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# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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## MARCH 30, 1909.



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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.

Once again Mr. Asquith, protected by a posse of police, has closed the door to a deputation of women, who have been arrested and imprisoned in consequence. In doing this he has proved clearly the absolute need of women to possess the vote in order to remedy their grievances. Since he has been Prime Minister, though he has received many deputations of men, he has invariably refused to receive a deputation of women.

### Story of the Deputation.

The events which led up to the arrest and imprisonment of the women were as follows:—On Wednesday, March 24, at a great meeting at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, a resolution was passed forming a deputation to wait upon Mr. Asquith. Miss Christabel Pankhurst accordingly wrote to the Prime Minister asking him to fix a time to receive them. Mr. Asquith replied in his usual manner refusing to do so. But, in spite of this refusal, the deputation, which had since been joined by other women from other parts of the country, determined to proceed, and, taking all risks, to go to Mr. Asquith at the House of Commons on Tuesday afternoon. This they accordingly did, and, being barred by the police, eleven of them were arrested. On the following morning they

came up before the magistrate at Bow Street and were sentenced, in lieu of finding sureties, ten to one month's and one to three months' imprisonment—a term which they are now serving in Holloway. On the following day, as we went to press, a further deputation endeavoured to interview Mr. Asquith at the House of Commons, when nine women were arrested.

### The Attitude of the Electors.

Though Mr. Asquith can meet the claim of women by coercion and imprisonment, he cannot check the flow of resentment in the country, and the unprecedented defeat of the Government candidate in Croydon will bring home to him how rapidly he is losing the support of the electors. Liberals are in the habit of claiming that the Labour vote is responsible in a large measure for their defeat, but in Croydon the Labour vote was far less than at the General Election, and yet the majority against the Liberal was increased from 638 to nearly 4,000. In this defeat the women played a very large part. In the report which we give elsewhere our correspondent notes the intelligent interest that was taken by the electors in the women's position. Press extracts which we quote tell the same story, and even Mr. Raphael, the defeated Liberal candidate, was constrained to admit that his defeat in a measure was due to "outside agencies."

### No Sacrifice Too Great.

In our issue last week we referred to the hearty welcome which was given to the women prisoners who were released from Holloway on Wednesday morning, March 24. At the dinner in the evening at the Inns of Court Hotel a crowded gathering came together to listen to the speeches, which were exceptionally interesting. As one after another the prisoners related their experiences, and told how they were determined, at whatever cost, to press forward the agitation for the vote, the room rang with cheers, and everyone present felt that where these women had dared and done so much, no sacrifice could be too great and no work too arduous to be undertaken.

### Arrangements to Welcome Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Before this issue is in the hands of our readers, Miss Gye, who has worked so splendidly for the cause on many occasions, will be once more in our midst. This still leaves the leader of the deputation of February 24, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in Holloway, and we have pleasure in calling the attention of our readers to the arrangements which are being made for her welcome on Friday and Saturday, April 16 and 17, particulars of which will be found on page 503. We trust that the procession on Saturday will be enthusiastically taken up, and a fresh demonstration provided of the determination of women to win the vote.

### Women Law Agents.

One of the disabilities which women suffer under the present law is their exclusion from many important positions by which they might earn a livelihood. Among the restricted professions is that of law agent in Scotland, in the case of which it was decided by the Supreme Court in 1901 that only men were eligible. We are glad to see that a Bill is being introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Gulland to rectify this injustice, but we fear that until there are women voters to insist upon its enactment it has little chance of becoming law. We notice that two women, Miss McLaren and Miss Stuart, have just taken their LL.B. at Edinburgh University, being the first women to obtain this distinction there.

### Special Features.

Among the interesting features of this issue is the Suffragette play, written specially for this paper by Miss Beatrice Harraden, and entitled "Lady Geraldine's Speech." We take this opportunity of thanking Miss Harraden for presenting us with this most interesting comedietta, which we are sure will be of the greatest interest to our readers. Mr. Pearce kindly contributes a cartoon dealing with the deputation, and also a special cartoon on the Croydon bye-election as a sequel to the one which appeared last week. Mr. Pethick Lawrence writes on the militant methods, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst deals with Mr. Asquith and his refusal to see the deputation. We specially call our readers' attention to the fact that the issue next week will be published on Thursday instead of on Friday, and that all contributions must reach the office not later than Monday morning, first post.

## ELEMENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMAND.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.—Chapter VI.—Militant Methods.

"I come not to bring peace on earth, but a sword."

No one idea has done more to retard the progress of the human race than the exaltation of *submission* into a high and noble virtue. It may often be expedient to submit; it may even sometimes be morally right to do so in order to avoid a greater evil; but *submission* is not inherently beautiful—it is generally cowardly and frequently morally wrong.

This view is, of course, contrary to the teaching which has long prevailed. From time immemorial the rulers of men have demanded of their subjects *submission*, and have enforced it with their armies and their police and their prisons. But, not content with this, they have instigated the teachers and preachers of the people to extol it as a great moral and religious principle—a symbol of obedience to God Himself. This teaching has done incalculable evil. It has hindered the exercise of the real functions of the human body, it has destroyed the liberty of the human will, it has clipped the wings of the human imagination.

Particularly have those whose natures are peaceable and loving, who place the good of others before that of themselves, been led astray by this false doctrine. Not content with sacrificing themselves and their own true development entirely to the wishes of others, they have yielded even where their duties as guardians and protectors of the weak should have compelled them to stand firm. They have not seen that to give way under such circumstances, to be overruled and to fail to provide the protection required, was a serious breach of trust to be resisted at all costs and with the strongest power which it was possible to exert.

Serious as have been the consequences of this doctrine in other fields, they have been nowhere more fatal than in the case of women who have been led in large numbers to believe any other rule of conduct unwomanly. As a result, a whole set of ideas necessary for the proper evolution of the human race has been crushed out of existence, and the man's point of view has held exclusive sway.

Nothing in life is more beautiful than the relationship of the mother to the child, by which she gives freely and unhesitatingly of all that she has to the young life. This *devotion* is in accordance with the natural and highest instincts of her nature, but to transfer this *devotion* into *submission* to the will of others, even when such *submission* implies renunciation of the guardianship and proper care for her own children, is to pervert the primal instincts of woman into wrong and improper channels. In allowing her ideas to become subservient to those of men, she committed a breach of trust. To-day she has to recover her lost position.

The adoption of militant methods by women in this fight for the vote is the outward sign that they have at last abandoned this false and pernicious doctrine of *submission*. It is the recognition that they have duties to perform, services to render to the State and to one another, to men and to children, which they cannot and will not any longer leave undone. For centuries men have usurped the domination and treated women as an inferior and subject race. When women sought to obtain their proper place by methods of argument and entreaty, they were tricked and humbugged by politicians. To-day they have decided to submit no longer, and, realising that persuasion has failed, they have determined to use coercive measures.

This awakening of women to the stern realities of life is not to be regretted; it cannot be good for any section of the human family to live their lives in artificial surroundings cut off from actuality. Moreover, for many years women workers have suffered under stress of the laws of conflict and struggle which form part of the daily round. It was full time that their more sheltered sisters should no longer be deceived.

So far I have dealt with facts of universal application, true not merely of the fight for the vote, but of other conflicts in daily life. In dealing with the actual militant methods adopted by the Suffragettes, the opposition of a new set of objectors has to be met. They are perfectly aware that, in their social intercourse, in their business transactions, in their deal-

ings with their tradespeople, persuasion and courtesy are not enough, and that some form of pressure must be applied, but they say that they never have occasion to adopt methods even remotely similar to those used by the Suffragettes against their political opponents. They put a case in somewhat the following words:—

"If one of my friends does things to me which I do not like, or says things to me which are disagreeable, I do not dog his doorstep or send my children to annoy him or shout at him when he goes outside his house. If my landlord raises my rent or refuses to abide by the conditions of the lease, I do not make myself personally unpleasant to him. If my baker sells me bad bread or my fishmonger bad fish, I do not thereupon bring a body of customers together round his shop and force him to protect himself and his goods by a posse of police. I know quite well these are the wrong ways to get the matter put right, and if I adopted them I should not only make myself extremely ridiculous, but I should fail entirely of my object. Why, then, do you adopt these methods in trying to get the vote?"

### The Unique Character of a Franchise Struggle.

The answer to this question lies in the fact that the struggle of a voteless section of the population to wrest for itself the franchise from the Government is a unique struggle, differing in essential particulars from any other struggle to obtain redress in the ordinary affairs of life. If your friend behaves badly to you in any way, it is always open to you to cease to have him for a friend; that will at once free you from the intrusion of his presence, and the knowledge that your friendship may be terminated by either of you at will serves always (if no higher consideration prevails) to deter him from saying or doing anything to you which might be a cause of offence. If your landlord fails to abide by the terms of the lease, you have the remedy of the law against him; if he raises your rent unduly, you can leave his house untenanted. If your fishmonger serves you with bad fish, or your baker with bad bread, you have the remedy always at hand in your ability to transfer your custom to other shops; and the knowledge that you can take this action if things go too far gives weight to your words of remonstrance which they would not otherwise possess.

But in the case of a Government you have no such means of redress. So long as you remain in the country you are constitutionally subject to the control of the Government and under the direct jurisdiction of the laws of the land which they enact and enforce. You cannot refuse to recognise the Government as a Government. You cannot if you are voteless bring constitutional pressure to bear to change the Government of the day. You cannot bring the law into action to enforce your rights, for the simple reason that you have no rights.

Faced with this position in the past, voteless men resorted to physical violence—they rioted and damaged property, they inflicted physical injury on those who stood in the way of their enfranchisement, and even did not stop at murder itself. The women who are fighting to-day for their rights have adopted methods which, though far more restrained, are equally effective in bringing direct pressure to bear upon the Government. They are methods which are essentially political, and their political effect is rapidly becoming understood.

It will be the object of future chapters to explain in detail and justify these methods. Meanwhile, the account next week will be devoted to the story of the inauguration of the militant policy in the autumn of 1905.

Amongst the names of women who were prominently connected with the first petition of fifteen hundred names, to which we referred last week, were those of Miss Emily Davies and Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. The former of these acted as Secretary in London, and was responsible for collecting a large number of London signatures. Mrs. Elmy collected several hundred in Manchester. The Franchise Committee which she formed for the purpose continued its existence after the names had been collected. Mrs. Elmy, as is well known, is an active worker for the suffrage to-day, and is a member of the Committee of the Women's Social and Political Union.

## PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

### Sweden and the Suffrage.

Some of the American papers recently published a report that the suffrage had been granted to Swedish women. It is amusing to find that the report arose out of a misapprehension. Whoever sent the dispatch that "all inhabitants" over twenty-four years of age in Sweden had been given a vote evidently forgot that Sweden was inhabited by women as well as men! It is significant of the changed attitude of the public mind that "all inhabitants" was generally taken to mean all inhabitants, and the dispatch has called out from the leading American dailies elaborate editorials on the full enfranchisement of the women of Sweden. Unfortunately, the news was premature.

### Woman Suffrage in Jamaica.

In the Kingston Legislature, on March 25, a motion was submitted by an elected member to the effect that women who own property should be voters. Although the motion was lost, all the Government members voting against it, it was supported by eight out of the elected members present.

### Women's Votes in Action.

Referring to the recent municipal elections in Denmark, the *Manchester Guardian* says:—"The old objections that the woman's vote would cause dissension in the home, that the women would not use the vote, that they would use it—detrimentally, of course—have all fallen to the ground. All day one saw a procession of married couples driving or walking together to the polling-booths, and although there was no disturbance of any sort, more than usual enthusiasm was displayed over the elections, the streets being patrolled all night by those waiting to hear the results. Out of 125,461 persons on the register 95,319 used their votes. The programme of the women candidates seems to have given great prominence to the necessity for improving the laws relating to abandoned children, and to the management of hospitals and crèches and of public charities generally."

The Bulgarian Women's Suffrage Association has a membership of about 5,000 persons, its president being the wife of the Prime Minister.

### Improving Womanhood.

Three hundred young women of Chicago who are intending to be teachers have been examined and reported physically perfect. This is a larger proportion than has ever before stood the required test. The New York Normal School conducted a series of inquiries, which showed that nineteen-twentieths of girl pupils are taller than their mothers. With our young men deteriorating as they are in size and physique, says the *Woman's Tribune* (Oregon), nothing can save the race but this improving womanhood.

Miss Lilian Roff is the first woman to take the degree of Bachelor of Divinity at London University. She passed through the course with distinction.

### Woman Head of Hospital.

Dr. Mary Merrit Crawford is the first woman to become head surgeon and chief of staff in a Brooklyn hospital. She has just entered upon her duties as house surgeon of the Williamsburgh Hospital. Dr. Crawford will have entire charge for four months and a-half, directing the work of four men. After that her term of office will expire, and then she intends to become a practising surgeon in Kings. Dr. Crawford took her B.A. degree from Cornell in 1904, and then entered the Cornell Medical College. Two years ago she took her M.D. When examinations for hospital service were held, in January, 1908, she and thirty-five men applied for the test. Dr. Crawford and two of the men were the only ones who passed.

### Women as Sailing Masters.

A correspondent who read our paragraph on "Women Navigators" recently, sends us the interesting story of Miss Hannah Miller, who died some years ago. Miss Miller's father was a shipping merchant at Saltcoats, became bankrupt, and died leaving a family of three girls and a much mortgaged estate. Betsy, the eldest daughter, determined to retrieve the honour of her family and clear off her father's debts. The chief asset was the brig

*Clitus*. This she got fitted out with a small crew, constituting herself as "sailing master," and carried on for many years a most successful trade with the Irish ports, clearing off the patronymic debts, and keeping herself and sisters in comfort. On Betsy's death, Miss Hannah Miller took over command of the brig, and for many years trod the quarter-deck and braved the perils of the Irish Channel.

### Courageous Woman Telephonist.

The courage of a woman telephonist has been applauded in the Italian Press. As recorded in the *Tribuna*, a disastrous fire broke out on March 8 in the Central Urban Telephone Office in Turin. It destroyed the fittings and furniture in the communication-room, and would have spread irretrievably over the whole building had it not been for Signorina de Rossi, one of the operatives, who, with the fire blazing round her, telephoned to the fire office and brought firemen to the rescue. The men arrived in time to save the company's books and papers and preserve the suburban portion of the telephone apparatus, although the urban service apparatus as well as much furniture was destroyed. Signorina Rossi's presence of mind must have averted a loss of many thousands of pounds.

### Acting the Courageous Part.

A woman who withheld her name was thanked by the West London magistrate for helping the police by seizing a whistle and blowing for help. "It is frequently a woman who acts the courageous part," said Mr. Barker, the prosecuting solicitor. The man with whom the police were engaged was said to have been a champion boxer in the Army.

### Women Councillors in Denmark.

One of the women elected to the Copenhagen Municipal Council is Mrs. Hoff, a surgeon by profession, who has learned in her professional career how the health of children is undermined for life by poverty. She has a plan for the improvement of the upbringing of poor children. Another, Mrs. Salicath, is matron of a home for women and babies, and believes in practical philanthropy as a remedy for social ills. Miss Crone, a third successful candidate, is a Socialist politically and a typist by calling, and says that she has been elected because she was in the closest agreement with the programme of her party. Of the seven women elected three are Conservatives, two Socialists, and two Radicals.

### Swiss Women in Council.

A correspondent in Geneva sends us a report of a meeting held there recently, under the auspices of *l'Association pour le Suffrage Féminin*, when the Vice-President of the Association, M. de Morsier, presided, and Dr. Marc Dufour, of Lausanne, lectured on "Justice and the Rights of Women." The hall was lent by the Department of Public Instruction. There was a large audience, and the lecture was evidently a most interesting one. In many of the Swiss-German Cantons women's rights are nearly equal to men's, and in Vaud women have the right to vote in all matters concerning the church.

### Women Pastors.

The Rev. P. T. Wells, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, moved a recommendation at a meeting on March 16 that the Settlements and Removal Committee should consider jointly, and report on the advisability of admitting women pastors into the recognised ministry of the Congregational Union of England and Wales under the conditions applicable to men. The resolution was unanimously adopted.

### Women Dentists.

A correspondent who read our note on women as dentists writes:—"You were commenting on dentistry as an occupation for women and on the small number of women who have taken advantage of this particular opening. It is evident that opportunities exist, of which women have not yet availed themselves, and an instance in point has just come under my notice. I have been employing one of the very few women dentists in practice in London. She found it necessary to apologise to me for the sex of her assistant, saying, 'I am sorry I cannot introduce you to a female assistant, but there are no qualified women to be had.' Here is the opening, and women are wanted."

Miss N. Adler is to be one of the candidates for Central Hackney at the next London County Council election. Miss Adler is well known in connection with the L.C.C. Trade Schools.

Mrs. Tamplin has been admitted an honorary member of the Yarmouth troop of the Legion of Frontiersmen in recognition of the interest she has shown in the troop.

# LADY GERALDINE'S SPEECH.

(A Comedietta.)

By BEATRICE HARRADEN.

(DRAMATIC AND ALL OTHER RIGHTS RESERVED.)

## CHARACTERS.

DR. ALICE ROMNEY ... A Lady Doctor.  
 LADY GERALDINE BOLEYN ... Dr. Alice Romney's School Friend.  
 MISS GERTRUDE SILBERTHWAITE An Eminent Artist.  
 MISS NORA BAILLIE ... A Professor of Literature  
 MISS HILDA CROWNSHIELD ... A Famous Pianist.  
 MISS NELLIE GRANT ... A Typist and Short-hand Writer.  
 JANE ... A Maid.

SCENE: Dr. Alice Romney's Drawing-room in Nottingham Place. It is her fortnightly Suffrage At-Home day. She is seated at her writing desk near her window. She is of middle stature, and has a strong, capable face.

(Enter maid with card.)

MAID: A lady asks specially to see you. I said you were engaged until 3 o'clock. But she insisted.

DR. ALICE (looking at card and smiling): Show her in, Jane.

(Enter hurriedly, shown in by maid, the Lady Geraldine Boleyn.)

LADY G.: Oh, my dear, how good of you to see me. I hope I am not interrupting any operation. Not that I suppose you do perform operations in drawing-rooms! But I had to see you instantly, whatever you were doing. I've dashed up purposely from Eastbourne. The fact is, Alice, I've got myself into a most awful hole. You'll help me out, won't you? You always have helped me out of my difficulties. Nothing more than you ought to have done considering how I used to come to your rescue over your French compositions in the dear old Cheltenham College days. My word, you were bad at French, weren't you?

DR. ALICE (nodding): Yes. And I'm not much better now. Languages were always a trial to me. I used to think you were a perfect wonder over them.

LADY G.: So I was. So I am still. Don't let there be any mistake about that! Well now, to business. As I told you, I've got myself into a most fearful scrape. The worst in my life—absolutely the worst.

DR. ALICE (reproachfully): Geraldine, Geraldine, what on earth have you been up to? Are you never going to learn discretion?

LADY G.: Apparently never. There's no doubt that I have committed a terrible indiscretion. I've compromised myself with—well, I hardly like to tell you—with—the Women's National Anti-Suffrage League.

DR. ALICE (brightening up): Is that all?

LADY G.: Isn't it enough, in all conscience? I'm at my wits' end. I haven't slept for nights, for years. Look how drawn my face is. If I'm not careful I shall begin to look clever. Yes, I've got into the toils of the National Anti-Suffrage League. I've been made into a

president or vice-president, or honorary secretary, or supporter, or something of the sort, and I have to take the chair at a large meeting at the Imperial Hall next week and make a speech, and use all the anti-suffrage arguments on this wretched sheet of paper—oh, where is it? (Looking for it in her muff and satchel.) Ah, here it is—it's like a nightmare to me. Every time I try to look at it, all the letters seem to chase each other off the paper, and there's only a blank left—like my brain. If you won't help me, I shall perish. I know I shall.

DR. ALICE: But my dear Geraldine, I'm a Suffragist, a Suffragette, a militant. You've come to the wrong person.

LADY G. (coaxingly): I've come to my old school chum. As if being a Suffragist or an Anti-Suffragist could make any difference to that eternal fact.

DR. ALICE (laughing): No, you're right! Well, what do you want me to do?

LADY G.: I want you to write my speech for me, and coach me up in it. There! Don't look so disagreeable. You're so handsome when you're pleasant. And so hideous when you're cross. Ah, that's better. Now, here are some of the arguments. As I told you, I tried to glance at them, but failed. So I haven't really gone into details. I haven't really gone into the matter at all, between you and me. But (suddenly recollecting herself) I felt strongly, on general lines, that it was impossible for me to take the responsibility of being in favour of Woman's Suffrage.

DR. ALICE: How well you roll those words out. Someone has made you learn that sentence by heart. (Repeats it.) "But I felt strongly, on general lines, that it was impossible for me to take the responsibility of being in favour of Woman's Suffrage." I must say I wonder you dare take the still greater responsibility of being against it.

LADY G. (waving her hand in dismissal of Dr. Alice's remark.): Come now, Alice. Do begin. We're wasting time. Allow me to conduct you to your desk. Here's your paper. And here's your stylo. And here am I waiting on you as usual. Oh, you can make as much fun of me as you like, and lecture me as much as you like. I was always good-tempered, wasn't I? I don't mind what you say to me, so long as you help me with my speech.

DR. ALICE: Why don't you go and get an Anti-Suffragist friend to do this for you?

LADY G.: My dear girl, don't be ridiculous. With a few notable and unreachable exceptions, all the Anti-Suffragists have my sort of brains. How can we possibly help each other? Do begin. I'm losing patience with you.

DR. ALICE: But you have heaps of splendid men amongst you. Go to them.

LADY G.: Certainly not! It's one thing to sing small about your sex, but quite another thing to sing small about yourself—except to a dear old school chum who used to be a regular old brick, but who evidently isn't any longer (plaintively). I never dreamed that you

would fail me. What on earth shall I do? I shall make an awful fiasco, and disgrace myself and my Cause, and it will be your fault. You wouldn't wish to see me humiliated, would you? And surely you wouldn't wish my Cause to be disgraced. You've always said Causes saved one. Those have been your very words, Alice. Causes saved one, it did not matter what they were.

DR. ALICE (laughing): Nothing could ever save you. You're spoilt through and through. Here, give me the precious arguments. Sit down by the fire, and don't chatter for a minute or two, and I'll see what I can do for you.

LADY G. (taking up her skirt and dancing round a little): A—ha! I knew she would come round. These grim people are always the easiest to deal with. Be sure and write clearly, dear. I never could read your handwriting.

(She dances into a chair and sits primly up, twiddling her fingers.)

(A pause.)

DR. ALICE: I think you might begin in this way: "Ladies and gentlemen, I am here to-night to explain to you some of the weighty reasons which have decided me, after much anxious thought and study, to become a determined opponent of Woman's Suffrage."

LADY G.: Excellent! Sounds as if I'd studied the question for untold centuries, doesn't it?

DR. ALICE: Then I think you'd better touch at once on the "unwomanliness" of the whole movement, and the danger to the home. And you might enlarge on the "harem" theme.

LADY G.: The harem theme? What's that? I don't remember that on the list. Not that I remember anything.

DR. ALICE: It is not called that. It's called "The immense indirect influence now possessed by women." To me, personally, a most degrading influence. After that, you might beat the Imperial Drum.

LADY G.: The Imperial ———

(The door opens. ENTER, unannounced, MISS GERTRUDE SILBERTHWAITE, an eminent artist. She is charmingly dressed, and has an engaging personality.)

SILBER: Ah, busy, I see, Dr. Alice. I'm rather early. Shall I go away and come back in half-an-hour or so?

DR. ALICE: No, no. Sit down by the fire with my friend—an old school friend. I'm throwing together a speech for her. She's a new hand. I don't mind you talking as long as you don't talk to me.

(LADY GERALDINE and GERTRUDE SILBERTHWAITE, who have already greeted, settle down together.)

SILBER: Dr. Alice has a most enviable gift of concentration. She can study the most abstruse subject under any conditions whatsoever. So she is helping you with your first speech? Well, you couldn't have anyone better to help you. She's so splendid at arranging the arguments in their most forceful fashion. Shall you be nervous?

LADY G. (uneasily): Yes.

SILBER: Ah well, we all have to go through that. But it's worth while for the sake of the Cause, isn't it?

LADY G. (doubtfully): Yes.

SILBER: I'm just painting Dr. Alice's portrait. A difficult face. So handsome when she's pleasant! And so ugly when she's disagreeable!

LADY G. (delighted): That's exactly what I say. My very words a few minutes ago! Then you are an artist, a portrait painter? May I ask your name? I'm so interested in pictures.

SILBER: Silberthwaite.

LADY G. (enraptured): Gertrude Silberthwaite! You don't mean it. I am proud and delighted to see you. I've always wanted to meet you. But one never comes across you anywhere. I always heard you were a recluse.

SILBER (smiling): I'm not by nature a society-bird. And moreover I haven't much spare time—none in fact. But the Suffrage Movement has brought all us professional women out of our libraries and studios and all our other hiding places. We had to take our share in it, or else be ashamed of ourselves. I really do think it is a wonderful movement, don't you? And quite apart from anything to do with the vote itself, it is so splendid coming in intimate contact with a lot of fine women all following different professions or businesses. That's one of our advantages over the Anti-Suffragists, isn't it? They have no means of understanding personally the inner meaning of the whole Movement. I'm sorry for them, aren't you?

LADY G. (fervently): Yes, for some of them.

SILBER: Do you know I'm planning to paint a Suffrage Picture for next year's Academy, a group of representative Suffragist Women. Ellen Terry for the Drama, Mrs. Garrett Anderson for Medicine, Mrs. Ayrton for Science, Miss Elizabeth Robins for Literature, Christabel Pankhurst for Politics, and——

(Enter MISS NORA BAILLIE, a Professor of Literature and a brilliant lecturer. She is particularly fresh-looking, and has a fine enthusiastic face, with eyes far apart.)

BAILLIE (gaily): What, Dr. Alice, busy, making out prescriptions? Ah no, I see you haven't the prescription look on your face! A letter to the Prime Minister perhaps! A love letter to the Home Secretary! A valentine to the Governor of Holloway! Who can tell? Anything may happen in these days.

SILBER (laughing and beckoning to Baillie): Don't talk to her, Miss Baillie, she's concocting a speech. Come and talk to us instead. You do look in splendid form this afternoon. What have you been doing?

BAILLIE: I've just given the best Chaucer lecture I've ever given in my life. And the class was magnificent. Heavens, what a difference it makes when you know you have your class with you!

LADY G.: Chaucer! How interesting! I haven't heard his name mentioned since I was at school. Do tell me something about him!

BAILLIE (quoting with animation):\*

"His stature was not very tall.  
 Leane he was, his legs were small  
 Hosed within a stock of red.  
 A buttoned bonnet on his head,  
 His beard was white, trimmed round.  
 His countenance blithe and merry found."

I wonder whether Chaucer would have conceded us the vote. I have my doubts. But I have no doubt about Shakespeare. None. I can't conceive it possible that he who gave us Portia, Hermione, Cordelia, Rosalind,

\* 1592. Unknown. Greene's Vision.

Beatrice, Imogen, and all his other splendid women of brain, education and initiative, would have withheld us grudgingly the rights of full citizenship. I intend to die in the belief that he would have been on our side. I'm sure he's on the platform at all Suffrage Meetings calling out inaudibly: "Votes for Women!" (*Turning to LADY GERALDINE*). Don't you agree with me?

LADY G. (*shyly*): I've never thought of it.

SILBER: Nor have I. But I daresay she's right.

BAILLIE: Of course I'm right! What a pity the Prime Minister hasn't Shakespeare's mind! There's no denying he hasn't, is there? (*To LADY GERALDINE*).

LADY G. (*pensively*): I suppose there isn't.

SILBER (*gaily*): You appear to be in some doubt.

LADY G. (*laughing*): Oh no, not about that! But I was just wondering—

(*Enter Miss HILDA CROWNINSHIELD, a famous pianist.*)

SILBER: Ah, here's Hilda Crowninshield.

CROWN. (*greeting them all*): Here I am. Just back from a concert at Manchester. Good afternoon, Dr. Alice. Busy, I see. (*Turning to SILBERTHWAITE*). What is she doing? Shall I disturb her if I try the piano.

BAILLIE: Oh! dear no. She's only writing a speech. As long as you don't talk to her, you may introduce the whole of the Queen's Hall Orchestra into this room, and she won't turn a hair.

CROWN.: Good. I want to run through the two little Brahms pieces I promised to play this afternoon. If the piano is very much out of tune, and there are more than five or six notes broken, I shall have to choose some other things, that's all!

(*She sits down at the piano. LADY GERALDINE, who has been exceedingly stirred by her arrival, goes up to her.*)

LADY G. (*excitedly*): Miss Crowninshield, I must speak to you. I cannot tell you what your playing means to me. I'd rather hear you than anyone in the world! I don't know what you do to me. When I hear you play, I feel myself capable of everything great and good.

CROWN. (*greatly pleased, and touching her gently on the hand*): Thank you. Then you must be passionately fond of music?

LADY G.: Passionately! It is the language I understand.

CROWN. (*beginning to touch the notes*): Ah, not so bad! And I declare Dr. Alice has had it tuned! I never expected such luck. Yes, I can play one or two of Brahms's Intermezzi, and perhaps a Chopin Waltz. Perhaps even a bit of Grieg. (*She addresses herself to LADY G.*) Yes?

LADY G. (*delighted*): Yes, yes! How good of you to come and play at Dr. Alice's.

CROWN.: Good? Why, I love playing to my Suffrage comrades. I'd do anything for them! Play the trombone, if they wanted it fearfully!

(*She begins Brahms's First Intermezzo. After she has been playing for a little while, enter NELLIE GRANT, a typist and shorthand-writer. She carries, slung over her shoulder, a bag with one remaining copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN. She looks extremely fatigued. HILDA CROWNINSHIELD glances up and leaves off playing and joins the others.*)

CROWN.: Why, my dear child, you look worn out.

Thoroughly at the end of yourself. Let's ring for tea for her immediately. (*They ring for tea.*)

NELLIE G.: Tired, but very proud, Miss CROWNINSHIELD. I've had a most successful day. Sold all my VOTES FOR WOMEN except one solitary copy, and had some useful little talks with lots of people. One man bought six copies. He said he had been an Anti until yesterday, when he went to an Anti meeting and that converted him! (*Laughter.*)

CROWN.: Bravo. (*Runs to the piano and plays a few bars of the waltz from "The Merry Widow." They laugh and clap.*)

BAILLIE: I really do think the Antis are our best friends.

LADY G.: Why? I don't quite understand. I should have thought they were very formidable foes.

SILBER.: Oh! dear no. You needn't have any fears about that. You see, with a few exceptions, they can't speak—they haven't had the practice—they haven't learnt how to hold an audience.

LADY G.: But when they have learnt, what then?

BAILLIE: Even then they can't be formidable. Remember, for your comfort, that they haven't got an irresistible champion as we have.

LADY G. (*entirely mystified*): An irresistible champion?

CROWN.: She means the Spirit of the Age.

LADY G. (*smiling blankly*): The Spirit of the Age?

BAILLIE: And lots of them haven't "gone into it"! I know they haven't. One of them brought me the Anti-Suffrage Petition to sign, and told me quite frankly, when I advanced some arguments in favour of Woman's Suffrage, that she had not "gone into it," but that she wanted to get as many signatures as quickly as possible for that petition which was sent in yesterday, you know—seven miles long or seven feet high—I forget which! They may get signatures—whole villages of signatures—but they can't really hope to influence people if they haven't taken the trouble to influence themselves, can they?

LADY G. (*uncomfortably*): No.

SILBER.: Don't give them one anxious thought. They'll soon "fold their tents, like the Arabs, and as silently steal away!"

CROWN. (*who is still at piano, improvises and sings softly*):

"The night shall be filled with music, and the cares which beset the day,  
Shall fold their tents, like the Arabs, and as silently steal away."

(*Tea is brought in.*)

LADY G. (*who has been slowly gathering herself together for a declaration of faith*): I have something to tell you all. You've been taking it for granted that I'm a Suffragist. Well, I'm not. I'm an Anti-Suffragist.

SILBER: Great heavens! How delightful! I've been longing to meet one face to face. No one brought me the Anti-Suffrage petition.

BAILLIE: Do tell us your name. Who are you?

LADY G.: Geraldine Boleyn.

BAILLIE (*turning to the others*): Why, of course! Lady Geraldine Boleyn. She's going to take the chair on the 15th at the Imperial Hall. Surely I'm not mistaken.

LADY G. (*frankly*): Yes, that's quite right. And as I couldn't manage my speech, I came to my old school friend in my distress. I know it sounds absurd, but it's true.

DR. ALICE (*looking up for the first time from her desk*): Idiot! Why did you give yourself away? I could shake you.

LADY G.: Alice, I simply couldn't have held out for a moment longer. I couldn't have gone on pretending by my silence that I was one of them.

DR. ALICE (*getting up from her desk, and turning fiercely to her comrades*): You mustn't betray her. I wouldn't have her betrayed for worlds. She's very dear to me. She has always been wonderfully good to me, though she has been a great nuisance at times and has given me a lot of trouble, and has always made the most unreasonable demands on me—and—well—I've liked it. She's my oldest and dearest school friend, and we plotted all sorts of mischief together in the happy old days. And if that isn't a sacred bond, then nothing is. Nearly all the pleasures I had in my holidays came through her—I should never have known all the sweet pleasures of the country but for her—joys which abide with one for ever, when other things have passed out of one's life. I can't and won't have her humiliated. If I hadn't helped her over her speech she would have probably made herself ridiculous—and I couldn't have stood that—I had to help her—and I shall always have to help her—if she becomes an anarchist and takes the chair at an anarchist meeting I shall have to write her speech for that too. I . . . (*She breaks off suddenly.*) Promise me you won't give her away.

ALL FOUR TOGETHER: Of course. Our word of honour.

(*They all stretch out their hands to Lady Geraldine, and make a charming group round her.*)

BAILLIE (*gaily*): There's nothing, however, in our oath to prevent us from laughing a little, is there? Oh, and to think I shan't be able to go and heckle you! I can't heckle Dr. Alice's old school friend. And I'd bought a ticket surreptitiously and with the utmost difficulty!

SILBER: As I told you, I've never seen a real Anti-Suffragist before. Do let me paint your portrait! Side face would be best, I think. I'm not quite sure, though. No, it must be full face. Yes, full face.

NELLIE G.: Do tell me if it's true that there's going to be a "No Votes for Women" paper, with a Union Jack on the cover. I shall be jealous.

CROWN. (*taking LADY GERALDINE'S arm*): Don't you dare tease her any more! Votes or no votes, she and I speak the same language, don't we?

DR. ALICE: Well, now for the speech, Geraldine. I've quite enjoyed this little job. I'm rather pleased with it. I think I've brought in all the points. Degradation of womanhood. Degradation and disintegration of entire Empire. Dominant female vote in all matters concerning the Army and Navy, our relations with foreign Powers, with our Colonies, and with India. Physical force argument. Women have to safeguard the past and the future, and it is the men's work to look after the present. I don't myself know what that means, but it sounds well. Absolute denial that the vote will improve the economic position of women—indirect influence of women quite sufficient. Emphatic, nay passionate, insistence on your own brainlessness—that is very important. A few passing allusions to us Suffragists as obscure vulgarians. I think you might almost call us uneducated. Yes, uneducated and obscure vulgarians. That also sounds well. And as there's so little to say it must sound well my dear girl,

or else the cause perishes. Ah, yes. And you mustn't forget to refer to yourselves as "so-called traitresses to the sex, so-called survivals of the Dark Ages," because that will elicit respectful sympathy. And be sure and mention that you have joined the Territorial Nursing Corps. I forget its name, but that's near enough. Have you joined it, by the way?

LADY G. (*who is standing all this splendidly*): No.

DR. ALICE: Then do so at once, because that's a piece of subtle cleverness. You disclaim physical force, and yet are preparing indirectly to defend your country. There now, haven't I been a brick? Haven't I wiped out for ever the obligation of those French compositions?

LADY G. (*with spirit but good temper*): No, that obligation could never be wiped out. And besides, this service doesn't count. Do you know what I'm going to do with this speech? Look.

(*She throws it into the fire.*)

DR. ALICE: Well, of all the ungrateful, aristocratic little wretches—

LADY G. (*with increased spirit and charm, turning to the others*): Do you know what I'm going to do next? I'm going home to think.

DR. ALICE: Impossible! You've never done such a thing in your life!

BAILLIE: Shame, Dr. Alice! It's never too late to sin—I mean to think!

LADY G. (*smiling at her*): I should love to come to one of your lectures. May I?

BAILLIE: Of course you may.

LADY G. (*to GERTRUDE SILBERTHWAITE*): And will you really paint my portrait?

SILBER.: Of course I will. Full face. Full face.

LADY G. (*to HILDA CROWNINSHIELD*): The same language, votes or no votes?

CROWN.: Yes, Yes.

LADY G. (*to NELLIE GRANT*): Will you let me have your last remaining copy of your paper?

NELLIE G. (*delighted*): Here it is, Lady Geraldine—a present from us all!

LADY G.: Thank you. Good-bye—all of you. Good-bye!

(*She goes to the door. When she has reached it, she turns round to Dr. Alice. There is a roguish look on her face.*)

LADY G.: Alice, how long do mumps take?

DR. ALICE: Oh, about two or three weeks.

LADY G.: Very infectious, aren't they?

DR. ALICE: Highly.

LADY G.: I believe I've got them already! Afraid I shan't be able to take that Chair! Good-bye!

(*She goes out.*) (*They look after her for a moment.*)

DR. ALICE (*fiercely*): Mind, if you betray my school chum, I'll never speak to you again.

NELLIE G.: Betray one of our own, Dr. Alice! For she is one of our own already. Before many weeks are passed she'll be selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in a blinding snowstorm in the merry month of May!

BAILLIE (*raising her tea-cup*): Her health!

(*They drink her health.*)

CURTAIN.



## CROYDON BYE-ELECTION.

### RESULT.

Sir R. Hermon-Hodge (C) .....	11,989
Mr. J. E. Raphael (L) .....	8,041
Mr. F. Smith (Labour-Socialist) .....	886

Conservative majority over Liberal... 3,948

*The figures at the last election were:—Rt. Hon. Hugh Oakeley Arnold Forster (Con.), 8,811; H. C. Somers Somerset (Lib.), 7,573; Sidney Stranks (Lab.), 4,007.*

The great campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union at the Croydon bye-election was brought to an end on polling day, Monday last, and resulted in a magnificent victory for the women over the Government, Mr. Raphael, the Liberal candidate, being defeated by no less than 3,900 votes, as compared with the majority of one thousand by which the Conservative had been returned at the General Election.

During the whole of the previous week signs had not been wanting of the coming result. Wherever members of the W.S.P.U. had been present they had been received with enthusiastic cheers, and the electors of Croydon had shown themselves particularly ready to understand and appreciate the bye-election policy of the W.S.P.U.

Friday and Saturday, the last days of the active campaign, were well spent. The Suffragette colours were everywhere in evidence, and at all the meetings considerable interest was evoked.

The arrangements for Saturday afternoon were carried out with great success. A procession of members drove through the constituency, includ-

ing the women recently released from Holloway, and also members of the deputation which subsequently went to the House of Commons on the following Tuesday.

The route was from the Clock Tower at Thornton Heath to the Empire Theatre at Croydon, and as the procession passed along the street cheers were raised again and again for the women who were fighting for their enfranchisement.

At the Empire Theatre so great was the interest that every seat was filled long before the time for the meeting, and though the theatre holds no less than 2,000 people, a further 1,500 waited outside in the hope of an overflow meeting. Inside the

hall the great banner of the Union, bearing the motto "Strong souls live like fire-hearted suns to spend their strength," attracted special attention. Prominent on the stage were the ex-prisoners, and the audience was addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, and others, who dealt with the political situation, showing how persistently Mr. Asquith had refused to listen to the claims of women. The points of the speakers were listened to with great attention, and it was evident that with every word that was uttered the prestige of the Liberal Party was being weakened. A resolution calling for the immediate enfranchisement of duly

qualified women, and demanding that Mr. Asquith should receive the deputation on Tuesday, was carried with few dissentients. Outside the hall speeches were also made, and at the close a running fire of questions elicited ready answers from the speakers.

This meeting brought to an end the series which had been held in the constituency from the beginning of the campaign. These included large meetings in the Public Hall, Croydon; the Norbury Public Hall, the Stanley Hall, South Norwood; the St. Michael's Hall, the Public Baths, Thornton Heath; the Art Gallery, St. Augustine's Hall, the Friends' Adult School, and other public buildings, and also a very large number of outdoor meetings in every part of the constituency.

On polling day members of the Union stationed themselves outside the polling booths, and as every elector went in he was called upon to "support the women and keep the Liberal out," advice which in the great majority of cases he gladly followed.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

#### "THE DAILY MAIL."

The Suffragettes made a brave show with their procession on Saturday afternoon. The latest batch of martyrs, liberated from Holloway, and the band of Lancashire women, who are determined to see Mr. Asquith to-morrow or go to prison in the attempt, assembled at The Clock, Thornton Heath, with brakes and bands and banners. Lady Constance Lytton, the most distinguished member

### DISAPPEARANCE OF MR. RAPH - L.

[A sequel to our Cartoon of last week.]



Mr. Asquith: "We have lost our recruit! And I fear the waves may drown us ere we reach the ship!"

of the Holloway batch, who says she wrote her thoughts in blood during her incarceration, did not appear. But Mrs. Pankhurst was there, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, that fiery cross from the north. The procession wended its slow way to the Empire Theatre at Croydon, their bands playing "The Marseillaise." Great crowds watched them pass. They had an entirely successful meeting in the theatre. It was packed to the roof, and there were no interruptions.

#### "THE TIMES."

The woman Suffragists, of course being for the most part cultured women, are above criticism as speakers in the street or anywhere else; like the strange Mr. Gray, they speak with a pleasing quietness, and invariably have attentive audiences.

#### "DAILY GRAPHIC."

##### Where Women Excel.

Before leaving the spectacular elements of this contest the observer who deprecates the sight of women in the very thick of the strife may yet remark with admiration upon the striking ability of the women speakers. It is a feature which has impressed Croydon audiences, even Croydon "men in the street," without distinction of party. Though the "Votes for Women" brigade has certainly no monopoly of the power, their members have, perhaps, a trick of more effective platform manner than other sections. A young man on the outskirts of a crowd interrupted an advocate of the vote with what was intended to be a crushing reduction to absurdity. "Don't you wish you were a man?" was what he called to her. Quick as a shot came the reply: "Don't you wish you were a man?" This is an example of the style that tells. The fact should be recognised by men that in sheer intellectual mastery of speech and argument the women in this contest have, on the average, excelled the men. They are more skilled in self-expression; they repeat themselves less; in all the arts and wiles of plausible speech they are superior.

#### "THE STANDARD."

##### Suffragists Active.

During the afternoon the Suffragists held a great demonstration in the local music-hall, the principal attraction being Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, and a number of women recently liberated from Holloway Prison. The hall was packed from stalls to gallery, and the various speakers were listened to with marked attentiveness. When I arrived it was impossible to obtain a seat in the house, but from a corner in the gallery, high up against the ceiling, I could just catch a glimpse of the stage. The speakers, looking none the worse for their incarceration in gaol, were flanked by an imposing orchestra. I caught only one phrase, but it was suggestive of the organisation's whole argument—"Only the great mothers have the great sons, therefore—"

#### "THE MORNING POST."

##### Processions and Oratory.

Throughout the day and far into the night propagandist work was carried on yesterday (Saturday) by all parties with prodigious energy. Numerous processions and parades took place, the most imposing display being that of the ladies of the National Women's Social and Political Union, who marched with banners flying and drums beating to the Empire Palace Theatre, there to deliver impassioned speeches from the text, "Keep the Liberal out."

#### "MORNING ADVERTISER," March 23.

The most conspicuous feature of the election yesterday was provided by the militant Suffragettes, who paraded the town in motor-cars and wagonettes, gaily bedecked with the familiar purple, white and green, announcing that Miss Christabel Pankhurst was to address a meeting at night. The same proclamation was also made by "Sandwich Suffragettes."

#### "EVENING NEWS," March 29.

##### What the Women Have Done.

A notable sign of the times is the part that women have played in this election.

When the fight started the Suffragettes attracted a few hundred women to their meeting, many of them hostile.

On Saturday afternoon they filled the Empire Theatre with an audience of about 2,000, and there was scarcely a single interruption.

This does not mean that Croydon is converted to "Votes for Women." Croydon's approval is for the cry, "Keep the Liberal out." All the same, the conspicuous part which the women of all badges have played in the contest has had its effect in familiarising the bourgeois with the idea that women do, nowadays, insist on being politicians, that they are not afraid of the work it involves, and that they understand their subjects.

Women now undertake nearly every branch of committee-room work. Women canvass in the rain and engage in competitions for open-air audiences. Women draw up lists of speakers and look after the arrangements for vehicles. They borrow motor-cars from their own women friends. They carry sandwich boards, they distribute

leaflets, they roar through megaphones, and they look up all the vacant dates at all the meeting-rooms they can find.

It may not be "womanly," but it is done, and no Parliamentary candidate can afford to ignore the fact.

#### "CROYDON CHRONICLE" March 17.

Now about the Suffragists. They are in the fray and are to be reckoned with. They had already opened an office in Croydon—before there was any likelihood of an election—and they are making their presence felt. What with open-air meetings, chalking announcements on the pavements, distributing literature, and other methods, they have entered into the battle in earnest.

#### "CROYDON CHRONICLE," March 25.

Then there are the Suffragettes. They certainly lend a new colour to the campaign in Croydon. At the 1906 contest they were not to be seen. They have sprung themselves upon the country since that time, and have helped to enliven many a dull moment in our national life. Newspaper readers would have felt annoyed did they not find something about the "Votes for Women" agitation in their daily paper during the past year or so.

They are here in Croydon assisting in no small measure to make things lively. Their gay-coloured flags—purple, white, and green—fly from motor-cars as they fit about the town visiting this and that open space and seeking to address the crowds, often provoking the greatest merriment by their ready responses to interrupters.

They do not mind adopting manly efforts. Some parade the streets with sandwich boards and others rush about scrawling with chalk on the pavements announcements of meetings and telling the electors for whom they should vote. They are not moved by the taunts and jeers to which they are subjected. But then they are feminine, not masculine.

#### "MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," March 26.

(London Letter.)

##### The Sentences on Suffragists.

A good deal of attention is being directed to the disparity in the sentences of imprisonment passed upon Mrs. Despard and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Both were arrested while seeking to make their way into the House of Commons with petitions. Both were ring-leaders in these enterprises, both were convicted of the same offence, and in both cases there had been a previous conviction; yet Mrs. Despard was sentenced to one month's imprisonment and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to two. No doubt the organisation with which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is connected is by much the more active and formidable, and no doubt also its demonstrations, being on a larger scale, give more trouble; but these seem hardly adequate grounds on which to inflict a double sentence on one of two individuals who, as individuals, committed precisely the same offence. That, at least, is a feeling widely entertained among all ranks of suffragists, and it is thought that Mr. Gladstone, if approached on the subject, might very properly remit a portion of the heavier sentence. Should he do so he would relieve a somewhat acute sense of injustice.

#### "HEREFORD TIMES," March 27.

From the first militant act, so-called, three years ago, up to this hour, we have not only recognised the splendid courage and devotion of these women, but have admitted that their methods (though they do not always approve themselves to mere men) have advanced the cause further and quicker than the combined efforts of the last three centuries.

#### "MANCHESTER COURIER," March 25.

When the history of the agitation in Great Britain comes to be written the chapter dealing with the imprisonment of delicate women in gaol for conscience sake will be one which will puzzle and disgust the nation.

## EAST EDINBURGH BYE-ELECTION.

Committee Rooms—64, Montrose Terrace, Edinburgh.

*The figures at the last election were:—Sir George McCrae (Lib.), 6,606; Rankin Dawson (Con.), 2,432.*

It is stated that owing to the appointment of Sir George McCrae, M.P., as Vice-President of the Scottish Local Government Board, a vacancy has been caused in East Edinburgh. Mr. John Cowan has been mentioned as the possible Liberal candidate, and it is said that the Unionist party has also a candidate ready to take the field. Preparations have been made by the W.S.P.U. to conduct a vigorous campaign, committee rooms being under the charge of Miss Cecilia and Miss Evelyn Haig.





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Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Organising Sec.

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

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

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

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

### A LETTER FROM PRISON.

HOLLOWAY PRISON, March 26, 1909.

My dear Friends and Fellow-members of our beloved Union, I send you greeting and love. I am with you constantly in thought and spirit and desire. Very soon I shall be with you in the flesh. I have felt, and I still feel, the support of your thoughts and good wishes. You must know that I have not seen a newspaper since I came here. I am very ignorant as to how the world is wagging. In Holloway "nobody knows nothing," so it would be quite useless to ask questions. Knowing nothing can be carried to a fine art. But across this night of oblivion glorious flashes of good tidings have come to me. One was the report sent for my signature. Great was my satisfaction to know that we had raised the whole £20,000 during the year. That we should be very near to our mark I felt sure before I came here, but

"Oh, the little more, and how much it is;  
The little less and what worlds away."

In our Union we pride ourselves on attaining our standards!

Another great joy to the heart of your Treasurer was to hear the sum raised in donations and promises during Self-denial Week. Eight thousand pounds is a good start at the beginning of the new financial year towards the fifty thousand we mean to realise unless we get the vote before the end of next February. I seem to hear some of you gasp, "Fifty thousand pounds!" I will tell you how it is to be raised. We have proved, have we not, that we ourselves are good for £20,000? We gave our utmost last year; we shall go on giving our utmost. The remaining £30,000 has to come from a public not yet touched. And what we have to do without a moment's delay, every one of us, is to go about everywhere preaching the gospel of Votes for Women, and bringing as many people as we can into the movement. Especially must new people be brought by all our members to our great meetings.

And now I come to the main point of this letter, which I write you from my prison cell. I have a great, great wish. And if I tell it to you I know that you will fulfil it. I want the Albert Hall demonstration on April 29 to be the greatest success, the most magnificent triumph, that our agitation has ever yet achieved. I beg every member in London to make the success of this meeting her individual responsibility, and to concentrate from now all her energies upon it. Take the tickets and sell them to friends. Let each one be responsible for a certain number and for their value in cash. If you cannot sell them all in the usual way, persuade some wealthy friend to

purchase tickets which can be given to those who cannot afford to buy for themselves. But make up your mind that you will dispose of six, ten, twenty, or fifty tickets, as the case may be.

The occasion is a particularly significant one. Women Suffragists from every civilised country in the world will be representing their respective organisations at the International Suffragist Congress in London. And this Albert Hall meeting is to give them welcome in the name of the Women's Social and Political Union. They have most cordially accepted our invitation to be present, and a certain number of seats have been reserved for them. It is also a demonstration in honour of all our members who have suffered imprisonment for the sake of women's emancipation. They will come from the North and the South, the East and the West, to the centre of re-union in the Albert Hall. They will wear their prison dress. Seats immediately behind the speakers will be reserved for them. Many interesting developments will be revealed as time goes on. It is to be a field day of the Militant Movement. I am allowed only one sheet of paper for this, my one monthly letter. I would say more about this matter, but space forbids. Will you, dear women in this Union, read into my brief words all that my heart would say, and will you carry out all and more than all that my heart could wish?

I want to tell you how delighted I am that the paper—our paper—is developing so rapidly. I hear it has reached 20,000 already. I hope it will reach 25,000 before I come back. That will be another joy. My Three Wishes! How splendidly they have been carried out. With all my heart I thank you all.

Oh, to see our flag again! To salute the colours! My eyes yearn for them. I comfort myself with the thought that my prison dress is green, my prison cap is white. Would that my apron were purple. My library card is faintly purplish! But one lives on small things in Holloway. And how one's perceptions and appreciations are intensified. How one learns the meanings and the values of the ordinary blessings and beauties of life which one is so apt to take for granted. Colour, music, sun, and stars, and, above all, human friendship and social intercourse. Wear the colours always; if not for your own sake, then for the sake of those who are in prison. I am convinced that wearing the colours is one of the best ways of attracting strangers to this movement. Curiosity and interest once stimulated, you know how quickly the rest follows. A large number of the deputation who went to prison with me were quite recent converts, who a few short weeks ago would have scouted the possibility of going to prison. Ours is such a wonderful movement. Nothing seems too much to hope, too great to believe and expect.

I must say good-bye to you. When you read this letter of mine there will be only two more weeks to pass before the joy of re-union is ours. Meanwhile, as I sit here in my prison cell, I know that in the world outside it is spring-time. Life is pushing its way through the clouds. Life is rising like a tide through stem and branch, soon to overflow and bring a flood of beauty over the face of the world. Yes, and there is a stirring of new life in the heart of the human race, and especially in the heart of the world's womanhood. I feel it in our movement. I see the blossoming of new hope, new faith, new love, new courage, new energy. I know that in the cycle of the world's life a new spring is coming—has, indeed, come. This knowledge is my great joy. It is the joy which we all share, and which none can take from us. We will give body and soul and all that we have to minister to this new life. We will accomplish the purpose to which we have been called.—Yours in the strong bond of fellowship which unites us all in this movement,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

### RELEASE OF THE TREASURER.

Before the Albert Hall meeting comes the welcome to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the arrangements for which are described on page 503. The Public Breakfast at the Criterion on the morning of her release, Friday, April 16, the Great Procession, and the Aldwych Theatre meeting on the following day, must be carried through in a way which shall show our love for our dear leader and comrade and our enthusiasm for the Cause. Will those who wish to make this a record welcome write at once to Clements Inn?—C. H. P.

## THE OPPOSITION OF THE LIBERAL GOVERNMENT.

Just before the Women's Parliament of Tuesday last the following correspondence took place between the Women's Social and Political Union and the Prime Minister as the result of a letter requesting him to receive a deputation.

10, Downing Street, Whitehall, S.W., March 27, 1909.

Miss Pankhurst,

DEAR MADAM.—In reply to your letter of the 26th inst., in which you ask the Prime Minister to receive a deputation from the National Women's Social and Political Union on Tuesday afternoon, the 30th inst., I am desired by Mr. Asquith to say that, so far as he is aware, no new facts have been adduced in respect to the controversy on Woman Suffrage, nor has there been, on the part of the Government, any change in their stated intentions with regard to this question.

Under these circumstances the Prime Minister is of opinion that no useful purpose would be served by his receiving the deputation in question.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

VAUGHAN NASH.

4, Clements Inn, W.C.

March 29, 1909.

To the Right Hon. H. H. Asquith.

DEAR SIR.—In reply to your letter of the 27th inst., we respectfully renew our request that you will receive the deputation which is to leave the Women's Parliament at the Caxton Hall to-morrow (Tuesday) afternoon.

In the course of your letter you say that, so far as you are aware, no new facts have been adduced in respect to the controversy on Woman Suffrage. Let me point out that it is precisely for the purpose of laying before you all the facts bearing upon the question of Woman Suffrage, and upon the position which this cause holds in public esteem, that the deputation seeks to interview you.

Let me further point out that as you have never, since becoming Prime Minister, received a deputation from any of the Woman Suffrage societies, you have had no real opportunity of hearing the case for the immediate enfranchisement of women fully stated.

In the hope that you will be moved by these considerations to accord them an interview, the deputation will present themselves at the House of Commons to-morrow afternoon.—Yours faithfully,

(Signed)

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

From this it will be seen that Mr. Asquith advances as his excuse for refusing the reasonable request that he should receive a deputation his ignorance of those very facts which it was the desire of the deputation to lay before him. Naturally the Women's Social and Political Union decline to allow the Prime Minister to settle matters in this arbitrary and unconstitutional fashion. As we have before pointed out, to relinquish the attempt to lay the claim for women's enfranchisement before the Prime Minister would mean the collapse of the living movement for Woman Suffrage.

### Speaking in the Name of Womanhood.

The women who time after time have gone forth from the Caxton Hall determined that, unless they are forcibly prevented from doing so, they will see the Prime Minister, are in very truth the representatives of all women who claim political enfranchisement. In them is personified the whole women's movement, and when they demand admission to the House of Commons and audience of the Prime Minister, they are speaking with the voice and in the name of every woman who seeks release from political bondage.

Realising to the full the meaning of their action and the responsibility of their position, the deputation of Lancashire women, with their colleagues from London and elsewhere, left the Caxton Hall on Tuesday, March 30, resolved that no weakness or hesitation on their part should cause the failure of their political mission. They made repeated attempts to gain admission to the House, until finally they were overcome by physical force. Some were arrested, and the others resolved to renew their efforts to see the Prime Minister on the following day. Confidence in women, love and admiration for them, are the source of the enthusiasm felt by members of our Union, and they have been intensified by the bravery and devotion shown by every member of this deputation.

The action of the Prime Minister in deliberately causing the arrest of these women by the unwarranted refusal to receive them, will still further injure his position in the country. It is now generally admitted in political circles that the militant campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union is a great and growing danger to the Government. Sir Charles McLaren has openly stated this to be the case in the House of Commons, and further proof is afforded by the overwhelming defeat of the Government at Croydon. From all quarters

come various explanations of the severe defeat suffered by the Liberal party, but undoubtedly a major cause of that defeat was the unpopularity of the Government's Woman Suffrage policy. A recognition of this fact is betrayed in Mr. Raphael's assertion that outside organisations impaired his chances. Just before the election took place the *Daily Chronicle*, in a leading article, attempted to conceal the fact that the Women's Social and Political Union had obtained a strong hold on the constituency, by saying: "If we may judge by the popular reception of the women who are opposing the advocate of Woman Suffrage in the obvious interest of the Conservative candidate, their uncompromising opponent, the absurdity of this propaganda offends the commonsense of the electorate," and again, "Whatever else the Croydon contest may have left undone, it has side-tracked the militant Suffragists from serious politics."

But the real fact of the case is that the people of Croydon understand perfectly well that the Women's Social and Political Union opposed Mr. Raphael because, having accepted the leadership of Mr. Asquith, he had to all intents and purposes deserted the women's cause. The *Daily Chronicle's* assertion that our speakers had an unfavourable and discourteous reception is directly contrary to the truth, as can be proved by abundant evidence gathered from the columns of other newspapers. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the *Daily Chronicle*, while suggesting that the Union did not win the favour of the public, omitted to inform its readers of our great meeting in the Empire Theatre on the eve of the poll, which excelled in numbers and enthusiasm any meeting held by the political parties during the whole campaign. Far from "side-tracking the militant Suffragists from serious politics," the Croydon contest has confirmed our position in the political world.

The article in question is significant because of the implied admission which it contains that our power is recognised by official Liberalism. Never before has Woman Suffrage held this commanding place among political issues. It is the anti-Government policy which has worked this transformation. Women, because they lack the constitutional weapon, can oppose the Government only by means which, though essentially moderate, are yet unconstitutional. The electors of the country, now that they are roused to action by witnessing the struggle which women themselves are making, can, and do, oppose the Government by means of the constitutional weapon—the Vote. These two popular forces, the unenfranchised women and the enfranchised men working together, must necessarily succeed in securing the enactment of a Bill for Woman Suffrage. By resisting the inevitable the Government are doing more injury to themselves than to the women's movement. Delay in settling this question means that the Woman Suffrage forces are becoming so strong and united, that the day which brings Votes to Women may also bring to the Government the destruction which, if they acted now, might be averted. Moreover, the spirit of revolt against the Liberal Government which took rise amongst women is spreading. The example set for the women has not been lost upon the men who seek legislative change. The Welsh party are rejecting a policy of confiding patience for one of a more militant character, and are forcing the Government nearer and nearer to the point of action on the thorny question of Welsh Disestablishment. Even more formidable to the present Administration is the prospect that the Irish party may again resume the policy which twenty-five years ago made them the arbiter of political destinies.

The present Government made their first great mistake when they refused at the outset of their career to recognise the power, then latent, in the women's agitation. Already that mistake has cost them dear, in direct loss of support from women, and in the general disillusionment and disintegration which has been produced in the Liberal forces throughout the country. Many are the enlightened and far-seeing Liberals who know this to be the case. It is for them, if they care for the honour—for the existence even—of their party, to express to the Government their disapproval of the illiberal and unconstitutional methods which are destroying the Liberal cause in the constituencies.

Christabel Pankhurst.







THE TREASURER'S NOTE.

It is a very great pleasure to publish again, after an interval of five weeks, the contributions to the fund, which has mounted up during this time by no less a sum than £3,600, bringing the total up to close upon £33,000 in all.

F. W. P. L.

Contributions to the £50,000 Fund.

Table listing contributions to the £50,000 fund, including names like Binyon, Miss Margaret, Birnstingl, Miss Ethel, and others, with amounts in pounds and shillings.

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LOCAL NOTES.

Barnes W.S.P.U.—We held an At Home at Byfield Hall on Friday last, when Mrs. Mansell-Moullin spoke, and Mrs. Whitaker, of Putney, took the chair.

ALICIA ROSE.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—Our Dome meeting on Friday, March 26th, with Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc., as principal speaker, and Miss Hall as chairman, was the event of the week.

I. G. McKEOWN.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—Will members and friends make a point of being present at our weekly At Homes on Wednesdays, 8.30 p.m., at 93, Oakley Street.

Forest Gate and Wanstead W.S.P.U.—We are holding an open-air meeting to-day (Friday), at the corner of Sebert Road, at 7.30, and hope many members will come to help to distribute handbills and sell literature.

M. E. SLEIGHT.

Hendon W.S.P.U.—Our next work in Hendon is to make a success of the At Home given by Mrs. Bousfield and Mrs. Wyatt, at the Council Offices, on Wednesday, April 7, at 4 o'clock.

FRANCES V. CREATON.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—There are still tickets to be had at 2s. 6d. (inclusive) for our whist drive at the Assembly Rooms, Middle Lane, Crouch End, on Saturday evening, April 3.

THEODORA BONWICK.

Hull W.S.P.U.—On Saturday last Miss Little and I again visited the football ground with VOTES FOR WOMEN, and though the sale was not so rapid as the previous week, we disposed of double the number of copies.

M. HARRISON.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Monday, March 21, Miss Smith, of Streatham, addressed a large meeting in the Market Place, Lewisham. A large number of "Votes" were sold.

(Mrs.) LIZZIE MCKENZIE.

Marylebone W.S.P.U.—On Tuesday, Miss Agnes Kelly addressed a well-attended drawing-room meeting, organised by Mrs. Fry, and two more drawing-room meetings have been arranged for next week.

GENE SHEPPARD.

Nottingham W.S.P.U.—On Thursday, March 25, members met at the Midland Station to welcome Miss Helen Watts after her month in Holloway. In the evening there was a large muster at the supper held in her honour.

C. M. BURGIS.

Putney and Fulham W.S.P.U.—Several of our members were working at Croydon at the end of last week. Will all those willing to help as literature sellers, chalkers, etc., make a special effort to attend the meeting at 20, Churchfield Mansions, New King's Road, this Friday (April 2), at 8 p.m.

H. ROBERTS.

D. CUTTEN.

THE SUFFRAGETTES' "MOTHER."

In opening the Hampstead Garden Suburb on Saturday, Canon Barnett said all disliked any sort of closed door. It was wrong of Bluebeard to keep a closed door, and personally he thought Fatima was quite right to open it.

WATCHING THE FUN.

From behind police protection the Members watched the fun.—Daily Paper. When a score or so of women, armed with their sex's cause, went (without police protection) to the makers of our laws, To ask that right and equity and justice should be done.

Have these gentlemen (?) forgotten the deeds, so true and brave, Done by women in past times their fellow-men to save? Did they think of Florence Nightingale, to mention only one, When behind police protection they stood and watched the fun?

When they think of all the sport they've missed, living in this snilder age, I'm sure they swear and stamp their feet, and gnash their teeth with rage. Had they lived when Joan of Arc was burnt, no doubt they would have run Behind police protection, and have stood and watched the fun.

They might have seen Jane Grey, so wise, and Mary, Scotland's Queen, Lose their heads upon the block—grand times those must have been! They might have seen Hypatia torn to pieces by the mob—Oh! the fun they've missed, and the sport they've lost! It almost makes one sob!

Could the Suffragettes be burnt alive in, say, Trafalgar Square, And Parliament have an "evening off" so that Members could be there, I'm sure the thing quite thoroughly and properly would be done, And behind police protection they could stand and watch the fun.

Now, each gentleman (?) had a mother, who, if she's living still, Must glow with admiration, and with pride her heart must thrill When she reads how brave and chivalrous was the behaviour of her son, When, behind police protection, he stood and watched the fun.

M. A. PAGE.

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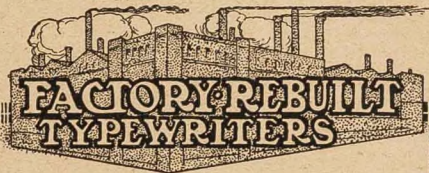
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**MRS. PANKHURST IN MANCHESTER.**

Whatever may be felt about some of the methods of the militant section of the Suffragettes, no reasonable person can doubt their earnestness, their self-sacrificing industry, or the absolute purity of their motives. The insinuations so frequently heard that these devoted women are seeking notoriety, that they love the cheap martyrdom of Holloway Gaol, and of police-court appearances are entirely without foundation. . . . It was impossible to listen to Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, and Miss Mary Phillips at the Women's Parliament on Wednesday night without feeling that they have before them the loftiest ideals. They are labouring for the amelioration of the lot of the working woman. They honestly believe that the best, if not the only course, is to make woman of importance politically; and that can only be done by giving women the vote on the same terms as men. . . . The Suffragette claims will have to be dealt with legislatively, and that very soon. The movement cannot be ignored. Mr. Asquith is making the greatest mistake in declining to receive a deputation and hear a statement from the leaders' own lips in defence of their methods, and in explanation of their policy and aims. The desire to lay their case before the Chief Minister of the Crown is reasonable and in harmony with the Constitution, and Mr. Asquith's persistent refusal to accede to their wishes is wholly without justification. . . . Why should he not receive them? Mr. Asquith receives deputations of men, who lay before him all kinds of grievances and demands. As a simple matter of fairness and equity, if for no other reason, he ought to receive the Suffragettes. They are labouring if they are not voters. His refusal to see them is the root cause of all the trouble in London, and has led to the imprisonment of women whose only offence is that of seeking to secure the rights of citizenship. . . . Incidentally, Mr. Asquith's attitude is a very strong argument for the concession of votes to women. The Premier would not refuse to receive a deputation of women if women had votes. . . . We do not know how far, if at all, the anti-Suffragette movement was represented on Wednesday night. If any "antis" were present, they must have had a cold time in the presence of the unbounded affection for the Suffragette leaders and devotion to the cause displayed by the audience.

—*Manchester Weekly Times*, March 27.

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- The Militant Methods of the N.W.S.P.U.** By CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.
- The "Physical Force" Fallacy.** By LAURENCE HOUSMAN.
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