

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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amendment on "democratic lines" were introduced to this Bill the Government, as a Government, would not oppose it.

The Press View.

We should have thought that the meaning of this answer was so plain that no one would have been taken in by it, and yet we find that not only did the Liberal M.P.'s express themselves as thoroughly satisfied and pleased with Mr. Asquith's reply, but both the Liberal and Conservative Press hailed the speech as a remarkable concession on the part of the Prime Minister. We are not at all sorry that they have taken this view, for though Mr. Asquith's statement of intentions is worth nothing to us in itself, it has at any rate drawn certain admissions that will be useful to us in future. Thus the "Daily News" is careful to explain that the theory of the need for a mandate cannot be maintained. It says:—

We have never countenanced the argument that the Liberal party has no mandate to handle such a question as this. It went to the country pledged to maintain its democratic faith. It needs no specific mandate to deal with plural voting, or the second ballot of the Lords' veto. It needs no specific mandate to deal with woman's suffrage. It has the duty to enforce any reform which is a clear deduction from the democratic principle.

And thus throws over an argument that has been frequently used by Cabinet Ministers in trying to thwart this reform.

"Of Greater Importance."

Again, the "Westminster Gazette," speaking of Mr. Asquith's proposal to introduce a Bill for Electoral reform, adds:—

But the opening of this question is to bring with it another of even greater importance, for as the Prime Minister told the deputation yesterday, it will present an opportunity to the supporters of Woman's Suffrage.

And thus admits the paramount importance of Woman's Suffrage at the present time. This knocks the bottom out of the theory which has been frequently promulgated in Liberal circles that the woman Suffragists in fighting for their cause, and placing it in the forefront of their programme are lacking in a sense of proportion, and working for a minor reform at the expense of other more important issues.

Tributes to the Militant Tactics.

Another feature of the Press criticisms has been the tribute paid to the militant tactics of the W.S.P.U. on all sides. Thus the "Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury" says:—

After Mr. Asquith's promise to the Liberal members who waited upon him yesterday on the question of the women's franchise, no one can say that the Suffragettes have not been wise in their generation.

And other papers up and down the country, as will be seen by the Press extracts given in another column, allude to "the triumph of the Suffragettes," "a concession to fear," and such like.

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DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

The most interesting event of the past week has been the reply of Mr. Asquith to the 60 Liberal members who went on a deputation to see him with regard to Woman Suffrage. In that reply he refused facilities for Mr. Stanger's Bill, and stated that he intended before the close of the present Parliament to introduce an Electoral Bill for men only, but agreed that if a Woman's Suffrage

Our Own View.

For our own part, though, we see little in the nature of a "concession" in Mr. Asquith's reply which should induce the women to abandon their opposition to the Government, we recognise that for the first time a more conciliatory tone has been adopted. This is a sign that the Government are beginning to realise that the question is one which is not to be flouted indefinitely, that they have to reckon seriously with the militant opposition of the W.S.P.U., and that a mere *non-possumus* attitude must be abandoned.

Other Sections of Women.

It is interesting to see the attitude of women Liberals towards Mr. Asquith's reply. We are fortunate in having a special account written for us by one of those present at the gathering of the Women's Liberal Federation from which it will be seen the hearty support accorded to the Government by Lady Carlisle was by no means shared universally by her listeners. We have also pleasure in reproducing some extracts from a speech by Miss Margaret Ashton, president of the North of England Society for Woman's Suffrage, and a prominent Liberal woman, in which she makes it perfectly clear that she for one is entirely dissatisfied. Other sections of the Woman's Suffrage army have taken means to bring home the same fact to Mr. Asquith, and the Government will soon find that deeds and not words are required to meet the growing demand in the country.

Joint Cabinet Responsibility.

One of the tricks by which the Cabinet Ministers have been in the habit of imposing upon women has been to ignore the rule of joint Cabinet responsibility when the question of Woman Suffrage is under consideration. Thus Mr. Lloyd George, at Edinburgh, dealing with an interrupter who asked why the Government did not give votes to women, considered, apparently, that he had administered a crushing rejoinder by his statement that he himself was in favour of votes for women, and that if he had his way he would give them a vote to-morrow. Mr. Lloyd George is probably perfectly aware that his personal opinion on this question, apart from his influence on the Government as a whole, is of very small importance. As Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of His Majesty's Government, he is to be held responsible for the action and inaction of the Government on all questions of the day, and no Cabinet Minister, so long as he retains office, can escape his share of the joint responsibility. His answer was probably given in the hope that his audience was ignorant on this point, and he no doubt supposed that it would accordingly render his interlocutor ridiculous. Ministers will learn before very long that this attempt to impose upon women by a refusal to recognise ordinary constitutional practice will not avail them to stem the tide.

The Stirling By-election.

Liberals are entitled to all the comfort they can obtain from the result of the Stirling by-election, where Mr. Ponsonby has been returned by a majority considerably larger than that obtained by the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman in the 1900 election. They will notice, how-

ever, that the comparison in this case has to be made with a period when Liberalism was at a low ebb, and not as in other cases, with the election results of 1906, when Liberalism obtained triumphant victories at the polls. So far as the Suffrage campaign is concerned, we are satisfied that the electors voted for Mr. Ponsonby in the full belief that Mr. Asquith had promised to meet the Woman's Suffrage demands, and the local Liberal papers certainly assisted this belief by getting out posters with

"Premier's Great Reform Bill:

Votes for Women," printed thereon. The Stirling by-election marks the close of a number of Scottish by-elections in which votes for women has played a prominent part. The question has now taken root in Scotland, and we believe that the Scottish people intend to see it through.

Opening of the Sunday Park Campaign.

On Sunday, May 24, Miss Christabel Pankhurst opened the series of public meetings in Hyde Park by addressing an audience of nearly 10,000 people. As in previous years, on the first Sunday of these meetings, there was considerable rowdiness on the part of the juvenile element, but, contrary to some of the papers, there was no hostility on the part of the crowd as a whole, and the speakers were very well received. In Battersea Park, in Regent's Park, on Clapham Common, and in other open spaces other meetings were successfully held. These meetings are to be conducted each Sunday up to the great demonstration on June 21, when the women will address the crowd from 20 platforms, in Hyde Park.

Rousing Meetings in All Parts.

All over London a very large number of meetings have been held during the week. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has addressed five large meetings, Miss Pankhurst five others, and smaller meetings and dinner-hour meetings have been held in various districts. Throughout the provinces the campaign of arousing the interest of men and women in the great Hyde Park Demonstration has been going on, and very great enthusiasm has prevailed.

As We Go to Press.

As we go to press the great meeting in the St. James's Theatre (kindly lent to the Women's Social and Political Union by Mr. George Alexander) is being held. Mrs. Pankhurst takes the chair, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Gawthorpe are addressing the meeting. We learn that over two hundred and fifty pounds have been subscribed. In our next issue we shall give a full report of the proceedings.

Before this paper is in the hands of our readers, the goods of one of the members of the W.S.P.U., Miss Ansell, will have been sold for refusal to pay taxes. Other members are taking part in a demonstration at the sale, which is being held Wednesday morning at 12 o'clock at 45, Parker-street, Holborn.

Special Announcements.

We have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to a special announcement column, which has been started in the paper, and which will be found of great value to those wishing to know the principal future arrangements in connection with the Women's Social and Political Union. Owing to extraordinary pressure on our space, "Progress of Women" and other important items, including "The Fund" and some answers to correspondents, are being held over till next week.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XII.—*The County Franchise Bill in the Lords.*

We have now followed the history of the struggle for Women's Enfranchisement through the nineteen years of active and earnest propaganda, which culminated in the holding of great mass meetings of women in all the principal towns. We have seen that great Reform Conferences, and hundreds of Liberal Associations all over the country had carried resolutions in support of Women's Suffrage by overwhelming majorities.

In spite of all this, as we know, Mr. Gladstone and his Government refused to go even so far as their Conservative predecessors had done 17 years before, when the movement was as yet hardly launched, and instead of remaining neutral, as the Conservative Government had done in 1867, offered the votes for women amendment to the County Franchise Bill the most determined and deliberate opposition, and in so doing had secured its defeat.

In the House of Commons, on June 26, 1884, the County Franchise Bill was read a third time, and passed.

The Bill was then sent to the House of Lords, where it was hoped that a Women's Suffrage clause might yet be inserted. On June 27, the Bill was introduced in the House of Lords, and read a first time, and on July 7, it came up for second reading.

It was now urged that the House should refuse to consider any extension of the franchise until the Government's proposals for the redistribution of seats had been formulated. The two questions, it was declared, ought properly to be discussed together as one complete scheme for electoral reform. Unless this were done there would be no security that the two million voters, with which the Franchise Bill proposed to flood the constituencies, would receive just and adequate representation.

This view was embodied in the following amendment by Lord Cairns:—

That this House, while prepared to concur in a well-considered and complete scheme for the extension of the franchise does not think it right to assent to the second reading of a Bill, having for its object a fundamental change in the constitution of the electoral body of the United Kingdom, but which is not accompanied by provisions for so apportioning the right to return members as to ensure a right and fair representation of the people, or by any adequate security in the proposals of the Government that the present Bill shall not come into operation except as part of an entire scheme.

A further amendment was moved by Earl Dunraven, that the words "a well-considered and complete scheme for the franchise," which formed part of Earl Cairns' amendment, should be left out, and in their place should be substituted, "the principles of representation contained in this Bill."

This meant, of course, that should the Government redistribution proposals be satisfactory to it, the House of Lords would be prepared to accept the Representation of the People Bill in its present form, and without any material alteration. If this amendment were carried, therefore, there could be little hope of the insertion of a votes for women clause. In spite, however, of having moved the amendment, Lord Dunraven criticised the Bill on the ground that it made no provision for extending the franchise to women.

It is interesting to note that throughout the debate in the House of Lords, the only material objection that was raised to the Franchise Bill, except that it had not been associated with a measure for redistribution, was that it did not include women.

The Earl of Ravenscroft went so far as to say that if the supporters of the Government were to excite agitation in the country on the subject of this measure, they

would find that the policy of the Government as a whole would be reviewed, and they would be reminded of the women occupiers, whose case they had refused to decide upon its merits.

Finally, Earl Cairns' amendment, as amended by Earl Dunraven, was carried, and the Lords thus refused to consider the County Franchise Bill until the Government's proposals for redistribution were laid before them. In spite of the many favourable references to the question, the adoption of Earl Dunraven's amendment lessened, though it did not altogether dispose of, the hope that a votes for women clause would ultimately be inserted.

In view of the Lords' decision to throw out the Bill, Mr. Gladstone rose in the House of Commons, on July 10, to make a statement on behalf of the Ministry. He said that the Government was still determined to pass the Representation of the People Bill at the earliest possible moment, and in the Session following that to proceed with redistribution. The present Session would, therefore, be brought speedily to a close. This would involve a sweeping sacrifice of no less than nine important measures, and the giving up to the Government of all private members' days. After a short recess Parliament would reassemble, and the Franchise Bill would be introduced. In the following Session the Government would do all that lay in its power to carry a redistribution measure.

The Conservative Opposition now pressed their wish that the Redistribution Bill should be introduced simultaneously with the Franchise Bill during the autumn Session. To this proposal Mr. Gladstone returned a direct refusal.

Following this came an angry scene in the House of Commons in which the Liberals accused the Opposition of refusing to allow the County Franchise Bill to become law, in order to coerce the Government into passing a Redistribution Bill which would be satisfactory to the Conservative Party. In reply, the Opposition accused the Government of concealing their real object in delaying the redistribution of seats until after the extension of the franchise. This was, the Opposition alleged, not for the sake of convenience, as had been stated, but in order to force the House of Lords to afterwards pass any Redistribution Bill that the Government might bring in by the threat of flooding the constituencies with two million extra voters without having passed any redistribution measure at all.

Thus the struggle for party advantage continued. In the House of Lords, on July 17, another attempt at a compromise was made.

The Earl of Wemyss then moved a resolution, stating that the House would be prepared to proceed at once with the consideration of the Representation of the People Bill, on the understanding that the Redistribution Bill should be introduced in the autumn session. To this resolution the Earl of Cadogan moved an amendment to the effect that it would be desirable that Parliament should assemble in the autumn, in order to discuss the Representation of the People Bill already presented to Parliament, in conjunction with the Government's promised Bill for redistribution.

This amendment was carried by a majority of 182 votes to 132. And thus by a majority of 50 the County Franchise Bill was finally defeated in the House of Lords for that Session of Parliament.

(To be continued.)

TO HYDE PARK!

HOW THE PROCESSIONS WILL MARCH. 3,000 WOMEN OFFICERS.

We saw the women marching,
A proud and happy band.
The richest and the poorest
Were walking hand in hand.
O keep it in your heart, dear,
The memory of that day,
That you may tell your children
Of that glad summer day.

We saw the women marching,
So bold they came, and free.
They held their heads so proudly
For all the world to see.
Their banners brave were flying
So gaily as they came,
Their courage so undying,
They put their foes to shame.

They'll tell in song and story
How women once were slaves;
How those who strove to free them
Went sorrowing to their graves;
Until they came in numbers
That no one could withstand.
Hundreds of thousands marching,
A proud and happy band.

Oh, keep it in your heart, dear,
That you may not forget.
You'll want to tell your children
They'll ask it of you yet—
"You saw the women marching,
Their serried ranks among,
'Twas through those women marching
That our freedom was won!"

No easy task on the great day, June 21, will be the marshalling of the seven processions of men and women along the various lines of route. Already in the offices of the N.W.S.P.U. a procession secretary is at work arranging for the distribution of the contingents of women into the different routes, and seven procession secretaries are making arrangements for their own particular procession. For the day itself a regular army of women are being enrolled to take charge.

General Drummond.

In general control of all the processions will be the well-known general, Mrs. Drummond, who has superintended the operations of the National Women's Social and Political Union on so many occasions previously. She will be in constant touch with every one of the processions, and will make it her business to see that every one of them is in marching order, and that all the arrangements are complete and satisfactory.

Nine Chief Marshals.

The entire management of each one of the seven processions will be in the hands of a Chief Marshal, who will be ultimately responsible for the grouping and the arrangements, and for the observance of order on the line of march. In addition there will be one Chief Marshal in charge of the arrangements in Hyde Park itself, and another will be responsible for the various rail-way stations.

Seven Group Marshals.

The particular arrangements for grouping the processions will devolve upon the Group Marshals, of whom there will be one for each procession. They will be supplied beforehand with a complete plan showing the exact order of march, and they will cast a general eye upon the whole length of the procession, and will see that the various contingents of women are formed up in the right places of the line.

Thirty Group Captains.

The Group Marshals will not, of course, be able to personally superintend the whole length of the line, but each procession will

be divided up into sections, and in charge of each section will be a Group Captain. Illustrating the case from the Victoria Embankment procession, the line will be divided into sections somewhat as follows:—Westminster Bridge to Whitehall Court, Whitehall Court to Charing-cross (underground), Charing-cross (underground) to Waterloo Bridge, Waterloo Bridge to the Temple, and Temple to Blackfriars. At the head of each one of these sections will be a band, and the Group Captain will have charge of the whole of the grouping from the one band to the next. She will be supplied with a plan beforehand showing the arrangement of the men and women who have promised to take part and are coming to join that particular section, and she will be responsible for seeing that they keep to the correct order during the march.

Forty Banner Marshals and Captains.

The complete charge of all the banners in each procession will devolve upon the Banner Marshals, who in their turn will have Banner Captains acting with them placed in control of each section. It will be their business to find women to carry the various standards from the start of the procession to Hyde Park, and they will be generally in charge of the correct handling of the standards and banners.

Thirty Station Marshals and Captains.

At each railway station at which women are expected to come up from the country there will be a Station Marshal in charge, and she will have with her two or three Station Captains, and it will be their business to be in readiness outside the station, and see that the demonstrators march forward into the procession to which they belong and take up their place in the right group.

Fifty Station Chief Stewards and Stewards.

While the work of the Station Marshals and Captains lies outside of the station, that of the Station Chief Stewards and Stewards lies inside. It will be their business to be responsible to meet every one of the trains that are coming up from the 70 towns, and to welcome the women from the provinces and to hand them on to the Marshals, who will meet them outside the station.

Five Hundred Recruiting Sergeants.

But even this large number of Marshals and Captains and Stewards does not exhaust all the number of women who will be wanted to assist in the great demonstration on June 21. Others will be wanted to superintend the various bands. Others again will be required to act as Stewards in Hyde Park, and to take the names and addresses of all those who wish to take this opportunity of joining the National Women's Social and Political Union—they will be, in fact, recruiting sergeants, as the "Evening News" once called them. All these will wear the Steward's rosette with the colours of the Union.

Over Two Thousand Standard Bearers.

Then there will be the Standard Bearers, a large army in themselves, numbering between 2,000 and 3,000 women, so that altogether the services will be required of over 3,000 women in order to complete the full arrangements.

A Fortnight's Crusade.

In the account which follows below will be found the principal details concerned with each procession, and the names of the Secretaries and Chief Marshals, and also a short report of the progress which is being made in some of the districts, but it is impossible in the short space at our disposal to give anything like in full the work which is being done. In order that the great demonstration may be a tremendous success it is necessary for every woman who has the cause at heart, from now till then to make all the arrangements known. The work must begin at once, but it has been arranged that the last fortnight, from

June 7 to June 21, shall be a great fortnight's crusade, when London must be awakened from end to end to the importance of taking part in this great Woman's Suffrage Sunday. All the members of the National Women's Social and Political Union, and all those women who wish to help forward the Woman's Enfranchisement are invited to originate special schemes by which this particular day may be advertised to the people of London. Reports of work done in connection with organising the processions should be sent to THE EDITORS, VOTES FOR WOMEN, not later than Monday morning in each week.

A.—EUSTON-ROAD.

Secretary.—Miss Wood, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Chief Marshal.—Miss New.

District.—St. Pancras, Islington, Stoke Newington, Hackney, and the men and women coming in by train from the North of England to King's Cross, St. Pancras, and Euston.

Form up 12 o'clock in Euston-road, east of Euston Station.

Start 1 p.m.

Route.—Euston-road, Portland-place, Oxford-street, Marble Arch.

Preparations are already actively under way for the great procession, and the large numbers of women who will join it from the North of England are certain to make it a great success.

B.—TRAFALGAR SQUARE.

Secretary and Chief Marshal.—Mrs. Sanders, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

District.—Westminster, Holborn, Finsbury, Shoreditch, Poplar, Stepney, Bethnal Green, including Limehouse, Canning Town, Forest Gate, Wanstead, Walthamstow, &c., and the men and women arriving from the South of England at Waterloo and Charing Cross.

Form up 12.30 in Trafalgar Square.

Start 1.30.

Route.—Pall Mall, Regent-street, Piccadilly, Berkeley-street, Mount-street, Grosvenor Gate.

Work is being put into all the districts which are connected with this procession, and a great crowd of women is expected on June 21.

C.—VICTORIA EMBANKMENT.

Secretary and Chief Marshal.—Miss Jessie Kenney, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

District.—Lambeth, Southwark, Camberwell, Deptford, Woolwich, and Bermondsey.

Form up 12.30 on Victoria Embankment, east of Westminster Bridge.

Start 1.30 p.m.

Route.—Victoria-street, Grosvenor-place, Hyde Park-corner.

The members of the London City Union are devoting their energies specially to making ready for the Victoria Embankment procession. The districts they are working up include Lambeth, Southwark, Camberwell, Bermondsey, and Woolwich. The Lewisham Union are taking Greenwich, Lewisham, and Deptford. Mrs. Bouvier, 31, Mount Pleasant-road, is the secretary of the Lewisham W.S.P.U. Miss Marsh, 28A, Devonshire-street, Portland-place, W., is in charge of Lambeth. It is necessary that she should have a good deal of help in working up the district. Anyone living in or near the district, and willing to help, should send in her name to her. Workers for Camberwell, Bermondsey, and Woolwich please write to me at 4, Clements Inn.

JESSIE KENNEY.

D.—CHELSEA.

Secretary.—Miss Radcliffe, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Chief Marshal.—Miss Annie Lightman.

Form up 12.30 Chelsea Embankment, west of Albert Bridge.

Start 1.30 p.m.

Route.—Oakley-street, King's-road, Sloane-street, Albert-gate.

The Chelsea union are already actively at work, and a large contingent from the South of London is confidently expected.

E.—KENSINGTON.

Secretary.—Miss Bertha Sharp.

Chief Marshal.—Mrs. Eates.

District.—Chelsea, Fulham, Battersea, Wandsworth, Wimbledon (including Brixton, Streatham, and Clapham).

Form up 1 p.m., in Kensington High-street, west of Kensington Station.

Start 1.30 p.m.

Route.—Kensington-road, Alexandra Gate.

As a result of the notice in VOTES FOR WOMEN, several new workers found their way to our procession office, and gave us help in the work. Two banners are now well begun. Miss Craies has taken charge of the workers executing Mr. Laurence Housman's beautiful design, and Mrs. Harry Silver of a banner designed by her husband. Special donations of material and money have been given for this work, and further donations and workers who have time to spare will be gladly received by Miss Bertha Sharp at the Studio, 1, Pembroke-cottages, Edwardes-square, any day between 3 and 7 p.m.

LOUISE M. EATES.

F.—PADDINGTON.

Secretary.—Miss Hambling, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Chief Marshal.—Miss Stephenson.

District.—Paddington, Willesden and the men and women coming into Paddington Station from the West of England.

Form up 1 p.m. along Eastbourne-terrace.

Start 2 p.m.

Route.—Victoria Gate.

The campaign at Paddington is now in full swing, and our workers, organised by Miss Higgins, are throwing themselves heart and soul into the work of rousing the inhabitants of Paddington to take their part in this great fight for freedom.

For the present, with the exception of Saturday and Sunday, we have arranged to hold open-air meetings at night only, reserving the daytime for searching out available pitches, canvassing schools, public institutions, &c., as we find that we are able to gather together a much larger audience at night than it is possible to obtain during the dinner-hour.

Already we have held several successful meetings; one of especial interest took place at Westbourne-grove-terrace on Thursday evening. Here we had an audience largely composed of girls from Whiteley's establishment, who listened eagerly to all that our speakers, the Misses W. Auld and Wentworth, had to tell them, many following on to the Portman Room "At Home" afterwards. In response to an urgent appeal, we have promised to go there again on Monday night. We have since received a letter from a Miss May Robinson, telling us how much the girls were looking forward to our next visit, and saying that they had become thoroughly interested, and could talk of nothing else but votes for women, many of them having already declared their intention of taking part in the Hyde Park demonstration.

Another splendid meeting was held outside the Prince of Wales, Harrow-road, on Friday night, Miss Higgins and other speakers holding the attention of a large crowd for an hour and a-half, and managed to keep the unruly element, which, of course, was somewhat in evidence, well in check.

I am glad to be able to report that Mr. J. Munford, director of Kensington Secretarial College, has given us permission to hold an indoor meeting there next Thursday afternoon at 3.30. Miss New has promised to speak for us, and we are looking forward to gaining converts and helpers among the students.

We are trying to secure one of the Paddington halls for a meeting later, and also hope to hold several drawing-room meetings.

Altogether, we feel that we have made a good beginning, and mean to do our utmost to get a record procession for Paddington.

A. B. HAMBLING, Secretary.

G.—MARYLEBONE.

Secretary.—Miss Wood, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Chief Marshal.—Miss Douglas Smith.

District.—Hampstead, Marylebone, and the men and women coming by the Great Central and also by the Great Eastern Railway who will be conveyed from Liverpool-street to Baker-street Station.

Form up 12.30 Marylebone-road and Park-street, east from Great Central Station.

Start 1.30.

Route.—Seymour-place, Seymour-street, Hyde Park.

A good beginning was made on Sunday, May 24, when Mrs. Drummond and myself held a meeting in Regent's Park, near the band-stand, at 6.30. The crowd was large, orderly, and interested, and I think good work will be done here. We hope to hold meetings here every Sunday evening until June 21. As there are practically no factories in this district, dinner-hour

meetings are a difficulty, but we understand that High-street, St. John's Wood, will be a good pitch for afternoon and evening meetings.

We hope to get the loan of a studio for a meeting for art students, and Miss Walenn is trying to arrange a drawing-room meeting for music students.

K. DOUGLAS SMITH.

Hyde Park and Stations.

Hyde Park Chief Marshal ... Miss Late.
Station Chief Marshal ... Mrs. Baldock.

Arrangements are also being made for marshalling in Hyde Park and at the Railway Stations. These are not yet complete.

Shop Assistants Interested.

Previously it has always been a difficult matter to interest the shop assistants in suffrage questions, but they are beginning to be really enthusiastic about the Hyde Park Demonstration on June 21.

Two large meetings have been held for the employees of William Whiteley and Son, and with very satisfactory results, and they have begged so hard for another, that on Thursday we shall again address them. Here we have scored a great success; for as I know that shop assistants detest meetings of all kinds, they must be interested indeed when they ask us to come again. We notice with pleasure that our audiences increase, and that girls who came to the first meeting brought many friends with them to the second.

The shop assistants are beginning to realise the indignity of the voteless woman's position, and I am confident that they will turn out in large numbers on June 21 to demand the enfranchisement of women. We are going to visit all the largest shops in London, and if at each establishment we are as successful as we have hitherto been, we can promise that over a thousand shop assistants will take part in our great Hyde Park Demonstration.

VERA WENTWORTH.

Nurses and the Suffrage.

A meeting for nurses will be held in the Lecture Room of the Nurses' Club, 12, Buckingham-street, Strand, W.C., on Wednesday, June 3, at 2.30 p.m. The speaker will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who will show how "Votes for Women" will affect the work of nurses. It is hoped that the nursing profession will be well represented in the Great Demonstration in Hyde Park on June 21. Matrons of several important hospitals have responded most favourably to our request for permission to address the nurses during their off duty time in the different hospitals.

THE WEST OF ENGLAND.

Last week was a week full of events for the Plymouth people. They had their agricultural show, they had their torchlight tattoo, and they had the suffragettes. Each proved to be a great success, and it gave us a good chance of advertising our Hyde Park demonstration.

The committee met on the Friday I arrived, and it was decided to have a banner from the head office for the Plymouth Union. It was also decided to start a special fund for Hyde Park to enable them to do local advertising. Plymouth six weeks ago was untouched by suffrage workers, so we are making a special effort to bring it up to other towns for numbers on the 21st.

It was decided that an advertisement should be thrown on the screen in the St. James' Hall (a place where pictures are shown) a week before the 15th, the date by which tickets have to be bought. This will be seen by thousands of people. The pavements are going to be chalked at night a few nights before the 15th. A kind of a poster will be made on the pavements: Come to Hyde Park, &c. The local Society are dividing themselves up to get in touch with the doctors, nurses, teachers, and shop girls. All the political parties will get notices of our demonstration.

The Women's Guild.—All the theatres are being visited nearer the time, and any place where women meet. The factory hands will be given handbills. The members of the Society are buying their tickets early in order to induce others to do the same. I am very pleased to say we got a splendid account about Hyde Park in the Plymouth "Evening News."

Enthusiastic meetings were held at the dock gates, both at the Keyham entrance and Four-street entrance; we had over

1,000 people at the dinner-hour meetings; they listened with keen attention, and we had not one interruption. The explanation of our bye-election policy brought applause from the men (and this is a Liberal constituency).

At the evening meetings just the same enthusiasm prevailed. I have heard men and women come miles to our meetings. The Thursday night we finished up with a crowd of about 3,000 people. One youth came with a bell, but my voice being strong talked the bell down, and thanks to some of the Plymouth men and women the boy or the bell disappeared. After the meeting the crowd, as usual, wanted to have another look at this girl, as I have been called. They flocked round me, and followed me to the car; not a rude word did I hear, everybody was polite and amiable; but the crowd would follow. I got on a car and waved my hands to them from the top, telling them if they did not go I would make another speech. They cheered us till we got out of hearing.

The day after, much to my surprise, I found "Suffragettes hustled," and one said mobbed. I was never in a more sympathetic crowd. I think headings like these incite the crowd, and appeal to the worst part of the youths who frequent our meetings. It was the only note in the Press throughout the week that jarred on our senses.

The women's meetings in the Corn Exchange and the Public Hall, Stoke, were both successful. Many prominent ladies of the three towns joined us. I believe we made 15 new members at two of our meetings—some Liberal, some Conservative. If energy, time, and enthusiasm will bring success, Plymouth women will see that failure is impossible.

ANNIE KENNEY.

CARDIFF REPORT.

The suffragettes' presence here is universally realised, and the people of Cardiff are not allowed to forget June 21, or the national importance of the event.

On Wednesday, May 20, early closing day, Miss Keegan and I made an appearance in Roath Park Recreation Ground. "Suddenly," said an onlooker, "I turned round to find that, as regards spectators, cricket had given place to women's suffrage, and the speaker evidently had it her own way." A string of intelligent questions prepared the way for full announcement of the Hyde Park demonstration.

The next day at the Docks a large crowd assembled. We had been told that to influence the men there earning exceptionally high wages, would open out the possibility of railway fares for their wives.

Altogether, eight or nine meetings have been held, and another meeting still to come for women at the Lecture Theatre, Howard Gardens, organised by Miss Logan, hon. secretary of the local Union.

There was considerable doubt in the minds of local members and others as to whether we should get the chance of a hearing, and this was emphasised by the reluctance shown in the letting of halls. Results, however, have proved the undoubted ripening of sympathy as an outcome of recent disturbances.

Early next week Newport will be similarly invaded.

NELLY CROCKER.

A Correction.

We regret that we were misinformed with regard to the letter we published in our last issue, purporting to be written by Mr. Hocknell, of Whitchurch, and which we stated was sent to Mr. Asquith. Mr. Hocknell's letter was one directing general attention to the necessity of the Government giving Votes for Women.

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

Unfurling of Banners.

At the large Queen's Hall, Langham-place, on Wednesday, June 17, at 3 p.m., a special ceremony will take place of unfurling the banners to be used in the great demonstration in Hyde Park. Special interest attaches to the ten large banners which are being presented by ten separate donors, seven of them for the National Women's Social and Political Union and three for local Unions. The mottoes and devices on the banners are being kept secret, and will not be known until the unfurling ceremony. Tickets for the stalls and first circle, 1s. each; for the area and gallery, 6d.

Weekly at Homes.

On Monday, June 1, the weekly "At Home" will be held in the small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, instead of in the large Portman Rooms, Baker-street. This is due to the fact that this date has been engaged for some months past before the Union commenced holding its "At Homes" in the large Portman Rooms. On Monday, June 8, there will be no "At Home"; on Monday, June 15, the "At Home" will be held in the large Portman Rooms, as usual; on Monday, June 22, the day following the great Hyde Park demonstration, a special "At Home" will be held at 7 o'clock instead of at 4, in the large Queen's Hall. The guests will be received by the 20 chairmen of the day before.

The Thursday evening "At Homes" will be held regularly in the small Portman Rooms every Thursday at 8 p.m., with the exception of June 11, the Thursday in Whit week.

The Hyde Park Demonstration.

Over 3,000 women are required for special work in the great demonstration on Sunday, June 21. Any of those who are willing to act as stewards for various purposes are requested to communicate with Mrs. Drummond, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. On page 196 of this issue will be found special instructions. Any of those who are able to bring a special contingent of women are invited to communicate with the Procession Secretary, who will inform them as to the best point at which to fall into the ranks.

The Great Shout.

One of the features of the great demonstration will be the shout that will go up from 200,000 voices after the resolution is carried—the shout, "Votes for women." At five minutes to five the bugle will sound; at each platform the speaker will conclude, and the chairman will rise and make the final announcements. At five o'clock the bugle will sound again, and the chairman will put the resolution. Then once again the bugle will be heard, and then every voice will take up the cry, "One, Two, Three, Votes for Women, VOTES FOR WOMEN, VOTES FOR WOMEN."

Selling "Votes for Women."

On the day of the publication of our last issue a number of members of the N.W.S.P.U. organised themselves as news-vendors, and carried VOTES FOR WOMEN down the Strand, and offered it to the passers-by. As a result of this interesting new departure, several hundred copies were sold. Mrs. Drummond will be pleased to hear of any women who are willing to carry on this work on a future occasion.

The Union Colours in Ribbon.

The colours of the Union are green, white, and purple, and ribbon and badges of these colours can be obtained from the Woman's Press and from the literature stalls at meetings.

The ribbon is of two widths: one inch and a-quarter and two inches, and is 9d. a yard and 1s. a yard respectively; it is suitable for hat bands and waist bands.

The badges consist of the narrow ribbon in two-inch sections, with the words "Votes for Women" woven in. They can be bought for 1d. each.

A Fortnight's Crusade.

June 7 to June 20 has been set aside for a special fortnight's crusade, when every member of the Union will use her utmost ingenuity to bring home to the women in London up and down the country the necessity for taking part in the great demonstration. Among the suggestions that have already been made are chalking the pavements in the early morning, and a cycle corps in the evening; it is hoped that other suggestions will be made by individual members which can be announced in VOTES FOR WOMEN next issue.

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."

11. Will the W.S.P.U. invite the co-operation of the other Suffrage societies in their great demonstration on June 21, and similarly will they take part in the procession on June 13?

As the two processions are entirely distinct, the W.S.P.U. will not officially take part in the procession on June 13, nor will the other Suffrage societies be officially represented on June 21. But a great many members of the W.S.P.U. are arranging to walk in the procession to the Albert Hall on Saturday, June 13, and it is hoped that members of the other Suffrage societies will similarly add the support of their presence to one or other of the seven processions on Sunday, June 21, to Hyde Park, so both occasions may be made as impressive as possible.

12. Please state why it was impossible to hold the coming Demonstration of June 21 on another day than Sunday, as there are many otherwise ardent supporters who are offended because of the Sunday work thus imposed on railway men and others.

Sunday has been chosen for the great Demonstration in Hyde Park for three reasons:—

First, because Sunday is for working women the only day of leisure, the only day that it would be possible for them to join in this Demonstration. Thousands of working women, not only in London but in Yorkshire and Lancashire, and in the great towns of the East and the West and the Midlands of England are taking this opportunity of coming to claim their birthright. On no other day could they have left their homes. Had they been left out no procession, however large, would have been complete, for this question of Women's Enfranchisement is more important even for them than it is for women in easier circumstances.

Second, because on no other day except Sunday could the necessary organisation have been made. On no other day could seven processions have been formed up in the streets of London. Police regulations are very stringent upon this point. I believe there are only two places in London from which a procession may start in the ordinary way, but on Sunday, when the streets are clear from week-day traffic, the stringent regulations of the police are relaxed.

Third, because the women's movement represents the most sacred cause in the world. It is a moral and spiritual movement based upon fundamentally religious conceptions, and "the sacred and holy day" is the best and most appropriate day of the week to choose for our Demonstration. On Sunday, June 21, we turn the great prayer of the Church Litany which entreats deliverance for the desolate and the oppressed into action.

13. Is it possible to dispense with bands? It is suggested that the "tramp of many feet" would be far more impressive without a band, and give less offence on Sunday.

We would remind our questioner that in the church organs will play and choirs will sing. That wherever there are Military Church Parades there will be the sound of music, and that even the Church Army and the Salvation Army will have their bands. Then surely it is right and fitting that the women who go forth to war against the forces of evil and ignorance and darkness shall march to the sound of music.

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HOW WE ANSWER MR. ASQUITH.

MADAM,—I have the honour to enclose a cheque for £13 to provide a great band for one of the great processions on June 21. This is my answer to your "Tramp of Many Feet," and my answer to Mr. Asquith.

That is the right answer. Not words, but deeds. Words cost so little, and they count just as little as they cost. If anyone wants to know why the question of women's suffrage has been brought from oblivion and raised to the position of front rank among political questions during the past two years, the answer may be found in the spirit expressed in the letter which I have quoted. That is the spirit which inspires the Women's Social and Political Union.

One bit of self-sacrifice, one act of courage, one piece of work well done is more than all the speeches ever spoken, all the articles ever written, all the "sympathy" ever expressed.

Action is the language which we understand. We express our demand for justice in terms of action, and we accept no answer in response to that demand but action.

That is why Mr. Asquith's very shadowy and vague promise is valueless to us. We demand that the Government shall perform a very simple act of justice, and thereby right an obvious and admitted wrong. If it will not act, we must. Mr. Asquith has answered us in words. We must answer him in deeds.

Mr. Asquith says that before he will consent to pay to women the debt which the country owes them as taxpayers, he must be sure that not only all the men but that all the women also want women's suffrage. Yet he is quite ready to tax women without asking their consent; he is ready to pass laws directly interfering with the life and affecting the interests of women without ascertaining their wishes. He will be a party to turning women out of their employment by legal enactment; he will uphold laws that establish a special penal code for women, without inquiring as to whether they like it or not. He will settle the education of the children of the country according to men's views only.

Only when it comes to the payment of a debt long owing to women, only when it is a question of putting a long-established constitutional principle into practice, only then does it occur to him to demand an overwhelming expres-

sion of the will of women. He will not give women their due right of citizenship unless the women of the country can find some means of expression sufficiently strong to convince him of their demand. What kind of proof he will accept he does not say.

The Women's Social and Political Union intend to show Mr. Asquith that there are some women who not only want the vote, but are determined to get it. If we do that, having right and justice, reason, and all the moral and intellectual forces on our side, we shall get it. There is no doubt about that.

Our immediate answer is the Hyde Park demonstration. Already the call to action is meeting with splendid response on the part of the women of this Union. A great campaign is being carried out in London and in the provinces. Inspiring and encouraging reports pour in to the office at headquarters. Everything is going well. The appeal for personal service, for time, and energy, and devotion has been promptly met; the appeal for financial help has brought a no less generous response. Two cheques for £50 have just been sent to the treasurer by women, and many other smaller sums, which represent the same eagerness and readiness to help to the limit of ability. I asked for "bands" last week. Two have already been given. Many standards have been presented.

But we must be content with nothing that we have done yet. We have to stir London as it has never been stirred before in the lifetime of any one among us. We have to make this demonstration so overwhelmingly successful as to remove any necessity for its repetition. Not only London must be stirred. The provinces must send their delegates by thousands. Not a day may be lost. Morning, noon, and night the work of rousing and bringing in both women and men and the work of completing and perfecting the organisation of the processions must go on. And everybody must help. Not one woman who reads these pages must stand aside. There is work for all, and more. What we want now is reapers for the great harvest.

The women in this movement will never forget Self-Denial Week, and the great result accomplished by that special concentrated effort on the part of one and all.

We are going to have "a Crusade Fortnight" from June 7 (Whit Sunday) to June 21 (Suffrage Sunday).

We shall have Early Morning Pavement Chalking Parties, and cover the streets with announcements even before the people are awake; the more original and novel they are the better. In the evening we shall have bands of cyclists, with illuminated and adorned cycles, touring through the City and suburbs, and holding up wherever the streets are thronged to give announcements and hand-bills.

For many other schemes we shall rely, as we did in Self-Denial Week, upon the originality and resource of our members, and shall be glad to receive suggestions and promises of service that will inspire others. The time is short. We must think and act quickly.

The office at headquarters is like a hive of bees. Absorbed faces, hurrying feet, gleaming eyes, bustle, and good temper and happiness—these things are the order of the day. Things are humming, and no mistake. We are marching to music—grand martial strains that we have in our own hearts.

That is our answer to Mr. Asquith. Laughter and action. Laughter because he thinks he can turn back the tide, and we know that he cannot. Action that blows his light and shadowy promise like thistledown before the wind, that will force him to produce something more solid and weighty than words, in order to stay the women's agitation.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL NOTES.

That universal manhood suffrage might be established before the enfranchisement of women we have always recognised as a danger, and we have thought it likely that by a Liberal Government this barrier would be erected against us.

At present the removal of the sex disability involves the enfranchisement of about one and a-half million women, but under an unlimited franchise it would mean the creation of women voters in excess of the number of men. It would incur, therefore, much greater opposition than it does at the present day. Further, experience shows that the removal of certain electoral anomalies renders it harder to induce Parliament to deal with those that remain. The sweeping away of all franchise restrictions, and the consequent admission of men to the franchise simply because they are men, would mean the acceptance of a purely sex basis for the franchise, and the political status of women having thus become relatively worse, the difficulty of forcing their way into the circle of citizenship would be many times increased.

The Women's Enfranchisement Bill now before the House of Commons would not only admit women to the existing franchise, but would secure to them a share in any future electoral reform. That this Bill should be adopted and carried into law is the present claim of the Women's Social and Political Union. The same request was made to Mr. Asquith by the deputation of Liberal Members of Parliament which recently waited upon him.

Mr. Asquith's Answer.

Mr. Asquith refused Government support to this measure on the plea of lack of time. That want of time was not really an obstacle is obvious from the fact that another franchise measure—Mr. Dickinson's London Electoral Bill—would have been adopted by the Government had it not been talked out at the second reading stage. The time which it was intended to devote to the consideration of Mr. Dickinson's Bill can perfectly well be devoted to the later stages of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

After refusing to deal with the political grievance of women, Mr. Asquith announced his intention of conferring more votes upon men, thus giving evidence of his intention to defeat our claim in the manner above described.

The undertaking that a Woman Suffrage amendment will not meet with Government opposition would, under no circumstances, be sufficient to reassure us, and the conditions by which it is surrounded make it even more untrustworthy. It is obvious that Government support is essential to the success of the Woman Suffrage proposal, and therefore this Union will persist in the attempts to secure the inclusion of votes for women in the Government programme.

Neutrality or Opposition.

The Government's neutrality will, Mr. Asquith informs us, under certain circumstances, be converted into opposition. In the first place, they will require the votes for women amendment to be framed on democratic lines. The precise meaning of this phrase is as yet unexplained, but we draw the inference that it is the intention to resist our claim that women shall be enfranchised on the same conditions as those which apply to men voters. The Government are aware that public opinion supports the enfranchisement of qualified women. Therefore, they wish so to engineer matters that we shall lay claim to the franchise for women on a wider basis, which may not be endorsed by Parliament or the country.

The second condition upon which Mr. Asquith undertakes not to show open hostility to a Woman Suffrage amendment is that the overwhelming majority of women shall express their desire for enfranchisement. While saying this, he neglects to offer us any guidance as to how women's demand for the

vote may properly be expressed, and thus he reserves to himself liberty to deny, at every stage in the agitation, that women's demand for the vote has yet been proved to exist.

In this connection, it is well to notice that the "Westminster Gazette" and other journals are calling for the application of the referendum as a test of the feeling of the country in this matter. Here is one more excuse for delay. The referendum was never brought into use prior to the enfranchisement of men, and its introduction now would mean a far bigger constitutional revolution than will the extension of the franchise to women. The members of this Union will oppose the taking of a referendum, because it involves unnecessary delay, is without precedent, and would introduce a Constitutional practice which may be used greatly to hinder other reforms in the future.

It is certain that women have done far more to show that they desire the vote than the agricultural labourers did in 1884. The fact that the present Government intend to introduce a Reform Bill, in spite of the absence of any real demand on the part of the men for more votes, is in itself proof of the hollowness of this suggestion.

But although we realise this, we are prepared to continue to show that numbers of women are behind this agitation. Such evidence will be given by the big meeting at Bradford next Sunday, by numerous other demonstrations in all parts of the country, and by the great meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday, June 21. The chief business of this Union, however, is to show, not so much that large numbers of women desire the vote, but that a sufficient number are ready and able to take the action which is necessary to compel the Government to deal with the question.

By many Liberal women, Mr. Asquith's pronouncement has been hailed with joy, and some who were preparing for revolt have been pacified for the time being. But the members of this Union have no intention of diverting their operations from the Government to the individual members of Parliament. As I have explained, we are by no means persuaded that the Government are dealing with us in good faith, and even if they are, we do not think the mere declaration of neutrality affords a sufficient guarantee that votes for women will ultimately be incorporated in the Government's franchise measure.

Part of a Wider Measure.

But, quite apart from all this, we see grave danger in allowing Woman Suffrage to be dealt with in connection with a measure of general franchise reform. In the first place, the Government measure may never be introduced. A very large number of other questions await settlement, the political situation becomes more complicated day by day, and an early dissolution is very probable. Just as the last Government went to the country before introducing their promised Redistribution Bill, so Mr. Asquith may be prevented from bringing forward his measure.

Assuming, however, the Reform Bill to be introduced, and all difficulties standing in the way of the Woman Suffrage amendment to be disposed of, there yet remains a dangerous pitfall. This Reform Bill is certain to be a highly controversial measure, because of the many questions with which it will deal. Already it is claimed that the Bill ought to include proportional representation, payment of election expenses, holding of all elections on the same day, and so on. In connection with this measure will arise a strong demand for redistribution, which will raise the difficult question of Irish representation. The Bill is more than likely to fall a victim to one or other of these dangers, and the comparatively simple proposal for Woman Suffrage will be sacrificed because of its association with other proposals which meet with less universal favour.

From all this it will be seen that Mr. Asquith's declaration is very far from satisfying the Women's Social and Political Union. It is true that from a tactical point of view we have gained much. Mr. Asquith has been compelled to recognise that the Woman Suffrage issue is one of immediate practical importance. That Woman Suffrage should thus have come within the range of practical politics is almost universally ascribed to our militant agitation. The one conclusion to be drawn from the Government's statement is that further pressure must still be brought to bear. This is the moment, not for changing our policy, but for pursuing it with increased determination and vigour. Methods that have achieved this much will be persisted in until success is achieved.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

MR. ASQUITH ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

HOW THE GOVERNMENT WILL DEAL WITH THE QUESTION IN THE PRESENT PARLIAMENT.

An important statement on the attitude of the Government to woman suffrage was made by Mr. Asquith on Wednesday, May 20, in reply to a deputation of Liberal M.P.'s, who asked him to give facilities for the passage of Mr. Stanger's Bill through the House of Commons this session.

In reply, Mr. Asquith said that it was evident to everybody that the question of women's suffrage had received a great impetus in recent years, in spite of what he might call the antics of some of its supporters, which antics were regarded with shame and no little contempt by responsible people. His own position with regard to women's suffrage was a delicate one. He had not yet reached that stage of grace in which the members of the deputation were so firmly and fully established. That, however, was neither here nor there.

No Facilities for Mr. Stanger's Bill.

With regard to the suggestion that facilities should be afforded this session for the passing of Mr. Stanger's Bill, that was wholly out of the question. The time of the session had already been appropriated, and in the present state of public business, the Government could not possibly allot a whole week to any measure not of its own initiation. He understood, however, that the deputation did not press that point. Their desire was to have this question dealt with in the present Parliament.

Electoral Reform for Men.

Politics were full of surprises, and sometimes of unforeseen catastrophes. Barring accidents, however, he regarded it as a duty, indeed, a binding obligation on this Government, before the present Parliament came to an end, to bring in a really effective scheme for the reform of our electoral system.

The present state of our electoral laws, with its artificialities, its delays, its qualifications, its indefensible categories of voters—the fact that it conferred on the class which needed it least, plural voting power—in view of all these things no Liberal Government and no Liberal House of Commons would be performing its duty if it failed to make every effort in its power to get rid of these anomalies and injustices.

Government Neutral on Woman Suffrage.

That being so, and it being thus the intention of the Government to introduce such a measure of electoral reform, it would clearly be within their competence to seek by amendment or extension of the Government Bill to effect the accomplishment of the great purpose they had in view. Such an amendment or extension the Government could not oppose for the simple and sufficient reason that two-thirds of his colleagues in the Cabinet sympathised with and approved of this proposal to give votes to women.

He did not hesitate to say that it could not be any part of their duty as a Government to oppose an amendment in favour of women's suffrage if approved by the House of Commons.

On Democratic Lines.

On one point he must be perfectly frank. Any proposed change of that kind must be a change on democratic lines. The Government would certainly make this a condition of giving votes to women. Subject to that, and in view of the state of opinion in the Liberal party, he could not oppose an amendment having this object in view, and the Government proposed to leave such an amendment to the decision of the House of Commons.

It was necessary for him to add in conclusion that before a great constitutional change of this kind could be made it must clearly have behind it the support—and the strong and undoubted support—of the women of the country as well as of the present electorate.

Mr. Stanger expressed gratitude for the assurances given by Mr. Asquith.

Before the deputation withdrew, Mr. Leif Jones asked if it might be distinctly understood that the promised Reform Bill would be drafted on lines wide enough to admit of the giving of Parliamentary votes to women.

Mr. Asquith replied in the affirmative. It would be a breach of the pledge he had given if the Bill in contemplation was not drafted in such a manner.

The deputation then withdrew.

Opinions of the Press.

THE "TIMES."

Mr. Asquith previously expressed his view on the feasibility of a woman suffrage measure during this Parliament to another deputation only four months ago, and we are free to confess that, quite apart from the particular merits of this question, we prefer his former answer, from a constitutional and statesmanlike point of view. He then defended the refusal of the Government to take up the question on the plea that on such an important constitutional change as this the opinion of the country should be deliberately expressed, and that no one could pretend that it was an issue prominent at the last election. It is, no doubt, perfectly true that Mr. Asquith then only spoke of the action of the Government, whereas now he only states that the Government, without initiating, will not collectively oppose the proposal. But it must be perfectly obvious that the permission by a Government to allow an amendment which has already received the deliberate sanction of the House to be inserted in their own Bill is tantamount to adopting it. If Mr. Asquith still holds to his former opinion that so grave a change requires a deliberate vote from the country for its adoption, it is his duty as head of the Government to maintain this view actively as well as passively, and to defend the constitutional principle which he has laid down so truly. In this attitude he would no doubt find as much support as he did in January from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, ardent supporter though Mr. Lloyd George is of the movement. We are glad, however, to note that the Prime Minister has laid down one proviso, which is probably impossible of fulfilment, before he will adopt even his permissive attitude; that an overwhelming declaration in favour of the suffrage should come from the women of England. Miss Pankhurst for her part, to judge from the letter which we publish this morning, is evidently not satisfied, and, in spite of Mr. Asquith's declaration, intends to resume drastic measures, which, however, do not seem to include any proof that this last condition is satisfied.

THE "DAILY NEWS," May 21.

Mr. Asquith has done wisely to decide that this great reform shall reach a decision within the life of this Parliament. We have never countenanced the argument that the Liberal party has no mandate to handle such a question as this. It went to the country pledged to maintain its democratic faith. It needs no specific mandate to deal with plural voting or the second ballot, or the Lords' veto. It needs no specific mandate to deal with woman's suffrage. It has the duty to enforce any reform which is a clear deduction from the democratic principle. We know of no adequate statement of that principle save this—that under the forms of representative government every person has a right to a share in deciding the policy of the country, whose interests can be affected for good or evil by just or unjust government. Accept that principle in a modern community, and no quibbling can resist its extension to women. While their place was the home, and while government was concerned with little more than police and justice and the security of the kingdom, the exclusion of women from the vote was at least an arguable position. To-day women have gone out into the world, and government has entered the home. They frequent the schools, work in the factories, fill the professions. Government legislates for birth and motherhood, affects the price of food, dictates the education of children, and regulates the conditions under which women shall work. They have in government a concern as direct as men; they have as mothers or as workers the greatest of all "stakes in the country." Till it recognises their full citizenship, no nation is a democracy. In making their cause its own, Liberalism at last deserves its claim to be the democratic party. New Zealand, Australia, and Finland have led the way; England, with Norway and Holland, is about to follow.

We are heartily with Mr. Asquith in the condition which he lays down. The franchise must be extended not merely to the woman who has property in her own right, or a qualification as a lodger, or the head of a business; it must go to the worker and the wife.

(The writer goes on to urge the extension of the franchise on a basis of adult suffrage.)

THE "DAILY NEWS," May 22.

We are slow to believe that organisations which have shown so much energy and self-sacrifice can fail to see that the present situation demands other methods. The pressure ought to be maintained, the organisation improved, and the utmost energy deployed to arrange impressive demonstrations. But if these two militant bodies continue to use their vigour in discrediting the Liberal party we are afraid they may find themselves at the critical moment without an ally. Suppose, for example, that the Commons pass a Suffrage Bill and the Lords reject it. With what assurance could a Liberal Government then carry this issue to the country, if all the while the women themselves are doing their utmost to destroy its prestige? A more mature and experienced leader than Miss Christabel Pankhurst would have understood that the pledge which Mr. Asquith has given is quite exceptionally definite and binding.

THE "DAILY CHRONICLE."

It may naturally be asked why, having gone so far, Mr. Asquith did not go a little further and promise that the Government Bill itself should contain a clause for extending the franchise to women. The answer is, we suppose, first that the Cabinet is not agreed upon the subject; and, secondly, that the Government do not feel justified upon their own responsibility in proposing so great a change. We are not sure that this latter suggestion is particularly convincing; for the difference between proposing a thing, and promising not to oppose it (with previous knowledge that it will on those terms be carried), does not appear very substantial. To some it will seem that Ministers, having come to the brink, had better have taken the plunge. Practical people, however, will not quarrel over the means, when so important an end is now brought within sight. The Prime Minister's pledge amounts to this—that facilities shall be given to the House of Commons, before the present Parliament comes to an end, to insert Woman Suffrage in a Government Bill. The Bill will assuredly pass the House. It will then either become law; or, if the House of Lords should reject it, will become a principal issue at a General Election.

THE "MORNING POST."

The chance thus offered to the supporters of women's suffrage is, indeed, remote and hedged with obstacles. The Government may not live to introduce its scheme of electoral reform. Since the time of next Session is becoming definitely pledged to the reform of the Poor Law as the principal measure, the chance for any other principal measure during the present Parliament is small. Again, though there will clearly be plenty of people to introduce a women's suffrage amendment whenever the chance arises, it does not follow that any amendment will be carried. The split between those who want simply to abolish the sex disqualification and those who will have nothing less than adult suffrage is likely to become more pronounced as time proceeds. There are many who would support the extension of the franchise to women on the present basis while opposed to any further advance towards undiluted democracy. There are many who, while supporting adult suffrage, would oppose the extension of the franchise to women on the present basis on the ground that this would increase the undemocratic property vote. This, indeed, was suggested by Mr. Asquith's concluding words. The Government's acquiescence in a women's suffrage amendment will be conditional upon the change proposed being upon sufficiently democratic lines. This still leaves it open to the Government to oppose any particular amendment on the ground that it is not democratic. For all that, Mr. Asquith's reply marks an epoch in the history of the question.

THE "STANDARD."

What could be a more striking instance of their [the Government's] habitual levity than the Prime Minister's willingness to link minor electoral arrangements with a scheme for enfranchising the womanhood of the United Kingdom? For he was not contemplating, be it noted, the mere extension of the vote to women possessed of a property qualification. No; he stipulated that the proposal should be on a democratic basis.

This, of course, means that women and men should be placed in the same position as citizens and the electorate, at one swoop, more than doubled. Of course, Mr. Asquith does not intend to carry such a change. It could not decently or constitutionally be attempted without a General Election held upon that single issue. Happily, there is no need to discuss the arguments on either side. The women Suffragists themselves do not take the offer seriously. How could they, when the Prime Minister did not pretend that he favoured the change, while he intimated that one-third of his Cabinet were opposed to it? Yet they would not resist it! Such is the stuff of which modern Radicalism is compounded.

THE "DAILY MAIL."

While the Government may have done wisely in promising women the right to vote, the manner in which it has made this concession has been both mischievous and wrong. It has given way to the Woman's Suffragists rather because it fears their terrible ringing of bells at elections and their persistent efforts to secure the defeat of Liberal candidates than because Ministers are conscientiously convinced that the reform demanded is just and necessary. It is a surrender to fear rather than a policy dictated by conviction.

"DAILY EXPRESS."

That Mr. Asquith proposes a considerable widening of the franchise is clearly indicated by his suggestion that the Government would not oppose an amendment introducing Woman's Suffrage. This concession is a tribute to the success of the vehement agitation of the last few months, and is another instance of surrender to noisy clamour which every sane believer in democratic government will read with considerable misgiving.

"MANCHESTER GUARDIAN."

Although the Government will not itself promise a Women's Suffrage Bill, it is quite content to leave it to the House of Commons whether the fate of the Bill which it does promise shall be bound up with a proposal for the enfranchisement of women. What Mr. Asquith meant exactly by his proviso that in the case of women the "change must be on democratic lines" was not further explained; but if the objection is to a property franchise, it would almost seem as though the Government's promised Bill might develop into an Adult Suffrage Bill for men and women too. We hope it may.

THE "ABERDEEN FREE PRESS."

Though a convincing testimony to the success of the persistent agitation conducted by the Suffragists, and therefore rendering very absurd the contentions of those keenly partisan Liberals who have ridiculed the agitation as mere foolishness, Mr. Asquith's statement is not equivalent to a pledge. The soundly logical course in the circumstances would have been for "the Government as a Government" to have on its own responsibility pressed forward Woman's Suffrage, instead of ingloriously standing by, nudging members of the rank and file to do the work for it, and whispering "If you lead, we will follow."

The writer proceeds to criticise Mr. Asquith's qualification that the clause must be on democratic lines, and points out that if adult suffrage is contemplated, that would imply a revolution which is not likely to be accomplished. The only really practical proposal is that of the Suffragists, who demand that women ratepayers shall be admitted to the Parliamentary as to the municipal and school board franchise.

THE "SCOTSMAN."

Opinions may differ on the question whether the electioneering methods strenuously pursued by the women Suffragists have advanced or retarded their cause with the general body of the electors and created a good or a bad impression on the country. There can be no doubt that they have made an impression, strong and uncomfortable, on the political party in power.

THE "PALL MALL GAZETTE."

Mr. Asquith has not yet reached a "state of grace" upon the subject of Women's Suffrage, as he told a deputation of his followers yesterday; but he has reached the state of funk which for practical purposes often amounts to the same thing, and is ready to submit to a momentous change in the Constitution without being personally convinced of its justice or wisdom.

The sponge has been thrown up, and the only question is how Female Suffrage is to be conceded by its opponents with some show

of regard for their own record and their own dignity. The method of surrender was explained by the Prime Minister yesterday, and its superfine casuistry must evoke the jealousy and admiration of all trimmers, living or dead. "We shall not give you the vote," says the spokesman of the Government to his tormentors, "but if you exert yourselves to take it from us, we shall not resist you." There is to be a general Reform Bill introduced before the close of this Parliament, and if the advocates of Female Suffrage can carry an amendment in its favour in the House of Commons, the Ministry will be prepared to incorporate it with the measure. Two conditions are attached to the promise, in which Radical opponents of the change will perhaps descry an avenue of escape still open. Mr. Asquith stipulates that the amendment should have the "overwhelming support of the women of the country"—though he does not explain in what fashion that endorsement is to be registered and certified. And the change must be effected "upon democratic lines," which can only have the meaning ascribed to it by his own supporters in the Press—that the vote shall not be confined to women of the propertied class, but extend to the general community of the sex, married and single. Mr. Asquith may have reckoned, or he may not, that the first condition is unlikely to be fulfilled, and that the second opens a prospect too portentous for even a House of Commons like the present. The suspicion of some such subtlety appears to underlie the prompt rejection of the Premier's words from Clement's Inn as a basis of friendship.

THE "WESTMINSTER GAZETTE."

This does not satisfy the militant Suffragists. Miss Christabel Pankhurst replies this morning that they will be content with nothing less than an actual proposal by the Government this Session, which she certainly will not get. When she says, however, that the Government cannot shirk direct responsibility in this matter, she is on stronger ground. We agree that, whatever mechanical means might be employed of embodying Woman Suffrage in the Bill, it could not in the final stage proceed with any chance of success unless it were accepted by the Government and commended by them to the country. At the same time, it is clear, from Mr. Asquith's statement, that the Government will not—and probably could not without causing a fatal rupture in their own circle—introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill into this Parliament of their own initiative. If that were a necessary condition, the question would have to be postponed to another Parliament.

Now, this state of the case is exceedingly unsatisfactory from all points of view. We are not blaming Mr. Asquith, for he has to face the facts, and the chief fact is that the party system has broken down before this question. The supporters of Woman Suffrage are entitled to say that for some years past there has been a large majority, certainly in one House and probably in both Houses, for their proposal. And yet their movement has made no progress, because on both sides there has been a minority strong enough to prevent its being made a Government question when either the Unionist or the Liberal party has been in power. It is not a party question, we are accustomed to be told, and precisely because it is not a party question it has failed to make progress. Hence the difficulty in which the Government find themselves at the present moment, and the attempt to solve it by waiving Government action and allowing the majority in Parliament to have its way when opportunity offers. Yet Mr. Asquith, while intimating this benevolent neutrality on the part of the Government, attaches two conditions. The measure must (1) have behind it "the overwhelming support of the women of the country no less than the support of men," (2) it must be cast "on democratic lines."

Plea for a Referendum.

For the moment we will leave the second out of account. It raises very important and difficult questions, but they are after all questions for the Government to settle, and they are not at all insoluble. The first condition, however, is all-important, and must soon be very urgent. How, between now and next year—for anyone who considers the Parliamentary time-table and the mechanism of reform will see that an Electoral Reform Bill must be introduced before the end of next year—are we to get proof that Woman Suffrage has behind it "the overwhelming support of the women of the country no less than the support of men"? Petitions and demonstrations will not give it, for there can scarcely be more of them than there have been during the last eighteen months, and pledges given by members or candidates when the subject was not in any practical form before the country are rather slippery ground for legislation which is likely to arouse a great deal of elemental feeling. The whole logic of the case drives towards the adoption of the referendum as the only satisfactory solution of the problems which Mr. Asquith's statement presents. If the Government cannot make Woman Suffrage a Government measure, and if it will yet accept Woman Suffrage provided it has an overwhelming support in the country behind it, then we ought to have some quite clear and definite method of testing opinion. The difficulty is to find a register which is fair to both sexes, but a vote on

the municipal register would at least give us very important information about the views of women, information which at the present time can only be conjectured.

"EVENING STANDARD AND ST. JAMES' GAZETTE."

If Mr. Asquith has believed anything sincerely, he has clearly believed that votes for women would be a disastrous blunder. But those who admired him for so much consistency and courage have now to see him abdicate in favour of a majority of his Cabinet, surrender his own convictions, and request the deputation to amend an Electoral Reform Bill—which he promised in a speech with Dissolution writ as large in its phrases as it was writ in the figures of the Budget—in the sense desired by Mr. Stanger and his supporters. It is true that Mr. Asquith still insists on a comprehensive demand for the vote from the women of England. But he must know this to be an impracticable test, and one, moreover, for which Suffragism, very prudently, shows no desire whatsoever. Apart from any merits or demerits of the question at issue, we can conceive of nothing more disastrous than the granting of the franchise to women on this go-as-you-please principle. Electoral boons provided from fear and not from conviction come to no good. And we hope Mr. Asquith's foolishness will be a warning to certain of his opponents.

THE "GLOBE."

We feel really sorry for Mr. Asquith. The nation refuses to foam at the mouth when the Lords do their duty, and he gets no credit even from the Suffragettes when he announces an ignominious surrender of his own convictions. He has brought himself, or Miss Maloney's bell has brought him, to the point of declaring that the Government will not oppose a Women's Suffrage amendment to their Reform Bill. Considering his known opinions, this must have been very painful, but he gets no thanks for it. The indomitable Miss Pankhurst is not to be conciliated by any such vague assurances as this. She holds, and we agree with her, that in such a matter the Government cannot escape their responsibility, and that the pledge Mr. Asquith gave yesterday is a mere evasion.

THE "EVENING NEWS."

Although Mr. Asquith's promise with regard to Women's Suffrage is a trifle vague as to date, and although it is well known that matters left to the death-bed very often do not get handled at all, especially in the case of Governments which are liable to accident, the supporters of the cause can congratulate themselves upon a very distinct advance.

We have never attempted to justify the tactics of the Suffragettes, because we have always felt that no section of the community can claim a right to employ methods which, if generally adopted, would result in pandemonium. At the same time, we have recognised that these tactics have paid in a political sense. The Suffragettes evidently knew their own business, for no one supposes for one moment that if they had never carried on their strenuous agitation Mr. Asquith would have given the pledge which he gave yesterday. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, it need hardly be said, is not satisfied. She is somewhat in the position of a very young lady who, being told to pray for whatsoever she might desire, offered a petition for the gift of a white rabbit. Disappointed at the lack of immediate results, she amended her petition to "I want a white rabbit, and I want it now."

Miss Pankhurst and her friends want the vote and they want it now, and we fear that Mr. Asquith's concession will not save him or his colleagues from the attacks of these political Amazons.

THE "STAR."

The meaning of Mr. Asquith's pledge is plain. Woman Suffrage will be passed through the House of Commons before the present Government goes to the country.

DISCUSSION BY WOMEN LIBERALS.

(By OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

The Council of the Women's Liberal Federation met to discuss women's suffrage on Thursday morning. On her first appearance on the platform the Countess of Carlisle was greeted with prolonged applause. The president, in a speech lasting nearly an hour, which was received with the greatest enthusiasm, referred with profound gratitude to the "pledge" of the Prime Minister ("all honour to him"), and congratulated the "loyal Federation of Liberal Women" on the success which was due to their faithful service to their party. She urged them to prove their thankfulness to the Cabinet, two-thirds of whom were "heart and soul with them," and their great Prime Minister, who retained "an open mind" on the question.

Lady Carlisle then moved a resolution of rejoicing and grati-

tude, which was carried with acclamation. Miss Alison Garland moved that affiliated associations should be urged to work only for candidates who gave open support to women's suffrage in their election speeches and addresses, and Lady McLaren moved as a rider that associations redouble their efforts on behalf of such candidates. Miss Edwards further moved that Liberal women endeavour to be represented on divisional Councils. The motions were carried by a large majority.

Miss Margaret Ashton moved, on behalf of Cuckfield W.L.A., that "unless women's suffrage is granted before the dissolution of Parliament, the time will have arrived for a definite refusal on the part of Liberal women to work at Parliamentary elections." Miss Ashton explained that the "strike" policy was the only course open to self-respecting women, who put principle before party. Mrs. Osler, of Birmingham, in seconding, declared that if Lady Carlisle's optimism were justifiable, there was every reason to support the Cuckfield resolution, which arranged for a contingency which would never arise. The president then decided that the debate must be cut short, and only two more speakers be allowed on each side.

Mr. Adrian Corbett, son of the M.P. for East Grinstead, spoke strongly in favour of the Cuckfield resolution, saying that the president seemed to consider women's suffrage an accomplished fact. He proceeded to show that the Prime Minister's "pledge" was a myth, and the situation practically unaltered. Mr. Asquith had given them what they already had, and pledged not to do what he would never have been able to do. The women's suffrage cause still rested at the mercy of Liberal members pledged to its support, only a part of whose number had voted for Mr. Stanger's Bill, and those mainly because they knew it had no chance of becoming law. "Vote for Cuckfield," urged Mr. Corbett, "and force on your leaders, who lag behind you."

This speech produced an extraordinary scene of excitement and confusion, the speaker being continually interrupted by boings and hisses and cries of "Time! Sit down! Turn him out!" from the majority and enthusiastic cheers from the minority. Seldom has the Council been so greatly moved. On the resolution being put, the president declared it to be lost by an overwhelming majority.

Lady Grove and Mrs. Strickland then urged the Council to accept the invitation of the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, and be officially represented in the forthcoming procession. At the suggestion of the chair, the Council vetoed this, the reason being that the Women's Freedom League was also taking part in the demonstration. No division was taken, but the feeling ran high against the pettiness of such a refusal, and it was generally felt that had discussion been allowed, the decision would have been reversed.

VIEWS OF MISS MARGARET ASHTON.

Miss Margaret Ashton, presiding on Friday at the quarterly meeting of the North of England Society for Women's Suffrage, referred to the recent declaration of the Prime Minister as follows:—

Mr. Asquith has said he is going to introduce a very important measure of reform. This, he says, will be on democratic lines; but we do not know in the least what the provisions of that Reform Bill of Mr. Asquith's dealing with the enfranchisement of men will be. All he says with regard to women is that they will not be included in the Reform Bill. Are we satisfied?—(Cries of "No.") That is what satisfied the men. He has said what we all know—it has always been the constitutional practice—that we may have an amendment moved to his Reform Bill enfranchising women, but that is not making it part of the Government Bill. An amendment moved by a private member would not be an integral part of the Bill, and the Government would not be responsible for seeing it through. We knew we could move an amendment; there is no gain there.

He says that the Government Whips shall not tell against it. That means that the Government as a solid body will not vote against it, and will not instruct members to vote against it. It would be useless to instruct members to vote against it, as many of them are directly pledged to support it. Therefore, that is no great gain for us. Even if we get an amendment engrafted on the Government Bill, when it comes to the House of Lords the Government is not tied to see that amendment through, "Once bitten twice shy."

Deck Cargo.

We had another measure once before—in 1884 I think—and when the Lords made difficulties about it the women were thrown over to "lighten the ship." This time, again, we are not to be part of the ship. We are only deck cargo again if we go in in this form, and again we shall be thrown over, because if it is really and truly a measure of democratic reform for the men we may be perfectly sure that the Lords will cut it down as low as they dare, and that will certainly include cutting down the women. So that, though some people are satisfied, I see no cause for satisfaction at all. The one thing that we have gained—and even that I don't feel very confident about myself—is that they can never tell us again that the franchise cannot be extended to women in this Parliament. The Prime Minister appears to have said that this Reform Bill, would be introduced in the last session of this Parliament, and that a measure for women's enfranchisement might be introduced as a side wind then.

What Mr. Asquith meant by saying that this reform is to be on a democratic basis we do not know. It is vague. We assume it will be a democratic basis on which the men's reforms will be based. We will be satisfied with exactly the same—no more, no less. It is another attempt, to my mind, to block women's suffrage by the question of adult suffrage and the large proportion of women over men. If it is adult suffrage, I am afraid we shall never get a chance. Men will never face having more women voters than men voters.

There lies the chief danger of this pronouncement of Mr. Asquith. His pronouncement concedes nothing except the right to introduce another measure in this Parliament.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to June 13 (as far as at present arranged).

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|----------|---|---|-----------|
| May | London, Portman Rooms, "At Home" | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Thur. 28 | Hendon | Mrs. Eates, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Naylor | |
| | Walthamstow, Queen's-road School | Miss Conolan, Miss New | |
| | Hull | Mrs. Martell | |
| | Malvern | Miss Keevil, Miss Howey | |
| Fri. 29 | Stratford, Workmen's Hall | Miss New, Miss Conolan | 8 p.m. |
| | Hereford, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| Sat. 30 | Heaton, "At Home," Ronefield School | Miss Nell Kenney | |
| | Hereford, High Town | Miss Keevil | |
| | Ealing, Open Air Meeting (Y.H.B.'s) | Miss Home, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Dallas | 5.30 p.m. |
| Sun. 31 | Bradford, Shipley Glen, Great Demonstration | Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Adelaide Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Nell Kenney, Mrs. Baines, Miss M. Hartland, Miss Brooke | 3.30 p.m. |
| | Birmingham, Small Heath | Miss Keevil | |
| | Hyde Park | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Drummond, Miss New | 3.30 p.m. |
| | Peckham Rye | Miss Jessie Kenney, Mrs. Clarke | 3.30 p.m. |
| | Clapham Common | Miss Nancy Lightman, Miss Cameron, Mrs. Sanders | 3 p.m. |
| | Blackheath | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Bouvier | 5.30 p.m. |
| | Hampstead Heath | Mrs. Leigh, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Higgins | 6.30 p.m. |
| | Regent's Park | Miss New, Miss Douglas Smith | 7 p.m. |
| | Victoria Park | Miss Macaulay, Mrs. Baldock | 3.30 p.m. |
| | Battersea Park | Miss Lightman, Miss Cameron, Mrs. Sanders | 6 p.m. |
| June | London, Portman Rooms, "At Home" | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 4-6 |
| Mon. 1 | Birmingham, Temperance Hall | Miss Keevil, Mrs. Kerwood, Dr. Jones, Mrs. Burman | 8 p.m. |
| Tues. 2 | Cleckheaton, Town Hall | Miss A. Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| | Ealing, Victoria Hall, Public Meeting | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Sharp, Miss Conolan | |
| | Dulwich, Debating Society | Miss H. Lightman | |
| | Sheffield | Mrs. Pankhurst | |
| | Stratford, Town Hall | Mrs. Drummond, Mrs. Baldock | |
| | Huddersfield, W.S.P.U. | Miss Nell Kenney | 8 p.m. |
| | Birmingham, Hadley-road | Miss Keevil | |
| Wed. 3 | Wolverhampton, Victoria Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Keevil | 3 p.m. |
| | Strand, Nurses' Club, 12, Buckingham-street | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 2.30-3.30 |
| | Greenwich, Royal Hill School | Miss New, Miss Evelyn Sharp | 7.30 p.m. |
| | Kensington, "At Home" | "The Committee" of Kensington W.S.P.U. | 4-6 |
| Thur. 4 | London, Portman Rooms, Concert | Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 3 p.m. |
| | London, Portman Rooms, "At Home" | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| | Wolverhampton, Market-square | Miss Keevil | |
| Fri. 5 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| Sat. 6 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| Sun. 7 | Hyde Park | Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 3 p.m. |
| | Blackheath | Miss Keevil | 3.30 p.m. |
| | Birmingham, Small Heath | Mrs. Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| 8-20 | Manchester, Queen's Theatre | Special Fortnight's Crusade | |
| Mon. 8 | London, Portman Rooms, "At Home" | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 4-6 |
| | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| Tues. 9 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| Wed. 10 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| | Kensington, "At Home" | The Committee of Kensington W.S.P.U. | 4-6 |
| Thur. 11 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | 8 p.m. |
| | London, Portman Rooms, "At Home" | ... | |
| Fri. 12 | Coventry, Open Air Meeting | Miss Keevil | |
| | London, Holborn, Memorial Hall | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst | 8 p.m. |
| Sat. 13 | Wolverhampton, Market-square | Miss Keevil | |

Important Future Events.

| | | | |
|---------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| June | Queen's Hall | Banner Unfurling | 3 p.m. |
| Wed. 17 | Hyde Park Demonstration | All the Leaders | 3.30 p.m. |

STIRLING BURGHS.

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------|
| A. Ponsonby (Lib.) | 3,873 |
| W. Whitelaw (Cons.) | 2,512 |
| Majority | 1,361 |

At the General Election in 1906 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was returned unopposed. In 1900 the figures were: Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.), 2,715; Col. O. T. Duke (C.), 2,085.

FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Stirling, May 23.

The quartette of Scottish by-elections, beginning with Kincardine and continuing through Dundee, Montrose Burghs, and Stirling Burghs, is now a completed one, the seat in each case being held for the Government, though in such varying degrees as to render it very difficult for Government supporters to develop pretty theories as to the "unquestioning loyalty of Scotland" to the Liberal interest.

Thus in Kincardine the Liberal majority was reduced some hundreds, and it has been allowed that every increased vote on the opposition poll was a suffragist vote. In Dundee, for the first time within the history of that city, the total Liberal poll was less than the combined vote against it, and Montrose Burghs, in spite of a very short fight on the part of the suffragists, showed another majority against the Government.

In the face of all this, it may be thought that the return of Mr. Ponsonby with a majority of 1,361, as against the 600 majority of the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, was a rather discouraging feature. But for those who have been through the whole of these by-elections in Scotland it is readily recognised that in Stirling Burghs the women had even more complications than the usual ones, and Liberal traditions and Liberal religion.

Here a new miners' vote of 1,000 were specially appealed to by a Government Eight Hours Bill. Then, too, the Government programme of old-age pensions was used with especial force with the old weaver element in Dunfermline, and with the army of women workers, who, as keen electioneers, and having been told by Mr. Ponsonby how anxious he was to give women votes, had especial weight in this election. It is well known that scores of men who voted for the Liberal in this election believed, as local papers led them to believe, that Mr. Asquith had decided that the Government would support the women's claim. The "Dundee Advertiser" published a poster on the eve of the poll with reference to Mr. Asquith's response to the Liberal members' deputation, stating, in most misleading terms, "Premier's Great Reform Bill," and directly following, "Votes for Women." The Liberal Press in Scotland followed this up by leader and article, and more than once translated this as a Government pledge on votes for women.

That the suffragettes regarded Mr. Asquith's avowal on quite different lines was revealed by Mrs. Pankhurst, who, speaking in the Opera House on the eve of the poll, unmasked the Government's attitude to votes for women, and was followed by both Mrs. Martel and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who pointed out that the real fight was now beginning. Were women to risk being excluded from the constitution of their country altogether by a new Reform Bill (*sic*), or were they to band themselves together, and *now*, in united strength, which alone is invincible to get the degrading sex disability removed, so that future extensions of the vote to men may not leave women in a worse position than before?

Meetings of especial interest during the week, in addition to the ordinary propaganda meetings, were addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, and Miss Gawthorpe. At Queensferry, Mrs. Martel addressed an enthusiastic and thoroughly appreciative audience, the Provost moving the vote of thanks; and another picturesque meeting was the one held in the Rolland-street Hall, Dunfermline, when the mothers brought their knitting in addition to the children, whom they had been invited to bring with them, and sat and knitted as Mrs. Martel appealed to them in the names of those children to get their husbands and brothers to "Keep the Liberal out."

The miners and railway men had special meetings addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Gawthorpe, the latter gaining special commendation for enterprise by appearing at the station gate at 4.45 a.m. with Miss Joachim, in order to "catch the miners" as they went out to the "first shift." Some minutes ere the train was due to leave the station there was a general

rush on the part of the men to board the railway train, and the miners were specially impressed when the speaking Suffragette, nothing loth, fell immediately on their tracks, mounted a station seat on their disappearance into the carriages, and concluded a most successful meeting by addressing her final remarks to the miners as they hung out of the windows determined to hear the very last word.

Still another novel situation was evolved when Mrs. Pankhurst, by permission of the responsible authorities, held a successful women's meeting in the Court House at Stirling. Following on Mr. Asquith's reply, the surroundings provided an excellent illustration for the charge brought against the Premier in the name of the women of the country by Mrs. Pankhurst. As advocate, she pleaded the case, and the Premier having been put in the dock, was found guilty of betraying the interests of women.

On the eve of the poll street-corner meetings were held in practically every corner of the constituency. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, Miss Fraser, Miss Dugdale, Miss Lamb, Miss Macaulay in Stirling, and Mrs. Martel, Miss Phillips, Miss Lambert, Miss Joachim, and Miss Parker in Dunfermline, swept the two cities with last words of advice. Next day they stood in the accustomed place of the Suffragette on polling-day—at the entrance to the polling-booth—and asked the voter to "vote for justice," "vote for the women to-day, and against the Government."

Evidence is not wanting that in more than one instance the advice was adopted by lifelong Liberals, and one especially interesting case hails from Stirling, where a well-known ex-Provost, with a long, well-known record for Liberalism, had decided to cast in his lot with the women's cause. Although the results in Scotland have not been so outwardly successful as in some English constituencies, the women's movement is advancing by leaps and bounds in this country, and the reaping will follow very soon. For so far as the by-election policy is concerned, Scotland is to-day somewhat in the same stage of suffrage development as England was during the first by-election campaigns there. And the seed sown in these four Scottish elections will bear fruit. As for the average Scottish woman, she is a born Suffragist!

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

Last Sunday Miss Kenney and Miss Newton and I held two good meetings on the Feast Ground, Birstall (near Bradford), where we made a great many new members.

There was a women's meeting in the Dewsbury Town Hall on Wednesday night, and the 200 women present showed that Mr. Runciman will have the opposition of influential women when he seeks re-election if something has not been done to give them votes.

On Friday evening I went into Pudsey, a scattered industrial town lying between Leeds and Bradford, to make inquiries for the by-election workers. I found out that the constituency is about 12 miles in extent, touching Stanningley (Leeds) at one end and Tong (Bradford) at the other. It has a population of over 60,000 people, and consists of ten towns, of which seven are industrial and three mining centres. Before I had been many minutes in the town the word had gone round that the Suffragettes had arrived, and the interest displayed on all sides made me decide to hold a meeting the following evening, hoping that the Scotch workers would arrive by that time. They did not however, so that Miss Lishman and Miss Newton and others of our Bradford workers held it alone. Long before the advertised time of the meeting the market place was crowded, thousands of people flocked in from every side. We had a little trouble from the boys, who were armed with bad oranges that they threw at intervals. None touched us, however, and as the people did not like being hit themselves, they soon put a stop to it. I am quite sure we created a good impression, and that now the first meeting is over the workers who follow me will find it easy and pleasant work. The Bradford "Observer" is amused by the statement made by Miss C. H. Pankhurst that we are strong in Yorkshire, but perhaps as it never appears to see anything in the political situation but what is for the benefit of Party Liberalism, it will be easy to surprise the editor at Pudsey.

Next Sunday, May 31, our great meeting on Shipley Glen is to be held; it will be bigger than we had hoped at first, and will probably be another surprise for the local Liberal papers.

Next week hundreds of letters are leaving the office, advertising the Hyde Park Demonstration among the wage-earning women of Bradford. Huddersfield, too, is being canvassed, and there, as in Leeds, we are holding women's meetings, with the object of selling tickets for June 21. On May 30, the W. S. and P. U. is holding an At Home for Mrs. Pankhurst in the Rossefield Schools at 3.30.

ADELA PANKHURST.

SCOTTISH WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.

Convener of Committee: MRS. JOHN HUNTER.

Hon. Treasurer: MISS BURNET, 2, St. James Place, Hillhead, Glasgow.

Joint Hon. Secretaries: MISS GRACE PATERSON, MRS. I. D. PEARCE.

Organising Secretary: MISS HELEN FRASER.

COCKBURN BUILDINGS, 141, BATH STREET, GLASGOW.

Telegraphic Address: "SUFFRAGE, GLASGOW."

This week the chief events interesting to W.S.P.U. members—whether Scottish or National—have been the result of the Stirling by-election and "Mr. Asquith's surrender," as the "Spectator" calls it. Although it was not expected that what was done by the women at Stirling would result in the defeat of the Government, yet it has afforded us an opportunity of explaining to the electors our aims and our policy. In some of these county districts all that was known of our "movement" had been gathered from Press misrepresentations. It was the first time that some of the people in these districts had heard women speak on political questions, and everywhere were heard expressions of appreciation. "The women speak so well," "The women put their case so logically and convincingly," "The women are so earnest," &c., &c.

As to "Mr. Asquith's surrender," some do not regard it as holding out much hope, for it is involved in a scheme of electoral reform which will have the effect—if carried for men—of putting back the question of Votes for Women for some years.

At present the franchise is on such an easy basis that any man who is worth a vote can earn it with little or no effort on his part. It is quite otherwise with women, who have no representation whatever. Therefore we ask from the Government a pledge to put Women's Franchise on their programme as a separate and distinct measure. We do not want issues confused. Let women stand together and continue to work for "suffrage for women" until they get it.

The "Spectator's" article of Saturday, the 23rd inst., entitled "Mr. Asquith's Surrender," is a view of the question of Women's Suffrage which, to its women educated readers, must be very amusing. Here is an extract:—"When a woman asks us (the 'Spectator') 'Why am I not to have a vote?' we reply, 'Because you are not a man.' That is the only reason, but it is sufficient. To say this in no way involves the assertion that men are worthier than women, or that women are incapable of high political thought. What it does assert is that only one sex can wisely be given the final control of political affairs, and that it is fitting that this sex should be the male, because it is in the hands of the male that Nature has placed the *ultima ratio* of physical force." Is the "Spectator" asleep? Does it think brute force should be given a higher place in the "final control of political affairs" than thought or character? Do we wish to see the "final control of political affairs" to be in the hands of men ruled and governed by the Spirit of Christ, for if so, this control would not be "brute force," but spiritual force? Women having souls as well as bodies are quite as capable of developing this spiritual force as men. The welfare of our country will never suffer at the hands of men and women governed by the Spirit of Christ and by His Beatitudes. We women therefore ask for a "direct control of political affairs" on the highest grounds. The right to vote is a human right, and women are human beings, and have a right to realise their own special individuality.

Our meeting at Charing Cross Hall, Glasgow, was very successful last Saturday afternoon. The hall was full, although every seat was paid for. Dr. John Hunter presided, and encouraged us as usual by his support and earnest words. Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., was our chief speaker, her presence in Scotland being our reason for holding the meeting so late in our Glasgow season. Her speech, as might be expected, was all one could wish, and she struck a "high note," which must have appealed to all. (Next week we may be able to send a fuller report of it.) She pleaded for women to stand shoulder to shoulder; to come out of their parties, and work for suffrage first.

Miss Mary Gawthorpe was our second speaker. It was her first appearance in Glasgow, and her bright and telling speech fulfilled the expectations she had raised. The meeting concluded by votes of thanks proposed by Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Dugdale, and Dr. Margaret Todd.

Hyde Park Demonstration.

Will all Scotch friends who intend to take part in this demonstration on June 21 kindly send their names to 141, Bath-street, Glasgow, as soon as possible, so that arrangements may be made for all to meet together and walk together to Hyde Park. If Scotch friends want to have a platform, then we must know who are going.

Our Paper.

Communications relating to Scottish work should be sent to our central office, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow, not later than Friday of each week, prior to the publication of the paper, and should be marked "FOR VOTES FOR WOMEN."

Our "At Homes" on Saturday afternoons will be continued until the end of June.

STIRLING BURGHS BY-ELECTION.

Committee Rooms: 44, Murray-place, Stirling.

The last of the four Scottish by-elections is over, and the result materially is even more against us than the others, but we are not discouraged. We need not fight for direct results here in Scotland with our present policy. It is an excellent advertising and educative policy, and that, meantime, is enough.

This week we have had meetings in Culross, Inverkeithing, and St. Ninians, in addition to our Stirling dinner-hour, open-air, and women's meetings, and every one, without exception, has been excellent.

Miss Una Dugdale, Miss Morag Burn-Murdoch, Miss Esson Maule, Miss Maconochie, and myself have been speakers, and we have had Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and Mrs. Martel, who had a very successful open-air meeting. One Stirling elector who heard Mrs. Martel speak told me he had been a supporter of the Liberals for 29 years, but after hearing her statement of the case he was going to vote against the Government—and there were many others like him in Stirling.

Our women's meeting on Thursday afternoon was specially gratifying in results. We gained several new members, and Miss Edith Ure has kindly consented to become our hon. secretary in Stirling—and her help and Miss Fisher's have been most valuable during this by-election.

The local papers, especially the "Journal," have given us excellent notices, and the very inadequate reports in the other papers have done one very valuable thing—they have made the local people realise how little educative work is desired for copy, and how quickly anything sensational is reported—and made the most of.

On the eve of the poll we had huge and greatly interested meetings, and even on polling day people came and asked us to hold more meetings.

Altogether, we had a very pleasant campaign; the people were delightful, and we have left many active supporters and a practically converted town.

Now we shall have time for our other work, to arrange for our Scottish contingent at Hyde Park on June 21, and for our Summer Coast Campaign, which we intend shall be as successful as our campaign last year.

HELEN FRASER.

Mr. Lloyd George at Edinburgh.

An effective protest was made at Edinburgh during Mr. Lloyd George's meeting on Saturday at a big demonstration in favour of the Licensing Bill, when women rose from different parts of the hall and urged that the claims of votes for women must be met by the Government before dealing with other reforms.

The first interruption began before Mr. Lloyd George had completed half-a-dozen sentences. When the interruption was over, Mr. Lloyd George said the worst of it was he agreed with the lady, and he said he was sure she would be very sorry, but it was really a waste of her eloquence upon him, he would give her the vote to-morrow. (A lady in the gallery: "Thank you.") "That is the first 'thank you' I have ever had from them," returned Mr. Lloyd George, with laughter.

After she had been ejected another woman asked, "Why don't you give women the vote?" In reply, Mr. Lloyd George expressed surprise that for 20 years these ladies had never asked that question of a Unionist Government.

He continued his speech; again he was interrupted, and the same proceedings continued for a considerable time, and in all a dozen women were ejected.

LOCAL NOTES.

Coventry W.S.P.U.—A local union has just been formed here, and bids fair to become a success. With the occasional aid of workers from headquarters, and the help of our own members, we ought to become a real force in Coventry. We are all looking forward to a visit from Miss Gladice Keevil. I have been appointed secretary *pro tem.*
ALICE LEA.

Ealing—Last Saturday the Y.H.B. held an open-air meeting in Ealing. As the only place in Ealing where open-air meetings could be held is on the common, we decided to hold our meeting round the fountain there, and chalked the flags with announcements to that effect. Miss Dallas took the chair, while Miss J. Kenney, Miss Wentworth, and myself were the other speakers. Although we were interrupted by a few youths, the meeting was, on the whole, quite successful, and we have decided to hold another in the same place this week.

M. D. HOME (Hon. Secretary).

Forest Gate and Wanstead Park W.S.P.U.—Our Union is growing rapidly. We have now about 50 members, many of whom are enthusiastic and hardworking. The last fortnight we have been extremely busy working up the meeting at Stratford Town Hall, organised by our Union. There was a very good attendance. Mrs Pethick Lawrence, Miss Conalon, and Miss Lightman were the speakers, and Mrs. Baldock took the chair. There was, unfortunately, a strong rowdy element, armed with bells, motor horns, &c., which came into play almost immediately the meeting was opened. However, the chairman and speakers persevered splendidly, and the meeting was carried on, even to the putting of the resolution. It was decided on the platform that the hall should be taken again at once for a meeting for women only, and this was announced. We were naturally disappointed at such a rowdy meeting, but in spite of the fact that people coming late did not buy tickets on hearing the noise and confusion, we still made a small net profit. We have held two highly successful open-air meetings. The first was at Stratford, and Mrs. Sleight took the chair, and Miss New and Mrs. Baldock controlled and interested a crowd reported in the local Press as numbering several hundreds. The second meeting was held at Forest Gate, and the police said they had never had so large a meeting there before. These meetings have been very encouraging, and we intend to continue them throughout the summer. Miss Hewitt, our treasurer, is organising a meeting for teachers for Friday, May 29, at the Workmen's Hall, Forest Gate. Our monthly "At Homes" at Earlam Small Hall are well attended, and everybody enjoys them. The next will be on June 15, when Mrs. Eates will speak for us.

M. E. SLEIGHT.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—Mrs. Silver and Miss Bertha Sharp gathered a large audience at 84, Brook Green on Monday, May 18, to hear Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Marie Brackenbury, and Mrs. Eates speak on the work of the W.S.P.U. A lively discussion on tactics followed, led by a Liberal gentleman, who disapproved of our opposition to the Government. Another drawing-room meeting was arranged for us by Mrs. Stratton, at Abingdon-road, on Wednesday, May 20. Miss Brackenbury presided, and Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mrs. Eates, and Mr. Laurence Housman spoke. There was a good discussion here, also, with a gentleman who wished the Suffrage greatly restricted, and another who preferred Adult Suffrage to property qualifications. From both meetings, and from our weekly "At Home," we secured new members, and promises of help in the procession work. The kindness of Mrs. Stratton enabled us to hold a special meeting for business women in the Lecture Room, 10, Cheniston-gardens, on Thursday, May 21, when Miss Evelyn Sharp and Mr. Joseph Clayton greatly interested their audience, and brought home to them vividly the need women have of the power the franchise confers. (A notice of our arrangements for the Hyde Park procession will be found on page 197.)

London City Union.—A business meeting will be held at the Portman Rooms, on Thursday, May 28, at 7.30. It is important that every member should, if possible, be present. The money for our banner is coming in well. Miss Kerr and Miss Alderton have each given half-a-guinea, Miss Margaret Smith five shillings, Mrs. Shackleton earned 12s. 6d. by extra needlework, and gave it to us, and Mrs. Clark has promised sixpence a week till our banner is paid for.
JESSIE KENNEY.

Manchester W.S.P.U.—On Monday we held a most successful meeting at Urmston. Mr. Scott was in the chair, and Miss Rose, Miss Drummord, and I spoke. The usual resolution was carried, with only two dissentients, and on the motion of a gentleman in the audience, it was agreed to send a copy to Dr. Pollard, who represented the constituency. Sixteen new members were made. At the last meeting arrangements were made for a whist drive, on Wednesday, the 27th. It is hoped that members and friends will appear at this in great numbers, as we wish it to be a financial success. It is to take place in the Café, 114, Portland-street, at

8 o'clock. On Thursday Mrs. Duncan lectured in the Onward Buildings, on "Some Aspects of the Suffrage Question." It was an interesting lecture, and Miss Sybil Thorndyke, who was chairman, made a capital little speech. At each of these lectures we have had the assistance of one of the members of Miss Horniman's company at the Gaiety Theatre here. On Thursday evening, May 21, we had a large and sympathetic audience at our open-air meeting in Stevenson-square, where a resolution condemning Mr. Asquith's attitude and demanding the immediate enfranchisement of women was passed unanimously. On Friday, at a meeting of the Fabian Society, the following resolution was carried by a large majority: "That this meeting of Manchester Fabians expresses approval of the women's agitation for the immediate enfranchisement of women, at the same time calling on the Prime Minister to grant facilities for the third reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill during the present session, and resolves that a copy of this resolution be sent to the Manchester members, asking them to use their influence toward this end in the House of Commons." To-day a most successful meeting of teachers was held in the Onward Buildings. We urged them all to go to the monster demonstration on June 21. The response was most gratifying, and another meeting for teachers is to be held next Saturday. We made many new members. We are arranging a large demonstration in the Queen's Theatre on Whit Sunday, when Mrs. Pankhurst is to be chief speaker. It is hoped that this demonstration will be the means of swelling the numbers of Manchester women in the Hyde Park Demonstration.

ARNOT E. ROBINSON.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—A surprise awaited us on Sunday afternoon, on Whitfield's Mount, Blackheath, in the shape of an opposition meeting. Some young Socialists, with a red flag, took advantage of the crowd which was awaiting us, and as soon as we appeared proceeded to deliver an address on adult suffrage. Not in the least abashed by these proceedings, Miss Nancy Lightman walked towards another mount; Miss Townshend and I followed, carrying the banner, taking the whole crowd with us, and in a minute or two our meeting was in full swing. Miss C. Pankhurst's meeting on Sunday next and the Hyde Park Demonstration were announced, handbills were distributed, and the rowdy element was kept in check by Miss N. Lightman's happy retorts to hecklers. An "At Home" was held at Mrs. Billingham's on Tuesday, May 19, speaker Miss Annie Lightman; and an open-air meeting at Deptford Broadway on Wednesday, May 20, speaker Miss Jessie Kenney. On Tuesday next Miss New will hold an open-air meeting at Catford. The Hyde Park Demonstration posters are attracting a great deal of attention, and names are already being sent in for joining the Victoria Embankment procession in brakes.

J. A. BOUVIER.

WEST OF ENGLAND REPORT.

The people in Plymouth have been very much interested in hearing our views on Mr. Asquith's declaration. I never came across one who thought we ought to be satisfied. I was met with remarks like these:—"You are not going to give up fighting, are you?" "Miss Kenney, are you satisfied? I don't think we ought to be," said many of our new converts.

The men at the dockyard were very anxious to know what we thought; when I told them we were very dissatisfied, and we should pursue a more militant agitation, after the 21st, if we did not get a promise from Mr. Asquith, it was met with "Hear, hear," "Good luck to you, Miss." The Liberal women may be satisfied, but the men of the country are going to stand by the women who have shown determination, courage, and faith in the great movement they are working in.

One working man came to me as I was leaving Plymouth, and said: "Miss, you have got the working men on your side, and when I get the opportunity I shall vote for you in Plymouth, and I know others who will do the same."

The whole week has been a great success. It was the last place Drake visited before he faced the enemy. It was the first place I got new recruits ready for Hyde Park.

I am visiting Bath, then Torquay, from Torquay on to Paignton, Teignmouth, Newton Abbott, Exeter, Weston-super-Mare, and finish up in Bristol. Then with great joy I shall travel to London, feeling everything has been done, and knowing we are about to enter on the most important day of the Woman's Movement. Shall we not see old friends and new friends of our cause, marching under the banner of freedom, knowing that each heart and soul will be silently asking for the deliverance of our sex from the political bondage?
ANNIE KENNEY.

3 GUINEAS A WEEK for charming FLAT on first floor, overlooking gardens. 1 Reception, 2 Bedrooms, Kitchen, and Bathroom. Electric light and every convenience. Plate and linen. If let through this paper will give five weeks' rent to Women's Social and Political Union.—Apply, Owner, 80, Ridgmount-gardens, Gower-street, W.C.