

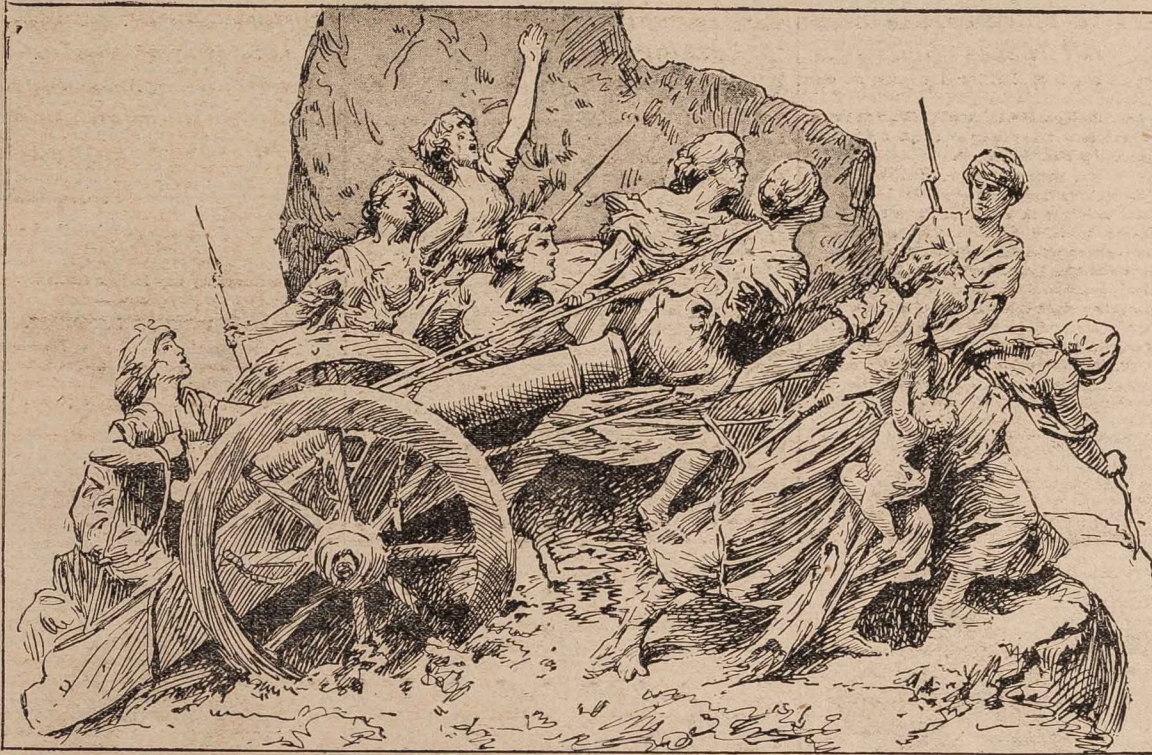
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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One of M. Augustin Querol's beautiful designs on the monument at Saragossa, unveiled December, 1909, to commemorate the Centenary of the Saragossans' struggle for freedom. (See the Article on p. 71).

When circumstances, forcing women out of the sphere of their ordinary nature, compel them to exercise manly virtues, they display them in the highest degree, and when they are once awakened to a sense of patriotism, they carry the principle to its most heroic pitch. The loss of women and children during the siege was very great, fully proportionate to that of the men; they were always the most forward, and the difficulty was to teach them a prudent and proper sense of the danger!—*Southey* ("History of Peninsular War").

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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.

During the past week several important interviews have taken place. On Friday Mr. Asquith received a deputation of woman suffragists in his constituency (East Fife), and was questioned by them as to the intention of the Government with regard to the Conciliation Bill in the autumn. According to one account he declined to make any definite statement, saying that the opposition of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill did not necessarily imply that facilities would not be given, but that they must "wait and see." According to another account, which we believe to be more correct, Mr. Asquith stated that the sitting of Parliament in the autumn was not likely to last for more than a month and that under these circumstances there would be no time to discuss the Conciliation Bill. He proceeded to express

the view that this Bill was objectionable because it was undemocratic. As to the course of business next year, he was not prepared to express an opinion.

Mr. Birrell.

Mr. Birrell received a deputation of women on Friday last in the Council Chamber of Dublin Castle. He expressed himself entirely favourable to the Conciliation Bill, which enfranchised a million women, whose claims were as good as any that could be put forward by men who at present possess the vote. He was not a believer in universal suffrage. We are glad that Mr. Birrell made this clear, because it shows that Mr. Lloyd George's proposals would not command full support even among Woman Suffragists of his own party, while they would antagonize every Conservative Suffragist. Mr. Birrell went on to say that it was not possible to provide facilities in the autumn, but he was in favour of facilities being given next year to a new Bill which would have an "open title," and be capable of amendment. Woman Suffragists are not prepared to wait till next year. Their experience is that next year never comes. If the Government are prepared to give the House of Commons the opportunity of settling the question let them do so now, for, as the *Manchester Guardian* points out, for Cabinet Ministers to say there is no time means neither more nor less than that they refuse to find time. Equally do we fail to see why Mr. Birrell is prepared to throw over the Conciliation Bill, for which there is an overwhelming majority both in the country and the House of Commons and of which he himself expressly approves, in favour of a Bill with an "open title" which can be hacked about by a combination of open opponents and false friends into a shape in which it will be unacceptable either to the country or to the House of Commons. Finally, Mr. Birrell said, as to methods, that it would be impertinent on his part to express any opinion of either the wisdom or the folly of any particular course. We thank him for this courageous remark, and recommend

its consideration to open enemies and to treacherous supporters.

Ignorance in the House of Commons.

Sir George Scott Robertson, Member for Central Bradford, received a deputation of women Liberals and other Suffragists, including Miss Mary Phillips, on Wednesday in last week. He expressed the opinion that the Conciliation Bill was objectionable on several grounds, one of which was that it would "not enfranchise a married woman who paid rates and taxes and supported her family whilst her husband was away, say, on an expedition to the North Pole." A copy of the Bill was accordingly produced, and Sir George Scott Robertson was asked to read it. After doing so he was compelled to admit his mistake. The deputation then proceeded to point out that this carelessness on the part of M.P.'s on questions concerning women showed the absolute necessity for women to have the vote, and this point of view has been further emphasised by Miss Maude Illingworth, the well known Liberal woman, who was a member of the deputation, in a letter sent to the Press.

Other Interviews.

Both the members for Bath have been interviewed by deputations of women. Lord Alce Thynne argued that there were no sex grievances, and he did not see that women wanted the vote to deal with other questions. Sir Charles Hunter expressed himself a supporter of the Conciliation Bill, but against universal suffrage. Pressed by Mrs. Mansel to sign a memorial to the Prime Minister for further facilities this autumn, he said he would consider the matter. We understand that he is now prepared to do so. Col. Hickman, M.P. for Wolverhampton South, received a deputation of Women, including Miss Dorothy Evans, and said that though he was in favour of women who pay rates and taxes having the vote, he was against universal suffrage. He believed in facilities being given to the Bill.

The By-Elections.

South Shields has returned Mr. Russell Rex by a very much reduced majority, while Sir J. Simon has been re-

MY WEEK IN PRISON.

By Victor D. Duval.

If anyone had suggested to me as I left my office for the City Temple on Monday, October 17, that the result of my visit would mean arrest and subsequent imprisonment, I should certainly have smiled and said, "Nonsense!" Yet it is true that I have been incarcerated in Pentonville Gaol for one week, and I am glad, because I feel how necessary it is for men to show the Government that they also are in deadly earnest and are prepared if need be to make sacrifices in order that justice shall be done to the women of the country. My real offence was that I went to the City Temple to interrogate Mr. Lloyd George, and knowing the slipperiness of Cabinet Ministers, I thought it better to see him outside the building rather than to take my chance inside. I had no intention of offering, nor did I offer him, any personal violence or any threatening language. But I put to him a plain, straightforward question as to the intentions of the Government with regard to the Conciliation Bill. When, instead of replying, he tried to run away I caught hold of his coat in order that he might be compelled to answer, and when he did not do so I told him that in my opinion he was a traitor and a hypocrite. For this offence I was fined 40s. or seven days, and I chose the latter alternative. On principle I will never pay a fine for any work I do on behalf of Woman Suffrage.

On reaching Pentonville some four hours after sentence was pronounced I was taken to what is known as the Receiving Room. This room had the appearance of a schoolroom, there being rows of forms, a few shelves of books, and a desk at one end where a prison officer sat. My name was taken, and the official blue paper was handed over to the receiving officer by the "Black Maria" guard. I was then escorted to the Reception Room, a long compartment furnished with rows of little boxes on either side, with a table at the end, at which sat one of the warders. I was put into one of these boxes quite near to the table, and locked in. Presently the door was opened and I was able to follow everything that was taking place. Nearly all the boxes were occupied, and men were being brought one by one before the officer at the table. I listened carefully to what was said, and I soon discovered that each man had to give certain particulars as to age, place of abode, whether married or not, and so on. The faces of nearly all the men were haggard, and the great majority of the 110 prisoners who presented themselves on this evening had no fixed home.

Refusal to Wear Prison Dress.

My turn came at last, and after having furnished the information required of me, I was told to go into a little ante-room and wait. Presently a warder came up to me and told me to take off my shoes and undo my waistcoat, from which I gathered I was to undress and put on prison clothing, so I said, "Do you mean to say that I, a political prisoner, am to wear prison clothing?" He replied, "Yes, certainly." "Well," I replied, "I refuse to wear prison clothing, and shall be obliged if you will carry my message to the governor." I was then told that I could retain my own clothes until the morning, when instructions as to my treatment would be forthcoming. I was then taken to a cell and asked if I wanted supper. "What is the supper?" I ventured to ask. "Bread and porridge" was the reply. So I declined with thanks. After the cell door had been slammed and fastened I began to examine the interior. There was a plank bed, a mattress, blankets and sheets, a small wooden table, a wooden stool, a tin of fresh water, two tin buckets, and a bundle of rags and brushes for cleaning purposes. I soon decided to make up my mind to retire for the night, but it was some hours before I closed my eyes.

The next morning I was called at six o'clock, and told to put out my tin and fold up my bedding. This I did, and at seven o'clock my breakfast—a piece of brown bread and a tin of the very poor-looking stuff called tea was brought to me. I looked at it and explained to the warder that being a political prisoner I must insist upon having decent food, that I would not touch the prison food, and that I should like to see the governor. A couple of hours later the governor appeared. Having put my case before him, I was informed that he had no power to do otherwise than treat me as an ordinary second division prisoner, but that he would communicate with the Home Office and ascertain whether I could wear my own clothes and buy my own food. At the same time he urged me to eat something, pointing out that he did not want to have any trouble, and that I, being a young man, would feel the effects of going without nourishment in after-life. Several more visits were paid me during the day by the governor, doctor, and chief warder, but to all their entreaties I said I would wait and hear the reply from the Home Office. This came late in the afternoon, and it was to this effect: While the Secretary of State considered that I was not entitled to special treatment, in view of the fact that the magistrate had taken a lenient view of my offence, he would on this occasion allow me to wear my own clothes and purchase my food from outside. The governor then explained to me that there was nobody in the prison who could fetch the food for me, and asked me what I was going to do about it. I said to him: "Do you mean to say that you have no machinery for administering the laws that are made?" He then said he would try and arrange something. After this little

incident the food that I ordered was brought to me at the scheduled feeding-hours, and all I had to do was to sign a declaration that I would pay the bill.

On the Tuesday evening I tried to sleep, but could not do so; there seemed to be no air in the cell, and I felt as if I were being stifled. I lay awake all through the night, and was thankful when the bell rang for me to get up. When the governor and a visiting magistrate came to see me later in the day I told them that I should like more exercise (I had been having only one hour out of the twenty-four in the fresh air); my request was granted, and during the rest of my stay I was permitted to have one and a-half and sometimes two hours.

I was pressed many times to pay the fine, was told of the stigma that would rest with my children, if ever I had any, on account of their father having been in prison, and how the women were able to take care of themselves. In reply to these statements I just tried to convince the officials of the necessity for strong and determined action, and I hope that, if ever they should have other suffrage prisoners under their charge, they will not weary them with these petty remarks; but will try and understand the spirit which moves certain individuals to go to prison rather than submit to the tyranny of an illiberal Government.

As a result of one week in prison I can testify by actual experience to the terrible sufferings that the hundreds of women must have endured who were imprisoned during the past few years. It requires some courage to go to prison, and it requires a good deal more to go the second time, and often as I sat in my cell in Pentonville Gaol I thought of the women who went to prison more than once, and how the treatment meted out to them with the treatment I was receiving, after my protest had been made, and I felt how much I owed to those who had won for me this special treatment.

I thought of the cause on behalf of which all these sacrifices had been made, and I prayed in my heart that men would come forward in their thousands and so render unnecessary any further militancy.

WELCOME BREAKFAST.

A Welcome breakfast was given to the ex-prisoners at the Estuace Miles Restaurant at 9 a.m. on Saturday, and though many members were reluctantly absent owing to their professional duties, the total number present was close on a hundred.

Mr. Rutter said that when their friends went to Pentonville the M.P.U. asked the Home Office to give them the treatment accorded to political prisoners. The following is the reply:

Sir,—With reference to your letter of the 25th instant in the case of Victor Duval and George Jacobs, I am directed by the Secretary of State to inform you that persons guilty of rowdiness in the street or assault upon the police would, in ordinary circumstances, come within the class for whom the privileges of the new rule have been designed; but in view of the circumstances, and as the magistrate sentenced them to serve in the Second Division, the Secretary of State has, by special direction, decided to allow the application of the rule in their case.

(Signed) W. P. BYRNE.

Lady Constance Lytton proposed good health and prosperity to Messrs. Duval and Jacobs. To welcome those gentlemen on coming out of prison seemed, she said, like a dream—and a very good dream. Their action had emphasised the fact that the campaign to secure votes for women was not a sex war; it was a great fight that was being undertaken now by men as well as women. Their action would be written in the annals of the fight in letters of gold.

Mrs. Despard, seconding the proposal, said it was a grand thing for them to find men putting themselves in the very front of the battle. Her "brother," Mr. Jacobs, and her "young brother," Mr. Duval, by what they had done had strengthened the hands of the women enormously. Such a lesson had never before been taught and it was a great augury for the future.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said it was a great thing to find that the woman's movement was felt to be so important, so sacred that men, as well as women, were prepared to make great sacrifices in order to push it forward to success. She and her fellow ex-prisoners welcomed Messrs. Duval and Jacobs as comrades, admitted them to the inner band of rebels.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, speaking as a member of the Men's Political Union, said the M.P.U. was very proud of them, and their action made all members proud to belong to the M.P.U.

Mr. Victor Duval, responding, after saying that it was well worth doing a week in prison if only to be admitted a member of the "inner band" of fighting rebels, gave an account of his imprisonment, some details of which appear in his article.

Mr. George Jacobs, who was also received with tremendous enthusiasm, said it was a privilege for men to do something for the women who were sacrificing their lives for this great cause, fighting not merely to gain a vote for themselves, but to have the power to use that vote for good, for the good of men and women, for the benefit of humanity.

At a further meeting of the M.P.U., at Caxton Hall, on Tuesday evening, £50 was raised for the funds.

LYSISTRATA.

Mr. Laurence Housman sends us his own rendering of the passage from Aristophanes' play, quoted in Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article of October 21st.

Aye, for of former times now would I speak,
 And former wars, when women all too meek,
 Howe and endured; and then, when sick at heart,
 Yet, with a smile, we sought to know what part
 He played for peace—in wrath the answer flew,
 "Be silent, woman! What is that to you?"
 And I was silent.

M.P. Aye, and you had best
 Be silent now!
 Lys. Silent I strove to rest
 There in the home, till presently again
 Came news of further mischief; and when faint
 I knew the cause of it one dared to ask
 "How is it, husband, that ye do this task?"
 He men—so ill?
 Quick, with a furtive eye, he sought
 Grudging one's right to question, he would cry
 "Stick to your loom, leave politics to women,
 Lest ye fare worse!"
 How we ourselves are treated
 Let us not speak of to the world!

PRIME MINISTER INTERVIEWED.

On Thursday in last week, at Provost Robertson's residence in Scotland, the Prime Minister granted an interview to two ladies resident in his constituency, who desired to learn from him if further facilities would be granted this session for the consideration of the Conciliation Bill.

Mr. Asquith in his reply said he could not promise that such facilities would be granted this session, which he pointed out had only one month to run.

The deputation expressed the opinion that those members who voted for the Bill had done more than affirm the principle of women's suffrage, and they stated that the action of Mr. Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George in voting against the second reading of the Bill was an evidence of the fact that the Government did not desire the Bill to go any further.

Mr. Asquith disagreed with this view, and before the interview closed one of the ladies remarked that she supposed they would just have to "wait and see."

According to another account Mr. Asquith expressed surprise that the women should ask for facilities for the Bill, and alleged that the Bill had been introduced on the understanding that it would go no farther than a second reading. He also objected to the Bill as being undemocratic. The Prime Minister gave no hope of facilities during the next Session, and would say nothing as to future possibilities.

DEPUTATION TO MR. BIRRELL.

Mr. Birrell received a deputation from the Irish Women's Franchise League at Dublin last Friday, consisting of seven ladies from Dublin and Belfast, accompanied by Mr. Nannetti, M.P. The events which led up to the Chief Secretary's decision to receive the deputation were reported in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Mrs. Cousins said they thought it necessary to make it clear to Mr. Birrell, as the responsible Minister for Ireland, that Irish women were quite as desirous of getting Parliamentary representation as English, Scottish, or Welsh women. Their methods had hitherto been peaceful, for there was a general feeling in Ireland in their favour, and they appreciated Mr. Birrell's sympathy. There was an exclusively Irish Association, formed because of the peculiar political conditions. They had their own policy and tactics, and this was specially required because in recent legislation affecting the women of the country Irish women had been left out. They asked him to use his influence in the Cabinet to secure facilities for passing the Conciliation Bill before the end of the coming session. If when Parliament met facilities were again refused, the only course open to self-respecting women would be to resort once again to militant tactics, and in that event Irishwomen would not be backward. Mrs. Kettle said that it was important to point out that at least three-fourths of the Irish Party were in their favour and had professed their faith in Woman's Suffrage. Mrs. Elliott (Belfast) also urged on Mr. Birrell to support the claim. The women of the North of Ireland felt very strongly on the subject, and were quite as determined to stand to their guns as their sisters across the water. (Hear, hear.)

Chief Secretary's Reply.

Mr. Birrell said it was impossible to resist some, at all events, of the arguments employed for Woman's Suffrage, and, therefore, he voted for the Conciliation Bill and supported it in the House of Commons, in the Cabinet, and elsewhere, and he would certainly vote for it again. He would like to say one word about the vote he gave for keeping that Bill downstairs. To have sent it upstairs would have been a breach of the distinct understanding arrived at in all parts of the House a few years ago when the practice of sending Bills before Special Committees was initiated, that no controversial Bill of any sort or kind should be taken away from the Committee of the whole House to be sent upstairs to be thrashed out in a small Committee. To send it up would have been a breach of Parliamentary faith, and, besides, would have been useless, and the scenes in that Committee upstairs would have been of a character that would have been discreditable. The Conciliation Bill was highly controversial. Numbers of members on both sides were bitterly opposed to it, some for one reason, some for another, some because they objected to the idea of introducing women into political life, but that was very ridiculous because they were in political life already and could not be kept out. The deputation said in all Ireland the people were unanimously for it. Such unanimity would be very remarkable, but that certainly was not the case in England, where a man who wanted to get a rather cheap or dirty kind of popularity amongst the vulgar type of the inhabitants of his constituency could do nothing more popular than to get up on the platform and say, "Never, never, under any circumstances, will I give a vote to women." The Bill, instead of being sent to a small Committee upstairs, must, like any other great measure of constitutional change, be considered in Committee by the whole House.

Then as to next session, that would not begin till November 15, and would certainly last till December 15. It was simply a postponed session for the purpose of dealing with the postponed Budget, and he was quite sure it would be simply impossible to give the time for the discussion of the Conciliation Bill. He was strongly of opinion that in the course of next year facilities must be given, because otherwise women were placed, owing to the division of opinion between both parties, in a helpless,

hopeless state. The Tory Party were divided and the Liberal Party were divided, and, therefore, it seemed to him that Women's Suffrage might be postponed for ever, and that they would never get a Government to take up the Bill as their own. The Bill would have to be introduced in a form which would admit of amendment, and a large party would oppose it altogether. Therefore, it would take time. But it was entitled to time. And, therefore, said Mr. Birrell, I certainly think (and in this I am only expressing an opinion that I have expressed in private before), with apologies to members of my own party, I certainly think the time of shuffling and delay in this matter has gone by, and that time will have to be given.

Not Prepared to Criticise Methods.

Proceeding, he said it would be a big job and a long job, and it was an important matter that ought to have been treated a long time ago. He would do the best he could in the coming year to see that it obtained a full measure of Parliamentary time, which it could only obtain if facilitated by the Government of the day. Referring to the Woman's Franchise League, he said it was unnecessary for him to say anything about the methods that people might pursue. "That is on their own responsibility, and it would be an impertinence on my part to express any opinion on either the wisdom or folly of any particular course. I think you are perfectly right in feeling irritated and annoyed at the delay that has taken place and in insisting on a date for definite Parliamentary action." Referring to what Mrs. Cousins said about safeguarding the rights of Irish women in this matter, Mr. Birrell said he was sure the Irish members would see to it that there would be no exclusion or interference in any way with the rights of Irish women.

GREAT ALBERT HALL MEETING.

Six days only remain before the Great Albert Hall Meeting, on Thursday, November 10. Members of this Union count among their great triumphs the series of Albert Hall meetings, which have always been a source of inspiration and help. But they must not keep their good things to themselves. There are hundreds of women in London who know little about the woman's movement, and they must be reached. It is only through each member realising her responsibility and doing her share of the work that this can be accomplished. For although strangers are heartily welcome, a regulation of the Albert Hall prevents them purchasing tickets except from members of the W.S.P.U. Every member is accordingly asked to make it a point of honour to bring two unconverted friends and to guarantee the disposal of several additional tickets. Among those still remaining to be sold are a few Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Loggia Boxes, holding eight, 21s.; Second Floor Boxes, holding five, 12s. 6d. In addition to the reserved seats the whole of the Balcony and Gallery are being thrown open free to women, and a certain number of free tickets have been issued which will secure admittance to these parts of the Hall. Members are invited to take these and to distribute them to those women who, while anxious to be present, are unable to afford the price of a ticket. Application should be made to the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Mrs. Dallas (W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.), who is organising the various schemes for making the meeting known, makes urgent appeal for helpers, and also for motor-cars during the few remaining days.

Some more stewards are also wanted, and Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., will be glad if members will send in their names at once, so that arrangements may be completed. Members only are eligible, and they should be at the Hall not later than 6 o'clock.

AT THE SIGN OF THE CLOCK.

Christmas will soon be here, and there will be shortly a brave show of presents of all kinds under the Clock. The special Christmas bazaar opens on Monday, November 14. If any reader of VOTES FOR WOMEN has not yet discovered where the Sign of the Clock is, let him—or her—take an omnibus or tube to Tottenham Court Road and turn down Glaxo Cross Road. A few doors down on the left side, at No. 156, will be seen the clock, with its hands pointing not to the hour of day, but to the question of the hour—Votes for Women! In the shop window under the clock, and on the counter within, everything that can possibly be needed for Christmas presents is to be found displayed, and never before has so large and varied a collection of pretty and useful articles been seen here. There are Christmas crackers—both Suffragette crackers and ordinary ones—the prices ranging from 6d. to 2s. 6d. per box. There are boxes of Votes for Women cigarettes, specially suitable as presents to men, friends, and relations, and boxes of stationery with the beautiful design by Sylvia Pankhurst as a watermark. And who could resist a stationery cabinet in the colours, containing a writing pad, notepaper and envelopes, postcards, and everything the writer needs? The price is only 2s. 6d. Of course, calendars for 1911 have not been forgotten, and of these two, prepared by Miss V. H. Friedlander and Miss Lelachour, with special designs, price 1s. each, will be ready soon. Christmas cards, too, will be ready shortly, so don't buy elsewhere!

The duty of members, however, does not stop at buying; they are also asked to supply goods. Mrs. Knight at 156, Charing Cross Road, and Local Secretaries, wherever there is a W.S.P.U. shop, will gladly welcome all kinds of fancy and useful articles suitable for selling at the Christmas Bazaar. Presents for children will be most welcome. Mrs. W. W. Jacobs of Loughton, has already set the ball rolling by sending a very generous contribution of pretty and useful things to the Woman's Press. Many other friends and members of the Union are busy on work for the Bazaar, and it is suggested that they should kindly send in their gifts as soon as possible. All parcels should be addressed to 156, Charing Cross Road, or to the local shops, the addresses of which will be found on pp. 74 et seq. We hope that others will follow Mrs. Jacobs's splendid example.

Debenham & Freebody

Wigmore Street,
(Cavendish Square) London W.

TWENTY-FIVE-GUINEA FUR COATS

In order to meet the demand that has arisen for reliable and, at the same time, popularly priced Fur Coats, we have designed four special Coats, two of which are illustrated below. All these Coats are designed and made on the premises by our own expert furriers. The skins are invariably of sound quality, the shape and workmanship are excellent, the Furs those that are now most fashionable, viz.: Mole, Grey Squirrel, Seal Musquash, and Natural Musquash.

NATURAL MUSQUASH COAT

(as sketch).

Made from selected skins, lined best quality squirrel lock.

25 Guineas.

Also in Seal Musquash, lined Silk.



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25 Guineas.

Also in English Mole skin.

FUR CATALOGUE POST FREE.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS. SOUTH SHIELDS.

RESULT. Mr. Russell-Rea (L) 7,923 Mr. Vaughan-Williams (U) 4,910 Liberal Majority 3,019

Over 1,000 votes turned! That is something to be proud of. At the General Election the Liberal candidate was returned with a majority of 4,236.

Over 1,000 votes turned! That is something to be proud of. At the General Election the Liberal candidate was returned with a majority of 4,236.

WALTHAMSTOW. RESULT.

Sir J. Simon (L) 16,673 Mr. Stanley Johnson (C) 13,507 Liberal majority 3,166

The Suffragettes, when they undertook the battle in Walthamstow, knew that they had to face not only the very great popularity of Sir John Simon, which has very much increased since the last election, but also the pride of the sitting member being represented by a Cabinet Minister.

THE FINAL DAYS.

The hearty reception given to the Suffragettes everywhere during the campaign, and the overwhelming majorities by which the resolution calling upon the Government to grant facilities for the Conciliation Bill was carried, again and again showed that even when the meeting did not get all the length of voting against the Liberal candidate, the women's demand for enfranchisement was fully endorsed.

THE LAST STRAW.

If members of Parliament were paid women would be able to contribute as well as men, whether they agreed with it or not. At present they contributed to the handsome salaries of Cabinet Ministers, and those same Ministers actually refused to see a deputation of women who desired to represent their wishes and claims.

CRABBED AGE AND YOUTH.

The young Turkish women have got into trouble! They are actually going about with their faces uncovered, shopping like Western women, and having tea (or coffee) in public!

WHAT ABOUT THRY GOLD?

The insult sometimes thrown at the Suffragettes that the women's cause is subsidised by the Tory party had another nail knocked in its coffin at Walthamstow. One evening's meeting brought in £7 and another £5 in twenty seats, and at the latter an additional £5 was taken in the collection.

IMPORTANT! No Time to Lose.

The Testimonial Fund for Mrs. Emy will be closed on November 12. The fund at the present moment stands at £320; it must reach £500 before the 12th, so that all members and readers who want to avail themselves of the great privilege of expressing their tribute of honour and gratitude to Mrs. Emy must do so without delay.

L.C.C. AND BOY COOKS.

We are glad to be able to state that the London County Council is not differentiating in favour of boy cooks, as we stated a little while ago on the strength of an announcement in the Press.

AN OBJECT LESSON.

The Aberdeen Trades Council has been taking up the cause of factory girls at the Broadford Works, where contract work is done for the Government. The chairman pointed out that the girls received 7s. 7d. and 8s. 2d. per week in wages, the maximum being 9s.

MANCHESTER DEMANDS THE BILL.

Manchester has followed the lead of Dublin, Glasgow, and other big centres. After a full debate, and by a majority of 43 votes to 10, the City Council has resolved to petition Parliament in favour of granting facilities for the third reading of the Conciliation Bill.

Among the many kinds of support given to the Conciliation Suffrage Bill perhaps the most striking is the action of town councils. . . . Town councils are usually reluctant to take up political questions, but this is a non-party Bill, and clearly it encounters even less opposition in the country than it did in the House.

Mr. Fletcher, who seconded the resolution, emphasised the fact that it did not ask the Council, even if they possessed the power, to commit for the people, members of Parliament were not representative of the people, but only of the men; consequently the Council had a stronger claim to ask for fair play.

Mr. Hallwood, in supporting the resolution, said that while the Council was representative of the people, members of Parliament were not representative of the people, but only of the men; consequently the Council had a stronger claim to ask for fair play.

Miss Margaret Ashton said that all they asked was that the Bill should have a fair field and no favour. They wanted a straight vote on the question. If the House of Commons said "No," the supporters of the measure would begin again, but they believed that it would say "Yes."

Mr. Thewis briefly replied, and the resolution, on being put to the vote, was carried, and the result was greeted with cheers.

It seems incredible that any body of women could wish to crush a movement which is for the well-being of the whole human race. When we see, we feel, we feel, we act. Our cause is one that strikes down to the very springs of life; it is the integral part of Christianity, the greatest cause we can stand up for.

Small Boy: "Votes for Women?" Suffragette (having forgotten her badge): "How do you know?" Small Boy: "I can tell by yer smiling face!"

That this Meeting declares its support of the Woman Suffrage Bill, which has passed its second reading by 110 votes to a majority larger than that accorded to the Government's Veto Resolutions.

The Meeting further calls upon the Government to bow to the will of the people, and to provide the facilities necessary to enable the Bill to pass into law before the end of this year.

The darkness falls and the autumn evening is chilly, but round the lobby of the Suffragettes there is the same interested crowd. She is speaking under difficulties; at one side are the passing trains, at the other a public-house which is well patronised, and in the front is the noisy street.

Now the last seven words, quite unconnected with the others made use of by Lord Cromer, occur in a letter dated February 3, 1882, addressed by Queen Victoria to her uncle, the King of the Belgians.

Alfred grows daily fonder and fonder of politics and business, and is wonderfully fit for both—such perspicacity and such courage—and I grow daily to dislike them both more and more. We women are not made for government.

Married women are between Scylla and Charybdis—they cannot go out to work and cannot claim maintenance from their husbands.

called for in justice to a large number of persons as well qualified to vote for a Parliamentary representative as they are to vote for municipal candidates. It is also claimed in the public interest, and a settlement would certainly be a vast relief to politicians and statesmen.

Among the many kinds of support given to the Conciliation Suffrage Bill perhaps the most striking is the action of town councils. . . . Town councils are usually reluctant to take up political questions, but this is a non-party Bill, and clearly it encounters even less opposition in the country than it did in the House.

Extreme sentimentality, vague and undisciplined sympathies, hasty generalisation based on imperfect information. . . . were qualities characteristic of a majority of the female sex, and sufficient of themselves to disqualify women from directing the policy of an Imperial people.

Congressman A. W. Rucker, of Colorado, is planning to call his Bill for equal suffrage out of committee at the next session of Congress. Under the new rules, a Bill which has lain in committee for three months can be got out by means of a motion from the introducer.

Women Liberals at the annual Conference of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union, at Rochdale expressed great regret that in spite of deputations and resolutions, the Prime Minister had not yet agreed to provide facilities for the Conciliation Bill.

Political doormats. The party women hold the key to the enfranchisement of women. If they continue to make political doormats of themselves, supporting members who support measures introduced by a Government that flouts the opinion of the House, they are directly responsible for the political degradation of women.

It seems incredible that any body of women could wish to crush a movement which is for the well-being of the whole human race. When we see, we feel, we feel, we act. Our cause is one that strikes down to the very springs of life; it is the integral part of Christianity, the greatest cause we can stand up for.

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GEMS OF ORATORY.

Some very amusing things from the Suffragist's point of view were said by Lord Cromer and the other speakers at the Anti-Suffrage meeting at Manchester last Thursday. Here are a few of the more sparkling gems from the Anti-Suffragist's treasure-house of oratory as reported in the Press.

"I regard women as superior to men, and therefore I don't like to see them trying to become men's equals." "The ignorance of the woman elector would remain a constitutional matter of her sex and could not be swept away in the way they would in the future by the ignorance of men electors."

Extreme sentimentality, vague and undisciplined sympathies, hasty generalisation based on imperfect information. . . . were qualities characteristic of a majority of the female sex, and sufficient of themselves to disqualify women from directing the policy of an Imperial people.

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BOOKLET OF BARGAINS SENT POST FREE

SHOOLBRED'S, TOTTENHAM HOUSE, TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD, LONDON, W.

my duty for my country and my people, and no fatigue, however great, will be burdensome to me if it is for the welfare of the nation.

And again (March 25, 1888), she wrote—"My dearest Uncle,—Good Marie (afterwards Queen of the Belgians) has not answered me. Will you remind her? I did tell her I hoped for her child's sake she would give up the nursing, as we Princesses had other duties to perform. I hope she was not shocked, but I felt I only did what was right in telling her so."

The suffrage cause does not depend on the slightest upon any individual's approval or disapproval, but it is proper that people should understand exactly the nature and objective of Queen Victoria's words, apart altogether from the consideration of any views she may have formed during the earlier period of her reign.

Yours, etc., CHARLES B. MARION, Glasgow.

"A Regular Reader" writes to point out that the most sensible and important fact embodied in Earl Cromer's speech was the recognition of the many injustices imposed upon womanless women. He adds: "None of the speakers offered a remedy, or tried to prevent a national grievance."

SEVEN MILES OF POLICE.

The Devon and Exeter Express and Echo says in reporting Mr. Lloyd George's visit to Devonshire—"Some expectation was felt that Exeter Suffragists might intend to take the opportunity of a Cabinet Minister being in their midst to press home the women's claims. Local Suffragettes, however, pointed out to a representative of the Express and Echo that, as they now have a large body of statesmen fighting on their behalf in the House of Commons, it would be unwise policy to be present in abundance. The right hon. gentleman was not, however, suffered to pass through the city entirely without reminder of the matter. A telegram awaited the arrival of the train. The text ran: "To Mr. Lloyd George,—Exeter Liberal Suffragists indignant at your betrayal of the Women's Cause. Mr. Lloyd George was also asked to receive a deputation of local Suffragists on his way home on Monday." Although requested by letter, and by a prepaid telegram, no answer was sent by Mr. Lloyd George. The Express and Echo published a copy of the letter to Mr. Lloyd George, signed by Miss Amy Montague, Hon. Sec., W.S.P.U., as well as a letter in which Miss Montague pointed out that the discreditable terms does Miss Markham decline the contaminating journey to the nearest polling-station. How different are the basic convictions of Lord Cromer! "Extreme sentimentality, vague and undisciplined sympathies, hasty generalisation based on inexperience or on imperfect information."

Interesting to compare the blunt utterance of the Premier to a deputation of Suffragists with the hopeful and comforting words of Mr. Birrell. When the ladies who were cheered by the words of Mr. Birrell in Ireland come to read what Mr. Asquith said in Scotland, it is just possible that they may feel that somehow or other Radical Ministers are merely teasing them and having a laugh at their expense.

Mr. Birrell will probably remember Grey-stones as the place where he was between the Suffragists and the deep sea, though the honour of such a position can scarcely have appealed to him.

In another column we report the speech Mrs. Pankhurst made at the town hall on Wednesday, and her arguments are sufficiently convincing to be left to themselves; but, candidly, we believe that in spite of all that has been said for the past fifty years on the subject, the vast majority of people do not know what a just thing it is that is being asked. It is simply that women who are householders—viz., the women who can vote and Trenchy in the municipal elections, shall be allowed also to vote in Parliamentary elections. This is all that is asked for, and is such a simple matter of justice that it is a mystery that politicians should fight against it in a way that seems really absurd. For any party to refuse that because they fancy the majority of the women are of an opposite party is cowardly and also foolish, because women householders are of all classes and as divided in politics as men.

The success of this strike is another proof of the fighting power of women in a noble cause. They have triumphed because they have been true to each other, and because they were fighting against conditions of life which were brutal and inhuman.

Suffragette: VOTES FOR WOMEN, one penny! Male Sympathiser: I'll have a copy, Miss, I want to take it home to my grandmother. She is 101 to-day. S.: How interesting! I hope she'll live to have a vote. M.S.: Yes, so do I. S.: Is she interested in the movement? M.S.: Yes, rather; I should just think she is!

Married women are between Scylla and Charybdis—they cannot go out to work and cannot claim maintenance from their husbands.

Alfred grows daily fonder and fonder of politics and business, and is wonderfully fit for both—such perspicacity and such courage—and I grow daily to dislike them both more and more. We women are not made for government.

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A SCHOLAR GIPSY.

In all the realm of fiction there is no personality more arresting and more attractive than Mr. Maurice Hewlett's scholar gipsy Senhouse, the lover of Nature, the apostle of joy, the propagator of rare and beautiful flowers, the friend of children and of animals, the brother of the peer and the peasant, and the equal of man and of woman. "Open Country" gave us the vision of this child of the earth and sky in all the freshness of his early youth. In "The Half-way House" we meet him in vigorous manhood. In "Rest Harrow" the noon and the heyday of life are over.

At forty-five we expect to find all that is transient in the visions of youth gone; all the colour lent to conviction by the exuberance of physical health faded. But years throw no shadow of turning upon Senhouse; there is no dimming of the vision beautiful, no chill has fallen upon his heart. It is this strong confident strain of abiding peace and strength that makes "Rest Harrow" mean so much to those who have found inspiration in the Senhouse idyll.

The book cannot be judged by the standards of realism. It is not an ordinary novel. It is a poem. It is a vision. The story is but the crystal cup that holds the precious wine of wisdom's deepest and sweetest lore. The wonder of it is that by some magic spell all his own, Mr. Maurice Hewlett is able to present his vision in very flesh and blood. The tale of Senhouse and Sanchia might have been told in a fable like the well-known fables of Greek mythology; it might have been told by an imaginary visitor to another planet. But though these two are children of the gods obedient to their own law rather than to the law of society, yet they are real and human as we are, they are warmly, vividly alive. Wandering on the Wiltshire Downs we might, it seems to us, at any time meet Senhouse face to face and talk to him as a man talketh to his friend—Senhouse "of the clear, long enduring, searching eyes, and that strange look of second-sight upon him which those only have who live apart from men, under the sky."

"It is a look you can never mistake," says the writer. "Sailors have it, and shepherds and dwellers of the desert. The eye sees through you—into you, beyond you."

There would be no shrinking on our part from that searching and seeing eye. For the soul behind it is not only the soul of a sailor of great and unexplored seas, an adventurer into time and space, a dweller in vast realms of the spirit, undreamed of by the timid and the blind, but is also the soul of the gentle Shepherd and Healer of the hearts of men. "That old chap's not a man," says Chevenix, a man of the world and his friend, "he's a spirit." Life to him was a straining at the leash, a reaching for the unattainable, a preparation to soar. And yet it was also loving every living thing and rejoicing in every law of Nature.

Part of the joy of the book is the beautiful diction; the words are strung together like pearls. And the Vision of the moment is stamped on the imagination with extraordinary power. Who, for instance, can resist the glamour of the following description?

In a sheltered hollow some hundred feet below the level at which they were, a hooded figure in pure white was startlingly splashed upon the grey-brown of the dry hills. The peak of a cow stood straight above his head, and the curtains of it covered his face. He sat squatting upon the turf, with a lifted hand, admonishing. About him, with cocked ears and quick side glances, were some six or seven hares, some reared on their haunches, some with sleek heads, intent upon the herbage, one lopping here and there in quest, but none out of range of a quick hand. Above his head, high in the blue, birds were wheeling—now up, now down. Feet were tumbling heavily, pigeons with beating wings, sailing jackdaws—higher yet, scarce in rarity, a brown kestrel soared the sky.

Senhouse and Sanchia are sojourners by chance upon this earth. Their communion is elsewhere, their relation with mankind is temporary. The spheres that govern us govern not them, and their conduct is dictated by their own law and not by the law of human society. To those who belong wholly to this world their story may be without significance. But to those who are conscious of drawing life from sources other than those of this world it opens a vision and a vista. From the deep, winding valley which runs its tortuous way between the treasuries of the Wiltshire ridge of chalk there floats to our inward ear a tune played as it were upon enchanted pipes—a melody that we have not heard since our feet strayed far from home, and we were lost upon this planet.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

ABOUT WOMEN.

What men have said about women, in prose and verse, has a special interest at the present time, and although, in this dainty little anthology, women are still on the pedestal upon which writers of all ages have combined to place them, the extravagance of much that is quoted is counterbalanced by many beautiful thoughts. Here is a choice extract—

She that would raise a noble love, must find Ways to forget a passion for her mind; She must be that which she would seem; For all true love is grounded in esteem. Plainness and truth gain more a generous heart Than all the crooked subtleties of art.

—Duckingham. Suffragettes should keep this dainty little book by them, for refreshment after the day's work.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"An Olive Branch in Ireland." By William O'Brien, M.P. London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 10s. net.
"John Bright: A Monograph." By B. Barry O'Brien. London: Smith, Elder, and Co. 10s. 6d. net.
"International Council of Women, Canada, 1909." London: Constable and Co. 2s. 6d. net.
"The Winter Queen." By Marie Hay. London: Constable and Co. 12s. 6d. net.
"Retail Drapery Advertising." By Samson Clark. London: Simpkins, Marshall, Kent, and Co. 2s. 6d. net.

"Rest Harrow." By Maurice Hewlett. London: Macmillan, 6s. net.
"The House of Womankind. An Anthology." London: Peacock, Mansfield.



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THE MAID OF SARAGOSSA.

By Emily Wilding Davison, B.A.

One of the threadbare arguments brought against giving the vote to women in the past has been the old contention that women cannot vote because they cannot fight. The upholders of this theory apparently choose to forget that some of the bravest deeds in the world's glory-roll have been performed by women. They forget Boadicea, in English history, the Maid of Orleans in French history, Kate Douglas the Bar Lass in Scottish history, and the Maid of Saragossa in Spanish history.

Agostina of Saragossa is the pride of Aragon and Spain for her heroism in the Peninsular War. Napoleon Bonaparte was by this time the terror and scourge of Europe. Having partitioned most of Europe amongst his brothers, he wanted the crown of Spain for Joseph Bonaparte. He had forced Charles IV. and his son Ferdinand to abdicate, and Joseph had entered Madrid. But some of the Spaniards were resolved to resist this move of the European tyrant to the last, and amongst them were the proud Aragonese, who chose Joseph Palafox as their leader, and in May, 1808, declared war against Napoleon in the name of freedom. General Lefebre was sent out to deal with the Aragonese. With his disciplined troops he gained three small victories over them at Tudela, Mallen and Alagon, and then advanced on Saragossa. The French anticipated an easy triumph, for Saragossa was practically an unfortified town, the number of inhabitants was 60,000, and they had only 500 soldiers, 16 ill-mounted guns, and a few muskets, and 100 dollars in the Treasury. One factor, however, the French had not taken into consideration—that the Aragonese were filled with a holy love of liberty, and also they had mistaken their natural quietness and calmness for stupidity. On June 14, a small party of French, full of insolence, entered the City. To their surprise, they met with a furious resistance, and were driven back. Next day the enemy delivered a bigger attack, and the Aragonese, although they drove them back, began to understand that a siege was imminent.

The brave Saragossans set to work with a will, made sand-bag fortifications, and put beams endways together against the houses at a slope so as to afford some shelter. This was the time when the Saragossan women began to prove their worth. Women of all ranks came forward, led by the beautiful young Countess Burita, and formed themselves into companies for tending the wounded, and for carrying water, wine, and provisions to the defenders. This high-born delicate dame was seen in the midst of the hottest fire coolly carrying out her duties, and so she behaved, and those with her, during the whole two months of the siege. The women's courage and coolness nerved the men to greater efforts.

A terrible cannonade was directed on the Portillo and a large building near it, both without the walls, and it was at this stage of the siege that the Maid of Saragossa performed her immortal deed. As one of the Countess' corps she had to go to the Portillo to carry provisions to the defenders. The carnage was terrible, and Agostina, a handsome young peasant girl of 22, was approaching the battery when she saw her lover, a young artilleryman, and all his comrades killed under her very eyes. The gun was left without a single gunner. The terror-stricken citizens hesitated for a moment. The French troops were advancing rapidly. Not one second did Agostina hesitate. Snatching the lighted match from the hand of her dead lover she sprang on to the gun, and vowed that she would not leave it alive while a Frenchman remained before Saragossa. She rammed the charge home, and the advancing enemy received a terrible volley from the 26 pounder at 10 paces distance. This was too much for them; moreover, the Saragossans, shamed by the girl's bravery, returned with vigour to the attack and drove the French heading out of the city. But again and again they marched in. Lefebre was furious at the stubborn resistance of a foe that he had despised.

Agostina continued her self-imposed task of artilleryman. From August 4th onwards the fighting was carried on in the streets, the French having taken some of the buildings. The determination with which men, women, and children fought was something Titanic. The streets were filled with dead, whom French prisoners had to bury. The arrival of reinforcements under the brother of Palafox, the news of the French defeats at Baylen and Valencia, and the evacuation of Madrid by Joseph Bonaparte, together with the indomitable resistance of the Saragossans disheartened the French, and on August 14th the enemy retreated to Pampeluna.

With the greatest joy, Palafox purified the town, proclaimed Ferdinand king, and rewarded his heroes. Among them came Agostina, who was publicly thanked, promoted to the rank of a sub-lieutenant of artillery and awarded a pension for life. On the sleeve of her gown she always wore a small shield of honour embroidered with the word Saragossa. She continued helping to defend her country, and she was seen a year later by an English witness serving with her battery in Andalusia. Both Lord Byron and Mr. W. Jacob, M.P., saw her at Seville wearing a blue artillery tunic with one epaulette, over a short skirt, and we also hear that she was present when Lord Wellesley entered Seville and was welcomed by the Junta.

She lived full of honours and glory till 1857, and so greatly have her descendants prized her valour that the magnificent monument recently erected to commemorate the siege of Saragossa is adorned by her figure at its summit. In the grand words of Southey of the Saragossans: "They performed their duty; they redeemed their souls from the yoke; they left an example to the country never to be forgotten." It is inspiring to think that these words apply as much, if not more, to the women of Saragossa and especially to her, of whom Byron wrote:—

"Scarce would you deem that Saragossa's tower Beheld her smits in Danger's Gorgon face, Thin the closed ranks, and lead in Glory's fearful chase."

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The Women's Social and Political Union.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 4, 1910.

THE ONLY WAY.

It was not to be expected that the announcement of a deputation to go to Westminster failing the provision of facilities for the Conciliation Bill would bring forth no remonstrance. Although the call to action is having an enthusiastic and even joyful response from the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, there are people outside our ranks who express their dissent. They do not, apparently, deny that the conciliation movement came into being as the result of the militant campaign of the past. Whom, indeed, was it the intention to conciliate, if not the Government on the one hand and militant Suffragists on the other? The whole effort of the Conciliation Committee was to bring about peace between these two contending factions, the conditions of this peace being the abandonment of militancy by Suffragettes, and the withdrawal of their Anti-Suffrage policy by the Government.

To peace on these terms the Conciliation Committee have already secured the assent of the Suffragettes; but the assent of the Government they have not secured. Therefore the breakdown of the Conciliation Committee's negotiations, which will be signalled by the Government's refusal to make a way for the Bill, will obviously render it necessary for militancy to be resumed until the Government have been brought to a more yielding mood. Then will come the moment when it is possible for the Conciliation Committee to complete

their magnificent work. That work they are powerless to complete unless and until the Government are finally persuaded that a refusal to give votes to women involves inconvenience and difficulty greater than they wish to face. To rid themselves of such inconvenience and difficulty, created by the militant movement, they will, if not to-day then hereafter, be prepared to concede the vote to women.

It is well for us militant Suffragists to carry the war of criticism into the enemy's camp by challenging our critics to unfold to us, instead of a destructive attack upon our methods, a constructive plan of campaign. Since the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, reliance has, by militant and non-militant Suffragists alike, been placed entirely upon the holding of great meetings and other such peaceful measures. If the Government ignores this peaceful campaign by refusing facilities to the Bill (one Cabinet Minister has already declared that public meetings carry no weight with him), what alternative method do the advocates of "constitutional" methods propose to adopt? The members of this Union know of none which is either effective or consistent with self-respect, save that of indignant and active protest.

It is significant that nearly all the opposition to our proposal to send a deputation to Westminster is based upon the consideration of expediency, and not upon moral grounds. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union are convinced that the action which they intend to take is not only politically expedient, but is also morally right. It is justified by the example of those to whose struggles in times past this country owes everything of liberty which it possesses. Thus, John Hampden, who is justly revered as the type and embodiment of all that is public spirited, not only offered passive resistance to authority by refusing to pay ship money, but also made active and armed resistance to the forces of the Crown.

A renewal of militancy is further justified by the teaching of great Statesmen. Gladstone and Bright are among those who have held it wrong to submit to unjust authority. Among Statesmen still living, we have had the Chancellor of the Exchequer declaring that the taint of subjection may be wiped out by rebellion, and Mr. Balfour proclaiming to certain of his countrymen—"I do not preach any doctrine of submission or non-resistance. You have had to fight for your liberties before; I pray God you may never have to fight for them again. I will not say, and I do not think that any rational or sober-minded man will say, that what is justifiable against a tyrannical king may not, under certain circumstances, be justifiable against a tyrannical majority."

And again, militancy is justified by the inward consciousness of mankind that it is right to destroy the false things that conceal the truth, that a law laid down by purely human authority must not restrain us from obedience to a law whose foundation is in justice. Sophocles puts into the mouth of Antigone words which most magnificently express this point of view. Calling upon her sister Ismene to act with her in defiance of a royal decree, whose authority she does not recognise because it transgresses a law which she deems divine, she says:—

For whose does the things that he [Creon] forbids,
 For him there waits within the city's walls
 The death of stoning. Thus, then, stands thy case;
 And quickly thou wilt show if thou art born
 Of such a nature, or degenerate liv'st.

And to this Ismene replies:—
 How could I,
 Or breaking law or keeping, aught avail?
 This first we need remember, we were born
 Women; as such, not made to strive with men.
 And next, that they who reign surpass in strength,
 And we must bow to this, and worse than this.

Antigone, unmoved in her resolve, breaks the law, and being arrested is brought before Creon, the King of Thebes. Asked by him, "And thou didst dare to disobey these laws?" she answers:—

Yes, for it was not Zeus who gave them forth,
 Nor Justice, dwelling with the Gods below,
 Who traced these laws for all the sons of men;
 Nor did I deem thy edicts strong enough,
 That thou, a mortal man, should'st over-pass
 The unwritten laws of God that know not change.
 They are not of to-day, nor yesterday,
 But live for ever, nor can man assign
 When first they sprang to being. Not through fear
 Of any man's resolve was I prepared
 Before the Gods to bear the penalty
 Of sinning against these.

A great verity is held in these words—one that shines like a guiding star before the women of our deputation. In its light they are not afraid to tread under foot arbitrary laws of purely human origin that choke the way leading to right and justice.

Christabel Pankhurst.

WOMEN'S VOTES AND WAGES.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

SUMMARY OF PREVIOUS CHAPTERS.

Statement of the Problem.—The grinding poverty under which many women live, the miserably low wages that they receive, make their more fortunate sisters determined to find a means to put an end to this blot on civilisation; and with the view of winning power to effect this many women are working for the vote. They are met by the anti-suffragist with the statement that the vote cannot affect wages. Women's wages are lower than men's, it is said, for three reasons. These are, firstly, that women are weaker than men and they do less and poorer work in a day; the answer to this is that women are not asking for an equal day's wage, but for equal pay for equal work. Secondly, it is said that women get paid less than men because the latter are working to support a family; apart from the fact that many men have no one dependent upon them while many women are supporting a family by their work, it is not true that wages are paid on this principle—married men and fathers do not command a higher wage than single men, nor do widows than spinners. Thirdly, it is said that wages are determined not by Act of Parliament, but by the law of supply and demand.

Supply and Demand.—It is quite true that wages are determined mainly by the law of supply and demand; but both the supply of women's labour and the demand for women's labour can be altered by means of the vote, and therefore the vote, acting through supply and demand, can alter wages. To understand how the vote can alter the supply of women's labour consider the effect of the following laws:—(1) Increasing the school age from 14 to 15; (2) compelling husbands to give a certain proportion of their wages to their wives; (3) providing a special maintenance for widows. Each of these laws (which might or might not commend themselves to women with votes) would have the effect of withdrawing women from the labour market, and thereby reducing supply. Women might also induce the Board of Education to insist that technical training more nearly equal to that given to boys should be provided for girls, and in this way alter the character of the women's labour supplied.

Chap. III.—The Exclusion of Women from Employment.

By means of the vote women will not only be able to alter the supply of women's labour, but also to alter the demand for it. It must be remembered that the vote controls not merely the making of the laws, but the administration of the laws, for Ministers of the Crown are subject to the pleasure of the House of Commons, and therefore both legislation and administration are liable to be altered when women are enfranchised.

In the first place, the Government are the largest employers of labour in the whole country, the total number of their employees exceeding half a million, or more than one-thirtieth of the total number of persons working for wages. An examination of the conditions of employment under the Government exhibits two salient features. Firstly, the exclusion of women from a very large number of occupations for which they are thoroughly well fitted, and secondly, the systematic under-payment of women. This extends also to the Government sub-contractors.

Government service consists of civil, military, and naval positions. Civil appointments account for some two hundred and fifty thousand employees. These include the vast army of officials working in Government offices, from the permanent heads of departments down to the junior clerks, also some hundred thousand employees in the Post Office, also the posts of Customs officers, tax collectors, and assessors, inspectors of schools, inspectors of factories, governors and doctors of prisons, diplomatic agents, consuls, &c., &c.

No Woman Need Apply.

These positions are not all open to the best applicant; the bulk of them, practically all the best paid, are arbitrarily closed to women. Thus, women cannot be appointed to any of the more important work in Government offices, they cannot fulfil any but the lower grades of the service. Women cannot be customs officers, as they frequently are in France; they cannot be tax collectors or assessors; there are no women governors or doctors of prisons, even for such a prison as Holloway, which is confined solely to women. There are no women consuls, and no women in the diplomatic service. There are only about twenty women factory inspectors, where there are some nine hundred men; there are only about twenty women school inspectors, where there are about two hundred and fifty men. In the Post Office all the best places are held by men.

Yet women are well fitted to occupy many of these positions, and if they were thrown open to merit irrespective of sex many of them would undoubtedly be filled by women.

Turning to the Army and Navy, most people will agree that these occupations are essentially masculine; but even here the folly of excluding women entirely from the service was shown years ago by the appalling death rate in the Crimea before Florence Nightingale and her staff of trained women nurses came on to the scene, and it is now recognised to be necessary to send

out a body of women to the field of action whenever a war takes place.

It is open to question whether in the Police Force, which in London is directly responsible to the Home Secretary, women might not with advantage be included for special purposes, as they are in Norway. An illustration of what is meant will be found in the fact that women's lodging houses have to be open to the inspection of the police at any hour of the day or night.

But the possession of the vote by women would unlock the door to other employments besides those directly under the Government. There are many trades and callings from which women are excluded by operation of law or Government regulation. The Factory Acts provide that in factories women shall not work after 10 p.m. This may in some cases be a wise provision, but, contrary to the express protest of the women concerned, the Government have recently extended its application to the case of florists. Now, it is necessary for florists, under certain circumstances, to go on with their work after 10 p.m., and as women are not to be employed for this purpose, even though employers are prepared to guarantee a thirteen hours' interval before re-employment next day, women are being turned out of this essentially women's trade, and the work is being given to foreign men. There are other cases where this provision is having a similar result.

Women are excluded from practising at the Bar by the joint action of the law and of certain men's societies, for, by the law, the only persons allowed to appear as advocates are the members of these societies, and they have decided not to admit women to their ranks. The natural way to open the Bar to women (as it has been opened in almost every other civilised country) would be for the Inns of Court voluntarily to admit women, but if they refuse to do so after women get the vote it will be possible to compel them to do so by law.

Similar considerations apply to women in the Church; and that some women, at any rate, are needed in the Church will perhaps be realised when the anomaly of a man chaplain in a woman's prison is considered. At present this chaplain always has to have a third person present when he is trying to speak direct to the heart of a woman prisoner.

There are other occupations from which women are excluded. For instance, women are not allowed to be drivers of cabs drawn by horses, or of taxi-cabs, in this country, while they are allowed to be so in other countries. Some of these callings, it will be said, are more likely at present, at any rate, to be filled by exceptional than by average women. Even if this be true in some of the cases which I have mentioned, it is not true of much of the work in the Civil Service. Moreover, though Anti-Suffragists are fond of asking women to remember that laws are not made for exceptional women but for average women, as a matter of fact the laws do operate to exclude not only the average woman but the exceptional women from all these employments. The only satisfactory way of dealing with the matter is to leave Nature to settle it. In those occupations particularly suitable to women, women will predominate; in those equally suitable to men and women they will very likely be found in about equal proportions; while in those least suited to women only the exceptional women will be found.

This chapter would not be complete without a reference to the question of the unemployed. When work was being provided for the unemployed by the local authorities under the direction of the Local Government Board, they commenced by finding work both for men and women, but after a little while they discontinued the latter. The excuse given by Mr. John Burns was that the work was unremunerative. How false this excuse was will be realised from the fact that the loss on the men's work per person was even greater than that on the women's.

In all these ways when women get the vote they will have the power to alter the demand for women's labour, and thereby affect the wages which are paid to women.

In the next chapter I shall deal with the underpayment of women in the Government departments and by the Government sub-contractors.

(To be Continued.)

SOUTHPORT EXHIBITION.

A magnificent opportunity for helping the women's cause is the Southport Exhibition, December 14, 15, 16, and 17. Those who cannot work in more active ways are asked to send contributions to the stalls. Specially is help needed for the bookstall, and Miss E. Shaw, 43, Portland Street, Southport, will be very glad to receive contributions either in books or money. A few stalls still remain unprovided for; who will offer to take charge? Members and friends who possess gardens are asked to delay the trimming of their evergreens until next month, as great quantities, especially of ivy, will be required for the decorative colour scheme. The help of all, including children, will be gladly welcomed, and full particulars of the work to be done will be sent by the bazaar secretary, Miss Grace Jardine, 13, Neville Street, Southport.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

Yes, we shall do it! We shall reach the 77 thousand in three bounds. This is the second week since we left the 76th goal behind. And we have realised a sum of over £328 in seven days, and we stand at £759 on the way to the next complete thousand. That leaves us with a sum of £240 to raise during the coming week. We shall do it easily. Before the Albert Hall meeting on November 10 we shall have started for the 78th thousand. At that great meeting we must raise at least £6,000. We shall then be able to devote all our energies to organising, should the Conciliation Bill be vetoed by the Government, a great militant campaign all over the country. Should the Conciliation Bill, in accordance with the principles of a democratic constitution, be afforded full facilities in the House of Commons, we shall be in a position to carry on a great educational campaign amongst the prospective women voters, in order to bring home to them the meaning and the value of the vote.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

October 24 to October 29.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknow- ledged	676	430	18	9	
Miss Margaret Bottom	0	5	0	0	
Mrs. An. Indigebay	0	2	0	0	
Young Cook	0	2	0	0	
Mrs. Stephenson	0	2	0	0	
Mrs. H. Carey	0	2	0	0	
Miss G. M. Barry	2	2	0	0	
Mrs. Annie Helia	0	10	0	0	
Mrs. Ada Farmer	5	0	0	0	
Miss Louise Fran- chise League	5	0	0	0	
Mrs. Richard Arab- elgeton (year)	0	2	6	0	
Miss Evelyn R. Boston	0	10	0	0	
Mrs. Annie Darley	0	5	0	0	
Miss S. Buitan	0	16	0	0	
Miss A. Kean	0	1	0	0	
Miss V. Locke (C.T.H.) collected	0	1	0	0	
Miss Adelaide Janon	0	7	11	0	
Herne Bay (Edg.)	0	3	0	0	
Mrs. M. de Montfichet	1	0	0	0	
At Home (per Mrs. M. M. collected)	0	11	6	0	
A neglected course	2	1	0	0	
Miss Florence Harris	1	0	0	0	
Mrs. M. S. Bevan	2	2	0	0	
Mrs. Ada Williams (for South Shields)	0	1	6	0	
Miss Margaret James	0	1	6	0	
Miss P. Parsons	1	0	0	0	
Mrs. Lola Law	2	1	0	0	
Extrapolation "V.I.W." at Claring Cross Pitch	0	14	8	0	
Miss H. Brett	0	10	0	0	
Miss Ada Neal	0	2	0	0	
Levygrove's Dairy Staff	0	10	0	0	
Miss E. Stevenson	1	10	0	0	
Mrs. Platt	0	2	0	0	
Mrs. Schell Thomas	1	17	6	0	
Miss Vaughan	0	10	0	0	
Dr. Pion Murray	2	2	0	0	
Mrs. Walter Ward	2	1	6	0	
For Miss J. Burns	0	10	0	0	
Miss C. W. Haig	0	10	0	0	
Juniper Sale (Mrs. Cecob)	25	4	3	0	
For use of telephone	0	1	3	0	
At Home	0	12	9	0	
Miss Grant	7	15	0	0	
At Home	3	9	0	0	
The Misses Scott	0	3	0	0	
For Misses Crocker and Hobbs	0	2	0	0	
Miss C. M. Burgis	1	0	0	0	
Mrs. E. A. Wright	0	10	0	0	
Miss J. Holgate	1	1	0	0	
For Miss Platman	0	10	0	0	
Mrs. John Bolwan	0	10	0	0	
Jugoslavina School Bop.	0	0	4	0	
John Joyce, Esq.	0	0	0	0	
For Miss Eveson Smith— Extra paid on "V.I.W."	0	1	4	0	
Winey	0	10	0	0	
Miss Fraser Smith	0	10	0	0	
Miss McNeil	1	0	0	0	
For Miss J. W. S. E.	0	10	0	0	
Andromeda of Hol-	0	7	6	0	
For Mrs. Massey	0	6	6	0	
Sale of Cakes, etc.	0	6	6	0	
Sale of Bags	0	2	2	0	
Sale of Plaits	0	0	8	0	
Mrs. Mansel (for shop)	0	10	0	0	
Mrs. Thompson	0	4	6	0	
For Miss C. Marsh	0	2	6	0	
Mrs. Blake	0	5	0	0	
Miss Evans	0	5	0	0	
Mrs. Graham	0	1	0	0	
Anon.	0				

OUR POST BOX.

SUFFRAGE STAMPS.

To the Editors of Votes for Women. Dear Sir, - I am very careful to keep myself well provided with the "Votes for Women" stamps sold by the Woman's Press. Every bill that I pay, every communication to my tradespeople that is stamped -



and as I feel exclusively with those firms who advertise in Votes for Women, a constant reminder is thus given to their managers of the substantial advantage of placing their advertisements in a paper so loyally supported by its readers. I am convinced that many women would be glad to adopt the same plan if suggested to them. -Yours, etc,

CHANCELLOR OF THE HOME EXCHANGER.

[We commend this excellent idea to other readers. The stamps, a drawing of which appears above, can be obtained, price 6d. net per box of thirty-six, from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Inquirers should ask for "Suffrage Stamps." -Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

FASHIONS IN FUR.

To the Editors of Votes for Women. DEAR SIR, - I hope you will permit me (a member of the W.S.P.U.) to protest against such an article as "Fashions in Fur" being published in VOTES FOR WOMEN. Has the writer never heard of the horrors of the fur trade? If not, let her get some of the Humanitarian League's pamphlets on the subject. . . . Every woman ought to be ashamed to be seen in furs. Suffragettes are fighting for the rights of women and therefore should remember that animals also have rights. It is not worthy of them to be clad in the garments of cruelty. When we have the Vote, I hope we shall help the cause of dumb animals more than men have done. In my humble opinion a woman clothed in skins, heads, and tails, is not fit for the Vote. If women don't realise this, men will be quick to do so. Yours, etc., Feline Defiance League, KATE CORDING, 31, Trinity Street, Islington.

CHIVALRY?

"Owlhooker's" letter in our issue of October 21 has brought a number of letters from other correspondents who have had similar experiences. "Owlhooker" related how "into" a crowded Tube compartment, with only standing room left, came an elderly, three-toothed looking man. She stood for a few moments, and then a young and charmingly pretty girl, growing very pink, got up and offered her seat. Not a man had moved before, but the moment they saw this girl, young and lovely, standing one rose with much show of hat-lifting and a complacent smile and offered her place. The incident struck me as a typical instance of that so-called chivalry we are told we shall have when we have the Vote!

In last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN a "London Man" described the letter as a scandalous travesty of everyday fact and experience, and the occurrence as so remotely improbable that he challenged "Owlhooker" to furnish particulars of time and place, and demanded that "the incident was typical." "Owlhooker" writes to explain that she is sorry she can get no nearer chapter and verse than that the incident occurred on either the 11th or 12th of October, between the stations of South Kensington and High Street, at some time between 3.30 and 6 p.m., and that she used the word "typical" as applied to that so-called chivalry we are told we shall have when we have the Vote!

"One Who Would Stand for the Angel of Either Sex" after relating two similar experiences says: "In fairness I must say that I have seen men give up their seats to aged people, but more often I have seen them sitting comfortably while a woman old enough to be their mother has had to stand. Personally I do not like a man to give up his seat for me. I am strong enough to fight my own battles."

"E. W." also tells two almost similar experiences, and adds: "Chivalry is not a question of sex: it is a natural and human expression of protective care for those weaker and more handicapped than ourselves. Surely old people and burdened mothers should call forth our chivalrous instincts - without distinction of sex on either side."

Miss M. Cozens, after relating a similar experience, says: "I am glad to think that 'London Man' is not typical in his uncharitable suggestion that 'Owlhooker' is uttering 'wild preparations' in her letter of October 21." After relating a similar experience in a motor bus, M. Crosty Smith says: "My

explanation is that class will do for class what it will not do for another class. The three men who offered me their seats after I had given up mine to a poor woman were more willing to accommodate me, a woman of their own middle class, than the 'poorly-dressed working woman. Such scenes are quite common to people-travelling in London."

"M. A. B." says: "Remotely improbable" as it may seem to unchristianized 'London Man', I have stood the whole journey from Sturton to Vethall with many men sitting in the carriage!"

Mrs. Ward Higgs and others relate experiences which tally in all particulars with "Owlhooker's" and many of our correspondents indignantly protest against the imputation in the letter of "London Man" that "Owlhooker's" story was untrue. One who describes herself as an elderly, grey-haired woman, defines chivalry as having for its basis "strength helping weakness."

[This correspondence must now close. -Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

FREEDING THE SLAVES.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. DEAR SIR, - In the convincing article in VOTES FOR WOMEN, "Women's Part in Freeing the Slaves," by E. W. Davison, the name of Fanny Kemble deserved mention. She married Mr. Pierce Butler, a man of good social position who had large estates in South Carolina. After witnessing the horrors of slavery she declined to live in luxury on wealth so acquired, though obliged to give up her children and return to the States, which she loathed. This noble resolve she adhered to through a long life of hardship, dying in England at the home of her daughter and son-in-law, the Rev. Canon Leigh, January 17, 1893. -Yours etc., M. E. TAPSON, Holmwood, Clapham Common.

JUST WHAT THEY WANTED.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. DEAR SIR, - I would like to say what a splendid medium our paper is for advertising. I know of several people who have advertised in the classified columns, and they have one and all speedily obtained just what they wanted. Yours etc., GABRIELLE JEFFERY.

OUR PAPER.

The Rev. Anna Shaw writes from New York: "In our national headquarters we look eagerly every week for your paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN. I cannot tell you how much we enjoy reading it."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir, - You will be glad to hear that Mrs. Bethick Lawrence's splendid address on Oct. 22, some of the strongest Antis of Bournemouth have come and joined us, and we have had many callers at the office, saying how immensely they enjoyed it. -Yours etc., GWENILYN LEWIS, Hon. Sec. W.S.P.U., 221, Old Christchurch Road, Bournemouth.

THE NEXT STEP.

The number of women wishing for the honour of going with Mrs. Pankhurst, on November 22, on the deputation, should be one necessary, to the Prime Minister, is rapidly increasing, and every post brings the names of new volunteers. From among a very large number of letters to Mrs. Pankhurst the following have been selected as typical: "I shall be happy to join the deputation of women to Westminster if necessary, and sincerely hope that thousands of other women will do the same. Now is the time for the long, long pull, and every woman should help in this noble cause, which I feel sure must succeed in the end."

"I shall be very proud to follow your lead in the next deputation if the necessity arises."

"If the Bill is wrecked I will join you all I can, but I have a business to look after and a child to keep. I have no husband, and, of course, strangers are no good to leave a business with. But if I can get a friend to stay I will come with pleasure, as I know it is for a good cause."

"I wish from the bottom of my heart that I could offer myself as one of the deputation on November 22, but I am not my own mistress and cannot get away. I am sure many women are in the same position, and your ranks would have been filled to overflowing long ago."

"I am 75 years of age and very, very fragile, but if I belonged to myself alone I would respond joyfully to your appeal: the idea of personal risk would have no weight with me."

"I should consider it an honour to join you, and the brave and devoted women who strive for freedom, but I am 75 years of age next birthday, and very feeble, and it is impossible for me to attend."

[Some who, by reason of very advanced age or heavy responsibility towards others, feel themselves unable to join the deputation, are sending money to defray the expenses of the deputation to the Union by increasing the circulation of Votes for Women, and in other ways. -Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

Suffragettes all over the country must feel proud at the strides made in the woman's movement. The end of the fight is almost in view, and it only remains now for women to stand united, and with one last determined effort, force the door so long closed against them.

"Are you in earnest? Seize this very minute. What you can do, or dream you can, begin it."

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North-Eastern Counties.

BRADFORD AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manchester Lane, Bradford.

West of England.

BATH.

Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge, Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney. There was a very good attendance at the Home on Monday last.

EXETER.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Montague, Pantam, Crediton.

ILFRACOMBE AND BARNSTAPLE.

Hon. Sec. and Treasurer—Mrs. du Sartay Newby, St. Mary's, Broad Park Avenue.

WILTS.

Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney, 37, Queen's Road, Clifton.

NEWPORT AND SOUTH WALES.

Hon. Sec.—Miss Rachel Barrett, B. St., East Lynne, Upper Bannock.

NORTH WALES.

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Eastern Counties.

IPSWICH AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Bruce Row, 19 Silton Street, Ipswich.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 201, Westgate Road. There is a very good attendance at the Home on Monday last.

SCARBOROUGH.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst. Hon. Sec.—Miss Summitt, 23, Darwlet Street.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 43, Marlborough Road, Sheffield.

NORTH-WESTERN COUNTIES.

LIVERPOOL AND CHESHIRE. Organiser—Miss S. Ada Plimmer.

WYRE.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Goulston, 43, Ranthorpe Road, Hon. Treas.—Miss Violet Key Jones, Hawthorne Lodge, Bishopthorpe.

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Women's Tax Resistance League. On Tuesday afternoon of last week Mrs. Louis Fagan was at the Home.

Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation. Offices: 13, Beckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Southport. Organisers—Mrs. Rigby, 41, Glover's Court, Preston; Miss Johnson, 41, Glover's Court, Preston.

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NORWOOD.

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