

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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## DEDICATION.

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

## THE OUTLOOK.

We wish all our readers a happy Christmas and a pleasant holiday; we know the good news of the release from Holloway of the leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union will fill their hearts with joy, and will gladden this great time of the year for all of them. We have pleasure in presenting to them speeches of Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be printed verbatim.

### Events of Tuesday.

On Tuesday morning the breakfast which had been long looked forward to was held in the Inns of Court Hotel. Every available seat had been taken long beforehand, and many of those who wished to be present had had to be refused admittance. A great and lofty tone permeated the whole proceedings, and everyone who was present went away with a feeling of deep reverence and respect for those who had suffered so much for the cause. A full account of the breakfast and also of the great procession through the streets which followed is given on pages 217-219. In the evening as this paper went to press, a great meeting was held in the Queen's Hall, a description of which will be given in next week's issue, when the speeches of Christabel Pankhurst will be printed verbatim.

### Pulling Down the Grille.

The Select Committee appointed to consider the question of admission of strangers to the House of Commons have pre-

sented their report. The most interesting feature of their proposals is that they suggest in future that women, if accompanied by men, shall be admitted to the open gallery which hitherto has been reserved for men only. If the Speaker carries out this recommendation, this will mean that the grille incident has effected one important purpose, and removed the humiliating conditions under which a woman could watch the proceeding in the House. The second recommendation is that every visitor shall be obliged to sign a paper giving an undertaking of good behaviour. We regard regulations of this kind as wholly improper. We do not consider it right that people should be asked to bind themselves in this way by pledges, which place upon the conscientious an obligation which those whose outlook is less rigorous do not consider binding. As to the third suggestion which the Committee make, namely, that a Bill should be brought in to make "brawling in the House of Commons" a police-court offence, we cannot but be amused that the action of a few women has so frightened the legislators of the country. Members of Parliament can rest assured that if this Bill be carried into law, women who have faced imprisonment for other causes will not be deterred by it from effecting their purpose, and calling attention to the fact that they are outside the constitution.

### Arrests at Liverpool.

Two women were arrested at Liverpool for the part that they played in speaking outside Mr. Lloyd George's meeting at the Sun Hall, on Monday, the 21st., Miss Patricia Woodlock and Miss Tolson. They were brought before the magistrate on Tuesday morning but were discharged. With a view of escaping from the attentions of the suffragettes, Mr. Lloyd George had decreed that no women at all were to be allowed inside the building, but we are glad to hear that even inside the question of votes for women was not entirely left out of account. When Mr. Lloyd George said that the action of the House of Lords was driving them beyond constitutional methods, a man called out, "In the same way that your action has driven women to use unconstitutional methods," and the interrupter was thrown out of the meeting. The women outside made a vigorous protest in various ways, an account of which will be found on page 214.

### Panic Legislation.

When we wrote last week of the Bill introduced by Lord Robert Cecil with regard to public meetings we had little expectation that it was likely to be carried into law, but the House of Commons was evidently in a panic, and passed the Bill through all its stages in the course of two sittings of a few minutes each, and, after further amendment at the hands of the Lords, it again passed through the Commons with a brief discussion. The amusing feature of this Bill is that it is supposed to be directed against the suffragettes, and members of the Liberal Government are under the impression that they have done themselves a good turn by enabling this Bill to be carried. Quite the contrary, however, is the case. While suffragettes will be protected at their meetings from the rowdy hooliganism which has occasionally disgraced the proceedings, such as the throwing of chemicals about the room, ringing of bells, the blowing of whistles, and the like, it is very doubtful whether the calm interjections of the suffragettes will in any case come within the meaning of the Act; but even if they do, we fancy that Cabinet Ministers will find they get the worst of an encounter with the women in endeavouring to put its provisions into effect. On the other hand, many a politician whose agent adopts the common practices at a by-election will find himself sorely injured by this Act, and will rue the day, when, in an attempt to strike at the suffragettes, he sanctioned its passage into law.

### Other Important Events of the Week.

Among the important events of the week have been the interesting opening At Home given by the Actresses Woman's Suffrage League, which includes many of the best known names of women on the stage. Owing to the death of Sir Philip Muntz, there will shortly be a by-election in Tamworth. Mrs. Drummond, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Gladice Keevil, and other members of the W.S.P.U. are expected in the constituency.

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

With the great meeting held in the Queen's Hall as we went to press on Tuesday last the London programme for the year 1908 came to an end, but one or two meetings are still to be held in different parts of the country, particulars of which will be seen by a glance at the programme of events in the next column.

#### At Homes in the New Year.

Early in the New Year the series of At Homes which have drawn such large numbers of people to listen to speeches from members of the Women's Social and Political Union will be recommenced. The first of the At Homes for the New Year in London will be held on Thursday evening, January 7, from 8 to 10 in the St. James's Hall. Christabel Pankhurst will speak, and the chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Admission is free, but there will be a certain number of reserved seats at 2s. 6d. and 1s. Similar meetings will be held in the St. James's Hall every Thursday evening except January 14. The other At Homes in various parts of the country commence about the same date, particulars of which will be found in the Country Campaign Notes on pages 220 and 221.

#### At Homes in the Queen's Hall.

The first of the Monday afternoon At Homes from 3 to 5 in the Queen's Hall will be held on Monday afternoon, January 11. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Pankhurst will both speak. Admission will be free, but a certain number of seats will be reserved at 2s. 6d. in the stalls, and the whole of the dress circle will be charged for at 1s.

#### Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst.

Owing to the release of Mrs. Pankhurst before Christmas, the breakfast planned for January 9, the date on which she was expected to be released, has, of course, been abandoned, and also the meeting on the same evening in the Queen's Hall. Instead it has been decided to hold a special meeting in the Queen's Hall on Thursday, January 14, at which the presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst will be made. On the same occasion a presentation will also be made to Mrs. Leigh. Mrs. Pankhurst's presentation is a chain and pendant of amethysts, pearls, and emeralds, wrought in gold by a special expert in artistic jewellery, and is very beautiful. The committee feel sure that it will satisfy even the members and friends who feel that nothing is beautiful enough to express the thoughts and feelings that they have about the founder of the Union. On this occasion the whole of the hall will be charged for, prices 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. Tickets can be obtained of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., or from the box-office, Queen's Hall. This meeting will supersede the ordinary Thursday evening weekly At Home in the St. James's Hall on that date.

#### Lectures in the New Year.

The programme of lectures for the New Year has been modified. Instead of the lectures mentioned a few weeks ago, it has been decided to retain two only. Miss Chrystal Macmillan, who recently fought the case of the Scottish graduates in the House of Lords, has kindly consented to lecture on Tuesday, February 16, and Elizabeth Robins, whom we are always delighted to listen to, will lecture on February 23. Tickets will be issued shortly, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. The lectures will be in the St. James's Hall.

#### "Votes for Women" Bound Volume.

So great has been the demand for the bound volumes of VOTES FOR WOMEN that the whole of the original number have been sold, and also all but five of the twenty-five further volumes which were bound after reprinting the issue of January, 1908. After these are sold the issue for December, 1907, will have to be reprinted and the price raised to 15s. This will enable a further twenty-five volumes to be bound. If after these are exhausted there is still a further demand, other issues will have to be reprinted, and the price still further increased in order to cover the necessary outlay. Orders, therefore, should be sent at once to the publisher, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Readers who have copies of any of the issues prior to August are asked to send them at once to the publisher, to make up sets for binding. Full price will be paid for copies in good preservation.

#### Exhibition at the Princes' Skating Rink.

Arrangements are proceeding for the great exhibition which is to be held by the N.W.S.P.U. from Monday, May 17, to Saturday, May 22, in the Princes' Skating Rink, Knightsbridge. All information with regard to the same can be obtained from the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### By-Election Policy.

The Woman's Press are issuing a new penny pamphlet, "The By-Election Policy of the Women's Social and Political Union," by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. This contains not only a description of the policy adopted at the by-elections, but a very large number of extracts from the newspapers showing the effective nature of the women's work.

#### A New Calendar.

A new and very attractive calendar, with a portrait of Christabel Pankhurst, printed in colour, surrounded by the flags of the Union, the whole printed in purple and green, has been prepared as a special souvenir, and is on sale, price 1s. The Shelley calendar is out of print.

### THANKS.

Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Pankhurst thank all those friends who have so kindly sent them greetings and congratulations on their release. They have received so many letters that it is quite impossible to reply to them all personally, and they hope their friends will allow them to convey their thanks through the pages of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and receive from them Christmas and New Year greetings in return.

### PROGRAMME OF EVENTS. Up to January 28.

Dec. 26	Manchester, 164, Oxford Road	"Votes" Corps 11 a.m., 1 p.m.	6.30 p.m.
Sun. 27	Portsmouth	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	
Jan. 2	Manchester, 164, Oxford Road	"Votes" Corps 11 a.m., 1 p.m.	6.30 p.m.
Sun. 3	Walken I.L.P.	Miss Dora Marsden, B.A.	
Wed. 6	Manchester, Members' Meeting, 164, Oxford Road	..	8 p.m.
Thur. 7	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street, W.	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
Fri. 8	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
Sun. 10	Brixton, Raleigh College Hall	Miss Joachim	11 a.m.
Mon. 11	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
Wed. 13	Bolton, Wood Street Social Club	Dr. Letitia Fairfield	8 p.m.
Thur. 14	London, Public Meeting, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst Mrs. Leigh	8 p.m.
Fri. 15	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8-10 p.m.
Mon. 18	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3-5 p.m.
Tues. 19	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Thur. 21	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Miss Christiabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Mon. 25	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
Thur. 28	Leicester, Corn Exchange	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Gt. Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst and others	8 p.m.

### IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

1909	Princes' Skating Rink	Exhibition
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### WOMEN AND JUDGE-MADE LAW.

DEAR SIR,—The judgment in the case of the Scottish Women Graduates and their claim to vote at a Parliamentary election, delivered by the Lord Chancellor, and concurred in by the other Law Lords present on Thursday, the 10th inst., is but the latest of several judicial decisions which, during the past half-century, have restricted or destroyed the earlier rights of women.

Before November 9, 1868, there does not appear to have been a solitary decision of the Law Courts adverse to the exercise by women of public functions or of electoral rights with relation to such functions or offices, nor a single disqualifying resolution of the House of Commons, whilst there existed many precedents of the existence and exercise of such rights. It appears, further, that whenever the question had been raised in the Law Courts, the decision had upheld the constitutional and common-law rights of women. The only legal statement to the contrary was a mere dictum of Lord Coke, to which Lord Loreburn refers in his judgment as though it settled the question. Lord Loreburn, however, did not add, as in justice to Lord Coke he should have done, that this, the only legal statement adverse to women, was simply an unsupported dictum, appearing in Coke's 4th Institute, which was not published till after his death, and had not the advantage of his final revision. Coke's actual words are as follows:—"And in many cases multitudes are bound by Acts of Parliament which are not parties to the election of knights, citizens, and burgesses, as all they that have no freehold in ancient demesne—and all women having freehold or no freehold—and men within the age of one and twenty years." Yet on this legal dictum was based the judgment, adverse to the claims of women to vote, of Lord Chief Justice Bovill, and Justices Byles, Keating, and Willes, in the case *Chorlton v. Lings*, heard on November 9, 1868, and also the judgment of the Lord Chancellor and the other Law Lords in the case of the Scottish Women Graduates.

In the case *Chorlton v. Lings* it was held that women are subject to a legal incapacity for voting at the election of Members of Parliament, and further that the word "man" in the Representation of the People Act, 1867, does not include women. Unfortunately judge-made law, however unjust and unwise it may be, becomes binding law, and remains such until it is set aside either by a decision of a superior Court or by the action of the Legislature. In the Scottish Women Graduates' case there is no higher Court to which to appeal, and therefore the appeal must be to the Legislature. Women demand from Parliament, as an act of justice already far too long delayed, the immediate enfranchisement of the mother-half of the race, and in these islands demand it, not in the interest of womanhood alone, but of the whole human race, present and future, for injustice between the sexes, such as still exists, is the very tap-root of all other injustice, and until this evil is removed humanity can never develop to its sweetest, purest, and noblest.

Yours, &c.,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLM

## HOW IT STRIKES A MERE NOVELIST.

I hope I am not an opportunist. But if an opportunist is one who, standing outside political movements, must needs judge of political methods by their results, I can claim no other title. As an opportunist for the time being, then, I want, first of all, to congratulate the Union on the success of the very tactics which, with so many of its too, too "timid critics," I deplored—before the event. The event has proved its leaders once more abundantly right, and, as I presumed privately to criticise those tactics, it is only fair to tender, in public humility, my apologies.

If anything could strengthen the faith of adherents to the Union, it would be the arguments which, if their fortune be as bad as mine, they are compelled to hear from its opponents. Bad arguments can, however, be forgiven; it is the bad animus behind the argument that is so deplorable. And yet that very animus is working for the Union, not against it.

When a nice, sensible man, your friend, tells you that if he interrupted a meeting he would be ejected with violence, whereas "we women" are merely removed with every circumstance of consideration for our charm and weakness, you can only wonder where the gentleman mislays his morning paper. But when a gentle lady, your friend, quotes with enthusiastic approval the opinion of another gentle lady that, when "we women" get the vote, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst should be disfranchised, you begin to pray that the voice of the Anti-Suffragist may be heard all over the country. Publicity will be its worst fate. If those gentle ladies will only go on repeating that sentiment they will win more members to the Union than the Union itself. They have done more towards my own private conversion than even the formidable arguments of my friend, Miss Evelyn Sharp.

So that now I have no hesitation in stating that if I were not a mere novelist I would be a Suffragette, in Holloway or out of it. As a mere novelist every selfish desire and selfish ambition is against the Suffrage. For the position of an unmarried woman novelist, earning enough to live on, cannot be improved, and may be injured, "when we get the vote." She will have to distract her mind with unpeaceful questions which have never before occupied it. She will have to receive canvassers. And I am told that the canvasser invariably calls at eleven o'clock in the morning, and is not to be deterred even by a savage dog on the doormat. Further, the advent of the political woman will be fatal to her reign. The mere novelist cannot hope to compete with the power and attraction of the political woman, "when we get the vote." Unless, indeed, she picks up a precarious livelihood by describing her and her doings.

All this was dimly borne in upon me as I sat, at the back of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, on the platform of the King's Theatre, Hammersmith, on Saturday, and heard her speak. "Our doom," I said, "is sealed."

But these terrors are only for our day and our generation. Beyond it I foresaw (sitting behind Miss Sylvia Pankhurst) a glorious time for the Mere Novelist, for the Mere Artist in every line. The coming generation will, I believe, witness a finer art, a more splendid literature than has been seen since the Elizabethan Age. At the present moment, the moment of transition, it looks as if art and literature were threatened with dreadful forms of weakness, death, and corruption. The English drama is literally a place of bones, bones that are waiting for the Spirit to breathe on them and make them live.

When in the past that Spirit has once gone to sleep, it

has only wakened in times of great national awakening. If it ever wakened before it must waken now. Art to-day is dying of the materialism of the nineteenth century, unnerved by that long period of spiritual torture, of paralysing doubt. It is dying for want of a religion, of a spiritual certainty.

The "average sensual man" is right when he fears, above all things, scepticism in his women. His fear is an unconscious witness to the fact that the women's hands hold the spiritual destinies of the country. And as Art, next to Religion, is of all things the most dependent on spiritual certainties, its future also lies, at this moment, in the hands of the women. The Nineteenth Century was an age of material cock-sureness, and of spiritual doubt. The Twentieth Century will be the age of spiritual certainty.

And this thing, this desire of all the ages, this spiritual certainty will, I believe, come through the coming revolution, by the release of long captive forces, by the breathing in among us of the Spirit of Life, the genius of enfranchised womanhood.

"When gods arrive the half-gods go"; and, no doubt, previous to their disappearance, the other geniuses will have an awful time.

May Sinclair.

### THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

One of the most encouraging signs of the awakening of women all over the country to the need for political freedom is the formation of professional women's suffrage leagues. The latest in the field is the Actresses' Franchise League, which had an enthusiastic send-off last Thursday at the Criterion, when between 300 and 400 prominent actors, actresses, and dramatists were present. The League has been founded by Mrs. Forbes-Robertson, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Simé Seruya, and Miss Adeline Bourne.

Mrs. Kendal is the President, and the vice-presidents are Miss Violet Vanbrugh, Miss Gertrude Elliott, Mrs. Langtry, Miss Irene Vanbrugh, Miss Eva Moore, Madame Marie Brema, and Madame Lucette Ryley. A Committee has been formed for one year, of which the following are the members:—Miss Granville, Miss Edith Craig, Miss Winifred Mayo, Miss Bessie Hatton, Miss Simé Seruya, Miss Tita Brand, Miss May Martyn, Miss Beatrice Forbes-Robertson, and Miss Adeline Bourne. Among the members already enrolled are Miss Ellen Terry, Miss Fanny Brough, Miss Decima Moore, Miss Lilian Braithwaite, Miss Compton, Miss Mouillot, Miss Violet Hunt, Miss Cicely Hamilton, and Miss Christine Silver. The hon. secretary is Miss Adeline Bourne, of 19, Overstrand-mansions, Battersea Park, S.W. Green and pink have been chosen as the League's colours.

In the absence of Mrs. Kendal, the chair was taken by Mr. Forbes-Robertson, who read letters and telegrams from, among others, Madame Sarah Grand, Mr. George Alexander, Mr. Pinero, Mr. J. K. Jerome, Mr. Henry Neville, and Miss Gertrude Kingston, and stated he had been an enthusiastic suffragist from childhood.

Miss Evelyn Sharp, dealing in an eminently practical speech with industrial problems, pointed out the effect that political enfranchisement would have on women's work and wages. Working women would never be able to improve their industrial position until they could back their Unions by a Parliamentary vote.

Mr. J. T. Grein, Madame Lucette Ryley, and Miss Cicely Hamilton warmly supported the League. Miss Eva Moore, in asking for contributions to the exchequer, said that the members would persevere and hope to win, and in support of the movement would give the eagerness of youth as well as the experience of the weight of years. Nearly £23 was subscribed.

The resolution, passed with one dissentient, ran:—

That this meeting of actresses calls upon the Government immediately to extend the franchise to women; that women claim the franchise as a necessary protection for the workers under modern industrial conditions, and maintain that by their labour they have earned the right to this defence.

## AN OPEN LETTER.

TO MRS. AND MISS PANKHURST IN HOLLOWAY.

Ladies of Holloway:—What a world of difference must divide a letter addressed to those within a prison from one addressed thence to those without! And yet how full of interest in their different ways must both be to the recipients. To us here your life of stagnation, or hard physical discomfort and pain, of deadening routine conducted by cast-iron rules, has this great interest—that it is the elaborately conceived product of the highest legal and administrative authority in this land for the remedying of the weakness, or the breaking down of the strength of those whom the State takes absolutely into its keeping for a given number of weeks, months, or years. Here, by law, the State is given the utmost control possible over the souls and bodies of those who are brought to the ground in the machinery of its great mill. That control is exercised at very considerable cost to the community—not only in money, but in the lives of those whom it employs as warders, overseers, and chaplains—making them by that employment either better or worse men and women than they would otherwise have been. And from all this vast and complicated system, this enormous hold on individual lives, what manufactured good is sent back to the community out of the raw, or waste, or wantonly misused material which it takes in? There we see the power—absolute so far as material power can go. Does the application of that power result in waste or in profit to humanity? Does it send back to the world spirits cowed, broken, or made stubborn—or spirits renewed and softened? It is such questions which make what you can tell us of prison-life so full of concern and interest to those outside.

What is prison doing for you now—you who have gone there willingly in order to expose what you believe to be a wrong? Is your imprisonment teaching you that you have made a mistake, or inducing you to turn from the course on which you set out, or is it making you more sure than ever that what you did was right, and the need pressing and great? Is it making your friends and fellow-workers think that you were wrong? And, lastly, is it making your opponents any the more sure that they are right in so treating you? Surely in this you within your prison and we without have common knowledge, and know which of these things it is doing, and which it is not doing! And we know that what it is doing is exactly the opposite of what was aimed at by those who sent you there—if their aim was, indeed, anything more than a desire for vengeance and a wish to inflict pain. And we know, therefore, that it is, by contraries, doing a quite unexpected and unintended good.

No, not unexpected, and not unintended, for where others were blind you saw clearly. You saw that unjust scorn and mockery and malice are the things which last but a short time in the human heart, that they grow stale and wear themselves out with use and repetition; and so you knew quite well that these things, which were strong against you at the beginning, would grow weaker at the end. You saw also that loyalty and trust and affection were the long-lasting things which would endure and grow stronger with each day that your imprisonment lasted. And so you took hold of this great wasteful and extravagant prison system of ours, which is daily throwing back upon the community souls and bodies more crushed and brutalised than when they came to it, and put it suddenly to a new and economic use, for the good, not of yourselves, but of others. You cannot extract good from it for yourselves any more than a man can get bread and nourishment from a stone; but you can, and you have, exposed the weakness, the wastefulness, and the wantonness of its application to human flesh and blood. And in thus awakening the consciences of men with regard to our prison system you and others with you have done a great and conspicuous service to the State. Even if the cause for which you are fighting were a mistaken one, that side result must now surely be recognised by opponents, as well as friends, as clear gain.

Well, so I read to myself the letter from prison which you have written without words, yet so that all may read. And to you in prison what can I write from without that will be worth your hearing and caring about? Just now what strikes me most as regards the women's movement is this—that for some strange reason or another the people who keep their

tempers, and are cheery and confident, are these outrageous Suffragettes, whom half the world, with a growing strain on its narrow vocabulary, is still loading with abuse, while those who have lost their tempers, and appear unenthusiastic and depressed after their triumphant display of physical force, are those who, with their wild and whirling stewards, specially organised to discountenance deeds of violence, have, in the old approved style, been dealing as battle-dore to shuttlecocks with the women who dared to pass commentary on the "bald and unconvincing narrative" of a Cabinet Minister. And surely there is reason enough for both moods, for following upon this last "disgraceful set-back to the movement," a new and decorous society for Women's Suffrage has fluttered into life, that never even tapped upon the shell before! And when, at its mild and dove-like broodings preparatory to first flight, a voice was raised in reproof of "militancy," straightway the voice was hushed down and refused a hearing; for these dove-like ones, albeit they promise nothing but "constitutional" action, know what mother-warmth has hatched them into life, and are not prepared to turn at once and disown their origin. And meanwhile other tappings are heard upon other shells—shells that bear at present no Suffragist label whatever—and yet the tapping grows louder and stronger and more insistent. And all these, we must believe, are so many signs of "set-back" to the cause you have at heart—a set-back so persistent and extensive that I begin to think it will carry us back over the year of the first Reform Bill, when women were for the first time disenfranchised in actual terms—until it comes about that, by a set-back of over seventy years, "militancy" brings us at last, not forward, but backward, to the triumphant re-assertion of that political freedom for women which you maintain to be a constitutional and historical right.

Ever yours faithfully,

Laurence Housman.

December 18, 1908.

## AN ECHO OF MID-ESSEX.

Mr. J. E. Dobson, secretary of the National Democratic League, has written to the editor of *The Nation* on the influence of women at by-elections as follows:—

SIR,—A considerable experience of recent by-elections enables me to supply the following information, which may be useful to the Liberal leaders in deciding what course they should adopt in the present political crisis. The more facts they have at their disposal the more likely they should be to come to a wise decision.

Up to and including the Newcastle election, when Tariff Reform as a cure for unemployment was the deciding factor, the opinion was general that the influence on the electors of the militant Suffragist agitation was insignificant. But this certainly was not the fact at Mid-Essex, where the effect of their very energetic propaganda was undoubtedly considerable. In the villages the novelty of their methods and the natural curiosity of the inhabitants rendered simultaneous Liberal meetings utterly impossible. When we were unfortunate enough to be brought into competition with them we had to wait the termination of their eloquence and then address a more or less hostile gathering. The matter of their speeches must also have appealed strongly to the unsophisticated villagers. They painted lurid pictures of the sweating of country girls in London drapery stores, tea shops, &c., who were driven on the streets to supplement their meagre wages of 5s. and 6s. per week. It was stated to be a not unusual practice for managers of business houses where the "living-in" system obtained to supply the girls with latch-keys to enable them by immoral practices to secure the sufficiency of food and clothes their daily labour ought to have provided. These social evils were, of course, to be remedied when women had got votes, and, in the meantime, "Vote against the Liberal." Naturally, statements of this character appealed strongly to the average elector, and there can be no doubt that many votes were influenced thereby.

Again, the women held dinner-hour meetings at each of the principal works in Chelmsford regularly for some days before the poll, thus effectually blocking the Free Trade speakers, who were not allowed by the audiences to compete with the Suffragists, they, by the way, using all their sex privileges on such occasions, the hard-working Free Traders being compelled to seek casual audiences at street corners.

## QUEEN'S HALL, DECEMBER 17.

The final meeting in the autumn campaign took place at Queen's Hall on Thursday evening (17th), when the speakers were Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (in the chair), Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, and Miss Gladice Keevil. The meeting was one of the most enthusiastic gatherings yet held; rounds of cheering and applause broke from all over the hall at frequent intervals; each of the speakers, on rising, was greeted with cheers, and special cheers were called for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for her leadership of the W.S.P.U. during the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst.

The following resolution was put from the chair, the audience rising and carrying the resolution three times shouting "Shame!" upon the Government, followed by three cheers for Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh:—

This meeting expresses its indignation that the Government have kept Mrs. Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh for all these weeks in prison, and have allowed them to be treated as second-class offenders. It calls for their immediate release.

After referring to the joyous occasion of the coming Tuesday, Mrs. Lawrence continued:—"I want just to take this opportunity of thanking you all, dear friends and members of this Union, for the way in which you have carried out the very last injunction and request of Mrs. Pankhurst and her daughter, and for the splendid way in which you have stood by that one whom they left as their representative. (Cheers.) Friends, the responsibility was a very great one, and the work that had to be done was very strenuous work, but you have made it so easy, you have made it so happy, that I think the leaders of this Women's Social and Political Union are to be most greatly envied. There is an easy and a light and a happy task, indeed. This is the kind of work in which there never comes any weariness, this is the work in which there never comes any reaction or depression. As we move along, we feel, though we haven't time to talk very much about it, the close bond of union that unites us all, and we feel how much we have in common. Friends, is it not true? Life is ten times, nay, a hundred times richer in love, in friendship, in fellowship, since we joined this movement." (Cheers.)

After a brief review of the work of the W.S.P.U. during 1908, Mrs. Lawrence continued:—"Well, friends, there is no diminution in our energy, is there? (No! no!) We had the grandest protest meeting that we have ever had in the Albert Hall a few days ago. People were very cross with us about that, you know, but I will give you a little hint. Whenever people are angry with you, and saying all kinds of severe things about you, then rejoice and be exceeding glad, because that is the time when you are hitting hardest, and doing most damage to the enemy. I am very glad that the women who are in this hall to-night have learnt the political lesson which women all over the country have yet to learn, and that you have got to teach them, and it is this, that they must always play up to their leaders. (Hear, hear.) I am not surprised that women do not understand the game of politics, because, you see, they have not been allowed to play it, but they are beginning to understand it. We must pay no attention whatever to what our critics say, we must keep our eye on our captain; we must learn to play the game as all other people who have ever won a great cause have played it. Yes, they did not like the Albert Hall meeting. I will tell you what it reminded me of. There is a little ditty that we used to sing in the nursery about Mrs. Bond and her dilly-ducks, in which her man comes back to her and says, 'I have been to the ducks that are swimming in the pond, and they won't come to be killed, Oh, Mrs. Bond.' I cried, 'Dilly, dilly, come and be killed, for you must be stuffed and our customers filled.' Now that is what Mr. Lloyd George has said. (Laughter.) You know they have got enough geese in the larder, but they want the ducks in the pond as well, and Mr. Lloyd George was sent as an emissary of the Liberal party to call 'Dilly, dilly, come and be killed,' but the women of the Women's Social and Political Union were not having any, and they are swimming merrily about in the pond to-day, thanks to the sagacity and the caution of their leaders. People say to us, 'The time has come to drop this militant action.' (Cries of 'No!') We say, No! Why, if we dropped this militant action, in six months this movement would be dead. The meetings that other people have held good only because there is an advance guard. If we were to drop our arms neither our meetings nor any other meetings would be of any account, and the movement would dwindle and decline, as it did when women abandoned the battle in the year 1884. No, we are going on; we have not got the vote yet, but we have done something which is very nearly as good this year, we have built up a great united women's party—(hear, hear)—and as we meet here to-night, we see the vote within measurable distance. Perhaps it was better so; perhaps it would have been more difficult to build up a great independent women's party if we had got the vote at once. Be that as it may, we are going forward into the new year with our hearts full of hope, purpose,

and resolution. We have chosen our new year's motto, 'Never to fail, nor to falter, nor repent.' And in this spirit we go forward without the smallest or the faintest doubt that victory very soon will crown our efforts."

Miss Annie Kenney moved the following resolution:—

That the supreme issue before the country to-day is not the veto on the House of Lords, but the Enfranchisement of Women, and this meeting warns the Government that unless they are prepared to include Woman Suffrage among the projects announced in the next King's Speech, women will adopt militant methods of greater vigour and on a more extensive scale during 1909 than ever before.

This resolution, said Miss Kenney, meant business. The days of resolutions expressing approval of woman suffrage were gone by for ever; women were now in favour of the vote, and they meant to get it. (Hear, hear.) The resolution expressed a great truth, for the woman's movement was the only political movement in the country to-day that had a great following behind it. (Hear, hear.) No other political party could rouse such enthusiasm and earnestness. Referring to the astonishing change in public opinion during the past few months, Miss Kenney told her audience that just three years ago, on Christmas Eve, women sang carols in the streets of Manchester in order to earn enough money to buy tickets for a Cabinet Minister's meeting, and after singing all the evening they earned 4s. 9d. This great revival was due to those two women in Holloway Gaol; they had taught women not only self-respect, but they had brought home to women by their own self-denial the sense of responsibility for the lives of other human beings. (Hear, hear.) This lesson was going to bear fruit during the next few months. The battle would, she believed, be short, but it would be hard, and there was never a moment when loyalty to the leaders of the W.S.P.U. was of greater necessity and importance than at the present time. (Cheers.)

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, in seconding the resolution, said that by whatever standard it was judged, the supreme issue before the country was proved to be woman suffrage. While the W.S.P.U. had held from 5,000 to 6,000 meetings during the year, how many meetings had been held on the subject of the House of Lords campaign? (Laughter.) How much money had been put down by the public for that issue? Or, to take a criterion which perhaps the Liberal Government would not care to be reminded of, what part had it played in the by-elections? (Hear, hear.) On the other hand, whenever a by-election had taken place there had been the active propaganda of the W.S.P.U. They had had it stated, even by the hostile Press, not only that the woman's question had been the predominating one, but that it had turned a very large number of votes from the Liberal candidate.

Turning to the Reform Bill, Mr. Lawrence said it reminded him of the story of a mean man who, wishing to give his friend an inexpensive present, visited a sculptor and asked the price of a broken statue. He was told that, being of no use to the sculptor, he could have it for a few shillings. The bargain was struck, and directions given that the statue should be sent direct to the friend, who was to imagine that it had been broken in transit. The sculptor, however, spoilt the effect by wrapping up each piece separately. The Reform Bill was never intended to pass the House of Lords, but the Liberal leaders thought that this broken gift would take in the women; the Liberal Press, however, had given it away by letting out the fact that the Bill was never expected to become law.

Miss Gladice Keevil said the leaders of the movement were trying to bring home to the people of the country the fact that the woman's point of view and the woman's ideals were as necessary for the welfare of the race as those of the men. In the deputation to the Prime Minister on the subject of the Reform Bill it was said that the finer point of view of the minority was necessary before a just estimate of the views of the country could be arrived at, but before this finer point of view was possible women must be given the opportunity of expressing their views. (Hear, hear.) Lord William Cecil, in accounting for recent rapid changes of party feeling in the country, had described the electors as suffering from political toothache; when one party was out of favour the pain occurred on one side of the face, when the other displeased them the pain shifted its position. Women were suffering from political toothache all round! (Hear, hear, and laughter.) Woman was always told she was the eternal unsolvable problem, and in the North of Egypt there was a figure with a woman's face representing this idea; yet men tried to legislate for women. In all ages woman had appeared to men under different guises—sometimes as a superior animal, sometimes as an angel, or, again, as a creature without a soul. It had been reserved for the present century to mingle all these ideas in the most curious way that it was possible to conceive. Mr. Lewis Harcourt himself had urged that women's help should be sought for canvassing at elections, but, he added, "do not on any account let them speak on political platforms, for they are sure to ask for Woman Suffrage."

## HECKLING CABINET MINISTERS.

### Mr. Haldane at Westminster.

Mr. Haldane, who was present at the distribution of prizes to the Civil Service Rifles, at Caxton Hall, on Wednesday, December 16th, was asked by a woman at the back of the hall, "Mr. Haldane, when are you going to put your principles into practice?" She was immediately ejected, Mr. Haldane remarking that he had no doubt that if another such "little incident" should occur the mobilising arrangements of the battalion would enable it to be dealt with swiftly, surely, and silently.

### Mr. Lloyd George at Liverpool.

Since his experience at the Albert Hall a new terror has come into Mr. Lloyd George's life—the fear of the Suffragette. On Monday (December 21) he went to Liverpool to deliver his much-talked-of speech on the House of Lords. The precautions to keep the women out of the meeting were, as described by the *Daily Dispatch*, quoted below, quite ludicrous. Even the wives of Liberal stewards were excluded, the money they had paid for tickets being refunded. From eight o'clock in the morning police were in attendance, to make sure that no Suffragette had managed to secrete herself in the Sun Hall, and orders were given that the hall should be searched in every nook and cranny, in case a Suffragette, remaining after the Evangelistic service on Sunday evening, should have hidden herself in some corner.

There were no Suffragettes in the hall. A very effective protest meeting was held outside, and the women were greatly encouraged in their protest by the friendly and sympathetic attitude of the Liverpool men. A handbill had been issued on the previous Friday, inviting the men and women of Liverpool to come and help the Suffragettes to protest against the refusal of Mr. Lloyd George and his colleagues in the Cabinet to give facilities for the passing of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and meetings were held on Saturday and Sunday with the same object in view, when a very large number of people signified their intention of being outside the Sun Hall on Monday evening to support the women.

On his arrival at Lime-street railway station the Chancellor of the Exchequer was presented with the copy of the current number of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and he was asked when he intended to put his Liberal principles into practice. A room had been taken in a house opposite the hall, and from this, speaking through a megaphone, women again questioned Mr. Lloyd George on his arrival at the hall. They also demanded that votes for women should be included in the King's Speech for the coming Session. Mr. Lloyd George took off his hat and waved it each time the megaphone message reached him, and as he entered the hall the voice continued its protest against the Government, and was plainly heard inside. In the course of his speech, Mr. Lloyd George said that if the House of Lords continued to oppose Liberal measures the people would be driven to unconstitutional methods. At this point a voice from the gallery said: "In the same way that your action has driven women to use unconstitutional methods."

At five o'clock the police had formed a cordon round Sun Hall, and very soon after the crowd had begun to gather, till by the time the meeting commenced there were about 10,000 people in the vicinity of the building. Police guarded both ends of the streets that flank the hall, while mounted police were also in attendance.

Four women, wearing the sashes of the W.S.P.U., drove in an open carriage to and fro in front of the hall in a storm of cheers, and delivered short speeches. Cheers were called for by the crowd again and again for Mrs. Pankhurst and Christabel Pankhurst. The carriage not being allowed to approach the hall, the women alighted, and, backed by the citizens, whose support was nothing short of splendid, they attempted to enter the hall, and two women, Miss Patricia Woodlock and Miss Tolson, were arrested, and taken to Prescot-street Police-station, where they were kept until the meeting was over, and then released on bail. On appearing before the magistrate on the following morning (Tuesday), they were discharged.

After the meeting Mr. Lloyd George, well muffled and protected by his friends, left the hall in a brougham, subsequently taking a taxi-cab to the Reform Club, where a banquet was given in his honour. Two women saw him as he entered the club, and again put to him the same questions.

After the arrest of the two women a meeting was held in Esher-

street, where an enormous crowd gathered, and refused to allow any traffic to break them up, listening most attentively to the women, who addressed them from the carriage. The enthusiasm aroused by the women for their cause was remarkable.

### Extract from the Press

"THE DAILY DISPATCH," December 19.

An extraordinary amount of interest has been aroused in Liverpool in the visit which Mr. Lloyd George is to pay to the city on Monday, for the purpose of addressing a meeting in Sun Hall.

In one respect, at least, the Suffragists have been good to this brilliant Welshman. They have succeeded by their tactics in bringing him before the public eye to a degree that his own accomplishments as a Parliamentarian, admittedly great as these are, would have failed to accomplish.

It is a notoriety that the right hon. gentleman does not appreciate. He would rather achieve greatness in Statecraft than have the kind of greatness that a number of ladies are determined to force upon him.

It is no exaggeration to say that Mr. Lloyd George's pronouncement recently that he would not fulfil his Liverpool engagement if ladies were to be admitted into the Sun Hall fell like a bombshell into the Liberal camp. Tickets to the gentler sex had been issued in hundreds, and as rapidly as possible arrangements had to be made by the local party organisers to get them cancelled.

This work has, it is understood, been satisfactorily accomplished, but a feeling of relief will be experienced in official quarters when the Chancellor of the Exchequer has come and gone. Little is being said, but much is being done, to make assurance doubly sure that no petticoat shall meet the frightened eye of Mr. Lloyd George when he rises on Monday night.

### Ludicrous Precautions.

The precautions that are being taken border on the ludicrous, and are affording a fund of amusement to the Suffragists who have arrived from London and elsewhere to organise their own plan of campaign. Every male applicant for a ticket has been closely scrutinised lest, by some unfortunate chance, a bold advocate of women's rights daring enough in what she regards as a good cause should don male apparel and secure a means of admission to the meeting.

But the precautions have by no means stopped at this. The Sun Hall, which will accommodate about 5,000 people, has many nooks and corners where an adventurous Suffragist could, once in the building, hide until she thought the psychological moment had arrived for her intervention. From eight o'clock on Monday morning every cranny in the great building is to be thoroughly overhauled. Not a cupboard or recess of any kind is to escape vigilant attention, and from eight o'clock in the morning until the meeting is over a strong force of police is to be on duty around the hall guarding every entrance.

Under these circumstances it is difficult to see how even the ingenuity of the militant Suffragists is to circumvent the orders of those who have declared that men only shall have the privilege of listening to the eloquence of Mr. Lloyd George. But if the organisers of the meeting imagine that all is now plain sailing they are underestimating the enthusiasm of the Suffragists and their proved power for eluding the most rigid official restrictions.

### Arrival of the Suffragists.

Miss Flatman, of London, and Miss Mary Phillips, of London, prominent and determined members of the votes for women movement, have arrived in Liverpool, and have laid their plans for making things lively.

Naturally, they are keeping their plans secret, but in conversation with a *Daily Dispatch* representative it was easy to see how full they are of determination to make things "hum" on Monday night, if not within the Sun Hall, then without it.

### TAMWORTH BY-ELECTION.

Owing to the death of Sir Philip A. Muntz, a vacancy has occurred in the Tamworth (Warwick) Division. The figures at the last election were as follows:—Sir Philip A. Muntz, Bt. (Con.), 7,561; Mr. J. Seymour Keay (Lib.), 4,842. In view of a Liberal candidate presenting himself, a vigorous campaign is being planned by the W.S.P.U., and all willing to help should communicate at once with Mrs. Drummond, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

## PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

### A Message from Pennsylvania.

The following message has been received by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence from the women suffragists of Pennsylvania through Mrs. Mary R. Newell, corresponding secretary:—"The Pennsylvania Woman Suffrage Association, in convention assembled at Norristown, November 4, 5, and 6, 1908, wishes to bid you God-speed in your noble and self-sacrificing efforts to gain for English women full political freedom. We glory in your courage and devotion, suffer with you in your temporary defeats, rejoice in your successes and in the spirit of martyrdom that has made your struggle an epoch in the battle for human liberty."

### Women Soldiers.

The parrot-cry of the Anti-Suffragists that women cannot fight has once more received a significant answer. From Persia comes the news that in the battle fought outside Tabriz on November 29, when the revolutionaries completely routed the Government forces, among 2,000 casualties were 67 women. They had fought as revolutionaries, wearing men's uniform and passing unnoticed in the ranks.

### Some Climbing Records.

Such adherents of the "physical force" doctrine as still remain should glance down the records of the Lyceum Alpine Club for the past season. Here are a few of them:—

Mrs. Bullock Workman.—Ascended two virgin peaks in the Himalayas, 18,600 ft. and 21,200 ft. high.

Miss Ada Cossey.—Ascended Mount Etna and the Riffelhorn.

Miss M. H. Fox.—In the Dolomites made traverses of Croda del Lago, Grosse Latemar, and Rothwand.

Miss Mudd.—Ascended two peaks in the West Graian Alps without guides.

Miss Nettleton.—Ascended Monte Rosa and the Furggrat.

Miss M. Taylor.—Traversed the Allalinhorn, ascended the Laquin, and crossed the Monte Moro pass to Zermatt.

Misses E. and L. Western.—Climbed the Ulrichshorn, Riffelhorn, and Grande Traversière.

Miss A. Edwards.—In the South Tyrol achieved the first ascent of Zuenng Spitze and the magnificent Mitter Egger, never before attempted from any point.

The Lyceum Alpine Club, the only one in the world which exists exclusively for women, has now 31 members, all experienced mountaineers. Among them are Mdlle. Mary Paillon, Miss K. Richardson, Miss L. Walker, Miss Lawson, Mrs. Eugene Vail, and Mrs. Aubrey le Blond, the president of the club, all known to climbers throughout the world for their intrepid work on the peaks of Europe.

### Women as M.P.'s.

Women may be elected to the Althing (Parliament) in Iceland and to the Laything, or local Parliament, in the Farøe Islands, and during the last few years they appear to have influenced legislation and debates to a considerable degree, their efforts in the former country being specially directed to the restriction of the liquor traffic and the improvement of sanitation. In debate the Icelandic women appear to be brief and to the point, and to have introduced a much-lacking element of commonsense.

### Woman Suffrage in Canada.

In reply to a question by the Women's Christian Temperance Union at Ottawa asking Sir Wilfrid Laurier whether he would support women's suffrage, the Canadian Premier's answer, which was non-committal, intimated that the question must be dealt with by provincial legislation before being considered in the Dominion Parliament.

### Women's Papers in China.

It is stated that in Pekin no fewer than nine journals are edited, composed, printed, and sold by women. Canton produces four newspapers in a like manner, Shanghai six, and Foochow three.

### American Women and School Board Elections.

The Newton (U.S.) Equal Suffrage League have addressed a letter to the Republican City Committee protesting against the manner in which they have been treated by the committee, in that the chairman (Mr. Hatfield) wrote to Miss Whiting (chairman of the League's Committee) promising to leave the matter of choosing the candidate for the School Board to an open meeting of the citizens, and to notify Miss Whiting of the date of the meeting, and then failed to do so. The meeting took place without the knowledge of the League, and Mr. Lloyd Garrison was nominated. The women of Newton, who have for months been planning a vigorous campaign in favour of their candidate, Mrs. Lucinda W. Prince, claim that the politicians promised to consider Mrs. Prince as a candidate. They are canvassing voters asking them to substitute the name of Mrs. Prince for that of Mr. Garrison. The Suffragists explain that this move is not made as a reflection upon Mr.

Garrison, but that as citizens of Newton they demand that promises made to them be fulfilled to the letter.

### A Woman Bacteriologist.

Miss E. Marion Wade, B.S., analytical chemist in the research laboratory of the General Electric Company at Schenectady, N.Y., has been appointed, by the Boston Board of Health, Bacteriologist and Chemist at the laboratory of the Health Department. Miss Wade was an Honour Graduate in Arts in the department of physical and natural science of Trinity University, Toronto, in 1894. She was subsequently assistant instructor in the Institute of Technology in sanitary chemistry under Mrs. Ellen H. Richards.

### Women Pass Severe Swimming Tests.

An examination of women members of the Bath Club for the award of the Royal Life Saving Society took place on December 16, in the Bath Hall, London, when five members passed the test for the bronze medalion and two for the proficiency certificate. Miss Mabel Johnson, who last season was awarded the bronze medalion, passed the difficult test of the society for the award of merit. This test requires the candidate, while fully clothed, to carry a person on the surface of the water a distance of 20 yards, swim a distance of 600 yards by the breast, back, and side strokes, undress on the surface of the water, dive from the surface and raise an object from the bottom of the bath dive neatly from two heights, and in addition perform three movements in scientific swimming. The severe requirements of this examination were accomplished by Miss Johnson with ease and grace, and to the entire satisfaction of the examiners.

### Women's Inventions.

At a Suffrage Bazaar held last month in New York, one of the stalls exhibited some recent inventions by women. Among these were a letter-opener which will open 400 letters per minute, the invention of Miss Marie Heilbron, head of the mail-order department in one of the largest New York stores. A rapid hand-worker with a knife opens 30 letters per minute. An odourless sanitary dustbin, a safety delivery-box for keeping food in apartment houses clean, an "individual car-strap" for crowded trams, and a waterproof flounce, which completely protects the skirts, which are placed inside it, are among other ingenious devices displayed. Above the stall was a banner which read: "Women who use these labour-saving inventions can find plenty of time to vote."

### The Varied Callings of Women.

Statistics just issued by the Labour Commissioner of Oregon show that among the 23,000 women workers in the State there are of manual workers 165 farm labourers, 25 hunters, trappers, and guides, six wagon drivers, five lumber women, five carpenters, five painters, four engineers, three electricians, three woodcutters, two tailors, two plumbers, and one blacksmith. Other women are engaged as clergy-men (45), bankers (35), bank employees (15), lawyers (10), while one is scheduled as a contractor.

### Michigan Women and Votes.

The new Constitution of Michigan, ratified last month by the voters, gives tax-paying women the right to vote upon questions involving the expenditure of public money. This is regarded as a sop to the women, who, of course, demand full suffrage. Their recent petition on the subject to the Constitutional Convention was backed by 175,000 signatures.

### 10,000 Spanish Women Acquitted.

The 10,000 Spanish women who signed a sympathetic address to a milliner named Jehusa Pajaña, who had killed her faithless lover, have been acquitted, the Public Prosecutor at Bilbao receiving scant sympathy. The local newspapers point out the futility of attempting to stifle public sentiment by public prosecution. The prosecution demanded four months' imprisonment for the woman who drew up the address, and one day's imprisonment for the signatories.

### American Nurses and the Suffrage.

The Publication Committee of the "Alumnae Magazine," the organ of the Johns Hopkins Hospital Nurses, has opened its pages to a discussion of the Woman Suffrage movement, and invites members of the Alumnae Association to express their views.

### Women in Russia.

At the Women's Congress, which was announced in our last week's issue, and which takes place in the City Hall, St. Petersburg, this week, a paper on the Woman Suffrage movement in England has, according to the *Morning Post's* St. Petersburg correspondent, been vetoed by the police.

Mdlle. Pascal, who has just been installed as assistant doctor at the lunatic asylum of Clermont de l'Oise, France, is the first woman to hold such an appointment.

The Chamber (Brussels) passed the Bill giving women the right to vote for, and be members of, joint conferences of employers and employés.

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

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegrams:—"WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (two lines).

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

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

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

### CHRISTMAS GREETINGS.

I want to send all my dear friends my very affectionate greeting and my warmest wishes for a happy Christmas and New Year. I know we shall all of us begin the New Year full of determination and hope; I am confident it will be an eventful and memorable year. It will be so, because I am sure that not one of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union will fail to do what she knows to be her duty.

Looking back at the year which is now so nearly ended, we have good reason to be proud of the work that has been done by our splendid band of women. I wish it were possible to send a personal greeting to every one of you, but that I cannot do. I want you, however, to realise my gratitude and affection for you all, and my great joy in being amongst you once again.

Emmeline Pankhurst.

To a great Teacher of the mysteries of life there once came a youth inquiring how he might win religion. The calm eyes of the Teacher seemed to penetrate the depths of the young man's soul. "Meet me," he said, "yonder by the river at the rising of the sun."

Full of wonder and of awe the young man watched at the appointed time the coming of the sage. Again he put the question of how he might win religion. Again he encountered that calm and penetrating gaze. "Let us first bathe in the waters of this great stream," said the Teacher.

Suddenly, the elder seized the youth with a strong and mighty grip, and dragged him under the surface. He struggled and fought for life, and came gasping to the top. In amazement and consternation he turned to the Teacher, only to meet once more those eyes which seemed to read his inmost thought.

"What did you want most when you were under the water?" asked the sage. "Air," replied the youth, with something like a sob. "When you want religion like that you will get it," said the Teacher, and from the quiet gaze of those eyes the young man turned away his head.

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The efficiency of our organisation, the energy, enthusiasm, and resource displayed in the votes for women campaign is a marvel and a bewilderment to the outside world.

Like the wisacres of all ages, these clever people of to-day seek the explanation of something which they cannot understand in some extraordinary theory. Possession by the devil would have served at one time. To-day "tarantism" (whatever that may mean), "hysteria," "hypnotism," are some of the theories which are called in to aid learned ignoramuses to cover their utter inability to understand the simplest laws of life and the most natural and elemental experiences of the human heart.

But the explanation of the extraordinary success of the Women's Social and Political Union is the intense sincerity of the passion for human freedom which is felt by all in the ranks of the movement.

Life is measured, not by years, but by intensity. Power is measured by the same standard. It is glorious to desire intensely. It is magnificent to strive with no thought except for the passion of our heart. To achieve is very heaven. And this is our dower. This is our inheritance. This is the great gift of abundant life which has been vouchsafed to those who are taking a part in this Woman's Movement. That is why we are the happiest people in the world.

Because we want freedom as a drowning man wants air, we shall win it for ourselves and for the generations that are to come. We mean to win it in 1909.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

I wish all readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN a Happy Christmas and a new year which shall bring the great reform towards which we are all working. We have given a good account of ourselves in 1908, and we look forward to the final triumph in 1909.

Christabel Pankhurst.

A Merry, Merry Christmas to you dear members of our great and glorious Women's Movement. How happy we shall all feel this Christmastide, knowing that the great Cause we are devoted to has once and for ever emerged from the grey sad mist which overshadowed it for so many long years, and we, like the shepherds of old, see our shining star, which is leading us to the place where rests the new-born hope for Humanity.

We have reason to be happy and joyous this Christmas, knowing that the Christ spirit has been awakened in thousands of souls, and the revival of the great universal cry for liberty against oppression is once again ringing in the air; we have reason to be glad when we think how we have awakened the great soul and mind of a people to listen to the Cause women have been pleading for so long. What a glorious time we are living in! What a wonderful year we have had! Just think! We are helping to make history. We are helping to form the national character, and the character of our women to-day is helping to mould the character of the next generation. Much depends on the private thoughts and actions of women, and we must examine ourselves to see that no selfishness, that no thoughts save pure and high ones cross our mind. We must keep this Movement pure and bright. We must give all that is best within us to this Cause, because it is not only a political Movement, but a great spiritual Movement, that will lift humanity up to higher thoughts and nobler ideals. I think each one of our members who is truly loyal to the Movement has given that time, energy, enthusiasm, money, and devotion which every noble and high ideal calls for. I think we have reason to be proud of the unwavering faith and loyalty amongst women. We have been strong of heart; firm in spirit. We have never allowed for one brief moment the shadow of opposition to cover the clear vision of victory.

And so we end the old year with a song of joy and hope in our hearts. Joy for the success of the old year; hope in the future; and the great wish of my heart is that everyone will have a very happy Christmas, drinking in the joys and beauties of life, gaining new energy, adding new life to help to win the good fight.

My tender thoughts and my best wishes are with you all.

Annie Kenney.

I believe that "Votes for Women" can be won in 1909, and because I believe this I want the greatest number possible to share in the victory. Let the mothers rally round: we want them to stand in proper legal relation to their own children. Let the wives back us up: we wish them to obtain an honourable position in marriage. Let the daughters march with us: it is for them we fight. In fact, let everybody take the latest Cabinet advice as their motto—"We will not stand it any more."

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

Supplement to "VOTES FOR WOMEN," December 24th, 1908.



Photo. by Miss Heckels.

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

(Organising Secretary National Women's Social and Political Union.)

## WELCOME!

Of all red-letter days in the W.S.P.U. calendar, Tuesday, December 22, 1908, will stand as one of the brightest and most joyous. Christabel Pankhurst was expected to be released on that morning. But the Government had decided to release the three prisoners together on Saturday evening. The added triumph of having their leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, and their comrade, Mrs. Leigh, back again had not been looked for, and the women showed their enthusiasm by prolonged and repeated outbursts of cheering.

Everything combined to give a festive air to the proceedings. The approach to the Inns of Court Hotel was crowded with spectators waiting for a glimpse of the released prisoners on their arrival; inside, the rooms in which the 500 women and men assembled were decorated with evergreens and the banners and flags of the Union and by a happy thought—the songs of birds, which trilled forth whenever the cheering was at its height, added to the gaiety of the scene. The burst of cheering which greeted the arrival of the guests of the day was tremendous, and it was renewed again and again as each of the leaders spoke in turn. On the suggestion of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in the chair, "For they are jolly good fellows" was sung with great enthusiasm, and when Mrs. Pankhurst rose to speak the audience broke into "Britons never will be slaves." Bouquets in the colours were carried by each of the ex-prisoners, and on behalf of the office staff at Clements Inn and the London organisers, Mrs. Sanders presented Christabel Pankhurst with a shower bouquet of violets and lilies of the valley.

On behalf of all present, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence expressed the joy of the W.S.P.U. in the return of their leaders and of their brave comrade Mrs. Leigh. Apart from this, there were many other causes for thankfulness. There had been no gap in the ranks, no lowering of the flag during their leaders' absence, and they could meet again without a tinge of sorrow and with absolutely unclouded joy. With regard to the Government they could only feel for them profound pity: their want of action was so unutterably silly. Indeed, the first sign of sanity which they had shown was in releasing the leaders of the movement on Saturday. Mrs. Lawrence then called upon Mrs. Pankhurst, who said:—

### Mrs. Pankhurst.

"Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, dear friends,—It is quite impossible for me to tell you all that I have in my heart and would like to say to you this morning in response to this welcome. I feel that really in some strange way I am in that place where I should have been had the original intention of the authorities been carried out to the end. Had that been done, I should a little while ago have got down from the iron railing at the head of my bed, away from the cell window, out of which I had been peering to see the procession depart along the Parkhurst-road with my daughter. I should have been sitting on the hard wooden chair in my cell by the bedside, and taking my unfinished sock in my hand, I should have begun to knit and have tried to imagine myself amongst you this morning. Well, it seems to me, standing on this chair, that that is, in some strange way, just where I am. I have felt like that ever since Saturday, and I felt, 'Well, this is a strange sort of dream, and presently I shall wake up and find myself there.' Every woman who has been in prison, I know, can understand how I feel. You know, when we were younger and had more time to read romances and ideal writings than we have now, we have been so fascinated by those stories of people who have a kind of dual personality. Well now, we women who have been to prison for votes for women have acquired a dual personality which we shall never lose. We are the women out in the open, at the meetings, speaking with fire and enthusiasm, and going to disturb Cabinet Ministers' meetings, because we know that is the only way we can get at them; and then we

are the women who spend so much of our time in that awful solitude. (A voice: 'Not for long!') No, we know it is not for long, and that is why we can bear it.

"Well, that is the reason why I cannot say all I want to say to you this morning, but I do want to say how we in prison, especially since we saw some of the papers, through the kindness of a Member of Parliament, how absorbed we have been, my daughter and I—because dear Mrs. Leigh never saw a paper, her case was harder than ours—how absorbed we have been in what you have been doing outside, and how we have followed it, and how we have been with you, and how we have realised that if we—yes, even if the worst things happened to us in prison—you women outside would go on with the work, and you would carry this cause to victory.

"You achieved a splendid triumph at a by-election while we were in prison; you went to the Albert Hall, and you told a Cabinet Minister that, however much the men of this country might be taken in by talk and favour, the women of the country were not going to be deluded. If Mr. Lloyd George wants to support the cause of Woman Suffrage, why doesn't he talk about it at men's meetings? It is too late. It is too late. The time for that sort of thing is past. Mr. Lloyd George's mission, if he is a supporter of Woman Suffrage, is not to convert the country to Woman Suffrage—that is what he ought to have done, he and other Liberal leaders, long ago—they left it to us to do it, and we have done it, and can do it better than he could. Let Mr. Lloyd George convert his colleagues in the Cabinet. He must come no more to women's meetings until he comes to tell us that we have got the vote. Well, then, last night in the Sun Hall he had his opportunity, if women would not listen to him and if women were not there to interfere with him, of telling the men when he was talking about the policy of the Government—of telling the Liberal men of Liverpool that the Liberal Government meant, before they went out of office, to put their principles into practice and give women the vote. But there wasn't a word about votes for women, and there never is a word, but there will be a word and a good many words.

"Well then, dear friends, Mrs. Lawrence said she was sorry for the Government. We are sorry for the Government, because is there anything more dreadful than to have had the most magnificent opportunity and to have wasted that opportunity! It is too late now. If they had done what we asked them at the beginning, what they ought to have done at the beginning, what they neglected to do because they thought we were weak and helpless, and could be ridiculed and crushed, because they thought we could never force them to do it; if they had done it then, they would have won the eternal gratitude of the women of this country, just as the emancipated people all over the world are grateful to those who have emancipated them, and are immortalised by that emancipation, so the Liberal Government had this opportunity, and wasted this opportunity, and so we are sorry for them. We are sorry for them, more sorry for them than I can tell, but as for ourselves, well, as Mrs. Lawrence said, we are full of hope, and joy, and courage, and we are going on. We are going to have, I think, a happy holiday this Christmas, so that everyone of us may be ready when the holiday is over to work much harder than we have ever worked before. Do not minimise the work, we have got a great deal of work to do, and we are ready to do it. When we come back from our holidays we are going to stand as women do. Is it not a glorious thing to think that women working together as women, can stand so much closer together, so much nearer to one another than men have learnt to do? We have swept away all these foolish conventions of men about women—why, some women even have believed it when they have been told that women could not work together! Now all that has gone. Now they

know what women are. We did not like it when they said it, but we said nothing, but now we have shown them it is not true. When the holidays are over we are going to stand shoulder to shoulder, and give a long pull and a strong pull; we are going to win freedom for the women of the country. We women here, and all the women outside who would be here if they could,



Photo kindly lent by the London News Agency.

rejoice. We have won our freedom ourselves, for all of our unborn daughters who will come after us and inherit the fruits of our work.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then called upon Christabel Pankhurst, who said:—

Friends:—If you are glad to see me, what do you suppose I am to see you? I think that is one of the worst things about being in prison, that you miss your friends so much that you are so anxious for the time to come when you will see them again. Well, here we are all together again, and I can tell you that during the first two or three days that you are in Holloway you have serious doubts as to whether you will ever see the outside of that prison again. You know it, but you do not feel it; but, happily, the end of the longest sentence comes, and now we are all three out again amongst you, ready to begin work once more. It is very hard, every released prisoner finds that, to say what one has in one's heart to say in thanks for the welcome you are giving to us. You know what we feel, and I am sure you will take some of it as said.

I am sure you will believe me when I say that what delights us most in the welcome you are giving to us is the

knowledge that we have that it means primarily your enthusiasm for our cause. I am rather a practical person, and sitting here I have said to myself, "This promises well for next year." It means that our good friends are not exhausted by the strenuous labours of 1908, it means that when our brief holiday is over—and one of our duties is to take a good holiday, though it may be a short one—it means that when the brief holiday is over, you will all come back again, and you will be able to carry out marching orders with more strength and vigour and enthusiasm than you have ever shown before. No, friends, it could be for no personal reasons that you would be so fired up as you are, it is the cause for which we three prisoners are standing together—the vote. It is the cause that you are cheering. It is the coming victory that you are hailing. Yes, we have gone on from height to height, from triumph to triumph; 1908 has transformed the political situation as far as our movement is concerned, it has paved the way for the great doings of the coming year. I want to say to you as a New Year's greeting: "May the New Year bring Votes for Women!" I think we must put it even stronger than that; we must say, "The New Year will bring Votes for Women!"

We are quite a family party this morning. You know, it was the first taunt that was flung in our faces—"only a family party!"—meaning, "only such a few!" Well, we are a family party, although we are a very big family. We are the biggest family in this country! There are so many children in this family that the Government doesn't know what to do. We are a family party, because everyone in this movement feels towards every other one a stronger tie than that which binds members of ordinary families together.

Now, all the eldest sisters are here, and by eldest sisters I mean our organisers, the organisers of this movement, our commanding officers from all parts of the country.

We were told yesterday of a child who was writing an essay on the woman suffrage campaign, and she said: "The Government will have to give votes to women to avert a civil war." Do you know, that child is about the cleverest person who has ever dealt with this movement at all. There is a civil war in this country; we are engaged in civil war. It is quite true we don't fire guns, we don't fight our war in the kind of brutal way that men have fought the civil wars that have rent the State in bygone times, but civil war there is. The women on the one hand, the Government on the other, are engaged in a conflict. Now, our army has its commanding officers, and they are all here to-day; they have come from the north, from the west, from the midlands, from all quarters of the country, they are here now, and I want you London members to realise how very much of the past success of our work, how very much of our hope for future success depends on the work that these organisers of ours are doing. You can't win a civil war by capturing one stronghold alone, you can't fight and win the battle in London if the Government holds every other strategic position in the country! Now here are these young Davids of ours who go out into these various provincial districts that we have mapped out for them, and when Goliath comes along—in the person of Mr. Lloyd George, or Mr. Asquith—they meet him and they overcome him. There is a very keen rivalry amongst our organisers on one point, and one point only—they all vie with one another as to who can give Cabinet Ministers the hottest time! We are going to have more of these organisers in the various districts, we are going to cover England until there is not a spot, not even in Scotland, where a Cabinet Minister can show his face.

Now, as we walked round and round the exercise-yard, we used to talk a very great deal about you all. We felt like your mothers, you know; we used to talk about our splendid children. We used to wonder at your enthusiasm and your cleverness, because, you know, they used to say women were incapable of understanding politics in the same way that men do. Why, every woman in this Union is a full-fledged and highly-trained politician. No other political party has such people in it as ours. I think women have shown for some time past that politics are as much, and perhaps even more, the province of women than that of men.

Towards the end of our sentence, as you have heard, we got the newspaper, and there we read the records of the Government. Early in the autumn Session we proposed that the Government, if they had not time otherwise for carrying our Bill, should withdraw in its favour either the Education Bill or the Licensing Bill.

Now, that was thought to be rather a foolish suggestion. Liberals said, with all possible pomposity, that, of course, these great measures could not be set aside. The country was hungering for them, and it was most childish of women to suggest that votes for women should take precedence of them. I think the event has proved that we were right, and the Government and their supporters were wrong. What we at that time suggested was eminently reasonable, possible, and right. The Education Bill and the Licensing Bill are dead, and an immense amount of public time has been wasted upon them. Our measure ought to have been dealt with in preference to this, for two reasons—in the first place, it was far more important, infinitely more; in the second place, it was far more likely to be carried.

One thing the Government have managed to do. They have managed to carry a Bill! A Bill which really institutes a political revolution in our country, a Bill which is very dangerous to our popular liberties, a Bill which no Government, no Liberal Government, ought to have carried. They have followed our bad example—they have been "rushing"! Do you know, I find that nobody can resist following our example. The Government are no exception to the rule—they have rushed this Meetings Bill through the House of Commons, in the vain and delusive hope that they are going to get a little more peace thereby.

Now, I maintain that we have the authority of Mr. Lloyd George himself for the action that we have taken at Liberal meetings. He said in Liverpool yesterday words which would well justify the action we have taken at such meetings. He said, "If people cannot get redress by constitutional means, they will be driven into making institutions intolerable," and he said, "We can do it" (speaking of Wales); "we can do it, and yet keep within the law." Now, Mr. Lloyd George evidently is a little bit afraid of getting into conflict with the law. He doesn't mind making himself a nuisance, he doesn't mind worrying other people, but he is going to save his own skin. Now, we don't feel like that. We don't mind the consequences to ourselves. I suppose it is—well, perhaps it is, his legal training, though I hope legal training does not always have that unfortunate effect! Well, you know what solicitors are—they know very well how to drive a coach-and-four through Acts of Parliament, and how to sail very near the wind! Now, Mr. Lloyd George likes to sail very near the wind, and he is quite prepared to be unconstitutional as long as he keeps clear of the law. Now, that is what we used to do in regard to these public meetings and protests. There was no law to prevent it. Some of the things we have done may have been in contravention of the law, but not at Cabinet Ministers' meetings. Well, the Government have taken good care to prevent us by law now. Our action used to be lawful, though unpleasant. They have adopted means by which it shall be both unpleasant and unlawful. Well, we shall not be deterred.

I am happy to be able to remind you, ladies, that another opportunity is about to present itself of laying the conduct of the Government before our men fellow-citizens. There is a by-election in prospect. Mrs. Drummond and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst and Miss Gladice Keevil will be very glad of your assistance in that campaign. I am sure you will find it possible to get a tremendous verdict of "GUILTY" against the Government at the election which is to come forward.

Now, I want to quote in conclusion some more words from our friend, Mr. Lloyd George. He says that "we cannot consent to accept the present humiliating conditions of legislation." Of course, he means the House of Lords, and we mean the House of Commons! Our experience is that the present House of Commons is just as bad as the House of Lords, and a good deal worse, and we have made up our minds to this—in the coming months we are going to absolutely eclipse the Government's House of Lords' campaign, and that won't be difficult, because there doesn't seem to be any House of Lords' campaign at all.

My friends, the game is in our hands. The Government are known at their own true worth. When they first came in, the public of this country had some hope of them. We had none—we knew them from the first. We were the first people to come forward and say, "These men are not what they seem. These men are playing with great principles, are exploiting them, but they have no intention of carrying them into effect." Yes, we were the very first to find them out. We knew their weakness, and now the country thinks of them as we thought of them from the first. Therefore, it is not possible that we should fail to get the better of them in the struggle which next year is to enter upon its final stage. Again I say, next year must see the political enfranchisement of the women of our country.

Mrs. Leigh said that the Government might as well try to stop the sea with pitchforks as to stop the women from going on in their fight. The Government was like an old and decrepit porter sitting in his little box in the hall, who is very indignant indeed if any of his master's guests come and require him to do anything. He turns

round and bullies them for interfering with his comfortable, sleepy condition. If the Government was too old to do its duty, it had better go. Though deprived of newspapers, she had a human newspaper every now and then in the shape of a new prisoner.

#### The Procession.

If the Government imagined that by releasing the leaders of the movement before the time they were frustrating the plans of the W.S.P.U., the events of Tuesday must have shown them their folly. Never before has there been such a demonstration of enthusiasm in London streets. From Kingsway, through Oxford-street and Regent-street, and by way of Trafalgar-square and the Strand to Clements Inn, was a triumphal progress. Cheers were called for Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst again and again by both men and women



Photo kindly lent by the London News Agency.

among the enormous crowds at various points. Along the route nearly 1,000 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold.

The procession, headed by Miss Marsh as colour-bearer, was pronounced by spectators to be the prettiest yet seen; full uniform was worn for the first time, and the outriders on their white steeds, as well as the "grooms" who attended the carriage, added greatly to the spectacular effect. As the women marched to the strains of the Marseillaise up the Strand into Kingsway, one saw over the heads of the surging crowds the waving flags carried by uniformed and non-uniformed alike (the latter behind the carriage, the former in front), the riders, wearing ordinary riding habits and regalia, and Mrs. and Miss Christabel Pankhurst on the box of the landau.

The cheers which had accompanied the procession throughout its progress culminated at Clements Inn, where the women were once more greeted by a great shout rising spontaneously from a crowd composed chiefly of men, at the Strand entrance.

## THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

### LONDON.

Our pleasure in finding that Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh were not to spend Christmas in gaol may be imagined. It was what we had hoped for, and was no surprise to us. On Sunday I and four of the organisers were driven by a friend down to Holmwood to greet Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, who had taken a late train on Saturday evening to join Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Mrs. Leigh went to her home in Camden Town.

The organisers in London have devoted themselves to preparations for the release of Christabel Pankhurst. They have been busily at work canvassing the route; and a great deal of spade-work has been done among people who hitherto had not come into personal contact with the Suffragettes. The reception of the W.S.P.U. gospel has been most encouraging, and about 150 people promised to show flags on Tuesday; while many gladly received invitation cards to the Queen's Hall At Homes when they recommence in January.

Practically the whole of London, from the City to the West-End, has been deluged with handbills announcing the meeting on Tuesday evening; women have been out on horseback, in motors and in carriages, wearing placards, and giving out handbills, and on Monday a special contingent waited outside the Houses of Parliament to hand notices of the meeting to members. Invitations were also sent by special messenger to each member of the Cabinet.

Miss Helen Ogston has had a splendid reception in Aberdeen, an account of which will be found on page 221, and Miss Mary Phillips has been in Liverpool preparing for Mr. Lloyd George's visit on Monday (see page 214).

A new development is taking place in the organisation of the London work with the beginning of the New Year. We shall open a campaign in the Home Counties on similar lines to those followed in other parts of the country. The head office will be at Clements Inn. In order to cope with the growing organisation additional rooms are being added to the fifteen already occupied by the workers at Clements Inn.

### Flora Drummond.

### WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 33, Queen's-road (opposite Art Gallery), Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

On Monday last we had a well-attended At Home in the Victoria Rooms, when Miss Mordan—a staunch worker in the Suffragist movement, and one of the very first to befriend me when I arrived in London with two pounds in my pocket to open the campaign there—addressed the meeting. Miss Mordan's speech was exceedingly amusing, as well as very instructive; and her accounts of the early days of the Suffrage movement, as well as her relation of her active share in this present campaign, showed what indomitable pluck and perseverance has been called forth in so many women. The proceedings were much enlivened by the energetic questioning—in question time—of a band of University students. They were, however, orderly and well-behaved, and the afternoon closed with much good feeling on both sides. We are holding no more meetings now until January 11th, 1909, when we commence the Monday afternoon At Homes in the Victoria Rooms.

**Plymouth and Torquay.**—Our meeting in the Bath Saloons, Torquay, on Wednesday (16th) was a grand success, every seat in the room being occupied, and many persons being turned away from the door. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's address was much enjoyed by the audience, and many converts were added to our ranks. Miss Ball has this week been the chief speaker at the Plymouth and Paignton At Homes, and gave us interesting accounts of the work done at Chelmsford by-election, and of the Albert Hall meeting on the 5th. I am forwarding our treasurer the following amounts:—Bristol: Collection, £1 4s. 5d.; tickets, Torquay meeting, £13 3s.; and collections, Plymouth and Torquay, £2 16s. 6d.; total, £17 3s. 11d. We wish all West of England workers a happy Christmas, and hope that after this holiday they will help us again in the coming year with renewed energy.

### Annie Kenney.

### LANCASHIRE.

New Manchester Central Office: 164, Oxford-road.

The removal from the celebrated office in Portland-street, where so many of the earliest W.S.P.U. schemes were hatched, was accomplished this week. The Press, duly recognising the importance of the event, published pictures showing the office before the process of dismantling had begun. Members met on Wednesday evening, under the chairmanship of Mrs. Scott, the first secretary

of the W.S.P.U. in 1903, and determined to make the new offices in Oxford-road as significant for success as the older office had been. The actual removal was effected on Saturday morning, the removal lorry being decorated with the VOTES FOR WOMEN posters of the current issue. A busy party was hard at work in the new offices all day getting things "into shape." Much help is wanted during the holidays in this respect, and teacher members have promised full-time service. We want chairs badly, and other office furniture is urgently needed. Also as office expenses are proportionately increased by this more ambitious venture, we want every member to help by collecting card or donation, to give the financial backing so necessary. Sympathisers throughout Lancashire and the district should send their donations to me now as 'Xmas presents to the new office. 'Xmas and New Year will be excellent times for this work, and members are asked to take tickets for the great meeting to all parties, dances, socials, bazaars, etc., which they may attend.

The Athenæum debate on Monday ended in a victory, and a significant one. The terms were "That the tactics of the militant Suffragists are justified." Miss Dora Marsden, B.A., and Miss Higgins, of London, led for the affirmative, and after a spirited debate won the vote by a majority of one. As the debate was on the "tactics," and the Athenæum is representative of moderate thought, the result was excellent. So many people will vote for the principle, "but you know—your tactics—!"

**Liverpool.**—Miss Mary Phillips and Miss Flatman have been conducting a vigorous campaign in Liverpool in preparation for Mr. Lloyd George's visit on Monday. The right hon. gentleman has refused to address any more audiences at which ladies are present, and the Liverpool Liberal gentlemen were told they must choose either Mr. Lloyd George or the women. At the time of writing the women are asking the electors to listen to their message outside, which at any rate we think will be a straighter message than the Cabinet Minister's.

The last At Home before 'Xmas was held on Friday, and Mrs. Duncan, Miss Kathleen Ratcliffe, and Miss Ethel Russell gave great pleasure to all in the performance of the musical programme which followed the speeches. The next At Home will take place Friday, January 8th, at the Onward Buildings, but there will be a "Members' Only" meeting on January 6th at 164, Oxford-road. Let us concentrate now on making the Free Trade Hall meeting of January 19th an initial success of the New Year's work.

The week's finance gives £1 11s. 4d., At Homes collections; H. S., 10s.; F. A. M., £1 5s.; Miss Taylor (promise card), 10s.; and the Dukinfield Liberal Association, £1 1s.; total, £4 17s. 4d.

### Mary E. Gawthorpe.

### MIDLANDS.

Office and Committee Rooms: No. 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham.

It is just three months since Miss Gladice G. Keevil came to settle down in Birmingham as the permanent National Organiser of the Midlands. Since then her weekly report in the VOTES FOR WOMEN has been both interesting and gratifying reading, and has foreshadowed results which have been achieved under her administration beyond the most sanguine expectation of the local workers. Now, therefore, that we have arrived at the conclusion of the year, and a season when everybody inclines more or less towards retrospection, it seems to me as a Birmingham member that we cannot do better than review the work accomplished in the Midlands during the last three months. But, in so doing, we must needs cast a brief survey over previous work, and mark the strong foundation of the Women's Movement in Birmingham and district which had been made by two previous national organisers, viz., Mrs. Jennie Baines and Miss Nellie Kenney (whose names will ever revive pleasant recollections) and the local committee. Since the formation of the Birmingham W.S.P.U. three large meetings in the Birmingham Town Hall, as well as innumerable indoor and outdoor meetings, have been held with great success. In February of this year Birmingham sent a deputation of women to the Caxton Hall, London, when every member was arrested and imprisoned, and from that date the number of sympathisers and supporters has daily increased, and organised by Miss Keevil, who came to Birmingham specially for the purpose, Birmingham sent a large contingent of women to the great demonstration in Hyde Park on June 21st, 1908—a day which will never be forgotten by those who attended, and which will ever remain an historical landmark in the women's struggle for political freedom and equality.

Although that demonstration greatly helped in paving the way for Miss Keevil's work of organisation, I cannot pass over the excellent work done by Dr. Helena Jones, who is second only to Miss Keevil herself. She it was who organised the open-air meetings last summer, which have accomplished such grand results,

and are not the least important item on Miss Keevil's programme; and every member in Birmingham fully appreciates the work she so splendidly helps to carry on; indeed, we feel that Birmingham is exceptionally fortunate in having Dr. Jones as a voluntary worker. As was only to be expected, the patient efforts of the local workers, the untiring zeal of preceding organisers, the growth of the agitation generally, culminating in the midsummer demonstration, could not fail to make a lasting impression, and effectively pave the way for a permanent organiser, and it is readily admitted that the most has been made of every factor in the progress of the movement in the Midlands. The first and most essential item on Miss Keevil's programme was the establishment of central offices in Birmingham, no small undertaking in itself, and it was not very long before her wishes and the Union's generally were carried into happy effect. Secondly, important At Homes were established in the City of Birmingham, and later at Edgbaston, the leading residential suburb, and it is hoped that ere long Birmingham may rival London only in the importance of these At Homes. So far as the City At Home is concerned, the second one revealed the fact that henceforward they would have to be held in a more commodious room, and accordingly a room at the Priory Rooms was engaged. The At Homes in Birmingham, discontinued for the holidays, will re-open on January 6th and 12th respectively, as announced last week. Over 100 outdoor meetings, not to mention factory-gate meetings, and three important meetings in Wolverhampton, Birmingham, and Coventry have been held since Miss Keevil took up work in the Midlands. It was a somewhat difficult task to get Wolverhampton into line, but ardent workers were never lacking there, and it may be safely said that Wolverhampton is now in order; the At Homes in this town have been most successful. Superior work has been done in Coventry and the surrounding district, also at Walsall, and Miss Keevil and Dr. Helena Jones have each addressed an open-air meeting at Stoke-on-Trent, a distance of some 46 miles away. An organiser would be especially welcome in the Potteries.

It is most gratifying to have noticed the willing response which has met Miss Keevil's appeal for helpers. A number of members take charge of the offices daily under the management of Miss B. Ryland, who has worked with real devotion since Miss Keevil's advent; this can also be said of the other workers, viz., Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Calway Mrs. Ethel Davies, Mrs. Smith, the Misses Hazel, Neale, Burkett, Noblett. Recently Miss Hazel undertook the management of a Speakers' Class, which is working very successfully. Miss Burkett and Miss Noblett are especially gifted for the advertising work, i.e., the open-air parade and the sale and distribution of literature. The work is proceeding splendidly, and already plans are well in hand for the spring campaign.

Last, but by no means least, mention must be made of the fine stimulus afforded by the ordeal which the leaders of the movement have gone through for the cause, and it is with feelings of almost unspeakable pleasure that we can pause to rest awhile, and think of all that has been done since Miss Keevil came to take such splendid command of the Women's Militant Suffrage ship. We feel that a great and prosperous time lies before us in the near future, and we heartily congratulate the leaders of the movement, wishing them all joy this Christmas.

Miss Keevil is sending to the Honorary Treasurer £1 6s., the Stafford lecture fee. Will all members and friends kindly note that all communications should be addressed to Miss Keevil at 49, Bristol-street, Birmingham; all verbal inquiries for literature, etc., should be made at the office, No. 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham.

### Elizabeth Redfern.

### NEWCASTLE.

No more At Homes will be held in Newcastle until January 6, due notice of which will be given in VOTES FOR WOMEN. In the New Year Miss Mary Phillips will organise in Newcastle, and her address will be 37, Rye-hill, till further notice. At the close of this year's work we wish to thank all those who have contributed so much to the success of the work in Newcastle and the neighbourhood, and hope that they will continue as they have begun in the coming year. The subject for the last At Home was "The Anti-Suffrage Objections Answered," and as the day before the speaker had debated with H. S. Mundahl, Esq., of Newcastle, she had the arguments fresh from an opponent. Miss Potts sang at the beginning and close of the meeting two of the Suffrage songs by Mrs. Needham. They were beautifully sung and highly appreciated and enjoyed by the audience. A debate on "Votes for Women" will be held on January 29 in Newcastle. Our organiser is invited to address a Young People's Guild at Sunderland on March 1, 1909. During the holidays Miss Brown, 4, Wentworth-place, will take charge of the newspapers. Those who want them, or any information on the work of the union, please apply to her.

**Wallsend.**—The Wallsend women's meeting will be resumed on January 8; notice will be given later in VOTES FOR WOMEN.

### Edith New.

### SCOTLAND.

Office, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

The first event for which we wish to enlist the help of our members in the New Year is a café chantant, which is to be held in the Langside Halls on January 11, in aid of the guarantee fund of £250 for the extension of Scottish work. All those who can help by selling tickets, advertising, &c., are asked if they will communicate with Mrs. Henderson, who has kindly undertaken the extra secretarial work involved. The office, where all information can be obtained, will be open every day except Christmas Day, December 26, and New Year's Day, but there will be no At Homes on December 26 and January 2. On Tuesday Mrs. John Hunter and I spoke at Dumbarton, where a public meeting had been excellently organised by Mrs. Craig and our local members. Questions and discussions proved so interesting that we only ended just in time to run for our train. A very successful meeting was also arranged by one of our members in her studio. The first At Home in the New Year will be held on January 9.

I am very glad to report that Miss Ogston had a splendid reception in her native city, Aberdeen, last Thursday. Mr. James Murray, M.P., travelled from London to take the chair, and with him on the platform were many well-known leading citizens, including Professor Ogston, the Rev. Alex. Webster, and Baillie Wilkie. Miss Ogston's speech was a triumph for the cause of votes for women, and her explanation of the dog-whip incident elicited a tumult of applause. The tickets and collection amounted to over £37.

### G. M. Conolan.



### Mrs. Jenkins Needs Exercise.

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MR. GLADSTONE INTERVIEWED.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone was questioned on Thursday last while walking from Palmer-street, Westminster, to St. James' by two members of the W.S.P.U. with regard to the treatment of the imprisoned leaders. Mr. Gladstone reiterated what he has said before, that the magistrate is the person responsible for the division in which prisoners are placed. The women, however, reminded him of his boast at Leicester on January 30th, 1907, as to his action in 1906, when through his intervention Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and others were released after serving half their term. Mr. Gladstone remarked that the second division was intended for people with respectable antecedents, to which the women replied, "But both you and Mr. Lloyd George have admitted that the Suffragettes are political offenders." They added that they could speak with knowledge at first hand of conditions in Holloway, for they had both been there, and they again insisted that political offenders ought to be placed in the first division. "If you really believe in woman suffrage," they pursued, "why don't you resign? We don't want talk; we want you to do something."

"I have not talked very much," the Home Secretary remarked, apologetically. He added that there were a great many other reforms which he cared about, and mentioned the Reform Bill. The women hastened to reply that in that they had no faith. While acknowledging that the militant tactics had brought the whole question to the front, the Home Secretary suggested, "Don't you think you have done enough?" The women replied that they intended to pursue the tactics until their object was achieved, and reminded him that women had waited 40 years for this reform. Mr. Gladstone said he did not think it would be very much longer; he thought it was coming soon. But, after all, he added, "there are a great many women against it." That, they argued, had nothing to do with a question of pure justice. Had not Mr. W. E. Gladstone himself said, in reference to the Agricultural Labourers' vote in 1884, that the labourers did not want it. . . . ("Pardon me," interposed the Home Secretary, "I remember that time, and that is not the case.") But that it mattered not whether or no the agricultural labourers wanted the vote, for their need of it gave them a title to it. "Yes," Mr. Gladstone admitted, "he did say that."

Asked whether he had received the letter sent out by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Tuke on behalf of the N.W.S.P.U. to every member of the Cabinet two days earlier, Mr. Gladstone acknowledged, after some urging, that he had received it. He added, "I must go now." The Government, they told him at parting, was in for "a very hot time" unless woman suffrage was included in the King's Speech next session; "and when that speech is drafted," they added, "please don't forget to see that it is included."

As to whether Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Pankhurst, and Mrs. Leigh were to be released before Christmas, Mr. Gladstone replied, "I think you will be satisfied about that."

THE PUBLIC MEETING BILL.

The Bill introduced by Lord Robert Cecil for making the interruptions of a public meeting a Police-court offence had a lightning passage through both Houses of Parliament, and became law on Monday last. The text of the measure as it was finally carried is as follows:—

Any person who at a lawful public meeting acts in a disorderly manner for the purpose of preventing the transaction of the business for which the meeting was called together shall be guilty of an offence, and if the offence is committed at a political meeting held in any Parliamentary constituency between the date of the issue of the writ for the return of a member of Parliament and the date on which the return or such writ is made, he shall be guilty of an illegal practice within the meaning of the Corrupt and Illegal Practices Prevention Act, 1883, and in any other case shall, on summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding £5, or to imprisonment not exceeding one month;

Any person who incites others to commit an offence under this section shall be guilty of a like offence.

No serious attempt was made at any stage of the proceedings to block the passage of the Bill. Mr. Radford suggested that the word "person" used in the text should be amplified to read "person of either sex," so as to ensure that women, as well as men, were included in its provisions; but, on hearing from the Attorney-General that women were always included, except where the exercise of a public function was concerned, he withdrew his amendment.

The Lords having somewhat increased the scope of the measure, a slight attempt was made on Saturday in the Commons to defeat it by moving that the amendments of the Lords be disagreed with. However, in a House of 74 it was decided by 61 to 13 to accept the re-drafted Bill.

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LOCAL NOTES.

Brixton W.S.P.U.—A public meeting to welcome Mrs. Tanner was held in Raleigh Hall, on Friday, December 11. The chair was taken by Mrs. Margaret Chandler, who expressed the admiration felt by Brixton members for Mrs. Tanner's work and sacrifice for the women's movement. Miss Vera Wentworth moved the resolution demanding the immediate enfranchisement of women. Mrs. Tanner upon rising to second this resolution, was received with much cheering, and was presented with a beautiful bouquet in the colours. Her speech was chiefly directed to showing how many reforms are necessary in prisons. Miss Naylor, who spoke for the first time in Brixton, dealt with Woman Suffrage from its historical aspect. She spoke with great force and conviction, and was loudly applauded. The resolution was carried unanimously. A copy of the resolution was sent to the Premier, and has since been acknowledged by him. During the singing of the "Women's Marseillaise" a collection was taken, and literature, VOTES FOR WOMEN, and badges had a good sale. Altogether this was one of the best meetings ever held in the district.

M. CHANDLER.

Edinburgh W.S.P.U.—A largely-attended At Home was held on Wednesday, December 16, when nearly every non-member present joined the Union. The sale of literature and badges amounted to £1 5s. The result of an anti-suffrage society starting in Edinburgh has had the effect of sending some ladies to us, who otherwise might not have awakened to the necessity of women having the vote.

ESSON MAULE.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—At our monthly meeting, held on Monday, we made an innovation in having men speakers only, and although the weather was very much against us our hall was filled. Each of our four speakers was allowed a quarter of an hour, and made excellent use of the time. The experiment was certainly a success, and resulted in five new names being given as sympathisers and probable helpers. The attendance of representatives of our Union at local debates now forms quite an important part of our work. The committee of the B.W.T.A. (Manor Park branch) has asked me to speak on woman's suffrage at a meeting in February.

M. G. SLEIGHT.

Hull W.S.P.U.—On December 17, 1908, the recently dissolved local committee met at 14, Welbeck-street, the occasion being a small presentation to Mrs. Scolah (late hon. treasurer). Miss Smild, in making the presentation, referred to the valuable work Mrs. Scolah had rendered to the local union during her term of office. The members (late committee) were each presented with the beautiful card, designed by Mr. Laurence Housman, as a small memento.

M. HARRISON.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—Our At Home on Wednesday, December 16, was very well attended. Two new members were enrolled. Thirty-six shilling-worth of Christmas presents in the colours of the Union were sold. Mrs. McKenzie, Miss C. D. Townshend, and myself gave accounts of the work done at the Chelmsford by-election, and of the Albert Hall demonstration. A very successful and enjoyable evening was brought to a close by several songs admirably delivered by Mrs. Florence, who has just joined our Union.

J. A. BOUVIER.

London City W.S.P.U.—We held a very successful business meeting at 4, Clements Inn, on Friday, December 11, at 8 p.m. Miss Kerr announced that the meeting in the Holborn Town Hall had resulted in a net profit of £8 19s. We are pleased to say that the London City Union has been able to hand over to the National Treasurer the sum of £25. Mrs. Keevil Turner, Mrs. Clarke, and Mrs. Nourse have formed themselves into a sub-committee for organising social evenings to be held at intervals in the coming year. The first social will take place in February, the date to be announced later. A charge of 6d. per head will be made, and will include refreshments. Another sub-committee, with Miss Berlon as secretary, has been formed to organise open-air meetings. Every member present was urged to do her utmost towards making the Million Sixpences Fund a success. We are pleased to report that the London City has upwards of 100 members, and we hope in the New Year to further augment this number. We look to our members to work hard and help us, so that at the end of the next three months we may contribute to the National Funds another £25. Our first business meeting in the New Year will be on January 8 at 7.45 p.m. Will all members try to be present, as we intend to discuss our plans for future work?

JESSIE KENNEY.

Richmond W.S.P.U.—On Monday, December 14, a very successful meeting was held at the Freemasons' Hall, Richmond. A sympathetic audience listened with appreciation to addresses delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Brackenbury, with Miss Mary Neal in the chair. A resolution in favour of votes for women was passed with few dissentients. Miss Mary Phillips worked hard in advertising the meeting for some days beforehand. On the afternoon of Tuesday, December 15, an At Home was held at Bridge House, which was well attended. The speaker was Mrs. Bates, with Miss Phillips in the chair, and, on account of the interest shown by those present, we have decided to hold monthly drawing-room meetings. Dr. Russell Grant has kindly consented to lend her drawing-room for the first meeting, to take place on January 14 next.

EDITH M. WARD.

Streatham W.S.P.U.—Owing to the interest shown in our movement at and after our public meeting held earlier in the month, we hastily arranged two semi-public meetings, held by kind permission of Miss Willson at her studio. The first, on Tuesday afternoon, was well attended, Miss Tyson and myself were the speakers. At the second, on Wednesday evening, the audience listened with much appreciation to Miss Ansell's account of her prison experiences. Miss Willson was in the chair, and spoke of the need of the vote before we could start to work for those reforms which we are all so anxious to bring about. At both meetings a keen interest was shown, both in the speeches and our movement, the result being a considerable addition to our membership list.

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STRANGERS IN THE HOUSE.

The "grille" scene in the House of Commons had a striking effect during the Session which has just terminated, in the exclusion of strangers from the public galleries. A Select Committee was appointed to report on the best method of dealing with the question. Their suggestions include the following:—

- (1) All visitors to sign an undertaking in writing not to cause a disturbance. (2) Women to be admitted, if accompanied by men, to the ordinary Strangers' Gallery, where there is no grille. (3) "Brawling" in the House to be made a Police-court offence.

The first two suggestions could be carried into effect at once by order of the Speaker, the third would require a special Bill; the Committee recommend that the galleries be closed until this Bill be passed.

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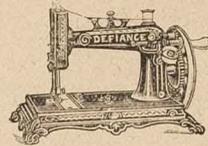
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