

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Dedication	137
The Outlook—Unimportance of Private Members—The Influence of the Women—Mr. Winston Churchill's Position—Wolverhampton—Italian Women—The Nurses' Bill—Hyde Park Demonstration—New Readers—How to Obtain "Votes for Women"	137, 138
The Nurses' Enslavement Bill. By Mrs. Bedford Fenwick	139
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	140
To Hyde Park!.. .. .	141
Portraits and Biographies:—	
Miss G. Brackenbury—Miss Gawthorpe—Miss Annie Kenney	141
Mrs. Pethick Lawrence—Mrs. Pankhurst—Mrs. Massy—Mrs. Martel	142
Miss Christabel Pankhurst—Miss M. Brackenbury—Miss Adela Pankhurst—Miss Nell Kenney	143
Miss M. Naylor, Miss Nelly Crocker—Miss Rachael Barrett—Mrs. Drummond—Miss G. Conolar	144
Dr. Jones—Mrs. Jennie Baines—Miss Gladice Keevil—Miss Edith New	145
Leading Article—Political Tactics	146
Political Notes. By Christabel Pankhurst	147
The Women's Congress in Rome. By Maud Joachim	148
Progress of Women	149
The By-Elections:—	
Wolverhampton	150, 151
Montrose Burghs	151
Stirling Burghs	151
Dundee	152, 153, 154
The "Neutral" Argument	155
The French Suffragists	155
Rhymes of the Time: A New View of It	155
Scottish Work	156
Local Notes	156
Contributions to the £20,000 Fund.. .. .	156
Programme of Events.. .. .	156

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.

Ever since the result of the North-West Manchester election Liberals have been exercising their minds to account for Mr. Winston Churchill's defeat, and the columns of the *Manchester Guardian* have been opened to a correspondence as to the effect produced by the Suffragists in turning the scale. In the issue of that paper of April 29 there appeared a letter from Mr. Alfred J. King, member for the Knutsford division of Cheshire, in the course of which he says:—

As I understand their position, they say they are "suffragists" first and Liberals afterwards, and from this point of view regard it to be their duty as a matter of "tactics" to oppose any Liberal candidate, even though he be a declared supporter of their cause.

As a matter of tactics, I believe they are making a profound mistake, and alienating many who under other circumstances might be willing to help them.

At any rate, for myself, I have made up my mind, and I here publicly declare it for the benefit of all whom it may concern, that, "as a matter of tactics," I must, and hereby do, publicly withdraw all promises of support to any measure of women's suffrage until the advocates of this movement change their plan of action, and cease to ally themselves with privilege and monopoly in the form of the "trade" and Tariff Reform against the supporters of a Government that is doing its best to promote Liberal principles and social reform.

If Mr. King thinks that the women are likely to be influenced adversely by any threat of this kind he entirely misunderstands their position.

Unimportance of Private Members.

So far as his own personal intentions are concerned, we fancy that if Mr. Asquith declares it to be the intention of the Government to push through Mr. Stanger's Bill, Mr. King will be found voting in the Government lobby in its favour. If, on the other hand, the Government continue to shut the door upon Woman's Suffrage, there is nothing in Mr. King's previous career which suggests to us that in any case he would have been active in getting that door opened for the enfranchisement of women. We also fancy that when Mr. King comes again before his constituents, and is confronted by a strong Suffragist opposition, he will find it expedient to change his present point of view.

The Influence of the Women.

In other quarters attempt has been made to discount the value of the women's work, and to claim that both parties agree that the idea that the women affected the result of the election is ridiculous. It is easy to make assertions of this kind, but a few quotations will easily dispose of them. Writing on April 23, the special correspondent of the *Standard* said: "I believe that if the fight is a close one the Suffragists will turn the scale." On April 25 the *Daily News* in its leading article stated: "The restrictions on the clubs lost many votes, and the antagonism of the women many more." Again, on April 19, the special correspondent of the *Matin* wrote to his paper: "One is able to remark, not without astonishment, that the influence of the Suffragettes on the election is very considerable." Again, a Manchester man, writing on the day of the declaration of the poll to Miss Pankhurst, says: "My heartiest congratulations on the glorious victory you have achieved. Your great success in North-West Manchester will be like an emetic to Mr. Asquith and his colleagues, and make them all feel very sick with the blow you have administered. Politically, I am sorry that the seat has been won to the Conservatives, but principles stand before parties."

Mr. Winston Churchill's Position.

These are a few among the extracts which might be given showing the consensus of opinion of the importance of the work done by the women. But facts speak stronger

than words, and there are few signs more convincing of the influence which the woman's cause had in turning the scale in North-West Manchester than the attention which Mr. Churchill is now giving to Woman's Suffrage in his election in Dundee, and his endeavour to persuade Liberal women to support him and not to listen to the advice of the Suffragettes. We refer to this subject at greater length elsewhere.

Wolverhampton.

As we go to press we learn the result of the Wolverhampton election, where the women have been working hard since the campaign opened explaining to the electors the necessity of voting against the Liberal candidate on behalf of the women. The result is a fresh proof of the importance of the work which the women are doing, and of the influence which they are having upon the electorate. However much Mr. Asquith and his Cabinet profess to disregard these evidences of the dissatisfaction of the country for a time, there can be little doubt that their combined influence is exceedingly damaging to the prestige of the Government.

Italian Women.

We publish an account of the conference which the Italian women have just been holding in Rome. Our readers will notice that they devoted their time and attention to a large number of subjects, and that they are still in the stage of expecting men to carry out their work for them. When the women in this country have obtained the vote, it may very likely happen that the women of other countries will obtain it without difficulty; otherwise the women of Italy will perhaps find themselves still voteless, while some of the other reforms which they are advocating are carried into law. However, there are not wanting signs in Italy also that if the men do not help them the Italian women will soon learn to help themselves.

The Nurses' Bill.

We publish this week an important article from Mrs. Bedford Fenwick on the Bill which is being introduced into Parliament for regulating the employment of nurses. We understand that this Bill has been drawn up entirely by men, and that the nurses themselves have not been consulted in any way in its preparation. We are also informed that unless a vigorous protest is made there is every likelihood of the measure being carried into law. It would be impossible to give any more convincing demonstration of the need of women to possess the Parliamentary vote. When members of Parliament are responsible to the women of the country as well as to the men, they will be careful that the interests of the women in the nursing and other professions are properly considered in all measures introduced into the House of Commons.

The Hyde Park Demonstration.

In this number will be found a description of the life stories of the women who will act as chairmen at the twenty platforms at the great Hyde Park demonstration in favour of Votes for Women, which takes place on Sunday, June 21. And a wonderful picture is given of the different ways in which the various women have come into the movement; some have been brought by their own struggles for independence, others by their power of imagination, others by the failure which they have found to render help to their sisters so long as they remain in a dependent position. Our readers will be interested to learn, in many cases for the first time, what lies behind the earnest demand which these women are making for the vote.

New Readers.

We are glad to be able to acknowledge the support which we are receiving from our readers in converting the paper from a monthly to a weekly issue. One lady who inadvertently omitted her own address kindly forwarded us money and instructions to send the paper to twenty of her acquaintances. We hope that her example will be followed by others, who will thus take the opportunity of introducing a correct account of the doings of the militant Suffragists into the houses of women who are still content to scoff at the movement. If every reader of the paper makes it her business to introduce it to at least one new friend each week, we are assured of very rapid advance.

Our Advertisers.

We are also pleased to call the attention of our readers to the fact that ladies engaged in business are supporting the paper by advertising in our columns. We hope that as far as possible our readers will avail themselves of the opportunity of showing the solidarity of the woman's movement by patronising these houses.

How to Obtain "Votes for Women."

We would call the special attention of our readers to the fact that with the more frequent publication we have been able to make arrangements for the more prompt supply of the paper. VOTES FOR WOMEN is now obtainable at all Messrs. W. H. Smith and Sons' bookstalls, and of all newsagents, and it should be found possible to procure the paper first thing Thursday morning in London, and in other parts of the country some time during the same day. The paper is also on sale at all meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union, but regular readers who wish to obtain the paper promptly are recommended to obtain it either by prepaid subscription (15s. 2d. a year, 3s. 10d. a quarter, post free) from the office, 4, Clements Inn, or from their nearest newsagent or bookstall. The publisher will be glad to be informed of any difficulty which may be experienced in obtaining prompt and regular delivery. As it is now recognised by the Post Office as a newspaper, the postage on each issue is $\frac{1}{4}$ d. for inland delivery, 1d. for sending abroad.

THE NURSES' ENSLAVEMENT BILL.

By *ETHEL G. FENWICK, President of the National Council of Trained Nurses of Great Britain and Ireland.*

Rarely has a more gratuitous insult been offered to any body of working women than the Bill of the Central Hospital Council for London, "To Provide for the Establishment of an Official Directory of Nurses," which Lord Balfour of Burleigh has been induced to introduce into the House of Lords, and which is down for a second reading on May 6.

To appreciate the position aright it must be understood that for the last twenty years trained nurses have been urging the organisation of their calling by the State, not only for their own advantage, but because, owing to the lack of standards, the sick are at the mercy of any woman who dons the uniform of a trained nurse and undertakes the care of the most critical cases. She may only have had three to six weeks' special training in a maternity hospital; she may, after a brief period of probation in a general hospital, have been dismissed as unsuitable either in capacity or character by those who are competent to judge; but in the open market she will compete on equal terms with the nurse who has given three or four years' conscientious work to obtain a thorough training, and submitted herself to examinations in which her knowledge has been tested.

At present both these workers, the skilled and the unskilled, ask and receive the same fees for their services. But this is the least part of the wrong. Not only is unnecessary suffering caused to the sick, but many lives have been lost owing to ignorance and carelessness of women who exploit them.

Added to this, not a few criminals have entered private houses in the guise of the trained nurse, and in this confidential capacity have robbed the patient's household.

I wonder if our valiant suffragists, when taking their daily exercise at Holloway Prison, knew that the little batch of shrubs which, like an oasis in the desert, relieve the monotony of that arid space mark the spot where are buried the mangled remains of the two last women who were hanged at Holloway, Sachs and Walters, who, posing as trained nurses and running a nursing home at Finchley, suffered the extreme penalty of the law for the murder of babes and sucklings.

It is estimated that there are at least 60,000 persons practising as trained nurses in the United Kingdom, and there is probably no other calling or profession of this size which remains unorganised, and concerning which there is no law on the Statute Book.

To remedy this condition, so long ago as 1887 steps were taken to found the British Nurses' Association, "in order to unite all qualified nurses in membership of a recognised profession, to provide for their registration, and to associate them for their mutual help and protection."

Such justifiable aims met with the bitterest opposition, but from that day onwards, notwithstanding intimidation and insult, nurses have consistently worked for the organisation of their profession. They have had to meet the opposition of the managers of certain of the large London hospitals, who object to what they term "State interference," with their present unlimited powers.

The Nurses' Own Bill.

Nevertheless, the nurses have persevered, and in 1904 a Bill, drawn up by the Society for the State Registra-

tion of Trained Nurses, was introduced into the House of Commons, incorporating the principles which nurses themselves considered essential in the organisation of their work. The Bill provides, among other important things, for:—

(1) A Central Governing Body, composed of various sections of the community, whose interests are involved. (a) The public—that is, the patient; (b) the medical practitioner—that is, the responsible adviser; and (c) the nurse, who claims direct and adequate representation on the governing body of her own profession.

(2) A minimum standard of training and professional knowledge, the attainment of the latter to be tested by an examination instituted by the Central Governing Body, which would award a certificate or diploma to those nurses who satisfy the examiners of their efficiency.

(3) The publication of a register of the names and addresses of those who have gained this qualification.

In 1904 a Select Committee of the House of Commons, of which Mr. H. J. Tennant was chairman, was appointed "to consider the expediency of providing for the registration of nurses." After hearing evidence for two Sessions, the Committee presented a unanimous report to Parliament in 1905, stating that they were "agreed that it is desirable that a Register of Nurses should be kept by a central body appointed by the State."

The opposing hospitals, which up to that time had "declined to enter on any further consideration of the subject," now found themselves compelled to do so, and through the Central Hospital Council for London, composed of governors and hon. medical officers of certain London hospitals, on which trained nurses are excluded from representation, drew up, in the utmost secrecy, their Bill "to provide for the establishment of an Official Directory of Nurses," which has been introduced into the House of Lords without consulting the class for which it is proposed to legislate, although they were well aware that the nurses had their own Bill before the House of Commons.

The Directory Bill.

The Directory Bill is both autocratic and dangerous, and its promoters have ruthlessly excluded all the points considered essential by the nurses to the good government of their profession and the safety of the sick. Under this Bill the directory is to be established by an Order in Council and controlled by an "Official Registrar," assisted by "Assessors," as opposed to a governing body, on which the class governed has adequate representation. No minimum standard of training is to be enforced or maintained, and as no test of a nurse's knowledge is imposed, no guarantee of her efficiency can be given.

No provision is made for a nurse to be informed that the removal of her name from the directory is contemplated, and no provision is made for an appeal by her against such removal, however arbitrary. Her good name and power of self-support are thus at the mercy of an irresponsible official.

The position now is this: Are the workers to have a voice in the making of laws which they are to be compelled to obey, and thus to be able to give the public a guarantee of efficiency?

The nurses ask for it; their employers deny it to them. It is for the public to judge between the two, remembering when doing so that when nurses plead that the term "trained nurse" shall have a definite meaning, and indicate the attainment of a minimum standard of efficiency,

their interests and those of the community are identical.

One more point. The nurses who are engaged in this campaign for the common good are mainly financing it, though, like most women workers, their salaries are modest. The Central Hospital Council for London, on the other hand, provides in its constitution that "the

constituent hospitals shall be invited to contribute equally to the annual expenses." The men who are fighting the nurses, therefore, draw upon hospital funds, subscribed by the public for the relief of the sick poor to finance their political campaign—a most unjustifiable use to which to apply such funds, and a most unfair element in the struggle between employers and employed.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. IX.—The County Franchise Bill.

In the House of Lords on August 22, 1883, on the order for the third reading of the Expiring Laws Continuance Bill, Lord Denman moved an amendment, with the object of conferring the Parliamentary franchise upon women, but the proposal was negatived.

On October 17 of the same year an important conference of Liberal Associations met at Leeds to discuss the question of Parliamentary reform. This conference was convened by the National Liberal Association, the National Reform Union, and the London and Counties Liberal Union, and was presided over by Mr. John Morley. The deliberations took place in the Albert Hall, Leeds. The delegates numbered nearly 2,000, and represented 543 different Liberal organisations. At this conference it was decided to urge the Government to introduce a Reform Bill during the following Session, and it was then moved that a measure for the extension of the franchise should confer on householders and lodgers in the counties the same rights as those enjoyed by householders and lodgers in Parliamentary boroughs. The Rev. Dr. Crosskey, of Birmingham, now moved to add the following rider:—"That in the opinion of this meeting any measure for the extension of the suffrage should confer the franchise upon women who, possessing the qualifications that entitle men to vote, have now the right of voting in all matters of local government." This was supported by Miss Jane E. Cobden (Mrs. Cobden Unwin), Mrs. Helen Bright Clark, and several gentlemen, and was carried by an overwhelming majority, for in all that great gathering there were less than 30 hands held up against it.*

On November 16, 1883, the General Committee of the Edinburgh United Liberal Association met to consider the equalisation of the county and borough franchise and the county franchise and the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women householders. A resolution calling for the enfranchisement of women householders was carried. On November 26 at the annual meeting at Bristol of the National Liberal Federation, whose headquarters were in Birmingham, delegates from all over the country were assembled, and a similar women's suffrage resolution was carried.

On January 25, 1884, the conference of the National Reform Union was held in Manchester, and a resolution "that women who possess the qualifications which entitle men to vote should not be disqualified on the ground of sex" was adopted by a very large majority.

General Support.

During the years 1883 and 1884 hundreds of Liberal clubs and associations sent resolutions to Parliament expressing the hope that votes for women would be included in the Reform Bill. Many members of Parliament at this time referred to the question in their speeches as being quite within the range of practical politics. Newspapers such as the "Pall Mall Gazette," the "Daily

* A woman suffrage resolution was passed in 1874 at a conference convened by the Electoral Reform Association held at the Freemasons' Tavern, London; also in 1876, at the National Reform Union Conference in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester.

News," the "Globe," the "Evening News," the "Glasgow News," and the "Northern Whig" advocated the inclusion of women among those who were about to be enfranchised.

Meanwhile the women themselves were busy holding meetings in almost every town and village in the Kingdom. The most important of these was the great demonstration of women in the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, on March 22, 1884. Though an overflow meeting was arranged in the Presbytery Hall, hundreds of women had to be turned away at the doors. A memorial was unanimously adopted by the audience for presentation to Mr. Gladstone.

On the following April 2, a large meeting was held in the Guildhall, Bath, presided over by the Mayor. On April 21, the Mayor of Newcastle-on-Tyne presided over a demonstration in the Newcastle Town Hall, and on April 24, there was a meeting in the St. James's Hall, London.

Prospects of Success.

In spite of the depressing result of the 1883 resolution, the women now began to have hope that their amendment to the Reform Bill might yet be carried. They were encouraged by the news that under the Italian Reform Act of 1882 widows might exercise the Parliamentary vote through their sons, that the Legislature of Nova Scotia had extended the municipal suffrage to unmarried and widowed women, and that Sir John Macdonald, the Prime Minister of Canada, had reintroduced the Canadian Government's Franchise Bill, which was to include women's suffrage. Better still, they learned that the Legislature of Washington Territory had actually granted women the vote.

The agitation for women's enfranchisement had begun in the Territory in 1869. In 1881 a votes for women measure was defeated in the Council by only seven votes, and at Olympia on November 15, 1883, it was carried by a two-thirds majority. On the following Monday, November 19, the Governor—William A. Newell—announced that he would sign the Bill. As soon as this was known bells were set ringing in all the churches, and cannon fired off in the public square. The same evening a great meeting of ratification was held, and on the next day a banquet to the members of the Legislature and others at Columbia Hall.

On November 22, the Governor finally signed the Bill with a golden pen, which was presented to him by the women of Olympia. The Bill came into operation on January 15, 1884.

To return to the Home Parliament, when the Session of 1884 opened there were said to be 249 "known friends" of women's suffrage, who had voted or paired for the Bill or declared either by speech or writing that they were in favour of it. Of these, 170 were Liberals, 57 Conservatives, and 22 Home Rulers. There were also 236 known opponents, which gave a favourable majority of 13. Later in the Session the number of friends is supposed to have risen to 260.

(To be continued.)

TO HYDE PARK!

PORTRAITS AND BIOGRAPHIES OF THE TWENTY CHAIRMEN FOR SUNDAY, JUNE 21.

(This article is the second of a series which is being published in VOTES FOR WOMEN relating to the Hyde Park demonstration. The first preliminary article appeared last week. Next week's issue (May 14) will contain an account of the seven processions which will converge on the Park from different parts of London, and a map will be shown in order to make the description clear. On May 21, will be published an account of the arrangements which have been made with the various railway companies for special trains to bring up men and women to the demonstration from various parts of England, together with the times and special excursion fares and agents from whom tickets may be obtained.)

Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be interested to know something of the life history of the 20 women who are to take the chair at the various platforms on the great day. They are taken from many ranks of society, and nearly every important profession and calling of women is represented.

Among the number are artists and writers, women whose life has been for a long time connected with politics, either in their own person or through their husbands, women who have been school teachers, and who have won in the school the experience of holding the interest of their listeners. Science is also represented, and law, and not a few of the women began life as "working" women in the usually accepted sense of the word. There are women who were engaged as quite young children at the loom; there is one who was a typist; one who is a Doctor of Medicine; another is the wife of a Diplomatist; others have for years past actively worked for social reform.

But they are all united in their intense enthusiasm for the cause of women. They understand that if women are to take their right place alongside of men in the development of the country, if they are to be in the best sense womanly women, they must needs first win their independence. And, holding this view, they have for some time past thrown themselves heart and soul into the work of the National Women's Social and Political Union. They have proved themselves exponents of the women's position to whom men and women are prepared to listen with eagerness, and on Sunday, June 21, they will hold a vast audience, which will gather round every platform, spell-bound, to listen once more to the story of women's need for the vote.

The whole of the available space in Hyde Park will be set aside for the Demonstration on Sunday, June 21, and in a great ring the 20 platforms will be placed so as to enable the vast crowds to have the freest access to different parts of the park.

PLATFORM No. 1. Miss G. Brackenbury.

The first platform will be presided over by a woman who is well known as a portrait painter. Miss G. Brackenbury is the daughter of the late General Charles Brackenbury, who died about 18

years ago. She and her sister, who is also one of the chairmen of the meeting,



live with their mother, sometimes in London and sometimes in a charming country cottage in Peaslake, in Surrey. She has been for some time past an active worker for the Women's Social and Political Union, and in February of the present year was present at the Women's Parliament, and took part in the procession to the House of Commons afterwards. She was arrested, and, in common with the other prisoners, sent to Holloway for six weeks. At the close of her term she took an active part in the by-election at Peckham, and in Manchester she was one of those who helped to keep Mr. Winston Churchill out of the seat. Her uncle, General the Right Hon. Sir Henry Brackenbury, K.P.C., G.C.B., is still alive, and is famous for his distinguished service in India.

PLATFORM No. 2. Miss M. E. Gawthorpe.

Presiding over the second platform will be the popular Yorkshire Suffragette, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who has been connected with the National Women's Social and Political Union almost from the first. Miss Mary Gawthorpe was born in Leeds in 1881. When thirteen she became a pupil teacher, and a few years later won a first-class King's Scholarship and admittance to Leeds University. Although compelled to teach during the day and study by night, Miss Gawthorpe secured a double first. At one time a member of the Leeds Labour



Church, and afterwards on the Leeds Committee for the Feeding of School Children, Miss Gawthorpe has always

taken an active interest in social questions. In 1906 Miss Gawthorpe was elected by the University Committee as a Woman Labour Delegate to the University Extension Committee, and in the same year became secretary of the local Woman's Labour League.

She soon determined, however, that her whole interest lay in winning the vote for women, and threw in her lot unreservedly with the Women's Social and Political Union, becoming one of its organisers. From that time to this, with the exception of a few months at the end of 1907, when she had to undergo an operation for appendicitis, she has worked with extraordinary success in every part of the country, devoting particular attention to the by-elections as they arose. At present she is busy in Dundee, working against Mr. Winston Churchill.

At the opening of Parliament in October, 1907, Miss Gawthorpe was one of those who took part in the demonstration which was made by the women, and in consequence she was arrested, and served two months' imprisonment.

PLATFORM No. 3. Miss Annie Kenney.

Annie Kenney will take the chair at the third platform. Her earliest years were



associated with the mill, for at 10 years old she went to work, becoming a "little tenter" and at 14 a "big tenter" in the factory. While she was there she conducted a regular literary campaign among her work-mates. She started as a Suffragette with the beginning of the militant tactics, for at the very first meeting she was one of those ejected and imprisoned. That was in October, 1905, when she and Miss Christabel Pankhurst went to question Sir Edward Grey.

Since then her life has been continuously before the public. Four times she has been arrested and sent to prison, once in connection with the demonstration outside Mr. Asquith's house in Cavendish-square, again at the opening of Parliament in October, 1907, and finally in February of this year, when she accompanied Mrs. Pankhurst to the House of Commons, and with her was arrested and sent to Holloway. In all she has suffered nearly five months' imprisonment on behalf of the enfranchisement of women, and her name will be lovingly remembered by the women of the generations to come, who, though

they will not be able to hear her voice or feel the eloquence of her appeal, will yet know by the facts of her life how much she cared for their advance.

PLATFORM No. 4.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The treasurer of the Union will preside at the fourth platform. Before she be-



came one of the most active members of the Women's Social and Political Union Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had long been engaged in social work in London, was for years a school manager, and was known as a writer and speaker on social questions. She is still president of the *Espérance Working Girls' Club*, whose charming displays of Morris dancing and old English folk songs have been given in all parts of the country. Close to her own house at Holmwood she has built a charming cottage—the *Sundial*—to which she invites parties of girls all through the summer. In connection with Miss Mary Neal and Miss Lily Montague she also started a holiday hotel for working girls, which is to-day running successfully at Littlehampton. Another enterprise in which she took a leading part was the *Maison Espérance*, a co-operative dress-making establishment formed to provide better working conditions for the girls. This after running for several years was merged in an establishment belonging to Miss Folkard, which is now carried on at Hills-place.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is a native of Bristol, and there is always a friendly welcome waiting for her in the West of England. In the autumn of 1906 she interviewed one of the Liberal Whips as to the intention of the Government with regard to a measure for Votes for Women, and received a message of "No hope." She assisted in the subsequent demonstration, and was arrested for standing by Annie Kenney, and sentenced to imprisonment for two months.

Her success as treasurer of the Union has been very remarkable. Two years ago, when she took over the office, the funds stood at zero. But during that short time she has raised no less than £15,000, and has enabled the work to proceed at a rapidly accelerating pace. As a speaker she possesses very great persuasive powers. Her husband, who with her is joint-editor of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, was at one time editor and principal proprietor of the *London Echo*. A special portrait of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence was presented with the January number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

PLATFORM No. 5.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

At the fifth platform Mrs. Pankhurst, the founder of the Union, will preside. It is remarkable that her birthday is on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, and she has in other ways revolutionary traditions, for her grandfather was at Peterloo, and only just escaped with his life.

As a girl she went to school in Paris at the *Ecole Normale*, where she was room companion of Henri Rochefort's daughter, and became an ardent Republican. On her return to Manchester she became more and more conscious of the inferior position of women. In 1879 she met Dr. Pankhurst, who had been a member of the first Women's Suffrage Society (founded by J. S. Mill), and was married to him in the same year. She went on the executive of the Women's Suffrage Society, and on the committee for pushing the Married Woman's Property Bill, originally drafted by Dr. Pankhurst, which subsequently became law. She served the town in various public capacities, and after the death of her husband was appointed Registrar of Births and Deaths.

She founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903, and from that day to this her life story has been that of the



Union, which she has seen grow from a few women in Manchester to be the national force which it is at the present time. In February of the present year she came forward to lead a deputation to the House of Commons, being quite ready to undergo the sentence of three months' imprisonment which it was thought would be inflicted for this purely technical offence. In the event, however, the Crown prosecution decided to pretend that the matter was one of a police disturbance, and the case was dealt with summarily, and Mrs. Pankhurst was given the option of being bound over to keep the peace or going to prison for six weeks. She chose the latter. She is at present in Dundee leading the campaign against Mr. Winston Churchill.

PLATFORM No. 6.

Mrs. Massy.

Mrs. Massy, who is well-known all over the country in connection with the Women's Social and Political Union, will preside at the sixth platform.

She is the wife of Colonel P. H. H. Massy, formerly of the 6th Dragoon Guards (Carabiniers). She has had a

wide experience of travel, and spent the early years of her married life in various garrison towns. Two years she was at Camberley whilst Colonel Massy was at the Staff College.

Since 1898, owing to Colonel Massy holding Consular appointments under the Foreign Office, Mrs. Massy has lived in



Asia Minor, Turkey, and Bulgaria, visiting Russia and every European country. Whilst in Asia Minor she made several yearly camping expeditions in the Taurus Mountains, the Caucasus, and as far as the source of the Euphrates; therefore, she had many opportunities of comparing the social position of women in those countries and in her own.

Mrs. Massy joined the Suffrage movement in September, 1906, since which time she has been working with the Union at most of the by-elections. She carries great weight as a speaker, and, in addition, she has rendered great assistance in organising the campaigns.

PLATFORM No. 7.

Mrs. Martel.

The seventh platform will be unique in having for its chairman a woman who already possesses the Parliamentary vote in her own country. Mrs. Martel, though born in England, is an Australian who, during the years that she is visiting this country, is helping the English Suffragettes to obtain the same rights as she already possesses in Australia. She is one of those who fought hard in New



South Wales from 1899 to August 1902 to win the vote, and she was for eight years the hon. receiving secretary for petitions.

In 1900 she was unanimously elected president of the Women's Progressive As-

sociation, and after that president of the Liberal and Reform Association of New South Wales from 1899 to August, 1902, was nominated for Senatorship of the Commonwealth Parliament, and, although defeated, obtained over 19,000 votes. She came to England in May, 1905, and went at the head of 400 women to the House of Commons to demand the vote. She has been actively associated with the Women's Social and Political Union as an organiser, and is well known in every part of the country, where her great powers as a speaker have materially aided the Suffrage movement.

PLATFORM No. 8.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B.

Presiding over the eighth platform will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the organising secretary of the Women's Social and Political Union and the originator of the present political tactics of the Union. Born in September, 1880, and educated at home till she was 13, Miss Pankhurst went to school at the Manchester High School and also to Switzerland.

Before she was twenty Miss Pankhurst commenced working for the extension of the suffrage to women, and for several years accepted the leadership of those who were already at work, and followed the methods adopted by them. In 1901 she became a member of the executive of the North of England Society for Woman Suffrage, and also a member of the committee of the Women's Manchester T.U. Council. In 1903, in conjunction with her mother, she formed the Women's Social and Political Union, and was instrumental in getting Trades Councils all over the country to carry resolutions in favour of Votes for Women.

Meanwhile, in 1904 she had applied to be admitted as a student at Lincoln's Inn. Being refused, she spoke at the Union Society of London—the well-known Legal Debating Society—on the question of the admission of women to the Bar, and carried the society with her. In 1905 she obtained the prize for international law at Victoria University, Owens College,



Manchester, and in 1906 she took her LL.B., obtaining honours, and being bracketed at the head of the list with one man.

But while still reading for her degree she had seen the uselessness of the old method of fighting for the vote, and she accordingly initiated the militant tactics of the

Union by going to Sir Edward Grey's meeting in October, 1905, and insisting on making a protest when his question as to the attitude of the Liberals to Woman Suffrage was left unanswered. For this she suffered one week's imprisonment in Strangeways Gaol. From that day onwards she has dictated the policy of the Union, and has seen the women's army grow from a small handful of Manchester women in 1905 to its present national dimensions. She suffered a further imprisonment of one fortnight in February, 1907, for leading a deputation to the House of Commons. Her most recent triumph has been the defeat of Mr. Winston Churchill in North-West Manchester.

PLATFORM No. 9.

Miss M. Brackenbury.

The chairman of the ninth platform will be Miss Marie Brackenbury, who is the sister of Miss Georgina Brackenbury, who takes the chair at platform No. 1.

She also is an artist, but while her sister has devoted special attention to por-



trait painting, her work has been that of landscape painting. She also took part in the demonstration on February 11, and was arrested and subsequently sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment, refusing to consider the option of being bound over to keep the peace which was held out to her. She is an enthusiastic worker on behalf of the Union, and is very popular as a speaker at by-elections and elsewhere.

PLATFORM No. 10.

Miss Adela Pankhurst.

Miss Adela Pankhurst was born in Manchester, and educated at the Manchester High School. When 17 years of age she went to Switzerland to study for some time, and on her return was appointed teacher in a country Higher Grade School. Then came an appointment in a Manchester elementary school. In 1906 Miss Pankhurst relinquished this post that she might devote her whole time to the work of the N.W.S.P.U. Very soon after the Women's Social and Political Union was formed Miss A. Pankhurst made her first speech in Liverpool in defence of Women's Suffrage, and after this spoke for the suffrage at many meetings, visiting nearly every town near Manchester during her first year of active propaganda work.

At the General Election Miss A. Pankhurst attended Mr. Winston Churchill's

meetings in Manchester and questioned him, being ejected night after night. In June, 1906, three days after her twenty-



first birthday, she protested at a meeting of John Burns at Belle Vue, Manchester, and was imprisoned in Strangeways Gaol for a week.

In the following October Miss Pankhurst came to London for the opening of Parliament, was again arrested, and imprisoned till November. From this time onward Miss Pankhurst has made Lancashire and Yorkshire her special field for organising work.

PLATFORM No. 11.

Miss Nell Kenney.

Miss Nell Kenney was born at Lees, near Oldham, and at the age of ten commenced work as a half-timer in a cotton mill. She left the mill when she was 24 through ill-health, and commenced working as a shop assistant. Her capacity was quickly shown, and she was put in charge of businesses at St. Annes and Bingley in Yorkshire.

She became interested in politics through being a trade unionist at a very early age, but it was not until the militant agitation for Votes for Women commenced in Manchester that she did any very active work. She afterwards assisted in every possible way to bring the question of Women's Suffrage to the front, and in February, 1907, led a deputation to the House of Commons, and was



arrested. On her release from Holloway Gaol she was appointed an organiser for the Women's Social and Political Union. Miss Nell Kenney has since devoted her energies more especially to organising work on the North-East Coast, the Midlands, and Plymouth, where she is very popular. She was present at Nuneaton

when Mr. Asquith was questioned on Women's Suffrage, and was one of 30 women ejected.

PLATFORM No. 12.

Miss M. Naylor.

Miss Marie Naylor is one of the artist-Suffragettes of London. Her career began as a student at the Royal Academy Schools, and following this came a few years' study in Paris. During the second year of her stay in Paris she was fortunate in having a large canvas on the line in the Salon, and the year after the Royal Academy (London) hung one of her pictures. Since then Miss Naylor has exhibited canvases at most of the important exhibitions. Hard work, however, brought a breakdown, and she came to London and took a small studio, devoting herself more and more to portrait painting rather than works of imagination.

"The woman question, particularly as it affects my unfortunate sisters in the gutter," writes Miss Naylor, "has always been of the profoundest interest to me, even during the time of my greatest absorption in the delights of my much-loved profession. Susan B. Anthony deepened my conviction that the want of the vote

perspective of the needs, position, and possibilities of womanhood opened out to her, and a consequent keen realisation of the indignity of women working for any



political party under present conditions, determined her to throw up all Liberal work and come out on strike against a Government which persecutes women for asking it to carry out its fundamental principles.

Miss Crocker preferred to leave her party rather than be guilty of traitorship to her sex.

She became organiser for the National Women's Social and Political Union in March of this year, and since then has worked with success in the West of England and at the by-elections.

PLATFORM No. 14.

Miss Rachel Barrett, B.Sc.

Miss Barrett is a Welsh woman, born in Carmarthen. She lived until grown-up in one of the quiet picturesque villages of South Wales. When 17 years old she took a scholarship at Aberystwyth College, and worked there for the London B.Sc. Afterwards she became science and mathematics mistress in the Welsh county schools of Llangefni, Carmarthen, and Penarth. She joined the Union during the imprisonment of the leaders in October, 1906, and began to speak publicly on Votes for Women while Miss Adela Pankhurst was organising in Cardiff in the spring of 1907. Always keenly interested in the study of social problems, in October, 1907, Miss Barrett became a student at the London School of



Economics, with the intention of undertaking an investigation in social science and qualifying for the London D.Sc. During the Christmas vacation she

worked at the Mid-Devon by-election; and in February, finding the attraction of the women's movement too strong to resist, she gave up her work at the School of Economics to become an organiser for the Union.

PLATFORM No. 15.

Mrs. Drummond.

One of the most popular organisers of the Women's Social and Political Union will take the chair at the 15th platform.

Mrs. Drummond is a native of Manchester, and was educated at a Highland school until 14. After that she took up a post as telegraphist in the Isle of Arran in the summer months, and attended a Civil Service School in Glasgow during the winter months. After successfully passing all examinations for the highest position (postmistress) in the Civil Service, she found herself a victim of a new regulation that applicants for these posts should be not less than 5 ft. 2 in. Failing by 1 in. to come within the regulation, the time and money spent on preparation was of no avail, and she led a deputation of women to protest against this injustice. She entered a Glasgow school, and took a Society of Arts certificate as typist. In



March, 1898, she returned to Manchester, where she worked in that town in an office until Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney were sent to prison, and from that time has actively assisted the W.S.P.U. On March 10, 1906, she was arrested for a protest at 10, Downing-street. In December, 1906, she forced her way into the House of Commons, and was arrested and sent to prison for a fortnight. On her release she became an organiser for the W.S.P.U.

Though Mrs. Drummond took a leading part in the Manchester by-election and also in Wolverhampton, her principal activities have lain in London, where she has collected round her a band of several hundred women, by whom she is spoken of as the "General."

Everyone, friend or foe, in London has a good word for Mrs. Drummond, and she has won for herself many nicknames, the title of "Bluebell" given to her by the crowd in Hyde Park is the one by which she is most frequently known.

PLATFORM No. 16.

Miss Gertrude Conolan.

Miss Gertrude Conolan, who has recently become an organiser for the W.S.P.U., was born in Cheshire, and was

educated at St. Margaret's Convent, East Grinstead, and at the Kindergarten Training College, and at Paris. For some time she had experience as a schoolmistress,



carrying on a school at Hampstead on co-educational lines. Then followed a year's study at the Sorbonne, Paris, and afterwards a tour of visits was paid to French schools and colleges in order to study the different educational systems. On her return to England Miss Conolan held a post at the Highbury and Islington High School (G.P.D.S.T.). She also engaged in social work in different parts of the country.

Her interest in politics came through her mother's family. Both her grandfathers were members of Parliament; Sir Oswald Mosley being member for Burton-on-Trent and Major Chetwynd for Stafford. She joined the W.S.P.U. in 1906, and became treasurer of the Kensington Union; she has worked hard at many by-elections, where her speaking has been very much appreciated.

PLATFORM No. 17.

Dr. Jones.

The seventeenth platform will be presided over by a member of the profession that was earliest brought into conflict with the popular prejudice against the development of women—that of medicine. Dr. H. G. Jones is a native of Conway, in North Wales.

At eighteen she entered a Church of England sisterhood, and for four years worked in Mrs. Meredith's prison mission, both amongst discharged prisoners



and amongst the children of criminals in the Cottage Homes at Addlestone. She left this to study for the medical profession in 1895. In 1901 she got her

London degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery. She was then for a year medical officer in a lunatic asylum, and for the last five years she has been resident medical officer at Greenwich Infirmary, a post she is now leaving to take up that of medical officer to King's Norton Education Board.

Dr. Jones has been for a long time an active supporter of the Women's Social and Political Union, and has on many occasions spoken on their behalf at women's meetings. Those who go to platform No. 17 are sure of an interesting exposition of the women's cause.

PLATFORM No. 18.

Mrs. Jennie Baines.

Born in Birmingham in 1866, Mrs. Baines began her working life at an unusually early age, for when only eleven she was helping to support herself. While quite a girl she became deeply interested in temperance reform, and before she was twenty was appointed missionary in Bolton. Later Mrs. Baines became an active worker for the I.L.P., and for two years was a member of the Stockport Unemployed Committee.



At that time she came to realise that women must have the vote in order to force legislation. When Miss Pankhurst was arrested in 1905 Mrs. Baines became a member of the W.S.P.U., and for a long time worked voluntarily for the Union. Later she was appointed organiser, and since then has travelled all over the country working up meetings, speaking, and taking part at various by-elections. In particular, she was very active at Dewsbury, opposing Mr. Runciman, and is at present at work in Dundee. She has the power of holding a very large audience.

PLATFORM No. 19.

Miss Gladice Keevil.

Miss Gladice Keevil is a native of London, being born in the year 1884, and educated at the Frances Mary Buss School and Lambeth Art School. After completing her education, she spent a year and a half in France and America as a governess, and on her return joined the National Women's Social and Political Union, and for some months did active work on behalf of the Union in various parts of the country. The Committee, realising the value of her services, deter-



mined to appoint her as an organiser in the spring of this year, and from that time she has worked various by-elections, and has been universally liked. In

PLATFORM No. 20.

Miss Edith New.

The last platform will be presided over by Miss Edith New, who is best known for her protest at No. 10, Downing-street, when she chained herself to the railings. She was born on March 17, 1877, at Swindon, Wiltshire. She served her apprenticeship as teacher in the public elementary schools of Swindon from 1893-7, and obtained a parchment certificate after two years' training in Stockwell College. After 18 months' work in Swindon, she came to London, and taught in the poorer schools of E. Greenwich and Deptford till January, 1908, when she became one of the staff of organisers for the N.W.S.P.U.

She was first interested actively in the women's movement during the autumn of 1906, after hearing the speakers at a meeting in Trafalgar-square. She was arrested in March, 1907, and given a term of two weeks' imprisonment for an attempt to get to the House of Commons, and again in January, 1908, for the demonstration outside Downing-street mentioned above. This resulted in imprisonment for three weeks in the second division. On her release, she said that she was quite ready, if need be, to repeat the offence, which was quite



"worth the whipping." Since then Miss New has been actively engaged in by-election work at Hastings, Peckham, and North-West Manchester.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

May 7, 1908.

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper. The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested where stamps for postage are enclosed.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to

The Publisher,

"Votes for Women,"

4, Clements Inn,

Strand, W.C.

The terms are 15s. 2d. annual subscription, 3s. 10d. for one quarter, post free, payable in advance.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

POLITICAL TACTICS.

Anyone who is in doubt as to the expediency of the political tactics adopted by the women cannot do better than compare the progress in recent years of Woman Suffrage with that of Irish Home Rule.

In the days of Mr. Parnell (a man for whose political sagacity Mr. Gladstone had the highest respect) the Irish party adopted an independent line, and forced one of the great parties of Great Britain to inscribe Home Rule on its programme.

But since his death it has adopted a policy of sweet reasonableness; and what has been the result?

In 1906 it allowed the Liberal party to go to the polls with a distinct pledge not to deal with Home Rule during the present Parliament. Not only did it allow this without strenuous opposition, but it actually continued to give its support to the Liberal party inside and outside the House of Commons up till a month ago.

At last the rank and file of the Irish party began to grow restive. They found totally unsatisfactory the attitude adopted by the Liberal Government to Home Rule in the recent debate in the House of Commons, and they determined to make themselves unpleasant. They declared their intention of voting against Mr. Churchill in Manchester.

At once Mr. Churchill found it desirable to do something, and he sought about for the least pledge that would buy off their opposition. He found it pretty quickly, for the Irish leaders were soon satisfied.

They did not get from him a promise that the Government would immediately bring in a Home Rule measure.

They did not even get from him a promise that at the next General Election the Liberal Government would inscribe it on their programme.

They only got from him an expression of opinion which he said, had the concurrence of Mr. Asquith, that at the next General Election the Liberal party should *not* bind itself *not* to deal with Home Rule in the ensuing Parliament.

And for this shadowy concession the Irish party agreed to abandon their opposition, and support Mr. Churchill.

Compare this with the progress of Woman Suffrage.

Two and a-half years ago it was regarded by politicians as a subject for ridicule, to-day it is, according to Mr. Churchill, a great national question.

Though Members of Parliament talk about the extent to which they have been alienated from Woman Suffrage by the methods of the women, they find it necessary when they come before their constituents to declare themselves as strong supporters.

In Manchester Mr. Churchill, anxious to retain the good offices of the Liberal Women, declared his intention of using his influence upon the Government as and when opportunity arose to press forward this question. His promised sympathy availed him little; few Liberal women gave him their assistance, and he was defeated at the poll.

In consequence, in Dundee Mr. Churchill has gone further; he has had an early and special meeting of Liberal women; he has told them that Woman Suffrage is now practical politics, that "no one can be blind to the fact that at the next General Election Women's Suffrage will be a real practical issue, and the next Parliament ought to see it accomplished." He has even added that there is a possibility of its being dealt with this Parliament.

Thus the women have already got as much, or even a little more, out of Mr. Churchill than the Irish, while retaining their full independence.

But they know how little they have got. They know from hard experience that expressions of sympathy are worth nothing in politics. They set no store (except as an indication of the increased importance attached to their opposition) upon "possibles" or "probables," or "oughts" in the mouths of politicians. They decline to be grateful in advance for favours not yet conferred.

They intend to wait until they have a definite pledge on behalf of the Government—a pledge not of some hypothetical measure at some distant date, but of immediate action.

And until they get that pledge they will continue their opposition with unabated vigour, and with ever increasing assurance of the prospect of speedy victory.

POLITICAL NOTES.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

That the votes for women movement was greatly advanced by the defeat of the Government in North-West Manchester is shown by Mr. Churchill's action in Dundee.

Apart from the big introductory meeting in the Drill Hall, Mr. Churchill's first meeting was one of Liberal women, and the main subject of the speech he there delivered was the enfranchisement of women. This, on the part of a Cabinet Minister, is quite unprecedented. Evidently Mr. Churchill's experience in Manchester has taught him that the Woman Suffrage issue cannot be ignored. Some attempt, he realises, must be made to counteract the effect of the Suffragists' anti-Government policy of which he, a Cabinet Minister seeking for a seat in Parliament, is for the time being the chief victim. So popular has Woman Suffrage now become that to oppose it is out of the question, and would alienate the voters still further. Moreover, Mr. Churchill believes that the women's campaign against him can be effectively met only by the efforts of other women's work on his side, and in order to get the support of the Liberal women some expression of sympathy with women's enfranchisement must be made.

Accordingly, Mr. Churchill has renewed with greater decision the protestations of friendship for the woman's cause which he made at Manchester. Thus Mr. Churchill's conversion is an encouraging mark of the strength of the movement, and his admission that the demand for the vote comes from a very large body of women all over the country will be found very useful as a reply to the argument in vogue amongst some of his colleagues, that women do not want the vote.

The Influence of the W.S.P.U.

All doubt as to whether the W.S.P.U. influenced the result of the North-West Manchester election will be removed by Mr. Churchill's reference to the Women's Social and Political Union. Alluding to the members of that society as "hornets," he made a strong attack upon them. The charge that they are the allies of the brewers he makes too late in the day, for by this time every fair-minded person recognises that the Government itself will be to blame for any injury which comes to the Licensing Bill in consequence of women's opposition at by-elections, since that opposition is based solely on the Government's denial of women's franchise.

In view of the Government surrender foreshadowed by his utterance in Dundee, militant Suffragists will not grudge him any satisfaction which he may derive from his censure of them and their methods.

In response to a question, Mr. Churchill said that he could not take it upon himself to give a Government pledge on the question of Woman Suffrage. This reserve and discretion on his part must have come as a surprise to those who observed his course through the North-West Manchester by-election, for at that time pledges on other questions, purporting to come from the Government were plentiful. The Women's Social and Political Union have made it clear to the electors and to the Government candidate himself that neither expressions, personal sympathy, nor vague hints as to Government intentions will suffice to stem the present agitation. An undertaking binding the Government as a whole, that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill now before the House of Commons shall be carried, is what the Union is determined to secure.

Speaking of the provision of Government facilities for that measure, Mr. Churchill asserted that there was no precedent for such a course in the case of a Reform Bill,

but he had evidently forgotten that the Government expressed their intention of securing the enactment of Mr. Dickinson's London Electoral Bill, and would have done so had not that measure been talked out at the second reading stage. But if want of precedent should seem to a Liberal Government an insuperable difficulty, the wishes of Women Suffragists could readily be met by the speedy introduction of a Government measure.

By way of excuse for delay in granting this reform, admittedly just and admittedly desired by women, Mr. Churchill argued that as an immediate dissolution would be called for by the enactment of a Women's Enfranchisement Bill, such a measure ought not to be carried until the last Session of Parliament. The attitude of the W.S.P.U. on this point has been made quite clear. To women the immediate dissolution of a Parliament which has no mandate from them would not seem a calamity, but just as Mr. Gladstone, in order to meet the views of opponents to a reasonable extent, was willing to delay the operations of the County Franchise Act of 1884 for a space of two years, so Woman Suffragists are prepared to make a similar concession. If the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is carried without delay they will, secure in the knowledge that the vote is theirs, be content to wait a little longer for the opportunity of exercising it.

Again, Mr. Churchill, when he speaks of the last Session of a Parliament being the one proper for the enactment of a Reform Bill, seems to forget that the present Government selected not the last, but the first Session of this Parliament for the introduction of the Plural Voting Bill, also a reform measure. But if Mr. Churchill means it to be inferred that in the last Session of this Parliament a Woman Suffrage Bill is to be carried can he inform women impatient for the vote in what year that session is likely to occur. To assume that we are far from the General Election is a display of optimism on his part which current events do little to justify. A dissolution early in next year is far from being impossible, and, therefore, women who want to vote at the General Election will make every effort to get the vote this year.

Liberals First, Suffragists Afterwards.

Mr. Churchill called upon the Liberal women to be Liberals first and Suffragists afterwards. When Mr. Churchill has been a little longer a member of the Liberal party he will become aware of the fact that this policy which he recommends is being abandoned by the best of the Liberal women as being inconsistent with self-respect, sex loyalty, and even with true Liberalism.

A final quotation from Mr. Churchill is illuminating. Said he: "No one can be blind to the fact that at the next General Election Women's Suffrage will be a real practical issue, and the next Parliament, I think, ought to see the gratification of your claims. I do not exclude the possibility of the question being dealt with in this Parliament, but I have no authority to include it." That is to say that if possible women must be persuaded of the necessity of waiting till after the General Election, when some providential turn of affairs may lead to the submerging of this inconvenient issue. But if the pressure exerted by women becomes too strong to be resisted, then the Government will yield to the inevitable. To repeat the Manchester triumph by a second time defeating the President of the Board of Trade at Dundee may prove to be the necessary final blow. In any case, it will certainly have a very important effect.

If in consequence of the opposition of the W.S.P.U. seats are lost to the Government in Scotland, as well as South of the Tweed, then the Union is indeed a power to be reckoned with, and the fact that a Liberal Cabinet Minister sought in vain to represent Dundee because women are against him would give even Mr. Asquith, who sits for the neighbouring constituency of East Fife, cause for reflection.

THE WOMEN'S CONGRESS IN ROME.

By MAUD JOACHIM.

Looking at the special reports of the Women's Congress in Rome, which have reached me, I am struck by the prominent part which the women of the aristocracy are taking in the women's movement. A good many members of the Chamber of Deputies were present in the Congress, watching its proceedings with a view to future legislation.

The Congress attacked with the most praiseworthy courage and energy every phase of the problems which modern life presents, and made it very obvious that women's duties are co-extensive with the whole length and breadth of the social fabric. A great part of the energies of the women has hitherto been directed to public education on important social problems; in fact, they seem to have realised almost more vividly than we have done over here the necessity of supplementing legislation by instructing as well as awakening public conscience as to the duties of citizenship, and especially as to sexual morality and hygiene.

As regards legislation, they are still in the hopeful stage of calling upon their Government to pass various laws which are admittedly desirable. It remains to be seen whether their demands will be granted before they are in a position to insist on them through the medium of the vote!

The achievements of women in art and literature were dealt with, and Countess Maria Pasolini moved a resolution to associate women with every effort for the preservation of historical and artistic monuments, for the preservation of natural beauties, and the embellishment of cities. The Deputy, Signor Rosadi, spoke very warmly in favour of the motion, and mentioned that it came at a very opportune moment, as a law for the protection of Italy's art treasures is just now before the Senate.

Among legal reforms necessary in the interests of health and morality, the raising of the age of consent was demanded, the anomaly in the law which prevents doctors from notifying cases of syphilis and similar diseases, which ought to be as strictly notified as cases of small-pox was pointed out, and so was the necessity of altering existing laws which impose severe penalties on those who venture to bring to light certain crimes. Under the name of the "white slave traffic" the infamous international traffic in women which exists was condemned, and women called upon to combat it by every means in their power, and also to assist those who have already suffered by it. Alterations in the law, so as to make it easier to report cases of ill-treatment of children, were demanded. The unequal divorce laws were also dealt with.

The question of "Votes for Women" was discussed at great length, and a resolution calling upon Government to confer the franchise upon women was passed unanimously. The arguments for it and for its necessity were those with which our members are already thoroughly familiar; the suggestion that our methods should be followed was dubiously received, their necessity not having yet been made obvious. It is, however, significant that the Deputy, Signor Mirabelli, said that the question is at present before the Chamber, but re-

minded his hearers that certain concessions have to be wrested from those in power.

We may, I think, be sure that if quieter methods prove ineffectual, the Italian women will not be found lacking in the courage and the energy to adopt our own.

The question of religious instruction in schools was also dealt with, this being, as was justly pointed out, a question in which the mothers of the country are specially interested.

The Congress also dealt with the achievements of women in art and literature, with feminine industries, and with the question of sick nurses and their education.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance.

The second executive meeting of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, and the fourth International Woman Suffrage Conference will be held in Amsterdam from June 15 to 20 inclusive. The 13 countries affiliated with the International Alliance are each entitled to send six delegates, and six alternates from their National Woman Suffrage Association. A special invitation to send fraternal delegates is issued to all national associations in sympathy with the movement for Woman Suffrage. Individuals of every race, nativity, and creed who believe in the right of women to vote in Parliamentary elections are also invited to be present.

A call to the conference has just been issued, signed by Carrie Chapman Catt (president) and Rachel Foster Avery (secretary). This call points out that women have obtained their full rights of citizenship in New Zealand, Australia, Finland, and Norway, and in four of the States of America. Mrs. Catt also points out the great need for international counsel and co-operation, since although the actors and the scene may differ, the story of the real struggle is the same in all lands.

Those desiring further information are requested to write to Carrie Chapman Catt, c/o Dr. Aletta Jacobs, Tesselschade-straat, Amsterdam, Holland.

A Paris Suffragette.

The French Suffragists intend taking a leaf out of the book of the English Suffragettes, and have started a militant campaign of their own. According to the accounts which have appeared in the Press there was a demonstration on Sunday at the elections of municipal councillors, and the polling booths were invaded by women who were not allowed to vote.

Our own experience in this country of the reports which were given in the early stages of our campaign lead us to believe that a good deal of embellishment has been added, and that the nature of the demonstration has in that way been considerably misrepresented, but the fact remains that the women of Paris are determined not to be quiet any longer under their voteless condition.

Though it would appear that there was no law to the contrary, it has never happened before that a woman has stood for election to the municipality of Paris, so that the candidature of Mlle. Laloe, who was put forward by the French Feminists, was, in the eyes of the Parisians, a glaring innovation. Foremost on her programme, Mlle. Laloe placed all feminist questions, notably those dealing with day nurseries, schools, hospitals, &c. She demanded the abolition of the monster auto-bus—such a prominent feature of Paris—the construction of cheap dwellings, the unification of the tariff for the auto-taxi-meter, and the ventilation of the Paris underground railways.

As there was some question as to whether the votes polled by a feminine candidate were valid, many people, who would doubtless have voted for Mlle. Laloe, refrained from doing so, still she obtained 985 votes, against the 3,000 gained by her opponent. Women claimed to be entitled to vote in the elections, but were not allowed to do so; several, therefore, demonstrated outside the polling booths, and, according to Monday's papers, came into some conflict with the police. None were, however, arrested.

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women's Section at the Franco-British Exhibition.

The Central Bureau for the Employment of Women (9, Southampton-street, Strand) have decided to open an inquiry office in the Women's Section at the Franco-British Exhibition. It will be an information for all departments of women's work, and pamphlets, leaflets, and reports will be freely distributed.

National Council of Women of France.

The National Council of Women of France will hold their annual congress next month. The congress, which is to be held in Paris, is divided into three sections: (1) Ordinary civil rights. (2) Civil rights in connection with economic rights. (3) Women's suffrage. The secretary for the latter is Mme. V. Vincent, president of the Feminist Society "L'Egalité."

Women and the Geological Society.

At their next meeting, on May 6, the Fellows of the Geological Society are to discuss the advisability of admitting women to the fellowship of the society. During the past year women have done good work in this branch of science, some having read papers before the society.

Women are already admitted to membership, and Wednesday's debate promises to be most interesting.

Women in the P.O. Savings Bank.

It has been decided to employ only women clerks in the ledger branch of the Savings Bank Department, and the Postmaster-General has found no difficulty in getting the required number of eligible women. He wanted 240, and he could have got considerably more.

Girl clerks in the Post Office get from £35 to £40 per year. Competition for these posts is extremely keen, entrance being by examination. The training takes from six to eighteen months.

The Suffrage in the United States.

Led by Mrs. Bormann Wells, a member of the English Women's Social and Political Union, the American Suffragists are starting open-air meetings in New York, and are attracting a good deal of attention. According to an account in the *Daily Telegraph* of April 29, Mrs. Bormann Wells addressed a meeting on the previous day in Harlem, New York's most jovial suburb.

She was accompanied by Miss Josephine Casey, of Chicago, and the two women pluckily faced the crowd for a considerable time. And though at length the rowdy element proved too strong, the women received a hearty cheer from the crowd as they went away.

Lady Candidate.

Miss Mary Picton, who, as I mentioned last week, is standing as a candidate in the Kensington Borough Council by-election, has just issued her election address.

In this Miss Picton states she has been a school manager in Kensington, appointed by the L.C.C., and that she has made a study of economic questions and has had practical experience of various branches of social work.

Among the preliminary list of her supporters are such well-known names as Andrew Lang, Sir Norman and Lady Lockyer, Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., A. C. Plowden, W. H. Dickinson, M.P., Lady Frances Balfour, and many other prominent men and women in Kensington.

The election is to take place on May 14.

What to Do with Our Girls.

An interesting exhibition is shortly to be held in the Prince's Skating Rink, South Kensington, under the auspices of the Girls' Realm Guild of Good Service and Fellowship. At this exhibition, which is to last for a week, workers will be seen engaged in every branch of women's employment. Dressmaking, millinery, artificial flower-making, pattern-cutting, spinning and weaving, confectionery, cooking, printing, &c., &c., will be represented, and there will be displays of fencing, dancing, and gymnastics, besides several lectures upon the higher professions.

One feature will be a "Motor Tuition" stall, which will show a complete car and all its appurtenances, with a lady on board to demonstrate how comparatively easy a matter motor-driving can be.

The exhibition will be held from May 11 to 30, inclusive.

Women's Work at the Pan-Anglican Congress.

Prominence is given to women's work in the Church at the coming Pan-Anglican Congress. Mrs. Creighton is president of the women's committee, which is comprised of over 100 members, drawn from the wives of bishops, and ladies who may be regarded as representative of educational, social, and literary work. The primary aim of the committee is to bring home to English Churchwomen the objects and purpose of the Congress, and to enable them to understand how closely its deliberations affect themselves. Sub-committees have been formed in each diocese of England and Wales, with the Bishop's wife, or some other woman of influence at the head.

On June 12 there will be a great meeting for women only, presided over by Mrs. Davidson, wife of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and simultaneously there will be a meeting for girls only, in the Church House, over which Mrs. Sumner, wife of the Bishop of Guildford, will probably preside. In the morning and afternoon of the same day Mrs. Creighton is to preside at the Caxton Hall over a conference of women on rescue work. A conference of Church workers will be held later in the day.

TELEPHONE, MAYFAIR 3238.

ELIZABETH

(late of 1, Hertford Street, Mayfair).

21, SOUTH MOLTON ST., BOND ST., W.

Children's Millinery & Dressmaking.

**CHILDREN'S DRESSMAKING AS A
Profession for Gentlewomen.**

This branch of dressmaking has had little attention paid to it, and is essentially one requiring a gentlewoman's taste and discrimination.

Elizabeth is prepared to take Pupils and Apprentices for Children's Dressmaking and Millinery, and will be pleased to send terms upon application.

MRS. OLIVER,

**Hats, Dresses, Rest Gowns,
ETC.**

PRICES MODERATE.

Telephone: 1849 MAYFAIR.

115, NEW BOND STREET, W.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

WOLVERHAMPTON (EAST).

Alderman George R. Thorne (Lib.) .. 4,514
Mr. L. S. Amery (Unionist) 4,506

Majority 8

The figures at the General Election were as follows: Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Fowler (Lib.), 5,610; Mr. L. S. Amery (Cons.), 2,745.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms.

20, Broad street, Wolverhampton.

Once more the women have triumphed. A reduction of over 2,800 has been effected in the Liberal majority. And, though the Liberals have retained the seat, it is with a margin reduced almost to vanishing point.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Wolverhampton, Monday, May 4.

To anyone who sets out to find a bit of Merry England, I would say do not go to East Wolverhampton to look for it. For there is no beauty there, and the people are not merry. You will find dull and monotonous streets, and waste places where mines have been. You will see careworn and apathetic men, forlorn looking women, and pale-faced little children. East Wolverhampton is not the place to make any English heart glad or proud of the country in which we live.

It is Liberal; Liberal from the commencement of Liberalism; Liberal to the backbone; and the problem of unemployment grows worse and worse there, and the conditions of the people ever more sordid and deplorable. The wages of the men are low; the wages of the women are a scandal. The homes are poor, the children are not properly clothed or adequately fed.

The Rival Candidates.

In the face of all these domestic and social conditions, what have the representatives of the two great political parties to offer to the people? Mr. Amery, the Conservative candidate, comes forward with the gospel of Tariff Reform. He appeals to the men engaged in the steel and locksmith industries and in other trades that have been suffering from foreign competition, and he tells them that Protection will mean better trade and more work for all.

Mr. Thorne, the Liberal candidate, has nothing to say about this terrible problem of unemployment. He has no remedy to suggest and nothing new to offer, but he urges the electors to stick to Free Trade unless they want to be more miserable even than they are now, and lest they bring upon themselves still worse conditions and add dear food to all their other evils.

Here the Conservative candidate possesses an advantage, for he offers the electors a glimmering hope that suggests light in the distance, while the Liberal candidate has no hope to hold out, and bids them stick to the *status quo* at all hazards lest worse befall.

On the other hand, Mr. Thorne is an alderman of the city, a man of strong personality, well known and much respected in the constituency, while Mr. Amery is a young man and a comparative stranger to the place. The tradition of East Wolverhampton is with Mr. Thorne. The fathers of these men and their fathers' fathers voted Liberal, and there is a strong predisposition to be loyal to the old colour. The Miners' Eight Hours Bill has the support of the miners, who form a not inconsiderable section of the electorate, and are Liberals. The Licensing Bill has the support of the Socialists and Labour section, but does not arouse any popular enthusiasm. The Education Bill is opposed by the priests, who have issued a manifesto urging Catholics to vote against the Government on this account.

Women's Suffrage.

Both candidates are in favour of Women's Suffrage. It figures in both election addresses, and both Liberal and Con-

servative make a point of it in their speeches, urging their claim to the support of the electors on the ground of their sympathy with the claims of women. Both parties are also pressing women into their service, and throughout the campaign are putting them into the foreground as speakers. Women canvassers are much in evidence. An officer in the police force said to me, "The women Liberals have come to ask us for our vote, but I told them 'you've come to the wrong quarter, we mean to vote for the Suffragettes.'" There is no question so greatly discussed by the men and women as the question of Votes for Women. Neither of the candidates can draw an open-air audience if a Suffragette meeting is going on at the same time.

The camera of one of the reporters was just too late the other day to snapshot a little scene in which Miss Annie Kenney and the Liberal candidate were the centre point. Miss Annie Kenney had chosen her ground for an open-air meeting; had chalked the notices of it on the pavement, and had brought her lorry on to the spot. "Here's Annie," cried the people when they saw her coming; (she is simply "Annie" to the men and women of Wolverhampton, and is immensely popular amongst them. No sooner had she collected her crowd and begun her speech than up drove the Liberal candidate, supported by Sir Henry Norman, M.P., and several other speakers. They claimed the pitch, and Mr. Thorne began to argue about it with Miss Kenney. "Annie" stood her ground, saying, "There is room for us both; begin your meeting; if the people want to hear you they will come to you; if they want to hear me they will stop with me."

The challenge was not accepted. The Liberal gentlemen drove off, and the Suffragette meeting went on. Said one of the women as she stood with folded arms, after summing up the situation apparently in her own thoughts, "There aint no flies on Annie Kenney."

Outside the Axle works during the dinner hour the other day the speaker on the Liberal platform was left alone without a solitary hearer, while the men and women gathered round the Suffragettes. Moving amongst the audience, it was interesting to see the faces and to hear the comments. You could see men nudging one another, and overhear the whisper, "Hoo (she) knows what hoo's talking about." "Every word is gospel truth, so it is."

"Aye! Martha," said one woman to another, "did ye ever hear the like of it; isn't it grand! To think of those ladies working like this for us."

It's Women for Women Now.

Once a woman shouted an interruption, but was promptly rebuked by others standing near her: "Can't yer listen, woman, to what hoo's sayin'; it's women for women now, and you've got to stick up for um like all the rest of us." "Hoo's one of us," you hear the women say proudly when "Annie" is laying down the law.

Special meetings for women have been arranged, but men will not be kept out, and Mrs. Drummond, who is the General of the Suffragettes at Wolverhampton, smilingly gives way, and chaffs the men for not being able to lose sight of the women even for an hour.

The meetings in the Empire Theatre have been the crowning success of the women's campaign. Somehow or other the "General" seems to have got the right side of the manager. From all appearance this is a little way that she has. Notices of her meetings have been thrown on the screen night after night during the bioscopic entertainment at the theatre. The Empire is built to accommodate 2,500, but over 3,000 people have been packed into every available inch of standing room, so eager have they been to hear the Suffragettes. An old man was telling me his impression about Miss Christabel Pankhurst's meeting last Thursday. "Best speech I ever heard in my life," he said, chuckling and nodding his head, "not a man to touch her to my thinking; and the way she answered them questions—wouldn't have been in that young man's place for a sovereign, I wouldn't. Didn't she put him down, rather! Can't see why the Liberal Government holds out against her. Stands to reason what she says, yer know: look 'ere, I pay 4s. a week rent, and next door to me is a woman who pays 8s.;

yet I've got a vote, and she aint; no sense in it, to my thinkin'."

On Sunday the Votes for Women meeting in the Empire Theatre was announced for 7.30. At 5.30 the crowd was so large and so determined that 14 police could not cope with it. At a quarter-to-six the door was smashed, and men and women poured in. At 6 o'clock the place was crowded, not an inch of room left, and hundreds were turned away.

I was at the door at 7 o'clock when the speakers arrived. I heard the manager say to Mrs. Drummond, "I wouldn't take on this job again for all the money in the world." Judging from his words, he considered himself a very injured person indeed. But, judging from his smile and his manner, I could see that there was not a prouder man in the town at that moment than he. A police officer told me that he wouldn't care to go through the hour again. Mrs. Drummond decided to begin the meeting at once, as the people had been waiting so long. The curtains were drawn up, and Mrs. Drummond "was discovered" in the chair, supported by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mary Neal, and Miss Annie Kenney.

A splendid reception was given to all the speakers. Not a point in the speeches was missed. "You men have not begun to learn to use your vote yet," said Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

A Witty Speech.

She told a humorous story of her first dinner in Paris, and how she lost her soup by saying "thank you" to the waiter before she got it, and how every course was similarly taken away from her until she learnt her mistake. "But you men," she said, "are always ready to say 'thank you' before you get anything; any promise is good enough to take you in. No wonder the Government does nothing for you when you are so easily satisfied with words."

How the men loved having this point rubbed in! "You will never get anything," she said, "till the women come along to show you how to do it." "A woman can see through a brick wall before you men see through a five-barred gate," was another point that went right home. But when the tone of the speaker deepened, and she touched upon the seriousness of the question and the moral issues that were at stake, there was a hush throughout the great meeting, and one could feel the response that the audience made to her appeal.

"Keep the Liberal out." This was the moral of every speech, and the advice was well received. I saw many Liberals there, and a number of prominent people in Wolverhampton. The Liberal editor sat in one of the boxes; I wondered what he was thinking about it all. Numerous questions were sent up and answered, evidently to the great satisfaction of the crowd. A collection was taken amounting to over £6. After the meeting was over groups of men and women stood about discussing the speeches. The Suffragettes were stopped on their way to the hotel by people who wished to congratulate them. One man took Mrs. Drummond by the hand and said, "We men are enraptured with your splendid meeting."

The success of Sunday was repeated to-day. The Empire Theatre was again crowded this afternoon with an enthusiastic audience. The meeting was announced to begin at 3.30. At 2 o'clock hundreds of people were waiting for admittance; at 2.15 the crowd was so big that the door had to be opened. Long before 3 o'clock the place was packed, and the meeting was started soon afterwards. Mrs. Kerwood was in the chair, and she dealt with the policy of the Union. Mrs. Drummond made a fighting speech which brought cheers from the audience. Miss Keevil's speech was a strong appeal to men voters to strike a blow for them to-morrow, and the meeting closed at 5 o'clock amid rousing cheers for the women.

Liberal Criticism.

Judging from the popularity of the Suffragettes in this constituency, and the enthusiasm of their meetings, I should say that their influence would be very powerful in withdrawing votes from the Liberal candidate on the polling day. A good many men have told me that were the contest prolonged another week there is no doubt that the women would keep the Liberal candidate out. On polling day they will have been but nine days in the constituency. I heard one Liberal man say to another, "These are the kind of women we want." Another Liberal said, "Whether they are right or wrong, they deserve to be successful, because they fight so well." Another man said, "They have done the Government a wonderful deal of harm in the few days they have been here."

"The tide of enthusiasm is flowing high to-day," said Mrs.

Drummond to me, at the close of that very wonderful meeting this afternoon.

"Does it mean that the men are going to vote against the Liberal to-morrow?" I asked.

Her eyes twinkled. "Wait and see," she said. "But let me tell you this is the day of miracles. Nothing is too much to expect. When you think of the great majority of 2,600, it seems impossible, doesn't it? But we come from North-West Manchester. We never know what may happen now."

"Daily Mail," May 1.

The Suffragettes had a meeting over two thousand strong in the Empire Theatre, at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst was the "star turn." They are having great influence on the electorate at Wolverhampton.

MONTROSE BURGHS.

Liberal Mr. Robert Vernon Harcourt.
Conservative Mr. A. H. Briggs Constable.
Labour Mr. Joseph Burgess.

The figures at the General Election were as follows:—Rt. Hon. John Morley (L.), 4,416; Lt.-Col. Alex. Sprot (C.), 1,922.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms:—

Bridge-street, Montrose.

The polling day in Montrose Burghs is Tuesday, May 12, and the election is now in full swing. It is dwarfed in public interest by the Dundee by-election, where Mr. Winston Churchill is candidate, but the people are eager to hear us, and we are getting on well. Meetings have been held in every one of the five Burghs, and several big demonstrations have been arranged for this week.

Miss Una Dugdale has been doing splendid work here, and has been speaking and organising all over the constituency, and on Tuesday I expect to have several additional helpers and speakers for the wind-up of the campaign.

We have been greatly helped by having a motor-car kindly lent us by one of our members here, which takes us over the constituency very easily.

Miss Una Dugdale and Miss MacGregor had a very successful meeting last night at Bervie. Mrs. Martel was at Arbroath, and I had meetings at Forfar—all very good. Miss Gawthorpe had splendid meetings also at Arbroath, and everywhere we are very well received.

It is a traditionally Liberal constituency, and will not be readily induced to change.

HELEN FRASER.

We are sure Mr. Vernon Harcourt will have good cause to remember the opposition of the Suffragettes here, even as at Hastings.

The campaign opened vigorously on April 29, when Mrs. Pankhurst addressed a large meeting at Arbroath from which hundreds were turned away. Dinner-hour meetings, initiated by Miss Gawthorpe and Miss Keegan, were keenly attended, the men at Messrs. Shanks' Engineering Works, in anticipation of their turn, erecting a special wooden platform for our speakers.

At an open-air meeting Mrs. Martel was backed up by much encouragement at saying "Keep the Liberal out," just as Mr. Harcourt himself appeared in the crowd.

Miss Drydale and myself at Montrose opened the proceedings by an open-air meeting at which 1,000 were present. The Burgh Hall, holding 1,500, is engaged for Miss Fraser and others this coming week.

At Brechin, Miss Macaulay and Miss Phillips held two meetings with good success, while at Forfar, Miss Lamb and Miss Gye kept the flag flying, Miss Fraser getting good hold of the women at a preliminary meeting.

NELLY CROCKER.

STIRLING BURGHS.

Liberal Mr. Arthur Ponsonby.
Conservative Mr. W. Whitelaw.

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

Committee Rooms.

Port-street, Stirling.

We expect to start the Stirling campaign in a few days, and the polling is expected to be about May 20.

DUNDEE.

Liberal.. .. Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.
Conservative .. Sir George W. Baxter.
Labour.. .. Mr. G. H. Stuart.
Prohibition .. Councillor Edwin Scrymgeour.

The constituency returns two members. At the General Election the figures were as follows—E. Robertson (L.), 9,276; A. Wilkie (Lab.), 6,833; H. Robson (L.), 6,122; E. H. Shackleton (C.), 3,865; A. D. Smith (C.), 3,183.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms.

227, Overgate, Dundee.
 Lamb's Hotel.

Staff: Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines, Miss Barrett, Miss Crocker, Miss Lambert, Mrs. Leigh, Mrs. Titterton, Miss Haig, Miss Naylor, Miss Parker, Miss Keegan, Miss Macaulay, Miss Mary Phillips, Miss Gertrude Brook, Miss Lamb, Miss Gye, and local workers.

Special Meetings.

Thursday, May 7.—Foresters' Hall, 3 p.m.
 Women's Meeting, 3 p.m.
 High School Gate, 7.30 p.m.
 Hilltown, 7.30 p.m.
 Royal Arches, 7.30.
 Anrum-road Board School, 8 p.m.
 Hawkhill Board School, 8 p.m.
 Blackness Upper Hall, 8 p.m.
 Wallacetown Board School, 8 p.m.
 V.F. Hall, Lochee, 8 p.m.
 Foresters' Hall, 8 p.m.
 Friday, .. 8.—High School Gate, 7.30 p.m.
 Hilltown, 7.30 p.m.
 Women's Meeting, 3 p.m.
 Forester's Hall, 3 p.m.
 Anrum-road Board School, 8 p.m.
 Hawkhill Board School, 8 p.m.
 Foresters' Hall, 8 p.m.
 The Drill Hall, 7.30.
 Saturday, .. 9.—High School Gate, 7.30 p.m.
 Hilltown, 7.30 p.m.
 Maxwell Town Hall, 8 p.m.

Dinner-hour Meetings and General Propaganda. Meetings everywhere daily. Speakers: Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and others.

In consequence of the decision of Dundee Liberals to contest Dundee with Mr. Winston Churchill as Government candidate, this election will probably be one of the keenest that has ever been fought in Scotland. We intend to press home the lesson of North-West Manchester, and to force the Government to realise that, instead of suffering loss at our hands, they should adopt the more statesmanlike alternative of giving "votes to women" before the reform is forced from them.

Dundee has been called a "Suffrage City," and if we are to judge by the success of all our meetings so far, those who oppose our demands are in an overwhelming minority. What we have to get "right home" is that if our hearers are really in earnest on votes for women, they can no longer support a Government which is so manifestly traducing its own principles.

Although our speakers held many successful meetings at the beginning of the week, the campaign in Dundee really dates from the great Kinnaird Hall meeting on April 30, the eve of Mr. Churchill's arrival. This—the largest hall in the city—was packed at every point with between two and three thousand people, the vast majority of whom were with us from start to finish.

I presided, Mrs. Pankhurst making her first campaign appearance, whilst Mrs. Martel and Miss Helen Fraser also spoke to the resolution. Next morning a large number of sympathisers who had been present at this meeting were awaiting us at the station to greet Miss C. Pankhurst, who arrived almost at the same time as Mr. Churchill. This gave rise to the incorrect idea that we had gone to make a protest.

Hard at Work.

The campaign is now in full swing, and everybody is fighting in earnest. Our programme works out at something like eighteen meetings a day, apart from the numerous impromptu meetings we hold at different points from our Votes for Women wagonettes. Dinner-hour meetings are specially successful here, and great sympathy and support are manifested for our policy.

In certain quarters these meetings go on incessantly between the hours of one and three, as the usual available hour for the foundrymen is between one and two, and that for the thousands of jute workers between two and three.

Here in Dundee, with thousands of children depending upon the labour of women working in the jute factories, it does not

take long to show to both men and women workers how unfair are such proposals as deal with questions of women's labour when women are wholly unrepresented, and their point of view as non-voters absolutely beyond the pale of consideration.

We shall go again and again to these women. We shall show them how political helplessness and industrial helplessness go hand in hand, and how, being politically helpless, they are a distinctly weakening influence on their husbands' and brothers' political strength. That women, when they know what to do, can be a distinct asset in elections has very early in the fight been recognised by Mr. Churchill, whose second meeting was held Saturday afternoon for "women only."

MARY GAWTHORPE.

Sunday's Meetings.

Sunday was well spent in Dundee; two monster meetings being held at the Gaiety Theatre. There was in each case a queue as patient in the rain as any first-night crowd outside the most popular London theatre.

At the afternoon meeting, Mrs. Pankhurst was in the chair, and Mrs. Martel and Miss Christabel Pankhurst were the speakers.

The audience was intensely quiet and interested, breaking out into the only applause which counts—that which is wrung from it in spite of itself. The questions before the meeting closed were of a serious and earnest kind. But merriment was caused by a man in the gallery, who had to be requested to write his question, and who replied suavely, "I will. I shall"—a reply which caused the audience much amusement.

The evening meeting was a replica of the afternoon, many of the afternoon audience coming again, having waited from the closing of the doors till the opening, in the rain and without food. Miss Christabel Pankhurst took the chair, and the speakers were Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, and Mrs. Martel.

MARY KEEGAN.

Descriptions in the Press.

Though a reader of the London papers would hardly realise that the Suffragettes were present at all in Dundee the local Press has paid constant and pretty accurate attention to their movements. From a great mass of material we select the following:—

The Meeting in the Kinnaird Hall.

The great meeting of the W.S.P.U. in the Kinnaird Hall on Thursday, April 30, is graphically described by "Miranda" of the "Dundee Evening Telegraph and Post." She says in her opening remarks:—

A success? Of course it was. It might almost be called, in vulgar parlance, a "howling" success, but the howlers had the worst of it for once.

How these Suffragists do hit out! They give a Rowland for every Oliver, and a few over, so that those who enter the lists against them need to be very sure of their ground before they make an attack.

The senseless and unmannerly interruptions at last night's monster demonstration, irritating as they were, did not for one moment deter the intrepid ladies upon the platform. The meeting was with the speakers from start to finish, and it was made plain that a couple of thousand of serious, earnest listeners would not consent to be held up by a score or two of hooligans, whether the latter belonged to the ranks of "intelligent electors," or were, as was more than once hinted, merely a band of "uneducated boys" with no power of voting, either for the Liberal candidate or anybody else.

She then describes the various speeches, and winds up by saying, "Amid much enthusiasm the resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. Thus ended one of the liveliest and most rousing meetings ever held in Dundee."

Friday's Meetings.

The local papers contained good accounts of the meetings on Friday. The "Courier" account says:—

Miss Gawthorpe made a great raid on Dundee Stock Exchange in the afternoon, and one of the most successful meetings of the ladies' campaign was held at the door of the Exchange Hall.

After describing a dialogue between Mr. Scott, a jute merchant, and Miss Gawthorpe, the writer proceeds:—

At this stage another well-known jute merchant in the centre of

the crowd remarked, "No man can hold the candle to that woman, because she has right on her side."

Another gentleman advised Miss Gawthorpe not to waste her energy on the hecklers, but to this Miss Gawthorpe replied, "I do not consider it wasting energy. When my friend (Mr. Scott) goes home and has his cup of tea in his hand he will think of votes for women. When he goes to that big meeting to-night he will think of votes for women."

On the motion of a gentleman, who stepped forward from the crowd, Miss Gawthorpe was cheered again and again. Just as the meeting broke up Mr. Winston Churchill dashed past the end of the street in his motor-car, but there was no demonstration.

Of the evening meeting the "Courier" says:—"The Suffragettes performed a strenuous night's work. Open-air meetings were held in every quarter of the city, and the enthusiasm with which the ladies were greeted was unbounded."

Sunday's Meetings.

The following account in the "Daily Advertiser" effectually disposes of the idea suggested by the London accounts that the meetings on Sunday were a failure, owing to the Sabbatarian views of the Scotch.

On Sunday two mass meetings were held in the Gaiety Theatre, and on both occasions the place was packed to the door. Whatever might be said as to the propriety of holding political meetings on the Sunday, the attendance yesterday certainly to some extent justified the innovation.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was in the chair in the afternoon, dealt with the reason why they held these meetings on the Sunday. A good deal of criticism had been offered in the Press, and in other circles as to their reason for doing so. She should have thought it would hardly be necessary to explain or apologise for these meetings, when in every pulpit throughout the length and breadth of the land questions were being discussed affecting the wellbeing of the people. It seemed to her that politics must have come to a very low ebb in these latter days, when it was considered wrong to talk about politics, which so vitally affected our lives, on a day set apart for the consideration of sacred things. Mrs. Martel and Miss C. Pankhurst afterwards addressed the meeting. Miss Pankhurst said the signs in Dundee were more hopeful for their cause than they were even in Manchester.

In the evening the building was again packed, and many had to be turned away from the doors.

"The Referee," May 3.

The women are doing wonderful election work, and not getting half the credit for it that they deserve. Our wayward Winnie, however, does not underestimate them as a fighting force. The war-song of the conquering Christabel to the worsted Winston is "Bonnie Dundee":—

And tremble, false Whig, in the midst of your glee;
 You have not seen the last of my bonnet and me.

THE DUNDEE CAMPAIGN.**Juteopolis Attacked.**

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

Dundee, Monday, May 4.

Dundee, the city of jute and marmalade, possesses a situation of great natural beauty, an antiquity as a Royal burgh, dating back to 1160, and a population of 161,173 at the last census in 1901, with a preponderating proportion of women workers. The reason for this is not far to seek, when it is borne in mind that the staple trade is almost exclusively textile, that the jute industry is dependent upon the labour of a very large number of women and children, and that the peculiar social and industrial conditions may be attributed to the disproportionate supply of work for men in this trade. According to the latest report of the Dundee Social Union, about 51 per cent. of the persons employed in the manufacture of jute are women above 20 years of age, 21 per cent. are girls under 20, 11 per cent. boys under 20, and only 16 per cent. are men.

In such an important industrial community the women's interests are, or ought to be, paramount, and the city affords special scope for the energy and enthusiasm of the members of the National Women's Social and Political Union.

Prominent Men in the Audience.

One of the largest meetings held was in the Kinnaird Hall, Dundee, on the evening of Thursday last. The hall was packed chiefly with women, but it was a sign of the times that many men of position and influence, such as ex-Lord Provost Hunter, Provost Steuart Monifieth, staunch Liberals both, and Colonel

Fergusson, the chairman of the Conservative Association, were present. Mrs. Pankhurst was in excellent form, and produced a splendid impression by her impressive recital of her experience in Holloway, and her impassioned appeal for justice. The members of the Union have thoroughly awakened the women of Dundee out of their political apathy, and set them a-thinking, a-talking, and a-writing in a manner unknown before.

Over a dozen meetings both in and out of doors were convened on Saturday, and in every case large crowds assembled and listened most respectfully to the speakers, and enjoyed the discomfiture of the hecklers. The smartness and wit of the replies on the part of the speakers have won for them the admiration of all lovers of fair play.

Sunday was a big field day in the Gaiety Theatre, and hundreds were unable to gain admission to the afternoon and evening meetings. Men of the intelligent artisan class were even more numerous than the women. Mrs. Pankhurst's speech carried force and conviction, and Miss Pankhurst excelled herself in handling the questions. The evening meeting was a similar success.

To-day's programme evinced ample proof of the enthusiasm and enterprise of the leaders of the cause, and from two o'clock onward there were meetings every hour.

MR. CHURCHILL ON VOTES FOR WOMEN.

From *The Saturday Post*, Dundee, May 2.)

An explanation on the women's suffrage question was made by Mr. Winston Churchill at a meeting of Women Liberals held in Dundee Liberal Association Rooms this (Saturday) afternoon. There was an exceptionally large attendance of women, and Mrs. R. A. Watson presided.

Mr. Churchill, on arriving with Mr. George Ritchie, was accorded an enthusiastic reception. There were in their midst at the present time, he said, those who wished to see the position of women recognised in an entirely new sphere of activity, the sphere of Parliamentary franchise. (Cheers.) Now, that was a movement that commanded the support of probably all those present that afternoon, and it commanded his support. (Cheers.) The only vote he had given on the question of women's suffrage was given in favour of the movement, but he told them that, like many others, he had been discouraged from an enthusiastic and energetic support of the cause in the last two years by the extraordinary tactics adopted by a small section of those who advocated women's suffrage. The movement in favour of women's suffrage had undoubtedly received support not from the violent antics of a few extreme people, but from the general demand of a very large body of women throughout the country to have their position and status in politics recognised formally by the State. (Cheers.) It would be foolish for anyone not to recognise that such a movement was growing throughout the country, and they knew that the movement in favour of the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women in spite of the obvious difficulties with which it was confronted had now come into the arena of practical politics. (Cheers.) He had said he must be considered a friend of the movement, but he reserved to himself the right to choose the means, the time, and the opportunities by which he could advance it, and he asked to be trusted in that respect. (Cheers.)

Questions were addressed to the candidate, and in reply to one Mr. Churchill said he could not take it upon himself to give a Government pledge on the question of women's suffrage.

Q.—What does the candidate consider to be a reasonable time for women to wait?

Mr. Churchill—No one can be blind to the fact that at the next General Election women's suffrage will be a real practical issue, and the next Parliament, he thought, ought to see the gratification of their claims. He did not exclude the possibility of the suffrage being dealt with in this Parliament, but he had no authority to include it.

In reply to another question, he said there was no precedent for the Government giving facilities for a private Bill like the women's suffrage, which was a Reform Bill, as Parliament had to be dissolved after a Reform Bill was passed, and he did not think a Reform Bill would be passed till the last Session of the Parliament in which it was read. So far as he personally was concerned, he was a friend of the movement, a real and sincere

friend, not one who dealt in words only and promised glibly, and then having given a vote thought nothing more of it.

Another Account.

In a fuller account of the meeting which appears in the "Dundee Advertiser" for May 4, Mr. Churchill is reported to have said—

I do not think myself that such a great change as that (the Enfranchisement of Women)—it is a very great change—could be carried into effect except upon the responsibility of a Government. (Hear, hear.) I do not think it could be carried into effect except by a measure which was introduced and driven through Parliament with all the authority at the disposal of a Government—in fact, I am quite sure it could not—and I am almost inclined to think that the ratification and consent of the general body—of the existing body—of the electorate would have to be secured before such a project became law. Yet, at the same time, you must remember that the progress which has been made in regard to the movement for women's suffrage has been very rapid in the last three or four years, and I think you may fairly look forward to the day of the success of the movement being achieved within a comparatively reasonable period of time.

Women First—Suffragists Second.

He also referred to the women opposing him as hornets, and said:—

I have, however, this to say: women must be women first and suffragists second. They must, I think, at any rate endeavour to be Liberal women first and suffragists second. I have seen with some regret some of the most earnest advocates of the cause allying themselves with the forces of drink and reaction, carried shoulder high, so I am informed, by the rowdy elements which are always to be found at the tail of a public-house made agitation, and I think that you will agree with me it would be a great pity if the movement for the enfranchisement of women—which has, indeed, so much with which Liberals sympathise, and which commands such very general support from the members of the Liberal party—were to be drawn into a position of direct and wilful, wanton antagonism to the whole of that great civilising and liberalising instrument.

A Government Pledge.

Answering a question as to the possibility of giving a Government pledge on the question before the day of polling in Dundee, Mr. Churchill said:—

I am not a very important person, and I certainly cannot take upon myself to give a Government pledge. A Government pledge on such a measure of immense consequence ought not to be given before the day of the poll in Dundee, and ought not to have any reference whatever to the day of the poll in Dundee. I could not attempt to do that.

"THE DUNDEE COURIER," MAY 4.

(By Onlooker.)

Strolling down Reform-street on Saturday afternoon, I noticed woman after woman, with determination in her eye, disappearing into a doorway. "Hullo," said I to myself, "is this a Suffragette meeting?" Going nearer, I asked a man standing by what was up. "Oh," he said, "Winston is asking the help of the Liberal women to push him into Dundee's 'safe seat.' It will be interesting to hear him blarneying the dear creatures." Thinking to myself, "It will be interesting," up I went with the crowd.

The place was suffocatingly full. The lady in the chair had commenced her peroration, but few were listening. All ears and eyes were on the alert for the coming of the Hero, and, late as usual, in marched the "promising" politician with the smile that won't wash off on his broad, benevolent countenance.

The Hero of the Hour.

A few more words from the chairwoman, and the Hero of the Hour was on his feet. But, alas! where was his usual glibness, where his vaunted oratorical powers, where his polished English, where his ready wit—where, in fact, his brains? The traces of his Manchester conflict are still about his eyes and his hands. Was it a disconcerting sight to see so many voteless women in front of him? Had he got a hint from "the powers that be" to think well before he spoke, and make no rash promises? Whatever it was, his speech was halting and confused. Every now and then he looked first to one side of the room and then to the other, and seemed to be casting about in his mind for something to say. His remarks on the

subject of women suffrage betrayed a dense ignorance of the whole history of the movement. He had to mention, of course, the violent tactics or antics of a few irresponsible females, and their futile endeavours to advocate their cause—to his mind, rather hindering it than otherwise.

"Winston, my boy," I thought to myself, "that won't wash. You know that the Suffragettes 'did' for you in Manchester, that thousands are flocking to their banner, that money is pouring in to help them on, that the great house of Cecil and its allied families are ardent Suffragists, as well as the Lancashire factory workers."

Then followed a panegyric on Liberal principles which was enthusiastically applauded. What did it matter to the dear ladies that only a few short years ago this same ardent youth had openly scoffed and flouted at these same Liberal principles! One remark amused me vastly, namely, that it did not matter to the speaker supposing he were not returned, but it mattered greatly to the Liberal Government that it should receive a check in its forward march of reform. I chuckled inwardly, thinking of the income of a few thousands a year that hangs in the balance! But, of course, Winston talking to ladies would not condescend to practical details like that.

A Modern Excelsior.

As he stood there, like a modern Excelsior (with his tongue in his cheek), enunciating these lofty platitudes on woman's work and influence, I wondered if the women present were really taking him seriously, because I am certain the men were not. Behind all his high-falutin' one had the impression that he was really thinking, "Oh, bother these women! I have got to be pleasant to them just now, but once I am in Parliament again I'll be jiggered if I give them a moment's consideration."

Wearing the won't-wash-off smile, down sat Mr. Churchill, so pleased with himself that all smiled in sympathy. Votes of thanks were duly accorded to him for his magnificent oration.

At question time Mr. Churchill was asked two questions on Women Suffrage and his attitude towards Mr. Stanger's Bill. He repeated what he had said before, that he had always been a friend of the women, but would choose his own time and take his own way of introducing or voting for this great change in the electoral power of the kingdom, and that the Cabinet Ministers were divided on this measure.

"Strange and devious," I thought, "are the workings of this man's mind. Here he is appealing to the women to put him into Parliament, and yet will do nothing to give them their political rights in return for their help."

And the pathetic part of the meeting to me was the fact that many of the women there did not seem to realise that the power of the vote would be the most effectual way of helping their party, and that their first and best energies should be directed towards the gaining of this vote.

A MEETING OF WOMEN

WILL BE HELD IN THE

ST. JAMES' THEATRE,

ST. JAMES', S.W.

(By kind permission of Mr. GEO. ALEXANDER.)

On **TUESDAY, MAY 26th, at 3 o'clock,**

ON THE

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.

Chairman—Mrs. PANKHURST.

SPAKERS:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, Miss MARY GAWTHORPE.

TICKETS (Women only) and all information from the Ticket Secretary, National Women's Social & Political Union, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

PRICES—Private Boxes (holding eight), £3 3s.; Orchestra Stalls, 5s.; Dress Circle, 4s.; Upper Circle, 3s.; all numbered and reserved. Unreserved—Pit, 2s.; Gallery, 1s.

THE "NEUTRAL" ARGUMENT.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIRS,—When discussing the votes for women question, some people, I find, advance the argument that if the franchise were granted to "the sex," it might frequently occur that a wife would vote differently from her husband, and that as each vote would in that case simply neutralise the other, what is the use, they ask, of giving women the suffrage?

This point of view is put forward as a great discovery, and it is assumed that if one vote neutralises another, an extraordinary, subtle, and dangerous principle is thereby being introduced into politics. A very little reflection, however, will show that this cannot be the case, and that, in fact, the neutralisation of votes by other votes is an essential and necessary element in elections. Whenever a contest occurs, large numbers of votes are always neutralised, but, I suppose people have grown so accustomed to elections that they never think of the principle of neutralisation being at work. They cannot see the wood for the trees.

It is easy to prove what I say by an actual illustration. Two candidates, A and B, are standing for some constituency. A obtains 5,025 votes and his opponent 5,000. Now, it is quite clear that the first 5,000 votes of A neutralise the 5,000 of B, and *vice versa*. A is elected, not because he received 5,025 votes, but because he has in hand 25 which were not neutralised. The 25 are his majority, so he is the successful candidate. The principle of neutralisation is, therefore, not only actively but powerfully at work in all elections, and, since it is so, it cannot be urged that because of it women should not have the vote.

But the argument may be considered from another standpoint, in which there is a closer parallel to the antagonistic votes of the husband and wife. Any number of lodgers, for example, have votes. Now, there must be many cases in which the occupant of a house and his lodger are at opposite political poles, but does anyone ever maintain that because the vote of the lodger would neutralise that of his landlord, he ought not to have the franchise? I have never heard of any such argument, and it would be absurd to adduce it. Political agents would laugh at it, and so would the revising barrister.

Other instances could be quoted. Is the latch-key voter, for instance, to be refused a vote because he differs in politics from the householder?

If the argument is foolish in the cases I have cited, it is equally so in the sphere of women's franchise. Indeed, the argument, usually put forward as weighty, and by most intelligent people, is not only not valid, but is pointless.

Yours, &c.,

(MRS.) MAGGIE ROBERTSON.

19, Loughborough-road, London, S.W.,

April 30, 1908.

Rhymes of the Times.

"Evening News," May 4, 1908.

A NEW VIEW OF IT.

Professor Masterman says that at one time women undoubtedly sat and vote in the House of Lords.

In the old days, well, men were men,
And so were women, it appears;
They sat and voted, now and then,
Within the sacred House of Peers.
No blue-clad minion barred the way,
But grave officials louted low,
For that was long before the day
Of constables and Cannon-row.
Though women helped to make our laws,
She was not called a Suffragette,
She didn't even have a "Cause,"
Nor was our social scheme upset.
And if beneath another name
She asks for what we used to give,
Surely our Suffragette may claim
To be a true Conservative. C. E. B.

WE SPECIALISE

Book, Magazine, Pamphlet, and Catalogue Printing, but we should be pleased to Estimate for any Printing Order, large or small, you may require. Will you favour us with an enquiry?

WADSWORTH & CO., The Rydal Press, KEIGHLEY.

THE "DAILY CHRONICLE," MAY 4.

French Suffragists.

Lively Scenes at Paris Municipal Elections.

The French Suffragists, no doubt stimulated by the example of their British sisters, are adopting the energetic methods of warfare of these latter.

At the municipal elections which were held in Paris to-day, the organisation known as the "Sodidarité des Femmes," took the field in great force. They ran for the 9th arrondissement a candidate of their own, a school teacher, Mlle. Laloe, who is an ardent champion of the feminist movement.

Despairing of success, the Suffragists, by way of revenge, threatened to make an attack on the mairie of the 9th arrondissement, where the voting was taking place. This, however, was a clever "ruse de guerre." The authorities fell into the trap, and reinforcements were marched to the mairie to protect it. The police strength at the other election booths was consequently considerably weakened, and here came the opportunity of the Suffragists.

Several hundred of these, headed by Madeleine Pelletier and Caroline Kauffmann, the principal figures in the "Solidarité," made a demonstration outside the mairie of the 9th arrondissement. This was in reality but a feint. Finding the stronghold well guarded, they withdrew without wasting time in vain effort. By a rapid flanking march they quitted the Opera quarter, and, crossing the Seine, made a sudden and wholly unexpected descent on the mairie of the 7th arrondissement, in the neighbourhood of St. Sulpice.

Mayor Knocked Down.

The outgoing mayor, wearing his tri-coloured sash, presided at the election, and was calmly smoking a cigar when 200 angry women rushed into the polling booth. Two policemen only were present, and they were powerless to repel the invasion. The Suffragists laid about them with umbrellas and other feminine weapons.

"Seize the ballot boxes," cried the leader. A rush was made for the table on which they stood. The mayor found himself on the floor, while half-a-dozen Suffragists walked over him. The two policemen snatched up the boxes, determined to guard them at all costs. They shouted for help. A few electors present rushed to the telephone and sent an urgent message for assistance. Ten minutes later thirty additional police arrived, and after a rough and tumble struggle succeeded in ejecting the invaders. The defeated women left behind numerous trophies of the conflict in the shape of hatpins, ribbons, pieces of clothing, and hair "transformations."

Beaten here, the Suffragist army rallied, and, recrossing the Seine, made a fresh attack on a polling booth near the church of St. Philip du Roule. Their approach was discovered, and no difficulty was experienced in beating them off.

The police refused to take any of the attackers into custody, much to their disappointment.

Mlle. Laloe received but 985 votes against 3,500 cast for her successful male rival. This electoral rebuff damped the warlike ardour of the Suffragists, and late in the evening they called a truce to hostilities and went home.

BEAUTIFUL HOLIDAY CENTRE.

Dean Forest. Severn and Wye Valleys.

Good Roads. Magnificent Scenery. Charming spacious house, 5 acres pretty grounds (altitude 600ft.). Excellent piano; billiard room; bath; tennis; wagonette. Homelike. Vegetarians Accommodated. Suffragists' Recommendation. BOARD-RESIDENCE from 27/-. Photos. and particulars sent.

HALLAM, Littledean House, Newnham, Gloucestershire.

BED-SITTING ROOM, Comfortable, well furnished. Suit friends, ladies or gentlemen. In superior private house, nicely situated, one minute Park and Zoo. Convenient to all parts. Meals could be had if required. Bath, hot and cold. Also Bed-sitting room for one. Terms very moderate.—Misses Kern, 109, Albany-street, Gloucester-gate, Regent's Park, N.W.

SCOTTISH WORK.

On Saturday at Glasgow we had a jumble sale for the funds, which was successful. We have secured the services of Mrs. Fawcett for a meeting in Charing Cross Halls, Glasgow, on Saturday, May 23, at 3 p.m., which promises to be exceptionally interesting.

On Monday I speak at an "At Home" held by the Edinburgh and Midlothian Union, in the Edinburgh Café, and the Union has taken offices in Edinburgh, and promises to get on splendidly. Miss Haig is hon. treasurer and Miss Esson Maule hon. secretary, and I am sure everyone will wish them and their committee and members every success.

HELEN FRASER.

LOCAL NOTES.

Chiswick, W.S.P.U.—We are making a special effort in Chiswick to make our jumble sale a real success. The sale will take place at the National School Room, Turnham Green, on Wednesday, May 23, at 2.30. We should be glad if our friends will look out all the odds and ends they can find—books, clothes, boots, ornaments, cooking utensils, &c., &c.—anything and everything they can spare, and send them (carriage paid) to Mrs. East, 21, Brandenburgh-road, Gunnersbury, as soon as possible. We intend to devote the money made by our jumble sale to the Central Fund.

C. M. O. COOMBS.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We held two very successful open-air meetings, one in Deptford Broadway on Friday, May 1, and one on Blackheath, Sunday, May 3. The ringing of a bell has become a regular feature with us here, and answers admirably. In Deptford we had a crowd of from 400 to 500 working men and women listening with the greatest attention to the vigorous speeches of Miss Smith and Miss Nancy Lightman. At 8 p.m. we had to give way to some Socialist speakers, and were followed by a goodly number of our audience asking us to come again very soon. On Blackheath we had an audience of 500 or 600 people belonging to the well-to-do middle-class of the neighbourhood, and Miss Nancy Lightman kept their attention by her arguments and the quickness of repartee when interrupted by a number of silly youths. At both meetings I took the chair. Handbills of our New Cross Hall meeting were distributed, and announcements were made re Hyde Park Demonstration.

J. A. BOUVIER.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—The Leicester Union held their fortnightly meeting Thursday, April 30, at the Welcome Restaurant, Welford-road. A good many members were present. The secretary told us that Mr. Haldane would be in Leicester the following night, and that tickets for the meeting had been obtained for six members of the National Union to be present. Several members promised to do all they could to help our London comrades, which I am pleased to say they did, as you will see by the Press notices. Eight were turned out of his meeting for interrupting. Although it was said the women were prevented from holding a meeting, this was not true, for we held a most successful one on the left-hand side of the hall in which Mr. Haldane was speaking, and we learned afterwards that the cheering could be heard quite plainly inside the hall, and many of the audience left the indoor meeting to come and hear the women. Miss Sidley spoke for about three-quarters of an hour, and we did good work with the Demonstration Bill for London. When we arrived at the station we found Mr. Haldane had some time to wait. The inspector of police would only allow those who had tickets to go on the platform, and these did not waste the opportunity thus presented. We Leicester men and women gave him a good heckling along to the railway station, until a large number of police and detectives came to protect him. After Mr. Haldane's departure a big crowd of men and women were allowed on the platform, and our London members had a royal send off. We are doing all in our power to rouse Leicester to come to London on June 21. A sub-committee has been formed to get a banner ready for the Leicester Union to bring, and let the Government know that Leicester demands the vote for its women. We commence open-air meetings this month, which will make Leicester wake up. We intend to appeal to all Leicester women to come and join us in the great fight for freedom. We shall be pleased to welcome any who care to come to the Welcome Restaurant on May 14 at 8 o'clock. If the work is worth doing, it is worth doing now.

(MRS.) ALICE HAWKINS.

Walthamstow W.S.P.U.—We are working hard in Walthamstow to make a success of the public meeting we are arranging for May 13. Our speakers will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, and Miss Naylor. Miss Conolan will take the chair. We have taken Conway Hall, which will accommodate about 800 people, and hope to see it filled to overflowing.—LOUIS HART.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

April 28, to May 5

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	10,685 5 11	Mrs. Fred. Cunliffe-Owen	0 1 0
Mrs. Agnes A. Kitchin	0 1 0	Miss Pauline Hull (By-election)	10 0 0
Mrs. Lily Wakeham	0 1 0	Miss E. Hughes	0 1 0
Miss Mary Cozens	0 10 0	Mrs. Cardo (By-election)	0 5 0
The Misses Koenig	0 10 0	Miss F. K. Turnbull	0 10 0
Miss Beatrice A. Howes	0 4 6	Miss Helen New	1 1 0
"New Century"	0 2 8	Miss Edith M. Evans	0 5 0
Miss Saxelby (collected)	0 3 0	Mrs. Elizabeth Smith	5 0 0
Mrs. Mary K. Sweet	0 1 0	Geo. Gerrie, Esq.	1 1 0
Per Miss H. Johns (fines)	0 1 3	Miss E. Grenfell Hill (Hyde Park Demonstration)	0 5 0
J. Mellor, Esq.	0 2 0	D. J. Davies, Esq. (Hyde Park Demonstration)	0 2 6
Mrs. Mary Hermon	2 2 0	Miss S. Fraser	1 0 0
Mrs. M. Hember	0 5 0	Anon	1 0 0
Mrs. Oliver	5 0 0	Mrs. Williams	0 2 0
Miss Maud Joachim (earned in prison)	0 0 2	Miss Clara E. Mordan	100 0 0
Mrs. Pankhurst (earned in prison)	0 0 2	Mrs. M. A. Tucker	0 5 0
Miss Alan Wyatt-Smith	0 10 0	Miss A. M. Pease	0 5 0
Miss Willis	0 2 6	Miss E. A. Thompson (By-election)	0 1 0
Fred. Crockett, Esq.	7 10 0	Anon (By-election)	0 7 0
Mrs. A. E. Winterne (By-election)	0 10 6	Miss Holme	1 0 0
Donation at Cheetham (per Miss Craggs)	0 10 0	The Misses Cecelia and Eva Mackenzie	25 0 0
Miss Agnes Wyatt-Smith and Franklin S. Hobich (Hyde Park Demonstration)	2 5 0	A. W. M. Bull, Esq. (Hyde Park Demonstration)	1 1 0
G. Lind, Esq.	2 2 0	Mrs. L. Frankland	0 1 0
Miss L. S. Henry (£1 for Hyde Park Demonstration)	3 10 0	Mrs. Roy Rothwell (proceeds of lecture)	0 12 0
Miss Gertrud Snelling (S. D. collecting card)	1 7 0	Mr. J. H. Greenhalgh	1 0 0
John A. Stead, Esq.	0 1 6	Membership postage fees	2 10 0
Miss Maria Ledsam (Hyde Park Demonstration)	1 0 0	Collections, &c.	55 5 4
		Total	£10,922 5 6

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to May 23 (as far as at present arranged).

Day	Location	Speakers	Time
May Thur.	Nottingham, Mechanics' Hall London, Portman Rooms	Mrs. Pankhurst "At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
	Exeter, Royal Public Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Lamb, Mrs. Montague	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Drummond Road Council Schools	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Surbiton, Assembly Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3 p.m.
Fri.	Battersea, Town Hall	Miss Keevil, Miss D. Smith	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	5 p.m.
Sat.	Market Drayton	Miss Howey	
	Rothwell, Co-operative Hall	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Mon.	Rothwell, Mechanics' Institute	Miss Nell Kenney	4-6
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
	Bradford, 6r, Manningham-lane, "At Home"	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	3.30 and 7
	Newport	Miss Annie Kenney	
Tues.	Bowes Park, N. Strawberry Hill, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3 p.m.
	Bradford, Moor School	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Wed.	Walthamstow, Conway Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Naylor, Miss Conolan (chair)	8 p.m.
	Kensington, "At Home"	Mrs. Eates	4-5
	96, Grosvenor-road, W., Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3 p.m.
	Bradford, Teachers' Committee Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Thur.	Richmond 15, Oakley-street, N.W. London, Portman Rooms	Miss Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Pethick Lawrence "At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m. 3.30 p.m. 8 p.m.
Fri.	Leeds, Co-operative Hall	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Sat.	Bradford, Art Club, "At Home"	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Art Room, Hanson School	Miss A. Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
Sun.	Bradford, Lott's Art School	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Mon.	Wakefield, Open Air Meeting		
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharpe, Miss Brackenbury, Mrs. Eates	8 p.m.
	Bradford, 6r, Manningham-lane, "At Home"	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	3 and 7
Tues.	Bedford Park, Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8.30 p.m.
	Muswell Hill	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Wed.	Stratford, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
	Battersea, Town Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others, Chair—Mayoress	
	Dewsbury, Town Hall, Women's Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Kensington, "At Home"	Mrs. Eates	4-6
	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Eates, Miss Sharpe, Miss Brackenbury, Mr. Lawrence Honoman	8.30 p.m.
Thur.	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Cheniston-gardens	Miss Macaulay, Miss Conolan, Mr. A. Scaife	
Fri.	Camberwell New Road, S.E., Masonic Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others	8 p.m.
Sat.	Harrogate, Open Air Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

May 26	London, St. James's Theatre, St. James's, S.W.	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
June 21	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3.30 p.m.

For Special Election Meetings see page 152.