for Women's Suffrage, which was composed of the executive Committee of the Suffrage Leagues, and three delegates from every society that was in favour of the extension of the franchise to women, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the Vigilance Association, the Trades Hall. The United Council secured united parliamentary action, and a united election policy in regard to the Suffrage Bill, and all the societies represented preached the Suffrage gospel to their own members, educating them to see the necessity of obtaining Woman Suffrage for the furtherance of the social reforms for which each was working.

A Monster Petition.

Thirty-three thousand signatures to the Suffrage petition were obtained in less than six months. It was the largest petition that had ever been presented to Parliament on any question, and tremendous interest was aroused when the bulky document was carried by several attendants into the legislative chamber. In the General Election of this year, 1891, the United Council carried everything before it, and secured the return of a large majority of members pledged to Woman Suffrage. From that time till the final passing of the Bill in 1903, there was no further trouble with the individual Members of the Lower House, and the Suffragists' point of attack thereafter was the Upper House.

In 1893 the enfranchisement of women in New Zealand; in 1894 their enfranchisement in South Australia, due to the Cabinet being controlled by such democratic stalwarts as Mr. Charles Cameron Kingston and Sir John Cockburn, had given a great fillip to the movement in all the other Australian Colonies; and in 1899 the victory in West Australia set the seal of citizenship on Australian women even before Federation, which was now being discussed in Convention, was consummated.

The victory in South Australia had given Miss Bear, who had by this time become Mrs. Bear-Crawford, with her keen political insight, an opening of which she was quick to take advantage. Was Federation to be or not to be? This was the question agitating the electors in each Colony, and when it would be submitted to a Referendum the women of South Australia and West Australia would have the right to vote on it, a right unshared by their voteless sisters in the other four Colonies. Moreover if Federation were approved by the electors, one foresaw the future possibility of South Australian and West Australian women helping to frame Commonwealth legislation, while their sisters were still excluded. The position was intolerable, and the women made the most of it. The Federal Convention finally decided that the Federal Constitution must base the electoral laws on the freest in existence at the time of Federation. These were in South Australia, where women not only had the right to vote, but the right to enter Parliament. The electors approved of the Constitution submitted to them, and, in 1902, the Federal Franchise Bill, introduced by Sir William Lyne, passed rapidly through both Houses of Parliament.

The Broad Mindedness of Australian Men.

One feature in the Suffrage Campaign in Australia makes it radically different from that in any other country—the readiness of our men to admit that our cause was a just one, and entitled to immediate recognition. We never had any difficulty in winning the men of Australia to our side. Our real battleground was the Upper House in each Colony. The Lower Houses were elected practically on a basis of One Man One Vote, and in these Lower Houses it was easy to get a Suffrage Bill through, but the Upper Houses,

which represented only the propertied classes, who, in Australia are always against reform, stood solid against us, and it was only when we got a strong Premier in each State that we could get a Suffrage Bill through the Upper Houses.

Australia's Many Parliaments.

Before Federation there were six Colonies, each with its two Houses of Parliament, each Legislature being supreme in its own domain. Under our scheme of Federation, the Colonies, henceforth to be known as States, surrendered to the Commonwealth Parliament—the House of Representatives and the Senate—control of such departments as might, roughly speaking, be called National—Customs, Defence, Post, Telegraph, Telephone, Audit and Quarantine. Each State retained its own Legislature to deal with all questions of internal development.

For all our Parliaments women vote on equal terms with men. In the State Parliaments the franchise for the Lower Houses is one adult one vote, plus a certain privilege accorded to property holders in some States; the Upper Houses are nominee in two States, and elected on a property basis in the other States.

Unadulterated adult suffrage is the qualification for both Houses in the Commonwealth Parliament. The following table shows the sure, steady progress of the suffrage movement itself, and the see-saw position in regard to entering Parliament:—

Table with 4 columns: Year, Vote Granted, State, Eligibility for Parliament. Rows include 1894, 1899, 1902, 1902, 1903, 1905, 1908.

With the passage of the Women's Franchise Bill in the Commonwealth Parliament in 1902, it was confidently assumed that the four States where women did not vote for the State legislature would quickly fall into line, for the position was as if the women of the United Kingdom could vote for the Imperial Parliament and be denied the right to vote for the London County Council. Our confidence was not misplaced as far as New South Wales, Tasmania and Queensland were concerned, but the Victorian Upper House obstinately refused to put the women of Victoria on the same political level as the women of every other State. For the first time for many years an Anti-Suffrage Premier held the reins of Government, and although a majority of his supporters in and outside the Cabinet were Suffragists, they forsook the woman's cause for the sake of office and political patronage. For the time being we had to fall back on a few staunch private members, and a private Members' Suffrage Bill became a hardy annual, but the Upper House remained obdurate.

(To be continued.)

MODERN KNIGHT-ERRANTRY.

By James H. Cousins.

Extracts from a speech delivered before the Irish Woman's Suffrage Society, Belfast.

A noted scientist, the co-discoverer with Darwin of the theory of evolution, recently expressed the opinion that mankind, despite the multiplication of creature comforts and mechanical facilities, had in nature progressed little or nothing beyond the primitive savage. At first sight one is inclined to resent the charge; and yet, when we come to take a test, by examining the attitude of certain people at a certain time in relation to some particular activity in the consciousness of humanity, such as the movement for the political emancipation of womankind, our resentment is softened, and ends in a humble acknowledgment that the statement is not far from the truth.

Apart from the rights and wrongs of the movement mentioned, the agitation for which you stand has disclosed some disquieting circumstances, and demonstrated as fallacies at least three stock phrases that adorn the banners of modern civilisation—impartial justice, democratic government, free Press.

When you first began to act—after half a century of persuasion—you were thrown into prison by virtue of a mouldy statute. Later, to serve the ends of political strategy, you were even indicted for the offence for which some of you formerly did three months in prison. Your criminal status was raised, and punishment only meted for destruction of property—your own property. Yet here, too, a bewildering differentiation makes its appearance. In the morning you get a fortnight for substantial breaking of glass. In the afternoon my wife gets a month for breaking five shillings' worth. In the evening some who had done practically no damage get two months. It has been said that an army marches on its stomach. I wonder if the British law is administered on liver or nerves! One thing is certain: if "Justice is blind," it is blind of one eye only, the masculine one; if Justice is bandaged, she—or is it a he disguised?—can see whether the culprit wears

petticoats. Heretofore there has been a suspicion that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor. Now there is no suspicion, but a glaring certainty, that there is no interpretation and administration of bits of statutory law for women and another for men, except when they have offended in the cause of women. This, I say, is a very disquieting circumstance.

The word "veto" is in the air. "The will of the people must prevail"; but the people must wear trousers and vote. You may in every way serve your generation, but if you have made the mistake of being born a woman you will discover that the cry of veto against the Upper House covers, not a mere cry, but a definite act of veto in the Lower House. The Parliament, representing the will of the people, passes a Bill enfranchising women by a big majority; but the will of the people is not the will of the triumvirate, and your Bill is dished. And so between Big Ben and Victoria Tower we have the spectacle of a small group of men playing skittles with a great human principle, and indulging in the game of the "pot calling the kettle black."

There is a Biblical parable of a person who got free of the claim of one above him, and pressed his own claim on one below him with not too pleasant results. History, despite the proverb, repeats itself at every step. Your cause will ultimately triumph through your own exertions; but I as a man anxious for the sanity and progress of my fellows, cannot view with equanimity the disclosure of the hollow sham of representative Government in England which your agitation has brought about.

I read a report some time ago of a "great meeting" at which a "great speech" was delivered. The meeting had about 2,000 auditors; the speech was composed of platitudes of party politics. About the same time I was aware of a meeting in the largest hall in London, attended by three or four times as many as the other meeting. A fortune was raised at it in a few minutes, and a world-renowned novelist delivered one of those utterances that bring back the days of the Forum and the crown of laurel for a great thing greatly said. I did not read any reports of it in the newspapers! The first meeting was run by a party which runs a Press; the second was run by a woman's organisation which is out for freedom and justice, and scorns expediency and compromise.

That organisation, according to the wisdom of the wise, has made the one great "tactical blunder" of acting on principle outside party intrigue. It is that very blunder which is bringing victory daily nearer; it is that very blunder which, when freedom is secured, will make it impossible for women to sink to the depths of political ignominy which characterise present-day Parliamentaryism. They will not start where men have left off; they will start where men would have left off if women had been with them all along in legislation. That organisation is the greatest political combine in the history of human evolution, so far as records avail. Yet its doings are ignored by a hiring Press, save when in some exceptional demonstration of activity some isolated incident can be tortured out of all resemblance to itself in order to score a point against the women of these countries. The lie of Mr. Birrell's knee is scattered broadcast; the truth of Israel Zangwill's "sword and spirit" is ignored, and the fiction of a free and open Press is scattered to dust, to the grave disturbance of those who, like myself, are jealous for the fair name of letters.

It is evident that all the proverbs of freedom have hitherto carried an unwritten proviso: "Government without the consent of the governed is tyranny"—unless the governed be a woman. "No taxation without representation"—unless the taxed be of the feminine gender. "It is the right of the unrepresented to petition"—unless you are a mother or a daughter. Little wonder, indeed, that the moral and spiritual, not to mention the intellectual, states of the peoples of these islands are causing deep concern to religious teachers, and even to some politicians. How can such an attitude of mind do otherwise than stultify thought, word, and deed?

Your cause is just. I can find only two categories for the arguments against it—prejudice and cowardice. The Tories are afraid that you will all rush to vote Radical. The Radicals are afraid that you will all sit down in Conservatism. The Protestants are afraid that you will come under the domination of the priests. The priests fear that political liberty will lead to other phases of liberty. Everybody is afraid of everybody else. And in the country that once gave its kings to fight the battles of the Holy Sepulchre, the grand hazard of modern knight-errantry for the sake of womanhood is shivered at, and the political champions of the liberty of the subject put some of the choicest women of the land in a cell.

For the sake of the good repute of my sex I urge upon men to bestir themselves and see to it that this state of things is brought to an end. Let them get to know the truth, and then to spread it. This cause is not merely the getting of the right to vote for a few or many women. The veto is not an end; it is only a beginning. It is said that a work begun is half done. In this case the work done is only begun. It is the gateway to a richer, nobler, happier life in the home in the community, in the world at large.

THE CASE OF MARGARET MURPHY.

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

With difficulty one passes the main entrance of the Central Criminal Court, for officialdom discourages the general public, and information is well-nigh impossible to obtain.

In The Court Room.

The court room is comparatively small, but spaciouly arranged, the lower half of the walls being lined with wood panelling, whilst the upper half and the ceiling are painted white.

The Children.

When this neighbour woman's name had been called, someone had brought into court by mistake, and then hurried out again, a tiny fair-haired figure in a black cloak carrying a big umbrella, taller than herself.

There was the strong contrast between this daughter and her mother in the dock which, though accentuated here, is common amongst women of the working class.

All her life she has been a sober, hard-working woman. Eight years ago she was separated from her husband on account of his cruelty towards her.

Medical Witness.

The medical witnesses followed. The doctor from the Shoreditch Infirmary explained that the woman had nearly died from the effects of the poison, and had been "very ill" for two months.

The mother, though of course entangled by her confinement and under the strain of suckling the baby, was still, by her flower-selling, the sole support of the family of seven.

Despair.

Such hardship inevitably leaves its mark on those who suffer it; the woman was rapidly growing weaker, her seven-months' old baby weighed no more than 5 lbs. 14 ozs., though the normal weight for a child of its age is upwards of 16 lbs.

All that night she lay awake in despair. She could see no way out of her financial troubles; she saw her little one gradually wasting because she herself was too feeble and debilitated to nurse it.

Yet it was strange that anyone who had sat in court that morning should not have realised that that poor mother, who had felt herself hard pressed as people are who live in times of siege famine and shipwreck, had been so far from thinking what she did was wrong that she had imagined it, in her bewildered agony, to be the best and only right thing for her to do for the child's sake as well as for her own.

brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the woman, though recommending her to mercy. Then silence for the sentence of death was read for, and the judge, wearing the black cap, read out the barbarous words, "To be hung by the neck till you be dead," and "to be buried within the precincts of the prison."

The Economic Problem.

The case of Margaret Murphy calls up many problems. It brings clearly before us the awful poverty in which working women, with children dependent upon them, are inevitably placed under present conditions.

What does Reprieve mean?

It is true that Margaret Murphy has been reprieved, but what does reprieve mean? It is not she alone who suffers, for her husband is also reprieved.

Nowadays reprieve rarely brings with it the possibility of such fortunate happenings. On the contrary, it is usually followed by years of imprisonment, during which the prisoner, instead of being given the opportunity of learning to become a better citizen, is being taught some useful trade wherewith to earn an honest living of being instructed in the virtues and practice of domesticity and all housewifely qualities.

OUR POST BOX.

BATHS FOR MINERS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I wonder if it has occurred to your readers that the decision arrived at after the discussion in the House of Commons on the clause in the Mines Bill to make the provision of baths for miners at the pit head compulsory, might have been different if their wives as well as the miners had been consulted.

We who took part in the by-election in Mid-Glamorgan in April, 1910, were much impressed with the arduousness of the lives of the miners' wives. We came much into contact with them in the course of the campaign, and learned from them the immense amount of work entailed in the necessary shifting of the bath for the husband on his return from work.

The fact that scarcely any of the cottages are supplied with hot water necessitates the boiling of water in a large copper on the fire of the kitchen and living room, where the bath is taken. Since the passage of the Mines' Eight Hours Day Bill the work of the women has been in many cases more than doubled.

The miners' wives may prefer the old order of bathing by their own fireside, but if instead this were done at the pit head in the bath houses provided, this saving of work for their wives would result in a cleaner, tidier home for the man, better health for his wife, and greater comfort for the whole family.—Yours, etc., MABEL CARTER, 21, Oxford Road, Manchester.

THE WOMAN PAYS!

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors.—In reference to the verdict of the jury at the Surrey Assizes on the case of poor Kate Penrhyn, the clearest thing that we can do is to say that we are all in sympathy with the logical (but non-legal) mind furiously to think that the woman alone is charged with the murder of the offspring of herself and another.

What, in her friendless condition, was the poor mother to do with an unwelcome baby, knowing the harsh treatment generally given to women under such circumstances to a fallen (sic) sister?

I shall be glad to assist in any way in altering the illegal and unjust system now prevailing on the subject.—Yours faithfully, GEORGE WARD, Charlotteville, Guildford, July 21, 1911.

[A report of this case appeared in the Surrey Times for July 22.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

AN ECHO OF WEST SOMERSET.

A propos of the West Somerset by-election, a working man writes to the Women's Social and Political Union.—"I am delighted to see the result of your zeal and untiring efforts and am pleased to hear of the defeat of Mr. Ward, as although I am not a working man, I fully sympathise with you in the noble cause you have at heart."

DOES A MAN SUPPORT HIS WIFE?

Great interest has been aroused by Mrs. Penhick Lawrence's article "Does a Man Support his Wife?" published in VOTES FOR WOMEN on July 21, and many notices and comments have appeared in the Press. A Welsh paper, Y Seren a'r Cronicle, has published a translation of the whole article under the title 'A Yn ym Cwytir i Wraig?'

WOMEN AVIATORS.

Though the complete "conquest of the air" is still a dream, and flying is not by any means without danger, on the list of courageous and daring aviators are the names of many women. Miss Harriet Quimby has just succeeded in securing a pilot's licence from the Moisant school at Mineola.

They are slaves who fear to speak For the fallen and the weak; They are slaves who will not choose Hatred, scoffing, and abuse; Rather than in silence shrink From the truth they needs must think; They are slaves who dare not be In the right with two or three.

LOWELL

CHRISTMAS FAIR AND FETE.

December 4 to 9.

Someone said, "Ignore the past!" Suffragettes only look to the past that they may aim higher in the future. Members who were privileged to help and be present at the Bazaar in Princes' Skating Rink, London, two years ago have always been proud of its success.

STALLS ALREADY TAKEN.

- ARTS AND CRAFTS..... Chelsea W.S.P.U.
ANTIQUE..... Mrs. Thomas, Hanover Park, Newport, Mon. West of England.
BAG AND BASKET STALL..... Islington and Reading
BOOKS..... Kensington.
CHRISTMAS TREE AND FLOWERS..... Mrs. Marshall, Leicestershire W.S.P.U.
CUSHIONS AND MATS..... Paddington W.S.P.U.
CHILDREN'S CLOTHING..... Wimbledon W.S.P.U.
CAKES, BREAD AND YEAST FOOD..... Greenwich and Deptford W.S.P.U.
CURIOS AND BRIC-A-BRAC..... Miss Wilson, 34, Ambleside Av., Stratham, Leicestershire W.S.P.U.
DRESSES, DJIBBABS, & OVERALLS..... W. Cropton W.S.P.U.
GUSSETS AND COMPE-TITION..... Leeds W.S.P.U.
HOUSEHOLD AND FURNISHING..... Hertfordshire W.S.P.U.

It has been suggested there should be an International Stall, and daughters of other lands resident in London who are willing to give practical help are asked to write immediately to Miss Olive Smith, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Miss Dore, Willox (Springfield, Hilperston Road, Frowbridge) writes:—Miss Keble hopes that West Wilt will contribute largely towards the bag and basket stall. During the months of August and September, while meetings are in abeyance, members will be well in using their spare moments in making and collecting articles suitable for the stall.

Four competitions are now open:— 1. Baby's White Pinafore. Entrance, 3d. Materials not to exceed 2s. Prize, 5s. 2. Baby's White Robe and Petticoat. Entrance, 6d. Materials not to exceed 10s. 3. Baby's White Robe and Petticoat. Entrance, 6d. Materials not to exceed 10s. 4. Baby's First Short White Frock. Entrance, 6d. Materials not to exceed 5s.

Each competition is subject to a minimum of twenty entries. Prizes to be given on October 15. Points will be given for original reform designs and workmanship. Prizes to be taken out in stall goods during fair and fete. Application for entries should be made at once to Miss Nuthall, Holly Lodge, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey. Mrs. Mansel (Bath) reminds members that the holidays are an excellent opportunity for collecting promises of things towards the Bath Stall. Leather work, including book-binding, leather frames, etc., will be particularly acceptable. Address: 12, Walcott Street, Bath.

Miss Pease, 347, Goswell Road, E.C. 1, will be glad to have the co-operation of another local Union with the Brouse Stall. No article should be sold from any stall except as clear profit to the funds of the Union, and no agreement with manufacturer or other person to purchase can under any circumstances be allowed.

DISTINGUISHED SPORTSMEN.

In all kinds of sports requiring great skill and daring women have lately distinguished themselves in an unusual degree. At the recent International Horse Show at Olympia one of the finest riders in the jumping competition was Mrs. F. D. Lewes. Owing to the limited amount of space available the jumping at Olympia is peculiarly difficult, requiring a great deal of nerve as well as skill.

range, and at the 600 range she started off with a bull's eye and then proceeded promptly to reach the excellent total of 30. This range she scored 64 in all. Mrs. Charman and Miss Sharp made 64 and 63 respectively. All three women came into the prize list of the Alexandra against all comers, including many of the best shots in the country.

Miss Walsh, of Beaver Dam, Alberta, recently won a world's record for a high jump by a woman amateur rider. Though Mrs. Walsh had only ridden the pony once before, "Smoky" cleared the bars at 6 feet.

OUR WEEKLY BULLETIN.

Members on their holidays, as well as those at home, are evidently hard at work increasing the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN. In addition to the following list, a large number of promises continue to come in.

Table with 3 columns: Name, Address, and Amount. Includes entries for Miss S. Falcke, Mrs. L. S. Sinclair, Mrs. A. Glover, Mrs. J. B. Mamba, Mrs. J. B. Moore, Mrs. A. G. Macgregor, Mrs. G. Merylees, Mrs. A. Leigh, Miss G. West, Miss K. Snow, etc.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The London weekly free meetings, which have been discontinued for the summer recess, will be resumed at the London Pavilion on the first Monday in October. Particulars of weekly meetings in other centres where the Union is represented will be found on pages 750-751.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Scottish Tour.

Mrs. Pankhurst has started on the "Tour," and two meetings will have taken place by the time our members get this number of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Members and friends are responding splendidly to the call for help, and all the meetings promise to be most successful.

- Helensburgh, Aug. 18 .. 8 p.m.
Carnoustie .. 21 .. 8 p.m.
Charlton .. 22 .. 4 p.m.
St. Andrews .. 25 .. 8 p.m.
Blairgowrie .. 24 .. 8 p.m.
Pitlochry .. 26 .. 8 p.m.
Kingussie .. 28 .. 4 p.m.
Grantown .. 29 .. 8 p.m.
Lossiemouth .. 30 .. 8 p.m.
Nairn .. 2 .. 8.30 p.m.
Fraserburgh .. 5 .. 8 p.m.
Peterhead .. 6 .. 8 p.m.
Ballater .. 8 .. 8.30 p.m.
Duncheath .. 9 .. 3.15 p.m.
Perth .. 11 .. 8 p.m.

Further dates are being arranged. Please address all enquiries, offers of help and contributions to the "Scottish Tour Fund" to Miss Una S. Dugdale, Gordon Lodge, Aboyne, N.B.

On her way South Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at Kendal on Tuesday, September 19. All Suffragists living in the neighbourhood who are able to help in arranging the meeting, selling tickets, &c., are earnestly asked to send in their names at once to Miss Wilson, High Park, near Kendal.

Miss Goldstein's Meetings.

Miss Vida Goldstein, who started a series of seaside meetings on August 11, will speak at Windermere Hydro, Bowness, to-day (Friday), at Hawkes Head on Monday, August 21, at Rhyl on Wednesday, August 23, at Llandudno on Thursday, August 24, and at Llanfairfechan on Friday, August 25.

Albert Hall Meeting, November 16.

During the next few months there is stupendous work before members of the Women's Social and Political Union, the most important being the many forms of propaganda work. Outsiders who have never thought of Woman Suffrage have to be reached, interested and converted. Members on holiday have a splendid opportunity of doing all three by disposing of tickets for the great meeting of the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, November 16. At this meeting, besides others, Mr. E. L. Griffith, M.P., has kindly promised to speak. As the leader of the Welsh Party, and a good friend to Woman Suffrage, his presence will be of great value and interest. Members are reminded that it is only through tickets that non-members may obtain tickets, and they are asked to get a supply to dispose of from Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices:—Stalls, 2s. 6d.; Arena: Blocks A and F, 2s.; Blocks B, C, D, E, Ls.; Balcony—first two rows, 1s; other rows, 6d.; and Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s. and 12s. 6d.

Each competition is subject to a minimum of twenty entries. Prizes to be given on October 15. Points will be given for original reform designs and workmanship. Prizes to be taken out in stall goods during fair and fete. Application for entries should be made at once to Miss Nuthall, Holly Lodge, Kingston-on-Thames, Surrey.

Mrs. Mansel (Bath) reminds members that the holidays are an excellent opportunity for collecting promises of things towards the Bath Stall. Leather work, including book-binding, leather frames, etc., will be particularly acceptable. Address: 12, Walcott Street, Bath.

Miss Pease, 347, Goswell Road, E.C. 1, will be glad to have the co-operation of another local Union with the Brouse Stall. No article should be sold from any stall except as clear profit to the funds of the Union, and no agreement with manufacturer or other person to purchase can under any circumstances be allowed.

range, and at the 600 range she started off with a bull's eye and then proceeded promptly to reach the excellent total of 30. This range she scored 64 in all. Mrs. Charman and Miss Sharp made 64 and 63 respectively. All three women came into the prize list of the Alexandra against all comers, including many of the best shots in the country.

DAISY TURNER.

Last week we recorded the case of Mabel Blackmore, and details have now come to hand of another such tragedy. Daisy Turner, of Cheltenham, has been committed for trial on a charge of infanticide. The circumstances of the case are particularly horrible. The girl, who was in domestic service, was sent home ill, and on the day following the dead child was found. Though in a state of mental and physical collapse, and quite incapable of answering to the charge brought against her, Daisy Turner was sent to Worcester Gaol to await the Assizes in October. As a prisoner's point of view, whether guilty or not, prison is the last place in the world for a girl in such a plight, and the effect of the treatment both on her health and her reason is, we understand, regarded with alarm. Meanwhile efforts on her behalf are being made by the Rector of Cheltenham, Miss Flora Kelly, Ireton House, The Park, Cheltenham, and others.

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION

For Women's Enfranchisement. Offices: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 6673. Hon. Organising Secy.—Victor B. Duval. The Union has taken four boxes for the meeting at the Albert Hall, on November 16. Seats (price 2s. 6d. each) can be obtained on application to the Ticket Secretary, M.P. Manchester.—Owing to many members being away on holidays it had been necessary to cancel the meeting on Aug. 25. Mr. Victor Duval will arrange for a meeting later.

HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

"Speeches pass away, but acts remain."—Napoleon.

CANTERBURY AND SOUTH KENT COAST.

Organiser—Miss E. M. Macaulay, 30, Bouverie Road, West, Folkestone.

There is still a fortnight before this campaign closes, and the organiser to the neighbourhood will volunteer to help. Very valuable work has been given in response to Miss Nicoll's appeal for paper-sellers. Thanks to Mrs. Tice and Mrs. Parro, together with Miss Nicoll's own hard work, about 5 dozen copies are being disposed of weekly at street stalls, besides those sold at the open-air meetings. More helpers are wanted, and Miss Nicoll (Salisbury Private Hotel), The Lea, Folkestone, will be delighted to hear from anyone willing to help. Canterbury members are asked to make a point of being present at the Wednesday evening meetings and to support the speaker. It has been decided to discontinue the meetings on August 22, 23, and 24, owing to the weather.

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Hon. Secs.—Miss Phyllis Ayton, 6, Edith Road, West Kensington, London, W.8. Miss Maguire, 15, Carlton Vale, Maida Vale, N.W. Names are coming in well for the paper-selling pitches at Marble Hill and Liverpool Street, but more volunteers are wanted. It would be a great help if anyone with a little free time could spend it in this way. Don't forget to save up for the Jubilee Sale!

THE ATTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

2, Robert Street, Strand, W.C. Telephone: City 1214. President—Mrs. Forbes Robertson. Organiser—Miss Mary Key-Jones. In consequence of prolonged absence from London, Miss Joan Douglas has resigned her position as Organising Secretary for the London Franchise League. All letters and communications should now be addressed to Miss Condon, who has succeeded Miss Douglas as Secretary. Members are asked to send in their touring lists in good time, in order that provincial Suffrage societies may avail themselves of their services. Many and sincere acknowledgments of the help rendered by members of the League have been received.

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Office: 43, Great Brunswick Street, Dublin. Meetings, addressed by Mrs. Garvey Kelly, Mrs. Cruise O'Brien, Mrs. Emerson, and Mrs. M. Wilkins, have been held at Kingstown and in the Phoenix Park when large crowds attended.

THE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President—The Bishop of Lincoln. Offices—11, St. Mark's Place, Regent's Park, N.W. During the Church Congress at Stoke-Newington (October 2-8), open-air meetings will be held daily at 12 and other meetings at other times. There will be two big evening meetings, at one of which the Earl of Lytton will be one of the speakers, and the President of the League, the Bishop of Lincoln, will also be present. The Brighton Branch will hold its 25th anniversary open-air meeting on the steps opposite the Bedford Hotel on Tuesday, August 22, at 6 p.m. The speaker will be the Rev. Victoria Boyle, president of the branch, and Vicar of Portcarron.

THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman. Office—5, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. Arrangements for the Lowestoft campaign have been completed and work has commenced. It is hoped that all sympathisers in the Campaign will be present at the meeting on Tuesday, August 22, at 6 p.m. The speaker will be the Rev. Victoria Boyle, president of the branch, and Vicar of Portcarron.

CATHOLIC WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Bennett, Fratelli House, Gorey, Jersey. Hon. Sec.—Miss Hon. Whately, 7, Harcourt Terrace, The Boltons, S.W. As arranged, two members attended the congress at Newcastle, which was a great success. More members joining and great interest being aroused. Notices were put in the paper, thanks to our two zealous members, Miss Lady M.A. and Miss O'Sullivan. Members staying in Bexhill are asked to communicate with the Hon. Sec. Members in Devonshire should write to Miss Monica Whately, Sunnyside, York Road, Bournemouth, South Devon, as it is hoped to arrange a meeting there. A special appeal is made to friends for the Autumn Campaign. Badges may be had, price 2d.

CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION.

President—Mrs. D. A. Thomas. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. M. E. Davies, 37, Haddon Road, Fulham, London, S.W. The article "Does a Man Support his Wife?" has been translated into Welsh and has been sent to the Welsh newspaper. Copies can be obtained from the secretary. New members are coming in from all parts of Wales. They are all very enthusiastic and are English from Holyhead to Cardiff. Will members please excuse delay in sending out badges. It is hoped everyone will have them this week.

TYPICAL.

At a meeting in South Shields, addressed by Miss Violet Taylor, after three cheers had been given for her by the crowd, a man called out in response, not a single voice taking it up. This says a correspondent is typical of the feeling towards the Suffragettes in South Shields. The meeting was held in a very liberal quarter.

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A VOTES FOR WOMEN seller, who suffers from hip disease, wishes to hear of any reader who can give, or sell cheaply, a second-hand Bath chair.

W.S.P.U. LOST PROPERTY DEPARTMENT.—Miss Kerr is in charge of this department. Enquiries as to lost property and all articles found at W.S.P.U. meetings, demonstrations, processions, etc., should be sent to Miss Kerr, Lost Property Department, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

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A BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY HOME (altitude 600 ft.)—Dean Forest, Severn and Way Valleys. England's finest forest and river scenery.

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BRIGHTON.—TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, Marine Parade. Good table. Congenial society. Terms 25s. to 30s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevorra," Bouverie Road, West. Board-residence; excellent position; close to sea and Lee's bank; and overlooking pleasure gardens; separate tables.—Proprietress, Miss Key, (W.S.P.U.).

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KENILWORTH.—Pear Tree Farm, Meer End. Paying guests received. Farm lies high, in charming district. Home comforts. Terms moderate.—Apply Miss Cohen.

LADY (professional) desires to share her small, well-appointed flat with another lady. Bath, constant supply hot water, telephone, electric light. Central position. Terms moderate.—Apply H. D., 5, Pennard Mansions, Goldhawk Road, W.

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NEAR PARIS.—Pleasant Country House, 20 mins. by rail from Paris. Ladies received on pension; specially moderate terms for teachers.—19, Avenue Victor Hugo, Chatou (S. et O.).

PORTOBELLO, Edinburgh. Villa near sea-car and train. Six rooms, kitchen, scullery, bath, h. & c., electric light; sub-let September.—28, Argyle Crescent, Portobello.

PROFESSIONAL women wanting occupied rest may obtain it at "The Whims," Chalfont St. Peter, Bucks.; a private residence where long or short courses of gardening or domestic science can be taken.—Terms on application.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Rooms, 25s.; cubicles from 18s. 6d. week with board; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, London, W.

S. DEVON.—Paying Guests received in comfortable home, or would take charge of a child. References exchanged; for terms apply—L. H., 102, Pinstone Street, Sheffield.

SUFFRAGETTES.—Spend your Holidays in Brighton. Meals in garden when weather permits.—For terms, write to Miss Turner, W.S.P.U., "Seaview," Victoria Rd., Brighton. Nat. Tel., 1702.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Homelike. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Room and breakfast from 3s.—Madame Veigelé, 63 and 65, Hereford Road, Baywater, W.

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A LADY will let furnished flat, for unfurnished rent only. £3 monthly to careful lady. 4 rooms, piano, and bathroom; electric light. Letters only.—Miss R., 11, Essendine Road, Maida Hill.

AMONG THE PINES.—Furnished House to let, 8 rooms; on hill, good garden with sleeping-out-house. Healthy and beautiful situation. Treasure servant, can be left. Nominal rent.—Cady, Borough Green, Kent.

FURNISHED Flat to let from September. High Street, Marylebone. Three minutes from Baker Street Tube. Two bedrooms, sitting-room, kitchen, bathroom.—Particulars and order to view from Mrs. Dunn, Wallisay, Cheshire.

FURNISHED House to let in Brighton.—Six bedrooms, bathroom, 2 sitting-rooms, &c. Telephone, Central.—Miss Turner, Sea View, Victoria Road, Brighton.

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NORTH WALES, Barmouth.—Furnished Cottages to let, September or longer. 6 rooms; two guineas weekly. References.—Box 576, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office.

SMALL FURNISHED BED-SITTING ROOM to let (Breakfast only) to young gentleman engaged during day. Attendance. Central London.—Write, Box 392, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

STUDIO.—Three rooms, pantry (sink, stove), bathroom (hot, cold). Two enfilades, garden. Tube close.—Rent £65, redecorated.—Davidson, 2, Vinery Villas, Park Road, N.W.

TO LET, September.—Small Furnished Cottage in pleasant country. 10s. 6d. per week. 3 bedrooms, 1 sitting room. References.—Miss Chamber, Spratton, Northampton.

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WANTED by mother and daughter, three rooms, one fitted as kitchen. Near Hampstead or Belsize Park Tube Stations preferred. Rent must be moderate.—Write, Box 686, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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ANSTEY Physical Training College, Edington, Warwickshire, offers a full professional training for girls seeking a useful and attractive calling. Excellent appointments obtained after training. College re-opens September 23rd.

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GOD'S WORD TO WOMEN has never been a word of disapproval and suppression. The Bible encourages the development of woman and stands for her perfect equality with man, in spite of the teachings to the contrary. Do you wish to equip yourself for meeting the arguments of those who attempt, with sacrilegious hands, to throw the Bible in the way of woman's progress? Do you wish to know WHERE and HOW they mistranslate and misrepresent it? Send 7d. for 101 Questions answered, a Woman's Catechism, prepared purposely to solve your perplexities.—Katharine Businell, Hawarden, Chester.

LITTLE SALON.—Friendly Literary Circles, afternoon and evening. Held Central London. Ladies and Gentlemen. Speakers and non-speakers. For terms (letters only)—Hon. Sec., 15, Rectory Chambers, Church Street, Chelsea.

SELF-DEFENCE for Suffragettes. Lessons daily from 10.30. Jiu-jitsu, physical culture, fencing, taught personally by Ethel Garrard at 9, Argyle Place, Regent St., W. (only address).—Tel. 2362 Holborn.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production, and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private classes or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zaigwell writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness, . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

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