

VOTES FOR WOMEN

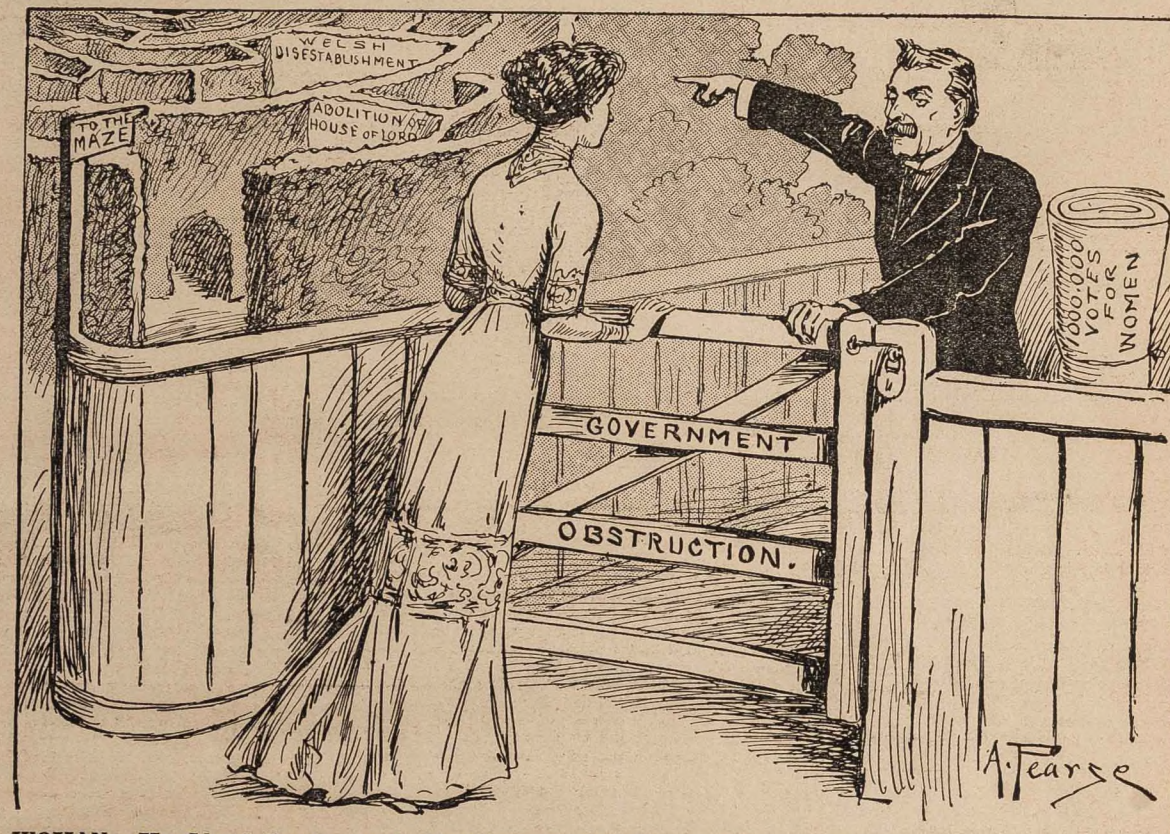
EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"A VOTE IN THE HAND IS WORTH SIX IN THE MILLENNIUM."



WOMAN: Mr. Lloyd George, undo that barrier and let me get my million votes.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE: No, no, my good woman, not that way. Over there, somewhere in the middle of that maze, there lie six million votes; that is the way for you.

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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.

In pursuance of the advice given by Mr. John Burns some little time ago that the labour of married women should be considerably curtailed, the Rochester Education Authority has decided to call for the immediate resignation of all its married women teachers, and to state that in future no married women will be employed. It will be remembered that a similar attempt to turn out married women teachers was made last year in Warrington in the case of Mrs. Stansfield and others. On that occasion the attempt failed because in those particular schools the

power to dismiss teachers, except for certain specific reasons, did not lie with the Education Authority but with the Managers; but this limitation does not apply to other schools in the country, and Rochester has now decided to take the initiative in the matter.

The Reason for the Step.

No one who has studied the question at all can have the least doubt that married women are peculiarly fitted for the education of children, and that therefore the Education Authority of Rochester, in taking this course, is acting directly against the interests of the schools for which it is responsible. Moreover, by gratuitous dismissal, it is inflicting a severe and grievous injury on a body of worthy public servants. The only excuse that is made is that the proper place for married women is the home. Without a tittle of evidence that the homes of these women are badly kept, the powers that be are passing what amounts to a kind of sumptuary law in the alleged interest of the home.

The Fallacy Exposed.

Let us examine this so-called reason on its merits, putting aside the obvious fact that the women themselves are the proper persons to decide on such a question. The work of a school teacher does not constitute any severe physical strain, the hours of work away from home are not particularly long, they are certainly not longer than those spent by married women of the well-to-do classes on their pleasures or their social "duties." The salary which the teacher earns enables her to employ a domestic servant to do the housework in her own home and to free her for intercourse with her own children on natural lines. If she had to be at home all the day and earned no money her time would be devoted to the exhausting work of scrubbing,

cooking, washing, and the like. Her children would not be the gainers. It comes to this, then, that married women of the middle classes are to be forced back into their homes, while married women of the upper classes are frankly expected to leave them for a considerable part of the day. Is it to be wondered that women are beginning to revolt against this attempt to force them into the position of mere domestic drudges?

The Tragedy of Motherhood.

But although by restrictive legislation men in power to-day are trying to force women back into their homes, and though they talk at great length about the sacredness of motherhood, yet they show by their actions how utterly they fail to understand the very elementary facts of the situation. In our columns this week we publish a powerful article from the pen of Mrs. Sidney Webb. No woman can read that article without being deeply moved by the simple facts which she sets forth. By the express wish of the men who are attempting to carry the Midwives Bill into law, women in their hour of dire necessity are to be "deterred" from applying for medical relief. We wonder what would be said of a system of Army nursing which proposed that soldiers on the field of battle should be deprived of their medals if, when wounded and at the point of death, they found it necessary to call for surgical aid. Yet such a proposal would be not one whit more disgraceful to those who made it than the attitude which is being taken up on this question by members of the Government.

Lord Lytton's Reply to Mr. Lloyd George.

We promised last week to deal further with Mr. Lloyd George's remarks to the deputation of Welsh women who waited upon him in Criccieth, North Wales, and we have

LORD LYTTON ANSWERS MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

The Conscience of a Cabinet Minister.

POINTS FROM THE SPEECH OF LORD LYTTON AT THE QUEEN'S HALL ON MONDAY LAST.

pleasure in drawing the attention of our readers this week to our summary of the points from Lord Lytton's speech at the Queen's Hall last Monday. This speech dealt with the arguments of Mr. Lloyd George's resolution. To this we will add only one further remark. Mr. Lloyd George has deliberately confused "plural votes" and "faggot votes," in other words, he contends that hundreds of thousands of "plural" voters will be created by rich men enfranchising their wives, daughters and female dependents, and getting them to vote as they are told. Such a suggestion is not only at variance with election law, by which it would be practically impossible to manufacture a large number of "occupier" votes of this character, but it represents a failure on the part of Mr. Lloyd George to understand the spirit of the modern woman. The wives and daughters and dependents of rich men are not the mere creatures of their wills, as Mr. Lloyd George supposes, and we very much doubt whether there will be many men who would seek to enfranchise them in the belief that when the time came they would vote blindly according to instructions.

Taxation without Representation is Tyranny.

The text of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech at the opening At Home of the season in the Queen's Hall, on Monday last, was the story of John Hampden, who refused to pay the King's Ship Money because it had not been voted by Parliament. Mrs. Lawrence declared that women who were unrepresented would take a similar line and refuse to pay their taxes. John Hampden had been defeated in the Law Courts, and anathematised in the pulpits. He had then adopted active methods of revolt. In just the same way women would use both passive and active resistance to the Government until their due citizen rights were accorded them. A special article dealing with this subject, by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, will be found in this issue.

Prospective By-Elections.

It is confidently anticipated that certain Cabinet changes will shortly be announced. It is rumoured that Sir William Robson is to become a Lord of Appeal, that Sir Rufus Isaacs is to take his place as Attorney-General, and that Mr. Simon will become Solicitor-General in the place of Sir Rufus Isaacs. This will involve a vacancy in South Shields, Sir William Robson's constituency, and will compel Mr. Simon to seek re-election in Walthamstow. Under these circumstances a by-election will almost certainly take place in Walthamstow, and the W.S.P.U. have accordingly already made preliminary preparations for the contest. A by-election in South Shields may also take place.

Propaganda.

The past week has been vigorously spent in propaganda by members of the Union. Mrs. Pankhurst has been conducting a successful tour in Ireland, where considerable enthusiasm has been shown. Her meetings included one in Cork on Monday, in Dublin on Tuesday, in Dundalk on Wednesday, and in Belfast after we had gone to press yesterday. To-day she speaks in Derry. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been speaking in Ilkley and in Bradford. Meanwhile, the regular free meetings in London on Monday afternoons and Thursday evenings, and in all the provincial centres are now well under way. Strangers as well as members of the Union are cordially invited. Particulars are given elsewhere.

Questioning M.P.s.

Another form of propaganda in which all those interested in woman suffrage can valuably take part, is in keeping the question of Votes for Women to the front at all political meetings all over the country. Members of Parliament and other political speakers will be interrogated (at question time) on this subject both as to their own views and as to the policy which they, if Liberals, intend to urge upon the Government in the Autumn. Members of Parliament may also be conveniently approached by deputations in their constituency. The answers given should be noted for future use.

Contents of the Paper.

Among the contents of the paper this week will be found, in addition to the articles already mentioned, a special article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, dealing with the "Undercurrent of the Woman's Movement." We believe that many who have not appreciated to the full the need for the political side, will realise by reading this article how much more lies behind it than they had supposed. We also publish an extract from Mr. Lawrence Housman's censored play, about which there has been considerable controversy in the papers of late. An account by Mr. Joseph Clayton of the working of Woman Suffrage in Finland will also be of special interest to our readers. Next week we are printing an article by Mrs. Taylor, whose reminiscences we gave a fortnight ago, dealing with the present political situation. In the following week we propose to commence a series of articles by Mr. Pethick Lawrence on the "Effect of the Vote upon Women's Wages."

Items of Interest.

Members of the W.S.P.U. are reminded that the great Lancashire Exhibition organised by the W.S.P.U. will be held in Southampton from December 14 to 17 inclusive, and that articles for sale and offers of help will be gratefully received by the promoters in Southampton.

A list of articles, specially suitable to be presented, for the Christmas sale commencing in November, at the Woman's Press shop, 156, Charing Cross Road, and at other local shops, will be found on page 13.

The Conciliation Bill was drafted as a piece of practical legislation to pass into law. It was not drafted as a peg upon which to hang a mere academic discussion upon the subject of Woman Suffrage in the House of Commons. It was carefully prepared during many months by a committee which consisted of every political party in the House of Commons, and which had one desire only, and that was to arrive at a Bill which would receive a maximum of support in the House of Commons, and would reduce the opposition to a minimum. Therefore all this talk about a committee of women outside Parliament, or of a Bill drafted in order to promote the interests of one political party, is sheer nonsense. This Bill was introduced in order that it should pass, and if it does not pass, we shall know upon whose shoulders the responsibility rests. It will not rest upon the shoulders of those who drafted the Bill, and it will not be due to the fact that there is not a sufficient number of Members of Parliament in favour of it. It will be due merely to the fact that those who are so fond of talking of the will of the people have deliberately used their power which they possess to prevent the will of the people from being carried into effect.

There is one member of the Government, one Minister, who is evidently being tortured by the pangs of a very bad conscience. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has twice made a statement since Parliament rose about this particular Bill, and on both occasions his speeches were in the nature of a public confession; they were attempts to quiet his own conscience in the presence of witnesses, and I am not surprised! For after all, the Chancellor of the Exchequer knows that by his speech and by his vote in the House of Commons upon the Second Reading of the Conciliation Committee's Bill he has nullified the effect of all his previous utterances in favour of Woman Suffrage, and he has forfeited the friendship of all genuine supporters of the movement. He hopes to put himself right in the eyes of those whose interests he has betrayed, by misrepresenting the Bill which at this moment has the support of every suffrage society throughout the Kingdom.

Too Modest a Bill.

In the first place he tells us that the Bill is altogether too modest. He says in effect,—"You are only going to enfranchise a million women; you are only going, in the main, to enfranchise widows and spinsters; you are going to leave out married women. If only you would add another six or seven million women to your Bill I should be very happy to go with you, but since you have introduced a Bill which would only enfranchise a million women, and introduced it in such a form that it is impossible for me and my friends to wreck it by introducing amendments which will not be passed, I will oppose you by every means in my power."

I want to ask him, and I want to ask all those who use the same arguments that he has used, Do you really think that there is a better chance, or even any chance at all, of passing through the existing House of Commons your extended Franchise Bill? This Bill, with exceptions so few that they can be ignored, united every advocate of Woman Suffrage, no matter to what party he belonged in the House of Commons. All the Unionist supporters of Woman Suffrage with the fewest possible exceptions, voted for the Bill, and again, with the fewest possible exceptions, all the members of the Liberal Party who favour Woman Suffrage also voted for it. Now, what about an extended Bill? There is not a shadow of doubt that a Bill on adult suffrage lines, or even a Bill to enfranchise six or seven million married women, would have the Unionist Party solid against it, and not only that, but it would also certainly divide the ranks of the Woman Suffragists in the Liberal Party. If I take the basis of the votes recorded in favour of our Bill and imagine that for that Bill you have substituted some extended measure, such as Mr. Lloyd George would himself desire, I say that on the most favourable calculation you would only transfer 14 Liberal votes from the "Nees" to the "Ayes," whilst you would certainly transfer 87 Conservative votes which were recorded in favour of our Bill to the ranks of the opponents of an extended Bill. The result of which would be, that even without the division which would certainly take place in the Liberal ranks, you would have a substantial majority against such a measure. In face of these facts, is it practical politics to talk about an extended Bill, and to suggest substituting for a Bill which has secured a maximum of support one which would secure a maximum of opposition?

An Undemocratic Bill?

But this argument does not serve its purpose in keeping Mr. Lloyd George's conscience quiet. He knows that it is a bad argument; he has said so himself over and over again to the great impatience of his own followers when it has been a case of Government Bills for which he has been responsible. Therefore he has to go further and say, "Not only is your Bill a modest Bill, but it is a bad Bill; it is an undemocratic Bill, an illegal Bill, and an unfair Bill. This Bill is picking and choosing women at random; it will increase plural voters in the country by hundreds of thousands; it will swell the vote of the propertied classes, whilst excluding the vast majority of the working women."

Now, in making these astonishing statements the Chancellor of the Exchequer is either deliberately saying what is not true, or else he is utterly ignorant of the provisions of the Bill. I challenge him to produce a single proof or a single argument in support of his assertions. The basis of this Bill is not ownership,

but occupation, and I entirely fail to see how a Bill based upon an occupation franchise can multiply by hundreds of thousands the plural voters in the country. A woman may own a hundred or more houses, but she can only occupy one. Again, what justification is there for saying that this is a partial and unfair measure, that it is picking and choosing one class more than another? This Bill does not create an entirely novel and unknown electorate. It enfranchises merely the women who are already upon the Municipal Register. We know everything about them. We know who they are, we know from what classes they are drawn, and we know what are their numbers. There is no distinction of any kind between one class and another. Any woman, be she rich or be she poor, any woman who has qualified as a householder—that is to say, who occupies a house or even a single room, if she has complete control over it, of any value whatever—will obtain a vote. Where, under such a system, is any favour shown to property and wealth?

The only words in our Bill which can be said to discriminate between those who have a certain amount of means and those who have none are the words which enfranchise occupiers of business premises to the value of £10. Now, it is quite true that the class who would be enfranchised under this £10 occupation qualification are small shopkeepers, typists, schoolmistresses, and women who work in offices, and it is also true that it would be possible for women to have a vote as householders and also as occupiers of offices. But that is no justification for saying that the Bill is undemocratic and unfair, and certainly it does not justify the statement that it would create hundreds of thousands of plural votes.

Faggot Votes.

As to the possibility that faggot-voting may be resorted to, the promoters of the Bill have put on the Order Paper of the House of Commons an amendment which provides that a husband and wife may not be qualified in respect of property in the same constituency. Our willingness to meet them on that point was known to members of the Government when the Bill was brought up for the second reading. If, therefore, Mr. Lloyd George is sincere—if he fears the politics of the £10 occupiers—and, after all, they are only 5 per cent. of the women who will be enfranchised under the Bill—or if he thinks that this qualification is open to abuse, he had a perfectly easy course open to him when the Bill was under discussion. He could have gone to the House and said, "I am in favour of votes for women, and I support a Bill so long as it does not pick and choose between different classes, but I see in this Bill a danger that it may do so, and I wish when it goes into Committee to move to omit the words which enfranchise the £10 occupiers." That was quite possible to him at the time, and it is possible to him now. I say that if he is sincere in his support of this cause, and if he only fears the effect of those words in this Bill, let him move to strike them out, and if he can convince the House of Commons to omit those words, let the Bill be proceeded with without them.

Then Mr. Lloyd George has attacked the Bill because it has a limited title. That limited title was introduced deliberately with the object of securing, in the interests of the Government, that its discussion should occupy the least possible amount of time. And I answer him, as he was answered by Mr. Philip Snowden in the House of Commons, on behalf of the promoters of the Bill, if he is prepared to give us the extra time which is required for its discussion, then we will give him his open title, "I am trying to uplift the down-trodden and the oppressed." In some such words as these the Chancellor concluded his reply to the deputation the other day. "I am trying—in my own way—to reform the social laws of this country, to brighten the world in which we live, and the promoters of this Conciliation Bill are trying to obstruct my glorious ambition." No, ladies and gentlemen, nothing of the kind! If the women of this country are asking for the vote to-day, and if the men of the country wish them to have it, and are helping them to get it, it is only because they are anxious to join hands with each other in undertaking the work of social and industrial reform which has yet to be accomplished; and let me tell you, that this work is by no means a monopoly of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues. If you are making sacrifices to-day, if you have devoted your lives to an agitation which must be painful to all alike, if you have embarked on a struggle to secure for women political freedom and a voice in the government of this country, it is only because you, too, have dreams, ideals, and aspirations. You are fighting to-day not merely that women may have the vote, but that they may use it—use it not only for the benefit of their own sex, not merely to right their own wrongs, but in order that they may join with men in promoting the best interests of the State and in raising the standard of our national life; it is only because I believe this, from the bottom of my heart, that I am with you in your agitation to-day.

THE PAPER-SELLING COMPETITION.

The Paper-Selling Competition, which has been going on during the months of July, August and September is now ended, and we hope shortly to be in a position to announce the results. Any competitors in Class B who have not yet sent in their cards must do so at once, and they are reminded that to-day (Friday) is the last day for paying for all the papers which they have had. Local unions and country campaigns competing in Classes C and D are reminded that to-day is the last day on which they can send in returns of the papers during the three summer months. We hope that although the competition is over members will continue to exert themselves to get new permanent readers through the order forms and also to sell the paper to strangers and generally to forward the interests of the paper in every way.

WHY WOMEN NEED THE VOTE: A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

By Mrs. Sidney Webb, D.Litt. (National Committee for the Prevention of Destitution.)

We are frequently told that women do not need the protection of the vote, because Parliament watches over all alike, and gives prompt attention to all real grievances.

Well, here is one example of how things happen. I suppose it will be admitted that maternity, with all its special needs and special risks, is a question on which women may claim to be heard. It took twelve years of costly and troublesome agitation before Parliament could be induced to pass a Midwives Act (in 1902). Then these practical legislators omitted to provide for any payment to the doctor whom they peremptorily ordered to be summoned in certain dangerous emergencies!

The result has been that there has been sometimes great difficulty in getting the doctor, and sometimes great difficulty in his getting his fee. In some towns, after more or less struggle, the Town Council has agreed to pay the fee under the Public Health Acts, if the poor woman cannot pay it. Manchester and Liverpool, Cardiff and St. Helens do this, and it works well. In some other places the Board of Guardians grudgingly makes the payment out of the Poor Rate, and in that case sends the relieving officer to make his hateful enquiries, often summons the husband to attend before the Board, usually treats the payment as parochial relief (which legally it is not), enters the man and the woman as paupers, and tries (quite without legal warrant) to recover from the patient or her husband the amount paid (without their authority or consent) to the doctor. In some places, again, it is difficult to get either Town or District Council or Board of Guardians to pay this fee.

Eight more years of suffering and of protest have to pass before the Cabinet can be induced to remedy its legislative blunder of 1902. At last, in 1910, Lord Wolverhampton, as Lord President of the Council, introduces a Bill in the House of Lords, putting the duty of paying the doctor's fee—not on the Town or County Council, or Urban or Rural District Council, as the midwives and their patients wanted—but on the Board of Guardians, subjecting these poor women to an irritating and demoralising contact with the Poor Law, and explicitly making them paupers.

A storm of protest arose. The Midwives' Institute, the Women's Labour League, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Railway Women's Guild, all showered resolutions on the Prime Minister. The Cabinet pretended to bow to the storm, and withdrew the Bill for amendment.

A Deterrent.

Unfortunately the Cabinet failed to understand this essentially woman's question. When Lord Beauchamp (who had meanwhile succeeded Lord Wolverhampton) reintroduced the Bill, it was found that the Government had only amended it by adding that the payment was not to be "considered" (!) as parochial relief, whilst leaving it still a matter for the Poor Law machinery, for the Board of Guardians and the relieving officer, and for all the odium which clings round them.

Lord Lytton and Lord Amthill warned the House of Lords, but the Government insisted, and the Lords passed the Bill. Why was this done? The reason is even more extraordinary than the action. Lord Sheffield explained that these women, in their agony, would be deterred from sending for the doctor if they knew that it was a Poor Law matter, and the intention was to "deter" them! Remember, it is only in grave and unexpected emergencies of life and death that the question arises. The House of Lords wanted to deter the midwife and the patient in these emergencies from sending for the doctor; and for this reason the payment of his fee is to be made a Poor Law matter.

Now the Bill is coming down to the House of Commons in November, and we shall see what these elected (but man-elected) legislators think of it; or whether, amid the political excitement, they will trouble to think about it at all.

Clause 17 of this Midwives Bill would, in fact, inflict two separate and distinct hardships on thousands of thrifty and hardworking married women and their families, just in their hour of need. The first hardship is the importation, into this business of midwives, of the machinery of the Poor Law, instead of that of the Public Health Authority. Probably our noble legislators do not see any difference. But many a worthy woman

has a feeling of shame and indignity at having anything to do with the Poor Law and the relieving officer.

If the Board of Guardians, instead of the Town or County Council, is (for the first time) required to pay the doctor's fee, and to decide whether or not it will recover the amount from the patient, it will inevitably use the Poor Law machinery for this purpose—the visits of inquiry of the relieving officer, the summons to attend before the Board, and so on, just as if the matter were one of parochial relief. Indeed, the official argument used for the clause is that this use of the relieving officer affords the most convenient machinery for making the inquiries.

But the case is even worse than that. The Government has been warned by all those concerned, by the representatives of the Midwives' Institute, the Central Midwives Board, the Society of Medical Officers of Health, the British Medical Association, the Municipal Corporations Association, such typical County Councils as those of Lancashire and Nottinghamshire, and such important Town Councils as that of Manchester, that to import the Board of Guardians into the delicate and difficult business of providing medical aid in these cases of emergency will, as a matter of fact, deter midwife and patient from calling in the doctor. Lord Sheffield and other noble lords expressly say that they hope it will have that effect! The women (and their babies) are to pay by their deaths.

The second hardship is the new financial burden which the Bill, for the first time, places on these unfortunate families. I see no reason why, when the State insists on the medical man being called in, on public health grounds, any repayment of the fee should be insisted on; and it is a distinct grievance that the liability will be not to pay the modest fee which the doctor would have charged to the poor patient herself, but the one or two guineas which (quite rightly) the Local Government Board will fix as the sum that the doctor may charge to the Public Authority.

When the police find a man urgently needing medical aid, from some accident or another, and they summon a doctor to attend to him, the fee is paid from the Police Rate, and no attempt is made to recover it from the man. The emergency of the woman in childbirth is equally unforeseen and unforeseeable, for it must be remembered that the woman has provided for the normal requirements of her condition, by herself paying for the attendance of the midwife. It is Parliament which has made obligatory the summoning of a doctor, if the unforeseen and unforeseeable emergency—usually about one case in a hundred—occurs; and it seems only fair that it should be regarded as a Public Health matter—just as the man's emergency is—and borne by the rates.

But, even if it is thought that the Public Authority ought to be able to recover the amount, this is no reason for taking the duty out of the hands of the Public Health Authority and giving it to the Poor Law Authority. Neither has now the power to recover the fee. Either of them could be given that power if desired.

Can anything be done between now and the re-assembling of Parliament in November to prevent the House of Commons from passing Clause 17 of this Bill? I shall be glad if anyone willing to help, or desiring further particulars, will communicate with me.

DR. KIRBY AT QUEEN'S HALL.

Students of the militant campaign will remember that nearly a year ago, December 9, an action by Mrs. Leigh against the authorities of Winsor Green Gaol for assault in forcibly feeding her came before the Lord Chief Justice. Many witnesses were called to prove the evils of forcible feeding, and among them was Mr. E. D. Kirby, M.D., who testified to the condition of extreme weakness to which Mrs. Leigh had been reduced while under so-called "medical treatment" in prison.

Dr. Kirby has kindly consented to speak at the Queen's Hall meeting next Monday, October 10, at 3 p.m., and in a brief interview with him we gathered that he will have some very interesting things to say about the process of forcible feeding and its effect upon the four Suffrage prisoners who, on their release, were under his care, Miss Laura Ainsworth, Miss Selma Martin, Mrs. Leigh, and Miss Hilda Burkill.

Dr. Kirby informs us that in politics he is a Conservative. He rejoices that members of his Party are friendly to the Woman Suffrage cause, and hopes that they will do all in their power to ensure the passing of the Conciliation Committee's Bill.

"I think," he said, "that, even on the grounds of party advantage Conservatives will be well advised to do this, and not only because it is right and just. If any unprejudiced man still doubts women's capacity for business, I would refer him to the fourth annual report of your Union. It is a magnificent testimony to women's power of organisation and administration."

Dr. Kirby is an active member of the Birmingham Men's League, and holds the position of Chairman of Committee.

The Queen's Hall audience next Monday afternoon will give Dr. Kirby a very hearty greeting in recognition of his splendid championship of the women who underwent the horrible process of forcible feeding during the course of last winter's agitation.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Principal Events During October.

N.B.—A very large number of other meetings are announced on pp. 10, 12.

Friday, 7.—Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, 11 a.m.; Speakers' Class, 4, Clements Inn, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 7.45 p.m.; Mrs. Pankhurst at Derry.

Monday, 10.—Queen's Hall, London. Dr. E. D. Kirby, of Birmingham, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m.

Thursday, 13.—Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 8 p.m. Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Town Hall, Folkestone.

Friday, 14.—Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, 11 a.m.

Saturday, 15.—Miss Christabel Pankhurst at Press Club Dinner, Criterion.

Monday, 17.—Queen's Hall, London, Lady Stout, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 3 p.m.

Tuesday, 18.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Birkenhead; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at Leicester.

Wednesday, 19.—Mrs. Pankhurst at New Brighton.

Thursday, 20.—Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence at Bath.

Friday, 21.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Newport; Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Rev. J. Ivory Cripps at the Public Hall, West Norwood, 8 p.m.; Poster Parade, 156, Charing Cross Road, London, 11 a.m.

Saturday, 22.—Miss Christabel Pankhurst at St. Peter's Hall, Bournemouth, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, 26.—Mrs. Pankhurst in the Town Hall, Dover.

Thursday, 27.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Bath.

Friday, 28.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Exeter.

Principal Events During November.

Wednesday, 2.—Mrs. Pankhurst in the Public Hall, Ipswich.

Thursday, 3.—Miss Christabel Pankhurst at St. Andrew's, 3 p.m., and in the Gilliflan Hall, Dundee, 8 p.m.

Friday, 4.—Miss Pankhurst in the Music Hall, Edinburgh.

Saturday, 5.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Southampton.

Sunday, 6.—Mrs. Pankhurst in St. George's Hall, Bradford.

Monday, 7.—Mrs. Pankhurst at Barnsley.

Thursday, 10.—Suffragists' great rally at the Albert Hall.

Tickets are selling rapidly, and members desiring tickets should make immediate application. Full particulars and all details will be found under picture of the Albert Hall on p. 4. A large number of stewards will be wanted for this meeting, and members are asked to send in their names as early as possible to Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Special posters and handbills can be had from Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Particulars on page 10.

Tuesday, 15.—Parliament re-assembles.

The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. Special attention is drawn to a new pamphlet, "The Conciliation Bill: An Explanation and Defence," by Mr. H. N. Brailsford, to be had at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, on Monday next, price One Penny. See "At the Sign of the Clock," p. 13, for an interesting announcement.

Debenham & Freebody.

Wigmore Street, London, W.

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NO VOTES, NO TAXES:

A Bonfire of Tax Papers!

A crowd full, a spirit of tense determination in the audience, and a call to arise from the platform characterized the first Monday afternoon's meeting at the Queen's Hall after the holidays. The women had been waiting for a sign from their leaders, and the moment had come. "What is the next move?" everyone was asking. The answer came clear and definite: "No Vote, no Tax! No Conciliation Bill, no Surrender!"

There were on the platform Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (in the chair), the Earl of Lytton (Chairman of the Conciliation Committee), and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, while at the back, in a semi-circle, sat the Secretaries of the London Local Unions, with their banners. An enormous screen displayed a great placard announcing the Albert Hall meeting on November 10.

A Lesson from History.

In simple language Mrs. Pethick Lawrence explained the moderate demand of the Conciliation Committee's Bill, how it aimed at meeting the difficulties of parties with a compromise, how the compromise had been welcomed by the Suffragette societies in the same spirit in which it was made—the spirit of conciliation. But the women were not going to be trifled with; they were determined to carry this thing through, or the thousands of members of this strong and united organisation would know the reason why. By every means in their power the members of the W.S.P.U. had backed up the Conciliation Committee. They trusted its leaders—Lord Lytton as Chairman and Mr. Brasford as Secretary—and they would go on backing up that Committee till the opening of Parliament. But if the counsels of conciliation did not prevail when Parliament met, and if the choice was between subjection and revolt, there was not the smallest shadow of doubt which course the Union would choose. Less than twenty-four hours before that meeting she had stood in Chalgrove Field and had read the inscriptions on the monument to the memory of John Hampden. One of these was "Vestigia nulla retrahuntur."—"There are no steps backward." The rendering of the W.S.P.U. was "Neither to Fail, nor to Falter, nor Repent." Just as John Hampden offered first passive resistance to authority, and then active resistance, so the women had their course clearly marked out before them.

"We hope for peace," said Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, "because we hate war. We only fight because we realise that there is one thing worse than war, and that is dishonour. We do not belong to a 'peace at any price' Party." But the women were ready. Without any appeal from the leaders, over 100 names had been sent in for active service. What the Union had to do was to turn so many women into Parliament Square that it would be physically impossible to arrest them all, impossible to try them all at Bow Street or any other police court, and impossible to find room for them in Holloway Gaol. That was the position they had to face—to make the situation impossible for the Government if the Bill was thrown out.

Tremendous applause greeted this conclusion, and the rising of Lord Lytton to speak was the signal for an outburst of clapping which prevented his beginning his speech for some moments. Some points from Lord Lytton's speech, which was listened to with the greatest interest and attention by the huge audience, will be found reported on another page.

Deeds, Not Words.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said the limit of patience had been reached in the proposed Payment of Members Bill. Women were certainly not going to pay to keep members in Parliament when they had no voice in their election. Let the men who elected them do that! She found a parallel to the present position in the American War of Independence. As the American citizens had their Boston Tea Party, Englishwomen would have their bonfire. There were four conditions in the American Declaration of Independence: The cause must be a just one. They must prove that there was no other remedy, that the only of submission were greater than those of resistance, and that from a standpoint of wisdom and expediency there were reasonable chances of success. The last condition seemed to her absolutely immaterial; whether success followed or not, if a cause was just it must be won. The day for admiration of the women's movement had gone by: the time for action had come. Resistance must be both passive and active—(1) "Don't pay taxes. (2) Join the deputation to the House of Commons." She proposed the following resolution, which was seconded by Mrs. Tuke, and carried unanimously.

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

"The Meeting further calls upon the Government to bow to the will of the people as expressed by their elected representatives in the House of Commons, and to provide the facilities necessary to enable the Bill to pass into law before the end of this year."

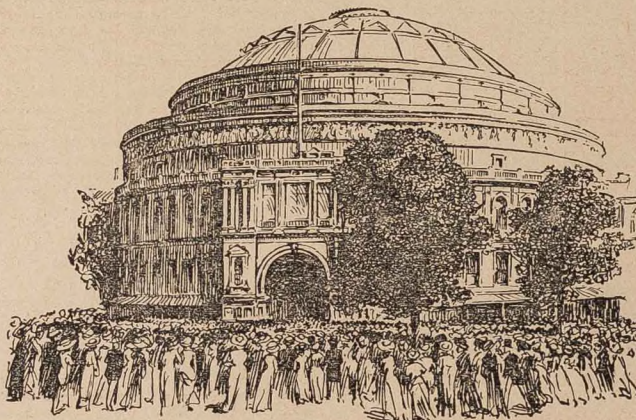
The sum of £50 was collected in the space of a few minutes.

TESTIMONIAL TO MRS. ELMY.

This testimonial has now reached £149 1s. 3d. Mrs. Martindale writes: "I shall be glad to be busy acknowledging money." We commend the fund to our readers, many of whom have already gladly seized this opportunity of showing their admiration of Mrs. Elmy for her long and splendid championship of the woman's cause.

HOLIDAY NOTES.

A quaint little inn at Pittleworth, beloved of artists, contains a visitors' book, in which a member of the W.S.P.U. had fixed a pen and ink sketch of a woman in prison dress, and the words intimating that this was how England treated her women for asking for justice. The comments round were numerous. "Bravo!" "All honour due to brave women." There was also a tirade on the back of the picture, which was both vindictive and cruel. There was just room for a visiting Suffragette to write "Rubbish" across the tirade, and under the picture the words, "Justice! What crimes are practised in thy name, to the law's discredit and the nation's shame," followed by her signature and "W.S.P.U."



THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1910, 8 P.M.

Great Meeting in Support of the Conciliation Committee's Bill, Royal Albert Hall, London.

Tickets should be secured at once, as they are selling very rapidly. Numbered and reserved tickets may be purchased by members only from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Prices as follows: Amphitheatre Stalls, 2s.; Arena, 1s.; Upper Orchestra, 6d.; Grand Tier Boxes (holding 10), 30s.; Loggia (holding 8), 21s.; 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Boxes (holding 12), 12s. 6d. The local W.S.P.U.'s have been given the first opportunity of taking up the Grand Tier Boxes.

Why the Woman's Movement Grows.

A newspaper cutting has been sent to us by a correspondent, who writes:—"I should like to draw your attention to the enclosed. I know nothing about this case, but surely the evidence of this poor child ought to have been sufficient to send that monster to penal servitude? What other evidence do men expect in a case like this? How I wish I could be one of the next Deputation!" Day by day such cases as this are shocking the conscience of all right-thinking people. It is the thought of outraged children and girls, and of women so cruelly treated by the law, that is every day bringing new names to swell the ranks of the Deputation next November. The extract enclosed by our correspondent is from *John Bull*, as follows:—

"It is well for Stanley Blanchard, the Rudston joiner, that the Bridlington magistrates were able to dismiss the horrible charge made against him in regard to a girl under thirteen years of age. Practically, the only evidence against him was that of the girl, and though it remained of an unshaken character throughout the police-court proceedings, in the absence of corroboration, we can only say that it laid him open to the challenge of the gravest suspicion. The terrible fact in this case is that this child of thirteen years old is six months advanced in pregnancy, so that whether the man dismissed from the charge is, or is not, actually guilty of it, the bestial monster responsible is still at large. Such things as these make the blood run cold."

AN INTERPRETATION.

Small daughter of Suffragette: Mother, I know why the women chose purple, white and green for their colours.

Mother: Of course you do, dear; I have often told you their meaning.

Small Daughter: Yes! but Ois and I have been thinking, and it means—

Purple: heather of Scotland,

White: rose of England,

Green: shamrock of Ireland.

A PAPER-SELLER'S EXPERIENCES.

Perhaps the thing that has struck me most in selling papers is the number of poor wretched women who have bought them, and who, in some cases when they seemed unable to spare the penny, have come up eagerly to ask when we were having another meeting. One of my first experiences was that of trying to sell the paper to a fashionable crowd coming out of a Spa gates; many were probably too shy to stop and buy (though later, getting accustomed to me, they did so gladly), and hurried past. A poor, ragged woman selling matches beside me said, sympathetically, "ere, Miss, I'll buy one of them papers. I'd like to 'ave one," handing me a penny, which one felt quite sorry to take from her very honest-looking store. But she brought me luck.

Another thing that struck me was the way in which women whom one had never met before offered to put one up in London for the next deputation. Another lady, learning incidentally that I had given up my holiday for the Suffrage, invited me cordially to stay with her in the country, thinking I could not afford to go elsewhere. I do not know the lady's

MRS. PANKHURST IN IRELAND.

Already part of Mrs. Pankhurst's Irish tour is over, and meetings were held in Cork and Dublin on Monday and Tuesday last. There are still meetings to be held in the north, and members and friends are asked to come forward and put their best into the remaining days in advertising, bill distributing, chalking, and doing everything possible to make the meetings widely known. It is impossible to overrate the importance of every bit of individual help at this crisis in the woman's cause. Parliament reassembles on November 15, and women must be ready for their share of work in the coming session.

Meeting at Cork.

Splendid reports of Mrs. Pankhurst's Cork meeting have appeared in the *Cork Free Press* and the *Cork Examiner*. "The City Hall," says the *Examiner*, "was thronged." Throughout the progress of the meeting there were a few good-humoured interjections, but nothing in the nature of a disturbance, though just at the close of the meeting there was some noise at the back of the hall. This is described by the *Free Press* as caused by a band of a dozen drunken men, while a correspondent refers to it as "due to the potency of Irish whisky." The *Free Press* says: "Apart from this very regrettable incident, which caused not a little pain to all who prize the civility of the Irish character, the women were most orderly, and whether those present agreed or disagreed with the point of view of the talented speakers, all were agreed that the case for woman suffrage was put before them in a way it had never been before."

Lady Blake, who presided, paid a magnificent tribute to Mrs. Pankhurst, to whom she said the women of the future would owe any advantage they might gain, or any improvement in their position which they might effect, by the possession of the vote—a possession which would improve the women not only of Ireland and of England but of the nation at large. Mrs. Cousins read a telegram from the Dublin Corporation unanimously approving of the Conciliation Bill, and letters from Mr. Maurice Healy, M.P., and Mr. Roche, M.P., expressing sympathy with the movement. She explained that the Irish Women's Franchise League was distinct from any other society for woman suffrage, and had on its Central Committee as many Nationalists as Unionists. Mrs. Pankhurst was greeted, says the *Free Press*, "with acclamation." She said that as a woman who had Irish blood in her veins (applause), she congratulated the Irish Women's Franchise League on the work they had undertaken in Ireland. She then proceeded to tell the story of the militant movement, and to explain the various reasons why women need the vote. In fighting their battle in England, she concluded, women were fighting for the women of Ireland and for the women of the civilised world.

Dr. Mary Strangman, in seconding the resolution calling upon the Government to grant facilities for the Conciliation Bill this year, said that she had never heard so eloquent and powerful an address as that of Mrs. Pankhurst. Want of knowledge of the movement was the reason why some women did not want the vote. She hoped in a short time there would be as keen a movement in Ireland as in England. The resolution was carried with acclamation.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Our education on the question of Woman Suffrage is in a very backward state here in Belfast, though of late we have been taken in hand to some purpose. This is the time of truces, and we have no wish to raise a dispute needlessly, more especially as we are at one with Mrs. Pankhurst and her workers in their ultimate aims. That she is a speaker worth hearing at any time we will not insult her or our readers by insisting upon. But with the fate of the Conciliation Bill trembling in the balance, and in view of the attitude of the Cabinet, we rather suspect that Mrs. Pankhurst will have something even more interesting than usual to say, and something perhaps to which as loyal Liberals we may have to take grave exception. However, we need not anticipate. Our advertisement columns will give our readers all the information necessary, and we trust—nay, expect—that those who possibly can will avail themselves of this opportunity to hear the lady to whom, be her tactics wise or unwise, the cause of Woman's Suffrage owes so much.

—Ulster Guardian.

It is pleasant to hear that the Government and their friends are going to have a good deal of trouble over the Woman Suffrage question during the coming Parliamentary sitting. . . . Another refusal [of Mr. Asquith to receive a deputation] will bring about a revival of the militant method, which, though it has been used by many people, have very considerably advanced the cause.

—The Northern Whig.

What is it people are talking about now? They are talking about payment of election expenses and payment of M.P.'s. Talking like Hastings, where the great majority of people are women who earn their livelihood by catering for visitors. It is fair that women of Hastings should pay the expenses of a man to go to Parliament who does not represent them?

—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, at Hastings.

M. E. M.

SWEATED IRISHWOMEN.

Mrs. Pankhurst is in Ireland. If there are any Irish women in any of the towns she is visiting who doubt the need of votes for women, let them turn to the records of sweated industries in their own city of Belfast. Much has been said and written recently on this subject, and a resolution demanding an inquiry under the Trades Boards Act has been passed by Belfast citizens, who at a meeting expressed their horror of the conditions revealed in the report of Dr. Baillie, the Belfast medical officer of health. Here are a few cases which should be studied by all who think that "All's well with the world," and that women should be satisfied with things as they are. The rough notes tell their own story:—

A. Makes ladies' shirt blouses, flannellette. Takes a little more than an hour to make one. Is 4d. per dozen; provides her own thread.

B. Makes ladies' skirts, seven gore, 5-inch hem round bottom, and waist band. Is 6d. per dozen. Takes one day to make half a dozen. Pays 5d. for thread and has to keep up own machine. She is a married woman, with six children; husband, labourer, earns 21 per week, but out of work on account of an accident.

C. Is a widow with three children, delicate sister. Sews large round handkerchiefs, is paid 9d. per dozen. Takes three-quarters of an hour to do one handkerchief. 1d. per work. Does a very skilled work to do this work.

D. Embroiders "pillow shams," four corners, 7d. each. Ten cloths embroidered each corner, 4d. each. Takes a good worker a day to do two.

E. Works at thread drawing "pillow shams," nine threads drawn out of each of four sides. Takes an expert worker four hours for one dozen. 4d. per dozen.

F. Makes ladies' flannellette chemises, trimmed with embroidery round neck, front, and sleeves, double seams round neck and front, sleeves sewn with gussets, and two gussets in one side. Takes an experienced worker ten hours to make one dozen. 9d. per dozen. Provides her own thread (takes 1½d. for one dozen), pays 1s. per week tram money for taking work to and from warehouse, and keeps up own machine.

G. Is an "inside worker," who hemstitches handkerchiefs; earned 4s. 2d. for a full week's work; out of this she had to pay 1s. 2d. for thread, leaving her minder 3s. for her support. H. Is a weaver, minds two linen looms. After working a full week of 55 hours earned 6s. 7d., and the cloth-passer was going to live her 1s. for faults in her cloth.

I. Clips threads off parasol covers; making large embroidered sprays on each, requiring a total of 12,480 clips on one dozen covers. Takes an average worker nine hours. 3d. per dozen.

FROM IRELAND.

In a train on the Dublin and South-Eastern line a man, of the shopkeeper or small farmer class, addresses an elderly countryman:—"Where do you think I was on Sunday afternoon? In the Phoenix Park, listening to the Suffragettes! Well, they seem all right, but the question is, How would they use the vote if they got it? Would it be for the good of the country?"

Elderly Countryman: "Well, they've worked hard for it. Why wouldn't they use it well? Look at New Zealand!"

WOMEN AND IMPERIALISM.

The Women's National Health Association of Ireland is doing good work in fighting tuberculosis. Lady Aberdeen, the President, pointed out at the Scottish Ideal Home Exhibition in Glasgow recently that although the rate of infant mortality is lower in Ireland than in either Scotland or England, there was still much to be done there, especially in the larger towns, where the rate was still very high. Lady Aberdeen's splendid work in connection with the fight against tuberculosis is a refutation of the anti-Suffragist argument that women are unfit to deal with Imperial questions.

A PLUCKY GIRL.

In a destructive fire which occurred recently at Woolwich a girl of seventeen, Mary Bowtell, showed great courage in rescuing her family. Hastily catching up her sleeping sister, she ran to warn her parents that the place was on fire, and while they fled she fetched their four younger children, Mary, at great risk, caught her youngest brother in her arms, and rushed with him into the street. "I wanted to go back," she told a Press representative, "and save some of our clothes, but when I got to the door the room was a great white flame. In ten minutes our bedroom was destroyed."

At the Forest Hill Baths Fancy Swimming Competition for Girls, a competitor dressed as a Suffragette, in the colours, and carrying a flag inscribed "Votes for Women," roused great admiration.

"Until I joined the Suffrage movement I never stepped outside my own home, not even to open a bazaar. My conversion to militant tactics was the result of looking into history. . . . The glory of this movement is that everything is done voluntarily and spontaneously."

—Lady Constance Lytton at Clifton.

HOLIDAY NOTES.

Arriving at a Hydro in the Lake District for a week-end holiday (after buying up copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* at railway bookstalls and selling them en route), I immediately entered my name, with W.S.P.U. alongside, in the visitors' book. As it was tea-time, a good many people were scattered in the hall, eager and curious as usual about new comers. Later, I learnt from the sympathetic little secretary that the office was besieged by apprehensive enquirers begging to have me pointed out in order that they might avoid proximity to so dangerous an individual! "Oh, is that her?" said one timid dame. "Well, really! I should never have thought it! I had been looking round and couldn't find anyone answering the description of a Suffragette!" My time was too short, and the weather was too perfect, to arrange a meeting, but papers and pamphlets were left behind, and many people were enlightened as to the kind of woman who is working for the suffrage. Before my departure, it was encouraging to hear a man say to a frivolous young Miss who had just announced that she belonged to a Women's Liberal Association but didn't want a vote, "Then you ought to!"—C. K.

WEARING THE COLOURS.

"While waiting for a connecting train at Salisbury station a short time since," says a Suffragette, "a trolley load of luggage was wheeled past me. Judge of my surprise and pleasure when I espied on the end of a big American trunk the purple, white, and green of our Union, painted diagonally from cover to base, just about the breadth of our regalia! My heart went out in friendly greeting to whoever the owner might be; and it occurred to me that it would be a capital idea if all members of the W.S.P.U. showed their colours in like fashion."

"The value of wearing the colours was brought home to me in Oberammergau, when a timid little woman who sat opposite me at the hotel waylaid me. 'Excuse me,' she said, 'but I see you are a Suffragette.' 'Yes,' I replied, 'and I hope you are one, too.' 'Oh, yes' (timidly); 'but I haven't your courage.' 'What courage?' I asked. 'The courage to show that I am one.' We had a little talk, and she departed, saying, 'You have strengthened me, and perhaps some day I may be strong enough to wear the colours too.'"

AT THE CHURCH CONGRESS.

During the sittings of the Church Congress at Cambridge last week a meeting for women was held, and the Bishop of Southwark, who presided, in the course of his remarks said that though the home was woman's most natural place, she should go outside and spare a quantity of that treasure of womanliness which she possessed for the fostering of the world. If women should come into the political field he felt sure that as a result our politics would become keener. They might become a little more passionate, and men would receive a certain spur in respect of certain causes which women's eagerness would put into them. The world wanted all the eagerness for good and for good causes that could be obtained from women.

Canon Denton Thompson, the Rector of Birmingham, paid a tribute to unmarried women, declaring that without their services the work of the Church would be paralysed.

A PUZZLE FOR "ANTIS."

Anti-Suffragists are very fond of saying that Parliament deals only with Imperial questions, and not with domestic legislation. What have they to say to the fact that a Departmental Committee was appointed by the Home Office to inquire into the dangers of using flannellette—surely a very domestic matter indeed? In the course of the report, which has just been issued, the Committee suggest that matters "may be expected to right themselves," and that there is a possibility of discovering new and cheaper ways of diminishing the inflammability of the material. Meanwhile the winter is coming, and with it probably the annual crop of deaths from burning owing to the use of inflammable material for clothing. Is it not time that women had the vote, and could help to regulate such matters as this, which so nearly concerns the home?

A TRUE STORY.

[Dunbar. Mrs. Pankhurst staying in hotel. Little girl of 2½ years making a great noise.] Nurse: What would Mrs. Pankhurst say if she should hear you? Little Girl: "Votes for Women!"

A TOUCHING INCIDENT.

While paper-selling at Piccadilly Circus, Miss Constance Marsden was handed a postcard by a poor dumb beggar. On it he had written "You are bound to win."

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" NEWSPAPER.

"Bright and up-to-date."—*Isle of Wight Advertiser*.

PRESS OPINIONS OF LLOYD GEORGE.

"GLASGOW EVENING CITIZEN."

The right honourable gentleman is a particularly adroit controversialist, but we are not sure that he distinguished himself, or was at his best with his feminine critics. . . . In spite of the fact that his *non possumus* there was towards the end of the meeting suggestions of wavering on the part of the redoubtable Chancellor. He still remained where he was, he declared. He found that it was the only Bill that was likely to be carried he would reconsider his position. That is a skilful electioneering manoeuvre. It reveals Mr. George in the light of an opportunist naked and not ashamed. He says in effect, "This is a shockingly undemocratic project of reform, but I am ready to lend it my assistance if nothing better can be had." One does not look for much in the way of consistency in aspiring politicians, but this frankly cynical vote-catching stratagem is bewildering.

"NEWCASTLE JOURNAL."

The Prime Minister and some of his colleagues who are determinedly opposed to votes for women have at least the merit of consistency—on this question, be it understood. The same cannot be said of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. They profess to be ardently desirous to see the enfranchisement of women, and yet they take every opportunity to oppose any step towards the accomplishment of that object. . . . As politicians Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill are dupes of the time. They are made as dupes of the time. The great secret as to what is democratic is known only to Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill. Any cause that has to rely on this pair must be in a poor way. We should not regard either of these eminent statesmen as exponents of true democratic sentiment. A democrat worthy of the name would not reject reform by instalments because he could not get the whole at once. Yet that is exactly what Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Churchill are doing in the matter of Women's Suffrage. Poor democracy! what nonsense is uttered in its name.

Mr. Lloyd George has at least one grace that his brazened colleague does not possess—he recognises that his wobbly calls for some explanation. . . . All the argument [at the Cricketh Deposition], and very good argument it was, came from the Suffragists. On the other hand, the Chancellor of the Exchequer could only bring out the dregs of his characteristic Celtic sophistry. Mr. Lloyd George pretends to treat it seriously, but, after he has tried to kill innocent measures like the Conciliation Bill, the Suffragists are justified in counting him as a foe, not as a friend. . . . We fear that the ladies, who wished to discuss the question earnestly, must have got a series of shocks when they heard Mr. Lloyd George's pitiful attempts at argument.

"ABERDEEN FREE PRESS."

There are always multitudes of lions in the way when one is, for other reasons, unwilling to advance. That is the case with Mr. Lloyd George. Generally he has no more fear of lions than he has of poodle dogs. The more the merrier—so long as they are in the path along which he is bent upon going. But how instructively fierce and how invincibly formidable the lions become when the Chancellor of the Exchequer is pressed to take the road to which he is averse! When woman suffrage was only a demand, and when acquiescence in the demand committed one to nothing concrete, Mr. Lloyd George was bubbling over with sympathy for the cause. But the resolution came in a twinkling when in Conciliation Bill came upon the scene. The ardent champion of woman suffrage evaporated, and in his place appeared Mr. Timorous, all of a tremble at the lions, conjuring up all sorts of other difficulties as blocking up the terrible road. The bill is not democratic enough. That is one of the lions, but it is only a political property lion. It is sufficiently democratic to satisfy the Labour party, who have supported it solidly. Is Mr. Lloyd George more democratic than the democrats? He takes exception to the Conciliation Bill because it is a controversial measure. But how can a Bill be called controversial in the sense meant by Mr. Lloyd George when it is supported by the main body of the Liberal Party as being in full accord with Liberal principles, and when it met with such a measure of Conservative approval as to carry it triumphantly through the House of Commons. . . . Yet Mr. Lloyd George has as one of his pasteborded lions the plea that the Bill is bad because it is too conservative. There is abundant evidence that under the Bill a very large number of working women would be enfranchised; they would in various city areas be the preponderant element in the new electorate. The members of the Labour Party, who know the facts, declare this to be the case. They are not troubled, as Mr. Lloyd George seems to be, by visions of *rimrose dames*; they are willing to take all risks. But even if a Bill which has received the assent of all Parties could be termed controversial, could it ever compare in this respect with the wholesale reform Mr. Lloyd George—because he is aware he cannot get it—professes to be so zealous for? Such a project would inevitably be trite with anomalies—anomalies in the presence of which those Mr. Lloyd George discovers in the Conciliation Bill would utterly pale—and it would be superlatively controversial. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is in reality straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel. There are things nearer his heart, he says, than woman

suffrage. "He was fighting the cause of the poor and oppressed." Could anything be more irrelevant? "The cause of the poor and the oppressed"—whether Mr. Lloyd George sees it or not—is bound up in the suffrage question just as much as in Budget schemes. The claim of the women is a moderate and reasonable claim for an instalment of justice, and the withholding of that claim on the ground that it does not go as far as (given more favourable circumstances) it might do is surely petty and pitiable on the part of a Minister who has so often joined his party in the cry that half a loaf is better than no bread.

OPINIONS OF OUR READERS.

NO VOTE, NO TAX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—The members of the Women's Tax Resistance League are, in common with every other Suffragette Society, concentrating effort to the furtherance of the Conciliation Bill. It is an understood thing that the more pressure which can be brought to bear at this critical moment the better, but it is also true that the more diversified and widespread this pressure is, the more likely it is to be effective. Let us try the effect of something of the kind. Every taxpayer should be asked to pay his Imperial Taxes next year. I should be just as well that Mr. Lloyd George should know that the women taxpayers who have year by year poured enormous sums of money into the coffers of the Government are at any rate considering very seriously at this moment whether they intend ever to do it again. How much longer are women going to allow their money to be spent upon things of which they may entirely disapprove? Very probably before long women may be asked to pay for Members of Parliament. Surely this would be the last indignity and should fan into flame any dormant spark of revolt in the bosom of the voteless taxpayer. Will every woman who is in a position to make this very logical protest come forward at once; those who cannot resist taxation themselves may do excellent work by placing the matter in its present light before their taxpaying friends?

The taxpaying woman certainly has power; and power brings with it a very grave responsibility, by her action she may materially help towards the emancipation of women from their present political slavery. I shall be glad to send literature and all information to those who desire it.—Yours, &c.,

MARGARET KINGTON PARKES, Secretary,
The Women's Tax Resistance League,
72, Hillfield-road, Hampstead, N.W.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—In your paper of September 23 I read a letter headed "Representation and Taxation," by Ina Wallace, who said her name was not on the Municipal Register, and that she had no vote at the County Council Election, though she had lived in her house for thirteen years. In the London borough where I live I have had my name on the Municipal Register for over twenty years, but last year, when there were three elections, I learnt to my great surprise that it had been taken off. The reason given was that it was a blunder in the office, but in consequence I was deprived of my vote at the elections of the County Council, the Borough Council, and the Board of Guardians, all of which took place during the year 1909-10. I had been living in my present house six years, and had voted at previous elections. Of course, my name was not taken off the rate-book, and the rates were to pay as before. I have many times wondered whether anything of the kind has happened to other women-taxpayers. It seems to me it would be instructive to learn on what principle the Municipal Register is compiled. How would the Municipal Register affect the Parliamentary Register? Are they compiled independently of each other?—Yours, etc.,

A WOMAN RATE AND TAXPAYER.

October 4, 1910.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I wrote some time ago to ask why VOTES FOR WOMEN, which I consider one of the most mischievous (sic) productions of the age, was being sent to me. I never ordered it, and never wished for it. I have worked as hard as anybody for the propagation of the "Suffrage for Women" gospel, and in many cases my work has been completely undone by the rant and folly of your paper. The women whose opinion is worth while and whose vote is of real value to England are not a selfish crew of "Women's Rights," but a large body of loyal, brave-hearted women who are sore-stricken at the present position of their country, and do not yet know if their possession of the vote will help their country or hinder it. So long as your paper continues its present policy of subordinating everything to a parrot-cry of "Votes for Women," just so long will sensible men and women continue to reply: "Show us that your intelligence is capable of understanding the various policies that your vote will help to carry through." At present my experience in this one district has been that four of the most intelligent and useful "landowner" women in this neighbourhood who were on the verge of being converted to the belief in the suffrage, have completely gone back owing to their having read my VOTES FOR WOMEN.—Yours, &c.,

[Out of consideration for our correspondent's future change of views, we suppress the signature.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

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THE CLOSED DOOR.

[The following extract from the last act of Mr. Laurence Housman's censored play, "Pains and Penalties," represents Queen Caroline on her return from Westminster Abbey on the day of the Coronation, when, by King George IV.'s orders, she was refused admittance. The close application of the passage to another closed door at Westminster is obvious. Is it for this reason that the play has been censored by the authorities? And is another Coronation year to be marked by the continued closing of that door to the woman's claim?—Ed. VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

(Scene: The Queen's house in St. James's Square. Present: Queen Caroline and the Countess Oldi.)

CAROLINE: They hooted me, Oldi. . . . When I came they cheered; but when all the doors were shut in my face—then they laughed, then they hooted, then they threw stones! . . . Oh, these English are a brave people! What is this God of theirs that they all kneel down to and worship—that they make all their prayers and their hymns to? . . . Success, Oldi; that is the only god that Englishmen know anything about. . . . It is the Winner, always the Winner for them; the person that is beaten they do not care for; they themselves cannot stand to be beaten. . . . I was one woman among them all. . . . There were thousands of them, and I was only one! . . . And they were all laughing, because, at Westminster, the door had been shut in my face! . . . Oh, was not that a brave thing to do? . . . Oldi, what will become of a people like that? . . . They will grow rich, they will grow strong; people will be afraid of them, and they will be pleased, for it will make them think that they are great. Perhaps, some day, they will conquer the whole world; and when they have got it, they will look for something weak that they can laugh at—a woman or something—so that they can shut the door in her face!

ALL ABOUT THE BILL.

A Valuable Pamphlet by Mr. Brailsford.

Truth will beat falsehood—in the end! But the end may be a considerable time in coming if the falsehood gets a long start and has wide publicity.

Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill have chosen to assail the Conciliation Bill with a variety of assertions in the hope of damaging it in the eyes of the public. These assertions are wholly at variance with the facts. Nevertheless, owing to the prestige and influence of these men their statements have been given wide publicity and a credence to which they are in no way entitled. For this reason the production of a pamphlet by Mr. Brailsford dealing with the Bill, explaining its provisions and defending it against the misleading statements of the Chancellor and his colleague is specially opportune.

This pamphlet is being published, on Monday next, by The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, and will be sold at a penny. It should be in the hands of everyone who is in doubt as to the meaning of the Bill and who wants to know how the opposition can be most effectively dealt with.

Is a Six Million-votes Bill Practicable?

We are permitted to reproduce in advance from the pamphlet an extract which is an answer to Mr. Lloyd George's advice to suffragists to bring in a Bill to secure not merely one million, but six million votes for women. Dealing with this proposal which Mr. Lloyd George professes to consider would have no real chance of success in the House of Commons, Mr. Brailsford says:—

Adult Suffrage is confessedly unable to command a majority in this Parliament. Is there any middle course? A proposal has been put forward by Mr. Denman, based on an earlier Bill introduced by Mr. Dickinson. It is that the wives of all householders should be qualified by virtue of their husband's qualification. Theoretically it is not easy to defend the proposal that a man should be empowered to endow his wife at the altar with his vote, but theory counts for little in our politics, and the proposal must be judged by its effects. There are about seven millions of qualified male householders. Of these, presumably between five and six millions are married. We proposed to enfranchise a million women, and this even Mr. Churchill, with all his ardour for large solutions, described as "an enormous addition to the franchise." Is it probable that Conservatives, who frankly prefer a cautious and moderate measure, will accept an addition of six or seven millions? The probability is not increased when one learns that the group of Radicals which is promoting this suggestion expressly declares that it does not propose to consult Conservatives or to seek their co-operation. A scrutiny of the division on our Bill offers a fair test of the probable fate of such a measure. Most, if not all, the Unionist Suffragists (I write after careful inquiry) would vote against it. Not all the Liberal Suffragists would vote for it. Defeat is inevitable. The division on the second reading of our Bill gave this result, excluding the tellers:—

	For.	Against.
Liberals	161	60
Unionists	87	113
Labour	31	2
Nationalists	20	14

Total . . . 299 . . . 189 Majority 110

Of the Liberals who voted against our Bill, only seven have ever voted for a Suffrage Bill before, while another seven have in some way at some time pledged themselves to Woman Suffrage or Adult Suffrage. The remaining 46 are anti-Suffragist. These 14, with the two Labour opponents, would probably vote for such a Bill as Mr. Denman proposes. If we transfer these to the "Ayes," and the Unionists to the "Noes," the result would be: For, 229; Against, 260; Majority against, 32. But even this estimate is too favourable. There are probably about 20 of the Liberal supporters of the Conciliation Bill who would not support a wider measure. A larger attendance of Irish members might introduce a new factor, but it could not yield a majority for any suffrage measure which the Unionists as a party would oppose.

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IN FINLAND WITH THE BRITISH PRESS.

By Joseph Clayton.

The whole tribe of "antis" really ought to be sent to Finland. Every honest man in our party who went out as an opponent, or with misgivings on the question, owned up that anyway in Finland women's suffrage seemed to work all right, and our only M.P. who had consistently voted against all Suffrage Bills in the House of Commons admitted frankly that none of the disasters he anticipated had occurred.

Here at Helsingfors was the Diet in session, elected freely by all the men and women of Finland over twenty-four who could read and write. Had the women used their votes to return members all of one party? Had they packed the house with women's representatives? Were they monopolising the talk? Was the country plunged into social revolution because the franchise was democratic? or falling back into reaction because the women were under the thumb of the clergy?

None of these things had happened. There was not the slightest indication that they would happen. The people of Finland could not even understand why anybody should suppose them likely to occur. Yet women's suffrage—on the same terms as men—has been the rule there long enough for the trend of events to be seen. In no case has any one question been a matter of general dispute between men and women; in no case has sex antagonism been aroused by women's enfranchisement.

Women have been elected to the Diet—some 20 out of a total of 180—because the electors decided they were the right people. And, as one sat there when the Diet was opened, it was impossible to find argument against the choice of the electors. It did not even seem odd or extraordinary that there should be women members—in Finland. For the women were not grouped together into one feminist party, but sat with their various parties—Finnish, Swedish, and Labour. And these women members of the Finnish Diet—writers, school teachers, factory workers, and domestic servants—were just the sort of women one meets on political, educational, and trade union committees, and on local governing authorities at home.

An undemonstrative, unexcitable people, the Finlanders, with a deep passion for their country and its liberties, the proceedings of the Diet were conducted with a quiet order and an avoidance of all unnecessary speech that was almost shocking to lovers of garrulous display in the West of Europe. Neither man nor woman wasted time over talk, but did the business of the day in steady, sober fashion. In the very presence of a demand to surrender their freedom to the Imperial Government of Russia, Finnish men and women have no time or strength to spare for displays of oratory, or for internal disputes. All parties are standing together in this hour of common danger, and the men know the women to be indeed their fellow citizens and comrades at such an hour.

Would Finnish patriotism be the strong and vital thing it is were the women of Finland classed with idiots and illiterates? Of course not. With its very national existence threatened, the one question in all Finland, to men and women alike, is the preservation of the country's freedom, and there was no inclination to talk about what women's suffrage had achieved. But I gathered that the woman's point of view had been presented, and that the average man had willingly acknowledged this when pointed out to him; with the result that legislation had remedied neglected wrongs in the matter of married women's property, and the general legal position of women. Measures had been passed, too, for limiting and restricting the supply of strong drink, especially in the country districts. More important than these, I was told, that the legalised prostitution for the Russian garrisons in the towns of Finland had been abolished by an enactment directly initiated by the votes of women.

The equality which finds its expression in the polling booth and the Diet is as remarkable in every-day life. It is a land where everybody works, and the idle class is restricted to the alien Russian officers. Of course, in the schools and public offices, in the banks and in the university, women were busily engaged, but in Helsingfors I also saw women working as road sweepers, tending the public gardens, carrying the hod, and helping in other performances of the building trade; while the university students, with their white-banded caps, worn by both sexes alike, were as plentiful in the streets as undergraduates are in term time at Oxford.

And with all this liberty and equality, it would not seem to judge at least by the crowds of children I saw in all the great schools in various towns in Finland, that the course of nature is disturbed; or that men and women were forgetting to fall in love; or that the old desire for begetting or bearing children was being uprooted. For in the parks and gardens, in the cafes and restaurants young men and maidens were still "keeping company" as in the days of Theocritus, and earlier; and as they are likely to do in every land while ever the sun and moon endure.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"The Vinoyard," October. London: A. E. Fifield, 6d. net.
"Woman and Marriage." By Margaret Stephens. London: Fisher Unwin, 3s. 6d. net.
"Joan of Arc." By Grace James. London: Methuen, 10s. 6d. net.
"Woman: Her Power, Influence and Mission." By the Rev. Vivian R. Lennard. London: Skeffington, 2s. net.
"Songs of Awakening." By Winifred Rose Carey. London: Elkin Matthews, 1s. net.
"The Soul Traders." By Elizabeth Goodnow. London: Frank Palmer, 3s. 6d. net.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

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FRIDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1910.

NO VOTES, NO TAXES.

The people's assertion of the right to tax themselves has been a chief cause of all the revolutions by which British history is marked. For the sake of this right of self-taxation, the country, as the Chancellor of the Exchequer not long ago reminded us, has been drenched with blood. The reason why the British people so prize this right as to lay down their lives in its defence is that it is not only valuable in itself, but is also the safeguard of other constitutional rights and liberties no less precious. If the King, or the Ministers who wield the kingly authority, can levy taxes without the national consent, then not only can the property of the people be ravaged to any extent, but laws can be carried and other acts of Government committed, however oppressive these may be. If, on the other hand, the ruler has to ask the people for supplies, then they can grant only so much as they please, and acting upon the principle that redress of grievances must precede supplies, may lay down such conditions with regard to better government and just legislation as seem to them fitting.

De Lolme, who in the 18th century came to this country to make a study of our Constitution, wrote:—
"The right to grant subsidies to the Crown possessed by the people of England is the safeguard of all their other liberties, religious and civil. It is a regular means conferred on them by the Constitution of influencing the motion of the executive power, and it forms the tie by which the latter is bound to them. The right of granting or refusing supplies to the Crown is the only ultimate forcible privilege possessed by the British Parliament."

That the importance of this matter is as vital as ever it was, one may realise by remembering that it is the necessity of asking the people's representatives for supplies

which compels the Government to rule in accordance with the wishes of the electorate. No wonder, then, that revolutionary battles have raged round the question of taxation! At the root of the constitutional struggle of our own day—the struggle which women are waging with the Government for the Parliamentary vote—the question of taxation is naturally to be found. The grievance of taxation without representation is now, it seems, to be aggravated by the institution of State payment of Members, and in that event women will be required to pay for the maintenance of Members of Parliament for whom they are not allowed to vote. The prospect of this new injustice has precipitated a form of revolt which has been long meditated by Suffragists, and has already been carried through in a few isolated cases. This consists in tax resistance, "No votes, no taxes" is now to be one of the Suffragist watch-words.

For such a policy there are honourable and historic precedents. John Hampden, by refusing to pay Ship Money exacted by the king without the consent of the people, set a bulwark against future unconstitutional action of this kind, and won for himself undying fame and the age-long gratitude of his countrymen. The American Colonists when called on to pay taxes imposed without their consent refused to pay them, utterly repudiated their legality, and cried shame on the American who should call these taxes law.

Non-payment of taxes was one of the weapons used by those who agitated for the Reform Bill of 1832. Placards were exhibited in the windows of dwelling houses, bearing the words: "No taxes paid here until the Reform Bill is passed." Lord Milton, afterwards Lord FitzWilliam, openly advised the people to refuse to pay the taxes, and justified his conduct in Parliament by asserting that occasions may arise when individuals are not bound to follow the strict letter of the law.

At a great Reform gathering in Birmingham attended by 150,000 persons, held to protest against the rejection of the Reform Bill by the House of Lords, one of the speakers, whose words were received with unbounded enthusiasm, declared:

When Hampden refused the payment of Ship Money his gallant conduct electrified all England, and pointed out the way by which the people, when unanimous and combined, might rid themselves of an odious and oppressive oligarchy. I declare before God, that if all constitutional modes of obtaining the success of the reform measure fail, I will be the first man to refuse the payment of taxes.

Tax Resistance, upon which we of the Women's Social and Political Union have now resolved, is a new and additional mode of applying our guiding principle that resistance to unjust authority is a great and imperative duty. Non-payment of taxes will not replace or supersede the militant methods formerly employed by this Union. It is not by itself a complete form of protest, because it is resistance of a merely passive kind, and as history shows us, passive resistance must be supplemented by active resistance. Passive resistance means the declaration of a right, active resistance means its vindication.

Referring again to our precedents for the withholding of taxes, we see that in each case the refusal of taxes was followed by resistance of a more active and aggressive kind. Thus John Hampden, after refusing to pay Ship Money, subsequently took up arms against the King. The American colonists, having uttered their protest against unauthorised taxation, afterwards resisted it by armed force, one of their number, Patrick Henry, saying, "We have petitioned, we have remonstrated, we have supplicated, we have prostrated ourselves at the foot of the throne, and it has all been in vain. We must fight—I repeat it, sir, we must fight." And those who won the Reform Bill were not content with the refusal to pay taxes, but had recourse also to more vigorous methods of expressing their discontent with a system of Government in which they had no share.

Fortified by precedent and example, the Women's Social and Political Union is determined, if the Conciliation Bill does not become law this autumn, to carry through the Constitutional battle by means of the twin policies of tax resistance and active protest. Until the Bill is carried women should withhold every penny they can from the national treasury, and tax resistance will thus begin immediately upon the receipt of any demand from the Inland Revenue authorities for information or for money. If, when Parliament re-assembles, the Government announce that they still refuse facilities to the Conciliation Bill, then a renewal of the former militant campaign will obviously be imperative.

For both these forms of service to the cause of political literary women are asked to volunteer.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THE UNDERCURRENT OF THE WOMAN'S MOVEMENT.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

The awakening and uprising of women in the twentieth century has manifested itself in a great political Movement to win self-government. This political Movement is part of the long struggle of the human race for human liberty. It is a battle wherein one side stands for emancipation. The other side stands for dominance.

In this grip of stern conflict women find themselves engaged to-day, in their resolve to win political enfranchisement. They know and name their enemies. These are first and foremost the Government, led by the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer who possess the will and believe that they possess the power to hold women in political and legal subjection. It is a trial of strength between the Government fighting under the banner of male dominance, and the women of the country fighting under the banner of human liberty. And (politically speaking) in this battle the stronger will win. We believe that the awakened women of the country will win. We are fully aware of the big battalions at the disposal of the enemy. But we believe we can call up greater battalions still. Politically speaking everything depends on ourselves, upon our courage, our readiness to make great sacrifices, upon our resources, our strategy and our persistence.

But there are times when we are conscious that underneath this political struggle, there is a great moral and spiritual Movement, controlled not by ourselves, but by those mighty forces that we call the forces of evolution. When we become aware of this deeper Movement we lose the sense of conflict. The battle ground upon which we act as soldiers belongs to the physical plane upon which our agitation moves. When we pass into the spiritual plane, we are conscious instead of a deep-flowing, swift current which carries us and all things upon its breast and sweeps us forward. And we realise that the very men who seem to act against us are working out, as we are, albeit in strange ways, the decree of time and fate. They are straws, as we are, upon the wave of destiny. Thus to conceive the fundamental meaning of our Movement is to lose all antagonisms and all enmities in a deep sense of common humanity and union with the entire human race.

I believe that we are meant to live on both these planes. Sometimes our strength is to be conscious only of the political battle for our freedom; desirous only of bearing and of dealing hard blows, of coming to close grips with the political enemy in the spirit that neither asks nor gives quarter. There are other times when our strength is to remember that this Movement is not of us, that it began countless ages before we were born and will go on for countless ages after we are dust, until all the purposes of creation are fulfilled.

The political demand of woman to-day is the Vote, the pledge of her equal humanity with man in the commonwealth of the State.

The spiritual demand of woman is the free possession of her own ideal and of her own soul, that the two may be brought in union with one another.

The greatest wrong that has been wrought upon woman in the past is the denial to her of this double birthright. Her soul has been forced by alien domination to conform to a superimposed ideal. And this superimposed ideal has been in all things, mediocrity. Aspiration, ambition, achievement's full height, have been disallowed to her indentured self.

Repression, conformity to standards not her own, and to utilities exacted from a dominant sex has been the law of her existence. The elemental right of the human being to strive towards moral, mental, spiritual, and physical attainment has been denied to her. And the existence of the soul of woman, questioned in some religions, denied in others, though affirmed by the orthodox Church of Christendom, was affirmed by a bare majority of two votes, and is accepted by the orthodox with the reservation expressed by Milton in the line, "He for God only, she for God in him."

Not to excel. That is the negative standard by which woman has been taught to regulate her desires. She has been taught that honours and degrees that attest to scholarly attainments are unwomanly, and are

therefore in the interests of the sex denied to women. Ambition to serve her country, or duty to develop and exercise powers which she knows to be latent in her, is unwomanly, and therefore the vote, which is the birth certificate of existence in the body politic, has been denied, together with all responsible positions in civil administration.

She has been taught that the strength of woman is her weakness. That the one and only power which she is allowed to use is to be found in her personal beauty and her feminine charm, and that this power is able to win prizes as great as those for which men strive by the exercise of physical or mental or moral prowess.

And even in the narrow field of attainment prescribed to her, she is not allowed to excel. Mediocrity in the sphere to which she is limited is absolutely *de rigueur*. Without beauty she may not expect to win acceptance, but woe to her if she is too beautiful! Helen of Troy is accused by the two nations which she brings to destruction and death. Her dominating beauty brings her no high fame and honour in the estimation of the world; on the contrary, it makes her a byword and brings her in the play of Epictetus to illimitable shame. And woman's feminine charm is desirable only so long as it is impotent to subdue the will and mind of men, through whom she must work (she is taught) to secure attainment of her ends. If she excel in feminine charm, excellence will bring her no honour. Quite the contrary. Let her be too "womanly"—that is to say, too skilled in the exercise of the one weapon allowed to her by the super-imposed code, the weapon of sex, and men will turn upon her and hunt her down the ages with hue and cry, as the Cleopatras of the world have been hunted. She becomes then the reviled of the earth and represents Woman the Temptress, the root and cause of sin, and in the language of certain fathers of the Church "the devil, incarnate." She is made the scapegoat for the sins of the world.

The superimposition of negative ideals, enforced by penalties and punishments, together with the denial to women to exercise their faculties in the fields of honourable achievement, have broken the best and the bravest hearts.

Something of this tragedy, involving great loss to humanity as a whole, is revealed in the latest novel of the American author, Winston Churchill. The woman in his story, "A Modern Chronicle," comes to shipwreck by very reason of the fact that "she possessed a quality which in a man leads to a career and fame." "Unimagined numbers of America's women," says the writer, "possess that quality—a fact that is becoming more and more apparent every day."

Individual woman in the isolated weakness of her position has failed to break her spiritual and moral and mental prison and to free her own soul. But this freedom is now being won by women in union. That is the fundamental revolution that is bound up with the political agitation and is going on underneath it.

That revolution is going on because the word of deliverance has gone forth, and none can render it void.

For the fulfilment of this new word of deliverance it is necessary that there shall be opposition, conflict, and persecution. For opposition, conflict, and persecution are but ministers to the cause of freedom. Opposition begets solidarity, conflict begets steadfastness, persecution begets invincible enthusiasm. And thus all things and all people, however unwittingly, work together for the emancipation of the soul.

The Woman's Movement is working out the freedom of the woman's body from a physical yoke of domination which is the deepest cause of the sin and misery and evil manifest in the social conditions of the present day. The Woman's Movement is working out the freedom of the woman's mind from the dominance of false conceptions and ideals which are alien to it. The Woman's Movement is working out the freedom of the woman's soul, whose emergence into the world of action is the new hope of the future.

And this threefold freedom is what is meant by those three words which have become the dominant cry in the present political world, "Votes for Women."

TREASURER'S NOTE.

In two strides we have covered more than half the distance that lies between £75,000 and £76,000. During the past week the contributions stand at over £237, and a sum just under £400 remains before the next thousand is completed. We may confidently expect the completion of £76,000 during the ensuing two weeks.

I know that there are thousands of women in this movement who long to possess money in order to give it to the furtherance of the war for women's freedom. This week I address my word especially to them. Few women are rich enough to give largely to this cause. In many cases the money that they handle belongs to them to spend on behalf of their family, but does not belong to them to give away. This fact need not distress them. They can support this cause by spending as well as by giving. Women have not yet realised the enormous power that they collectively possess as chancellors of the family exchequer. To-day they have the opportunity of exercising this very great power to advance their own cause. Let women refuse, as far as possible, to deal with any firms that do not advertise in Votes for Women. Let them make it a point of honour to deal with those firms that do advertise, taking care that they shall know the reason for receiving their custom. By this collective action they will convince advertisement managers of business houses that it is essentially to their interest to place their advertisements in Votes for Women. The revenue accruing from these advertisements will be expended in improving the paper in every way. Women have it in their power to get their interests represented by the best and smartest Penny Paper in this country; and to achieve this end by the simple exercise of their housewifely duties, they will carry out the system: "Who is for us, for him are we."

Thus, by giving, by spending, by tax-resisting, by multi-form personal service, and by militant action, every woman in the land, be she rich or poor, be she strong or weak, be she busy or leisured, can contribute in her own way to the great end which all have in view.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND

September 26 to Oct. 1.			£ s. d.		
Already acknow- ledged.....	£75,325 5 10		Mrs. Lucking	0 1 0	
Mrs. D. D. Head.....	0 2 6		Mrs. Parish.....	0 1 0	
Anon., for Hampstead.....	25 0 0		Profit on Shop takings.....	3 10 0	
Organiser.....	1 0 0		Profit on "V. f. W.".....	0 1 0	
Miss Beatrice Harraden.....	0 10 0		Per Mrs. E. Dawkins.....	0 10 0	
Miss R. S. Jenkins.....	0 10 0		Mrs. Watson.....	0 2 0	
Miss Webb.....	0 2 6		Miss Postlethwaite.....	0 2 0	
Alex. S. Ballantine, Esq.....	1 0 0		Mrs. Webb.....	0 2 6	
Miss Cecilia W. Hopson.....	1 1 0		Sale of Djabahs, &c.....	0 14 1	
Miss Emily Grenfell.....	1 0 0		Per Telegram W.S.P.U.....	0 15 0	
Miss H. E. Beeton.....	1 0 0		Antoniouas of Kolobori.....	0 15 0	
Miss E. C. Cuvier.....	0 8 0		Per Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Una Ingalls.....	0 10 0	
Miss Mary Aves.....	0 2 6		Bridge of Alban Meet- ing (additional pro- ceeds).....	5 4 2	
"Anon. Belpeth".....	1 0 0		Aberfeldy and Cris- tians Meeting (do.).....	8 19 10	
Miss Gertrude Condon.....	0 1 0		Edin. Meeting (do.).....	1 3 6	
Miss Grubb.....	0 1 0		Dormoch Meeting (do.).....	7 14 8	
Miss Joan Ballantine.....	2 2 0		North Berwick Meet- ing (do.).....	6 8 9	
Anon., for Hampstead.....	1 0 0		Ing (do.).....	1 9 7	
Mrs. W. Bousfield.....	0 12 0		Inverness Meeting (proceeds).....	10 0 9	
H. East, Esq.....	1 0 0		Wick Meeting (do.).....	8 7 0	
Sale of Procession meet- ing (do.).....	0 1 0		Thurso Meeting (do.).....	5 14 11	
Mrs. M. E. Beeton.....	0 5 0		Mrs. McPherson.....	0 12 0	
Levy Meyer.....	0 5 0		Mrs. Dalgleish.....	0 4 0	
Miss H. S. Lacombe.....	0 3 0		Per Mrs. G. Roe.....	0 5 0	
Miss Janet Steele.....	3 3 0		The Misses Bond.....	0 5 0	
Mrs. M. A. Seymour Seal Tom. Robertson, Esq.....	0 4 0		Mrs. Cunningham (for shop).....	1 0 0	
(per Miss Ellis).....	0 4 0		Mrs. Turton.....	0 1 6	
Miss Rosenberg (do.).....	0 4 0		Mrs. Turton.....	0 1 0	
Five Students (Mrs. Robertson's class (do.).....	0 18 0		Miss Bessie Hildy.....	1 0 0	
Miss C. Margesson.....	2 0 0		Miss Lott (for shop).....	0 2 6	
N.C.U. Sale of pearls and turquoise buckle (and slide).....	1 1 0		Miss Page (do.).....	2 12 0	
Extra paid out for "V. f. W." at Oxford Circus pitch at Charing Cross pitch.....	0 2 7		Mrs. Gordon Stewart (per Miss Little Rose, for shop).....	0 5 0	
Mrs. J. S. Austin (prize for summing).....	0 1 6		Miss Margaret Flinn (do.).....	0 13 0	
Miss Aelia Holliday.....	2 0 0		Mrs. Cunningham (do.).....	0 7 0	
Miss Florence E. Inglis.....	0 5 6		Miss Cay (do.).....	0 1 0	
Mrs. Lott (per Miss Harrison).....	0 2 0		Mrs. Norman (do.).....	0 3 0	
Hull Meeting (do.).....	0 2 8		Mrs. Murrell (do.).....	0 2 0	
Miss Mary E. Nichol.....	0 10 0		Miss B. Hildy (do.).....	0 13 0	
F. W. Pethick Law- rence Esq.....	100 0 0		Miss Little Rose (do.).....	0 5 0	
Per Mrs. L. Aspinorth.....	0 1 0		Profit on shop.....	3 18 1	
A Sympathiser.....	0 5 0				
A Liberal Woman.....	0 5 0				
A True Friend.....	5 0 0				
Miss Mary E. Nichol.....	0 10 0				
Miss Evelyn Slay.....	0 1 0				
Per Misses Crocker and Roberts.....	0 2 6				
Mrs. Blagg.....	0 5 0				
Mrs. Fletcher.....	0 5 0				
Miss N. Crocker (for telephone call).....	0 15 0				
Miss D. Bullock.....	0 1 0				
Miss Lewis.....	3 0 0				
Mrs. West.....	0 2 6				

For Organiser.			£ s. d.		
Mrs. A. N. Wood.....	0 8 0		Membership Fees.....	11 14 0	
			Collected, etc.....	13 10 6	
			Per Miss L. Almsworth.....	1 18 1	
			Per Misses Crocker.....	3 19 8	
			and Roberts.....	0 7 6	
			Per Miss C. Margesson.....	0 7 6	
			Total - £75,602 16 6		

For Organiser.

Miss A. N. Wood..... 0 8 0

Membership Fees..... 1 14 0

Collectors, etc..... 13 10 6

Per Miss L. Almsworth..... 1 18 1

Per Misses Crocker
and Roberts..... 3 19 8

Per Miss C. Margesson..... 0 7 6

Total - £75,602 16 2

ROAD TAX.

The Toll's to pay! A heavy toll indeed!

No Royal road like this is ever free

Till, Royally, some pioneer has paid.

Out of his wallet, what of wealth he had,

And broken down the bar, that others' feet

May tread the road to cities he'll not see!

The Toll's to pay! A heavy toll indeed!

Do we, who live immune from dread disease,

Remember men like Cox, whose lives are poured

Into the gatesman's greedy, outstretched hands

Before one-inch he'll draw aside the bar,

And show the road man's direst pain to ease?

The Toll's to pay! A heavy toll indeed,

If Nature's cloud-borne secrets we would share,

And with the sea-gulls soar, and wheel and dive!

By Dalgrange and Bolls the toll's been paid;

How many more must suffer up their lives

Till freely men shall roam the realms of air?

The Toll's to pay! A heavy toll indeed!

Am I, too, pitiless towards my own?

This is my wife, my daughter, I repulse;

To whom I say "You shall not pass this bar!"

Must she, then, pay the toll, and give her life

To free her sisters from their bonds outgrown?

NAHLIKE YA.

PASSING THE RESOLUTION IN SUPPORT OF THE BILL.

A very large number of meetings is being held every week, which it is impossible to find space to report. At all these meetings the Resolution, printed on page 4, is passed, and copies are being sent to the Prime Minister and the local M.P.s.

The Hastings and St. Leonards Weekly Mail thus refers to a meeting addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, with the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield in the chair, at St. Leonards last week:—"The activity of the local branch of the Women's Social and Political Union has been most marked during the past few days, and the climax was reached on Wednesday evening, when a crowded public meeting was held at the Royal Concert Hall, St. Leonards. . . Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who met with a tremendous reception, was quite unable to speak for a few minutes owing to the noise."

The Hastings and St. Leonards Observer says:—"The meeting at the Royal Concert Hall, St. Leonards, on Wednesday evening was a success. There were no hostile interruptions, and only one or two hands were held up against the resolution in favour of the Conciliation Bill."

The Hon. Mrs. Haverfield (from London) presided, supported by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. C. G. Clark. Others present included:—The Vicar, the Rev. Canon Brimont, the Countess O'Clery, Lieutenant-Colonel A. R. Savile, Councillor T. Reed, Mrs. Darent Harrison, Mrs. F. Strickland, Mrs. and the Misses MacMunn, Mrs. Bowerman Chibbald, Miss Bowerman, Mrs. Hatchell, Mr. and Mrs. Michael Sullivan, the Misses Harrison of Winchelsea, and Mr. G. R. Butterworth. A feature was the presence of an entire school of young ladies.

QUESTION BY WOMEN AT LIBERAL BAZAAR.

When Earl Beauchamp, a member of the Cabinet, opened a bazaar organised by the Women's Liberal Association at West Bromwich, he was questioned by two ladies present as to whether the Government will give facilities for the Conciliation Bill, one of the ladies reminding him that women have worked for the Liberal Party and are now asking what the Liberal Party intends to do for women in return. No hostility was shown to the questioners, and the audience seemed to approve their action.

ENGLISHMEN HAVE NOTHING TO FEAR.

At the annual meeting of the Darwin Division Liberal League recently, Mr. F. G. Hinde, M.P., said some interesting things about Woman Suffrage. He believed that at no distant date a measure conferring the suffrage on women would be passed into law, he declined to believe that there was any fear of evil resulting from such a measure. Englishmen, he said, had nothing to fear from conferring the vote upon their own wives, mothers, sisters, and daughters; they trusted to them already interests infinitely more important than politics. When women had the vote they would begin to take an interest in politics as they never did before. In a few years time there would be as much intelligent voting from a majority of the women in the country as there was at present from a majority of the men.

TEXT OF THE CONCILIATION COMMITTEE'S BILL.

TO EXTEND THE PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE TO WOMEN OCCUPIERS.

Be it enacted, etc.:
1. Every woman possessed of a household qualification, or of a ten-pound occupation qualification, within the meaning of The Representation of the People Act (1888), shall be entitled to be registered as a voter, and when registered to vote for the county or borough in which the qualifying premises are situated.

2. For the purposes of this Act, a woman shall not be disqualified by marriage for being registered as a voter, provided that a husband and wife shall not both be qualified in respect of the same property.

3. This Act may be cited as "The Representation of the People Act, 1910."

HOW MEN QUALIFY FOR THE VOTE.

Under the existing law men in order to possess the franchise have to qualify in one or other of the following capacities:—(1) Occupiers, (2) owners, (3) lodgers, (4) university graduates.

The effect of the passage of the new Bill would be to give women occupiers the vote while continuing to withhold it from women owners, lodgers, and graduates. From the foregoing it will be seen that women occupiers are many times more numerous than all the other classes put together. The estimate of the Conciliation Committee is that about one million women will be enfranchised under this Bill.

THE GOVERNOR OF WYOMING'S EXPERIENCE.

Every Suffragist knows that the granting of the suffrage to the women of Wyoming has been a great thing for the State, but it is good to have the confirmation of this fact from the lips of the Governor himself. "It is such a matter of course with me that I would never think of discussing it," said Governor Brooks recently. "It works perfectly with me, and we would not know how to get on without it. In the first place let me say that nothing can be so far from the truth as the idea that woman suffrage has the slightest tendency to disrupt the home. Indeed, it has the very opposite effect. As a result of it, politics is talked freely in the family circle and political questions are settled by intelligent discussions. This has a great and good influence on the growing generation. The children grow up in an atmosphere that encourages intelligent consideration and debate of public problems, and are thus better equipped to deal with public questions when they reach voting age."

IDAHO AND WOMEN'S VOTES.

Idaho extended to her women the right to vote in the early days of her Statehood. We do not become at all excited over the effect of woman suffrage in our State. But we do declare it to be our deliberate judgment that her presence in politics, armed with the power to enforce her demand, has been substantially and distinctively for the benefit of politics and of society. It has aided materially in the securing of better laws along particular lines; especially has it tended to cleaner politics in particular and essential matters. Our women have not always been so active in politics as they should be, but it has been observed that when a moral question is up for consideration, the majority vote of the women has been a power upon the right side.—Mr. WILLIAM E. BORAH, U.S. Senator from Idaho.

WOMEN'S VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND.

"Prior to the women's franchise, the distinctive feature of our politics was corruption. Legislative proposals were regarded almost entirely from the point of view of (1) What would they cost, and (2) What would be their effect from a commercial standpoint? The woman's vote is not pounds or pence, but her home, her family. In order to win her vote, the politicians had to look at public matters from her point of view. Her ideal was not merely money, but happy homes, and a fair chance in life for her husband, or her intended husband, and her present or prospective family."—(Mr. G. W. Russell, Chairman of the Board of Governors of Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand).

WHERE TO SHOP.

Bootmakers.	
Debenham & Freebody	Peter Robinson
Derry & Toms	Spiers & Pond's
William Owen	
Chiropodists.	
Misses Clark.	
Coal Merchants.	
W. Clark & Sons.	
Dentist.	
Chidwick Brown	
Drapers and Hosiery.	
Debenham & Freebody	Peter Robinson
Derry & Toms	Robinson Brown
Hyam & Co.	Spiers & Pond's
John Barker	William Owen
Dressmakers.	
Alfred Day	Mrs. S. Asker
Debenham & Freebody	Maud Archer
Derry & Toms	Mora Pucko
John Barker	Peter Robinson
John Barker	Robinson Brown
John Barker	William Owen
Dyers and Dry Cleaners.	
Brand & Mollison	E. Day & Co.
Clark & Co.	
Florists, &c.	
A. Chesley	Spiers & Pond's
Derry & Toms	
Furnishers.	
Derry & Toms	Spiers & Pond's
John Barker	William Owen
Heal & Son	
House Decorator.	
Warren	
Jewellers and Silversmiths.	
Goldsmiths, and Silversmiths, Co.	
Ladies' Tailors and Court Dressmakers.	
Simmons & Sons	
Laundries.	
Beaconsfield Laundry	Sunlight Laundry
Primrose Laundry.	
Milliners.	
Debenham & Freebody	Mrs. S. Asker
Derry & Toms	Peter Robinson
John Barker	Robinson Brown
John Barker	William Owen
Hyam & Co.	
Nursing Requires.	
E. & H. Garrold	
Restaurants and Tea Rooms.	
Alan's Tea Rooms	Home Restaurant
Specialities.	
Bond's Marking Ink	Savage's Nuts
Debenham & Freebody	Snare's Hooks and Ryes
Debenham & Freebody	Thyver
Debenham & Freebody	Vallores Cigarettes
Debenham & Freebody	Vivella
Toilet Preparations.	
Allen Brown	John Knight's Soap
Gertrude Hope	
Typewriters, &c.	
Oliver Typewriting Co.	Comes

REPORTS FROM ORGANISERS.

Holidays are over, and preparations for the winter work are going forward. Help of every description are needed. Those who can speak, chair at meetings, sell the paper, chalk announcements, and especially those who are instant in season and out of season, ever ready to help a doubter, make a member of a sympathiser, and gain new subscribers for the paper. As plans are quickly being completed, and everyone must have her work, send your names in now, saying what you can do, and when you can do it. Speakers are reminded of the Resolution on p. 4, which should be put at every meeting. When passed, copies should be sent to the Prime Minister and to the local Member of Parliament.

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

A most urgent appeal is made for paper-sellers, especially for selling at the theatre queues in the evening. Will members write to say what evenings they will be able to give, so that this work can be taken up immediately? Another splendid opportunity for paper-sellers is on Saturdays in Trafalgar Square, where a large number of visitors are coming to see the exhibition of the Suffragette. Members only are eligible, and they must be at the hall, if possible, at 6 o'clock.

Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. will be glad to hear from members wanting Albert Hall posters. They can be had in the following sizes:—24in. by 20in. 20in. by 16in. 16in. by 12in. 12in. by 8in. 8in. by 6in. 6in. by 4in. 4in. by 3in. 3in. by 2in. 2in. by 1in. 1in. by 1/2in. 1/2in. by 1/4in. 1/4in. by 1/8in. 1/8in. by 1/16in. 1/16in. by 1/32in. 1/32in. by 1/64in. 1/64in. by 1/128in. 1/128in. by 1/256in. 1/256in. by 1/512in. 1/512in. by 1/1024in. 1/1024in. by 1/2048in. 1/2048in. by 1/4096in. 1/4096in. by 1/8192in. 1/8192in. by 1/16384in. 1/16384in. by 1/32768in. 1/32768in. by 1/65536in. 1/65536in. by 1/131072in. 1/131072in. by 1/262144in. 1/262144in. by 1/524288in. 1/524288in. by 1/1048576in. 1/1048576in. by 1/2097152in. 1/2097152in. by 1/4194304in. 1/4194304in. by 1/8388608in. 1/8388608in. by 1/16777216in. 1/16777216in. by 1/33554432in. 1/33554432in. by 1/67108864in. 1/67108864in. by 1/134217728in. 1/134217728in. by 1/268435456in. 1/268435456in. by 1/536870912in. 1/536870912in. by 1/1073741824in. 1/1073741824in. by 1/2147483648in. 1/2147483648in. by 1/4294967296in. 1/4294967296in. 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