

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 67.

FRIDAY, JUNE 18, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)
1d.



*Taken into Dock, March 31st 1909.
Ready for Active Service, June 16th 1909.*

THE SUFFRAGISTS DREADNOUGHT.

THE LAUNCHING OF THE "PATRICIA" FROM HOLLOWAY GAOL.



Member of W.S.P.U., whose photographs of the leaders sold with such success at the Exhibition.

A special feature is made of pencil photographs, water-colour work, and miniatures.

Special terms to members of the W.S.P.U.

MRS. PANKHURST.

Miss ANNIE BELL, Art Photographer.

92, VICTORIA STREET.

INTERNATIONAL ANTI-VIVISECTION AND ANIMAL PROTECTION CONGRESS, July 6-10, 1909. CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER.

Supported by 200 Societies. Delegates from 30 Countries. Subjects to be dealt with: Humane Education of Children; Methods of Trapping; Cruelties of Fur and Feather Trade; Cattle Traffic; Slaughter House Reform; Anti-Vivisection, &c., &c., &c. Great Procession on SATURDAY AFTERNOON JULY 10th, in which all who sympathise with the objects of this Congress are earnestly entreated to join. Assemble at 3 o'clock prompt on Embankment, march to Hyde Park. 200 Banners. Carriages, Motors, and Brakes allowed.

Tickets (2/6) and all information from—Miss Ansell, 70, Chancery Lane, London, W.C.

ORDER "VOTES FOR WOMEN" (Price One Penny Weekly) REGULARLY FROM YOUR NEWSAGENT.



Our £4-4-0 Transformation SEMI DITTO, from £2-2-0. Small Fringes, Similar Style, from 15s.

F. LUDICKE, LADIES' HAIRDRESSER & SPECIALIST. Artistic Hair Work, Colouring & Treatment of the Hair. FACE MASSAGE AND MANICURE. 39, Southampton Row, London, W.G.

Two Serviceable Skirts.



The "Oxford."

A stylish-cut Corselet Skirt. Stocked in Black and White Shepherd's Plaid material of various size checks, also in Black, Navy and Cream Serge and Alpacas.

Exceptional Value. Price 25/9

Measures to be taken 2 1/2 inches above waist-line.

The "Dudley."

Strapped exact to sketch with self material.

Stocked in fine Navy, Black and Cream Alpacas and Serges.

Price 23/9



Peter Robinson's Oxford Street, W.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

(Single Insertion, 1d. a word; minimum, 2s.; four insertions for the price of three.)

All Advertisements must be prepaid. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Rooms, Holiday Homes, Etc. LONDON, W.C.—Superior Board-Residence. Breakfast, Tea and Dinner from 5s. daily. Room and Breakfast from 3s. daily, according to size and position of room. Special tariff for Families and Parties.—Mrs. E. Newman, 44, Torrington Square, Russell Square. BOARD RESIDENCE.—Highly Recommended; Excellent Table; Close Tube (Queen's Road). 1d. Oxford Circus and Exhibition. Room, Breakfast, 3s. 6d.; Daily, 5s. 6d.—Aragon, 57, Leinster Square, Bayswater. VISITORS TO LONDON.—Board-Residence or Private rooms; most central; near G.N. and Midland Station. Terms very moderate. Highest references. Room and Breakfast, 3s.; Breakfast, Tea, and Dinner, from 5s. daily.—Mrs. Winter, 32, Doughty Street, Mecklenburgh Square, W.C. MRS. W. BAKER receives Ladies and Gentlemen as Paying Guests. Special arrangements for students, teachers, &c. Terms inclusive, 2ls. to 3ls. 6d. weekly.—109, Elgin Avenue, Maida Hill, London, W. RESIDENTIAL HOME for Nurses, Students, and Lady Visitors. Cubicles from 17s. 6d.; Rooms, 25s., with Board.—Mrs. Campbell Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, W. Telephone, 3646 Mayfair.

FURNISHED HOUSE TO BE LET.—Riverside Cottage, Garden, Orchard, with Landing Stage; 4 Rooms, comfortably furnished; near station and ferry, perfect position, magnificent scenery; 25s. weekly till August.—Miss Campbell Smith, Symonds' Yat. UNFURNISHED.—Overlooking Battersea Park; one mile S. Kensington Station; 3 sitting, 6 bedrooms, excellent bathroom and offices; parquet floors, well-fires, electric light, new sanitation. Rent £85, or would sell 65 years' lease.—89, Albert Bridge Road, S.W. TO LET, from 24th, Two nice sunny Rooms, close to Hyde Park; exceptional house. £30 per annum.—Apply immediately, M. R., 11, Culross Street, Grosvenor Square, W. TO LET.—Large Bed-sitting Room, use of Reception Room and Telephone, in Private Flat; Attendance: One Guinea a week; Board as required.—Apply, Miss Aldis, 164, Notting Hill Gate. FURNISHED FLAT TO LET, sunny and cheerful, top floor; one sitting-room, two bedrooms, kitchen, and bathroom, constant supply of hot water. Terms moderate. Attendance if desired.—F. J. G., 62, Clovelly Mansions, Gray's Inn, W.C. A MEDICAL WOMAN living in Kensington wishes to meet a lady to live with her. Public worker preferred. Telephone; on omnibus route.—Box 2090, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn.

SITUATIONS VACANT. TYPEWRITING.—Well-educated Girl, as Pupil or Improver, Wanted for City Typewriting Office. Thorough personal instruction in all branches.—Box 293, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn. SITUATIONS WANTED. NO SALARY.—Young Lady, desiring holiday, seeks post as Travelling Companion to Lady (home or abroad).—Write "E," Box 175, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. MISCELLANEOUS. HAVE YOU ANY FOOT TROUBLE? Write at once for our new book. No charge whatever.—Holden's, 4, Harewood Place, W. HOME-MADE SWEETS by W.S.P.U. Member, from purest and best ingredients. Orders attended to and sent by post from 1lb., over 10 lbs. post free.—B. S., 21, Saxe Weimar Road, Southsea. ELECTROLYSIS.—Superfluous Hair Permanently Removed, Special needle; leaves no scars. Consultations free, by appointment. Ladies only.—B. M. B., 69, Twyford Mansions, Marylebone Street. GENTLEWOMAN showing High-class Dresses wishes to meet with Lady Milliner to share her well-lighted Showroom in West-end of London; expenses moderate.—Reply, "Mutual," care of this paper.

PROFESSOR & EDUCATIONAL. MISS IRENE SINCLAIR visits or receives pupils of Violin and Piano (Paris and Royal Academy of Music). Open to engagements for Violin, Recitations, and as Accompanist on Piano for Concerts, At Homes, Dinners, etc.—Address, 14, Willow Road, Hampstead. CERTIFICATED MASSEUSE (Hospital trained, Swedish system), desires patients. Electricity. Member of the W.S.P.U.—Address, M., 100, Ladbroke Grove, W. SUMMER SKETCHING CLASS.—Miss Elliott, Exhibitor at the Royal Academy, is arranging a Class for Landscape Painting, to be held at Welford-on-Avon, near Stratford-on-Avon, during the month of July.—For particulars and rooms apply to Miss Elliott, 50, York Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W. MISS M. E. THOMPSON, Experienced and Certificated Teacher, gives Lessons in English Literature, Latin, at her own or her pupils' home.—10, Stanley Gardens, Hampstead, N.W. GERMAN HOLIDAYS.—A German family living in Coblenz, in an island on the Rhine, admit Paying Guests. German Lessons given.—Enquire, Pethick Lawrence, Esq., 4, Clements Inn. MEMBER OF THE W.S.P.U. recommends a Comfortable Home for Invalids and those requiring care. Rest Cure a Speciality. Patients visited for Massage.—Apply, Miss Agar, 7, Poynders Road, Clapham Park. IN RADNORSHIRE.—For Summer. Six-roomed COTTAGE; two Reception, three Bedrooms (five beds). Furnished old oak. Flower garden; stabling, horse and trap, 2 to 3 guineas week. Also four-roomed Cottage close by, with it or separately, 1 guinea per week.—Apply, HAIG, Llanwrn, Newport, Mon. HOVE, SUSSEX.—House to Let, Furnished, for 6 weeks from July 30th; 9 Bedrooms, 4 Reception, Garden, Tennis; facing sea and lawns, in quiet part of Hove.—Miss Hare, 8, San Remo. FLAT.—Self-contained, 6 Large Rooms and Bathroom, near Blackheath.—Apply, "R," 334, High Road, Lee, S.E.

NOTHING LIKE LEATHER for Suffragettes' Wear—Miss M. Roberta Mills, 7, Stansfield Road, Brixton, S.W., makes Bags, Belts, Chains, Guest Books, Cushions, Card and Music Cases, Albums, etc. Original Designs. Union and all Art Colourings.—A selection can be seen at any time at 4, Clements Inn, W.C. (Mrs. Knight).

BROOCHES IN THE COLOURS. EACH. ROADICEA . . . 3s. 6d. BOWS . . . 9d. BROAD ARROW (silver) 1s. 6d. " (silver plated) 1s. 0d. FLAGS (words, "Votes for Women") . . . 1s. 0d. SHAMROCK . . . 6d. THE WOMAN'S PRESS, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

YOU NEED A SELF-FILLING AND SELF-CLEANING PEN. SELF-FILLING and SELF-CLEANING PERFECTION PEN (worth 15/-) for 5/6, fitted with Solid 14-carat Gold Nib. Special Offer. As an Advertisement. Non-leakable, fills and cleans in a flash, no screws to turn, no extra filler, no air bubbles, simplest and strongest Pen made, and every part guaranteed for years. Fine, Medium, Broad, or J points, and money returned if not fully satisfied or Pen exchanged until suited. The 10/6 Diamond Star Gold Fountain Pen, fitted with 14-carat Gold Nib for 2/6. Twin feed and spiral to regulate flow of ink. Any of our Readers desiring a really genuine article cannot do better than acquire these Bargains. Makers: THE RED LION MANUFACTURING CO., Ltd., 71, High Holborn, LONDON, W.C. Agents Wanted. No other Pen like it for Reliability. Steady flow and smooth writing. Agents Wanted.

ODETTE

(THE PORTMAN DRESS CO.),
Telephone No. 4776 Mayfair,

46, BAKER STREET. LONDON, W.



OFFERS
Unique Display
OF
MODEL GOWNS
(Day, Evening, and Tailor-
Made),
RESTAURANT
AND
OTHER COATS.
Special Show
OF
LATEST
MODELS
AT UNPRECEDENTED
PRICES.
Inspection Invited

Ladies' Field says: "The Portman Dress Co. offers opportunities of purchasing otherwise unattainable treasures."

CATALOGUE ON APPLICATION

COUNTRY ORDERS ON APPROVAL A SPECIAL FEATURE.

46, BAKER STREET, W.

COURT STATIONERS.

London Western District
Printing Co., Ltd., late



PARKINS & GOTTO,

76 to 78, Oxford St., W.

LETTERPRESS .
COPPERPLATE . . .
LITHOGRAPHIC . . .
PRINTING
ILLUMINATING . . .
AND STAMPING.

In all the latest and
most modern styles.



. A .
New
Departure,
The
"PARKIN"
CIRCULATING
LIBRARY.

Annual Subscription - 10s. 6d.
For one Book at one time;
Subscription for 3 months, 4/6.

FREE DELIVERY IN LONDON.

The Latest Books are always at the disposal of Subscribers.

S. F. GOSS, Ltd.,

Scientific Chemists & Toilet Specialists,
WORLD-RENOWNED

TOILET CREAMS,
FACE POWDERS,

And every kind of Dainty Preparation for the Skin, Hair,
and Bath.

As supplied to the Royal Family, the Leading Aristocracy of England, and
all other Countries throughout the World.

Russian Violet
Bath Powder



As supplied to the Royal Family.
1/9, 3/3, 7/6, 15/-, and 22/6 barrel.

Originators of the Celebrated
Oriental Bath Salts

As supplied to the Royal Family.
1/9, 4/6, and 8/6 per Bottle.

Also Originators of the Celebrated
BENZOIN PREPARATIONS
for the Toilet.

Write for Price List and Samples Post Free.

CAUTION—
Be sure that the name of "GOSS" is on the label, and refuse substitutes.

Depots:—154, Regent St., London, W.
Telephone—6948 Gerrard.

460, Oxford St., London, W.
Telephone—5162 Gerrard.

17, Brompton Rd., London, S.W.
Telephone—1708 Western.

You will never miss Meat



if you make nuts a regular item in your daily fare. We supply eight or nine different varieties of choice nuts ready shelled, and also handy nut mills, by the aid of which you can in less than a minute produce a beautiful flaky meal, which can be taken either with salad or stewed fruit or used as an ingredient in simple nourishing dishes.

You have only to send us your full name and address on a postcard, mentioning *Votes for Women*, and we will send you our new 56-page Booklet, the contents of which include

36 simple nut recipes.

With this valuable little book we will send
FREE

Samples and various interesting leaflets.

We supply all the reliable Health Foods, also natural products such as Unpolished Rice, Sun-dried Fruits, the finer grades of Pulses and Cereals, etc. We pay carriage on orders value 5/- and upwards to any part of the United Kingdom.

GEO. SAVAGE & SONS,

Nut Experts,
Dealers in Natural Foods,

53, Aldersgate Street, LONDON. E.C.

CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Our Cartoon	801
Dedication	805
The Outlook	805
Mrs. Pankhurst to Lead the Deputation	806
"VOTES FOR WOMEN—Price One Penny." By Evelyn Sharp	807
A Defence of the Fighting Spirit. By Christopher St. John	808
Questions in the House	809
Welcome to Patricia Woodlock	810
The Deputation on June 29	811
Our Post-Box	814
Answers to Correspondents	814
Announcements	814
Programme of Events	815
Cleave Thou Thy Way. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	816
The Earl of Lytton on Votes for Women	817
Extracts from the Press	819
Questioning Cabinet Ministers	820
The Campaign Throughout the Country	821
Queen's Hall At Home, June 14	824
St. James's Hall, June 10	824
Mrs. Pankhurst at Chiswick	824
Mrs. Pankhurst at Holborn Town Hall	826
Hyde Park, June 13	826
Winchester House	826
Rotherhithe Town Hall	826
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association	826
Treasurer's Note	826
Contributions to the £50,000 Fund	826
Liberal Women and Suffrage	826
Local Notes	828

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.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, inside the United Kingdom, 8/8 and 2/2 abroad, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

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

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.

It is rare that fate gives to any man so many chances of recovery from a false position as it has given to the present Prime Minister of this country. Though Mr. Asquith has repeatedly refused to receive a deputation of women, and though, owing to his action hundreds of women have suffered imprisonment in Holloway Gaol, he is still able, by acting in a manly and honourable way on June 29, to make good the position which he has lost.

Will Mr. Asquith Yield this Time?

If Mr. Asquith has, by this time, learnt his lesson; if he sees now that he can no longer despise the women who are demanding the right to vote; if he realises, even now at this eleventh hour, that his action in the past has been inconsistent with his professed principles and unworthy of a great statesman, he has still time to recover his position. If, when Mrs. Pankhurst leaves the Caxton Hall on June 29 at the

head of the largest deputation of women which has ever sought to interview him on this question, he is willing to receive her and to tell her that he is now satisfied of the justice and the expediency of immediately conferring the vote upon women, the folly and obstinacy which he has shown in the past will be forgotten and the verdict of posterity will be that a strong man, after making his mistake, was willing to rectify it before it was too late.

Or Will He Wreck His Party?

But if, blinded by ignorance and deterred by obstinacy from retracing his steps, he refuses once again; if, in defiance of constitutional principles, he allows the police to be called out and the women to be arrested and thrown into prison, then he takes one more step in the downward path which leads to destruction for himself and his party. For he cannot stop this reform. He can only postpone it for a very brief while, and, in so doing, he will be enrolling his name among those of politicians who have tried in vain to repress freedom and to keep back the liberty of the people of the country.

A Personal Note.

In the very striking and eloquent speech delivered by Lord Lytton at the St. James's Theatre, a verbatim report of which we are glad to be able to print elsewhere, no words evoked a more responsive chord in the hearts of his audience than those in which he spoke of the militant methods. These methods had come too near home, he said, to himself and to many of his hearers for him to be able to view them otherwise than with the utmost regret; but, speaking with the fullest sense of responsibility, he declared his profound conviction that, after so many years spent in peaceful persuasion without results, no other methods were open to women who were serious and determined. The question of Votes for Women was not one that brooked delay, it had to be settled at once; men and women must come out and fight fearlessly for their convictions and sweep out of the path the obstacles of prejudice and indifference.

Mrs. Pankhurst.

The prospect of the coming deputation lent added seriousness to these words of Lord Lytton. Many of those present had already promised themselves to take part in it, others knew that if Mr. Asquith adopts his former tactics on that day members of their own immediate circle will before long be separated from them and serving sentences of imprisonment in Holloway Gaol. But even among those who are not thus intimately connected with it the knowledge that the founder of the movement, Mrs. Pankhurst, is again undertaking the position of leadership of the deputation evokes a deep personal feeling, for Mrs. Pankhurst is not merely the leader of the Women's Social and Political Union, she holds in the hearts of every member a special position of love and fellowship. Twice already within the last fifteen months she has suffered imprisonment in the cause of freedom. Her heroic record during the five and a-half years in which she has led the Union is one for which every member feels the deepest gratitude, and to which every member turns with a sense of honour and reverence.

The Treatment of Women in Prison.

The treatment of the Suffragettes in prison formed the subject of discussion in the House of Commons on Monday last, when Mr. Swift McNeill spoke on the Home Office vote. He described the restrictions under which the Suffragettes had been confined as oppressive and cruel, and the proceedings taken against them as improper and futile. He dealt with the travesty by which Mr. Gladstone has attempted to justify his conduct, and to claim that the women could leave the prison at will. "A man or woman cannot give recognisances for good behaviour when he glories in what he has done," said Mr. McNeill. "I am sure that this method will not stop the agitation, and I am certain that if these ladies had been men they would not have been made to suffer the treatment which these women are made to suffer."

The Home Office Defence.

Mr. Claude Hay, in supporting Mr. McNeill's protest, asked whether the Government did not propose to adopt methods which would be in consonance with public feeling, and prevent those persons who, rightly or wrongly, fight for ideals being

treated as ordinary criminals who deserve rigorous treatment. The answer given by Mr. Herbert Samuel, speaking for Mr. Gladstone, was characteristic of Home Office subterfuge. Instead of meeting fairly the charges brought against the Administration, he claimed that the Suffragette prisoners are not treated as ordinary criminals because they are placed in the second division and not in the third.

The Real Facts.

This answer may for a time satisfy the consciences of supporters of the Government, it will not satisfy the people of the country. Ordinary criminals are placed in the second and in the third divisions in prison, the second division being reserved for prisoners of slightly better character, or for prisoners who refuse to enter into recognisances, as is the case with the Suffragettes. But the treatment of political prisoners in all civilised countries is totally different from that in either of these classes. Such prisoners are allowed to wear their own clothes, to have proper food, and, above all, to have intercourse with their friends and the facilities for writing and reading which are denied to the Suffragettes. The Home Office reply was purposely misleading on this point. It rests now with all those who know the true facts to bring home to the authorities the repugnance which is felt by all decent people at their violation of the ordinary practice of all civilised nations.

Welsh Disestablishment

The action of the Government with regard to Welsh Disestablishment affords a valuable object lesson in militant methods. Last week Mr. Asquith announced that he did not propose to proceed with the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, thus indicating that this measure had only been intended as a showcard to pacify his Welsh supporters. At once the Welsh members arose in revolt, and a considerable section of them intimated to the Prime Minister that unless he gave them some satisfactory assurance they would take the opportunity of voting against him on every available occasion. On Tuesday last Mr. Asquith announced his decision, that though he could not proceed with the Bill this Session, yet he would undertake to carry a similar measure through all its stages in the House of Commons as one of the first Bills next Session.

And a Moral.

Thus were the militant methods of the Welsh successful in drawing from the Prime Minister an assurance which he had up to that time totally refused to give, and which he doubtless would never have given if he had thought that he could count upon the Welsh support whatever his attitude on this question. Women, who have no means of using the direct pressure of M.P.'s in revolt to enforce their claim, are realising to-day that militant measures of a different type are necessary to compel submission to their will. For however much Mr. Asquith may regard the question of Welsh Disestablishment as a matter of interest to his supporters, it cannot be other than of sectional importance compared with that question of the enfranchisement of women which affects half the population of these islands. This question must be settled at once without waiting for the possible introduction of an Electoral Reform Bill, which, it is now evident, is being thrust over into the nebulous Session of 1911.

"Pleidlaisiau i Fenywod."

At the Welsh Eisteddfod at the Albert Hall on Wednesday last Mr. Asquith found himself confronted once again by the familiar battle cry, "Votes for Women," translated into its Welsh equivalent, "Pleidlaisiau i Fenywod," for the benefit of the audience; and his speech was punctuated by protests from women all over the hall, who demanded that he should receive the deputation on June 29. Though many in the audience showed signs of sympathy, rough treatment was meted to most of the protestors, who were in many cases flung down the stairs with considerable violence.

Interesting Items.

Space forbids more than a very brief mention of other matters of special interest to our readers. We congratulate the members of the police force upon the weekly day of rest which has been accorded to them by the Home Office, and believe that this concession is largely due to the prominence given in connection with the Suffragette agitation to the excessive hours worked by the police. We call attention, too, to the report which has recently been published by the Departmental Committee on the question of disorder at public meetings in which the present divergent practices of the police in different parts of the

country are discussed. It is shown that in some places they interfere inside public indoor meetings to keep order, in other cases they refuse to do so; the Committee do not recommend any alteration in existing practice. Among many interesting articles in the present issue of this paper are those of Christopher St. John and Miss Evelyn Sharp. Miss Sharp writes upon selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets, an example which we hope many of our readers will be led to copy. Lord Lytton's speech, which we give verbatim, will be read with the very greatest interest. We would draw the attention of our readers to the almost total omission of any reference to it or to the meeting at all in the London Press. The same fate has been shared by the many hundred meetings which are being held all over London to announce the great deputation. Such exclusion by the Press has to be met by increasing the sale of this paper. We also call attention to the new method we have adopted for classifying small advertisements, and we specially recommend to our readers this system of making known to one another their various requirements.

MRS. PANKHURST TO LEAD THE DEPUTATION.

Apart from the magnificent justification of the militant methods by the Earl of Lytton on Tuesday afternoon at St. James's Theatre (a verbatim report of which appears on pp. 817 and 818), the most impressive feature of the meeting was the announcement by Mrs. Pankhurst that she intended to lead the deputation to the Prime Minister on Tuesday week, June 29.

The Government, said Mrs. Pankhurst, thought at first they could crush the women by turning out the police against them, and flinging them into gaol without even trial by jury. But stupid and obstinate as they were, tyrannical as they were, even they were beginning to realise to-day that their methods against women were doomed to fail. Women had got to make them understand that they must do justice; and she held that the whole success of the agitation at bye-elections, in demonstrations, and in uniting women and bringing them together, depended upon going on deputation, when occasion offered, to the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. They were going to have another deputation on June 29. She had reflected a good deal as to her own personal duty in this matter. There was a good deal of work to be done outside—speaking, agitating, rousing women. But in spite of those claims she had come deliberately to the conclusion that it was her duty to go on that deputation. (Cries of "No!") Yes! She had made up her mind that everything must be done by every one of them to make this the last occasion on which it would be necessary for women to take these risks and perform this duty, and so she had quite finally made up her mind that the women who went there would have her as their companion, and that they would share the risks together.

The Earl of Lytton having delivered his address, Miss Gawthorpe made a most entertaining and amusing speech. Many women, she said, were born Suffragists, and the only solution to the difficulties with which they were faced was to get the economic value of women raised, and the quickest way to do this, as Lord Lytton had said, was to be "made citizens with the hall-mark of citizenship—i.e., the vote." Miss Gawthorpe kept the audience convulsed with many delightful stories, in one of which she told how a properly "vouched-for" lady was actually refused admittance to Mr. Churchill's recent meeting in Manchester solely on account of the purple dress which she was wearing. Women were working on the upward line of evolution. The only hope for a great Empire was unity within as well as without, and every member of the W.S.P.U. must so work that it might be said of her: "She believes in herself and in her destiny."

Miss Gladice Keevil said the movement was "going strong" in the Midlands, and quoted a workman saying, "Nothing else is talked about but the Suffragettes—it is worse than a blooming General Election." She regarded Mr. Asquith as an "Artful Dodger" *par excellence*; she exhorted her hearers not to be taken in by his pledges, but to go straight on with their demands, however he might try to prevent them by coercion. Women had as much pluck and courage as men, and when the Government put them in prison for simply demanding their just rights, the Government put a light to a trail of gunpowder that must eventually explode upon their own heads.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN,' PRICE ONE PENNY!"

By Evelyn Sharp.

VOTES FOR WOMEN, price one penny!

Articles by Annie Kenney,
Mrs. Lawrence, Christabel,
Other Suffragettes as well.
Men and women, come and buy—
As you pass and hear the cry—
VOTES FOR WOMEN! here we sell
Articles by Christabel,
Mrs. Lawrence, Annie Kenney—
VOTES FOR WOMEN, price one penny!

(New Street Cries, 1909.)

We had aimed at a hundred and got it. But in our movement, to use the famous phrase of a great man of action, "Nothing is done while yet anything remains to be done"; and last week, the paper sellers in our particular local Union set out to make the hundred into a thousand. So I found myself at a street corner one afternoon competing with a boot-black, a flower seller, and a hawkker of pink newspapers.

To stand at a street corner crying "VOTES FOR WOMEN, one penny!" may seem a strenuous way of spending a summer afternoon. Personally, I found it exhilarating rather than strenuous. There was the conventionality of the boot-black to break down, to begin with. This he expressed in a large wink, as I walked up to my pitch and unfurled a purple white and green poster. It was such a comprehensive wink that I am not quite sure whether it was intended to reach the policeman or my rival in the pink line of goods. The policeman, however, preserved an officially detached air; and my fellow hawkker of newspapers evidently did not consider me a rival. I think he was right. Not once in the course of the afternoon were his customers and mine the same people.

Fortunately, I drew a customer the moment I took up my stand—an American lady, who not only bought a paper but took out a three months' subscription on the spot and talked of trying to be in Parliament Square on June 29. That was not a bad start; and I felt I had justified my existence at the street corner. The boot-black, however, did not wholly accept me as a suitable companion until some friends happened to greet me from a passing motor-car, a circumstance that added greatly to my prestige with my pavement companions. I think every one who sees a purple, white and green poster at the edge of the pavement should make a point of greeting it, if only for the sake of propitiating the conventional standard of the street corner. For it is only conventional, never enmity, that one encounters there. The professional hawkker who stands in the gutter, year in and year out, dependent for a living on the pennies of the passer-by, knows better than anybody that one does not join him for pleasure.

When the American lady had gone, business was a little slack for a few minutes. "Slack" is not the right word, perhaps; for a Suffragette, wearing the colours, is doing business just by standing still and displaying a newsbill that could belong only to one newspaper in the world. If she does nothing else, she brings the enemy into the open, as I found when I offered my wares to one disapproving lady.

"You evidently do not know that I belong to the Anti-Suffrage League," she said frigidly.

I remembered the story of Baron Rothschild, who, importuned by the visit of Prince Puckler Muskau when he was busy, said curtly: "Take a chair." The astonished Prince asked him if he knew whom he was addressing. "Take two chairs," said the imperturbable Baron.

So I called after the disapproving lady: "Take two copies." Unfortunately, she was out of hearing, and my jest was wasted on the newspaper boy, who clearly regarded it as a most unprofessional remark to make in the course of business. It also seemed to startle a baby who was being wheeled past by its nurse. Up to that moment, it had been a placid, unruffled baby, banging an indiarubber doll against the side of the perambulator. But when it saw me and my poster, it dropped the indiarubber doll and said: "Ga-ga-ga-ga-ga!" at the top of its voice; and the nurse, who had to cause a momentary obstruction on the pavement by diving after the indiarubber doll, was most annoyed. "Those Suffragettes!" she said crossly, coming up again with a red face. And, remembering the countenance of the amazed baby, I could not deny the implication. But one of the rewards of standing at the street corner is the discovery that life varies from minute to minute; and while the gurgles of the baby still rang in my ears, a gentle lady came up and spoke to me in a nervous tone.

"I do think women ought to have votes," she said, as though answering an imaginary opponent—not imaginary to her, perhaps!—"but I wish they would not do such silly things."

I suggested that, most likely, they had not done the things to which she referred; and she cheered up slightly. "I really don't think anybody could!" she admitted, but hesitated when I proposed that she should buy our paper in order to see exactly what the Suffragettes were doing. "I am afraid I might be laughed at if anybody saw me with it," she said timorously.

"They have seen me with two or three dozen most of the afternoon, and I have not been laughed at," I pointed out; whereupon she bought a copy and folded it carefully with the incriminating title-page inside. I hoped the poor lady would not discover some such advertisement as "Leather the only wear for Suffragettes!" staring at her from the back page, as soon as she sat down in the omnibus.

This little conversation encouraged another lady to ask my advice as to the advantages of advertising in the paper. I need not say what my advice was; and I was still giving it and feeling rather puffed up in consequence, when a gentleman did his best to depress me by holding out a penny with the words: "I'll read what you have to say, though I disapprove of your methods *entirely*."

"He wouldn't know we had anything to say if the methods hadn't reminded him of it," remarked the intending advertiser; and I felt she was one of us from that moment.

I had come to my last paper. I am always a little superstitious about the last paper, and I caught myself hoping that I should not have to part with it to a grudging purchaser, who grumbled while he bought, or to a laughing young woman, who was urged forward by other laughing young women to "buy the Suffragettes' paper for a lark"; or to a kind but condescending woman who thought I looked tired, and that it must be very unpleasant for me to stand there—so many people, declaring that we go to prison for fun, pity us for the unpleasantness of standing at a street corner to sell papers!—all of whom had been my customers already. Then a poor bent old woman, in rusty black, hobbled by and smiled at me. No, she could not afford to buy it, but she thought it was good of us to try to get votes to help poor women. So I placed my last paper under her threadbare shawl, to bring hope to her and luck to the Suffragettes.

We did not quite reach our thousand in Kensington last week; nor shall we stop there when we do. There are other thousands beyond that one; and—"Nothing is done while yet anything remains to be done!"

A DEFENCE OF THE FIGHTING SPIRIT.

A Dialogue. Persons: DIANA and GERTRUDE. Scene: Diana's Lodgings.

By CHRISTOPHER ST. JOHN.

Joint Author of "How the Vote was Won."

DIANA: So we alienate "people" by our violence. What people?

GERTRUDE: Oh, I don't know! People I suppose who would otherwise sympathise with the cause.

DIANA: If we have alienated those who are neither cold nor hot, so much the better! Every cause is well rid of lukewarm sympathisers. When anyone tells you that tale, Gertrude, ask him what he did for us before he was estranged? What generous act for the Suffragist cause has he to his credit? If he is a Cabinet Minister, did he resign office rather than hold it in a Government which has refused to give women the vote? If he is a newspaper proprietor, did he give news of our actions fairly and squarely? How did he show his sympathy? How are we the poorer for its withdrawal?

GERTRUDE: You needn't get so angry! I am only quoting the general opinion that bad strategy, rowdiness, and vulgarity have injured you badly.

DIANA: We find, on the contrary, that our fighting tactics, which I do not admit to be rowdy or vulgar, any more than Maxim guns are vulgar in their proper place, have attracted all the more generous and chivalrous elements of the community. We don't care a rap for those people who preach moderation. We know that the moderate are not usually the most sincere, for the same caution which makes them moderate makes them careful of what might give offence. They are timid, too, about material things, and will risk little.

GERTRUDE: If you could only hear the things that men say about you!

DIANA: If women would only realise what disgrace there is for them in acting not on their own sense of what is womanly, but on what a man has decided for them is womanly! Thank Heaven! this tutelary custom is growing weaker every day. Apart from that, Gertrude, we don't mind abuse, whether it comes from men or women. It is harder to bear from women. You see, we remember things. If there are men now who recommend that we should be ducked and whipped, there have been men who would have done the same for Joan of Arc. The woman who rescued France was 300 years after her death reviled with every indignity and indecency by a fellow-countryman. Do you remember what Voltaire said about her? He was a great man, yet he had only insults for the village girl who drew a whole nation back into battle, while monarch and marshals cried and ran like chickens, cackling at one breath defiance and surrender. Upon my word, I think the history of Joan of Arc ought to teach one to stand any misrepresentation.

GERTRUDE: You aren't all Joans of Arc!

DIANA: No; but, like her, the women of to-day who are inspired to take the sword cannot escape calumny. A few people know that the awakening of the fighting spirit in the modern woman is the best thing that has happened in this country for years. Oh, that the few would speak what they know! Then Englishmen might see that it is a little ludicrous to talk with respectful admiration of the awakening of the Young Turk, while they ignore the awakening of their own women. No one champions us except in a patronising way. Have you noticed that? How strange it is. For oppressed peasants, degraded by slavery, men have made noble speeches. The blood of heroes has been poured out for negroes. Women are oppressed, but their protests against oppression find no

echo in the hearts of legislators—hearts which have bled for Bulgarian atrocities and Chinese slavery!

GERTRUDE: But I don't think women are oppressed. I am sure the men do their best.

DIANA: They cannot do their best in such conditions, conditions which leave the recognition and protection of women's interests to chance. Individuals may be generous and beneficent, yet the fact remains that when a statesman makes a speech he addresses himself entirely to men. He ignores the fact that women contribute to the wealth of the country. His view of life is Chinese, and worse. Even Caxton is his superior. He, at any rate, printed the "Morte d'Arthur" for "gentlemen and gentlewomen."

GERTRUDE: There! What did I tell you? You are anti-man!

DIANA: No, not at all, but we are sometimes forced into antagonism by the men themselves. At present they are on the side of immobility . . . we on the side of progress. The position is inevitably antagonistic. Then they refuse to confer with us—forgetting the philosophic truth that "enmities are allayed by conference." You spoke just now of our "vulgarity," but I don't think you can accuse us of vulgarity of soul. Could we compete with the wanton vulgarity of those members of Parliament, who rush out like a pack of schoolboys to watch our deputations to the House of Commons? I mentioned Malory's "Morte d'Arthur" just now. I wonder what any of those knights would have thought of men who, safely protected by iron railings and policemen, watch the "fun" of women being hurt by order of the Government?

GERTRUDE: Ah, it's about that I came to speak to you! I see there is another deputation, or raid, or whatever you call it, next week. I do hope you have nothing to do with it?

DIANA: Yes, I have signed on.

GERTRUDE: But why? It's all so foolish. If you know beforehand that the Prime Minister won't receive you, why do you go?

DIANA: For one thing we cannot acknowledge the Prime Minister's right to deny to unrepresented women what he would not dare to deny to unrepresented men.

GERTRUDE: I was told that the last raid was a pitiable sight.

DIANA: I am afraid that all such sights have been pitiable—to the looker-on, just as all martyrdoms have seemed mean to those who beheld them; rare shows, specially designed to appeal to a brutal sense of humour. Oh, I remember that when I first heard the derisive laughter of the crowd, I felt ashamed . . . but almost immediately I was more sorry for those who laughed than I was for myself. I wonder which will cut the more ridiculous figure in the eyes of future generations—those women who had convictions, and fought bravely for them, though they were very sensitive to being spattered by mud, or those men who were the mud-throwers? Posterity I fancy will see in us the Davids, and in those who jeered at us, the Philistines.

GERTRUDE: Do you call me a Philistine?

DIANA: Does the definition fit you? "The Philistine upholds and supports the blind mechanical forces of society, and doesn't recognise dynamic force when he meets it, either in a man or a movement." David, or the child of light, marches against the Philistines, armed with the

truth that life is changeful, fluid, active, and to allow it to be stereotyped into any form is death. The Suffragette is the modern David.

GERTRUDE: You are a queer person!

DIANA: People become queer because their brains grow in size, and their spirits make progress while laws and customs remain at a standstill.

GERTRUDE: That's rather a good idea.

DIANA: Thank you.

GERTRUDE: I don't, however, like your other idea—that I am a Philistine.

DIANA: Then become a Suffragette!

GERTRUDE: The word offends my literary taste.

DIANA: You must emancipate your literary taste from its conventions. We didn't invent the word, but ungrammatical, half-contemptuous as it is, there is not one of us who would exchange it now for a more refined and literary title. They say that a man has never achieved greatness until he is called by some nickname. Perhaps the same thing applies to movements!

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

On Monday, in the course of the debate on the Home Office Vote, Mr. Swift MacNeill said:—I come to one subject which I have raised in and out of season, and I wish to reiterate my protest against, first of all, the way in which they (Suffragettes) were prosecuted; and, secondly, against the treatment of the various ladies who have been sent to prison. I say it was a very shocking thing that these ladies, who were really political offenders, should have been subjected to anything like indignities. When I complained of these indignities in regard to one of these ladies I only knew the matter quite accidentally from her father, who had addressed a letter to the newspapers. That gentleman was once a greatly respected member of this House—I mean Mr. Logan.

Mr. Gladstone: Is the hon. member referring to the particular case he brought before me?

Mr. MacNeill: No, I am not referring to the case which I brought before the right hon. gentleman, and in regard to which I am ready to admit he struck me down. I brought forward the case of two ladies who were subjected to severe and improper treatment in prison. These are high-minded women. They have probably broken the law, but they have acted from high and unselfish motives. I brought the case forward on a motion for the adjournment, and my right hon. friend, the Under-Secretary for the Home Department, looked into the case. I was then away in Scotland, when I got an official letter with an enormous red platter seal. I thought I was going to be made a Lord Chief Justice of, but, no, it was a letter from my right hon. friend trying to explain and to exculpate his department. It was marked private and confidential, and I have never been able to use it since. I am not now saying whether I am in favour of the Suffragist movement or not, but we must acknowledge the purity of the motives of these ladies. They are working for a principle, and it is a very shocking thing that between February last year and the present time no fewer than 296 ladies have been imprisoned for processions and proceedings in connection with this House of Commons. The majority of them have been confined in the second division under oppressive, cruel, hateful restrictions and supervision. They have borne their punishment like brave women, but not one of them has been tried under the ordinary law, not one of them who have been in prison for one, two, three, and four months has committed, according to the ordinary law, any offence whatever. They were tried—or rather they were not tried at all. Proceedings were taken against them, with the consent and control of the right hon. gentleman, under the Statute of Edward III., by which for failing to give security for good behaviour they were sent to imprisonment as a preventive procedure, and month after month they have been kept there, although, of course, they could get out by entering into recognisances at any time.

A man or woman cannot give recognisances for good behaviour when he glories in what he has done. This system of sending people to prison is a mere contrivance to avoid the ordinary

trial. I am sure that it will not stop the agitation. I do not express approval or disapproval of the various efforts which have been adopted, but I say that instead of stopping the agitation, since these women have gone to gaol, the agitation has advanced and increased greatly. The question we have to consider is this: Is it right that these ladies whenever they are imprisoned should be suffering indignities from which Major Jameson and his followers were exempted? I am certain if these ladies had been men they would not have been made to suffer the treatment which these women are made to suffer. I would have liked to have seen 296 men come down on various occasions to this House not tried before a jury, not summoned for any crime, and not brought before a magistrate, but sent to prison practically without trial. You did not do half that when the Hyde Park railings were taken down in 1867. At any rate, reform came in a very short time, but no reform has come to these women. In these circumstances, not in any unfriendly spirit, I think, the right hon. gentleman might have shown more tenderness and more humanity and have had more respect for this agitation, whether it was rightly carried out or not, to remove what they consider, and what many of us consider, a very great grievance and a horrible sense of wrong. On this ground I have criticised, not in an unfriendly spirit, the right hon. gentleman's attitude, and I hope that by next year he will have very greatly improved in his attitude, and that we shall be able to report very favourably upon him.

After discussion on the alien immigration, Mr. Arnold Lupton said: With regard to the imprisonment of the ladies who marched down to this House, I hope that in future he (the Home Secretary) will consider that it is not right to send them to prison at all, and it would be far better to exercise his prerogative and order their release. The imprisonment of these ladies has already thrown some light upon the administration of our prisons, for it has shown that there is a great deal which requires reform. Some of the ladies who have been imprisoned belong to good families, and it should not be forgotten that their action is entirely political, and they go to prison as a great act of self-devotion and self-sacrifice. They have committed no crime, and have done nothing but what the strongest feelings of patriotism have impelled them to do. I think it is a great hardship that people should be sent to prison and submitted to treatment which is not calculated to promote good feeling and improve their character, an object which everyone believes should be the aim of any term of imprisonment.

The revelations made as to the condition of some of these prisons, I hope, will lead the right hon. gentleman to see that an improvement is necessary. I think it is a great pity that any Suffragettes have been sent to prison at all. I do not express any opinion as to their conduct, but I think the Home Secretary might exercise his prerogative and refuse to give these women the hospitality of his Majesty's prisons, because the ladies who have been sent to prison are now wearing the crown of martyrdom, and I do not know that that is a wise thing from a political point of view.

Later, the Hon. Claud Hay said: Like the hon. member for South Donegal, I do not desire to express my opinion as to the Suffragists' movement, but I emphatically associate myself with him and others who take exception to the prison treatment accorded to female political offenders. I am aware that the treatment of political male offenders has been very much changed during the last few years, and that it is not possible to compare that treatment with the treatment accorded to female prisoners to-day. I think it is high time we should have a statement on this subject from the Home Office. We should know whether the present Government propose to leave things as they are, or whether they propose to adopt measures which will be in consonance with public feeling, and prevent these persons who, rightly or wrongly, fight for ideals being treated as ordinary criminals who deserve rigorous treatment.

Mr. Herbert Samuel: I will respond to the invitation of the hon. member, and at once point out that the Suffragist prisoners are not treated as ordinary criminals. The latter go naturally into the third division, while these ladies have been relegated to the second division, and kept wholly apart from association with ordinary criminals. They are detained in that branch of the prison which is designed for persons who have committed no grave offence, and who are not of the ordinary criminal type.

Mr. Swift MacNeill: Surely these ladies have committed no offence whatever. They are in prison in default of finding bail for their good behaviour.

Mr. Herbert Samuel: The hon. member is not correct in saying that they have committed no offence. They are put on their trial for an offence, and are ordered to find recognisances, and failing to give those recognisances they are sent to prison. If the hon. member considers that the magistrates are wrong in their law and the Home Secretary is wrong in his law, I think he will find that that is not an idea which is generally entertained in this House.

Mr. MacNeill: I ground my opinion on the statement of the Lord Chief Baron of Ireland that it is not an offence.

OUR POST BOX. A LEAGUE OF ACTION.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I am interested to see that the proposal for founding a "League of Action" made by "F. W." in your issue of May 28 follows closely upon a line of action already for some time pursued by myself.

We all know cases of private charity from which we cannot withhold our hand, but it is time that organised charitable societies should look for their upkeep to the purses of men.

Two other ladies write that they have withdrawn their subscriptions from the Anti-Vivisection Society, having explained clearly in doing so that their action is taken from no lack of sympathy with the objects of the Society.

A HOLIDAY CAMPAIGN.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—We have been asked for plans for the holidays. I am quite willing to take a house for a month at the seaside (from about July 20 to August 20), and take as boarders at the lowest price to cover cost (which must, of course, depend on rent of house) about eight or ten members who are anxious and willing to open a Votes for Women campaign.

In response to a paragraph relating to the house-boat on the river in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, we have had an inquiry from Mrs. Morris, who will be glad to know of any others wishing to join.

ANOTHER DISGUSTED LIBERAL.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I am thoroughly in sympathy with the women's movement and indignant at the treatment meted out to them, and I have written to Mr. Asquith saying that I hold, with him, that "taxation without representation is legalised robbery," that I have always been a staunch supporter of Liberalism, but that as a protest against the Government's attitude towards women, I have decided to place my two votes at the service of the W.S.P.U. until justice is done.

The following is from a letter to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence from Olive Schreiner:—

I must write something to explain my feeling about the Suffragette movement. The thing to me is not that you are winning the franchise, but fighting a free, determined fight for it!

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

74. I shall be very grateful if you can tell me where I can find out the proportion of women who voted at the last general election in Australia.

75. What are the provisions of the London Elections Bill? The Bill would constitute London a single Parliamentary borough, the existing boroughs or divisions being single-member divisions.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Chelsea Town Hall Meeting.

To-day (Friday) a great meeting is being held in Chelsea Town Hall, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst is the speaker. Vigorous propaganda work is being carried out in Chelsea (as elsewhere in London) under the direction of Miss R. Barwell.

Mrs. Pankhurst at Rossendale Valley.

To-morrow (Saturday, 19th) and Sunday (20th) Mrs. Pankhurst will be speaking in Mr. Harcourt's constituency, Rossendale Valley. Anyone able to attend the meetings and to give help in any way to Mrs. Baines (who is organising the demonstration) should communicate with her at 27, Schofield Road, Rawtenstall, without delay.

Lancashire Welcome to Patricia Woodlock.

To-morrow, also, Miss Patricia Woodlock, who was released from Holloway on Wednesday (16th), will be welcomed at Manchester, where a procession, with a band, has been arranged, and Miss Woodlock's carriage will be drawn by Manchester members of the W.S.P.U. to the Alexandra Park, where a demonstration will take place.

Open-air Meetings.

The Sunday meetings in Hyde Park are attracting large audiences. Last Sunday Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Löwy were the speakers. Next Sunday (the 20th) the speaker will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst. These meetings are held at 3.30 p.m. Literature sellers and other helpers are wanted, and a very important part of the work, the writing down of names of those who appear specially interested in the movement, should not be lost sight of.

The At Homes.

The weekly At Homes on Monday afternoons and Thursday evenings are being held as usual. The speaker at Queen's Hall last Monday (14th) was Miss Gertrude Kingston. Next Monday afternoon (21st) the speakers will be Miss Beatrice Forbes Robertson, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Deputation on June 29.

A very large number of meetings are being held daily in connection with the special London campaign in preparation for the deputation to the Prime Minister on Tuesday, June 29. Particulars of this will be found on page 811. Helpers are wanted also for these meetings, and all able to give even an occasional hour should communicate with the organiser whose name appears at the foot of the district reports (p. 811, etc.).

The Caravan in the Midlands.

A speaker is wanted for the Midlands Caravan for the first three weeks in July. Will anyone who can give her services for a week or more of this excellent propaganda work write to Miss Gladice Keevil, 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham?

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Table with columns for date, location, and speaker. Includes entries for Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Falmouth, etc., with names like Miss Laura Ainsworth, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst.

In addition to the above, a great many meetings have been arranged in connection with the Special London Campaign. See pages 811-813.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Small table listing future events such as Hyde Park Brockwell Park Demonstration and London Deputation to the Prime Minister.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (three lines)
Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.
Colours: Purple, White and Green.

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Organising Sec.

The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfil the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote, in addition to the seven and a-half million men who are at present enfranchised.

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

CLEAVE THOU THY WAY.

"Cleave thou thy way with fathering desire
Of fire to reach to fire."

—George Meredith.

The secret of everything that is magnificent in history, art, and life is hidden in the thought expressed in these lines. In human personality there burns a flame that yearns to its origin, and reaches towards that great heart of fire, which is the core of the universe. The mystic calls it the desire of the soul for God. The artist calls it the passion of the sense of beauty. The scientist calls it the pursuit of the mind for truth. The deliverer of his race calls it the struggle of the unconquerable human spirit for freedom.

Let this flame be strong in a soul, and it must seek to cleave its way out to its desire, burning through all obstacles, undermining all foundations, reducing if need be what is material and mortal to ashes, leaping back irresistibly to the source of its light and heat. In the soul of those men who have made history is manifested this force of a fed flame cleaving the way to attainment. That is the secret of every human miracle of achievement.

And in the soul of women also there glows a living spark that centuries of subjugation have been unable to extinguish, that ages of submission have failed to smother.

By the Creator it was put into the heart of the Mother and Maker of Men, that flame of majestic love which asserts its possession of freedom so that it may create and replenish the life of the world, and perfect its work from generation to generation.

There in the soul of women this God-inspired flame has struggled against extinction since immemorial time. Systems of government, since the world began, have been piled upon it to choke it, to keep from it the free winds of heaven.

For those, who are fashioned only of clay, fear the soul of flame in other men, and shrink from its destructive force. But above all they fear it in woman, because they have built their city upon her body, holding it in ownership and possession. For men have desired from women not that majestic love that ministers to life, but the slavish love that ministers to lust. They have obtained dominion over her physical being and over the conditions that determine her life in the hope of stamping out the soul of fire that would cleave its passage to freedom.

But it lives still, and its force is in the Woman's Movement to-day. And as fire will reach to fire, so our "ideal"

will touch God's "real," and become part of the history of the human race.

"Cleave thou thy way." Let every woman who is with us in our great fight for freedom take those words, and write them upon her heart.

It may seem to some of us sometimes that the road by which we have to reach our goal is beset by overwhelming difficulty. The right of citizenship in the State which is signified by the vote is only the first step towards that which women seek to win. And even that elementary right, for the possession of which we have fulfilled every condition imposed upon men, is held from us by determined opposition.

"Cleave thou thy way" There is but one thing that can avail to frustrate attainment. That is submission to wrong. It is true that Mr. Asquith and the members of the Government, which opposes us, have all the forces of the State at their command, including the police and the police-courts which are misnamed courts of justice. "Cleave thou thy way." Fear not. Revolt against tyranny, resistance to wrong is the fan to the flame in our soul which will burn its way through police-courts and prisons and bring these institutions crumbling to the ground. They are crumbling already. Neither police-courts nor prisons will be left by us as we found them. They have to be destroyed before they can be built as a better humanity wills.

"Cleave thou thy way." Where there was one woman standing yesterday to defend the honour of her womanhood let ten stand to-day. Where there are ten to-day a hundred must stand to-morrow. Let the prison, where Patricia Woodlock, guiltless of all crime, endured a criminal's punishment for three months because her will was stronger than the will of her persecutors to break it, be filled, if Mr. Asquith decrees, by women dowered with the same spirit.

The hope of the members of the Government is that we shall yield. We shall never yield. Their thought is that women will realise that appeal is useless and resistance to force is futile, and that they will give up sending deputations to Parliament. We shall never give up sending deputations to Parliament. They are counting upon an abandonment of the militant campaign. It will never be abandoned till the honour of womanhood has been vindicated and the political liberties of women have been won by the granting of the vote. For we know that not their opposition but only our yielding can hurt us.

Their opposition makes us stronger. They are accomplishing our release, not by striking off our fetters but by hardening our muscles till we snap our chains. They are helping us to evolve within ourselves the woman of whom we used to dream. For a few years of fighting have produced the very type of woman which, we hoped, would be the product of a few generations of freedom. "Cleave thou thy way" and opposition itself shall speed thy desire.

For some there are personal difficulties that seem to hinder them from serving to the uttermost the Movement that has become their best life. They want to come forward and offer themselves for the deputation that seeks to interview the Prime Minister on the twenty-ninth of this month, or they wish to take part in other militant work. There are complications in the home. There are the counterclaims of husband and child, of mother, father, sister, or brother. Do not hesitate between two opinions. There are some circumstances that compel women as a positive duty to remain, for a time at any rate, outside the ranks of the militant movement. A woman can know, if she searches the depths of her heart, whether in her case this compulsion applies or not. But difficulties other than these compelling duties must be swept on one side by those who want to win freedom of soul as well as freedom of sex.

"Cleave thou thy way with fathering desire
Of fire to reach to fire."

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

THE EARL OF LYTTON ON VOTES FOR WOMEN

At the St. James's Theatre, June 15.

The greatest tribute perhaps which I can pay to the progress this movement has made lately is to own at once that there is no new argument which can be advanced, either in its support or in its despite. No great political question ever becomes practical, ever approaches at all to realisation and solution until all the stock debating arguments for and against it are perfectly familiar to everyone. To-day this movement for the enfranchisement of women has reached that stage. There is no need, therefore, to rack one's brains any longer for arguments, on whichever side of the question one may be speaking; all that can be said for and against this question is already made familiar to the man in the street, and, what is significant and peculiar to this movement alone, to every woman in the street also.

As a Witness.

Therefore, ladies and gentlemen, I ask your indulgence for a few minutes this afternoon, not in the hope that I can say anything new upon this subject, but merely in order that I can re-state a familiar case from the point of view of my own particular interest and sympathy. I am not concerned to discuss this question with the usual debating arguments, nor to wrestle with those people who think that they have disposed of the whole subject when they make the stupendous announcement that men are men, and women are women, and that that eternal and fundamental difference between the two sexes is a sufficient ground for asking women to be satisfied with a purely masculine representation. In fact, Mrs. Pankhurst, I am not here as an advocate at all this afternoon. You are engaged in a great trial, and the conduct of the case is in your hands. I am not here to speak for women this afternoon. My contribution will merely be that of a witness, and I give my evidence, not for women, but for men, and I am here to say, as a man, that it is men who will be the gainers when in the public life of this country, in discussing the interests of every class and race throughout the Empire, they can have the assistance of women as well as men.

Before giving my evidence let me explain for one moment what my standpoint is. I am not just now specially interested in the fortunes of either of the great political parties in the country, and therefore I am not tormented by anxiety as to whether the votes of women in the future will be used in the Conservative or the Liberal interests or perhaps in the interests of some party which has not yet been formed, for, after all, ladies and gentlemen, the mere balance of parties is a transitory matter, an insignificant matter, when compared with the interests of many of the great questions with which all parties alike have to deal. Let me just remind you of some of those questions which I say are common to all parties. The health and vigour of the race, the education of future generations, the prevention where possible of crime and suffering, the improvement of our industrial conditions, the welfare of our social life at home, responsibility of our Government towards subject races in the King's dominions abroad; in fact, if I may borrow for a moment the admirable words of Sir Edward Grey, "honesty of government and the honour of Empire"—those are the things which survive all parties, those are the political questions which really count, and I ask you, ladies and gentlemen, how are those questions affected to-day by the fact that half the population of this country are politically handicapped, are denied the rights of citizenship, and are refused all responsibility in the government of the country? How will those questions be affected to-morrow by a measure which will recognise those rights, which will impose those responsibilities?

Before I attempt to find an answer I have two explanations to make. The first deals with the nature of your demand and with the present basis of our franchise. This question is con-

stantly discussed as if the basis of the franchise to-day were a test of intelligence or education or influence; and, therefore, when on the one side it is urged that the qualifications of many women are certainly not less than the qualifications of many men who already possess the vote, the statement is met by the argument, "Yes, but because too many men have the vote already, is that any reason why you should give it to more? Because the present franchise is already too wide, is that any reason for extending it?" I have no doubt, ladies and gentlemen, that you have heard that argument constantly; I hear it myself almost every day, but I think that the people who use that argument forget what is the basis of the franchise to-day, and they are living away back in the days before the Reform Bill of 1832. They still think that the franchise to-day is based, as I say, upon intelligence or education. The object of our electoral machinery to-day, however, is not to return the most intelligent or the most efficient to the House of Commons. It is to return a House most representative of all the interests in the country which will be affected by the laws which that Parliament passes. No one, I think, can deny that the House of Commons would be far more representative of those interests if it were elected upon a mixed franchise. The theory of our Constitution is government by consent of the governed. The title-deeds of all our Ministries, the collective force and sanction of all our laws and administrative acts is this—the knowledge that those administrative acts and those laws have the consent of the governed. At present women are asked to obey the laws, pay the taxes, and submit to administrative acts, but their consent is not asked. You tax their property, you regulate their hours of labour, you pass every day in Parliament laws which vitally affect their interests in their own homes and in their every-day life, and so long as women would consent that you should do so, there was nothing to be said. But when that consent is withheld, when all these things are done for women, but without the consent of women, then I say you are at least straining the theory of our Constitution, and you are doing a great deal to diminish the force and value and sanction both of administrative acts and of legislation in Parliament. That is the first explanation that I wanted to make. It is important to remember that, because the question is not simply what are the qualifications of certain women to vote; the question is, whether the Parliament that you elect in order to represent certain interests in the country is so representative.

The Hall-mark of Citizenship.

The second point I want to deal with is the meaning of a vote. What is its significance? What does it imply? What is its importance? I think that we are apt to think too much of this question of a vote, as if it were a purely personal matter. What will this or that woman of our acquaintance do with a vote if she gets it? If we consider it only from that point of view, it is not unnatural that people should say, "Is a vote, after all, so very important? What can you do with a vote? Many men have it, and they don't use it. Many men would voluntarily surrender it, and if you give it to women, there will be a great many women who will never use it." Well, now, that may be very true, but we cannot think of a question from the point of view of the individual. If you consider the matter collectively and not individually, then its importance is a very different matter. The vote is a symbol; it stands for a great deal more than people are apt to think. It is the hall-mark of citizenship in every country which is governed by a representative institution. And therefore, whether it is used or not, possession of the vote sets up those rights of citizenship which cannot be obtained or possessed in any other manner. That is why it is a matter of capital importance, and if you want to test it, go to any single class of voters in this country and try to take away from that class their vote; you will see then that whatever the individual may think, there is not a class in the country possessing the vote that does not attach considerable importance to it, and will fight for it.

I return now to my evidence. The question which I asked was this: What is the effect upon our political life, in its widest sense, of the fact that women are not consulted in the framing of its laws, and are denied the status of citizenship? Well, the reason, we are told, why women should not have the vote is

Mrs. Stewart's most welcome present of thirty chairs has added greatly to the comfort of our At Homes, and our shop window is much brightened up with a series of questions and an exhortation to "buy our weekly paper," charmingly done in the colours by Miss Evelyn Haig. Those of us who cannot join our brave delegates to the deputation must make up for our inability to be in the fighting line on this occasion by helping forward the movement in all other ways possible. Anyone wishing to join the Pioneer Corps should communicate with Miss Evelyn Haig, 87, Comely Bank Avenue, who is anxiously awaiting volunteers with means and leisure to devote to this very useful form of personal service.

And will all members please realise how very important it is that the Thursday At Homes should increase in numbers each week? Everyone should make a point of attending at least one of these, and of bringing two or three friends who are not yet in touch with the movement. Besides Miss Daisy Solomon, Mrs. Ivory, Mrs. Maxtone-Graham, Mrs. More Nisbett, and Mr. Morley Fletcher have promised to speak for us during the coming weeks.

Our Treasurer's urgent appeal for financial help, especially during the slack season (in which, nevertheless, the usual expenses go on), will, we hope, meet with a ready response in Edinburgh. A garden party was practically promised us last Thursday, and we shall be grateful for offers of the kind. At our last evening At Home, Miss Fairfield offered a brooch for sale, which was promptly bought by Miss Brand, the price going to the Union funds. We also received 2s. 6d. from a friend—the value of a subscription to a charity to be withheld until women are enfranchised—and we gladly learn that others of a similar nature are to follow.

Will those members who cannot help to sell our paper in the street make themselves responsible for the sale of a certain number in other ways every week?

Florence E. M. Macaulay.

Aberdeen.

Offices.—Aberdeen: 413, Union Street.
Dundee: 134a, Nethergate.

Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Deeside is our next important event. Will Aberdeen members kindly look out for announcements? At the Broad Hill on Saturday afternoon, June 12, we had an excellent meeting. The weather was very fine, and some 200 or 300 people assembled. Miss Grant, Miss Rae, and others proved very efficient helpers.

Peterhead.—A very good meeting was held in the Rescue Hall on Friday. Mr. Alexander Milne took the chair. I was greatly assisted in my work by Miss Tod and the Misses Smith. Mr. West brought a band of excellent stewards. We made eleven members, who I hope will assist me in Aberdeen later.

My work for the next few weeks will be on the West Coast of Scotland, where I shall be helped by Glasgow members and make Glasgow my headquarters.

Financial Report.—Anonymous, £25; ticket money at Peterhead, £2 3s.; collections, 12s.

Adela Pankhurst.

QUEEN'S HALL AT HOME, JUNE 14.

At the Queen's Hall, on Monday last, Mrs. Gertrude Kingston was the principal speaker. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in opening the proceedings, said that in reference to the deputation of June 29, the Government, and not the Union, was the true law-breaker, as a perusal of the Bill of Rights would soon prove.

Miss Gertrude Kingston said that her earliest impressions on the suffrage question came at a time when she was managing a London theatre employing a large staff; it seemed to her a most illogical thing that a woman occupying such a position should have less right to speak than her gasman or hall-porter simply because she was a woman. In her opinion strong methods and imagination were the best weapons of warfare. No one could assert that the Suffragettes were lacking in either methods. Their originality, resource, and inventiveness made the world open its eyes, even though a certain section still kept their ears closed to the war-cry. But people appreciated and understood the heroic enthusiasm—the almost religious fervour—with which delicate women sacrificed themselves and gave up their time, money, and sympathy to forward the cause. And since men, by their inertia, had forced the W.S.P.U. into the militant methods, whatever blame there was must rest upon them. There was great truth in the description which a military friend of hers had given of the Suffragette agitation, "Ce n'est pas magnifique mais c'est la guerre." The men at the helm had gone to sleep and left the ship of State to drift upon the rocks which had been clearly marked on every chart for

years past. The country wanted a Government with a proper comprehension of industrial methods as they affected women as well as men, and a proper and noble ideal of the dignity of England. While women were working at a wage that was a scandal to any Christian country the country could not afford to talk of national well-being.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence compared the militant tactics of the Suffragettes with those of the American colonists in the days of George III., and with those of the Israelites in the days of Pharaoh, and hoped that the modern Pharaoh would be wise in time, before he too was drowned in the Red Sea.

ST. JAMES'S HALL, JUNE 10.

A large audience, including a fair proportion of men, was present at the weekly At Home at St. James's Hall last Thursday.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst, for the benefit of the many strangers present, gave a brief resumé of the work and aims of the W.S.P.U., explaining the political position of women, who could do no enduring work until they were politically free. The woman's vote must be fought for and won like every other reform, and by any and every method likely to bring about the desired result.

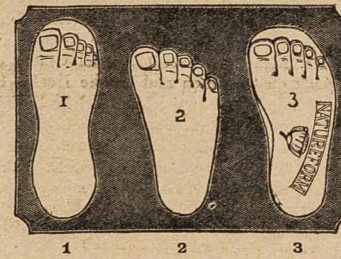
Miss Evelyn Sharp said that at the root of all the Government opposition lay fear, and this was the cause of all the panic legislation directed against women—legislation which always became a dead letter. One of the proofs that the fight was nearing the end was shown in the efforts of the Government to stop a movement that could not be stopped. And another proof lay in the fact that all the humorists were on the women's side! In the early days of a movement the promoters were always serious, while their opponents derided and laughed, but when it was nearing its goal the opponents were portentously solemn and the promoters full of hope and mirth. Death could not kill what could not die, and imprisonment could not imprison what could not be imprisoned—the soul and spirit of the movement. Even if every woman who believed in the cause was put in prison—an impossibility, because no prisons would hold so many—it would be impossible to imprison the cause that sent them there.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence alluded to the attempt to prevent married women from working, and so undermine much of the benefit conferred by the Married Women's Property Act; if married women were prevented from working, no one knew how soon the same restrictions might be extended to unmarried women. Liberty must be secured now, before worse things befel. This movement was not merely political, but was a revolution in ideas and character which was bringing about a new type and standard of British womanhood.

Things were never so hopeful as at the present. The deputation of the 29th was going to make history and to help to secure the liberty of British women.

MRS. PANKHURST AT CHISWICK.

The meeting in Chiswick Town Hall on Monday, addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, attracted a most attentive and sympathetic audience. Mrs. Pankhurst clearly outlined the need for the Vote and the way in which it would affect the industrial position of women. To a man in the audience who objected to the militant tactics, Mrs. Pankhurst said: "If there is any heaven-born genius here who can tell us how to get the Vote, pray let him, and I will promise to try his methods, but you must not tell us to hold public meetings (we have done that) or to sign petitions. The days for that have passed, and the waste-paper basket is their only place." To a man who wished to know whether Mrs. Pankhurst approved of disturbing the Prime Minister while playing a private game of golf, Mrs. Pankhurst replied that if the Prime Minister would see a deputation of women, who were within their constitutional rights in asking him to do so, they would not need to see him privately. If he would not do so, however, the women must seize the chance when they could. To a lady who inquired if the militant methods would be necessary if it could be proved that the majority of women did not want the Vote, Mrs. Pankhurst answered in Mr. Gladstone's words, that it was the duty of Parliament to anticipate the demand.



1. The Common Shoe for a Child. 2. The Natural Foot of a Child.
3. The "Natureform" Shoe for a Child.

Votes for Women!

The very first parcel of "Natureform" Shoes sold in London were for the use of Misses Christabel and Sylvia Pankhurst in 1892.

This is the Verdict.

No. 8, Russell Square, W.C.
April, 1892.

Sir,

I enclose you the sum of 8s. 9d. in payment of your bill for the two pairs of shoes for my two little girls.

I am very pleased with the Shoes, and think they are of admirable shape.

I remain,

Yours very truly,

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Mr. Holden.

Holden Brothers' Handsome Illustrated Catalogue for 1908 will be freely given or sent by post to all applicants. It will pay you to have one.

HOLDEN BROS., 4, Harewood Place, London, W.

ELECTROLYSIS



Permanent Successful Electrical Cure for Removing SUPERFLUOUS HAIRS, WARTS, and MOLES.

Electro-Vibratory Treatment for RHEUMATISM, NEURALGIA, HEADACHE.

The Toilet Editor of THE TIMES writes:—

For the Headache so often felt after shopping or a matinee, I know of nothing better than a visit to Mrs. Rainford's cosy consulting rooms, which are situated in the heart of Bond Street. "The Mecca of Shoppers."

SKILFUL, SCIENTIFIC, AND PAINLESS TREATMENTS. LATEST HYGIENIC METHODS, CERTAIN CURE.

FRECKLE CREAM 2s. per pot.
BATH CRYSTALS (Highly Scented) 3s. bottle, 12 ozs.
All Preparations Specially Prepared. Consultations and Advice Free.

Mrs. VIOLET RAINFORD
33, OLD BOND STREET, W.

PRICE LIST FREE. Phone: 2480 GERRARD.
AFTERNOON TEA SERVED TO CLIENTS.

"REALM" SHOES

117 Sizes, Shapes and Fittings

12/9



For people who desire inexpensive Shoes that fit the feet much better than the expensive made-to-order ones.

These Shoes are sold at least 25 per cent. cheaper than any other similar Shoes in the Metropolis.

They are so neat and dainty, and so well made of such good materials, that they are absolutely comfortable, and will be found to stand any amount of hard wear.

LILLEY & SKINNER, LTD.

75 Branches in London

If you do not know the nearest branch, write to Paddington Green, W.

DERRY & TOMS, Kensington High Street, w.

CHINA and GLASS DEPT.



Tea Service (for 6 persons), 14/11.



COLOURED REPRODUCTION OF EARLY WORCESTER.

LIST OF PRICES AND ARTICLES MADE IN THIS MOST INTERESTING DESIGN.

	Dozen.
Coffee Cups and Saucers ...	8/9
Tea Cups and Saucers ...	12/9
Tea Plates	7/9
Dessert Plates	12/9
	Each.
Dessert Dishes	1/9
Salad Bowls	2/-
Early Morning Set ..	8/11
Luncheon Trays ...	2/6 and 2/11
Round Fern Pots	-/10
Square ,,	2/3
Flower Pots... ..	2/11 to 8/11
Toilet Trays... ..	2/- and 2/6
Bon-Bon Boxes	1/-, 1/6, 2/-
Hatpin Stands	1/-
Candlesticks... ..	1/- and 2/-
Flower Vases, Spill Shape, 7 in. high	1/3
Other Sizes and Shapes	2/- to 10/6



Coffee Service, China Tray, 11/9.

BEAUTIFUL . . . NATURAL COLOURS

on artistic shapes, with enamelled Dark Green Edge.

THE DESIGN AND SHAPES

are taken from a period that is greatly sought after by connoisseurs.

A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY

of securing real China of a HIGH-CLASS STYLE at most reasonable prices.

SPECIAL SHOW

during this week.



Dessert Service (for 12 persons), 21/9.