

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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A MODERN IPHIGENIA



Mr. Asquith has refused time for the Bishop of London's Bill and it has accordingly been withdrawn

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DEDICATION

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

THE OUTLOOK

The grave news from the centre of Europe is occupying the attention of men and women all over the world. And people in this country are asking themselves with awful anxiety whether the area of the conflict is to be enlarged so that Great Britain herself is to be dragged into the quarrel.

The Appeal for Solidarity

Already appeals for the solidarity of the nation are being made, and different sections of the community are being called upon to "close the ranks" and present a common and united front to the world. If

the terrible and unimaginable calamity actually takes place of a European war in which this country is involved, tremendous claims for service and sacrifice will be made in the name of the nation upon its women. We have no doubt that if these claims are made they will be met with the same fortitude and selfless devotion with which women—who have everything to lose by war—have responded all down the ages of recorded history.

The Wickedness of Refusing Women Citizenship

But it is at moments such as these that the full wickedness of the Government in sowing seeds of discontent among women becomes fully apparent. It is no light matter that by refusing a reform long overdue, by gross ill-treatment, by political perfidy, and even by direct incitement they have stirred up into open rebellion a section of the most peace-loving half of the community, and have roused a feeling of intense indignation among hundreds of thousands of other women. However much in the presence of national calamity these differences may be laid aside, the nation cannot be so strong as it would have been if its strength and energy had not been frittered away in this wholly unnecessary strife.

At the Eleventh Hour

Even at this eleventh hour we urge upon the Government the importance of re-establishing the feeling of goodwill among the women of the country by the tardy recognition of their right to citizenship alongside with men. The justice of this claim is admitted on all sides. It is only the stupidity and obstinacy of half a dozen men in high places which

have prevented its translation into actual fact. In face of the common danger will not the good sense of the community sweep this belated and suicidal resistance aside and compel the Government to do justice?

The Men of Kent

During the past week the feeling of the country in favour of the enfranchisement of women has been reflected in a deputation consisting of railwaymen from Kent, who came up to London specially to interview the Prime Minister in Downing Street. Pursuing his usual policy, Mr. Asquith absented himself from the house, but his secretary received from the deputation a vigorous protest, both against the treatment of themselves and against the wider refusal to listen to and redress the grievances of women.

Women Arrested at Buckingham Palace

In view of the Irish Conference at Buckingham Palace Mrs. Pankhurst has written to the King asking him to receive her in audience, and announcing her intention in case of his refusal actively to assert her right to be received at an appropriate time. Lady Barclay and the Hon. Edith Fitzgerald bore this letter to Buckingham Palace on Thursday afternoon in last week, but were refused permission to hand it in person to Lord Stamfordham, the King's private secretary. They accordingly returned on the following morning with the same request, and being again refused, stood their ground until they were arrested. Charged at Bow Street, they were ordered to be bound over, but on their refusal were set at liberty. The record of the present Government makes us

wonder whether their fate would have been the same if they had had no titles.

Admitted Atrocities of Forcible Feeding

The utter callousness of the Government in the face of the proved charges of abomination with regard to forcible feeding passes all belief. On Monday last Mr. McKinnon Wood made no attempt to deny the statement that "Miss Gordon was held down by the assistant doctor and wardresses for an hour and a half after forcible feeding," or that "a hand or a towel was held over her mouth to prevent vomiting."

The Value of Ministerial Undertakings

From a further reference to page 667, it will be seen that in the case of Miss Arabella Scott, Mr. McKinnon Wood sweeps aside all the understandings—on the strength of which Mr. McKenna carried the Cat and Mouse Act—that forcible feeding was being abolished in all except the most serious arson cases, and calmly gives as a reason for using this form of torture that: "On the occasion of her last re-arrest, as she persistently refused to observe the terms of the licence, it was thought desirable that she should serve a substantial portion of her sentence, and from June 30 to July 26 (when she was again released on licence) she has been detained in prison and artificially fed by the mouth."

Mr. McKenna's Lunatic

We are glad to see that, in response to pressure exerted in the House of Commons, Mr. McKenna thinks it necessary to take a further step with regard to Mr. Humphries, the man who is being detained in Bucks County Asylum as a lunatic, presumably because he adopted the hunger strike in prison. Mr. McKenna now states that he is "in communication with the superintendent of the asylum on the subject of his present condition."

Bishop of London's Bill Killed

Our fears for the Bishop of London's Bill to raise the age of consent have proved only too well grounded. Following on the Government's amendments in the House of Lords, which took the heart out of the Bill, Mr. Asquith announced in the Commons that it could only be proceeded with if it could be regarded as non-contentious. In these circumstances the Bishop of London decided to withdraw it altogether and reintroduce it next year.

The Inequality of the Divorce Law

One among many of the grave injustices under which women suffer is the differential treatment between men and women in the divorce laws. Both the majority and minority reports of the recent Royal Commission on Divorce proposed the abolition of this difference and the establishment of equality which prevails in all the more progressive countries in the world.

Lord Hugh Cecil on Resistance to Law

Lord Hugh Cecil, in a letter to the Times dealing with the Irish situation, has an illuminating paragraph on resistance to law. He says:—

To say that we may always resist the law is anarchy; to say that we may never resist is slavery. Liberty and order can only be combined by submitting to the law in the 99 cases where it is right to submit and resisting it in the 100th case where it is right to resist.

That is precisely the point of view we have always taken in this paper. It completely justifies the refusal of women to submit to the laws which are founded upon a denial of their existence as citizens.

Items of Interest

Sir George Baker, Judge of the County Courts of Lincolnshire, writes to the "Times" giving precedents for the appointment of women as police.

The advertising firms have refused to expose the poster of the Women's International Suffrage Alliance, dealing with infant mortality, on the boardings. We hope to reproduce the poster in our next issue.

WHY CANADIAN WOMEN NEED THE VOTE

By Margaret Hodge

When I spoke at the meetings held on my Canadian tour of the distressing conditions existing in countries where women were still unfranchised, some of the members of my audience, well dressed, well fed and delicately nurtured, were almost certain to comment upon my statements somewhat as follows: "This may be all very true of old countries, but in Canada we women are so well off we don't need the vote to improve our status."

A Comparison of Punishments

Seduction of girls, previously chaste, maximum sentence two years' imprisonment; for stealing oysters, or oyster brood, liable to seven years' imprisonment.

For indecent assault on a female, maximum sentence two years' imprisonment; for stealing letter bag or letters from post bag, maximum sentence life imprisonment; minimum sentence five years.

Abduction of a girl under sixteen, maximum sentence five years; for cattle stealing, maximum sentence fourteen years.

For seduction of ward or employee by guardian or employer, two years' sentence; for making counterfeit gold and silver coin, liable to imprisonment for life.

The effect of these contrasted extracts from the criminal code was almost magical in securing supporters for the suffrage, and none of my Manitoba audiences brought forward the plea that Canadian women were too well off as they were to need any change. A dramatic performance, devised and staged by the Political Equality League, represented a woman's Parliament of 2014, when the passage of a century has placed men in the position that women occupy to-day.

The climax of interest is reached when a male deputation arrives on the scene, humbly to beg for enfranchisement, and the Premier tries to soothe and conciliate them by insincere compliments and vague and indefinite promises. Each of the audience was provided with a pamphlet on the Legal Status of Women in the Province, and realised for the first time the monstrous injustice of giving the mother no rights to the custody and control of her own child, and of denying a protection order to a wife, who wishes to live apart from her husband on the ground of his infidelity.

The Women's Courts

In Toronto (Ontario) many women who were anti-suffragists altered their views after a visit to the Women's and Children's Courts. Man-made and man-interpreted law can never deal justly with cases where women are the culprits. It is either too lenient or too severe. One man, arrested on the charge of wife-beating, brought a counter-charge of assault against his wife, and he managed to produce the appearance of a black eye for the occasion, which he said she had given him with a spoon.

When I spoke under the shadow of the statue of King Edward VII. in Philip Square, Montreal, to hundreds of men and women on the terribly high rate of infant mortality in their city, one man asked me: "Aren't the children better dead than slaving in factories?"

Miss Lucy Burns, writing in The Suffragist, the organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, shows that the Democratic Party of the United States, by manoeuvres in the Rules Committee, are providing the same kind of artificial barrier to discussion of Woman Suffrage in Congress as is provided in England by the Government.

for the passing of this new and original measure of punishment through Parliament. "We have had fewer cases of wife-beating since flogging was instituted as a punishment," they both told us. Are there not subtler forms of cruelty than beating, and how can the State teach self-restraint by vindictive punishment? were questions to which no answer was vouchsafed; but the wife's impotent and heart-breaking sighs haunted our dreams.

The Industrial School for Girls, near Toronto, was another illustration of the need for woman's emancipation. Here are some pitiful cases of little girls who had been criminally assaulted, and for all their pretty baby ways and delight in their dolls and their teddy bears, could never be as other children, because of the tragic experience which had cast a shadow over their lives. I gave a lesson to these little ones, telling them of the queer animal and vegetable life of Australasia; and when they felt the sweet silvery laugh of sheer delight, I felt as if a knife went through my heart, for I knew they must some day waken to a terrible knowledge of what had been.

In the Province of Quebec, the laws are even more aggressively man-made than in the rest of Canada, and the status of the married woman is especially pitiful. The husband can sell property accumulated by both parties, and need only give his wife a very meagre allowance if he so chooses.

A girl of twelve can marry if her father consent, quite irrespective of the mother's wishes. If a husband die intestate, his widow inherits nothing. If no marriage contract exists, a husband has complete administration of his wife's property, and can collect her wages. A wife cannot take legal action, dispose of her property, or go into trade without her husband's consent.

A man may procure a "séparation de corps" because of his wife's adultery. Before she can do the same the husband must keep his concubine in their common habitation. These are only a few laws selected from a leaflet, drawn up by the Suffrage Society of Quebec, showing the unjust laws to women in that Province. I was relieved to find that when I spoke upon the position of women at my street meetings in Montreal, the men did seem to realise something of the evil results of the inequality of treatment of the sexes under their laws.

A Mother of 21 Children

The slums of Montreal are in themselves a terrible object-lesson, and a courageous woman writer has brought the knowledge of these to the more prosperous citizens, who had lived for years in the beautiful quarters of the city, but were quite ignorant of the condition of the submerged tenth. Women of intelligence and influence are beginning to see what is one, at least, of the causes of the terrible toll of infant life that their city has to pay. Two hundred babies in every thousand die before they reach the age of twelve months, and this does not include the still-born infants, of whom there are many, because of the over-working and underfeeding of the unhappy mothers.

When I spoke under the shadow of the statue of King Edward VII. in Philip Square, Montreal, to hundreds of men and women on the terribly high rate of infant mortality in their city, one man asked me: "Aren't the children better dead than slaving in factories?" It is upon the question of the child and child labour that I hope to speak in my next article. On this subject there is some admirable legislation, but, too often, the administration of the law is defective, and the desire for high profits gets the better of humanitarian considerations. It is hardly to be expected that the neighbour of the United States should not place a high value on the dollar, and Watts' wonderful picture of Mammon often came into my mind when I saw, in the Land of Promise, the evidences of great wealth and prosperity side by side with abject misery and poverty.

MINISTERS DEFEND FORCIBLE FEEDING

Questions in the House—Rev. Scott Holland's Condemnation Resolution by Perth Trades Council

By the complete exclusion of news relating to forcible feeding in the daily Press the public are kept in entire ignorance of what is taking place. We therefore print in full below the questions and answers in the House of Commons with regard to the three cases to which we have referred in previous issues of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MISS ARABELLA SCOTT

On Monday last, in the House of Commons, Mr. Touché asked the Secretary for Scotland whether Miss Arabella Scott has been forcibly fed at any time during the last four weeks in Perth prison; he is aware that Miss Scott, who was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment in May, 1913, and was released after hunger-striking, has since confined herself to speaking and working in a law-abiding and constitutional manner; if forcible feeding was revived because some persons released under the Prisoners' (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act continued in acts of destruction during the intervals of recovery from hunger-strikes; why forcible feeding has been resorted to in Miss Scott's case, seeing that she has done no act of militancy while out of prison, and has also been advised or invited to give any undertaking not to speak in support of the suffrage cause?

Mr. Ponsonby also asked whether Miss Scott was resisting and had to be strapped down, by what process food was being given her and what was the condition of her health. Mr. Frederick Whyte also asked similar questions.

Mr. McKinnon Wood: Miss Arabella Scott was convicted on May 19, 1913, of attempted fire-raising, and was sentenced to nine months' imprisonment. She has several times been released on licence under the Prisoners' (Discharge for Temporary Ill-Health) Act, 1913, after serving only a few days and without being forcibly fed.

Mr. McKenna's Lunatic: Does the Home Secretary believe that the man is insane? Mr. McKenna: I am unable to form any opinion on the subject, except as advised by responsible advisers.

Mr. McKenna: No, sir. It would depend entirely upon whether the medical practitioners advise that he is insane or not. On Monday last Mr. Hunt asked the Home Secretary whether, as Humphries has been certified to be quite sane, he will be released under the recent Act?

Mr. McKenna: The hon. member has been strapped down. Her state of health on release is reported good, but it was not deemed advisable, on medical grounds, to continue artificial feeding for a longer period. I am not aware that she has abandoned the advocacy of militant methods. She has not been advised or invited to give an undertaking not to speak in support of the suffrage cause.

Mr. McKinnon Wood: No, sir. It is not the only prison in Scotland where they can be forcibly fed. There are other prisons in Scotland where they can be forcibly fed, but we have there medical officers who are accustomed to perform the operation in the criminal lunatic department there.

On the same day, Mr. T. M. Healy asked the Secretary for Scotland if his attention had been drawn to the statement published by Dr. Mabel Jones, M.D., that there is no foundation for the allegation that Miss Frances Gordon had undergone a course of drugging before admission to prison, and in view of this, accompanied by Miss Gordon's denial, will he say on what evidence the statement was founded; if Dr. Watson, the medical officer for Perth Prison, is the same doctor who, when forcibly feeding Miss Moorhead in Calton Prison, allowed food to enter the lungs, causing pneumonia; was it by the doctor's orders that Miss Gordon was held down by the assistant doctor and wardresses for an hour and a half after the forcible feeding; was a hand or a towel held over her mouth to prevent vomiting, and is this included in the description of medical treatment; will he state why the doctor found it necessary to administer three enemata daily to Miss Gordon; was

explained to her they were not food; and, if not, what did they consist of? Mr. McKinnon Wood: My attention has not been drawn to the statement referred to. The opinion of the doctor that Miss Gordon had undergone a course of drugging was based upon her symptoms and appearance on admission to the prison. The medical officer of Perth Prison conducted the artificial feeding of Miss Moorhead in the Calton Prison, Edinburgh. There is no foundation for the statement that in the case of Miss Gordon it was necessary to exercise some restraint after artificial feeding, and this was done under medical directions. The necessity for treatment by enema was explained in my reply to the hon. and learned member on July 16.

Mr. Pirie: Has the right hon. gentleman's attention been drawn to the methods of forcible feeding employed in America, in which only women doctors are employed, and the operation is carried out much more humanely.

Mr. McKinnon Wood: No, my attention has not been drawn to any more humane method. I shall be very glad to have it drawn to it.

Mr. McKenna's Lunatic: In the House of Commons on Thursday last week Mr. Wedgwood asked the Home Secretary whether Harry Himmelfarb was sent to the Bucks County Lunatic Asylum because he hunger struck in prison; and who were the doctors who certified him insane, and how long he intended to keep him in this asylum.

Mr. McKenna: This man was transferred from prison to an asylum in pursuance of a certificate of insanity submitted by two magistrates and two registered medical practitioners under the Criminal Lunatics Act, 1884. He will remain under the provisions of that Act till the expiration of his sentence in February next, unless he should be remitted to prison or discharged before then. The reports before me do not justify the adoption of either of these courses at present, but the case will be further considered in due course.

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was a plain recognition of undeniable facts. "That is the way in which the equitable solution drives itself home. The women do the work, and that work the whole Society depends. It cannot any longer have the face to take advantage of such strenuous and effective loyalty, and yet allow it no place of honour, and no opportunity for representation."

"The same argument is bound to tell in the case of the Civil State. There, too, the women do an enormous mass of the work on which the entire Society depends. This is the fact which governs the whole matter. It is impossible for it to be at once accepted and ignored. If the State takes the service, it is compelled, in sheer honour, to allow it to count to its full value. The vote is simply the acknowledgment of the necessity for it."

"The Government, which has exasperated the women by tricking them out of their proper Parliamentary opportunity, has not the moral right to take up so relentless and merciless a method. The Home Secretary confesses that the suffering involved in a hunger strike is as severe a penalty as you can imagine. There is no hope of arriving at a sane and just solution, while there is added to this the horror of violent feeding."

Forcible Feeding is "Hideously Cruel" "This horrible forced feeding is stirring up the worst of the mischief. It is confessed that it cannot be used to deter, and that it fails to save the authorities from the necessity of liberating those who are broken to pieces by it. It serves, therefore, no justifiable or intelligent purpose. In the meantime, it creates a situation which is intolerable. It maddens people into criminal acts of indignant retaliation. It is hideously cruel; it actually does torture the women on whom it is enforced."

"Their friends outside naturally cannot bear to think of what it means to those whom they admire and love. They go wild, and do the deeds that we all deplore. Far from deterring people from crime, it drives them into it. On sheer grounds of expediency, it is hopelessly wrong. It inflicts a degradation on the conception of Law. It evokes moral repudiation from those who abhor militant methods. It keeps alive sore and festering wounds."

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PERTH'S NOTORIOUS PRISON

Strong Resolution by Trades Council Against Forcible Feeding

It will be remembered that when Mr. McKinnon Wood, during the discussion on the Gordon case, was asked why the women prisoners in recent cases had all been sent to Perth Prison, he replied complacently: "We have there doctors who are accustomed to deal with these cases, and are thoroughly skilled."

A copy of the Perthshire Constitutional and Journal of July 22 sent to us makes it clear that Mr. McKinnon Wood's pride in the pre-eminence of Perth's prison doctors is not shared by the residents of the Fair City. The Suffragettes who have been picketing the prison have held open-air meetings, at which huge and sympathetic audiences have assembled. "Large crowds might assemble to hear and to express sympathy with them," says a resident, and arrangements are being made by Suffragettes and Labour men for several big demonstrations.

At the request of several members, the Perth and District Trades and Labour Council held a special meeting to discuss the question of forcible feeding in the prison, when the following resolution was carried unanimously:—"That any Council representing the organised workers of the City of Perth, strongly protest against the cruel and inhuman methods adopted to forcibly feed the suffragette prisoners at present in Perth Prison, and hereby call upon those in authority to bring this unjust treatment to an end."

The Secretary was instructed to forward copies of the above resolution to the Prime Minister, Secretary for Scotland, the Labour Party, and local M.P.'s.

Other Doctors Refuse Nearly all the speakers were vehement in their protests. The Secretary said that neither he nor any individual member had been approached by any suffragette; the meeting had been called purely at the instance of members. No one could listen to the recital of the sufferings of those confined in their prison unmoved. Questions had been asked in the House of Commons, but to what purpose. The Government of the present day pursued the relentless policy they had adopted. They turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of those at the head of that movement. And what were they, as an organised body of workers, going to do? The truth of the position was that the doctors in the other prisons in Scotland were men who would not stoop to such cruel methods of forcible feeding. The question as to whether the Council should take action was open for discussion, but whatever took place he hoped the Council would do something worthy of them and worthy of the citizens of Perth.

Mr. Miller said that they, as men, ought to feel ashamed of themselves if they were not to make up their minds to the necessity of taking place in the name of humanity. He thought death would be infinitely better for the women than to suffer the pains and agonies they were enduring. He thought they ought to endeavour to meet the

Governor of the prison by deputation, or see the prisoners themselves and see their condition, so that they would be able to come to some conclusion. Mr. Hallyburton said that he had every sympathy with the women in their quest of the vote, but he entirely disagreed with their militant tactics. At the same time, he was absolutely opposed to treatment such as had been described.

A Barbaric Survival Mr. Sinclair said that that day a great conference had been called at the instance of the King. Why? Because of the militant methods adopted by Sir Edward Carson. Had Sir Edward Carson contented himself with constitutional methods that conference would never have been called. It seemed strange that in a civilised country, where physical science had so greatly developed, that they had to resort to such barbaric methods of feeding their prisoners, prisoners who were political prisoners, and in no sense of the term criminal prisoners, even although they might have adopted methods that did not meet with the approval of everyone. Was there no method other than that of forcible feeding so that those women would not have to undergo such a terrible punishment for the crimes they had committed? The conditions prevailing just now were inhuman and unjust, and if they failed to see any other way of meeting the emergency then the only logical alternative was to accede to the women their demand for the vote.

Mr. Macpherson said if he was a woman he would continue more militancy, and not stop at what the women had done. He thought Asquith and Co. ought to feel ashamed of themselves, and at the same time they posed to be on the side of liberty, equality, and many other nice phrases like that.

Mr. Gibson declared that, in justice to the majority of the women who did not associate themselves with the militant tactics, they ought to have the vote; and in this contention he was supported by Mr. Stiles.

Mr. Hynd expressed his strong disapproval of the methods which were being adopted in Perth Prison, and hoped the Trades Council would take up a very strong attitude in the matter. Mr. White said it seemed to be the general opinion that the Perth Prison doctor was the only man in the country who would undertake this forcible feeding. That, he thought, showed that there must be something radically wrong with forcible feeding. If it was otherwise, all the doctors in the country would be prepared to take it up.

A Public Demonstration to be Held In winding up the discussion, the Chairman, Mr. David Bruce, said it was a fearful state of matters to be inflicted on any woman. Had it been a dog or wild animal they might not have felt it quite so repulsive, but to think that a human being, a female worker, should be treated by the Government in the manner described beat everything he had ever heard of. The town ought to rise up and protest with indignation against such a thing being carried on at their own doors. If the Government could not devise any other method than this barbarous one of forcible feeding, then they ought to give them the vote. The treatment which the women were being subjected to was a disgrace and scandal. It was resolved to promote a public demonstration against forcible feeding.

WILL THE KING INTERVENE?

Mrs. Pankhurst Asks to be Received by the King—A Suggested King's Speech—Arrest of Lady Barclay and Miss Fitzgerald

The contrast between the reception of the militant Irishmen at Buckingham Palace and the treatment of the militant women has struck all thinking people, and Mrs. Pankhurst has seized the opportunity of writing to the King the following letter:—

May it please Your Majesty,—Women have not failed to notice that although Your Majesty refused to receive the deputation from the Women's Social and Political Union, certain militant men have been invited to Buckingham Palace, and have been received by Your Majesty in person.

Two of these men militants are Sir Edward Carson and Captain Craig, who are making illegal preparations to resist the Home Rule Bill in such a manner as will involve not only the destruction of property, but bloodshed and the loss of human life. Two others of the militant men whom Your Majesty has received are Mr. John Redmond and Mr. John Dillon, who have now become responsible for the arming and drilling of a Volunteer force which the Lord Chancellor has declared to be "a gross illegality and utterly unconstitutional."

Your Majesty has not only received these militant men, but has condoned their lawless and violent methods by saying "the trend of events in Ireland has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force, and to-day the cry of civil war is on the lips of the most responsible and sober-minded of my people."

I would call Your Majesty to witness that equally responsible, sober-minded and public-spirited are those women who have resorted to militant methods because they have found by experience that all other methods of winning their just right to vote are ineffectual.

I have to say that I, and those whom I represent, still maintain our claim to be received by Your Majesty in person. . . . We still request an audience of Your Majesty for the purpose of demanding the vote and of making protest against the torture of Suffragist prisoners, and against the attack upon our organisation and upon our paper, the *Suffragette*.

Our right to be received by Your Majesty in person will again be actively asserted at a time which seems to us appropriate.

Attempt to Present Letter in Person

This letter was taken to Buckingham Palace, but the bearer was refused admission and advised to take it to the Home Office. Next morning, while a large crowd was waiting outside the Palace, watching for the members of the Conference to come out, two ladies appeared at the side gates carrying the letter rolled up in a scroll and tied up with purple ribbon. The policeman on duty had been warned that they were coming and instructed not to admit them. They said they did not ask to see the King. They wanted to see Lord Stamfordham or one of his secretaries and to give the letter to the front gate of the Palace, where Superintendent Wells was on duty, and where the crowd, weary of its long vigil, was greatly entertained by their arrival. They gave their names to the superintendent. They were Lady Barclay, wife of Sir Thomas Barclay, the eminent international lawyer, and the Hon. Edith Fitzgerald. They repeated their request, but finding it impossible to deliver the letter to any member of the Royal household they went away. Half an hour later they returned, announcing their intention to remain there until they could present their petition.

Two Arrests

The Conference was over by this time, and most of the people had gone away, but a crowd gathered around the women, and the disorderly young element rushed and boomed. "Well have to take you up,

you know, if you stay here," said the police. "Yes, but we must stay," the ladies replied. So the police arrested them and took them to Bow Street Police Court, where their appearance seems to have caused some embarrassment to the magistrate, Sir John Dickinson.

Miss Fitzgerald said she wished to make it quite clear that she did not wish to present the petition to the King, but to his secretary. She knew too much of the Home Office to wish to present a petition there. Lady Barclay said that was perfectly true. Miss Fitzgerald wanted to read the petition aloud in Court, but was not allowed to do so.

The defendants refused to make any promise, to pay any fine, or to be bound over, and after being remanded for half an hour to consider the position they repeated their decision. On the rising of the Court, however, they were discharged with a caution, the magistrate saying that if anything of the kind occurred again he would treat the matter very differently.

ANOTHER KING'S SPEECH

In the current issue of the *Christian Commonwealth* the editor says that many people here earnestly that King George's recent utterance on the Ulster question will shortly be followed by another speech, in some such words as the following:—

TO MY PEOPLE

"It is with feelings of satisfaction and hopefulness that I announce my decision to hold at Buckingham Palace a conference for the consideration of a question of national and imperial importance, a question which for a long time has greatly exercised my mind and has caused profound distress to large numbers of my subjects. In view of the gravity of the issues at stake and the fact that those most concerned in this matter have no direct means of remedying their grievances, I intend to preside over the conference myself.

"My intervention at this moment is not altogether a new departure; it is a natural sequel to my recent action in connection with the problem of the Government of Ireland. Exceptional circumstances justify unusual measures. For years we have watched with deep misgivings the course of events associated with the movement for the enfranchisement of women in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland. The trend has been surely and steadily towards an appeal to force and the lower human passions, and to-day the cry of rebellion and violence is on the lips of some of the most responsible and sober-minded of my people.

"We have in the past endeavoured to act as a civilising example to the world, but in the matter of conferring upon women the dignity of full citizenship we have lagged far behind other nations, and some of my own colonies. The deplorable scenes that have lately been witnessed outside the Houses of Parliament, in courts of justice and in prisons, and indeed all over the country in connection with the agitation for woman suffrage are making the name of our beloved country a reproach and a byword among the peoples of the earth. To me it is unthinkable, as it must be to you, that we should continue to be engaged in fratricidal strife upon issues apparently so capable of adjustment as those the conference will consider, if handled in a spirit of justice. My apprehension in contemplating such a dire calamity is intensified by my knowledge of the great sufferings endured during the last few years by large numbers of women of high character and great ability in prosecuting the cause of 'votes for women.' Whatever may be thought of some of the methods they have adopted, no one can fail to recognise their honesty of purpose and personal disinterestedness. When I remind you that over one thousand such women have within the last five years suffered imprisonment, many of them in addition undergoing the painful experience of forcible feeding, you will realise, as I do, that I should be utterly failing in my duty to my people if I made no attempt to end the present intolerable situation. I have the satisfaction of knowing that in the step I am now taking I shall have the loyal support of Members of Parliament, Bishops, Clergymen, Dissenting Ministers,

Doctors, and indeed many of the most serious-minded men and women among all classes of my subjects.

"The conference will be composed of the Prime Minister, Lord Morley, Lord Lansdowne, Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. J. Keir Hardie, Mrs. Fawcett, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Humphry Ward, and Mrs. Hughes (East End brushmaker). Their responsibilities will, indeed, be great. The question is urgent. They will, I know, make the most of the opportunity and be patient, earnest, and conciliatory, in view of the magnitude of the issues at stake. I pray that God in His infinite wisdom may guide their deliberations so that they may result in the joy of peace and honourable settlement."

THE MEN OF KENT

Premier Rejects Claim to an Interview

Men of Kent, many of whom were railmen from the works at Ashford, came to London on Saturday afternoon last for the express purpose of laying their views before Mr. Asquith at Downing Street with regard to the enfranchisement of women.

The deputation, who numbered about forty, therefore marched to Whitehall at about 3.30 in the afternoon. A considerable crowd collected. Five men were selected to approach the Premier, and the general body awaited their return. When the party reached 10, Downing Street they were met by Mr. Asquith's private secretary, who explained that the Premier himself was out of London, and undertook to place before him on his return any views the deputation desired to submit.

The deputation refused to interview Mr. Asquith's secretary, and expressed their indignation at not being able to see the Premier. Before withdrawing, they left the following written protest:—

"We herewith beg to lodge our protest at your repeated refusal to receive the citizens of the realm when they desire to approach you on the subject of Women's Rights.

"There is a demand for Women's Suffrage which cannot with safety be delayed, and unless this question is satisfactorily dealt with before your Government goes out of office, we shall consider that any proposal which your party may call 'Democratic' and place before the country at the General Election is merely a party manoeuvre to catch the Labour vote in order to return your Government in power.

"Seeing that you have declined to consider any form of Women's Suffrage, democratic or otherwise, during your tenure of office, and that you killed a Democratic measure by your drafting of the Franchise Reform Bill of 1913, we can but look upon any appeal to the electors with the greatest mistrust.

"The women of the country are taxed up to the hilt. They are unable to influence legislation, which differentiates between men and women. Their interests are not fairly dealt with, and all you offer them is coercion, instead of representation."

The deputation adjourned from Downing Street to the St. Ermin's Hotel, where they were entertained by the Committee of the New Constitutional Society, and had the opportunity of meeting some of the leaders of the Suffrage movement. Speeches were made by Mrs. Cecil Chapman (President of the New Constitutional Society) and others.

Representatives of the deputation expressed their indignation at Mr. Asquith's refusal to grant them an audience.

PREVIOUS CORRESPONDENCE

We have received for publication copies of the correspondence which had preceded the deputation. The first was a letter from Councillor Bolton informing Mr. Asquith that "an organisation of railway men and other voters has been formed in Kent with a view to concentrating on the Reform of Women's Suffrage," and requesting him to receive a deputation from them on a Saturday afternoon, as the men were at work during the week. To this Mr. Asquith replied with the usual refusal.

The next letter from Councillor Bolton was dated July 13 and read as follows:—"Sir,—I am in receipt of your communication, and am desired by my Committee to express its surprise that you should decline to receive the deputation of representative men upon a question of the treatment of which by the Govern-

ment is creating a dangerous element of discord in the country.

Policy of the Liberal Party

"We must respectfully decline to be ignored. We hold that we are entitled to be received in deputation as are other groups of men upon other subjects of less importance. We wish, as free voters, to hear from your own lips what is to be the position of the Liberal Party towards this reform at the approaching General Election.

"We have been watching the trend of events closely, and it would appear that the will of the nation can be set aside by the will of any Premier who may happen to hold different views upon a subject, and that he can actually hold majorities in Parliament.

"We consider that the present situation has been forced upon the women by your engineering of the Reform Bill, which you promised should be framed so as to admit of amendments for the inclusion of women. The Bill was not so framed. But within a few weeks of that broken pledge you substituted the terrible Cat and Mouse Act in its stead. This Act was passed for the coercion of women who have been repeatedly betrayed by your Government, and apart from our indignation that such an Act should sully our Statute Book, we consider it particularly cruel under the circumstances, and must decline as voters to be a party to such national dishonour.

"We intend to take our stand upon this question and demand justice for the women.

"And seeing that you will not put the question before the electorate that we may give our mandate at the polls, we ask as representative men that you will reconsider your refusal to see us and allow us to present our various views before you."

Mr. Asquith's Refusal

To this Mr. Pinsent replied next day on behalf of the Prime Minister:—"Dear Sir,—I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th inst., and to express his regret that he is unable to depart from his decision not to receive a deputation from your Committee.

"I am to remind you that the Prime Minister has frequently expressed the attitude of the Government towards Women's Suffrage both in the House of Commons and to the numerous deputations which have waited upon him on this subject, and he has nothing to add to his statements on these occasions."

Councillor Bolton then announced the intentions of the deputation in the following words:—"We shall call at No. 10, Downing Street, on Saturday afternoon, the 25th inst., at 3.45 o'clock, in order to prove to the public that there is a demand for Votes for Women to which you, in opposition to the people's will, decline to listen.

"We shall come in constitutional fashion and create no disturbance, and beg that we may not be molested by the police."

To this Mr. Pinsent replied in a final letter as follows:—"I am desired by the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 20th inst., and to say he regrets that he cannot depart from his decision not to receive your deputation on the question of Women's Suffrage. If, however, you adhere to your intention to call at this address next Saturday at 3.45 the Private Secretary will be willing to accept anything which you may wish to lay before the Prime Minister in writing. It is regretted, however, that it will not be possible to allow more than twenty members of the deputation to enter Downing Street, or more than five to enter this house."

LOSS OF BRITISH NATIONALITY BY WOMEN

CABLE FROM AUSTRALIA

(Special to "Votes for Women")

A strong committee of Australian citizens protests against women losing their nationality through marriage.

Sidney. (Signed) GOLDING, Chairman.

Women from the British Dominions overseas continue to make a vigorous protest against the humiliating clauses of the British Nationality Bill, under which British women are made to lose their nationality on marrying a foreigner or in the event of their husband electing to naturalise himself as the subject of a foreign power. We print above a special telegram received by *VOTES FOR WOMEN* from the chairman of an important committee of Australian citizens in Sydney announcing their strong opposition to this Bill.

Meanwhile, representative women from the different countries at present in London have been endeavouring to see Mr. Asquith to represent to him the feeling of women in different parts of the Empire, both on this question and on the wider issue of the refusal of the Government to enfranchise the women of the Mother Country.

Interview with Mr. Harcourt

Mr. Asquith has characteristically refused to see any deputation, but Mr. Harcourt, who, as Colonial Secretary, is in charge of the Nationalisation Bill, consented to see a small deputation on Monday last at the Colonial Office. As one of the conditions was that the Press were not to be admitted we are unable to give a full report of the proceedings, but we understand that Mrs. Merivale Mayer put the case for the Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association and for the Women's Political Association of Victoria (President, Miss Goldstein), and pointed out that privileges once gained by Australian women should not be given away over their heads. Mrs. Wybergh very forcibly described the case of the unfortunate woman who had married an unworthy foreign husband in South Africa. Mrs. Leathes dwelt on the peculiar difficulties of Canada, in view of the enormous foreign immigration. Mrs. Sidney Ranson (N.S.W.) spoke on the general principle. Miss Newcomb (Hon. Sec., B.D.W.S.U.) remarked on the advantage taken of the objectionable clauses by the White Slave, and Mrs. Dora Montefiore asked whether Mr. Harcourt realised that this Bill added one more to the disabilities incurred by women through marriage.

Mr. Harcourt's reply was, we understand, unsatisfactory. He argued that he was merely codifying a condition of the law which already existed in British countries, and in fact all over the world. He repeated his refusal to amend the main principle that the nationality of the wife should be, with or without her consent, that of her husband.

Minor Concessions

On minor points he promised some concessions. We understand that he has already put down amendments to enable the widow of a foreigner who has been living in England to become re-naturalized without paying a large sum of money, and that the years of her sojourn with her husband in England before his death shall count as part of the five years necessary for naturalisation. We understand further that some relief is to be provided for the British woman whose British husband subsequent to the marriage proposes to become the subject of a foreign country, and that the case of British-born women whose qualification for old age pension is lost in consequence of the nationality of her husband, is to be considered. In other respects the Bill is to remain, so far as the Government is concerned, as at present. No wonder that the free women of Australia and New Zealand are indignant at the affront which is being offered to them.

Miss Newcomb writes to us to correct the statement made by us last week that no reply had been received from Mr. Asquith to the request for an interview. A reply was received, but it consisted of a refusal to accord the interview. Crossing this letter the Union wrote again, putting forward additional reasons for the deputation, and saying: "It is the women in the Dominions far from the men who keep alive the sentiment of loyalty to the throne and the Empire. The tie is indeed 'light as air,' but till recently in the hearts of the women it has been 'stronger than links of iron.' The attitude of the Imperial Government towards Woman Suffrage and towards all British women in the new Nationality Bill, is a severe strain on the loyalty of the women of the Dominions. We deeply deplore the weakening of the links."

No answer was received to this letter, and the women wrote finally that on returning to their own countries they would continue to carry on the protest there, and that they should not rest "until women are granted in every respect the same political rights as men."

INFANT MORTALITY AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE

The *Irish Citizen* for July 25 publishes the following interesting table, in which the figure before the name of each country represents the number of babies out of every thousand born who die before the age of one year:—

Group I.	Group II.
62 in New Zealand.	107 in U. Kingdom
72 in Australia.	72 in Sweden.
72 in Norway.	93 in Denmark.
	99 in Holland.

Group III.
170 in Germany.
120 in France.
230 in Austria.
131 in Ontario.

In this grouping it will be seen, says the *Irish Citizen*, that in the countries included, under Group I., women have the Parliamentary vote; in those under Group II. they have not a vote, but take an active part in political organisation; in those under Group III. they take no part in politics at all. Note the effect. In the countries where women vote, the highest death rate is 72 per thousand; in countries where women do not concern themselves with politics, though without direct political power, the highest death rate is 107 per thousand. In those countries where sweet womanly women remain in their sphere to mind the baby, the highest death rate is 200 per thousand. Note also that France, with its death rate of 120 per thousand, is a richer country than Sweden, whose death rate is 72. But Swedish women have for years taken a keen and passionate interest in politics, and are now on the eve of enfranchisement.

MISS VIDA GOLDSTEIN'S CANDIDATURE FOR KOOYONG

The Federal Elections in Australia are taking place in a more standing as candidate for the constituency of Kooyong. Our readers will be interested to read the manifesto issued by her committee and the admirable arguments that a woman candidate can advance.

1. The home is woman's chief sphere of action, and the care of children has always been her particular business. Therefore, in all political matters which touch the home and the children, the point of view to express is essential to the nation. If Miss Goldstein gets into Parliament, she will be able to express not only her own views as a woman, but those of the women all over Australia who place them before her.

2. Where women have been elected to public positions in other parts of the world, excellent results have followed. In England women can sit on Boards of Guardians, which have charge of the poor. They have purified the administration, effected great economies, removed the children from contaminating influences, and brought humanising and economising influences to bear upon all who come under the Poor Law. Women can now be elected to town and county councils, and are welcomed by every thoughtful person. Australia is behind other countries in choosing women to represent the people in public positions. We are asking the women of Kooyong to unite and lead the way.

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

Ohio to Take Referendum Next November—Teachers Support Equal Suffrage

THE OHIO PETITION

American women have presented some enormous petitions for women's suffrage; but the Ohio women have been all previous records by their initiative petition. 104,000 signatures were needed, and 110,000 were secured. This petition was to be presented on July 30 to the Ohio Secretary of State.

Ohio is therefore assured as the seventh campaign State in view of the law of initiative which prevails in this State. A referendum on equal suffrage will accordingly be taken next November. The other six campaign States where referenda will be taken are Nevada, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Missouri.

If Ohio carries the issue in November, the national strength of women will be increased by twenty-four representatives in Congress, and the right to vote for twenty-four residential electors.

AMERICAN TEACHERS VOTE FOR SUFFRAGE

A sign of the times in America is the support given by the teachers as a body to the principle of equal suffrage. In this America is ahead of this country.

A victory for equal suffrage, second only to that gained at the recent national election, says the Boston *Woman's Journal*, has been won in the National Education Association. In fact, the whole convention was a succession of victories for women, for not only did it go on record for equal suffrage, but also for equal pay for equal work, regardless of sex, and in electing ten vice-presidents it chose five women.

The report of the committee on resolutions approving woman suffrage and equal pay for teachers regards the resolution which the resolution says: "The association regards efficiency and merit, rather than sex, as the principle upon which appointments and selections should be made, and therefore declares itself in favour of

the political equality of the sexes and equal pay for equal services.

In making its report the resolutions committee had presented the following statement:

"A large majority of teachers are women, and as such are without the right of suffrage in most States. Therefore, the funds from which their salaries are paid are under the control of officials in whose selection they have no vote. It should be clearly recognised by the National Education Association that the relation of woman suffrage to the fair adjustment of salaries of women teachers is vital and immediate."

W. N. Sheats, superintendent of public instruction of Florida, opposed equal suffrage, and declared that two-thirds of them "do not want the vote and are against having the ballot thrust upon them."

Before the Florida educator could sit down the State Superintendent, Tennessee, S. H. Thompson, was on his feet. "Let me correct that," he cried. "Two-thirds of the women of the South now want the vote."

AMERICAN WOMEN DOCTORS

Nearly 100 practising women doctors attending a convention of the American Medical Association in Atlantic City, considered a resolution endorsing woman suffrage at a gathering of their own, and carried it without a single dissenting vote.

IN CALIFORNIA

The fifteen judges of the Supreme Court of Los Angeles County, California, U.S.A., have recently signed a public statement testifying to the good results of woman suffrage. The statement notes the following points: Women have taken a deep interest in civic affairs. They have been earnest and careful in investigating subjects submitted to voters. They continue to vote in large numbers. They fill offices with credit, but do not seek them. There is no movement to repeal equal suffrage, and sentiment in this section would favour such action.



Pres. Wilson (to the Tide): "Go back, you're not in the platform."

7. Defence is a woman's question, especially when young boys are trainees. The morals, the food, clothing, hours of the boys urgently need attention, as well as their moral and physical health, under military discipline.

8. The Tariff affects women, because it regulates wages and prices. As workers, women are more quickly affected by a rise or fall in wages and prices than men, because they are much worse paid, and if living is dearer and wages are less they suffer most. As wives and mothers, since the management of the household and the family income falls upon them, they can give an expert opinion which would be of untold value to politicians who really wish to legislate for the good of the people.

9. Miss Goldstein believes in the right of the people to govern themselves, and therefore has on her programme the abolition of Party Government, and the substitution of Elective Ministries and the Initiative and Referendum.

10. Miss Goldstein was the foremost worker in the campaign for Woman Suffrage. She has always been true to women's interests, and the women of Victoria owe their freedom and the improvements in the laws affecting women and children almost entirely to her. She trusts Principle before Party, and can be trusted to do as she has done since first she came into public life to protect the children and the home, and, therefore, the nation.

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FRIDAY JULY 31, 1914.

WOMEN AND WAR

The black cloud that has been gathering over Europe during the past week has burst. War has been declared by Austria against Serbia, and the thoughts of men and women in all nations are concentrated at the present time upon the awful possibilities of a calamity that at any moment may plunge whole communities of people into the privations and miseries of a terrible conflict. Even if the war is isolated the outlook is serious enough. The price of flour has already risen. Disorganisation of trade, heavily felt by every section of the people, will drive countless numbers of the poorer population below the subsistence line, and will intensify the bitter cry of the widow. But will the war be isolated? Should it spread and draw in other countries, imagination fails at the contemplation of the suffering that will be inflicted. However great the hardships and privations that will have to be endured by men, the toll of misery exacted from women will be infinitely greater. Husbands and sons who have by their labour helped to maintain the young children and the old people belonging to the family will be marched away to the war, leaving the entire economic strain to be borne by mothers, sisters and wives; while women in villages and isolated farms will be left to suffer not only privation, not only the terrible burdens of suspense and anxiety, but in many cases to meet unprotected the actual horror of warfare. Could anything be more horrible than the statements made in the House of Lords on Tuesday as to the massacre of women and children in Southern Albania—statements that were not denied by the Government, who admitted that they were helpless to intervene and prevent the strangling of women in a region not outside the general scope of their influence and responsibility. According to report, said Lord Lamington, the streets were full of the naked bodies of strangled women and babies hacked to pieces, and Lord Morley, as the spokesman for the Government, made no attempt to minimise the appalling situation. Thus do women suffer in warfare, whether "civilised" or "uncivilised." In the concentration camps in South Africa women and children died in far greater numbers than all the soldiers who perished either from wounds or disease.

While this menace of European war has been gripping the hearts of men and women with fear, there has been a simultaneous outburst in Ireland of the passions that lead to civil conflict, and in Dublin deplorable scenes of riot and bloodshed have been enacted. Amongst the first victims who fell in the volley fired by the soldiers upon the crowd in Dublin were three women, one of whom was killed outright, the others being dangerously wounded. This tragic occurrence has grimly underlined the fact that in Ireland, where two nationalities stand ready to come to grips with one another, the life and interests of

women are every bit as deeply concerned as are the life and interests of men.

There has, indeed, been no attempt in the Press or elsewhere to deny or to gloze over the fact that in the long fight for religious and national ideals in Ireland the women have played as great and as important a part as the men have done. It is a well-known fact that the Ulster Covenant was signed more numerous by women than by men. We have had pictures in the Unionist Press of women made ready for battle, and articles describing the martial spirit by which they are animated which has led them to organise themselves for rendering assistance of many kinds in the campaign. We have been told (and the Unionist papers have gloried in the fact) that the women of Ulster are the strength of the movement, and supply the moral force and passion that hold it together.

Moreover, the sacrifices of the women of Ulster have been equalled by the sacrifices of the women in the Nationalist organisation; indeed, more than equalled since the struggle on the Nationalist side has been of longer and fiercer duration. In the old, dark days of repression in Ireland it was the servant girls who left their country and went to seek their fortunes in America, that sent back the money to keep the old folk on the land till they came back themselves with sufficient capital to settle down and marry and bring up their children. It was their earnings that were handed as subscriptions to the Nationalist organisation to help the fight going on. Women kept the agitation alive when the Government seemed to have won the upper hand at the time of the imprisonment of Parnell. They endured imprisonment, they paid the uttermost price of resistance, and from that day to this have been staunch in their support and have never failed to contribute moral passion, inspiration, and money, and now within the last few days they have fallen to the bullets of the English soldiers.

Yet women do not exist—in a political sense—for the diplomats or the statesmen who determine European peace or war. Neither have women been called into the Conference on the Irish question, nor are the men who are appointed to negotiate responsible to the woman-half of their respective communities, and whenever the final adjustment with regard to Ireland is made, the liberty that is secured for men will be refused to the women who have helped them to win it, and the citizenship that is gained under the Home Rule Government in Ireland, or retained under a Government centralised in London, will still be denied to them, and the fruits of victory will be withheld from their hands.

Of all the grotesque errors that have gained currency in the minds of men the pretension that women should be denied the vote because of their immunity in respect of war is the most preposterous. The question of peace and war is, of all the questions in the world, the one upon which women should be consulted. It is the supreme issue in regard to which both for the nation's sake and their own their voice should be heard.

For women have borne from time immemorial, and must inevitably bear the major part of the price of war. Men, the first munition of war, are fashioned by them at the cost of anguish and blood and life itself. The average woman faces an immeasurably greater risk of death in childbirth than the average man faces of death upon the battlefield, and it is her life that is lost twice over when her son is slain in warfare. Moreover, the greater toll in material loss and in labour strain is borne by the women of the nation. Just as in the primitive ages it was the women of the community who suffered the most when the fields they had tilled were destroyed and the houses they had built were demolished, so to-day it is the women of the great industrial population who are, although unpaid in wages, the domestic labourers and producers, who suffer most direly from the rise in the price of necessities and who pay the additional tax of material privation more heavily than even the male workers.

By instinct, by necessity, and by suffering women are the natural guardians of the life of the race, and of the welfare of the community. The question of war, affecting as it does not only their personal lives, but the family and the happiness of the community, is essentially their question. The events and anxieties of the past week are an urgent reminder that women should be called to citizenship, and that in the interests of the entire human race, the vote, which will make them politically articulate, should be given to them without delay.

WHO UPHOLDS THE LAW?

By T. O'Meara

There exists a certain extraordinary illusion that the whole fabric of civilised life rests upon the shoulders of the policeman, and that it is only his perpetual presence at the street corner which keeps us all from plunging wildly into an orgy of bigamy, murder, theft, embezzlement, unlawful wounding, arson, drunkenness, and burglary. Never was there a greater mistake; since it has been proved time and time again, and is proved continually every day, that none, man or woman, was ever constrained from doing a single thing they really wish to do by any power on earth except their own private sense of honour and decency. But if, upon the other hand, they naturally incline towards some form of misbehaviour, they merely remark that their case is an exceptional one (which is quite true), and walk past the policeman and through the law without a moment's qualm or hesitation. We most of us contrive to keep upon the right side of the authorities by the exercise of exactly as much self-denial as is displayed in the observance of that prayer book prohibition which forbids a man to marry with his grandmother. As he himself may say (if he is a modern young man), he does not want to do it, and I do not want to play pitch and toss in the public streets. But if I did want to play pitch and toss in the public streets, I should not be restrained from this recreation by the thought that I might get ten shillings or seven days for it; on the contrary, it would add relish to the game.

Born with a Baton

If the militant policy has done nothing else, it has at least proved that if even the smallest and feeblest minority of citizens, without any natural talent for evil-doing, once make up their minds to a certain forbidden course of action, the whole forces of law and order are powerless against them. And yet, in the face of this, we still find people who would deny women the vote on the sole ground that those who cannot uphold the law by main force should have no say in the making of it. Apparently, they consider every male voter, every fat, short-winded, timid, incompetent male voter, who can't hit a haystack at a hundred yards, and couldn't run half a mile if the devil were after him, to be a sort of special constable in perpetuity, ready at a moment's notice to rise up and inflict summary chastisement upon the evildoer, instead of locking himself into his study and swearing at the telephone girl because in his fluster he has forgotten the number of the police-station. It is a pleasant and popular and most flattering fallacy; no doubt Mr. Pepsy entertained it also, until that day of disillusionment when he went out with his sword, as became a citizen of London town, and had that humiliating adventure with the little snappy dog.

Who Obeys, Upholds!

And the plain fact remains that the person who upholds the law is the person who obeys it, and since, even at the present day, the vast majority of offenders are of the male sex, it is obvious that the chief upholders of the law are women. I do not say that this is altogether to the credit of the women; as Bernard Shaw once remarked, if this were a truly Christian country everyone would be in prison; but the fact remains, and while it remains there is something decidedly ludicrous in refusing the rights of citizenship to women on the ground that at present they are not universally enrolled in the police force or in the Army. Even this is not saying that they cannot be so enrolled; the policewoman is fast becoming an established fact on both sides of the Atlantic; the lady detective is an old story; and one never picks up a paper without seeing how some stalwart member of the constabulary has been rescued at the last gasp from a gang of street roughs by the timely intervention of a lady or a little girl—never by the intervention of a man. Really, the prevention of mortality amongst the Force by this means must be

something quite considerable; and a policeman saved is a policeman gained.

Woman in War

As for the Army—well, apart from the obvious fact that we do not produce our fighting men nowadays by sowing dragon's teeth, there has never been a war yet where the women did not take a hand, and this in a far more practical manner than simply by smoothing the pillows of the wounded. There is always something repulsive to the masculine mind in the idea of a woman sharing with him that very natural and human and universal love of a shindy which is one of the primary instincts of all sentient beings; he would have her do nothing but exist beautifully in the background to soothe him after combat and clear up the mess; one wonders how much of this is chivalry, and how much is uncomfortable suspicion that she may turn out to be a better and gamer fighter than he is if he gives her half a chance to prove it.

But nowadays the great nations live no longer by the sword; they live, quite literally, by their wits, and in the future will do so more and more. And those good gentlemen who have been always so very

complimentary concerning woman's wit, woman's powers of diplomacy and administration, woman's superiority in everything but simple beefiness and brawn, may live to see their arguments turned against them in a way they do not anticipate. If their natural element is the camp or the barracks, they are certainly out of place in the council chamber; for none has ever yet proposed to hand over the country's destiny to a Parliament and electorate composed entirely of soldiers and policemen, though, if ability to uphold the law by force were the only qualification for such dignitaries, that would be the one logical thing to do.

HER ANTIQUE GLORY

Where is the antique glory now become, That whylome wont in women to appear? Where be the brave achievements done by some? Where be the batteloes, where the shield and speare? And all the conquests which them high did reare, That matter made for famous poets verse, And boastfull men so oft abash't to heare? Beene they all dead, and laide in dolefull herse? Or doen they onely sleepe, and shall againe reverse? —(Spenser's "Faerie Queen.")

THE EVOLUTION OF SUFFRAGETTE SALLY!



WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND THE GENERAL ELECTION

A Liberal's View of It

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. With a General Election looming ahead it is necessary for those Liberals who are supporters of the Women's Suffrage movement seriously to consider their position. Now is the time to decide whether we shall insist upon this reform being made a part of the official Liberal programme, or whether we shall stand aside and allow it to be torpedoed by Mr. Lloyd George's Land Reform proposals.

Should this happen and the Liberals be again returned to power, the inevitable result would be a continuance of the persecution which has so lamentably marred the record of the present Government. I say "persecution" advisedly, for what better illustration of persecution can one find than of a particular section of a community being fined and imprisoned for actions which another section is allowed to indulge in with impunity? Putting aside all those cases where men and women have been punished for actual damage, there still remain many cases where they have been imprisoned for "conspiracy" and "incitement to crime," and whilst editors connected with the Suffrage movement have been punished, the editors of every Unionist newspaper in the country have been publishing columns upon columns of inflammatory matter—openly inciting officers and men of the army to refuse to obey orders, and openly proclaiming rebellion and civil war in Ulster; yet not one of them has been prosecuted. The refusal of the Government to apply Liberal principles has landed them into difficulty after difficulty; and there is a very serious danger of the Liberal Party allowing their momentary militant outrages to blind them to the importance of the principles involved, and for the sake of revenging themselves, perpetuating the difficulties and dragging the party still further into the mire.

This phase of the question is particularly prominent in the correspondence addressed to the editors. In the North Mail for June 23 there is a letter signed "Male Sympathiser," asking "How can the vote be given to women while the present treatment of the military is continued? It must seem to any intelligent observer that the task before those women who want the vote is to persuade their male-headed sisters from waging war against society." And he goes on to say: "Everyone recognises there is much justice in the women's claims."

There are two kinds of cowardice. One, the more obvious, where a man, seeing danger before him, turns tail and runs. The other kind is the cowardice which makes a man persist in a line of conduct against his better judgment because he is afraid that his turning back would be misconstrued and taken as a sign of weakness. It is this form of cowardice which we are called upon to combat to-day.

Schoolboy Dignity

Many Liberals who are sympathisers of the Women's Movement are prepared to vote against it now for fear it should be thought that they have been intimidated into voting for it. If only these people would look back at our political history they would find many instances of this statesmanlike attitude bringing swift retribution in its train. The classic instance, of course, is that which cost us the America Colonies. It is old history now how the British Parliament tried to impose taxation on the Americans, how they resisted, and how the persistence of Parliament for the sake of its "dignity" led to the War of Independence. All Burke's arguments and pleadings were in vain.

"They tell you, sir, that your dignity is tied to it. I know not how it happens, but this dignity of yours is a terrible incumbrance to you; for it has of late been ever at war with your interest, your equity and every idea of your policy. Show the thing you contend for to be reason; show it to be common sense; show it to be the means of attaining some useful end; and then I am content to allow it what dignity you please. But what dignity is derived from the perseverance in absurdity is more than I ever could discern." Every hour you continued on this ill-chosen ground your difficulties thicken on you; and therefore my conclusion is, remove from a bad the firm in reference to the request for the appointment of women constables, to point out that there is ample authority for such appointments, though the numerous statutes which have interfered with the law of England may have made a new Act of Parliament necessary. Sir George quotes the King's Bench judgment given above, and adds: "The celebrated Anne Countess of Pembroke, Dorset, and Montgomery had, according to Coke, the office of hereditary sheriff of Westmorland (civil and criminal), and exercised it in person. At the Assizes at Appleby she sat with the Judges on the bench. I could cite other instances, but will only add one more—that of Lady Branghwa, who, as it appears from Kesh's Report, was in 1694 the Keeper of the prison of the Gate House of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster."

These words are as applicable to-day to the women's question as they were to the American question when Burke uttered them nearly a century and a half ago. Those men who refuse to grant the franchise to the mass of women because of the outrages and excesses of a small minority are taking up a position which is neither fair nor logical, and their attitude can only tend to still further deepen a feeling amongst law-abiding Suffragists that the Liberal Party has failed to deal honestly or straightly with the question. Liberal Suffragists must stand firm to retrieve the honour of the party. Another and more subtle means of op-

posing the women's movement is one which masquerades under the disguise of "Democracy." The Prime Minister, for instance, in replying to a deputation from the East London Suffragettes, said that if you were going to give the vote to women you should give it on the same terms as to men. All democrats will agree with this. But Mr. Asquith is wily enough to see that at the present time it would be impossible to get a sufficient backing to pass a measure granting the franchise to women on such broader lines through Parliament. This is not genuine democracy; it is a spurious imitation cunningly got up to deceive the unthinking. True democracy is out for the granting of the principle; for it knows that when once that is conceded the progressive parties will be united in converting a limited franchise into a full one. For my part I should unhesitatingly support a measure designed only to give the vote to duchesses; for I know well that when once that was gained, the Liberal Party would never rest until it had enfranchised factorywomen and charwomen.

Another consideration is raised in a letter from Mr. James Shepherd to the Daily News (June 23), in which he says: "Although a friend of Women's Suffrage I yet am unable to appreciate the mentality of Mr. Beaulieu's suggestion that until you can agree to give some women the vote you should continue to let some men have ten." This raises the whole question of the attitude of the Liberal supporters of Women's Suffrage to the rest of the Liberal programme, and it is here where the Suffragist has missed his opportunities in the past. He has continually allowed himself to be dragged at the tail of the anti-suffragist car, and there is only one way of putting an end to this state of affairs. Liberal Suffragists must use the other items of the Liberal programme as levers. They have the power of bargaining now, and they must use it if they are not to be again left in the lurch. They must explicitly refuse to support a suffrage programme which excludes women. Further than that, they must insist on priority over Land Reform; for to return the Liberals to power pledged to deal with the land question but free as regards Women's Suffrage would be to see another Liberal Government continuing the degrading policy of this one.

All those who cherish Liberal principles must look upon such an event as a calamity to be avoided at all costs—even at the cost of putting a Protectionist Government in power.—Yours, &c., Clifford A. Fenwick.

The expression used by Mr. Asquith and quoted by Mr. Kershaw, "giving votes to women on the same terms as to men," does not strictly bear the interpretation Mr. Kershaw places on it. In view of the fact that men only have the vote at present on certain qualifications, if these qualifications were extended to women, there would be about 14 million women voters to 7 1/2 million men. But we are prepared to agree with Mr. Kershaw that from the context Mr. Asquith probably intended to convey a wider measure of enfranchisement.—EDITOR VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WOMEN AS CONSTABLES

When the deputation anxious for the appointment of women police constables visited the Home Office they were informed that the opinion was that as the law stood it was probable that women could not properly be sworn in as police constables until fresh legislation would be required before this could be done. The common law (writes a legal correspondent of the Manchester Guardian) certainly gives no support to this contention, and it is clear that before the institution of the modern police force a woman could hold the office of parish constable. This is clearly laid down in the case of the King v. Stubbs in 1788. The judgment said: "There are many instances where the offices of a higher nature (women) are held not to be disqualified, as in the case of the office of High Chamberlain, High Constable, and Marshal, and that of a common constable, which is both an office of trust and likewise in a degree judicial." It may be replied that one cannot argue from the law relating to the old office of parish constable to that of the present police constable. It will, however, be well if the Acts or cases on which the Home Office relies could be given.

A NOVEL ARREST The Kensington police had a happy inspiration last week when, with due solemnity, they arrested a gaily-decked barrow loaded with home-made cakes, jams, and other delicacies which members of the Women's Freedom League were very successfully hawking through the streets for the benefit of a special fund. One sergeant of police told them there was no objection to their hawking the goods provided they "moved on," and move on they did, selling their stuff as

quickly as they could wrap it up. However, very soon other police appeared on the scene, the women were arrested, and the law laid its heavy hand on the gay little barrow, which was lodged outside the court in the charge of a hungry policeman, wistfully eyeing its dainties, while the magistrate, impressed by its attractiveness, was commending the women to cause no further obstruction. They had caused no objection to their hawking and taken away to carry on its trade in a thoroughfare less conspicuous and profitable.

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ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. President: Lady Forbes-Robertson The garden party at 1, Fitzjohn's Avenue, to which our members contributed an entertainment, was highly successful. The following was the cast of "An Allegory," by Vera Wentworth—Woman, Miss Dorothy Warren; Prejudice, Mr. Harding Steerman; Courage, Miss Victoria Addison; Fear, Miss Irene Ross; the Slave Woman, Miss Nell Du Maurier; Man, Mr. P. Gedge Tryman; Miss Shirley King and Mr. Geoffrey Goodhart played a duologue from "A Story of an African Farm," and Miss Italia Conti's children gave some delightful dances. Miss Decima Moore was unfortunately prevented coming, owing to her husband having met with an accident. The members taking charge at the White City stall this week include Miss Inez Benussan, Miss Janet Steer, Miss Murray Clark, Miss Nelly Howitt, Miss Vera Vallis, Miss Alys Rees, Miss Dorothy Warren, and Miss Edith Carter.

The office will be closed on Bank Holiday, August 3, for one day only. The speakers on Sunday in Hyde Park will be Miss Dorothy Warren and Mrs. Mervale Mayer, and Miss Winifred Mayo in the chair.

UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C. Telephone: Regent 5150 Colours: Purple, White and Orange

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Join US (United Suffragists)

Holiday Campaign.—During the next few weeks there is a great deal of very important work to be carried on by our members. On August 14 Votes For Women becomes the official organ of the United Suffragists, and from that time onwards every effort must be made to enlarge the circulation of the paper. The summer holidays make an excellent opportunity for doing this, for there are thousands of people all over the country who, though generally too busy to take much interest in anything which they do not think concerns them personally, are delighted to be brought into touch with a new interest while they are away on their holidays. For instance, hundreds of copies of the paper can be sold with little, or no trouble, on the sands at seaside resorts. This not only raises the circulation at the time, but inevitably leads to new permanent subscribers; for people have only to read the paper once or twice to feel that they cannot do without it. It is therefore hoped that all our members will make a point of seeing that the paper is advertised and sold wherever they are spending their holidays.

Members' Meetings.—The next members' meeting will take place in the offices on Thursday, September 17, at 8.15.

Speakers' Classes.—The speakers' classes will begin again on Tuesday, September 24, at 8.15, at the same place.

South London Campaign.—The South London campaign will be carried on throughout August and September. Canvassers and speakers are urgently needed to carry on the work during that time, when so many of the usual workers will be out of town. Will anyone who can help communicate with the Hon. Sec. at 3, Adam Street.

Bank Holiday Recesse.—The offices will close on Friday, July 31, at 1 p.m., and re-open on Wednesday, August 5, at 10 a.m.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Several more paper sellers are needed for London, as a great many of our regular ones are away for their holidays. Will all those willing to help kindly send in their names at once to the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court?

Also, this is a splendid opportunity for those Fellows who are away at the sea to do their best to sell the paper, as there is an immense amount of propaganda to be done in this way. The sale has been increasing in Manchester, but there is still the same cry: "We want more sellers, as so much more could be done if only more workers would come forward and help at this pitch."

WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE

98, St. Martin's Lane, W.C., Tel. City 3335 Secretary: Mrs. Kington Parkes

On Monday, July 27, Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, the well-known novelist, again resisted the payment of King's Taxes, and her goods were sold by public auction in the garden of her house, "Vedastan," at Aberdovey. Last year Mrs. Steel gave the MS. of the first chapter of her book, "On the Face of the Waters," and this year she was prepared to part with the second chapter, but the Collector refused to take it, probably thinking that such ordinary things as a card table, silver, &c., would attract less attention. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel addressed the protest meeting herself, and the second chapter was sold after the auction of the other goods.

Mrs. Kington Parkes has held most successful meetings in Ireland. At Valentia Island the meeting was held on Saturday night in the Carnegie Library, and so great was the interest taken in it by the inhabitants, including all the men from the Atlantic Cable station, that on Sunday afternoon Mrs. Kington Parkes was driven to the Roman Catholic chapel in the centre of the island to address the people as they came out from Mass. This was most successful venture, as all the men and women remained to listen, and a resolution was passed in favour of "Votes for Women."

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League, 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. Adult Suffragist, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League, 23, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association, 10, the Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', W.C.

British Dominion's Woman Suffrage Union Co. International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, Piccadilly, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society, 23, Bedford Square, W.C.

Church League for Women's Suffrage, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society, 15, Sotheby House, Highbury, W.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association, 48, Dover Street, W.

East London Federation of the Suffragettes, 231, Roman Road, Bow, E.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies, 21, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.

Forward Civic Suffrage Union, 53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, W.C.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage, Walden, Gloucester.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society, 2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Suffrage Shop, 11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance, 7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Irishwomen's Franchise League, Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League, 29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association, 163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, 23, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society, 27, Donegal Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage, 32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice, 22, South Molton Street, W.

Liberal Men's Suffrage Society, 31, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

Liberal Women's Suffrage Union, Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage, Chancery Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps, Duncton, Petworth, Sussex.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, Temp. Address: 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage, 156, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society

5, John Dalton Street, Manchester. National Political League, Bank Buildings, 14, 1, James Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage, 5, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

Scottish Churches League for Women Suffrage, 11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage, 2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Spiritual Militancy League, 46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier, Studio: 6, Stanley Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club, 3, York Street, St. James', S.W.

"Suffrage First" Committee, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Suffrage Service League, 29, Broadway, Westminster.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee

21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Theosophical Suffrage Society, 19, Tavistock Square, W.C.

United Religious Woman Suffrage Societies, 13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

United Suffragists, 3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.

Votes for Women Fellowship, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C. Lectureship Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Alnsida e, Lancs.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society, 25, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League, 1, Roberts Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom, 10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League, 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union, 27, Marlborough Court, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League, Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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