

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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was noted by the *Daily News*, which, in a leading article on Monday, August 24, entitled "Purple, White, and Green," remarked:—

The really significant thing was the good humour and enthusiasm with which they were received by the crowds, especially in the working people's districts. From one or two places in the North we still hear of savage assaults upon women speakers who are upholding their claims to political liberty. In meetings nearer home it too often happens that the moment a woman raises her voice, even in the politest of questions, she is exposed to violence such as the stewards and other members of the audience would never dream of showing to a man for the same cause. But, as a whole, it is quite evident that the feeling of the people in general, especially in London, is coming round to the side of the Suffragists, and that their appearance on platforms or in processions is now received, not merely without brutal impoliteness, but with sympathy and favour. It is courage that has done it—courage, persistence, and the devotion that always wins respect and sympathy in the end.

The correspondent of the *Globe* also noticed that "the excitement was all in favour of the demonstrators." This salient fact, the strong and growing sympathy of the man in the street with the women of the N.W.S.P.U., is the feature of the position of Woman Suffrage at the present time, and with this strong and enthusiastic support the women cannot very long fail to achieve their end.

The Breakfast.

The breakfast in the Queen's Hall was an unqualified success. It had been anticipated that only a small number of people would be able to be present, owing to the holiday season, but, contrary to expectation, the small Queen's Hall was filled with those who wished to do honour to the two women, and a very rousing series of speeches were delivered at the close of the breakfast, which were heartily cheered. From the Queen's Hall to Clement's Inn the procession formed up again, and the carriage conveying the women was drawn amid scenes of fresh enthusiasm to the offices of the N.W.S.P.U.

The Remaining Prisoners.

Arrangements are already on foot for making the release on Wednesday, September 16, a still greater success. It is expected that most London members of the N.W.S.P.U. will by that time have returned from their holidays, and that there will be a very large gathering outside the gates of the prison, when Miss Haig, Miss Joachim, Miss Howey, and Miss Wentworth will be released, and when the carriage in which these women will ride to the Queen's Hall will be drawn by a large number of women suffragists, who are already volunteering for the purpose. An effort is being made to obtain the large Queen's Hall for the breakfast, in order that everyone who wishes to be present may be able to take part, but as the accommodation in any case will be limited, those who have not already obtained their tickets are recommended to do so at once. Miss Mary Phillips will be detained in Holloway for a further two days, and will not be released until Friday, September 18. Friends will, therefore, meet her on that morning at 8 o'clock at the prison gates, and on the same evening, Friday, September 18 (instead of Thursday, September 17, as announced last week), a special reception will be held in the large Portman Rooms, at which all the released prisoners will, it is hoped, be present.

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DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

While politicians have been away on their holiday women who are fighting for their liberty have been spending the summer months in Holloway Prison. Two of these, Miss New and Mrs. Leigh, were released on Saturday last, and met with a hearty welcome from their friends, who assembled to greet them at the prison gates.

Women Drawing the Carriage.

So great was the enthusiasm that the horses were taken out of the carriage in which the two ex-prisoners were to ride down to the Queen's Hall, and women harnessed themselves to the shafts, and drew the carriage all the way. As the women had come out in their Suffragist colours, a very striking effect was produced, and the whole hearted sympathy of the crowd with the women was everywhere manifest. We are pleased to see that this

OLD AGE SUFFRAGE.

By EDITH AYRTON ZANGWILL.

Not long ago I found myself in a strange land speaking with one of its inhabitants—a fine, strong-looking man in the prime of life. "And so you have adult suffrage here?" I was saying.

"Certainly; this is a modern democratic country. Of course," my companion went on after a pause, "elders do not vote."

I stared at him, uncomprehendingly. Possibly he noticed my surprise. "It is obviously impossible to have such a thing as old age suffrage," he explained. "Whether we like it or not, the State finally rests on a basis of physical force. Old people, simply because they are old, and therefore physically weaker than young people, cannot in the nature of things take the same share in the defence and management of the country. Consequently to give old people the vote would be to give them power without responsibility." His tone was sententious, and he turned away as though the argument were closed.

But I was not satisfied. "Why?" I asked. The stranger started, his face showing astonished annoyance. "Why would old people have no responsibility?" I persisted with a smile at the absurdity of my companion's standpoint. "Surely they are equally involved in the general welfare of the State. Even in the case of war, the 'elders,' as you call them, have in supreme issues always borne arms. If an enemy invaded the country, would the old people suffer less than the young?"

"Defensive wars are rare." The stranger was certainly irritated. "Elders do not take part in ordinary warfare."

"Well, they pay the war taxes, which is all that 99 per cent. of your young people do. Besides," I urged, "you cannot seriously maintain that an old man would feel less responsibility in sending his son to fight than in fighting himself. It seems to me that under your present system the elders have responsibility without power. Are they satisfied with their position?"

A Wave of Discontent.

"Well, not altogether." The stranger hesitated. "They always used to be, but recently a most regrettable wave of discontent has passed over them. Not satisfied with the indirect influence that a good elder undoubtedly exercises, a number of these misguided people are now trying to secure direct representation, and by means of the most violent and unvenerable measures. On several occasions a dozen or more have actually marched towards our Parliament; fortunately, they were checked in time by the fifteen hundred mounted and unmounted policemen who were hurriedly called up—to the great expense of the taxpayer."

"'Votes for Elders' is the cry of this shrieking seniority. Fortunately their methods, and, indeed, the absurd demand itself, are entirely opposed to the good sense and true elderly feeling of the seniors as a whole. An anti-suffrage league of elders has, therefore, been formed to combat the dangerous tendency, and two of our best known veteran writers are at its head."

"I wonder you allow your elders to write," I gasped, for I was almost too overcome with laughter to speak. "Surely in that way they exercise more power than by merely recording a vote? The pen is mightier than the sword. How about your responsibility theory?"

"That is utterly different;" the stranger controlled himself. "An exceptional elder is of no consequence. What makes old age suffrage impossible is that in some places the elders actually outnumber the youngers. Had they the vote we should be under a bald-headed Government. As someone has wisely said, 'Where the legal sovereignty in a State does not rest upon the physical power of the community a condition of equilibrium is absurd.'"

"A curious argument in a Christian country!" I could not refrain from the sneer. Then I played my trump card. "But old age suffrage is not so absurd as you imagine. In my country it exists. We really have universal suffrage, and still manage to maintain our 'equilibrium.' Of course, women do not vote."

"What?" The stranger's irritation seemed suddenly to give place to overwhelming surprise. "What! Women don't vote? But how then is the woman's point of view represented? How does she bring her special knowledge to bear? Your country cannot be content to waste half its brains, half its time, half its experience?"

"Woman's place is in her home." I felt provoked by such crass stupidity. "She must there employ brains and her time and her experience under the general legislation of man. Or, at any rate, she must be content with local government; that is more feminine. But as long as the defence of the country rests with men, imperial matters must remain in their hands."

"So the franchise in your country is confined to soldiers and sailors?" the stranger asked curiously.

I was a little embarrassed. "Not exactly," I explained. "In fact, the soldiers and sailors have no vote at all. But the physical force of the community is characteristically male, and therefore the franchise should be male." It occurred to me that this was something like what my companion had been saying earlier. "All the arguments you incorrectly use against old age suffrage may be correctly applied in the case of woman suffrage," I told him.

"Rubbish." My companion was hardly polite. "A young and vigorous woman has plenty of physical force. She can't be compared with an elder. Take the bearing of children; is not that a supreme instance of physical force, and a force that is essential in the defence of the country? Now our system is sensible. Women are voters until they reach the age when they cease to be able to bear children; men until they cease to be able to bear arms."

"But if there were a sex war men would come off best," I protested.

The stranger only laughed. "Why not confine ourselves to possibilities? If a sex war were to be carried to its logical conclusion there would be no sexes left to war. The world would be uninhabited. But a war of youngers *versus* elders is a practical contingency. And old age suffrage would provoke such a war."

"I think your age qualification is absurd," I told him hotly.

"And your sex qualification seems to be absolutely ludicrous."

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XXII.—*Women Refused as Councillors.*

The beginning of the year 1901 saw the close of the struggle to establish the right of women to sit on county councils under the new Local Government Act of 1888.

In the House of Commons on April 20, 1888, Mr. Jeffreys had asked the President of the Local Government Board whether women who had the right of voting in the election of county councillors would themselves be eligible for election as members of the county councils. Mr. Ritchie had then said that under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1882 women might vote in municipal elections, but were not qualified to serve as councillors. Their position would be exactly the same in regard to the county councils.

This reply was not considered to be final, because it was held that there was nothing in the Municipal Corporation Acts to show that women were ineligible for election as councillors.

At the first County Council election five women were accordingly nominated. These were: Lady Sandhurst, for Brixton; Miss Jane Cobden (Mrs. Cobden Unwin), for Bow; Miss Varley, for Islington; Mrs. McIlquham, for Cheltenham; and Mrs. Massingberd, for the Lindsay Division of Lincolnshire.

In the Brixton constituency two councillors were to be elected, and in addition to Lady Sandhurst there were three men candidates. Two of these, namely, Henry Smallman and T. C. Beresford Hope, sent written petitions to the returning officer, asking that Lady Sandhurst's nomination should be refused on the sole ground that she was a woman. But in spite of these objections Lady Sandhurst's nomination was accepted. The election took place on January 17, 1889, and resulted in the return of Lady Sandhurst and Captain Edmund Verney, the man who had not petitioned against her. Miss Cobden was also elected, and Mrs. Massingberd was only defeated by twenty votes.

At the first meeting of the County Council Lady Sandhurst and Miss Cobden took their seats. Miss Cons, a lady well known for her work amongst the poor, had previously been asked to allow herself to be nominated for a constituency. She had refused, but she was now elected an alderman by the votes of 118 councillors.

Meanwhile, Mr. Beresford Hope, the candidate who came immediately beneath Lady Sandhurst upon the poll, had followed up his earlier protest by addressing a petition to the High Court of Chancery, praying that it might be declared that Lady Sandhurst's election was void, and that he himself was the duly elected councillor.

The case was taken before the Court of Queen's Bench, and tried on March 18, 1889, before Mr. Baron Huddleston and Mr. Justice Stephen.

On behalf of Mr. Beresford Hope, it was contended that Lady Sandhurst was not qualified to be elected because she was a woman, and that, therefore, votes given for her were thrown away, and the candidate who stood next to her on the poll was entitled to be declared elected. It was pointed out that under the Local Government and County Electors Acts the qualification for election to the county councils was to be the same as that for councillors under the Municipal Corporations Acts. The Municipal Corporations Acts provided that those who were qualified to elect should also be qualified for election. Before 1869 only male persons had been so qualified, but in that year it was enacted that "For all purposes con-

nected with, and having reference to, the right to vote words in this Act imputing the masculine gender include women."

This clause, it was argued, did not confer upon women the right to be elected. On the contrary, the right it gave was expressly confined to that of voting.

It was argued on Lady Sandhurst's behalf that the fact that no woman had ever offered herself for election to a municipal council could not be taken as a proof that women were disqualified from being councillors. It was true that at one time women had been disqualified because the Municipal Corporations Act had stated that only male persons might be qualified to elect, and that only electors should be qualified to be elected. But the Municipal Corporations Act of 1869 had entirely changed the state of affairs. It had given women the right to be electors—it had placed them upon the Burgess roll. The other side placed too narrow a construction upon the powers granted to women under that Act. They wished to limit these powers to the right of voting alone, but this could not be done. The Act provided that:—

For all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to vote at municipal elections words in this Act importing the masculine gender include women.

In the case of this Act the right to vote entailed the right to be elected, and when the women had been made burgesses there had been no stipulation that the right of being elected which other burgesses enjoyed should be denied to them.

It had been evident from the first that both Baron Huddleston and Justice Stephen were prejudiced against the claim of Lady Sandhurst. Their interruptions during the trial had all been in the direction of minimising the arguments made on her behalf, and strengthening those that were made against her. It was not surprising, therefore, that they gave their judgment in favour of Mr. Beresford Hope, and on April 15, 1889, decided that he was the duly elected councillor, and that the votes given for Lady Sandhurst were thrown away.

Lady Sandhurst appealed against this decision, and in May the case came before the full Court of Appeal. There were six judges to try the case, and the Lord Chief Justice (Lord Coleridge) presided.

After the opposing parties had been heard Lord Coleridge delivered his judgment. He said that the office of councillor was a new office to which there was no inherent common law right, and that consequently "the right to the office must be found in the four corners of the Act which creates the office." He said that, but for the fact that it had been thought necessary to make express provision that women might vote, there would have been strong ground for applying Lord Brougham's Act, and deciding that women might be included under the operation of the clause providing that those persons who were qualified to elect should also be qualified to be elected. If in this Act the word person had been meant to include women, the introduction of the clause providing that women might vote would have been unnecessary. He considered that that clause was intended to say, in effect, "Remember that, as regards women, their only right is the right to vote." Therefore, the appeal must fail.

Lord Esher (Master of the Rolls) said that he took an even stronger view of the case. He agreed with the pronouncement of Mr. Justice Wills in the case of *Chorlton v. Lings*, which had been that "neither by the common law nor by the constitution of the country can women be entitled to exercise any public function, and wherever the subject matter of an Act of Parliament is the right to the exercise of a public function, unless the contrary is expressly stated, the right to exercise that public function is confined to men."

(To be continued.)

THE RELEASE OF MRS. LEIGH AND MISS NEW.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Saturday was a red-letter day in the annals of Votes for Women, when members and friends of the N.W.S.P.U. came in force to welcome the two women who received in Mr. Marsham's Court the severe sentence of two months' imprisonment in the third division, without the option of a fine, for breaking the windows at the Prime Minister's official residence.

The preparations for welcoming them were of a novel character, although to the ordinary onlooker in the crowd that gathered outside the gates of Holloway Prison the programme might appear exactly similar to others which have been previously carried out on the release of imprisoned suffragettes.

Long before eight o'clock, the hour of their release, a number of members and friends of the N.W.S.P.U. had gathered, wearing the colours of the Union.

On both sides of the road, too, were some 500 members of the public, some evidently warmly enthusiastic, and all markedly sympathetic.

The time of waiting was not long. A few minutes after eight o'clock had struck, Mrs. Leigh and Miss New were seen



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THE "SUFFRAGETTE TEAM."

to pass through the small door, and a cheer went up from the crowd. They were affectionately welcomed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and other members of the Union. Bouquets in the purple, white, and green were presented to them, and they were conducted to a waiting landau. The band meanwhile struck up, and the crowd thickened round the carriage. Great interest was caused by the waving of the prison loaves which the two women had managed to secure to bring away with them.

Then came the surprise for the crowd. The horses were taken out of the shafts, and six of the women, dressed in white and wearing the regalia, harnessed themselves to the carriage, while others pushed from the back. The ribbons (in the tri-colour) were taken by Mrs. Mosen, who occupied the driver's seat, and, with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst walking at the side, the procession moved off to the gay strains of the "Marseillaise," while the rest of the company followed on foot or in brakes.

The carriage occupied by the prisoners was decorated with large placards, bearing the words, "Mr. Asquith's Prisoners, Released this Morning," and the poster of the current VOTES FOR WOMEN: "Suffragette Tactics and M.P.'s."

As the procession advanced along Camden-road, the "team"

was augmented, at one time as many as a dozen helping the original volunteers, and once in the course of the journey to Queen's Hall a change was made. There was a drizzle of rain during part of the way down Hampstead-road, and in Tottenham-court-road the rain came down pretty sharply, but no one was any the worse for the wetting, though hats and dresses naturally suffered.

At Langham-place a number of friends, unable to make so early a start, were waiting to greet the ex-prisoners, and the whole party adjourned to breakfast, Miss Christabel Pankhurst in the chair, with Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss New on her right and Mrs. and Mr. Leigh on her left.

At the Breakfast.

Miss Pankhurst's rising was the signal for prolonged applause, which, indeed, marked the speeches throughout. The purpose of the occasion, she said, was to give the very warmest possible welcome to the two dear friends just released from Holloway. A telegram had been received from Mrs. Pank-

hurst, who had with difficulty been persuaded to lengthen her holiday in Scotland, in order that she might be ready for the strenuous work of the autumn. Mrs. Pankhurst said:—

"Heartiest greeting and congratulations to our dear released prisoners. Courage like theirs must win freedom for women."

Mr. Pethick Lawrence had wired:—

"Hearty greetings to released prisoners, and confident assurance that the courage of women will soon win victory."

The Bristol suffragettes, headed by Miss Annie Kenney, said:—

"Love and greetings from the Bristol suffragettes; the wings of freedom grow stronger in a prison cell."

Other greetings came from Aboyne, Canford Cliffs, Hull W.S.P.U. ("Warm appreciation of heroic sacrifice"), Coventry (Miss Alice Lea, one of the prisoners released on August 1), Weston-super-Mare, and Miss F. Clarkson (Manchester), who remembered how Mrs. Leigh's cheery ways helped her through her own time in Holloway. It was very difficult, said Miss Pankhurst, to express the feelings of affectionate gratitude of the friends of the movement towards the two just released. They had had a very hard time in prison; they had been treated with the greatest possible severity.

Although all were political prisoners, a distinction had been made in their case, and there had been an attempt to crush the spirit out of them. Anybody who tried to do that would try an impossibility!

It was impossible, too, not to sympathise with them the more because they had been in prison during one of the loveliest summers within memory. What they had done to bring this punishment upon themselves they would not have done, nor would any sensible person have done, unless they had had a great cause to serve.

She hardly knew what to say about Cabinet Ministers who, for rest and holiday, or for self-advertisement, were able to go away, leaving these women in prison—women who were doing more to serve their country than all the Cabinet Ministers put together.

Fortunately, this was a country in which the spirit of fair play usually prevailed. One of the nails in the coffin of the Liberal party would be the callousness of the Cabinet Ministers about the imprisonment of these women. It was, perhaps, a good thing that they had acted in such a way. Leniency would not serve the purpose of the movement; it was good that the public should see for themselves that the Government, not satisfied with withholding constitutional rights, were turning the screw round as hard as possible, and inflicting punishment on women whenever they had the opportunity.

Distinguished Prisoners.

Miss New and Mrs. Leigh, Miss Pankhurst continued, were very distinguished prisoners; they had gone to prison for having done a rather daring thing, one of those deeds of daring rectitude of which something had been heard at the Queen's Hall recently. They would not be surprised to hear that a few people had held up their hands in horror; for such, stones were a little too much! The movement, however, consisted in shocking people, and then letting them get over it. Mrs. Leigh and Miss New had administered a new shock, with the consequence that all that had been done up till the moment when they threw the stones at No. 10, Downing-street, was accepted as quite legitimate. She was not sure if they had now attained the eminence of the Winchester men, who, because an old Russian gun was moved from one position to another, broke not only the Mayor's windows, but those of many unoffending townspeople, as well as the street lamps, and did considerable damage to some of the pageant properties. These were men with municipal and Parliamentary votes, and it must be noticed that they showed their anger and resentment, not by making two small holes in two windows, but by breaking every window the unfortunate Mayor possessed, besides doing other extensive damage to property. But were they imprisoned? Oh, no! They got what they wanted; the gun was to be left undisturbed, they had gained their point. Five were arrested, but—they were told they might go home, only they must not do it again!

Of course, having gained their point, they readily promised! Mrs. Leigh and Miss New would promise "not to do it again," if the object they had in view had been gained. It was useful to compare the two cases, in order to restore the sense of proportion.

Five Prisoners Still in Holloway.

It had taken women 40 years to think of throwing stones; it did not take men 40 minutes. Women were deliberate in their action; they wanted to pay the smallest possible price; but they would pay all that was exacted. Members of the militant party understood the frame of mind of women when they did such things, though their critics might not. They were prompted by a spirit of pure devotion to their cause. It was not possible to be always at one's best, but the times when such things were done were the very best and whitest and purest moments in life. At such times the cause was above every other interest, and though it was not possible always to rise to such heights, it was well to do so as often as possible. The cause must be put in the front of everything else. Because the two women just released had made this sacrifice, and pushed the cause forward, their friends were proud and grateful. They had done something to show that the women of this movement were absolutely determined to go forward and win. Any Government that thought they could break the spirit of the movement were attempting what they could never succeed in doing. If the Government persisted in their present course, they would find that they were playing a losing game.

It must be remembered that there were still five women in Holloway at that moment. They must be, she thought, if not rather sad, still looking forward to the time when they, too, would come out into the world again. Though they would not shorten the time, they were doubtless thinking about all that was going on outside, as their friends outside were thinking of them. There were not two finer women in the movement than Miss Haig and Miss Joachim. They were magnificent. And those three bright young ones, who did not care what imprisonment was inflicted so long as the object of this agitation was attained—Miss Howey, Miss Phillips, and Miss Vera Wentworth—their imprisonment was hard for their friends in the movement to bear; it was impossible not to feel the terribly depressing effect of it, but those in prison had cheered their friends outside in a most wonderful way. They would be welcomed on September 16 and 18 with the greatest affection and gratitude; and arrangements for that occasion would be exactly similar to those being now carried out, followed by a reception in the Portman Rooms on the Friday following, when those unable to meet them in the morning would have an opportunity of doing honour to the five heroines.

News, said Miss Pankhurst, had a quite wonderful knack of spreading, even in Holloway, and it was while exercising in the yard that Mrs. Leigh happened to see a rather grubby scrap of newspaper lying on the ground. She picked it up, and, wonderful to relate, found that it contained the result of the by-election at Haggerston! The news of the Government's defeat was not long in reaching some of the other prisoners.

The Autumn Campaign.

There was a big autumn programme ahead, said Miss Pankhurst. It included the Albert Hall meeting and the series of "At Homes" in the Portman Rooms and at Queen's Hall. New recruits were wanted; there would be local meetings and open-air meetings, and these afforded excellent opportunities for new speakers, of whom orators would soon be made! The Autumn Session would be beginning before there was time to turn round, and the request to the Prime Minister for the enfranchisement of women would be renewed. There would be wrangling over the Licensing Bill and the Education Bill, and very possibly neither would be carried. Let the Government, for a change, do something they could manage to succeed in; let them go along the line of least resistance. Women would help them to carry their Bill! They need not be afraid of the House of Lords. Mr. Asquith had become rather discredited through not pulling things off. It would be a feather in his cap—and he had not too many—to get the Women's Enfranchisement Bill through.

A convention would take place on October 13 and 15, and the Caxton Hall had been engaged for the purpose. All friends and supporters must be there. The doings of the N.W.S.P.U. should be followed week by week in VOTES FOR WOMEN. More was going to be accomplished in the three autumn months than in any previous six months in the history of the militant movement.

As Mrs. Leigh mounted on her chair, the audience rose in their places, and pocket-handkerchiefs and table napkins were waved, while someone started three cheers. Mrs. Leigh said she could scarcely convey in words what she and Miss New felt at their noble reception from the members of the Union and the public. During their imprisonment they had had much time for thought, and her message to women was that they should stand together firmly in their determination to go on in the struggle for emancipation. She had a feeling that before very long Mr. Asquith would breathe to them:

"Sigh no more, ladies; here is the vote"! If she could do her little share in the work she was quite willing to be a soldier to votes for women.

Why the Stones were Thrown.

Miss New's turn to receive an ovation came next, and it was given with enthusiasm, and three cheers were again called for. Miss New said there was an element of cruelty in the warmth of their reception, which made expression of feeling more difficult, added to the fact that after so long a silence she had not yet got accustomed to liberty of speech. She was touched and pleased that her friends appreciated the little she had done; what she and Mrs. Leigh both felt was that they would like to have done much more for the cause; they had, however, got something for their money, so to speak; they had not been imprisoned for nothing. Miss Joachim had said, "Tell the people I feel that I ought to

have six months for doing nothing!" No novels, were allowed from the library during the first month, but the librarian had allowed her to have a volume of Shakespeare, and she had taken this for her motto:—

"Out of the nettle danger we pluck the flower safety."

She wanted her friends to remember that, and she wanted anybody who was at all timidly inclined to meditate on those words; they would then not be afraid of anything, for the women were going to pluck the flower safety. She also found that Joan of Arc said:

"Of all base passions fear is the most accursed; command the conquest, and it is ours."

Unlike her brave comrade, Mrs. Leigh, for whom she had the utmost admiration and respect, she was herself of a very peaceful disposition. Friends who were present would bear her out in this. Had it not been for Mrs. Leigh's courage and bravery, she would not have gone the length she had done this summer; she wanted to pay Mrs. Leigh this tribute, and to let all their friends know it. Miss Pankhurst had spoken of the insult to the Winchester people; contrast that with the insult offered to women on the night of the Convention, June 30. Compare the moving of a gun from one position to another with the dastardly insult to Mrs. Pankhurst when she led the deputation to the House of Commons. The most timid must have bitterly resented that; if not, she could not comprehend such a state of mind. She had been ablaze with indignation, and she was sure many others felt equally strongly. She was only sorry that they could not resent it in a way that hurt their enemies still more. The time between then and now had been a blank to the prisoners; no doubt to others the events of that night seemed long past.

The clergyman taking the chaplain's place, in speaking about the poor woman who crept through the crowd to Christ, had said to her: "If your way is a good way, go on, and remember there is a brave way and a cowardly way of getting what you want." She had since heard from him that he was entirely in agreement with the militant agitation.

A Protest in Holloway.

Suffragettes would understand her when she said that they could not go through two months without agitating, so they had seized the opportunity of letting the Visiting Committee know that they wished to make a protest; it was the largest audience they could muster! They felt "mean" at having two months while the others had three; she and Mrs. Leigh felt that they deserved three; they therefore agitated for permission to stay longer, and help the others out with their sentence. Of course, it was a ridiculous womanly idea! They were ushered into a room, where they found an august assembly seated round a table. An early Victorian gentleman, with mutton chop whiskers, presided. She said that they very keenly resented the injustice of their friends' sentences, and would like to help to share them. The reply was that there was no precedent in English history for such a request; he believed that in China sentences could be served by proxy, but certainly not in England. It reminded her of the Circumlocution Office in "Little Dorrit." Her suggestion that she and Mrs. Leigh should make a precedent was received with horror, and the following conversation took place:—

The Matron: But all the other ladies can go out whenever they like.

The Prisoner: Pardon me, they cannot; they are in honour bound.

The Chairman: Oh, of course, but we cannot make allowance for these differing conceptions of honour.

The Prisoner: As far as I know, our conception of British honour is exactly the same as that of British men—at least, I hope so. It is peace with honour, and on no other terms.

Miss New owned that the time had gone very slowly; she was too fond of action not to feel it keenly. The monotony was stultifying to the mind. Miss Haig, tramping bravely round the prison yard, got up the steam wonderfully, and cheered the rest of the prisoners. She had said that the long sentence, far from diminishing her determination, only strengthened it more and more; she was ready at any time for action, and would fight harder next time. All of them felt rather sore that they had not done more to deserve their sentences. Of course, all would rather come out and rejoice over the winning of the vote; what women wanted was to be getting the vote instead of spending all this time and energy in getting what should be theirs without any fighting.

Miss Pankhurst said that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was going to see Miss Phillips at Holloway that morning, and it would not be long before the other prisoners had news of the day's doings.

After the breakfast, which had been excellently served by the caterers Messrs. Heywood, was over, the procession re-formed, and the ex-prisoners were drawn in the landau to 4, Clements Inn, much interest being aroused on the way among the spectators along the route down Oxford-street, Kingsway, and the Strand.

"THE DAILY NEWS."

The Purple, White, and Green.

The familiar colours of the Women's Social and Political Union were again conspicuous on Saturday morning, when the latest released prisoners from Holloway were drawn in a carriage through the London streets by teams of the fighting Suffragists. We need not say it was a very pretty sight. The really significant thing was the good humour and enthusiasm with which they were received by the crowds, especially in the working people's districts. From one or two places in the North we still hear of savage assaults upon women speakers who are upholding their claims to political liberty. In meetings nearer home it too often happens that the moment a woman raises her voice, even in the politest of questions, she is exposed to violence such as the stewards and other members of the audience would never dream of showing to a man for the same cause. But, as a whole, it is quite evident that the feeling of the people in general, especially in London, is coming round to the side of the Suffragists, and that their appearance on platforms or in processions is now received, not merely without brutal impoliteness, but with sympathy and favour. It is courage that has done it—courage, and persistence, and the devotion that always wins respect and sympathy in the end. As Miss Christabel Pankhurst said at the breakfast on Saturday, the Suffragists begin by shocking people, and then wait and watch them come round.

The occasion on Saturday was the release of the first two prisoners who had been shut up without option of a fine. We need not discuss their offence or criticise their sentence. No one seriously places political offences on the same level with ordinary crimes for mean or selfish motives, and, with hardly an exception, the so-called Suffragist "violence" has been of a very passive order. When it is not passive, it must expect the ordinary legal penalties, but we maintain that the penalty should always be less rather than more, as it sometimes is, and magistrates should remember that a political offence does not grow greater by repetition.

"DAILY TELEGRAPH."

Outside Queen's Hall a large crowd had gathered, noticeable amongst whom was a band of French Suffragists, who hailed the procession of triumphant, if slightly bedraggled, ladies with "Elles marchent! les malheureuses!" "The Absent-minded Beggar" (for which the Clements Inn ladies have an adaptation of their own), "John Peel," and the "Marseillaise," cheered the processionists.

"GLOBE."

There were several brakes full of suffragettes in the procession, which attracted a considerable amount of attention. There was a great scene outside the Queen's Hall when the procession arrived, but the excitement was all in favour of the demonstrators.

"DAILY CHRONICLE."

They were escorted in triumph to the landau, the horses were taken out, and the women dragged the carriage the whole way from the prison to Queen's Hall—no mean test of physical endurance. The remainder of the party followed in the brakes. The attracted crowds, mainly sympathetic, surrounded the procession.

AT THE CRYSTAL PALACE.

After the complimentary breakfast on Saturday, some of the members of the N.W.S.P.U., led by Mrs. Martel, went to the Crystal Palace, where the annual Co-operative Festival was being held, with the object of doing some propaganda work.

"Suffragettes everywhere!" was the remark some of us overheard on passing through the turnstile, and it was quite evident from their conversation that the visitors had seen our two prisoners released from Holloway Gaol in the early morning, and also the crowds outside Queen's Hall and in the Strand on the return to Clements Inn.

We persevered in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, creating a little competition between ourselves as to who would sell out first. Miss Cook, who had sold out all but eight copies, was, unfortunately, taken down to the manager's office by an exceptionally burly policeman, who evidently wanted to distinguish himself by arresting a suffragette; but, after exchanging apologies, she was at once liberated, and rejoined her comrades.

It was very encouraging to hear the kindly remarks, and to notice the fraternal feeling shown towards us by the Co-operative women, who realise the use of the vote, perhaps, more than any other body of working women.

T. C.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Sweated Home Workers.

The Select Committee of the House of Commons appointed two years ago to consider the conditions of labour in trades in which homework is prevalent, have just published their report. In this they recommend the establishment of Wages Boards, the registration of homeworkers, and the extension of the Public Health Act, applying to factories and workshops, to rooms where home work is done. The Committee point out that the homeworkers not affected by the Factory Acts are nearly all women, and consist of single women, widows, wives who are separated from their husbands, wives whose husbands are out of employment, and wives and daughters of men in regular employment who wish to increase the family income. The Committee further state that if "sweating" is understood to mean the payment for work at rates which are insufficient to allow an adult person to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation, then the evil exists in such a degree as to call urgently for the interference of Parliament.

In connection with this report it is interesting to note that a resolution calling on the Government to legislate on the subject of the establishment of wages-boards in the forthcoming Autumn Session was passed at the recent conference on sweating held under the auspices of the Co-operative Festival at the Crystal Palace.

Women Physicians in America.

The splendid work done by women doctors in the United States is being recognised more and more fully every day. The name of a woman, Dr. V. A. Latham, of Chicago, appears in the list of Officers of Sections issued by the American Medical Association. The Iowa Union Medical Society has appointed a woman to the chair of the section of the society, and a Cincinnati lady doctor has been appointed house physician to the Ohio State Hospital for the Insane. The German Committee, which has been deputed to deal with all arrangements for the International Tuberculosis Congress to be held in Washington during September, also includes the name of a woman—Dr. Lydia Rabowidisch-Kempner, of Berlin.

Women's Suffrage in Finland.

Finland has apparently escaped the disasters predicted by the opponents of women's suffrage. A correspondent in the *Women's Journal*, Boston, writes as follows of the second election at which women voted in that country.

From the beginning of the most acute period of Finland's effort for self-government, which has been actively continued for the past four or five years, the women have stood shoulder to shoulder with the men, sharing every hardship, braving every danger. When universal suffrage and a representative Parliament were obtained, there was not a thought of excluding women from either. At the first and second elections they were put upon the ticket of each party. Indications are that as many have been elected this year as last. Their interest in politics is just as keen as the men's. Statistics of the last election showed, as far as the votes of the two were recorded separately, that a larger proportion of women than of men voted. Returns from the present election show this proportion to be increased. Every polling place but one which we visited in Helsingfors reported more women than men voting. The polls opened at 8 a.m., but at 7.30 women were waiting on the steps. In five minutes, at one place where we stopped, twelve women entered, and one man, who was accompanied by his wife. The women attracted no more attention than if going to market. They went alone, in groups, or with the men of their family. Two days of close observation at the polling places of a city of 125,000 people, and two weeks of searching inquiry as to the effects on family and public life, have completely refuted all the objections ever made against woman suffrage.

Increase of Women Factory Inspectors.

The Home Secretary has just conceded a much overdue reform. He has decided to increase the number of lady factory inspectors by 40 per cent. The number of such inspectors is at present twelve, a number totally inadequate to deal with the one and a-half million women working in our factories and mills. Hitherto the main strength of the lady inspectors has been concentrated in London, but a large division is to be established in Manchester. Other divisions at Leeds and Birmingham will also be established in the near future.

Conductor of an Orchestra.

Mrs. Margaret Meredith, daughter-in-law to Mr. George Meredith, recently conducted two of her own works on the Harrogate Municipal Orchestra. On the morning before the performance at which these works were to be played for the first time, the usual conductor of the orchestra was taken ill. Mrs. Meredith accordingly took charge of all the arrangements, conducted the final rehearsal, and took the conductor's desk at the performances both afternoon and evening.

German Women's Education.

German women are now to be permitted to study at the German Universities on the same terms as men. This permission, however, only applies to women who are subjects of the Empire, and women of other countries must obtain permission from the Minister of Public Instruction before they can matriculate.

Public School Teachers in America.

From reports which have reached us from America, there is a shortage of teachers for the Public Schools. In one State (Oklahoma) the deficiency is over 1,000. In the four equal suffrage States, however, no such shortage is reported. The reason is not far to seek—in those States men and women teachers are paid at equal rates.

Women's Place in Medicine.

The Englishwoman, says the *New York Nation*, is making great headway in the medical profession. There is no tenable ground for barring the skilled woman from any of the honours or privileges of the profession. It is better to give cordially what she demands, than to wait till she takes what she deserves, and thus renders the withholder ridiculous.

A Woman Chemist.

An American lady, Miss N. L. Stoner, has recently started in business as a chemist. She has bought and opened a shop at Prospect, Ohio. Miss Stoner is 28 years of age, and a graduate of the Cincinnati College of Pharmacy, holding two medals from that institution. Both her father and mother are ministers in Ohio.

A Plucky French Child.

A remarkable instance of heroism in a child is reported from Hamboin-Gouaix. Reine Poussier, a little four-year-old French girl, was playing last week with her baby sister on the banks of a stream. Suddenly the baby, who was only two years old, slipped and fell into the water. As the stream was several feet deep at that point, she would most undoubtedly have been drowned had not her sister succeeded in seizing the collar of her frock and keeping her head above the water until some passers by came to the rescue.

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"GOOD STICKERS."

A New Name for Suffragettes.

"I am so glad that we are good stickers." The clear eyes looking straight into mine shone with a beautiful light. I wish that as a great master of art I could have painted a picture of the girl as I saw her at that moment: in the prison dress, the white prison cap set upon her brown hair, the young face, childlike in its roundness and bloom, with its expression of serene calm; the quiet hands; and that radiant smile in her eyes.

Just so might the little St. Ursula, blissfully asleep—in that wonderful picture in Venice—just so might she have looked when she woke up in the morning and remembered her dream about the angel who had come to her in the night bringing the palm of victory.

"I am so glad we are all good stickers." There came a gleam of fire and a sparkle of humour into the smile. For she who spoke was not a Saint. She was only a Suffragette. And I had obtained a special permit from the Prison Commissioners to visit her last Saturday in Holloway Gaol.

She is one of the five who yet remain in prison; she is serving out a three months' sentence as an ordinary criminal for the technical offence of obstructing the police for the second time in her young life.

The excuse for giving her and her comrades this posterously severe sentence is that she and they can terminate it whenever they like. To-day, any day; they have only to speak one word of submission and the prison gates will open.

But their spirit, upborne by pure love for humanity, by faith and by courage, instead of weakening under the terrible ordeal of prison privation and discipline, grows stronger and more steadfast. "I am to tell you from all of them," she said, "that we are every one ready to come back again in October, and the longer the sentences the more determined we are to go on till this battle is won."

The slow, summer days will pass, and the glad morning of September 16 will come when our comrades return once more to us after three months' absence, and take their place in the militant ranks. What we owe to them, what the women of the future and the women all over the world will owe to them we shall never fully know—never be able fully to express. Their influence is with us, and the daily remembrance of them nerves and braces us to utmost devotion and endeavour.

There is a magnificent spirit to-day in our ranks. Never before has there been such intense enthusiasm, such whole-hearted devotion, such eager service; never before such readiness for all that the near future may bring. Before such spiritual forces as are now in our midst no tyranny can stand, no opposition can prevail.

We marvel and we rejoice. We are glad that we are alive in such a day as this: that we were born to take part in this great struggle for women's emancipation. We are gloriously proud and profoundly humble. We realise that a spirit greater than we can understand has been generated and has now taken possession of this movement and dominates it. It is the spirit of those who have conquered self, it is the spirit of those great souls who cannot be daunted by suffering or turned aside from their purpose by imprisonment. I think that the most passionate desire in the heart of every woman who is a member of our Union is that she may not fail to come up to the standard which has been set; that she may never be withheld by selfishness or softness or cowardice from doing her duty to the utmost.

It is well if we are ready, each and all. For we are to be severely tested in the coming months. We know that now. We know that all the resisting powers of the Government are to be ranged against us. We know that force will be used, and that fraud will be used to crush the women's movement, and to defeat, if possible, our agitation.

Force will be used.

The three months' sentence imposed, on the old principle of the torture chamber, that the victim can release himself by a word which dictates of conscience forbid him to speak, has failed to break down the will of women fighting for the freedom of their sex.

The malign intent of the Government has miscarried, and the complete failure of this cunningly-devised twentieth century torture leaves a stain on the reputation of Mr. Herbert Gladstone and his colleagues that they will endeavour to cover up. They will turn the screw tighter. "A little more pressure and the obstinacy of the victim will yield." That is what all tyrants think. There will be longer sentences yet.

Once more I see the smile and I hear the quiet words: "I am glad we are such good stickers."

And fraud will be used.

The Reform Bill, "which relates to a vague and shadowy future," will be seized upon as a welcome pretext, in order, if possible, to mislead and befool the women of the country.

Women's political inexperience will be exploited by cunning Parliamentarians, who will seek to beguile them, as they have done in the past, with professions of goodwill, in order that they may defeat their hopes by political betrayal.

Every means will be taken to wean the minds of women away from political leaders of their own sex. I believe that politicians and their partisans think that this will be an easy task. So long have the minds of men been possessed of the delusion that there is no loyalty, no trust and comradeship amongst women.

But both force and fraud will fail. We are not afraid. It is the struggle to-day that is bringing women to self-realisation. We did not guess the latent strength of will and purpose, the latent capacity and power, that lay quiescent within us. We women never knew, before the testing came, how much we could be to ourselves and to one another. Amongst all the great gifts which the life of the last two or three years has brought us not the least has been this revelation.

Had we won an easy victory, how much we should have lost! How much the women of the world would have lost for generations to come!

We care not whether this fight be long or short, so that we fight well: so that we fight right on, to the assured end of victory; so that we may be found worthy at the last to be named in the ranks of the *good stickers*.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE PLEDGES OF M.P.'S.

There was a time when women Suffragists experienced the greatest disappointment and discouragement at finding that the pledges they secured from rank and file members of the House of Commons had never any practical result. We now realise, however, that the failure of private members to carry out their pledges is to be explained by the fact that they are in the hands of their leaders, and are bound to accept and carry out the policy which those leaders impose upon them. They are, therefore, not able to bring about the modification of the Government programme which Suffragists desire. Formerly a private member had far greater power to initiate legislation and to influence the actions of his leaders than at present, but the tendency is to reduce him more and more to the position of a pawn in the political game.

It is this change in the conditions of Parliamentary life which has rendered necessary a change of Suffragist policy. Before the power of the individual private member became so small as it is to-day there was some reason to hope that the Government of the day would be induced by their supporters in the House of Commons to grant votes to women; but now that it has become impossible for private members to bring the necessary pressure to bear on their leaders, this pressure must be exerted from outside the House of Commons by women themselves and by the electors whose aid they enlist.

The Trades Disputes Bill.

What at first sight seems to disprove the assertion that private members' pledges are without practical value is the case of the recently enacted Trades Disputes Bill. But, as I showed in my notes last week, what happened in connection with that measure goes, in fact, to show that the Government are influenced not by the personal opinions of M.P.'s, but by the wishes of the country. However, further explanation on the point is perhaps necessary, for a correspondent has asked the following question:—

"If the electors supported Liberal M.P.'s at the last General Election, and got pledges from them as to the Trades Disputes Bill, which were carried out because the M.P.'s feared that otherwise they would be defeated at the next election, is not the same policy desirable in the case of votes for women? That is to say, cannot the electors get from Liberal M.P.'s pledges on Woman's Suffrage to which these M.P.'s will be faithful because they know how keenly interested the electors are on the question, and that unless something is done they will be defeated next time?"

Before answering this question I will state briefly the facts relating to the Trades Disputes Bill. While the Conservative Government was in power a judicial decision was given altering the legal position of Trades Unions. With a view to getting a Bill carried to reverse this judge-made law, the Trade Unionists approached Mr. Balfour, but without success. The Liberal leaders, on the other hand, asserted that if returned to power at the ensuing General Election, they would deal with the question. They did not announce the precise character of the Bill

they intended to carry, but the majority of their followers did pledge themselves, individually, to support a certain definite proposal submitted to them by the Trade Unionist electors in each constituency.

After the General Election the Liberal Government introduced a Bill which the Trade Unionists regarded as highly unsatisfactory. The rank and file Liberal M.P.'s, knowing the discontent prevailing in their constituencies, informed the Government that the matter was one of political life and death to the Government and to themselves personally. The Government, in deference to the opinion of the electors as conveyed to them by their followers in the House of Commons, carried into law the Trade Union proposals.

Now, why cannot women Suffragists adopt the same procedure as that so successfully adopted by the Trade Unionists? The answer is that the situations are different in two very important respects. In the first place, we stand now between two General Elections, and not at the point of a General Election. A General Election differs very widely from a by-election. At a General Election the voters are called upon to choose between alternative parties and their policy. At by-elections, on the other hand, they have to pronounce upon the actual performance of the party which, at the previous General Election, they placed in office. That is to say, having at the General Election decided to commit the Government of the country to a certain party and to endorse that party's policy, the electors are, when by-elections take place, able to inform that party whether they are satisfied with the use made of the power entrusted to it.

The Trade Unionists at the General Election of 1906 had to choose between the Conservative party, who promised them nothing, and the Liberal party, who promised to carry out their wishes. They chose the Liberal party. Later on the Liberal Government introduced a Trades Disputes Bill of such a nature that it was regarded as a breach of the undertaking given at the General Election. If the Government had disregarded the warning given by their followers that the Bill was unsatisfactory to the country, and had refused to modify that Bill, then the Trade Unionists would, at the by-elections, have voted against all Liberal candidates as a mark of their dissatisfaction. Women Suffragists were not able to obtain a pledge from the Liberal party at the General Election, and, therefore, they are obliged to exert pressure upon the Government at by-elections in order to compel them now to introduce into their programme the measure of Women's Suffrage they omitted from it at the time of the General Election, and to carry that measure successfully into law. As we have seen, this work of forcing the hand of the Government cannot be deputed to the Liberal members in the House of Commons. The women have to do it for themselves.

The second point to be noticed is that the Liberal members, whose warning to the Government proved so effectual in the case of the Trades Disputes Bill, succeeded in producing a change of Government policy only as to detail. To the principle of the measure the Govern-

ment were already pledged. In seeking at first to settle the question on narrower lines than those actually adopted, they were attempting the plan of legislation by what one Liberal journal calls "trying it on," and no doubt they knew from the beginning that the broadening of their proposals might be necessary, and were prepared beforehand for surrender.

Pressure Must be Exerted by the Constituencies.

The moral of it all is that effective pressure on the Government comes not from rank and file members of Parliament, but from the constituencies. Anything that Liberal M.P.'s may say will have no effect upon the Liberal leaders unless they can show, as they did in the case of the Trades Disputes Bill, that they are expressing the demand of the constituencies. How can the demand of the constituencies for women's enfranchisement be made clear to Liberal M.P.'s, and through them to the Liberal leaders? The by-election policy of the Women's Social and Political Union affords the only way. It teaches Liberal members and Liberal candidates that they will be held accountable for their leaders' refusal to grant votes to women. So long as women are voteless the nominees of the Government who keep them voteless will be rejected by the electors at the poll. The pledges of these gentlemen will be ignored, and Government action alone will be accepted as satisfactory. The rank and file Liberals who seek to enter Parliament, or, being there already, wish to retain their seats, must appeal to the Government to carry a Women's Enfranchisement Bill. If they fail in this attempt they will suffer, by the loss of their place in Parliament, for the misdeeds of their chosen leaders.

The Irish party a quarter of a century ago well understood the necessity for this drastic action. Warning of their intentions they gave to the Liberal party in 1885 by voting against them in the House of Commons, thus leading to the defeat and resignation of Mr. Gladstone and his Government. At the General Election, which took place in the same year, they voted against every Liberal candidate, refusing to spare even those who for years had spoken and worked for Irish Home Rule. The result of this policy was that the Liberals returned to office with a majority over the Conservatives of 86 votes only, this figure being equalled by the number of Irish representatives in the House of Commons. Thus the Liberal Government were entirely at the mercy of the Irish party. Therefore, Mr. Gladstone resolved to assure the support of the Irish by introducing his Home Rule Bill.

This attack upon Mr. Gladstone and his party was made in spite of the fact that he was, as far as words were concerned, far more in favour of Home Rule than his political adversaries. But the Irish Party of those days well knew that there was nothing to choose between a party both openly hostile to their claim and determined not to concede it, and a party professedly sympathetic yet equally determined to do nothing. To-day the Irish Party, losing sight of the fact that the Government will not deal with Home Rule, are prepared to assist the return of Liberal candidates by reason merely of the individual expressions of sympathy with Home Rule which these candidates are so ready to make. Shielded by these unofficial pledges yet committed to nothing, the Government pursue their course untroubled by their once formidable enemy the Irish Party. Consequently, the Irish cause languishes, and in spite of the number of Irish representatives in the House of Commons, and the strength of the Irish vote in British constituencies, their movement is weaker now than it was a quarter of a century ago.

Let women suffragists be warned by the experience of

the Irish Party, and resolve that until Government action is forthcoming, they will, in spite of sympathetic utterances whether made by political leaders or by rank and file, continue to wage war upon a Government which denies them constitutional liberty.

Christabel Pankhurst.

THANKS.

Our appreciation and thanks are due to those members of the Union who are taking every opportunity afforded to them by their holiday of spreading the knowledge of the movement, especially through the medium of the VOTES FOR WOMEN paper. I have received a great number of letters from members in all parts of the country who have been successful in getting posters shown by local newsagents, and have also canvassed for new subscribers to place orders at local newspaper and book shops. One lady wrote to tell me how she had undertaken this task in a certain seaside town on the South Coast; everywhere she was met with the smiling answer that the paper had already been introduced in the same way a few weeks before by another lady, and that there was now quite a steady and growing demand for it every week. One of our members in Glasgow has had a leaflet printed and distributed broadcast:—

Those who wish to understand

The Women's Movement,

Why Women want the Parliamentary Vote and what they are doing to obtain it,

SHOULD READ

"VOTES FOR WOMEN."

The leaflet proceeds to explain that this paper gives a true and authentic account of this great movement that is not to be obtained in the ordinary newspapers. Then, with a true eye to business, the following information is given:—

"VOTES FOR WOMEN"

is Published Every Thursday, Price One Penny,

And may be obtained in Glasgow at

Wm. Porteous and Co., 9, South Exchange-place.

J. Thomson, 4, St. Enoch-square.

William Love, 221, Argyle-street.

R. More, 505-7, Sauchiehall-street.

James Gillies, 527, Victoria-road, Crosshill.

The Bookstalls at Central and Buchanan-street Stations.

The Bookstalls at St. Enoch and Queen-street Stations.

N.B.—The author of this leaflet has no pecuniary interest in the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Nothing could be better. We thank Miss Fleming Phillips for conceiving and carrying out entirely by herself such a splendid idea for increasing the knowledge and circulation of the paper, and we commend the scheme to our friends in other towns. The paper is the backbone of our movement. Upon it we must largely depend for extending the Union, keeping all our members together, and perfecting our organisation. We must not rest until every woman in the country knows of its existence, and knows when and where it may be obtained. We must get posters shown, if we can, in every town and village in the country. With such women as we have in our ranks, with such enthusiasm and such willing service, it is no wonder that the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN has increased fourfold in eight months. And it is no wonder that we expect an even greater rate of increase in the immediate future.

E. P. L.

N.W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The "At Homes."

With the month of September will begin once more the series of weekly "At Homes" which have done so much to make the aims and objects of the Women's Social and Political Union known to the people of London.

On Thursday in next week the first of the evening "At Homes" will be held in the small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, from 8 to 10. As this is the opening "At Home" of the season it is hoped that a very large muster will be present, and that all the London workers of the N.W.S.P.U. who are home from their holidays will take part in the gathering. A similar "At Home" will be held every following Thursday evening.

The first of the afternoon "At Homes" will be held on Monday, September 7, at 3 o'clock, in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are invited to be present, and to bring their friends and acquaintances to that gathering, remembering that not only the converted but the unconverted are always welcomed. A similar "At Home" will be held in the large Portman Rooms every Monday during September, and, commencing with Monday, October 5, these gatherings will be transferred to the large Queen's Hall, Langham-place.

The Release of the Prisoners.

Of the five prisoners now in Holloway Gaol for taking part in the demonstration on June 29 four will be released on the morning of Wednesday, September 16. These are Miss Haig, Miss Joachim, Miss Howey, and Miss Wentworth. Arrangements are being made to meet them at the prison gates, and to provide them with a carriage, which will be drawn by members of the N.W.S.P.U. to the Queen's Hall, where a complimentary breakfast will be served. All those who desire to claim the privilege of taking part in drawing the carriage should communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., as it is likely that the numbers will be far in excess of the places available. The procession behind the carriage will be of walkers, but for the convenience of those who are unable to walk the whole distance—about 2½ miles—brakes will be provided. Tickets, 9d. each, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The breakfast at Queen's Hall will be at 9.15 a.m. Tickets, price 2s. each, can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., and should be applied for at once as accommodation is limited.

Miss Mary Phillips, who has forfeited two days of the remission allowed to all prisoners of good behaviour owing to a slight infringement of prison discipline, will be released on Friday morning, September 18, and arrangements are being made to welcome her at the prison gates that morning, particulars of which will be announced later.

Owing to the detention of Miss Mary Phillips for a further two days, it has been decided to postpone the reception in Portman Rooms of Thursday, 17th, as announced in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, to Friday, September 18, in order to enable her to be present with the other ex-prisoners. Accordingly, the ordinary weekly Thursday evening "At Home" will be held on Thursday, September 17, as usual, in the small Portman Rooms, and the special reception of the ex-prisoners will be held Friday evening in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street.

Photographs of the Release.

The Woman's Press is able to offer for sale photographs of the release of the prisoners, of the drawing of the carriage to Queen's Hall, and of the breakfast at Queen's Hall. One of these is shown in the illustration which we reproduce on page 404 of this issue. The photographs (unmounted) can be ordered from the Woman's Press, prices 1s. 3d. for the size measuring 12 inches by 10 inches, and 9d. for the size measuring 8½ inches by 6½ inches. Copies, for which orders can be made, can be seen at the offices of the N.W.S.P.U.

Regalia.

Regalia similar to those worn at the great demonstration on June 21 by the officers can now be purchased from the Woman's Press, price 2s. 6d. each. It will be remembered that the regalia are in the form of bandoliers in the colours of the Union, with the words "Votes for Women" in black letters back and front. It is hoped that as many members of the Union as are

able will avail themselves of the opportunity of purchasing one of these regalia, and that they will wear them on all special occasions.

The Demonstrations.

The next demonstration to take place will be at Rawenstall on Sunday, September 6. This will be followed on Saturday, September 19, by a special demonstration on Durdham Down, Clifton (Bristol), and on Sunday, September 27, there will be a similar demonstration at Huddersfield. Additional workers are much needed, and anyone willing to help should communicate with the local organisers, or with Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, without delay.

Albert Hall Meeting.

A great meeting is to be held in the Albert Hall, on Thursday, October 29. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe will address the meeting. Tickets are on sale:—Amphitheatre stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; gallery and upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.; and boxes at various prices, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn Strand, W.C. Application should be made early for tickets.

Newspaper Committee.

A special committee has been formed at 4, Clements Inn, to promote the sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The committee meets every Tuesday at 3 o'clock for the purpose of reporting progress and discussing future plans. Miss Vera Holme is acting as secretary. The work of the committee consists in organising the street sale of the paper by members of the Union; inducing newsagents to stock the paper and show the contents bill; arranging for the sale of the paper at public meetings; carrying out various schemes of advertisement.

Those willing to help the VOTES FOR WOMEN committee are urged to communicate with Miss Vera Holme. Work can be found for ladies who call at the office any morning in the week at 11 o'clock.

GENERAL BOOTH'S MANIFESTO.

Just before leaving London for his South African tour, General Booth addressed a remarkable message to the Salvation Army on the subject of "Woman," and, by his instructions, it has been sent to every corps in the kingdom. The following is the text:—

My feelings and opinions with respect to woman generally are known throughout the world. My standard on this subject is ever before you, and I want the entire Army to embrace it.

First and foremost, I insist on woman's equality. Every officer and soldier should hold to it that woman is as important, as valuable, as capable, and as necessary to the progress and happiness of the world as man.

Unfortunately, a large number of people of every class think otherwise. They still cling to the notion of bygone ages—that, as a being, woman is inferior to man.

To many she is little more than a plaything for their leisure hours. To others she is like a piece of property, a slave in everything but name. Ofttimes she is treated with less consideration as to health and comfort than the horses that run in omnibuses or beasts that are fattening for slaughter.

Now, the Salvation Army has done, and is doing, something to combat these hideous and heathen notions.

To begin with, the Army has maintained that the sexes are equal alike in birth; alike equal in the value of the soul and the capacity for joy and sorrow; alike equal before God, and in the love of the Heavenly Father; alike equal in their share in the redemption of Jesus Christ; alike equal in responsibility for spreading salvation and extending the kingdom of God; alike equal in accountability at the judgment day; alike equal as citizens of the Celestial City; and alike equal in capacity for the employments and enjoyments of the eternity to come.

I do not say that every individual faculty in woman is equal to the corresponding faculty in man, any more than I would say that each particular capacity possessed by man is equal to the same in woman. They differ both in character and degree. But where one is weaker the other is stronger.

For example, in the power of will, and in the possession of physical force, the man will be often found to excel the woman.

On the other hand, in quickness of perception, in powers of endurance, and in strength of love (the quality in us which is most God-like) woman is generally the superior of man.

Taken as a whole, therefore, I say that woman is equal to man in the value of her gifts and the extent of her influence; and I maintain that if she be given a fair chance she will prove it to be so.

Now, I want you to think over and accept this truth. Nay, more, I would have us all stand to it and show it forth to the world by our own treatment of our women-comrades. Above all, let us teach it, both in theory and in practice, to the young people around us.

Let the boy be taught from his earliest infancy that his sister is as good as he is in all that is important to life, except, perhaps, in the physical force, which he possesses in common with the brute beasts.

Let the girl be made to feel that her value to God and man is as high as it would have been had she been a boy.

Let the grown-up people set before the children and the young people a constant and living example of that gentleness and kindness which was ever manifested by our Lord Jesus Christ.

Whether married or single, let every man treat the woman with whom he is acquainted with respect, with patience, and with care.

Every man to whom has been entrusted a wife must—and will, if he has any proper sense of manliness in him—champion her interests, fight her battles, watch over her soul, and even die, if need be, as Christ died, on her behalf.

Let us, then, determine to pay woman more regard in the position assigned to her by the providence of God, as a wife, as a mother, as a daughter, and as a comrade in the salvation war.—Your affectionate General,

(Signed) WILLIAM BOOTH.

At the request of the General, the message was read on Sunday morning at every Salvation Army place of worship throughout the country, the officer responsible being asked to "read it straight through without making any comment."

OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I am doing what I can to circulate the views of the W.S.P.U., and have been distributing VOTES FOR WOMEN, which I take in, among the guests here. To-night I am giving a paper on "The Citizenship of Women." I expect there will be a hot discussion afterwards; some of the people (there are between 30 and 40) are dead against it.

With all good wishes for your good work,

Yours, &c.,

LEONORA FAIRWEATHER.

Dousland Grange, Yelverton.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I think it will interest you to know that at Mabelthorpe I have found practically no difficulty in selling all the papers, in fact, this morning I could have sold at least half-a-dozen to strangers in about ten minutes. Great interest has been shown both by visitors and inhabitants, and hardly any opposition.

Much interest has been attracted by my wearing the Suffragette hat band, belt, and badge, and wherever I and my friends go we hear, "There go the Suffragettes," and "Votes for Women." The placards have done much to draw attention. I have pasted two placards on the most important advertising station here, but had to pay 1s. for use of board.

In order to pay this and a few more expenses I gathered several pounds of blackberries and have sold them at 4d. a lb.

Yours, &c.,

DOROTHY POTTER.

Hamilton Villas, Victoria-road, Mabelthorpe.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I have just spent a fortnight of my holidays at Bristol helping Miss Annie Kenney in her preparations for the Demonstration there on September 19. Two of the workers there can stay only until August 31. Most of Miss Kenney's helpers are teachers, and I am sure that among those teachers whose term does not begin until late in September, there are some who would willingly give a week or a fortnight in September, when they know that Miss Kenney will be in need of help.

I thoroughly enjoyed my fortnight there—the work is instructive, and as most of the day is spent in the open air, it is healthy, too.

Miss Kenney can find work for everybody who will go to her in Bristol.

Yours, &c.,

E. M. MIDDLETON.

Roslin-road, Hathersage, Sheffield.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I have just returned from a holiday spent at King's Lynn and the neighbourhood, and have had a splendid time. The subject of "Votes for Women" has been made a prominent one on every occasion, and in nearly every instance I have met with opposition at the start, but invariably ended by winning converts to our cause, many of them quite enthusiastic. I left a quantity of leaflets with them, and they are now doing propaganda work amongst their friends.

I am pleased to say that I have made nearly as many converts amongst men as women. I was completely surprised at the support I received in many of the villages I visited. I left many copies of our paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and I am convinced that if it could only be circulated more widely it would do an immense amount of good.

Yours, &c.,

KATE MATTHEWS.

24, Egmont-street, New Cross, S.E.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—One of the objections so often hurled against our right to vote is that we ought not to have votes because we are unable to serve as either soldiers or sailors, and that it is upon the Army and Navy that the well-being and existence of the nation depend—an argument which only proves how superficial the masculine mind can be when working along certain lines.

To my mind, there is far greater suffering, self-sacrifice, and loss of health and life involved in motherhood than there is in serving as sailor or as soldier in an occasional conflict (and there are many soldiers who never see a battle), and with far less compensation, as the ordinary mind counts compensation, in a return of honour and glory, and of consideration and respect from the nation.

Yours, &c.,

MARIAN A. MILLER.

160, Hurst-grove, Bedford.

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents." They must be accompanied by name and address of the sender, and should be questions relating directly to Woman Suffrage or to the policy of the N.W.S.P.U.

33. On what basis does the N.W.S.P.U. arrive at the figures "A Million and a Quarter," as the number of women who would be enfranchised on the lines demanded by the Union?

The figures are based on those of the Municipal Franchise and are more or less rough. They are generally accepted in the Suffrage Movement as a moderate estimate.

34. What is the wording of the Act under which the Suffragettes were tried, and has it anything to do with their being in Parliament-square?

The Act under which the members of the N.W.S.P.U. arrested in Parliament-square on June 30 were charged was the Prevention of Crimes Amendment Act of 1885, which would be too long to quote here. A Sessional Order issued by direction of the House of Commons empowers the Commissioners of Police for the Metropolis to make special provisions for regulating the traffic, especially in the vicinity of the approaches to Parliament.

35. M. L. B. should consult Mr. Sydney Low's "Governance of England" for the answers to her questions.

ELOCUTION. --- GRETA GARNIER

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WEST OF ENGLAND CAMPAIGN.

Shop and Committee Room: 33, Queen Road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

We have been able this week to touch a very large number of people, holding often three meetings a day. We held "At Homes" on Monday and Friday. They were well attended, and the friends present included a number of Bristol teachers, very eager to understand the movement. Some of them, although they had come in contact with the Suffragettes for the first time, gave their names as helpers at the demonstration.

The Monday "At Home" was not over in time for a meeting to be held, so we went in a body, wearing our colours, to see Miss Lena Ashwell in "Diana of Dobson's." Since then, two of our helpers have distributed leaflets each night to the people as they left the theatre, telling everyone that they had witnessed a play by a Suffragette in the Suffrage cause.

Miss Williamson left us on Tuesday, but on Monday she and Miss Dallas held an extra afternoon meeting on the Downs. This was very well supported, and a good collection was made. On Tuesday we had a dinner-hour meeting in the Horse Fair; the men turn up so splendidly there, and ask such intelligent questions, that we feel they are quite with us. Occasionally they even answer the questions for us, and are evidently rather indignant that any listener should not understand! It is very sad to notice the number of unemployed standing about; they listen most attentively, and mutter "Sorry, Miss," when we go round with the collecting tin. On Tuesday evening we held two meetings. Miss Browne and Miss Dallas went to the Horse Fair, and I went with other helpers to Fishponds. On Wednesday we had an afternoon meeting on the Downs, and held evening meetings at St. George's Park and Westbury. At the Park we tried again with great success the plan of drawing off the children, so as to insure a good meeting. Miss Middleton and Miss Codd undertook this. On Thursday the usual meeting on the Downs was a marked success. The evening holiday-makers have begun to realise that we are in earnest, and they are responding. Miss Browne and Miss Dallas, who took the meeting, report that the attention was very marked, while the heckling that followed was both intelligent and friendly. Friday again saw us at the Horse Fair, a meeting being held there at the same time as the evening "At Home."

On Saturday we visited Weston-super-Mare. Miss Dorothy Pethick had prepared the way for us, chalking and arranging for the two platforms, both of which drew an interested and courteous gathering. Many men and women declared themselves converted to our cause, and promises of membership were made. The evening meetings attracted a great crowd. I had a splendid and interested audience, and Miss Browne and Miss Dallas, who had the "educated hooligans" round their platform, were able to hold out for three-quarters of an hour. We feel that our venture at Weston did much good. The chairman of the Liberal Association there assured Miss Browne that he and his fellow Liberals, to a man, believed in our cause, and appreciated our tactics.

We have discovered a most excellent shopkeeper, Miss Williams, a teacher from Cornwall, who can compel the folk at the window to come in and to buy our literature. More than that, she tells them how much they are to spend, and how they are to lay out their money. And they obey. Her fame goes abroad, for the small boys get a history lesson about votes for women, which, from the accounts they bring us, must be as good as a fairy tale. That so many of the boys and girls of Bristol are devoted to the Suffragettes is a reason for rejoicing, as they are very effective missionaries for the cause. I think if the hearts of the children are won, we have gone a long way towards making the parents realise that behind "Votes for Women" stirs the spirit of reform.

The departure of Miss Williamson and Miss Middleton this week leaves a gap in our circle, but others come to fill their places, and the work goes on none the less vigorously. But it makes one realise that holiday times are drawing to a close. Many of my helpers here will soon have to return to their work. I want more helpers to take their places. As the 19th comes nearer, more chalking will have to be done, and novel ways of advertising devised and carried out. The present helpers send a message through me. They say, "If any enthusiasts for votes for women want a good time, let them come

to Bristol. Our experience here has added to our knowledge of human nature, has given a value to the comradeship of women, has provided us with a fund of happy memories, and has given us the dignity and the self-respect that comes to those who know they have been able, for a short time at least, to join the ranks of those who are fighting the battle of freedom and happiness in the future."

"At Home" cards for September 21 at the Victoria Rooms, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, are now ready, and can be had from me at 78, Alma-road, Clifton, Bristol. The tickets for Colston Hall will be sold on that day. 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. 6d.

I want to make a special appeal for more money to be sent towards the band. Contributions have already come in, but not sufficient to cover the cost, £10, of a good military band. Also, will eight people send £1 each to cover the cost of the hire of the Victoria Rooms for Mrs. Pankhurst's "At Home." The Rooms cost £8, and it would be splendid if the expense could be met by contributions.

This week I have been able to send to the treasurer £2 2s. from Mrs. Hermon; 10s. from Miss Edith Clarence, Axminster; 10s. from Miss Price; 5s. from Miss Lord (Weston); 10s. from Mr. Wm. Blathway; 5s. from Miss Wilcox, and £3 9s. collected at the meeting.

There was a mistake in the last report. Instead of reporting £1 1s. subscription from Mrs. Jarvis, it should have read from Mrs. Jarvis and her sister.

ANNIE KENNEY.

YORKSHIRE CAMPAIGN.

AT HOMES—61, Manningham-lane, Bradford, every Monday, at 8 p.m.; Huddersfield, Northumberland Street Schools, every Tuesday at 8 p.m.; Leeds, Arts Club, Woodhouse-lane, every Wednesday at 8 p.m.

On Monday, August 31, we are holding our first afternoon "At Home" in Somerset Parlour, Godwin-street, Bradford. The Rooms cost £8, and it would be splendid if the expense quite sure of filling it.

On Thursday we held a good mid-day meeting at Allen Priest's Mill, Lockwood, Huddersfield—the evening meeting was abandoned owing to the rain.

On Friday night I spoke at a meeting in Deighton (Huddersfield), and on Saturday, by the kindness of Mrs. Dean Brook, I spoke at Outlane, Selandine Nook, Huddersfield. The "At Homes" have, in all cases, been well attended.

Next week Mrs. Swailes will hold a meeting at Roundhey-road, Leeds, and a meeting is to be held in the Wesleyan Schools, Lockwood, Huddersfield, at 8 p.m. next Thursday. On Friday we are to be at Nats Cross-lane, Crosland Moor, Huddersfield, and on Saturday we have arranged a meeting at Outlane, in the Wesleyan Schoolroom.

ADELA PANKHURST.

LANCASHIRE CAMPAIGN.

Manchester has by no means been idle during the brief holiday season, indefatigable members keeping the flag flying by holding regular meetings in the temporary absence of many other good workers. The autumn campaign leading up to the great Free Trade Hall meeting in November will open officially on Friday next, the 28th inst., at the Onward Buildings, Deansgate, 8—10 p.m., when the prospective scheme of work will be outlined. It is intended to make this the first of regular weekly "At Homes," such as have proved so successful in enrolling workers and enlisting members in London, Leeds, Bradford, and Bristol.

Liverpool is arranging a series of meetings weekly with Mrs. Hillier, Miss Woodlock, Mrs. Morrissey, and others as speakers, and will be visited by Mrs. Martel.

Members who have recently returned from the seaside and other pleasure resorts all testify to the universal interest displayed in the cause. What we have got to do is to turn this interest into practical effect. We have work for everybody!

In a few days I am going to Harrogate to conduct a week's campaign, and I should be glad to hear at once from any residents who would be willing to help me. Will any woman with time to give to this work kindly write to me at 81, Hamilton-road, Longsight, Manchester, without delay?

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

ROSSENDALE VALLEY CAMPAIGN.

Everyone here is looking forward to our great demonstration on Sunday, September 6. Unfortunately, the rain has been somewhat of a drawback, especially in Ramsbottom, where on Thursday evening the downpour was so heavy that we had to postpone our meeting until Friday, when a large crowd assembled; and, although it rained heavily, they stood for two hours, gave us a good collection, and bought 50 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The cotton trade is in a very bad condition. Women who pay 6d. per week to their trade union will in slack time—strike or lock-out—receive 8s. per week, but the young men, who pay contributions of 4d. to the same union, receive 10s. per week. I pointed this out to the women, and the men are quite indignant. How any man can expect the factory lassies to stand this without a murmur is surprising. This fact has given us an additional argument for votes for women, and we are telling the women that our union is fighting for justice for them, and that we want both men and women, the best in the country, to come and help us in the cause of justice and fair-play.

JENNIE BAINES.

Waiting-room Literature.

The *Globe* makes a useful suggestion with regard to railway station waiting rooms. It says:—

There is room for great improvement in the arrangement of the waiting-rooms on our railway lines. At present they are singularly unfitted for waiting in. They are rooms, it is true, which is always something in wet weather, and every now and then one will find a good fire burning in them. But we would suggest still further excellences. Why not import into the waiting-room a few books and papers. "But," the champions of the waiting-room will say, "there are books already." Let us examine these books. One is an atlas of the world, another a time-table, and a third a series of views of the interiors of hotel dining-rooms, all looking exactly the same. It would not be a great expense to inject a little more lively literature into the place. And it would be greatly appreciated. . . . At present the typical railway waiting-room is about the most depressing place on earth. A little management would soon change this. People would come early for their trains, simply in order to wait in the waiting-room.

Here is an idea for members of the N.W.S.P.U., to take under their charge railway stations in their locality, and keep them supplied with copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE VOTE IN NEW ZEALAND.

Mrs. Gibson, the secretary of the Women's Political League of New Zealand, writes to Mrs. Martel as follows:—

82.23 per cent. of the women on the roll voted at the last election, the percentage of the men who voted being 84.07.

I do not think this is bad, considering that many people live in remote districts, and if they have young children the wife would have a difficulty in getting to the polling-place. The women's leagues here are, I maintain, directly responsible for the following:—The raising of the age of consent from 13 to 16 years of age (not nearly high enough, but an improvement); a Property Act, that compels a man to make provision for his wife—before, he could leave her penniless; an Infants' Life Protection Act, mainly regulating the adoption and boarding out of illegitimate children, and containing a clause that where a magistrate has adjudged a man the father of the illegitimate child, his name must be entered in the Public Register as well as the mother's; the Divorce Act, which was formerly the same as the English law, has been amended so that a woman can get a divorce for adultery alone; the Payment of Boys and Girls Act, which provides that no one can employ either without paying them at least 5s. per week. Many firms here had previously made a practice of employing girls for a year without pay under the pretence of teaching them a trade. At the end of the year all but the very smartest were dismissed and a fresh lot taken on. This was also done in the drapers' shops, but the Shops Act, which regulated the hours and insisted on a weekly half-holiday for all employed in them, put a stop to the non-payment also.

We were all glad to hear you had a New Zealand woman among the prisoners. Good luck to her!

CONDITIONS OF RELEASE.

By CLEMENCE HOUSMAN.

"Security for good behaviour" is the condition on which, according to Mr. Herbert Gladstone, the women who are in Holloway could, if they liked, at any time obtain their release. But I should like to point out that the Suffragists have no security that good behaviour on their part would gain for them immunity from arrest and imprisonment, or from the forfeiture of recognisances. For what is "good behaviour"? Its definition rests with authority already demonstrated to be both arbitrary and capricious.

On February 13, though hundreds of citizens were exercising the public right of traversing the streets between Caxton Hall and the House of Commons, none were obstructed but thirteen Suffragists. Their willingness to go singly or in any way the police might direct did not suffice. Mrs. Pankhurst and nine others were arrested, charged with disorderly behaviour, and sentenced to a month's imprisonment. On June 30, under similar circumstances, they were allowed to exercise the same public right as others, and no obstruction, no charge of disorder, no imprisonment ensued.

In the face of these facts, let the position of these women who are required to give security for good behaviour be considered. Is it not a mockery? Can they in reason consent to render themselves liable to a heavy fine which may be arbitrarily and capriciously exacted? If it be contended that they are secure from confiscation so long as they take no part in the suffrage movement, that very contention points to the obvious conclusion that not disorderly conduct but political action is the misdemeanour for which these women are so severely punished.

A Suffragist, therefore, aware that her behaviour to be considered good may have to accord with some unknown and erratic definition, can have no security that by law-abiding she is ensured from penalty.

LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—A very good meeting was held again on Barnes Green on Wednesday, when about 200 people assembled to hear Miss Winifred Auld. Mrs. Rose, who presided, called attention to the fact that women were now allowed to vote on Parish, District, and County Councils, and that about 2,000 women were now doing useful work on different municipal bodies. Miss Auld, who was listened to most attentively, gave an excellent address, dealing largely with disabilities under which women suffer, both socially and economically, and calling attention to the different measures affecting women, but which have been passed by men. Miss Auld also discussed and quickly disposed of the arguments put forward by the Anti-Suffragists for withholding the vote from women.

We are holding a members' meeting on Friday, and hope to have tickets on sale for the meeting in Byfield Hall, on October 7, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Evelyn Sharp are coming to speak.

ALICIA ROSE, Hon. Sec.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—A drawing-room meeting was held last week by Miss Turner, when Miss Mary Hope, of Manchester, who is staying in Brighton, spoke to members and friends. Miss Hope gave a most interesting discourse lasting over an hour. A discussion followed, in which nearly all present took part, and at the close of the meeting many who were not members undertook to join and to introduce friends.

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PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to September 12 (as far as at present arranged).

Aug. 27	Clifton, Durdham Down, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Clara Codd	7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Clubmoor	Mrs. Hillier, Mrs. Morrissey	8 p.m.
	Lancashire, Accrington	Mrs. Baines, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Lockwood, Wesleyan School	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Manchester, Stevenson Square	Miss Gawthorpe, and others	8 p.m.
Fri. 28	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney and others	7.30 p.m.
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"		7.30 p.m.
	Liverpool, Wellington Column (close of Summer Campaign)	Mrs. Hillier, Mrs. Morrissey, and others	8 p.m.
	Lancashire, Haslingden	Mrs. Baines, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Crossland Moor, Nats Cross Lane	Miss Adela Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
	Manchester, "At Home," Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss M. Gawthorpe, and others	8-10
	Yatton	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Millicent Browne, and others	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 29	Huddersfield, Outlane United Methodist School	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Heywood	Mrs. Baines	
	Manchester	Miss Gawthorpe, and others	
Sun. 30	London, Parliament Hill Fields	Mrs. Bouvier, Dr. Rose, Miss Winifred Auld	6 p.m.
	Boulter's Lock		12 noon
	Clifton, Durdham Down	Miss Gawthorpe, and others	3.30 p.m.
Mon. 31	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	4 p.m.
	Bradford, Somerset Parlour	Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Adela Pankhurst	8-10
	Bacup	Mrs. Baines	
Sept. 1	Bristol, Horse Fair, Dinner Hour Meeting	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	1 p.m.
	Huddersfield, "At Home," Northumberland-st. Schools	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Liverpool, 6, Colquhoun-street	Mrs. Martel	8 p.m.
Wed. 3	Clifton, Durdham Down	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Westbury, The Fountain	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7 p.m.
	Barnes Green	Mrs. Drummond	7 p.m.
	Leeds, Arts Club	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Southport, Temperance Hall	Mrs. Martel	3 p.m.
Thur. 4	Liverpool, Open Air Meeting	Mrs. Martel	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Clifton, Durdham Down, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 5	Leeds, Brunswick Ward	Miss Adela Pankhurst	
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Broad Quay		7.30 p.m.
	Huddersfield, Thornwake	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Somerset Parlour		8-10
Sat. 6	Manchester, "At Home"	Miss M. Gawthorpe, and others	7.30 p.m.
	Burnham	Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
Sun. 7	Crawshawbooth, Band Contest		
	Ravenstall, Open Air Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Robinson	3.30 p.m.
	Ravenstall, Hippodrome, Demonstration	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Robinson	7.30 p.m.
Mon. 8	Worley, "Holy Family" School-room, Green Lane		
	London, "At Home," Portman Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5
	Clifton, Hannah More Hall	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	4 p.m.
	Bradford, Somerset Parlour	Miss Adela Pankhurst	4 p.m.
Tues. 9	Bristol, Horse Fair, Dinner Hour Meeting	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	1 p.m.
	Huddersfield, Northumberland Street Schools	Miss Adela Pankhurst	4 and 8
Wed. 10	Clifton, Durdham Down	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	3.30 p.m.
	Lancashire	Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook	
	Leeds, Arts Club	Miss Adela Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur. 11	London, "At Home," Portman Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Clifton, Durdham Down	Miss Annie Kenney	7 p.m.
	Kingston Infirmary, Nurses League	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
Fri. 12	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, and others	8 p.m.
Sat. 13	Winscombe	Miss Annie Kenney	4-6

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Release of Prisoners, Holloway, 8 a.m.	Sept. 16
Complimentary Breakfast, Queen's Hall, 9.15 a.m.	Sept. 16
Release of Miss Mary Phillips, Holloway, 8 a.m.	Sept. 18
Reception of Released Prisoners, Large Portman Rooms, 8-10	Sept. 18
Bristol, Durdham Down (Demonstration)	Sept. 19
Huddersfield (Demonstration)	Sept. 27
London, Albert Hall (Meeting)	Oct. 29

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

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Already acknowledged	16,226 18 3	"A Friend"	2 10 0
"A Suffragette"	2 2 0	Per Miss A. Hughes (sale of postcards of Torquay and Paignton banner)	0 6 1
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Miss B. A. Howe	0 2 0	Mrs. Hunter	1 1 0
Miss A. D. Scott	0 5 0	Mrs. A. Martin	0 2 6
Miss A. Hieble	0 2 6	Anon, per Miss A. Kenney	20 0 0
Wm. Blathway, Esq.	0 10 0	Mrs. M. Mansel	1 1 0
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Miss E. E. Lord	0 5 0	Membership Postage Fees	1 13 0
Miss E. Clarence	0 10 0	Collections, &c.	28 0 1
Mrs. Hartley Withers	5 5 0		
Miss V. Taylor	5 0 0		
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	200 0 0	Total	£16,499 1 8

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