

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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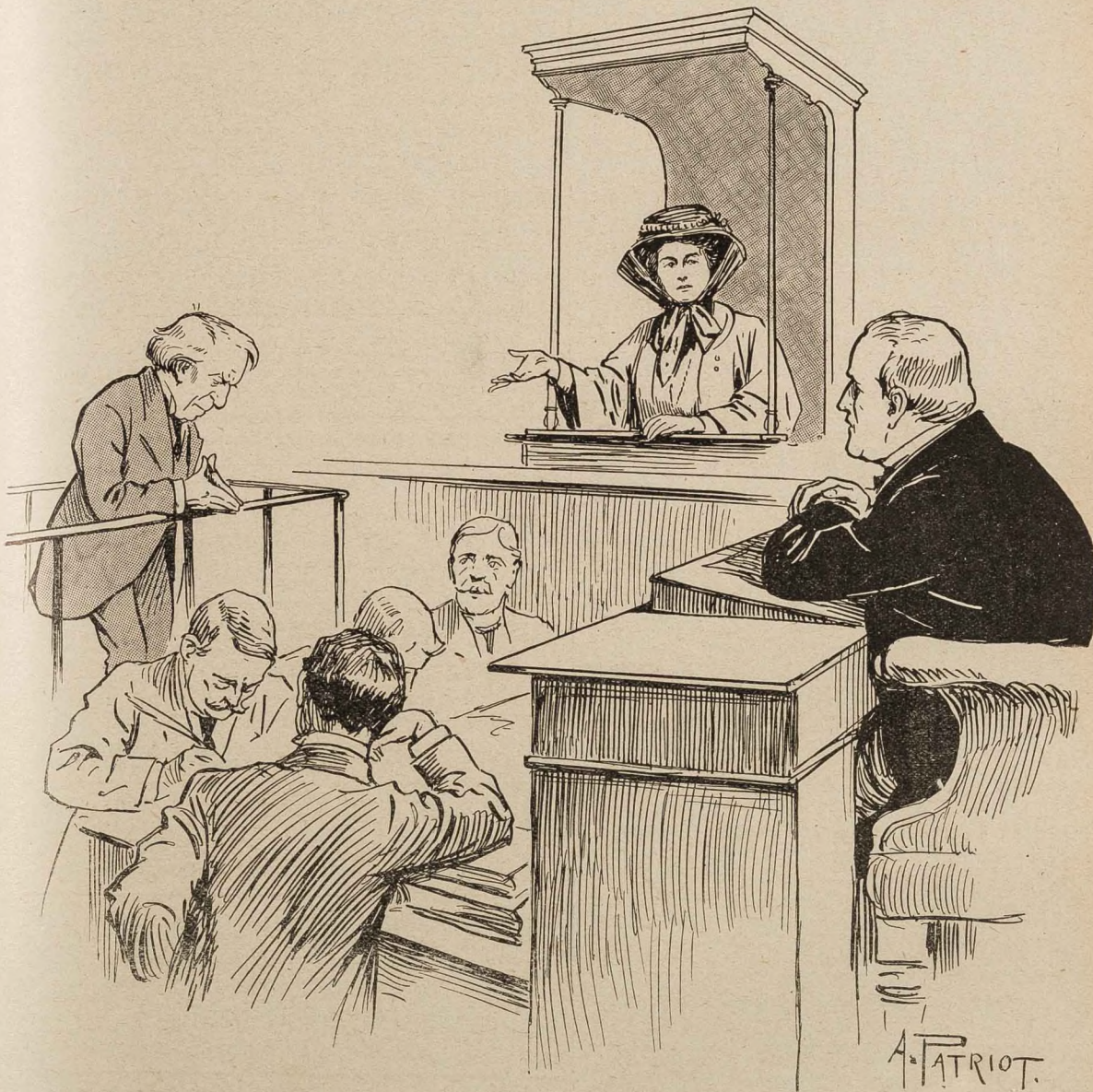
FRIDAY, MARCH 5, 1909.

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

JUDGMENT IN A HIGHER COURT.

Glasgow Bye-Election Result: Scott-Dickson (U.), 7,298; Gibson Bowles (Lib.), 5,185
Conservative Majority, 2,113.

(At the General Election the Liberal candidate was returned by a majority of 431.)



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PRISONER (Mr. Asq-th): "My defence is that Liberal principles do not apply to women."

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WOMEN week is being arranged, particulars of which are given elsewhere. We know that we can count upon our readers to make this proposal a tremendous success.

In Holloway.

With the exception of a visit accorded to Lady Constance Lytton, Mr. Gladstone has been more than usually obdurate in refusing visits to the prisoners in Holloway, and therefore very little is known of their condition. It was understood that before they went to their cells they intended to make a representation to the Governor, protesting against being searched, and also against the rule of silence. From the prisoners who were released on Saturday last information was obtained that they were successful in so far that they were not searched, but it is not yet known how far the rule of silence is being enforced. Mr. Gladstone adheres to his intention to detain the women in the second division, thereby violating the principles of treatment allotted to political prisoners in all civilised countries. The divergence between his treatment of the women, and that of the Irish political prisoners, was called attention to by Mr. Balfour in the House of Commons, and by other Members of Parliament.

Self-Denial Week.

The imprisonment of the Treasurer and 27 other members of the Union in Holloway has inspired the friends of Woman Suffrage to put forward heroic efforts during the Self-Denial week for raising a great Campaign Fund. Undaunted by the bitter conditions of the weather, women have undertaken effective work in the streets, some collecting in boxes, some selling flowers, some acting as pavement artists; others have sent cheques to the Treasurer, and others have promised to contribute so much a week during Mrs. Lawrence's imprisonment. In this way a large Campaign Fund is being collected, the total of which will provide a splendid war chest for the fight against the illiberalism of the Liberal Government.

The Released Prisoners.

On Saturday last the three prisoners, Mrs. Clarke, Miss Dallas, and Miss Douglas Smith, who have served a month's imprisonment for their attempt to see the Prime Minister at Downing Street, were released from Holloway. They were met by a crowd at the prison gates, and were marched in procession to the Inns of Court Hotel, where a further rousing welcome was given them at a complimentary breakfast, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who presided, saying these prisoners were her especial favourites, because when called upon they had not hesitated a moment, but had gone straight off to do their duty.

Public Opinion in Glasgow.

The crushing defeat which the Liberal Government have suffered at Glasgow should convince them that in resisting the claims of women to their enfranchisement, and in imprisoning as ordinary criminals those who refuse to be denied their rights, they are alienating the people of the country. Our special cartoon, "Judgment in a higher Court," illustrates very happily the situation.

Educational Work.

During the past week several great meetings have been held; apart from the campaign which Mrs. Pankhurst has been carrying on at the bye-elections and the meetings in other parts of the country, an eager crowd gathered together in the St. James's Hall on Thursday in last week, and expressed their appreciation by promising their assistance to the work and finances of the Union. At the Queen's Hall on Monday, though London was under snow, an audience of 500 people listened to speeches by Miss Pankhurst, Mrs. Clarke, Miss Dallas, Miss Douglas Smith, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence, and many additional recruits were added to the Union.

Special Features.

Among the special features of this issue are the account of the trial at Bow Street, in which is contained a verbatim report of the speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's History of the Suffrage, Mr. Pethick Lawrence's article on the Legislative Inferiority of Women, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst's Analysis of the Present Political Situation. For our issue next week we have a special article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence entitled "Why I am in Prison."

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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

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

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

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

DEDICATION.

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

The circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN advanced to 16,000 copies last week, but in spite of this increase the number was sold out at the beginning of this week, too late for further copies to be printed. As a result, a number of intending purchasers were disappointed. While making all efforts to prevent this in future, we ask our supporters to send in their orders as early as possible so that they may be executed in due course.

THE OUTLOOK.

With one of the editors in prison for her principles, we are determined that there shall be no loss in the effectiveness of VOTES FOR WOMEN as an organ of political attack upon the Government for their refusal to grant to women constitutional liberty. We are glad to be able to reproduce this week an article written by Mrs. Lawrence before she was sentenced, announcing to our readers her special wish that the circulation shall be extended during her absence. Acting on this, a special VOTES FOR

HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XLVI.—Mr. Dickinson's First Bill in 1907.

We have seen that at the opening of Parliament, 1907, fifty-five members and sympathisers of the Women's Social and Political Union had willingly gone to prison in order to obtain for women the Parliamentary vote.

Five of the older suffragists—Mrs. Eva McLaren, Lady Knightley of Fawsley, Miss I. O. Ford, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, and Mrs. Cooper—now wrote to the Prime Minister, asking him to move in the House of Commons that they might be allowed to plead the cause of women's suffrage at the Bar of the House. In spite of the fact that in 1688 Anne Fitzharris (widow of Edward Fitzharris, who was executed for treason in 1681) had been allowed to speak at the Bar on behalf of herself and her children, and that Mrs. Clarke, mistress of the Duke of York, had been summoned there to give evidence in regard to the charges of corruption brought against the Duke, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman refused to allow the suffragists to plead at the Bar, on the ground that there was no precedent for women appearing there in support of a petition.

Anti-suffragist Opposition.

A Women's Suffrage Bill had, as we know, been given a first place in the ballot for Private Members' Bills at the beginning of the Session. Mr. Dickinson, who had secured the place, did not choose the first or second Friday, as might have been expected, but put down his Bill for second reading on March 5. A band of anti-woman suffragist Liberals were now actively working against the Bill, and on the day of the debate Mr. (now Sir) Samuel Evans presented a petition, signed by 21,000 women, against the suffrage. Though this was the largest anti-suffragist petition ever presented, it was, of course, quite insignificant as compared with the great petitions and memorials in support of the suffrage with which Parliament has been inundated, and though the anti-suffragists tried to make much capital out of it, it was singularly poor and ineffective as compared with the sacrifices made by the ninety-nine women who had suffered an aggregate of 194 weeks' imprisonment during the previous year, and with the heroic action of the 54 women and one man who, for the sake of women's enfranchisement, had so recently gone to gaol.

Knowing that their opposition to the cause of votes for women would render them unpopular, many of the anti-suffragists, especially among the Liberals, now pretended that they objected to Mr. Dickinson's Bill because they did not consider it democratic, and believed that it would only give the vote to well-off women, and would exclude those who had to work for their living. So emphatically was this statement made, that it was difficult to convince many people that some new Bill, with the object of establishing a fancy franchise, had not been brought in. Yet the fact was that Mr. Dickinson's Bill differed but slightly in wording from that which had originally passed its second reading in 1870, and had so often since then been debated in the House of Commons.

The text of Mr. Dickinson's Bill was as follows:—

(1) In all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters and to vote in such election.

(2) A woman shall not be disqualified by reason of marriage from being so registered and voting notwithstanding the provisions of any law or custom to the contrary.

When asked by the secretary of the local Suffrage Society, in his constituency of Dunfermline, whether he would support women's suffrage in the forthcoming debate, Sir Henry Camp-

bell-Bannerman had written in reply, "I will, with much pleasure, give my support to Mr. Dickinson's Bill when it comes before the House of Commons." When the Bill came on the Prime Minister spoke early in the discussion, but instead of giving it the support he had promised, he threw cold water upon it, saying:—"I am not very warmly enamoured of it. . . . It will enfranchise a small minority of well-to-do single women."

Where the Prime Minister had led, the rank and file anti-suffragist Liberal M.P.'s followed. Their arguments were well met by Mr. Phillip Snowden, who, as a Labour representative, might certainly have been supposed to have been at least as anxious as the opponents to secure fair and adequate representation for the working class. Mr. Snowden told the House that some two or three years before he had supervised a census which was taken in about fifty different parts of the country, with the object of ascertaining what proportion of the women who would be enfranchised by a measure similar to that now under discussion would belong to the working class. For the purposes of this census, women who worked for wages, who were domestically employed, and who were supported by the wages of wage-earning children, were classed as "working women." The municipal registers examined in the course of this inquiry contained 372,000 names, and the total number of women voters upon them was 59,000, of whom 82.4 per cent. were working women. These figures, conclusive though they appear to the unprejudiced mind, produced absolutely no impression upon the so-called adult suffragists in the House of Commons, and the debate which had begun at 12 o'clock, dragged wearily on until nearly five. Two attempts were now made to move the closure, but the Speaker refused to accept it, and at five o'clock the debate stood adjourned, Mr. Rees, the Liberal Member for Montgomery Burghs, having talked the measure out.

Withdrawal of the Bill.

It was now urged by both Suffragettes and Suffragists that the Government should give another day for the discussion of the Bill, but this was refused, and when, soon afterwards, Sir Charles McLaren obtained a place for a Women's Suffrage resolution on March 27, in spite of protests from the Women's Social and Political Union, who realised that the passage of a resolution meant merely the recording of a pious opinion that could have no practical outcome, Mr. Dickinson withdrew his Bill.

No sooner had Mr. Dickinson's Bill been withdrawn and Sir Charles McLaren's resolution set down in its stead than Mr. (now Sir) Maurice Levy introduced an Adult Suffrage Bill. According to the rules of the House of Commons a resolution could not be proceeded with if a Bill dealing with the same subject was also before the House, and Sir Charles McLaren's resolution was therefore rendered out of order. Mr. Levy's action was acknowledged to be an unjustifiable abuse of the rules of procedure, but he was deaf to all appeals to withdraw his Bill, and openly exulted in what he had done. Members on all sides of the House objected strongly to his action, for it was pointed out that members might constantly be deprived of the rights intended to be secured to them by the ballot if all those who might happen to dislike any given subject should take to bringing in dummy Bills to prevent its being discussed. A resolution embodying this point of view was agreed to on the adjournment of the House for the Easter recess. The general feeling was that Mr. Levy had offended against the recognised traditional etiquette of Parliament. It must, however, be remembered that, as the *Standard* put it, "if the Government had chosen to exercise pressure Mr. Levy would have proved complacent." Realising this, and realising, too, that the Government, with practically all the time of Parliament at its disposal, could easily have given a day for the discussion of Women's Suffrage had it wished to do so, the Women's Social and Political Union were now arranging to hold another Women's Parliament, and many more of its members were making up their minds to go to prison in order that the citizenship of women might be won.

(To be continued.)

ELEMENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMAND.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.—Chapter II.—Where the Law is Unjust to Women.

I have promised in the present chapter to deal with the inferior position in which women are placed by the law of the land, which arises from their voteless condition, and I shall show that in some of the most important things of a woman's life the law differentiates between men and women to the disadvantage of the latter. Before I come to this, however, it is well to point out that this is not the sole—perhaps not even the chief—reason why women wish to have a voice in the making of the laws. Quite apart from differential treatment between men and women, every law which is carried through the House of Commons affects in some way the lives of women—whether it be a law relating to housing, or to education, or to employment, or to provision for old age, or to the collection and expenditure of the national revenue.

Coming now to the more restricted field of differential legislation between men and women, it will be found that the existing laws of the country affect the lives of women at every point. As a single woman she is treated differently from the single man. If her parents are wealthy and die intestate, she finds her claims to landed property postponed to those of her male relatives. If she is a working woman, she finds that certain occupations are legally closed to her, and that others are hedged about with restrictions. There is not space here to deal at length with the factory laws. Though many of them are protective in their character, many of them are also detrimental to the chances of women in the labour market.

As Wife and Mother.

It is, however, when she becomes a wife and mother that the principal inequalities of the law come into her life. Those who oppose the granting of the franchise to women are the loudest in their claims that the place of women is in the home, yet it is precisely in the home that the rights of the man are by law entirely superior to those of the woman. The husband has the power to select where the home shall be, and how it shall be conducted. In the eyes of the law he is the sole parent of the child so long as he is alive, and the decision as to the child's upbringing rests entirely with him. Whether the husband be good or bad, the wife is by law entirely subservient to him, and in the event of either party to the marriage being guilty of definite immorality, there is a total difference in the treatment accorded to husband and wife. These are the general principles which underlie the position of the married woman. A few concrete illustrations will make this more clear.

When a man and woman of the working class marry, they have probably up to that time both been earning an independent livelihood. After marriage it is usual, except in certain cases, for there to be a division of labour—the husband undertakes the external work, and the earning of money wages, and the woman undertakes the internal economy of the home, and the care of the children. The husband does not pay the wife wages for her share of the work, but he is supposed to hand over a large part of the money wages which he earns to her for the housekeeping; but, although this is actually the case with the bulk of good husbands, the law does not insist upon this position. The wife has no legal right to any share of the husband's income except in the case of actual desertion, and if while continuing to live with her he refuses to pay to her a single penny of his wages, she cannot obtain such payment except by breaking up her home, and going into the workhouse; short of this she and her children can starve, and yet she cannot claim the protection of the law to obtain maintenance from her husband.

Not only so, but even where the husband has paid over to his wife a certain sum of money for housekeeping purposes, and the house has been well kept, and the wife has saved a small sum out of the money, a recent decision in the Law Courts has pronounced that this money is still the property of the husband, and cannot be claimed by the wife.

Prior to the passing of the Married Woman's Property Acts the position was still worse, because the husband could then claim, in addition to his own money, all the money which the wife brought to him as her separate property, or even earned

by the exertions of her own labour. These additional injustices were abolished by the Married Woman's Property Acts, carried in 1870 and 1883, largely as a result of the last great franchise agitation.

A brief reference is necessary here to the liability of the husband for his wife's debts incurred by her while living with him for necessities ordered at tradesmen's houses, a liability which is not shared by a rich wife for the purchases of her husband. Is not this, it is frequently asked, a proof of how partial the law is to women? The position, however, is not what is generally supposed. The law is not a protection for the wife but for the creditor, who would otherwise be frequently defrauded by collusion between husband and wife. The creditor is entitled to assume (so the law says) that the wife, in ordering goods, is doing so as the agent of her husband. The proof that no special protection for the wife is intended lies in the fact that the husband can evade all responsibility in the matter by announcing beforehand his intention of doing so to all tradesmen in the neighbourhood.

There is a common idea that in the upbringing of the children the father has a right to determine that of the sons and the mother that of the daughters. This idea prevails because it is a practice sometimes agreed upon beforehand by persons of different religious opinions in contracting marriage, but the law does not support any such views. The mother has no more right by law to decide upon the education of her daughters than she has of her sons. If it is a case of vaccination, with regard to which the parent has the right to claim exemption, magistrates have definitely refused to recognise the mother as a parent where the father is still alive. In the Education Bills brought in by the present Liberal Government, there have been clauses granting to the parent the power to decide upon the kind of religion which the children shall be taught. In this case also, whether the child be son or daughter, the father, if he be alive, is the sole person to be consulted.

At common law the father is entitled against the mother to the custody of the children, and though the Guardianship of Infants Act (1886) modifies this decision in certain cases, nevertheless, the father, so long as he lives and is not guilty of misconduct, remains *prima facie* the guardian of his children to the exclusion of the mother. Even after his death she may find her wishes for the future of her children subject to those of a guardian appointed in her husband's will. Further than this, while the widower is by the Act of 1907 admitted to contract a legal marriage with his deceased wife's sister with a view to taking better care of his children, no similar opportunity is given to the widow who wishes to find a father to her children in her deceased husband's brother.

If a man dies intestate his wife is only entitled to a portion of his estate, while if she dies her husband holds her lands for life and has a right to the whole of her personal property.

The divorce laws, as is well known, are unequal between man and woman, for whereas the law grants divorce to a man for the simple misconduct of his wife, a similar behaviour by the husband does not free the woman from the marriage tie. She can only obtain divorce by proving, in addition, cruelty or desertion; and by a recent decision of the Court, where the woman has been separated from her husband owing to his atrocious behaviour, this separation will not justify her in claiming desertion.

Before turning to the prospect for the future it may be remarked that women desire to alter the law in several special cases where they affect women solely. Among these is the question of the age of consent, which at present stands at fourteen years, and should certainly be raised. There are also the laws relating to concealment of birth and infanticide by mothers directly after birth, which are in need of radical alteration.

Prospect for the Future.

Inferior as is the position of women to-day before the law, it is liable to become very much worse if certain proposals which are freely talked about by Cabinet Ministers at the present time are translated into active legislative measures. Mr. John Burns has said on several occasions—and other Cabinet Ministers have supported his remarks—that it is proposed in the near future to introduce legislation to restrict the labour of women, and particularly that of married women. These proposals, if carried into effect, will strike a direct blow at the economic independence of women, and, while there is no suggestion of providing at the same time any additional rights of maintenance of the wife at the hands of her husband, either for herself or for her children, will seriously cripple her in her duties as mother and housewife.

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Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

POLITICAL NOTES.

Once more women have been arrested because of an attempt to lay their political grievance before the Government. This vindictive and unwarranted attack made by the Government upon the women who wended their way towards the House of Commons in pursuance of their political duty will be widely condemned. The Women's Social and Political Union were careful to act in the most reasonable manner. Formal notice of their approaching visit to the House of Commons was sent to the Prime Minister by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the leader of the deputation, two days before that visit took place. The deputation itself proceeded in a most dignified and peaceable manner, and any disorder which may have occurred was due solely to the action of the authorities in obstructing their passage to the House of Commons; indeed, the only thing which the prosecution were able to allege against the members of the deputation was their determination to see the Prime Minister. Never before in the history of these deputations to the Government at Westminster have the public seen so clearly that Suffragists are arrested simply and solely for their persistence in demanding the vote. The Government's pretence that they are imprisoned for lawless behaviour deceives no one, for it has now become so evident that the law, or, rather, the police regulation which they are charged with breaking, is especially created for the purpose of providing the Prime Minister with a shelter from their legitimate agitation.

The most surprising feature of the present situation is the blindness of the Liberal politicians who think that they can imprison women for demanding votes without losing their popu-

larity in the country. This policy of repression without redress of grievance they dare not pursue in Ireland or India for fear of alienating the British electorate. Why, then, do they suppose that the electors will permit them to pursue this illiberal policy where the women of the country are concerned?

So little do they heed the danger in which they stand that they aggravate their offence by disregarding the rules of fair-play in the matter of the trial and imprisonment of their Suffragist opponents. Sentence of imprisonment is inflicted without any consideration for justice or consistency; in fact, the party in power have given one more proof that they hold the liberty of the subject very cheaply. For example, upon the leader of one deputation is imposed the already excessive sentence of one month, while the leader of a second deputation, charged with the same offence, gets the even longer sentence of two months. It would be interesting to know what the Home Secretary has to say in support of such a method of administering justice. Further, in spite of the evident condemnation of the public, the Government still adhere to their decision to deny these political offenders the privileges which civilised countries have decided ought to be accorded to such offenders, and the present Suffragist prisoners, like their predecessors, have been placed in the second division.

The course of action which I have described—the arrest of women for claiming the vote, the manner of their trial, the mode of their imprisonment—must, as those who know and understand the history of our country will agree, bring harm to the Government responsible for it. Those of us who go about the country and are able to test popular opinion have noticed lately a new sympathy with the Woman Suffrage cause, a greater understanding of the methods now being used to promote that cause, and an increased resentment against the Government who resist the constitutional claim which women are making. Perhaps the party leaders, not always quick to mark the signs of the times, do not yet know what a harvest they will reap unless they reverse their present reactionary policy in regard to Woman Suffrage. Perhaps even the Press (not for the first time where great political issues are concerned) fail quite to understand the true state of affairs.

This want of perception is due to the fact that the growth and rise of a popular movement cannot best be observed from the armchair. It is those who go amongst the people, as do the organisers of the Women's Social and Political Union, who know the state of public opinion, and we are able to say that the mass of the people are with us in our demand that to women, as to men, shall be given the right of self-government. The defeat of the Government at Glasgow, due largely to our opposition, is one of those demonstrations of unpopularity which even the most obtuse can understand. The great force of public opinion, which, fortunately, the party politicians cannot ignore, is behind our movement.

Again, Governments—especially, perhaps, the present Liberal Government—are influenced by another force—that of the opinion of the social world in which Cabinet Ministers live, move, and have their being. For long years that world has been almost unstirred by the agitation for Woman Suffrage. In fact, there used to be a measure of truth in the allegation that women belonging to the prosperous classes were indifferent to the question of Woman Suffrage. That indifference proceeded from ignorance of the conditions under which other women live, and it proceeded, too, from the faulty education which prevented the sheltered women from realising their own need of wider opportunities for national service. Many causes have contributed to break down the barriers which kept such women blind to their duty and ignorant of reality. As a result, the desire for political enfranchisement is spreading amongst them, and when these women learn that mere appeal is vain, and that determined protest against political subjection is necessary, the present Government will find that, in consequence of their opposition to Votes for Women, they will incur, in addition to political unpopularity, social unpopularity also.

The brave action of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and her comrades has carried the movement a long stage forward. The advantage thus gained is to be pursued, by the sending of another deputation to the Prime Minister at St. Stephen's on March 30. This announcement will cause every woman in the movement to ask herself whether her turn has not now come to enter a protest against political injustice.

Christabel Pankhurst.

A SECOND LETTER TO WOMEN.

Dear Members and Friends of the Women's Social and Political Union:—

I told you last week that there were three great desires that I should have in my heart all the time that I was in prison.

And I told you the first of those three desires, and I feel perfectly sure, by everything I know about you, by all that you have done in the past, that ever since you received my letter you have been working to bring about its accomplishment. And you will not cease to work for it until the great meeting on March 23 has answered, once for all, the question, "How much in all have we realised for the fund from our week of self-denial and special effort?"

Our Paper, "Votes for Women."

My first wish was, as I explained to you, connected with my office as treasurer. There is another office that I bear in this organisation—that is the office of joint editorship of the paper that belongs to the Women's Social and Political Union—our paper, VOTES FOR WOMEN. Now, my second wish is connected with the paper. While I sit in my solitary prison cell all day long, nothing to claim my thoughts for the events of the passing hour, I shall be often saying to myself, "I wonder whether the circulation of the paper is going up every week by several hundred copies? I wonder if the advertisements fill four pages, five pages, by now?"

I cannot tell you how I have cared and thought and worked for the paper from the very first. You know how we started it—my husband, who had edited two papers before, and I, who was quite a novice at the work. From at the outset a small circulation of 2,000, it went up in little more than one year to a circulation of 16,000. And then came the need for extension and development, and the Committee of the N.W.S.P.U. took the paper over and assumed all the financial liabilities which we two had borne alone. But still my husband and I, who had looked after it when it was little and helpless, were not severed from it, and we care for its welfare as much to-day as ever we did.

Now, the first thing that the Committee, when it took over the paper, deemed to be quite essential was to increase its size from sixteen to twenty-four pages. That meant a great additional expense—it meant an extra expenditure of at least £600 a year. But with the campaign so rapidly extending, with the necessity for recording news and also finding a place for educational articles, it was an absolute necessity to enlarge it. Now, the circulation will have to increase by many thousands in order to make good that extra expenditure. Other expenses connected with the business side of the paper had to be incurred in order to develop a rapid growth. Our members know that the paper is really the backbone of our movement, and affords the medium of communication between them in every part of the country. It also represents to the outside world our movement, and sets forth the methods and the aims of our organisation, as well as its strength and importance. Instead of a circulation of 16,000, we ought to have a circulation in the near future of 100,000. How much stronger we should be, how much easier would be the organisation of our campaign!

How is this increase of circulation to be effected? In the same way as every other result in this Union is obtained—by the persistent thought, effort, and work of every one of the members.

Dear fellow members, as soon as Self-denial Week is over, will you devote yourself to this work? One of my eager questions when I once more find myself at liberty will be, "What is the increase in the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN during all these weeks?"

Increase the Circulation.

How is it to be done? I will give you one or two suggestions; others will, I am sure, occur to you:—

1. Let every member, for every one copy that she now takes, give her newsagent orders to supply her with two during the weeks that we are in prison. Let her send the extra copies to new friends, begging them, when the time is up, to order the paper for themselves.

2. Tell your newsagent that if he will show a poster and put six copies on his shop counter every week you will buy the copies if not sold. Visit the shop often to make sure the poster is shown. If all are sold, gradually increase the order.

3. Canvass the newsagents' shops in your town, and ask them to show a poster. Other shop managers where you deal may be sympathetic to the movement, and may be willing to show a poster, especially when the shop is managed and staffed by women.

4. Join a corps of women in your own town who go out two or three times a week selling papers in the street or at theatre queues.

5. Write to my co-Editor for other suggestions. There are many ways in which your co-operation and service would be most useful.

Make the Paper a Good Advertising Medium.

The advertisement side of the paper needs extension. There are at least two ways in which you can help in this respect, and help at once:—

1. If you live in London or in one of our centres of national work, interview the manager of those shops where you deal largely and ask him to advertise in the paper. Do not let the matter rest there. Write at once to the Editor, giving name and address, so that our advertisement manager can call and clinch the business. Systematic work on these lines on the part of our members would very quickly double the advertisements and render the paper financially strong. That, in turn, would render possible further new developments.

2. There is something more that every member can do. You can give your custom—or part of it, at any rate—to those firms who already advertise with us. It only means a little preliminary trouble. When you are going to buy your new clothes turn to the pages of VOTES FOR WOMEN for the names of dress-makers and drapers. You send your curtains, your clothes, to the cleaners; send them to the cleaners who advertise in VOTES FOR WOMEN. You use soap for household purposes; try the soap of those makers who advertise in our paper. You use hooks and eyes—you use dozens of things that are advertised in our columns. And every way you can make our VOTES FOR WOMEN a first-class advertising medium. It is so easy, so simple, and yet so important. By following this rule systematically every member can help the paper and help the Union. Do not forget it.

Do not forget. I think that is the cry of those of us in prison—as it is, one feels, the heart's cry of the dead. Remember us, and spare us your thoughts; and oh! do our work for us—do it better than we could do it ourselves, for we are few, you are many. If you will work for us, it is well for us to be here. I have told you, now, this great wish of mine, second only—if it is second—to the one I told you about last week. Work to spread and extend and enhance the value of the paper, and when you meet the Editor on her release from prison she will bless you and thank you with all her heart.

VOTES FOR WOMEN is yours. It belongs to every member of the Union as much as it belongs to me. But it owed its birth to its present editors, and so we feel it to be ours by subtle bonds of kinship. If I see a steady sale of 25,000 and five pages of advertisements when I come out of prison I shall not grudge one hour that has been spent inside.

Dear friends, I am yours in the bonds of closest fellowship.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

(Mrs. Lawrence's idea is developed on page 396, where particulars as to "Votes for Women" week, March 12—19, will be found.)

In "VOTES FOR WOMEN," March 12,

Will be published a SPECIAL ARTICLE,

"WHY I AM IN PRISON,"

Written by

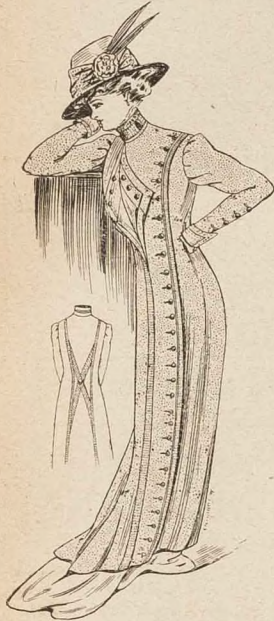
MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Charles Lee & Son

98, 100, 102, WIGMORE ST.

'MADGE' in 'TRUTH'

"Most reliable house - I always use this house."



"FINE TAILORING."

We have probably one of the cleverest tails in London, renowned for perfect taste and work. This illustration shows a smart **Diagonal Coat**, Piped and Buttons in Satin, Revers of Pale Blue, 4½ Gns. Celebrated **Blanketing Coats**, full length, from 21/-.



. Ladies' Outfitters .

Ladies' Tailors

. Court Dressmakers .

. . Furriers . .

. . Milliners . .



Inventors

"LEEWIG" PETICOAT, with Detachable Flounce.

SPECIAL VALUE. Moirette Flounce, in all shades, and Stockinette Top complete, 21/-.

We send boxes adapted for returning containing a good selection.

Tailor - made
Princess
Serge and Cheviot
Costumes,
from
3½ gns. to 12 gns.



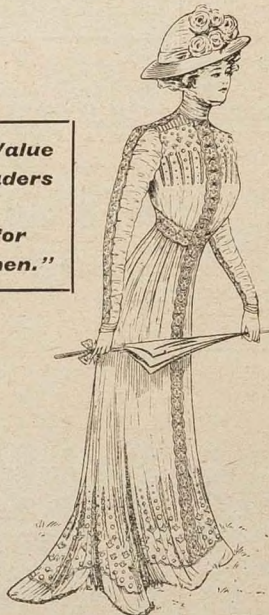
Early Spring Paris Fashion
CREPON BLOUSE, made by hand, and beautiful hand Embroidery, all White. Exceptional Value, 21/-.

Lingerie Gowns, displaying Beautiful Handwork and Fine Stitchery, as Sketch, exceptional Value, 49/6. Large Choice, 21/- to 20 Gns.

Crème Nun's Velling Blouse, also in White and Coloured Lawn, Hem-stitched, 6/11.



Special Value for Readers of "Votes for Women."



Orders by Post from readers of "Votes for Women" will be much appreciated



11/9

Blouse and Skirt. New Skirt in Voile, Lined Silk, Black & White & Colours, 37/6. Smart Blouse in Pont d'Esprit, very becoming and special value. Tie in all shades, 21/-.

"THE HOUSE FOR ROBES."
Beautiful **White Net Robe**, Newest Paris Fashion, with Elegant Embroidery of Green, White, Mauve, Saxe Blue, etc., already for wear, 59/6. Thousand Robes to select from, from 21/- to 20 Gns.

Perfect Style and Cut in a **Striped Cambrie Frock**, with Strappings of Self Colour, as Green, White, Navy, Purple, Mauve, etc. Price 11/9, post free.