

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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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 figures of the Haggerston by-election declared on Saturday night showed the great effect of the campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union in the constituency. During all the week the women's

meetings had been the best attended and the most orderly, and a very thorough beating for Mr. Warren was anticipated. This expectation was fully realised. Nor is it easy for Liberal partisans to explain away by the ordinary subterfuges the tremendous adverse result. Never in the history of the constituency has the Conservative been successful by so large a majority, and the votes of the Socialist, even if all added to those of the Liberal, would not have been sufficient to have returned him at the head of the poll. Whether the supporters of the Government care to recognise it or not, it is a simple fact that the women have the power to prevent the return of any Liberal candidates to Parliament in any English constituency except where there has been previously a phenomenal Liberal majority.

### The Past Week.

Though the holiday season is already at hand, the Women's Social and Political Union has been very active during the past week. On Tuesday, the 28th, a number of members were present at a meeting of the Peace Conference at the Queen's Hall, and took the opportunity of making protests during the speech of Mr. Lloyd George, to draw attention to the refusal of the Government to grant votes for women.

### Hypocritical Liberals.

These protests, made in the recognised manner, and according to the usual practice which has been adopted for a long time by men in interrupting the speeches of their opponents, brought about the ejection of the women and a great deal of abuse in the Liberal papers. As a measure of the effectiveness of this method of going to work, this abuse is to be welcomed, and no regular student of the Liberal Press is likely to be seriously taken in by the pious platitudes which have been called forth. It is only necessary to turn from the account of the women's action at the Queen's Hall to the following account, which appeared in the "Morning Leader" (Liberal) of July 31 concerning another meeting:—

A characteristically tactless speech by Mr. Bonar Law almost wrecked at the outset Mr. Guinness's meeting, attended by a large number of Liberals and Socialists, at the Shoreditch Town Hall last night.

His first blunder was an allusion, intended to be satirical, to Chinese labour. In an instant the gallery rose in a tempest of protest; and Mr. Law was silenced. But a steward made the blunder of attempting to turn a harmless interrupter out, whereupon the gallery flew to his defence, and for five minutes there was a fierce scene between the would be chuckers-out and the intended victim's defenders, punctuated by the gentle music of the police whistle. The defenders won.

After the arrival of Mr. Guinness—greeted with roars of "boos" and cheers—quite a number of fights broke out suddenly one after the other in various parts of the hall, and the meeting had to be abruptly suspended. The fights appeared to be provoked by the rough interference of a number of brawny "stewards" with in-offensive members of the audience. The "Morning Leader" representative saw treatment dealt out to one of the latter by a huge-bodied man with the Guinness colours which can only be described as savage.

Needless to say, the speech was from the Conservative point of view, and the "peaceful interrupter," as he is humorously called in the columns of our contemporary, was a Liberal. It is this simple fact which makes all the difference. When women interrupt the Liberal statesmen, they are "unseemly disturbers," "people without reason," "devoid of the common decency of political life," "unworthy of a vote." When a Liberal elector interrupts at a Conservative meeting, he is an "honest citizen, unable to repress his righteous indignation," and a "peaceful interrupter." Further comment is needless.

#### Fifteen Prisoners Released.

On Friday, July 31, 15 of the women who have been to Holloway Gaol, serving a sentence of a month, were released from prison, and were entertained to breakfast at the Queen's Hall, and subsequently took part in a procession at Haggerston. The proceedings throughout were exceedingly enthusiastic, and a great deal of sympathy and support was shown to the women by the populace from the time that they marched from the prison gates till the close of their day at Haggerston.

#### Breakfast at the Queen's Hall.

The breakfast at the Queen's Hall, when fully 250 people were gathered together, was very successful, and the speeches of the prisoners, some of which we produce elsewhere, make very good reading, and were still better in the hearing. Men and women are beginning to wonder how long the Liberal Government are going to resist the kind of spirit which lies behind the women who are prepared to face the ugliness of a month's imprisonment with such stout hearts and firm determination.

#### Leicester Demonstration.

The last of the demonstrations in the provinces before the holidays took place on Thursday, July 30, at Leicester, when a great crowd was gathered together, and remarkable interest was shown in the subject of "Votes for Women," as expounded by Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Gladice Keevil, Mrs. Baines, and Miss Brook.

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

#### Released Prisoners.

Miss New and Mrs. Leigh, who were sentenced to two months' imprisonment on July 1, will be released from Holloway on Saturday morning, August 22. Friends are invited to meet them outside the gates of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning. It has been arranged to provide them with a complimentary breakfast at Queen's Hall at 9.15. Tickets for the breakfast, open to all friends and sympathisers, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Price, 2s. each. After the breakfast, speeches will be delivered by the ex-prisoners and others. Those who are in prison for three months will remain in Holloway until Wednesday, September 16.

#### The "At Homes."

The last "At Home" of the season was held last Thursday in the Portman Rooms, Dorset-street. During the month of August, as a large number of our friends will be away; it has been decided to suspend the "At Homes" both on Monday afternoon and Thursday evening, but they will be resumed in September in the Portman Rooms. On September 3, the first of the "At Homes" will be held on Thursday evening, in the Portman Rooms, Dorset-street, from 8 to 10, and on September 7, the first of the Monday afternoon "At Homes" will be held in Portman Rooms, Baker-street, from 3 to 5, not 4 to 6 as was announced in last week's issue.

During the last three months of the year, the "At Homes" will again be held at Queen's Hall.

#### The Clifton Downs Demonstration.

At Bristol a special demonstration is being arranged on the Clifton Downs for Saturday, September 19. Miss Annie Kenney is very hard at work, and preparatory meetings are being held every day in some part of the city. Additional workers are much needed, and anyone willing to help should communicate with Miss Annie Kenney without delay.

#### Albert Hall Meeting.

Arrangements are already being made for the autumn campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union. A great meeting is to be held in the Albert Hall, on Thursday, October 29. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe will address the meeting. Tickets are already on sale:—Amphitheatre stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; gallery and upper orchestra (unnumbered), 6d.; and boxes, at various prices, can be obtained from the ticket secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. Application should be made early for tickets. Friends who are going away for their summer holidays are recommended to buy tickets before they go away, and are also urged to take tickets with them to sell to those whom they are likely to meet on their holidays.

#### Novelties in the Union Colours.

The latest novelty in the Union colours is a special belt and buckle, which is being sold at half-a-crown each. The buckle is a charming design taken from the picture of the Haunted House, and the belt is ribbon in the colours of the Union.

The new ties, which were announced a few weeks ago, are already in great demand, and more than one repeat order has had to be given to the firm supplying them. They can be obtained at 1s. each, and are very charming in appearance. Plain ribbon in the colours of the Union can be obtained in two widths at 1s. and 9d. a yard, suitable for hat bands and waist belts. Badges in the colours, stamped with "Votes for Women," are 1d. each, and scarves are 2s. 11d. each.

#### Photographs of the Hyde Park Demonstration.

At the Hyde Park Demonstration, on Sunday, June 21, one photographer took special photographs of each platform. These have been enlarged, and can be obtained, mounted, at 5s. each. They show very clearly, not only the speakers on the platform, but the dense crowd surrounding it. In ordering, please state the number of the platform which is required.

#### Newspaper Committee.

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

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

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

## THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XIX.—*The Woman's Movement Undermined.*

In 1888 Baron Dimsdale secured a place as second order of the day for the Parliamentary Elections (Extension to Women) Bill on June 6, and Mr. Walter S. B. M'Laren obtained a second place on July 4, for a women's suffrage measure, which made no attempt either to include or to exclude married women. Both these Bills came under the operation of a new rule, which gave precedence after Whitsuntide to Bills that had already passed the second reading, and were crowded out.

On May 16, 1888, the Local Government Electors' Act, by which the County Councils were created, received the Royal assent.

When the Bill was introduced into the House of Commons Sir Algernon Borthwick asked if it would contain a women's franchise clause, and on behalf of the Government Mr. Ritchie replied, "Yes, certainly." This reply was greeted with loud and prolonged cheers.

On November 30, 1888, the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, speaking at a Primrose League meeting in the Lyceum Theatre, Edinburgh, said:—

I am now speaking for myself only—do not imagine I am speaking for anybody else—but speaking for myself I earnestly hope that the day is not very far distant when women shall bear their fair share in voting for members of Parliament and in determining the policy of the country. I can conceive no argument by which they are excluded.

Though Lord Salisbury here definitely stated that he spoke for himself alone, and that his words were not intended in any way to pledge the Government to take action, there were many women suffragists who believed that the day of women's enfranchisement was at hand.

For many years the chief barrier between women and the vote had been the determined opposition of the Liberal Premier. Now, after Lord Salisbury's favourable reference to the question, and in view of the fact that not only a large majority of the whole House of Commons but also of the Party in power, was pledged to its support, the suffragists felt that a successful ending to their agitation could not long be delayed.

But at this time, when victory seemed nearest, the strength of the women's movement within had already been undermined. Without taking any great interest in Party organisation women had been ready in the past to work with enthusiasm for definite reforms. They had, as we know, demonstrated side by side with the men in the agitation which preceded the great extension of the franchise in 1832. Women had worked in the forefront of the movement for the repeal of the Corn Laws, to secure the abolition of slavery, for prison and numberless other reforms, but the most constant, and, indeed, the most necessary and determined efforts of the active women politicians had been directed towards the repeal or amendment of the many unjust and unequal laws that bore down with such a weight of hardship upon their sex.

Though thrust ruthlessly outside the pale of the Constitution, they had fought hard and had been able to achieve much, especially in the direction of obtaining property and personal rights for married women, and wider educational advantages for their sex. The belief in woman's fitness for the fullest citizenship and the demand for the Parliamentary vote, by which alone could it be secured to her, had been for more than twenty years the central ideal and the foundation of the whole women's movement.

But now determined efforts were being made to draw the women into the service of the great men's political parties. This had begun innocently enough. It appears to have originated largely from the desire to recognise special services rendered by women, and to do honour to those who were exceptionally brilliant. In some cases

political associations of men invited women to become members on equal terms with themselves from a genuine belief in the value of women's influence in politics, and a wish to encourage the women's emancipation movement.

The first party political club to admit women to membership is believed to have been the Manchester Junior Reform Club, which did so on its formation early in 1878. In 1879 women were made eligible as members of several newly-formed Liberal clubs in London, and one in Brighton, and during the next few years this example was followed by several Liberal and Radical Associations, both newly formed and of long standing, in Birmingham, Leeds, Kettering, and other places.

In January, 1884, Miss Priestman, of Bristol, was elected as a member by the "Liberal Five Hundred" for that city, and Mrs. Alice Cliff Scatcherd and Miss Louisa Carbutt were elected to the Leeds Liberal "Six Hundred."

In December, 1884, Miss Isabella S. M. Tod was elected a member of the Belfast Liberal "Five Hundred," being third in a list of sixteen men, and in the same year five ladies were elected to the general council of the Paddington Liberal Club. One of these ladies, Mrs. Charles, was afterwards chosen to be one of the Paddington Association's two representatives on the London and Counties Liberal Association.

Thus, we see that the women had begun to take a part in the management of men's Liberal organisations. At the same time Women's Liberal Associations were slowly growing up. These associations were first inaugurated at Bristol and York in 1881, and at Darlington in 1882. They appear to have been formed in the first place by the women themselves, who desired to press forward the various questions in which women were specially interested. In the forefront of these questions they placed the Parliamentary franchise. The statement of its objects, drawn up by the Darlington Association, was typical of those of most of the early women's Liberal societies. These objects were:

(1) To form sound opinions among the women of Darlington on public questions—political, social, and moral. (2) To diffuse information among them as to the manner in which the special interests of their sex are affected by existing laws. (3) To direct their influence to the securing of the best possible representation in local elections in which women already have the vote, as well as in Parliamentary elections.

In 1883 the Primrose League was formed. The Conservatives, who were the first to realise that the advocacy of women—especially at election times—might enhance the popularity and contribute to the success of the party in whose service it was enlisted, now cordially invited women to join the League.

The membership of the Primrose League increased with extraordinary rapidity. On Primrose Day, 1885, it consisted of 8,071 knights, 1,381 dames, and 1,914 associates. In June, 1885, a Ladies' Grand Council was formed, and during the year that followed no less than 400 habitations, 57 of which were exclusively composed of women, were formed owing to the work of the Ladies' Grand Council. On Primrose Day, 1886, the membership of the league had grown to 32,645 knights, 23,381 dames, and 181,257 associates; and on May 19, 1886, there were 35,790 knights, 25,103 dames, and 330,179 associates. It will thus be seen that the number of dames was increasing very much more rapidly than that of the knights. Special rules were therefore drawn up for the government of the Ladies' Grand Council. These rules were avowedly intended to increase the council's sphere of usefulness, but in reality they limited its powers and kept it as a subordinate part of the organisation. (To be Continued.)

## HOW WE PROTESTED AT QUEEN'S HALL.

By ONE OF THEM.

Peace! Peace is being extolled in our land. Emisaries, men and women, from all lands of the earth, are among us. They are in the streets, in the trains, buses, and trams—everywhere, wearing their ribbon and badge, "Peace Congress, 1908."

And in our midst lies imprisoned in a gaol a young girl of 19 years, who is to be imprisoned for life for doing away with her illegitimate child. The men of the country, the one-half of the population to which the guilty father of the dead babe belongs, have decreed this—the other half, the mother-sex of the population, is not consulted. Had it been the girl's property which had been taken from her, with her consent, or even if she had forced it on him, the man would have been made to come forward, and been held guilty; but, as it is a far more precious thing he has robbed her of, as he has, indeed, made her bankrupt in honour for ever, a shamed creature, and driven her, in her agony, to murder their child, he goes scot-free—she is a life-long prisoner.

Peace! Peace, with legislation like this, and in a hundred other unjust ways, going on around us. Peace, *i.e.*, a state of tranquillity; concord. Shame on every woman who acquiesces in such a peace! Shame on every woman who allows a "state of tranquillity" to prevail when such injustices are permitted.

For more than 40 years women have been pleading for their side to be heard—always to be answered, "No, we are well aware you have an undoubted right to have, but we deny you, a voice in the settling of your own affairs." If there are some women so servile in our isles, who watch the ruin of women's lives, and fold their arms helplessly as these insults are put on womanhood, saying, "Women's mission is submission," we can only blush for them until such time that they blush for themselves.

For our own part, we remember we belong to a free country, and a blood from brave ancestors flows in our veins, which makes injustice and insult intolerable to us.

When Queen's Hall was filled on Tuesday night to its utmost, its doors bursting with members of the Peace Congress, and songs of peace were chanted from hundreds of throats, what a mockery it seemed; and when one of the foremost representatives of a false and hypocritical Government began to speak on this great subject, it was hard for many of us to keep our seats. We should have liked to howl him down then and there, off the platform, and out of the building. It seemed he himself felt the magic word had lost its meaning on his lips, and dare not utter it, for he spoke some two or three minutes before he used it, and then his voice dropped, and his sentence ended almost inaudibly in "Peace."

It was the signal for our guns to fire—peace from him (on his terms) meant war from us. Up jumped Miss Macaulay. "Peace should begin at home!" she cried, indignantly. This statement (hardly a desperately revolutionary one) called forth in this gentle-minded assemblage a volume of vituperation. "Sit down!" "Chuck her out!" "Shut up, will you?" are some of the remarks one could distinguish. She sat down (only to reload), and Lloyd George's suave response that he hoped her home was peaceful called forth a vehement retort from Mrs. Baldock, who startled the already overcome occupants of the platform by springing up in the orchestra immediately behind them. Her voice was drowned by the cries of the peacemakers, who made hot haste to eject her by force. Lloyd George started again by assuring a credulous audience of his firm belief in woman's suffrage, when he was abruptly stopped by a

woman's clear young voice, demanding "Why don't you do something for us, then?"

The speaker went on for a minute to advocate peace, when Miss Brackenbury in steady tones inquired why he didn't allow women of his country to help him to get it? The whole place buzzed again. Miss Brackenbury, who was sitting two places from me, was pounced on by furious men. It was horrible to see how they treated her. She resisted them magnificently. She told the meeting in a controlled voice that men were using violence at a Peace Congress!

It was a hard but absolutely necessary struggle for me to appear indifferent while this rousing scene took place. Are women really so physically inferior? If so, how can one woman hold out so long against seven to ten infuriated men? We heard her voice all down the passages protesting against the hypocrisy of such peace.

By this time Miss Macaulay had re-loaded. She had suffered many reproaches of "You began this; it's all your fault," &c. She took careful aim, but was fouled by those who had kept a watchful eye on her, and who escorted her to the outer door amidst another din.

"They're all over the place," my neighbour told me. "I've never seen such scenes before."

"The protesters seem the most self-collected and orderly, don't they?" was the only safe answer to give. And after that the "orderly ones" sprang up from all parts. It really was magnificently organised. I saw several men on the platform, evidently relishing the sportsmanlike side of it—it seemed to me they were speculating as to where the next one would rise.

"Votes for women" came from one side of the hall; "Be just and fear not" echoed back from the top balcony; "Why don't you enfranchise your women?" rose from the basement; "The position of the women of England is one of humiliation," rang back.

Mrs. Bouverie, as usual, made a bull's eye by remarking, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer said, "These women are presuming on their sex," "No, it is the men who are presuming on it," and was promptly hustled out on that presumption. Miss Feek was saying something to the point when hands were jammed on her mouth, and she was carried out amid uproar. "Votes for women" resounded again from over the way, clearly but tremulously, and I knew a young recruit was facing fire for the first time. I could hardly repress a spontaneous "Bravo!" as she was hurled hence. Mrs. McLeod battled bravely as ever. I saw her straight opposite me on the other side of the hall, gesticulating to the ladies around her after one protest. I felt sure she was explaining to them that they were the unwomanly women, "the worms who wouldn't turn." I believe she had three goes.

By this time it seemed to be my turn, as, according to my calculations, all my comrades had protested once at least, and I couldn't tell in all cases whether ejections had taken place. During the evening a man and his wife next me assured me they thought I was a most amiable lady for not making a fuss for getting a wrong seat. I hope they didn't change their minds later! I awaited a convenient moment, and slipped down to the front, and took firmly hold of the golden rails, and leant over the platform, and told Mr. George women wanted peace, but peace with honour; he must give women justice first; justice was higher than peace.

An old gentleman in the near distance, who had been giving me peace leaflets of his own, and seemed a prominent "Peacemaker," seized his bulky umbrella, and tried in a great rage to hit my hands off the rail with the handle

of it—that, of course, in a most peaceable manner! The next thing I knew was I was off my feet, being dragged over the tops of seats. I called out to the law-maker: "If you put us inside the constitution, we will behave constitutionally; give us peace with honour"; and then came the outer door and fresh air.

One of the protesters sat amongst French people, who greatly applauded the pluck of English women.

Mrs. Sanders and I afterwards suddenly espied Lloyd George sneaking away by a back door, with three men. We ran after him, and said, "Mr. Lloyd George, we want to speak to you a minute." One man seized Mrs. Sanders, and another got hold of my dress, and I could not release myself, but we called "Coward" to the Minister of the Crown, who was slinking away.

He understands our tactics well enough now. There were no "hysterical shrieks" or "shrill feminine voices." No, every woman spoke up clearly and well, and the two who were reported as saying faintly, "Votes for women," spoke from the back of the hall, and as the reporters all heard at their table by the platform, the voices could not have been very faint.

On this occasion we felt we could use the Antigettes' argument, "We greatly dislike doing these things, but when it becomes a necessity in the interests of the community, we must not flinch."

### Press Extracts.

"PALL MALL GAZETTE," July 29.

#### The Pacifist in Action.

The doctrines of non-resistance and moral suasion were severely discredited at the hands of their upholders while the high-minded words of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were in the very course of delivery. The Suffragists made an early diversion with their cries of "Votes for Women," but we read that "their feeble voices were drowned by an answering roar of 'Chuck her out!'" Surely that was a terrible lapse from the faith in unmitigated magnanimity which was being so fervently enunciated from the platform! As for the pacifist who hit a lady on the fingers with his umbrella, in order to make her relax her hold of the gallery railing—we really fail to see how there can be room for that backsliding brother in the tabernacle any longer.

"MORNING POST," July 29.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of women Suffragists among the audience, and the expulsion of some of the ladies created scenes of disorder strangely at variance with the character of the assembly and the objects which brought it together.

Mr. Lloyd George said it seemed incredible that it should be necessary in the twentieth century to hold meetings in a civilised country to protest against the expenditure by Christian communities of 400 millions a year upon preparing to kill each other. It was still more amazing that the leaders of opinion should be more engrossed on the perfecting and rendering more deadly of the machinery of human slaughter than upon setting up some tribunal for the peaceable adjustment of disputes. (Cheers.)

At this point a young woman in the balcony near the platform shouted, "Peace must begin at home, and with honour for women." Mr. Lloyd George said: "I agree with that sentiment, and I hope that lady will be peaceable." Another lady at the back of the platform cried out something which was not distinctly heard, and there were angry calls from the audience to "Turn them out." "If I were not a rooted believer in enfranchisement of women—" said Mr. Lloyd George. "Then why don't you do something," exclaimed the lady in the balcony, who was immediately pounced upon by three or four stewards, who proceeded to drag her from her seat, to which she held with great tenacity, shouting all the time, "These men are using violence at a peace meeting. Hypocrites! What would Christ say?" The lady was finally, but with much difficulty, carried bodily to the nearest

exit and conducted downstairs to the street, the audience cheering loudly as she went. Mr. Lloyd George had only uttered another sentence, expressing his regret that such a scene should have been brought about, when another woman in the balcony shouted; "The women appeal to you," and she too was quickly bundled out of the building.

Mr. Lloyd George did not get far in his speech without interruption. It was punctuated at three or four minute intervals with exclamations about votes for women from various parts of the building. The women were in every case ejected, some walking out quietly, others resisting and being carried to the door in the arms of the stewards. When six women had been thus put out Mr. Lloyd George, speaking with some show of impatience, said: "Really, if women do not show more intelligence than the very sorry samples it has been my privilege to meet in these interruptions they are not fit for the vote—(cheers)—and they are rapidly creating such a feeling of anger and disgust—" (Cheers.) The sentence was interrupted by a cry of "Women want justice" from a lady in the top gallery, who was ejected in summary fashion, and another interrupter at the back of the platform was similarly treated. "They are creating," continued Mr. Lloyd George, "a feeling of disgust in the minds of their best friends. Moreover, they are presuming on their sex." "That is what you are doing," shouted a female in the gallery. "They are presuming," went on Mr. Lloyd George, "on their sex, and they know perfectly well that men would have been much more roughly treated long ago." (Cheers.) The right hon. gentleman endeavoured to continue his speech, and was immediately again interrupted by a woman in the balcony. As she was being carried out Mr. Lloyd George said, amid the laughter of the audience: "Put a handkerchief over it; don't turn her out. I think the gag should be tried."

Resuming, when quiet had been restored, he said the fact of the matter was that we were frightened of each other and were building ships against each other.

We had an overwhelming preponderance at sea, and we were not satisfied. We said: "Let there be 'Dreadnoughts.'"

At this point, after two more women had been expelled, a lady in the front of the balcony stood up and cried: "Justice is higher than peace; we want peace with honour." When the stewards tried to remove her she clung to the railing and was only carried out after a struggle.

"MORNING LEADER," July 29.

#### La Belle Dame Sans Merci.

No supporter of the enfranchisement of women can well take exception to the stern rebuke addressed by Mr. Lloyd George to those who interrupted him last night at the session of the International Peace Congress. Even if Cabinet Ministers are fair game (which, as lawyers say, we do not admit), even if the cause of the vote is so urgent that that of international peace must be sacrificed to it (which we deny), there are still certain demands made upon us by the duty of welcoming the Congress, which is largely composed of very distinguished foreigners, to Great Britain. They cannot be ignored, as they were last night, without involving serious discredit upon the national character for courtesy and hospitality.

"DAILY NEWS," July 29.

The scenes at the Queen's Hall last night belong to the worst traditions of the aggressive women's movement. We admit their right to make themselves a nuisance in order to make themselves heard. We see the tactical idea of assailing members of the Ministry. But surely there are times and seasons even for tactics, and we are glad to know that the whole of the great gathering assembled to hear Mr. Lloyd George on that supreme women's question, the question of peace, resented with intense indignation the folly which turned the occasion into a display of female rowdiness.

"EVENING NEWS," July 29.

The Suffragettes at the Peace Congress last night gave the members a taste of the horrors of war, but it was sad to see the apostles of universal brotherhood heaving out the weaker sex into the street.

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## OUR RELEASED PRISONERS.

### ENTHUSIASTIC SCENES AT QUEEN'S HALL.

On Friday morning the first batch of prisoners to be released from Holloway were met at the prison gates, and escorted in triumph, banners flying and bands playing, to Queen's Hall, where some 250 friends and supporters were waiting to give them a warm welcome.

The proceedings were most enthusiastic, and the women were cheered again and again.

A bouquet of purple and white sweet peas and purple heather was presented to each of the prisoners, whose names are as follows:—

Miss Florence Lovell.	Miss Mary E. Postlethwaite.
Miss Alice Lea.	Miss Rachael Townshend.
Mrs. Mary Clarke.	Miss Louisa Phillips.
Miss Mary Garth.	Miss Harriet Marshall.
Miss Thirza Cove.	Miss Florence Clarkson.
Mrs. Lily Simpson Mosen.	Miss Daisy Offord.
Miss Jessie Kenney.	Miss Marion Wallace Dunlop.
Miss Constance Bray.	

Breakfast over, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in the name of all present and of very many unable to be present, welcomed the prisoners.

How deeply their courage and their great services in the cause of women (prolonged applause) were appreciated could not be expressed. The meeting, Mrs. Lawrence continued, was essentially a family gathering, a private meeting of the Union, and she assured the women who had just come out of prison how their fellow-members loved them, and had thought of them morning and night; how on sunny summer days they had almost wondered how the sun could shine while their comrades were shut away behind prison bars, and when skies were grey had rejoiced because there was not a summer day lost to them. "We too," Mrs. Lawrence continued, amid laughter, "have not been idle while they have been away."

Every moment had been precious; great demonstrations had been held all over the country; people had turned out in thousands, tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands, and everywhere votes of sympathy and admiration for those courageous enough to go to prison for their principles had been passed.

#### A Note of Warning.

Speaking of the future, Mrs. Lawrence said that as the goal was approached the way became more and more difficult, the situation more and more delicate. As on a voyage up the Nile there were rocks and whirlpools, the voyagers, though aware of the danger, trusted their pilot to bring them safely through, she appealed to the members of the Union to trust their leaders. (Prolonged applause.) "You sit quite calm and happy," said the speaker, "knowing that they have taken the boat out hundreds of times and have always brought it safely into port. And now our boat is getting into the rapids. Everybody who is a real enemy to the cause is trying to trick us in every possible way."

Those who read the papers would know that their Liberal friends in the House of Commons had met and discussed the question, and had decided not to ballot for the Women's Bill any more. (Shame!) Next year they would ballot for a general Reform Bill which would confuse the issue. It was expected by Liberals that the Lords would oppose a general extension of the franchise. "They want," said Mrs. Lawrence, "to divert the women's heroism to their own ends, and play their own game with the House of Lords. We must not be taken in. We have our pilots on board, and we have to trust them absolutely. (Cheers.) What we women have got to do is to realise that the women leaders, the founders of this Union, are every bit as clever politicians. (Hear, hear.) They have minds as great as those of any great man who has ever led a political party to victory. (Hear, hear.)"

#### Speeches from the Prisoners.

Mrs. Clarke said she brought three messages from those still in Holloway. It had been sad to leave them behind. At chapel and exercise especially they would miss the friends who had gone into the battle again. Prison life made one more wily than the heathen Chinese, and Miss Vera Wentworth had contrived to send a message to the effect that she was prepared to follow the advice the omnibus drivers gave her when she sold VOTES FOR WOMEN in the Strand, and "Stick it!"

Miss Mary Phillips said: "Tell Mrs. Pankhurst and all the other friends that I am very, very glad to do the three months, because I think it will be good for the cause. My only regret is that I have not two bodies, one to do the work outside as well as the one inside." The third message was different. No one who had not been in prison could realise the horror in some of the faces there; it was as if a blight had fallen upon them. They also had an unconscious message: How long would the women of this country look like that? How long would women's lives be blighted by wrong conditions?

Mrs. Mosen, in a drily humorous speech, said it would be necessary to go to Holloway for a month in order to know just how glad she was to be out again. Though not a pleasant experience, it was well worth while for the sake of the cause. Much amusement was caused by her repetition of a Limerick scratched with a needle on one of the prison knives, concerning an old man of East Fife who would find it was war to the knife. Prison life, said Mrs. Mosen, had been summed up as "bread and milk, and sunstroke." After marching round the exercise yard with no protection from the blazing sun, the prisoners were at length provided with sun-bonnets. They were purple with white spots. She thought they might have been tied with green ribbons. She would have given anything to see Mr. Asquith marching round the yard! Even after a fortnight in hospital, prisoners were required to do the regulation exercise, and threatened, if they stopped to rest, with being sent back to their cells. Her husband had written to Mr. Gladstone asking permission to visit her; this had been granted on condition that he tried to persuade her to come out. Mr. Mosen replied that the condition was a worse insult than refusal would have been. (Prolonged applause.)

Miss Mary Garth said the welcome made her feel ashamed that she had not done more for the cause. Her chief feeling was one of gratitude to those who had set the example, and who, when they went to prison, had no assurance that the work would go on as it was now doing, and no welcome such as that at Queen's Hall waiting for them when they came out. (Applause.) "We want to do all we can to show how we love and respect them," she said.

Miss Jessie Kenney said she had not yet got used to being allowed to talk without hearing from somewhere in the background, "Hold your tongue, No. 24." Indeed, she seemed still to hear it. Her experience of Holloway was that it was a very nice place to live out of. Her impression was that the authorities did not know how to treat the Suffragettes. At first they were very strict; the prisoners were in their cells from 11.30 a.m. to 8.30 next morning, with the exception of fetching water, &c. The second week, however, things were different. The wardresses were kinder, and there were many visits from doctors, magistrates, chief matrons, and others. Then two exercise times were instituted, and associated work. The chief cause of discontent was the lack of ventilation—the cells were stifling. Some of the women sprinkled the floor with water, thereby lessening their washing supply. The treatment was neither one thing nor the other; and the authorities seemed anxious to hide everything ugly or unpleasant as far as possible. When she was arrested she was told she was helping in the women's rebellion. She replied: "It is Mr. Asquith who has caused the rebellion, not we."

Miss New had said: "Tell Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and all of them that Holloway air is very good, and I am going to stick it."

Miss Dunlop said she hardly dared to tell those present about the infirmary, where she had spent the most terrible days of her life. She could never forget two young girls, one not only young, but bright and pretty—the one condemned to be hanged, the other under trial for child murder. "I confess," said Miss Dunlop, "I broke down. It was so terrible to feel powerless to help. It made one fiercely anxious to come out and help this cause." Miss Dunlop also brought a message from Miss Joachim, who had spoken from the next cell at the top of her voice:—

"Tell Mrs. Pankhurst that I expect to come out on September 16, and I shall be quite ready to come back on the 17th."

Miss Lovell described Holloway as a pre-historic place, where the rules seemed to have been made for children. She was given "Little Folks" to read, and warned not to mess it with her milk and butter. When she asked whether every alternate day would do for washing the bedstead, as she suffered from rheumatism, the reply was, "Rheumatism? What do you know about rheumatism?" To this day she did not know why she was arrested. A gentleman had taken her arm to help her through the crowd; she thanked him, and he disappeared. Another did the same; but he was a policeman, and said, "You are arrested." Everybody was shouting "Votes for Women," men and women alike, yet no men were arrested.

"If," said Miss Lovell, "you don't mind eating with your fingers, walking round and round in the baking sun, washing your hands once a day, and that before cleaning your pots and pans, lying on a bed stuffed with nails or chunks of wood, in a suffocating cell, and wearing clothes that don't fit, or boots with nails the wrong way up, then Holloway is not such a bad place. At any rate, the more we go there, the better for those inside." She had often wondered what Mr. Asquith thought the women who wanted the vote really were. She had no doubt now that he classed them with lunatics and infants. The large wooden spoon, the slate pencil, the clothes-brush and diminutive comb, with which one's long hair had to be done, the extraordinary cut, if not the total omission, of articles of underclothing, all pointed to the fact that Holloway had been regulated by men in some antediluvian period. Even the chaplain preached in baby language, from the same text morning and evening. The text on that occasion was: "And the child Samuel grew."

"But," said Miss Lovell, "I determined I would smile, and I have smiled for a whole month."

It was true there had been concessions. Why? It must be that the Government was ashamed. The visiting magistrate, whose name she regretted she could not discover, had been extremely kind. She had the following conversation with him:—

"Why are you here?" he asked.

"Principle has brought me here."

"Yes; but why, now you have done all that, don't you go out?"

"What about that which Mr. Herbert Gladstone thinks so little about—one's honour?"

"Yes; you are right. Honour is dear to woman and man also."

One thing heard was that Mr. Herbert Gladstone said the women could come out when they liked. But he never finished the sentence. Another was that he had Suffragettes on the brain, and was always dreaming of them. If he had had her bed he would not have dreamt at all, because he would not have slept. But women could bear the burden that the Government—and she had almost said the men of England—put upon them. Grumbling was not their way.

Miss Marsh, in a little speech full of spirit, thought the more young members of the Union went to prison the better. It was good to be alive in this twentieth century, and if she had her choice of any time in which to live she would choose now, when women were privileged to endure hardship for the cause. It was not so hard to bear when you were young and strong, and able to "rough it." And the time passed wonderfully quickly!

Miss Clarkson said that, being a Catholic, she attended a different chapel, and had to exercise alone on Sundays. She felt this at first very much, but the chaplain and wardresses had been very kind. "I was crying," said Miss Clarkson, "I own. I said I thought it was the boots!" Once in the infirmary, you felt you were really in prison: there was nothing to do. She wrote "Votes for Women" on her slate, and hung it over her bed to comfort her when she woke in the night.

Miss Constance Bray showed her note-book, which she had been allowed to have back after it had been inspected. She had kept a diary, but before parting with it for inspection had spent some hours carefully erasing her individual impressions of prison life.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence explained that the note-books were entirely new. They were one of the results of the recent appointment of Dr. Mary Gordon as Health Inspector. Dr. Gordon, to her personal knowledge, was doing very good work, and it was a good day for women prisoners when she

was appointed. The associated work was one of the improvements due to her.

Soon after eleven o'clock the brakes were again filled, and the ex-prisoners, with Mrs. Pankhurst and the other leaders of the movement, drove to Haggerston, where an enthusiastic welcome from the women of the constituency was accorded them. A large crowd gathered outside Queen's Hall to watch the departure, and one man was heard to remark to another: "You know, these people are going to wake up London. You will find when the women begin to take action the men will be roused."

## 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."

26. In what way are laws applying to men and women unequal?

It is impossible in the space at our disposal to make a full statement on this subject, but the following are some of the inequalities of which women have to complain:—

MEN	WOMEN
Are the sole lawmakers, either as members of Parliament or as Judges in our Courts of Law.	Are allowed no part in these matters.

Possessing any one of the legal qualifications (owner, occupier, lodger, or service franchise) may vote for members of Parliament.

May serve on juries.

Monopolise almost all administrative posts, especially if well paid and honourable.

Are legally free to enter any industry or profession.

Are at every point favoured by the laws of inheritance.

Can secure divorce for the adultery of the wife.

Are the legal parents of their children born in marriage.

Have only a slight legal liability, when the mother is able to enforce it, for their children born out of marriage.

27. What is the position of women's suffrage in Australia? Have they votes in every colony for the Colonial Parliaments as well as for the Commonwealth Parliament?

Women are entitled to vote for members of the Federal Parliament in all the States of Australia, including Tasmania. They are entitled to vote for members of the State Parliament in all States, with the exception of Victoria.

28. Would it not be a mistake to give votes to women, seeing that women are so much under the influence of the clergy?

What extraordinary arguments are brought against the obvious right of all taxpayers to enjoy representation. We are told women must not have the vote because they are influenced by the clergy. We are told women must not have the vote because men are already influenced by women. Obviously, if women are not to have the vote because they already possess influence over men, the clergy should therefore lose the vote because they already (as alleged) possess influence over women. But seemingly there is no logic where this question is concerned. Women are to be content with their influence over men, which is a substitute for the voting power on the one hand, and on the other, they are not fit for the vote because they in their turn are influenced by men, namely clergymen. Of course, it is always the women who are to be deprived of citizenship, whether they influence or are influenced themselves. Does not this question show how utterly illogical and ridiculous is the opposition to what is, after all, an absolutely reasonable, logical, and common sense demand?

## The National Women's Social & Political Union.

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The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for votes for women on the same terms as they are possessed by men.

They are not asking for the vote for every woman, but that a woman shall not be refused a vote simply because she is a woman.

The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure, giving the vote to women on these terms, shall be passed this Session.

### CABINET MINISTERS' FEAR OF WOMEN.

"Words," says Christabel Pankhurst, "serve but two uses in our Militant Movement. They serve to announce what we are going to do, and afterwards to explain why we have done it."

We have, for instance, definitely announced that whenever a Cabinet Minister appears upon a public platform we shall be there, if by any means we can get there, in order to put a certain question to him, the question as to whether the Liberal Government is going to abandon its unconstitutional resistance to the claim of women taxpayers to their due representation in the government of the country. If he can satisfy us with an answer in the affirmative we shall be only too glad to listen silently and dutifully to all his subsequent remarks. If not, it is our duty to make a public protest against a tyrannical Government represented by one of its responsible officials that forcibly takes our money for political administration, while denying us the right to express our assent or our dissent to the laws which we have to obey.

The Government refuses to make peace with the women of the country. We therefore declare beforehand quite fairly and squarely what form the warfare on our part will take. We announce that we are going to get into meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers by every device or means available. They have, by the rules of warfare, the right to take every available means to keep us out and they do take every precaution that they can. When we out-manceuvre them they and their partisans whine and cry out for mercy in a way that seems to us entirely contemptible. They take their beating very badly. We Suffragettes should be ashamed to exhibit so poor and peevish a spirit.

Why do we attack Cabinet Ministers even when they speak on Temperance, or Peace, or Housing, or Free Trade, or Unemployment, or on other Social-Humanitarian, or even "essentially moral" questions? First because a Cabinet Minister is a public servant, and he owes a duty to us. His salary is paid by women as well as by men; the money that passes through his hands for Government purposes is women's money as well as men's money. When he comes to give an account of his stewardship, it is to the women as well as the men that he must explain and justify his actions.

Then, again, a public meeting is the only place where we can transact business with him. The House of Commons, "the People's House," is closed to us. If we send a deputation, the police bar the way. If we persist in the attempt to effect an entrance, we are arrested and imprisoned. We cannot see him on our political business at his private house. If we write for an appointment we are refused. If we ring his door bell, we are arrested and thrown into prison. The only place where women can see the public servants of the country who have usurped tyrannical power over them is when these public servants face a public meeting.

But why choose the time when a Cabinet Minister is talking of other matters altogether? Why introduce Votes for Women when he is talking of Peace, or of Temperance—or of something else? Because every one of these questions is as much a woman's question as it is a man's question; because these are all-important matters affecting women as much as men, and matters that can only be dealt with and settled in one way, namely, by the vote. Because men have no business to decide them alone. Because Votes for Women underlies and must precede every other reform, every other change in our social, economic, or political system, since if changes are to come by means of the vote women as well as men will be influenced by them, and therefore women as well as men must help to determine them. If we waited to ask our question until Votes for Women was the subject under discussion we should have to wait till doomsday. After waiting for 50 years women have at last found that out.

No, it is no use peevishly to complain because women have been driven and goaded into fighting against political

enslavement. The remedy is in the hands of the Government. Let it make honourable peace with the women of the country by putting its own maxims into practice. If it persists in its refusal to do this, then Cabinet Ministers can decline to face a public meeting, or those who wish for an undisturbed meeting can refrain from inviting them to speak on a Peace or Temperance or "Moral Question" platform. But if they decide to try the hazard, let them take every precaution to keep women out of their meetings as they keep them out of the Constitution; or even let them throw women out because they dare not give a straight answer to a vital question. But in the name of decency let them cease to whimper and upbraid.

Mr. Lloyd George says that women do not deserve votes, because when he was declaiming against war in the Queen's Hall last Thursday one woman asked, "Then why does your Government make war upon women?" He says that women prove themselves unfit for citizenship because when he tried to get out of an awkward situation by declaring himself in favour of giving women the right to vote, a woman called out, "Why don't you do something?" and was promptly ejected for making the remark.

Mr. Lloyd George was half-killed by men at a public meeting in Birmingham, whence he escaped disguised as a policeman. Yet he has never said men are not worthy to be voters; on the contrary, he with the Government, stands pledged to give more votes to men during the present Parliament.

What a sorry and ridiculous figure is cut by these gentlemen who challenge women—"You cannot hurt us," and then make such an outcry when they are hit. If they prefer warfare rather than equitable and honourable peace, if they think they can beat down the resistance of women because being voteless women are politically weak, then, at any rate, let them play the game of war, not as cry-babies and cowards, but with a little pluck, and a bit of the fighter's nonchalance. We women shall have a great deal more respect for our enemy the Government when Cabinet Ministers show more spirit in their encounters with us, and when the Liberal Press ceases from making its silly, peevish comments. As it is, the outcries of Cabinet Ministers and Liberal politicians put new heart into us, and strengthen us in our resistance to political tyranny.

Why this fear of women on the part of Cabinet Ministers? Liberal politicians come to our meetings to ask questions, to interrupt, and even to throw missiles, to poison the air with chemicals, to sing songs, and perform all kinds of antics. We are not in the least disturbed. We nearly always manage to laugh last. As for questions, we positively welcome them, and gladly stop in the middle of the best speech we ever yet made to answer a pertinent interruption. We are not afraid of questioners, and, instead of abusing them, we thank them for listening so politely to the answer.

What is it that is making Liberal Cabinet Ministers so afraid of women questioners? It is their conscience that is the coward. They hate women's questions because they cannot meet them. They are not prepared to assure women of coming enfranchisement, yet they dare not openly confess this to be the case. Therefore, they prefer to take refuge in silence and to let women be thrown out of their meetings.

They fear us because, though we are voteless and therefore politically weaponless, we stand strong in truth and logic and justice. And they are shorn of their strength, because they are false to the principles which are the very ground foundation of Liberalism, because they stand condemned by the faith to which they give lip-homage, but which they deny daily in the practice of their political life.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

### POLITICAL NOTES.

The Haggerston election has resulted in another Government defeat, and the Liberal newspapers are rather at a loss to find a reason, not too discreditable to the party, why a constituency with an almost unbroken record of Liberalism should have rejected the Liberal nominee by a majority of over 1,100. The "Daily News" argues that such defeat is the cost the Liberal party must pay for reform, but those who know the popularity of the Votes for Women cause, and the sympathy which men and women alike feel for the women who are fighting for liberty, are of opinion that these frequent Government reverses at the poll are in reality the price which the Liberal Government has to pay for their reluctance to grant reform. This fact begins to be dimly perceived by the "Daily News," for in the leading article on the Haggerston result we find it said:—"It was like a penalty of fate, also, that women Suffragists should have been released from prison the very day before the poll, so that they were paraded through the district as the victims of sentences carried out with circumstances not consistent with the Liberal view of political offences."

There can be no doubt that sympathy with the prisoners influenced many votes. The politicians who prefer the imprisonment to the enfranchisement of women must not expect to retain the respect of fairminded people. It is well for Cabinet Ministers who are capable of going comfortably away to spend a holiday, leaving the still imprisoned women to spend many more weary weeks in prison, should have in their minds the knowledge that for the injustice they do in disfranchising and then imprisoning women they must pay by one election defeat after another. Our prisoners, by the sacrifice they are so ready to make, are engendering a great moral force capable of overcoming the strongest of Governments.

The opposition of women who fight in a good cause with devotion and energy has power to transform the political situation. The women's anti-Government campaign means that the enthusiasm which might exist for the Liberal party is damped and that there is loss of confidence in a Government which, being false to one of its principles, is likely to abandon other principles later on. It has been doubted whether, in the interests of women, electors will vote against a party with which they have hitherto been identified; but the least altruistic of men are likely to say, "The women have found these Liberals out; let us beware of them, too." Moreover, it is a great mistake to suppose that the men voters cannot be appealed to on other grounds than those of self-interest. They can be induced to place their political power at the service of others, and they are ready, by voting against the Government, to support the movement for votes for women.

The attitude of the defeated Liberal candidate throughout the Haggerston contest gave interesting evidence that he knew our power to rob him of votes. In the first place, he attempted to turn to his own purposes the approval which the people of Haggerston evidently felt of our vigorous methods. After expressing approval of the valiant deeds of the militant Suffragists, he called on the electors to give them a message of encouragement by returning him as their member of Parliament. Fortunately, this expedient failed of success, because we were able to make it clear to the electors that to vote against the Government was the best way of supporting and encouraging us.

In addition Mr. Warren made certain statements as to his attitude on women's enfranchisement, which, valueless as they were, were yet accepted by one group of Suffragists as sufficient reasons for giving him support.

The four grounds upon which these ladies supported Mr. Warren were that he is a member of the Men's League, that his election address contains a reference to Woman

Suffrage, that he says he is prepared to support the enfranchisement of women on equal terms with men, that he promises to do his best to secure the inclusion of a Woman Suffrage clause in the Government's Reform Bill. There is nothing in all this which would have prevented the election of Mr. Warren from being harmful to the women's cause. Not one of these four reasons, nor all of them taken together, would justify women in working for a nominee of the Government. Liberal candidates must not expect that active Suffragists will regard membership of the Men's League as a satisfactory certificate of political character. Any presumption in his favour which might be raised by Mr. Warren's membership of that association is altogether destroyed by the fact that he accepts as leaders the men who form the present Government. The insertion of a Woman Suffrage paragraph in his election address, while it is a recognition of the political importance of our movement, counts for nothing, for the election addresses of rank and file candidates are by no means binding documents, as many disappointed reformers have often found out to their cost. Once they have served their purpose of attracting votes they are thrown aside and forgotten, and the only programme to which, after their election, candidates really stand committed is the programme of their political leaders.

Let us consider Mr. Warren's promise to support the enfranchisement of women on the same terms as men.

#### Broken Promises.

At the last General Election this identical promise was made by the majority of the Liberal members now in the House of Commons, yet only the other day these very men decided to break their word, and to introduce, not a measure simply removing the political disability of sex, but a general Reform Bill dealing with the Parliamentary Franchise as a whole, of which Woman Suffrage is to be only a part. They have, contrary to their undertaking, decided upon this change of policy although they know the desirability of removing the sex disability before the Reform Bill is introduced and the danger of entangling women's enfranchisement with a general franchise extension. What reason is there to suppose that Mr. Warren, had he been elected, would have been more true to his word than these other members of Parliament have been?

Mr. Warren's further promise to do all in his power to get Woman Suffrage included in the Government's Reform Bill is not any more to be relied upon. He himself gave unmistakable proof of that. When asked whether he would vote against the Government's Reform measure if it was not so amended as to include Woman Suffrage, he replied in the negative, saying that he was confident that every extension of the franchise to men brings us nearer to a similar extension of the franchise to women, and it would neither be just nor politic to oppose any possible widening of the basis of the franchise to men because it is not accompanied by a corresponding extension to women. Now, as every politician knows, each new extension of the men's franchise makes it more difficult for women to secure inclusion within the ranks of citizenship. It is in the nature of things that this should be so, but let any who have doubts upon the subject investigate past history. In other countries besides our own it is the case that the increase of men's political rights has meant a corresponding diminution in the political rights of women. Those who know the tendency of political reform to move in this one-sided way must, if they truly wish success to the women's cause, be anxious that no further measure of men's enfranchisement which does not apply also to women shall become law. Mr. Warren's promise to do all in his power to get Woman Suffrage included in the Government's Reform Bill is proved to be utterly hollow by his refusal to vote against the Bill if women are left out

of it. That refusal means that the Government have nothing to fear from him if they neglect to do justice to women. So far as he is concerned, the Bill will be carried whether women are included in it or not. What do the Government care whether or no one of their followers holds a pious opinion in favour of Woman Suffrage; all they want to know is whether he is prepared to back up his opinion by voting against the Bill if it does not include Woman Suffrage. If the supporters in the House of Commons are no more determined than Mr. Warren, then it will prove very easy for the Government to exclude women from the benefit of the coming Reform Bill. Some determination must be put into Liberal members before the crucial moment arrives, and the way to do it is to make them realise that they will be made to suffer for the sins of their leaders. Otherwise, what will happen? Some private member will move a Woman Suffrage amendment. The matter will be debated. The Government, without admitting themselves to be hostile to the principle of women's enfranchisement, will find some specious reason why the amendment should not be carried. Perhaps they will say women's demand for enfranchisement has not yet been made evident, perhaps they will quarrel with the terms of the amendment. Some excuse will not be wanting. When the division is taken, the followers of the Government will obey their orders, and, as has happened before, the women's amendment will be thrown overboard, and the Bill will sail into port carrying the men only.

#### Liberal Decoys.

That would be the position of affairs if the members of the Women's Social and Political Union were prepared to be bought off by Liberal candidates' empty promises—promises which commit the Liberal leaders to nothing, and are apparently not felt even by the candidates themselves to be binding on their conscience. But now that we have determined to treat with the Government alone and to ignore the personal views and pledges of their candidates, we shall win, for we have succeeded in doing what many men politicians have failed to do. We have seen through the favourite and time-honoured device of the Liberal leaders. That device consists in setting young politicians to play the part of decoy. These aspirants to a place in the House of Commons, and to perhaps even greater political distinction, set before the electors a varied programme of the most advanced reforms, which reforms do not find a place on the programme that the party leaders actually intend to carry through. Thus the feeling of the country in favour of progress and reform is exploited for party ends. So long as the people are prepared to accept the promises of private members in lieu of the performances of party leaders this disingenuous plan will be adhered to. When, and only when, they realise, as the militant Suffragists have done, that direct pressure must be brought to bear on the responsible leaders of the party will the promoters of any reform get the Liberal Government to act.

#### Christabel Pankhurst.



## ELIZABETH.

(Late o. 1, Hertford Street, Mayfair.)

CHILDREN'S MILLINERY  
AND OUTFITTING.

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SERGE AND COTTON FROCKS FOR THE  
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No. 16 Tunic suitable for Boy or Girl in  
RAMIE Washing Material. Usual price  
from 25/-.

Sale price from 18/6

## THE BY-ELECTION AT HAGGERSTON.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Another nail was driven into the coffin of the Government on Saturday, when the Liberal candidate was defeated by 1,143 votes.

The result was waited for by thousands of people, who filled the street outside Shoreditch Town Hall long before the declaration was due, and was received with shouts of triumph.

The number of votes polled for the Government shows a decrease of 1,048 over those of the General Election.

The result, therefore, to which Mrs. Pankhurst confidently looked in her speech at Earl's Court on Saturday week has been splendidly realised, and we may congratulate ourselves on one more victory to add to those of Pudsey, North-West Manchester, Peckham, South Hereford, Mid-Devon, and Cockermouth.

All through the week the labours of the suffragettes were unceasing, and it was remarked in the Press that although at the committee rooms of the candidates work ceased and premises were closed quite early on the evening of polling day at 21, Haggerston-road, the members of the N.W.S.P.U. were extremely active until the ballot closed at 8 p.m.

#### The Meetings.

The campaign began with open-air meetings on Sunday night, and throughout the week meetings were held every afternoon for women in Scawfell-street Schools, and innumerable open-air meetings were conducted by our speakers, who included, in addition to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and "General" Drummond (who, with a band of workers, was responsible for the work at the committee room), Mrs. Roe, Mrs. Cullen, Mrs. Bartlett, Mrs. Baldock, Mrs. Kerwood, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Lightman, Miss Higgins, Miss Stephenson, Miss Auld, Miss Naylor, Miss Keegan, Miss Chadbourne, the Misses J. and U. Dugdale, Miss Sharp, Miss Bouvier, Miss Walsh, Miss Macaulay, and others.

Everywhere the suffragettes have been received with cordial friendliness, the women especially showing their sympathy with and approval of the courage and determination which send women to Holloway for the sake of their principles.

Of course, there has been criticism, but it has been friendly, and the nature of the questions asked at the meetings showed beyond a doubt that the people of Haggerston grasped the principles of the women's fight for the vote.

The poverty of the neighbourhood is the first thing to strike anyone visiting it for the first time—the poverty and the hunger. "Hungry Haggerston," it might be called! On the first day or two hardly any copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and it seemed as if there were no pennies to spare.

As the interest grew, however, quite a large number of last week's issue, containing Miss Christabel Pankhurst's article, "Why We Fight the Government at Haggerston," were sold, and both at platforms and at the committee room a quantity of literature was disposed of. Indeed, "General" Drummond and her helpers were besieged by men and women anxious to learn more of the movement.

Popular feeling, especially among the women of the constituency, was roused, and Haggerston learnt more about the suffragettes and their methods in seven days than places not blessed with a by-election have done in as many weeks.

Thanks to its being holiday time, good use was made of the unlimited leisure of many of the children, to whom the now famous verse:

Asquith, Gladstone,  
Cabinet Ministers all!  
Fifty thousand Suffragettes,  
Determined to have their way,  
All of them doing their level best  
To bring Votes for Women about,  
So give your vote for the women's sake,  
And keep the Liberal out.

to the tune of "The Absent-Minded Beggar," was taught by means of cards printed in green, white, and purple. Valuable help in this was given by Miss Billinghurst, the lame lady, who, in her invalid chair, accompanied the children in their processions through the streets.

#### A Typical Open Air Meeting.

On one afternoon during the week I accompanied two of the speakers to a point of vantage, where a meeting was to be held. We distributed handbills inviting women to the Scawfell-street School meetings on the way. Except by two factory girls, these were invariably well received, and several times we had to stop to answer queries about the vote.

We set up our platform (a hired lorry) opposite the committee rooms of the Conservative candidate. The crowd, attracted by our scarves and badges, grew apace, and by the time we mounted the lorry the triangular space was rapidly filling. The police were present, and kept a watchful eye on the proceedings.

Men, women, and children were there, the former predominating. Although almost three o'clock in the afternoon, Haggerston appeared to have plenty of time on hand. There were many who could only be described as "out-of-works," with a sprinkling of tradesmen, who came across from their shop doors to hear the speeches. Women with babies in their arms also joined the crowd.

The meeting was friendly throughout, and the only interruption came from a young politician who had failed to attract an audience of his own, and wanted to make use of ours for his own propaganda. A good-natured man in the crowd took him under his wing, and he presently vanished. One or two attempts to draw the crowd away to other centres failed, and these orators also vanished, leaving our crowd larger than before.

Looking down on the upturned faces, one was struck by the friendliness of expression, and when told of the rough handling the speaker had experienced the previous night at the "Peace" meeting at Queen's Hall there were cries of "Shame!"

#### Questions from the Crowds.

One gentleman showed a disposition to be argumentative. At the remark that prison had done good to the cause he shook his head. "Oh no, oh no, not prison," he said, emphatically. "If I came to your house and broke your windows, wouldn't you give me in charge?"

"If," was the answer, "I had something belonging to you in my house, I should hand it out through the broken window!" And the argumentative one saw the application, and laughed with the rest at the news that the glass of No. 10, Downing-street had cost 10s. to repair, and that, as it could not be matched, the window would be a lasting memorial to the demand of the disenfranchised portion of the community represented by the women of the country.

A walk round the constituency any evening was enough to prove that all Haggerston was out of doors. Up and down the Kingsland-road, Haggerston-road, and Hoxton-street, the various political creeds were expounded from points of vantage, and an impartial observer could not fail to be struck with the size and good temper of the crowds round the platforms of the Suffragettes as compared with the other centres of attraction.

"You do get your questions answered," a man in Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's audience was heard to say, "and that's more than you get at the other meetings. They keep you waiting so long there that you don't get a look in."

"What about the working women?" others asked. "They won't get a vote." "Are there no widows in Haggerston?" was the answer. "No working women and girls with a lodging of their own? The latchkey decision has added some 2,000 men voters to the register in Haggerston, and we are asking that every woman shall have the vote on the same terms as men have it. You men," Mrs. Lawrence added, "would be very cross if we were to ask for more than you have got; you know you would. Can anything be fairer?" At which there was laughter and much clapping.

The man who wanted to know "why the Suffragettes supported the Licensing Bill in Hyde Park and then came down to Haggerston to fight 'agin the Government'" got his answer. "Anyone," said Mrs. Lawrence, "can write on a banner 'Suffragettes Support the Licensing Bill,' but we did not do it. The members of the National Women's Social and

Political Union were not in Hyde Park on July 25; we were all at Earl's Court Exhibition telling the people there about our movement and our policy." And the crowd clapped Mrs. Lawrence and asked the questioner what more he wanted. Evidently the answer pleased and satisfied them. "She is game, she is!" a young woman in the crowd remarked.

Two stories were very popular. One was the story of the twins, already familiar to our readers. This was told with great effect by Mrs. Pankhurst at the Shoreditch Town Hall meeting. The other was related by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at one of the evening open-air meetings, and concerned a little girl who had been to school for the first time. When asked by her mother how she had liked it, she said: "Not at all. The governess told me to be quiet and sit still, and wait for the present. And I did, but I didn't get the present!"

The public meeting at Shoreditch Town Hall was a great occasion. Fully an hour was occupied in answering questions. Working men came forward to express their appreciation of the women's efforts, and hoped they would persevere in the fight.

#### The ex-Prisoners.

On Friday morning, after the breakfast at Queen's Hall, the released prisoners drove to Haggerston in brakes decorated with the motto: "Vote against the Government which has imprisoned more than 300 women."

Escorted by a procession of the children, they had a most friendly welcome, especially from the women of Haggerston, and several of them spoke at the women's meeting in the afternoon.

On Friday evening, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who had just been taking part in the Leicester Demonstration, arrived in London, and spoke at Haggerston in the evening.

On Saturday (polling day) our workers were at their posts early. Leaflets were distributed at each of the polling stations, and electors were urged to keep the Liberal out.

#### Press Extracts.

##### "THE MORNING POST."

The women suffragists played a prominent part in the contest, and members of the Women's Social and Political Union drove through the streets appealing to the electors to vote against the Liberal candidate. . . . Mrs. Drummond stated:—

We have found more chivalry on the part of the men here than in some of the better-class constituencies. The appearance of the released prisoners seemed to appeal to the people. I think we have had a great influence in the constituency, especially among the women, for whom we have held a number of meetings. There have been many interesting incidents. For example, one of our members brought a baby to a meeting. The fact that a female suffragist could nurse a baby seemed to be a surprise and a delight to the women. Then there have been incidents of real human interest. Poor women in the district have voluntarily come forward with pennies to assist our cause, and we have had a number of sixpenny pieces. I believe we have turned many votes.

##### "THE DAILY NEWS."

It was like a penalty of fate also that women suffragists should have been released from prison the very day before the poll, so that they were paraded through the district as the victims of sentences carried out with circumstances not consistent with the Liberal view of political offences.

##### "THE PALL MALL GAZETTE."

The Haggerston-road school was the centre of great activity. This is in the proximity of the Suffragette rooms, and the ladies were very early at work doing their best to persuade voters to vote against the Liberal.

##### "THE EVENING NEWS" (Polling Day).

Most of the committee-rooms of the independent organisations are shut and empty, and the streets are littered with election literature.

The Suffragettes, however, will not relax their efforts until eight to-night.

Two members of the Women's Social and Political Union are stationed at the entrance to each polling station, wearing their shoulder sashes and badges.

As each voter enters he receives a handbill: "Vote for the women this time, and keep the Liberal out." There are relays of women every two hours.

## OXFORD AND THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

It might appear, at first sight, that the "home of lost causes" does not seem promising ground for the progress of a vivifying movement. Oxford, one might think, would go on her way rejoicing, or, like Cambridge, organise extensive demonstrations against the dangerous innovation. But Oxford is by no means such unpromising soil as she appears to be. And when I say Oxford I mean, not the body of country clerics who are periodically hurried up to their ancient home to vote against the granting of degrees to women, but the general undergraduate body, which is, after all, much more representative of the real Oxford than the men who exercise influence upon her statutes. Among these much might be done, with important results for the future. It is still seed-time; therefore, the youth of the country have to be educated.

I am writing in ignorance of what leagues or associations flourish in Oxford for the propagation of the suffrage movement. I am aware that certain organisations do exist; whether they concern themselves in any way with the conversion of the undergraduate is another matter. As an undergraduate myself, I have never heard of their attempting to do so. The only organisation of whose existence I have first-hand knowledge is a placid and equable association of tutors' wives, which, though doubtless estimable in its way, makes no effort to supply what the cause really wants in the University—an institution to tackle the undergraduate, and *force him to settle his convictions*.

A word as to the attitude of the Oxford undergraduate, as my experience has found it. It must be remembered that, speaking generally, he comes from a public school. Now, public schools are eminently monastic establishments, and exercise an influence no less potent. Their discipline is all directed towards the moulding of the individual into the type and the crushing out of all abnormality. "Public school spirit," "esprit de corps," or whatever you like to call it, is only the apotheosis of the normal. And here lies the root of the matter. Ninety-nine out of a hundred men retain their school prejudices all through their Oxford life, and the keynote of this attitude is profound distrust of the abnormal. Once get them to view the question as one of the ordinary political and economic problems of the day, and your way is clear to conversion; even enthusiasm should not be long in following.

Surely no one will deny that the conversion of undergraduate Oxford is considerable security for the future. They are the people who will be called upon in after years to help women get degrees. And they will do it, if you tackle them now. You cannot convert dons. Not even their wives can, except in a few noteworthy instances. A final word as to this attitude towards the abnormal. One of my own acquaintances at Oxford was more than astonished to find that I knew one of the leaders of the suffrage movement. He sank his voice to a hollow whisper, and asked, "What is she like?" This is typical of the prevailing attitude. Others, again, say that they are opposed to the suffrage, because "they would not like to see their mother in custody for riot." On being reminded that this cannot, either by courtesy or convenience, be called argument, they take refuge in some flatulent generality about chivalry.

Now, if this is all the opposition we have to encounter, surely there is a real chance for determined, reasonable, good-humoured suffragist propaganda in the University. I say no word against the present societies. They are, I am sure, excellent in their way. But they do not touch the undergraduate. And policy surely tells us that it would be a very expedient move to do so.

E. I. J.

## Man's Valuation of the Vote.

Remember that:—

One vote is worth five brass bands.

One vote is worth 3¼ acres of election posters.

One vote is worth fifty outbursts of long-continued cheers.

One vote is worth a procession half a mile long with banners complete.

After all, it is very simple; the candidate who gets the most votes gets in.—*The Evening News*.

## LEICESTER DEMONSTRATION.

A large demonstration took place in the Market-square of Leicester on Thursday, July 30, at 7.30. The square was filled to its utmost capacity. Five platforms were placed at the greatest possible distance from each other, but even with this precaution the voices of the speakers sometimes echoed back rather confusedly from the high buildings which are on all sides of the square. Dense crowds gathered round each platform, and it was evident from the attentive manner in which the audiences listened that a great deal of interest had been roused in votes for women.

The resolution expressing sympathy with the brave women suffragists in Holloway, and calling upon the Government to grant duly qualified women the vote without delay was carried by overwhelming majorities, and with considerable enthusiasm. Numerous good wishes from the audiences terminated the proceedings round most of the platforms.

During the Demonstration a runaway horse and van rushed down the street into the centre of the square, where only the admirably prompt action of the police prevented a disastrous accident; happily, no one was hurt. Miss Mary Gawthorpe turned the incident to good account by likening it to the Liberal Government, who, in a headlong career, suddenly come down on their knees (as the horse did) before the Suffragettes.

Undoubtedly this demonstration has done much to rouse the interest of the people in Leicester, and many new members are being added to the local W.S.P.U.

#### Press Extracts.

##### "THE MIDLAND FREE PRESS."

The sectional meetings held during the week culminated in a great demonstration in the Market-place on Thursday evening. Here some thousands of people assembled round the five platforms, and then ensued one of the liveliest demonstrations held in Leicester for some time. A great number of youths, girls, and young men or hobbledehoys who have just reached the "unthinking" stage, evidently regarded it as a gala night, and so far as the speakers at the central platform were concerned, they deliberately and successfully prevented a hearing. The platform was placed back to the monument, with the gilded figure of "the Duke" apparently looking down upon the turbulent scene.

Long ago, in the conundrum days, the self-conscious wit of Leicester prided itself upon the following:—

Q.—"Why is Leicester regarded as the most polite town in the Kingdom?"

A.—"Because it has erected a monument to 'Good Manners.'"

After Thursday night's proceedings, remembering the above hazy claim to politeness, and remembering also the town's traditions in association with many battles for free speech and tolerance in political matters, it would be quite in keeping to arrange a decent funeral for the monumental figure, and a burning of records of Leicester's struggles for political rights and privileges.

The centre of opposition and ridicule was, as stated, at the monument. Here the "fun," as it was regarded, waxed fast and furious. The weapons of the demonstrators were sometimes thistle-heads; banana peel, and even dirt, rattles, mouth organs, and blatant voices—a gallant reception for the plucky little lady in white, who appeared to possess more wit and oratorical ability than all her opponents combined, and bravely held on her course for about an hour against the unfair odds. Miss Pankhurst's indignant cry that it was neither fair play nor chivalry to throw things at speakers, elicited a storm of ironical cheers and boos, for she was speaking strange words that had neither meaning nor inspiration for them.

She was an energetic little body, untiring in movement and speech, smart in repartee, and "stood up" to her hostile audience as few men could have done. Whatever objection may be taken to suffragist tactics elsewhere, these voteless and thoughtless youths had no cause of offence, and so far as their elders were concerned Radical Leicester might have set a better example.

Miss Pankhurst's experience had the effect of drawing the turbulent spirits from the other four platforms, where a fair hearing was obtained, although at times some good-humoured cross-firing was indulged in.

Miss Keevil made many good points. Aristotle, she reminded her audience, declared that women had no soul, while Comte said they were all soul. But they did not want to be considered as either angels or animals, but as human beings. It was said to be unseemly for women to meddle in politics, and that they would neglect the home, but there would have been no home at all if women had not recognised the necessity for human development. It was woman who kept the homes together. If they colonised a new country it was woman who made the homes. The men were making the same mistake that their grandfathers made before them. Women were anxious to get political power so that they could make the homes of England what they should be. Men had been manag-

ing things all by themselves, and made an immense muddle of it. There was a woman's as well as a man's side in politics, and the State was nothing more than a great big home.

Miss Gawthorpe spoke with the air and action of fiery earnestness, and alluding to the effect of the meeting, said it would be sufficient for her if only one person in the crowd went away prepared to do something to further their cause.

#### "THE PIONEER (LEICESTER)."

All the last fortnight the work in the open has gone steadily on, and neither Miss Keevil nor Miss Nell Kenney has failed to draw an audience wherever the temporary platform has been set up. A noticeable feature of the movement is, indeed, the ease with which the public is interested. That this is due to the militant tactics that have been followed no reasonable person can doubt, and it is futile for the Chancellor of the Exchequer or other Cabinet Ministers to declare that the best friends of the women are being alienated. It is unpleasant to be interrupted; it is equally unpleasant to be persistently ejected from meetings. The method of warfare is the most effectual left to women, who have not the ordinary chance of expression through the vote. Unless the question is kept to the front, the Government, however many of its members may individually express themselves in favour of the extension of the franchise, will not take the necessary steps to put their belief into practice.

The Market-square surged for an hour last night with a great crowd drawn by the demonstration in favour of votes for women. The five platforms promised were erected, but the generals among the militant Suffragists are for the most part on active service at Haggerston, and their visit to Leicester has been postponed.

Miss Keevil, who has won hosts of personal admirers during the fortnight of preliminary campaign, was successful in keeping the attention of a large audience. She and Miss Mary Gawthorpe were greatly helped by the tactics of Miss Adela Pankhurst, who with Mrs. Hawkins, of Leicester, held the fort at the central platform. Here were concentrated the attentions of the inevitable rowdies, about a hundred strong, who cheered, hooted, waved rattles, and tired themselves out in preventing the speakers from doing their work. Much literature was sold here, and Miss Pankhurst had decidedly the best of the encounter.

## PROTESTS AT THE FREE TRADE CONGRESS.

On Tuesday morning five members of the N.W.S.P.U. attended the opening meeting of the International Free Trade Congress at Caxton Hall, when Mr. Winston Churchill was the principal speaker.

Mr. Churchill was not allowed to proceed far in his speech. On his asking, "What have our Colonies done?" Mrs. Baldock replied:—"Given votes to women, which you have not."

Smiling, Mr. Churchill went on to speak of taxation and freedom, when Mrs. Baldock again interposed:—"The women pay taxes, but they are not free." No attempt was made to interfere until Mrs. Baldock asked:—"Why should you talk of free trade when you have imprisoned 300 women for asking for freedom?"

At this point a steward came up and said, "Don't make a disturbance; be quiet."

Mrs. Baldock replied:—"Your forefathers did as I have done until they obtained the liberty which you enjoy." She was then forcibly removed from the Hall, some delay and confusion being caused by the discovery that the door to which she was conducted was locked. In her removal, Mr. Maddison, M.P., took a prominent part, inside the Hall urging the stewards to deal gently with her, but outside "shaking her like a rat," while another gentleman threatened to throw her over the gate.

Mrs. Lawton, of Stoke-on-Trent, was the next to protest. Mr. Churchill's subject was the folly of war. Mrs. Lawton interposed:—"Why war upon the women who are only fighting for their political rights, which you men have already got?" She was at once ejected, asking, "Why do you not free the women who are imprisoned now?"

Proceeding to speak of international peace, Mr. Churchill was interrupted by Mrs. Bartlett, who said:—"Make peace with British women first." She was removed, remarking:—"There stands a representative of a Government that has imprisoned over 300 women for asking for justice, and he stands talking of peace."

Mr. Churchill had not proceeded far with the subject of peace with other countries when Miss Higgins said:—"Mr. Churchill, English women must have justice first." A steward approached her, and said, "You look too respectable to interrupt a public meeting," but she remained seated. Miss A. Kern managed to make a short speech before being turned out.

"This Free Trade Congress," she said, "is a woman's question. How much longer will this Government withhold votes from women?" To a man who said, "You are losing your modesty," Miss Kern replied:—"The Government is losing its prestige; the country will not support it while it denies votes to women." Miss Higgins added:—"You cannot bring about international peace without the help of women."

Both were then ejected, Miss Higgins saying:—"Grant justice to women first."

### Work for the Holidays.

Several of our members have notified me of their intention to have a "Votes for Women" propaganda in the seaside places or the country towns and villages where they are going to spend their holiday.

One lady goes to Hunstanton in Norfolk, and she announced at the last Queen's Hall "At Home" her intention of holding meetings and distributing literature there; two or three members hearing about it in this way have promised to help her. Miss Logan is going to hold meetings on the shore at Tenby, others will make Weston-super-Mare, Clevedon, and Paignton their centre.

We commend this idea to all Suffragettes who are taking their holiday during the month of August. Many of us have found out by this time that there is no more sure and certain way of getting into delightful fellowship with our neighbours than by talking to them about the woman's movement. The readiness of the response which they make is very remarkable, sympathy and interest is aroused at the very mention of "Votes for Women," and very pleasant friendships and relationships have been formed in this way, which have not only remained as a pleasant memory when the summer holidays are over, but has resulted in bringing new helpers and new supporters to the great movement which is so dear to us all.

E. P. L.

### WEST OF ENGLAND CAMPAIGN.

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

The work in the West of England is now in full swing. The "At Homes" and the public meetings are most successful. We have had a stiff fight at some of our open-air meetings. We have had the young men who are supposed to be Liberals shouting about Peace. Of course we were able to tell them what Peace really meant, and show them they were going against their own principles when they were using force to prevent a woman from putting her point of view.

On Tuesday we had a members' meeting. We have formed a working committee to meet every Tuesday. We have also got collecting cards and members are collecting for our fund, and many friends from the West of England are also taking collecting cards.

The shop is open; it is the best advertisement we could have for our movement. Scarcely a minute of the day passes but there are people at the window; we have our membership cards and collecting cards, and we keep a book for names and addresses of people who would like to know about all our meetings. We have met sympathy and kindness all round. I have got a body of really good workers with me here, and we are rousing up the whole place to the need for the vote. I should like to say that through some mistake the names of people sending money were reported wrongly, and I wish to state just how the money came.

First of all Mrs. Stevens, Torquay, gave £1; Mrs. Leak, Plymouth, £1; Miss Gibson, London, £5; Mrs. Garnett, Clifton, £25; Mrs. Ashworth, Hallett, Bath, £5; Mrs. Hermon, £3 3s. This week I have only sent in small donations, but I am hoping when people come back we shall keep up to what we made up our minds to do at the beginning.

One lady in Bristol, who has a school for music, has promised to let me speak on the suffrage, and to advertise our demonstration at a concert she is giving a short time before. Will any people in Bristol give an "At Home" or garden party before that day? And will anyone who would like to collect for our West of England work please write to the above address. I should be delighted to forward a collecting card or cards to them. Every card must be sent back to me no later than September 12. I want to forward the money to the treasurer before the 19th, then we shall be able to see how much we raised for the work.

I do wish some lady would pay for one of the Bristol bands for that day. We must have a band, and bands cost money. I should be so glad if someone would help me in this matter.

On Saturday we had a splendid meeting at Clevedon, a little seaside place 12 miles from Bristol. The Liberals came in full force to ask questions and interrupt, but we had a really fine meeting. I am trying to visit Clevedon again before the 19th.

On September 21 an "At Home" will be given in the Victoria Rooms, Clifton, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. Admission free, but a collection will be taken to cover expenses. Anyone wanting tickets should apply early to me. On November 20 (Friday) we shall hold a demonstration in Colston Hall; the tickets will be 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

We want workers, we want speakers, we want people to come forward and work as they have never done before. We are going to have a few months of real hard work, but when one thinks that the work of the last 50 years is nearing victory, one feels almost superhuman about the work that one can do. Come and help us in every way you can to win the vote in 1908.

ANNIE KENNEY.

### LOCAL NOTES.

**Hammersmith W.S.P.U.**—A meeting was held in the Goldhawk-road, Shepherd's Bush, on Wednesday, July 29, at which Miss Howse and Miss Brackenbury spoke. A very interested audience attended. VOTES FOR WOMEN sold well, and a good collection was taken. We would remind friends that we are collecting parcels of all kinds of left-off clothing in order to have a rummage sale to raise funds. Parcels to be sent, carriage paid, to Secretary W.S.P.U., 32, Phoenix Lodge-mansions, Brook Green. As a token of appreciation of Miss Rachel Townshend, a basket of flowers (in the colours of the Union) was presented to her by the Hammersmith members on her release from prison, on Friday morning.

L. C. CULLEN.

**Kensington W.S.P.U.**—Last week all our speakers and helpers gave their services to the campaign at Haggerston, where they spent an energetic week. During August we are providing speakers for some in the neighbouring districts, and hope to resume our own open-air meetings in September. Our last "At Home" at Mount Carmel-chambers was well attended, and we hope to have still larger gatherings when we meet again at the end of September, for Mr. and Mrs. Cameron Grant, of Albert Lodge, Albert-place, have very kindly put their studio at the disposal of the committee for the weekly "At Homes" which will be held there in the autumn. We hope our friends, when packing for the holidays, will remember to send along any odds and ends for our jumble sale. We shall be looking for a good many parcels in the next week or two. Articles of clothing should be sent to Mrs. Home, 7, Palace-gardens, Kensington, and other goods to Mrs. Stratton, 113, Abingdon-road, Kensington.

LOUISE M. EATES.

**Lewisham W.S.P.U.**—Our Union did its share in keeping the Liberal out in Haggerston. Mrs. Oldham, Miss Billingham, and myself were able to give nearly all our time to the work required at by-elections, and Miss Billingham won the hearts of the children of Haggerston, who followed her tricycle chair through the whole constituency, singing our new song to the tune of the "Absent-Minded Beggar," and cheering our prisoners. On Sunday we held our usual meeting on Blackheath. The audience, which included many women, was very orderly, and very interested in what Mrs. Baldock and I had to tell them about Haggerston, and about our movement in general. Next Sunday Miss Macaulay will speak on Blackheath at 5.30 p.m.

J. A. BOUVIER.

**London City W.S.P.U.**—During August our weekly business meetings will be suspended.

### Debate at Bournemouth.

The Bournemouth branch of the Independent Labour Party invited Miss Mordan to open a debate on "Votes for Women" at one of their fortnightly meetings, which she accordingly did at the Wilberforce Hall, Bournemouth, on Monday, July 27. The chair was taken at eight o'clock by Mr. Empson, and Miss Mordan met with a very favourable reception. In answer to the usual objection that the present Bill before Parliament was not democratic enough, and would not enfranchise the particular class of women who most needed enfranchisement, a local lady, Mrs. Warren, rose from the audience, and read sundry extracts from speeches by Keir Hardie, Will Thorne, and other Labour leaders, showing that the said Bill was democratic enough to please them. The debate continued with spirit up to ten o'clock, and ended triumphantly for the women's cause.

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE'S EXPLANATION.

There could be no more convincing proof of the effectiveness of the protest at Queen's Hall than the fact that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was obliged to write to the *Times* to explain that the constant interruptions of the Suffragettes had made him say things he did not mean.

In his letter to the *Times* Mr. Lloyd George refers to the interruptions as follows:—

Owing to the constant interruptions to which I was subjected, it was doubtless difficult for me to make myself clearly and fully understood; and the difficulty which I found in speaking was no doubt shared by the Press in reporting. Under these circumstances I am not surprised that some misunderstanding may have arisen, and I appeal to the courtesy of your columns to remove it. Discussing the situation, the *Birmingham Evening Dispatch* says:—

The Suffragettes have a great deal to answer for. Here they have been causing Mr. Lloyd George to say something that he did not mean. In his Queen's Hall speech on Tuesday night the Chancellor of the Exchequer, referring to the peace of Europe, used words which could only be taken to imply that he did not agree with the maintenance of the two-Power standard by Great Britain, while he even went so far as to assert that this nation had been building quite a number of "Dreadnoughts" which we do not want. To-day Mr. Lloyd George has a letter in the *Times* which is intended to remove all the impressions that had been formed from a perusal of his speech as to his views on the British naval policy. He now emphatically declares that he intended to make no attack on the two-Power standard, "a principle to which the present Government is committed." The misunderstanding that has arisen is attributed by him to the constant interruptions to which he was subjected by the Suffragettes, which rendered it difficult both for him to make himself clearly understood and for the Press representatives to accurately report him. Of course, we are glad to learn that Mr. Lloyd George did not mean what he said, and that he does not advocate any further whittling down of the Navy. As to his method of extricating himself from his dilemma at the expense of the ladies, we prefer to say nothing—perhaps the Suffragettes will express their opinion on the subject. Not only are the Suffragettes upsetting the equilibrium of Cabinet Ministers, but they are adding new terrors to life by composing limericks while in gaol.

### Asquith Attempts Conciliation.

After several months of the new leadership, it is very hard to find evidence that he has improved the Ministerial situation. In respect of irresolute pliability, he has proved only too faithful an imitation of his predecessor. He has not gained the mastery of his suspicious and importunate factions. Over and over again he has surrendered his better judgment to their nervous and irritable demands. When he consented to give up precious time to the Licensing Bill before the adjournment, with the consequence of having to rush the Pensions Bill through its stages without regard either to the efficiency of the measure itself or the decencies of Parliamentary procedure, he inflicted a damaging blow on his own influence with the House of Commons. The arbitrary use of the guillotine in that connection was a striking illustration of the tyranny of exasperated weakness, which is so radically different from the insistence of assured strength. Nor can we forget the extraordinary scheme by which he has promised to further a measure of Women's Suffrage, of which he has confessed his firm disapproval. This is a naked trafficking in office and power which may satisfy the new morality, but has a remarkable resemblance to old-fashioned corruption. It has failed in its object, as political bribery always does fail in this country. The suffragettes are not a whit less vindictive to the Prime Minister than before, just as the constituencies are uncured of their hostility by the pensions so hastily and clumsily thrust into their hands. The Government is going downhill in the House and in the country, and the velocity of the descent has not been arrested by any of the qualities that Mr. Asquith's control has brought to its assistance.

*Pall Mall Gazette*, August 1.

### THE SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS.

Mr. MacNeill, in the House of Commons on July 30, drew attention to the prison treatment of the women connected with the Suffragist movement, contending that, whether or not hon. members approved of the conduct of these women, they were at least trying to make certain alterations in the Constitution for which a majority of the House had

already voted. These women, in his view, should be treated, not as ordinary criminals, but as political offenders. He read a letter from one of the imprisoned ladies, who denied the accuracy of the Home Secretary's statements as to the treatment of the prisoners, and, after complaining of the state of the clothing, wrote:—"Nothing has been said about the process of entering prison. We have all been stripped in the presence of wardresses, sometimes with inmates present, and searched as if we were convicted thieves. To most of us this is the worst we have to bear. It was for me. After that ordeal nothing else mattered." Did this lady of high culture and ability deserve that punishment? The object of those women was to reform society, to make the body politic better than it was; and they were quite willing to suffer for their ideal, but they should not be degraded.

### A PRISONER IN HOLY ORDERS.

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**PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.**

*Up to August 22 (as far as at present arranged).*

Aug. 6	Clifton, Durdham Downs	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Thur. 7	Bristol, Broad Quay	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 8	Portishead	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Sun. 9	Parliament Hill Fields, Hampstead Heath	Dr. Rose, Miss W. Auld, Higgins, Miss C. Bray	Miss	5.30 p.m.
Mon. 10	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, Park Street, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	4-6
Tues. 11	Bristol, Factory Gates	Miss Annie Kenney	Miss	12.30-1.30
Wed. 12	Bristol, Victoria Park, Windmill Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Thur. 13	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 14	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 15	Bath, Eagle House, Bathaston, Garden Party, by Mrs. and Miss Blathwayt	Miss Annie Kenney	Miss	4-6
Mon. 17	Clifton, Hannah More Hall, "At Home"	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	4-6.30
Tues. 18	Bristol, Factory Gates	Miss Annie Kenney	Miss	12.30-1.30
Wed. 19	Bristol, St. George's Park	Miss Annie Kenney	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Thur. 20	Clifton, Durdham Downs, Blackboy Hill	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Fri. 21	Bristol, Broad Quay, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Dorothy Pethick	Miss	7.30 p.m.
Sat. 22	Weston-super-Mare Holloway Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W.	Miss Annie Kenney Release of Prisoners Complimentary Breakfast	Miss	4-6 8 a.m. 9.15 a.m.

**IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.**

Bristol, Clifton Downs (Demonstration)	Sept. 19
London, Albert Hall (Meeting)	Oct. 29

**CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.**

July 29 to August 4.			
£	s. d.	£	s. d.
15,646	7 11	Mrs. M. A. Tucker (By-election)	0 5 0
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5	0 0	Mrs. E. Oakley	3 3 0
5	0 0	Per Miss D. M. Heckels (proceeds of jumble sale)	1 0 0
1	0 0	Miss E. Downing (By-election)	0 10 0
1	0 0	Miss A. E. Willson (By-election)	1 11 6
0	10 0	Mrs. F. W. Pethick Lawrence (Hyde Park banner)	18 18 0
1	11 6	Per Miss L. Chapman (collected)	1 3 6
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1	0 0	Mrs. B. Sanders	1 0 0
1	1 0	Miss P. Woodlock	0 1 0
0	5 0	Mrs. M. and W. Turner	0 2 6
1	0 0	Anon., per Miss Keevil	0 2 6
0	11 0	Anon., per Miss Keevil	0 1 0
1	0 0	Anon., per Miss Keevil	0 5 0
1	0 0	Miss F. J. Greenwood	0 10 0
0	1 0	Miss D. L. Bakewell	0 2 6
0	2 6	Mrs. C. Keith	0 5 0
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0	2 0	Mrs. Marshall	0 2 6
2	2 0	Miss C. Tuttle	10 0 0
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0	5 0	Mrs. J. S. Brown	0 5 0
0	5 0	Mrs. Miles	1 0 0
1	0 0	Membership Postage Fees	3 11 6
1	1 0	Collections, &c.	110 17 5
0	1 0		
0	10 0		
10	0 0		
		Total	15,871 19 4

**The Sultan of Zanzibar and the Vote.**

Miss Marianne Dale writes:—It may interest your readers to know that when I was introduced to the Sultan of Zanzibar last Friday he immediately noticed my badge, "Votes for Women," and he said in perfect English, "I approve of votes for women, and I hope you will get them. I think women ought to have equal rights with men."

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