

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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the women act with the men in the respective political parties; there is no cleavage politically along sex lines. This is the result which may be confidently predicted in this country when women obtain the vote. All women will not be found voting in one camp and all the men in another, but a certain leavening influence will be felt in every political party, and this leavening influence, which will mean that the point of view of the women is taken into account as well as that of the men, will be for the steadying and improvement of political life.

At Work.

During last week the campaign for Woman's Enfranchisement has commenced in earnest for the year 1909. On Thursday, January 7, in London the National Women's Social and Political Union started with a Thursday evening At Home in the St. James's Hall, when five or six hundred people came to listen to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Christabel Pankhurst, and showed their determination to work for the vote during the ensuing year. On the following evening a large meeting was held in the Queen's Hall by the Women's Freedom League, at which Dr. Hultin was the principal speaker, and at which the demand for the inclusion of Votes for Women in the King's Speech was declared. On Monday afternoon the National Women's Social and Political Union held the first of a series of At Homes in the large Queen's Hall. The ground floor and the first gallery were filled with an enthusiastic audience. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, for the benefit of the newcomers, described the A B C of the movement, and Mrs. Pankhurst won the hearts of her hearers by showing that her present militant campaign had only been reached after 26 years of patient and "constitutional" methods had been tried in vain. A collection of £26 was taken, and £150 sent up in promises from various parts of the hall for the year's campaign; in addition, some £40 had been taken at the door for tickets. Meanwhile, all over the country the organisers of the N.W.S.P.U. have got to work, and meetings and other activities are already in progress.

The Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst.

Special interest attaches to the meeting which is to take place to-night in the large Queen's Hall, when the presentation is to be made to Mrs. Pankhurst by Miss Mordan on behalf of those personal friends who have wished to show by a special gift their affection and regard for the leader of the N.W.S.P.U. We print on page 258 a programme of the events of the evening, and we shall all look forward with great eagerness to the occasion and to the speech which we are promised from Mrs. Pankhurst.

Exhibition at Princes' Skating Rink.

We are glad to be able to give to our readers this week a preliminary account of the great exhibition which the National Women's Social and Political Union are arranging to hold in the Princes' Skating Rink in May. It will be seen that it has been decided to increase the time during which the exhibition is to be open from one week to a fortnight, thereby enabling a much larger number of people to be present than would otherwise have been the case. We are confident that this can be made an historical and memorable exhibition, and we appeal to all our readers to do their utmost to take part in producing this result.

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.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

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

DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

We have received an interesting message from Dr. Hultin, member of the Finnish Parliament, of encouragement for the new year. She writes: "I take the keenest interest in your great and courageous struggle, which, without doubt, will very soon bring you the attainment of your end." Dr. Hultin has explained to us that in Finland there never was anything of what we know as a woman's movement for the attainment of the Parliamentary franchise. The men and the women together were both concerned in freeing themselves from an alien rule, and when that end was accomplished the men as well as the women recognised the wisdom of a franchise in which both sexes were included. In Finland, she tells us that to-day

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

The At Homes in the Queen's Hall.

Next Monday afternoon will be held the second of the weekly At Homes in the Queen's Hall, at which Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Christabel Pankhurst will speak. All friends and strangers are welcome to these At Homes. Admission is free, but there are a few seats in the stalls, numbered and reserved, at 2s. 6d. each, and the whole of the seats in the grand circle is reserved at 1s. each.

At Homes During the Week.

On Thursday, January 21, the next At Home in the St. James's Hall, London, will be held; the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Massy. All friends and strangers are welcome. The speeches are preceded at 7.45 by an organ recital. Admission to the hall is free, but there will be a certain number of reserved seats on the ground floor and in the balcony for 1s. each. Tickets can be obtained beforehand of the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., or at the box office on the evening. At Homes are also held each week in the principal provincial centres, particulars of which will be found on pages 266-268.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Jan. 14	Bristol, Tramway Centre, Broad Quay	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Eall, Miss Vera Wentworth	7.30 p.m.
	Manchester, Queen's Park, Parliament	Miss D. Marsden, B.A.	7.30 p.m.
	London, Public Meeting, Queen's Hall, and Presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Manchester, St. James' Institute, Collyhurst	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Great Portland Street, W. Shop Assistants' Amalgam. Union	Miss L. Higgins	8 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, At Home, Baths Assembly Rooms	Miss Keevil	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Whist Drive, 61, Manningham Lane	Miss Marsh	8 p.m.
Fri. 15	Wallsend, At Home, I.L.P. Institute, Chestnut Street	...	7-9 p.m.
	Crouch End, "Ye China Cup," Park Road	Hornsey W.S.P.U.	...
	Bristol, Assembly Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Ball	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Daisy Hill Primitive Methodist Debating Society	Miss Crocker	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Workers' At Home, 61, Manningham Lane	Miss Marsh	8 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A.	8-10 p.m.
Sat. 16	Copenhagen, Public Meeting	Miss Evelyn Sharp	...
	Manchester, Sandwich Parade & Votes Corps, 164, Oxford Rd.	...	3 p.m.
	Cullinworth, Open Air Meeting	...	3 p.m.
	Wilsden, Open Air Meeting	...	3 p.m.
	Ingletton, Yorks. Public Meeting	Miss Marsh and others	7.30 p.m.
Sun. 17	Bradford, Bentham Debating Society	...	3 & 8 p.m.
Mon. 18	London, At Home, Queen's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3-5 p.m.
	Bristol, At Home, Victoria Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Ball, Miss Vera Wentworth	3.30 p.m.
	Peterborough Debating Society	Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Southwater, Sussex, Debate	Miss Ogston	8 p.m.
	Crouch End, Debate, Christ Church Parish Hall	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	Manchester, Brunswick Street Church, Presbyterian	Miss D. Marsden, B.A.	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Hall Green	Miss Gladice Keevil	8 p.m.
	Glossop and Hyde, I.L.P.	Miss L. Williamson, B.A.	8 p.m.
Tues. 19	Bristol, Horse Fair	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Vera Wentworth, Miss Ball	7.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, At Home, Priory Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss Una Dugdale	7.30 p.m.
	Manchester, Free Trade Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Wed. 20	Newcastle-on-Tyne, At Home, Crosby's Cafe	Miss Mary Phillips	3-5 and 8-10 p.m.
	Bristol, Fishponds, Co-operative Hall	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Ball, Miss Vera Wentworth	3.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, Assembly Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil, Miss Una Dugdale	3.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Albert Buildings	Miss Chrystal Macmillan	4 p.m.
	Kensington, At Home, Manchester, Members' Night, 164, Oxford Road	Mrs. Pankhurst	4-6 p.m.
	Leeds, At Home, Arts Club	...	8 p.m.
Thur. 21	Wolverhampton, At Home	Miss Marsh, Miss Aimee Law, Miss Una Dugdale	7.30 p.m.
	Bristol, Tramway Centre	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Ball, Miss Vera Wentworth	7.30 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James' Hall, Gt. Portland Street, W.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Barnes, Debate, Byfield Hall	Miss Naylor & H. Rand, Esq.	8 p.m.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Jan. 25	Leicester, Corn Exchange	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
27	Croydon, Public Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Feb. 2	Brighton, The Lome	...	8 p.m.
5	London, Brondesbury Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
10	Plymouth, Guildhall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
12	Bristol, Colston Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
16	London, St. James' Hall, Lecture	Miss Chrystal Macmillan	8 p.m.
23	London, St. James' Hall, Lecture	Miss Elizabeth Robins	8 p.m.
May	Princes' Skating Rink	Exhibition and Sale of Work	...

PROGRAMME

OF THE

PUBLIC MEETING AT THE QUEEN'S HALL,

ON THURSDAY, JANUARY 14th, AT 8 O'CLOCK.

To Welcome Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh On Their Release From Prison.

Chair - - - Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

Organ Recital by Mrs. Layton, 7.30-8.

Chairman's Introductory Speech.

Miss Mordan, on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, will present Mrs. Pankhurst with the following address:-

"We present, on the occasion of her release from Holloway prison, the deep devotion of our hearts, and, although we feel that this devotion can find adequate expression only in a lifetime of loyalty to those principles of justice and freedom for which she has already twice suffered imprisonment, yet we desire her acceptance of a small token of our gratitude and love. This chain of amethysts, pearls, and emeralds we ask her to wear for our sake, as a symbol of the dignity, purity, and hope which she has wrought into our lives by the power of her great passion for humanity.

"Our joy in having once more in our midst our beloved leader is very great. Greater still is the joy of being allowed to work with her for the emancipation of the womanhood of the country. Greatest of all is our joy in the certainty of a very speedy triumph of the cause for which she has never hesitated to pour out all the treasure of her life and being.

"January, 1909."

This little address, with the names of all those who have contributed to the gift, has been executed in penmanship, and has been bound at the Dove Bindery. The book is bound in purple morocco and written upon white vellum in purple and green ink. The beautiful binding is the special gift of Mr. and Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson. With this book will be presented a necklet of amethysts, pearls and emeralds.

Mrs. Pankhurst will respond in a few words.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will then present Mrs. Leigh with a clock, which bears the following inscription:-

"Presented by the Women's Social and Political Union to MARIE LEIGH, in commemoration of the year 1908, when, for taking part in public demonstrations of protest against the political subjection of women, she was sentenced three times to terms of imprisonment amounting to more than six months' incarceration in Holloway Gaol, and won by her brave spirit and cheerful endurance the admiration and esteem of all her comrades in the Votes for Women Agitation.

"Neither to fail nor falter nor repent."

Mrs. Leigh will respond in a few words.

SPEECH BY MRS. PANKHURST.

Collection on behalf of the Spring Campaign Fund.

SPEECH BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XL.—The W.S.P.U. Manifesto.

We have now followed the fortunes of the Women's Social and Political Union in London from the time when Annie Kenney came up from Manchester alone to form it until October 24, 1906, when 11 of its most active workers were thrust into prison.

It was thought by outsiders that now, with its honorary secretary and treasurer, its four organisers, and so many others in prison, the energies of the Union would be seriously crippled, but there were many volunteers who at once came forward to carry on the work. One of these was Mrs. Mabel Tuke, who took Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's place as hon. treasurer, and who has since become one of the most valued helpers in the movement. The following manifesto was then issued by the committee:

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

WOMEN AND MEN OF THE UNITED KINGDOM! How much longer will you tolerate a House of Commons which refuses to obey your will? How much longer will you tolerate women being sent to prison for demanding political justice?

MEN! Are you satisfied with the laws your representatives have made? You are not. You know that your children are starving. You know that aged workers have to end their lives in the workhouse. You know that industrious workers, women as well as men, are unemployed.

You know that sweated women labour for one penny an hour.

You know that women in despair are selling their bodies on the streets.

You know that these things are because women are refused the rights of citizens. And you have demanded and obtained pledges from 420 of your Members of Parliament that they will give these women the vote.

Force them to carry out their promise to you.

WOMEN! Forget party politics, and unite in demanding the vote. Women have no political party until they are citizens. Join our Union and work with us for freedom.

TWO MONTHS' IMPRISONMENT FOR ASKING FOR THE VOTE.

Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Miss Teresa Billington, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Irene Miller, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Montefiore, Miss M. E. Gawthorpe, Mrs. Edith H. Martyn

have gone to Holloway Gaol because they went to the House of Commons to demand your citizenship, and because they refused to remain silent.

The message has come from them: "We go to prison gladly, because we go on behalf of our sisters; we shall fight on until we win. Women must vote for the laws they have to obey and the taxes they have to pay."

They fight for you; will you fight for them and for yourselves? Every day women are joining our Union, but we shall not rest content until we have every woman in the land in our ranks. To stay outside is to be a traitor to our sex.

This manifesto was given away broadcast as a leaflet and posted upon the walls. The imprisonments with which it dealt had aroused a far greater measure of public sympathy than any that had gone before, and women like Beatrice Harraden, Elizabeth Robins, Mrs. Fawcett, and Lady Frances Balfour were now ready to acknowledge how greatly the militant suffragists had served the cause of women's suffrage, and to demand that they should be treated in prison not as ordinary criminals, but as political offenders.

In Parliament many questions were asked by Mr. Keir Hardie, Lord Robert Cecil, and others as to the treatment of the Suffragist prisoners, and comparisons were drawn between their lot and that of the Jameson Raiders, Mr. W. T. Stead, and others who had been imprisoned for political reasons. In reply to all this the Home Secretary (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) replied that he had no power to interfere with the magistrates' decision, and could do nothing at all in the matter. On October 28, however, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence left Holloway owing to serious illness, and on the following day Mrs. Montefiore was also released because her health had broken down. Up to this point the women had said very little about the conditions in Holloway, but now that two of them had been removed to the prison hospital the public conscience was aroused, and the Press—Liberal and Conservative—were alike outspoken in their condemnation of the Government's behaviour.

Therefore, on October 31, Mr. Herbert Gladstone intimated his desire that the Suffragist prisoners should be transferred to the first class. On November 6 Sylvia Pankhurst was released from Holloway at the expiration of her sentence, and was able to make known to the world exactly what the conditions had been before the transfer, and to show that even the first-class treatment that the Suffragettes were now supposed to be receiving was very much more rigorous than that applied to men political prisoners in this and other countries.

In spite of the hardships of their imprisonment, however, the courage of the women continued at its height, and on November 19 another demonstration took place outside the House of Commons, and Alice Milne was arrested in Old Palace Yard. When Miss Milne appeared before the magistrate on the following day, it was found that in response to public opinion he had grown milder in his methods of punishment, for she was only fined 10s. for what she had done, and on her refusal was merely imprisoned for one week in the first division.

Public sympathy for the prisoners was still running high, and at last, in response to it, Mr. Herbert Gladstone released Mrs. Cobden Sanderson and her colleagues on November 24, when they had only served one month, or half their sentences. The released prisoners were not only welcomed with enthusiasm on this occasion by their fellow militant Suffragettes, but a banquet was given in their honour by the older Suffragists at the Savoy Hotel.

In Parliament meanwhile Mr. Keir Hardie, on November 7, had introduced the Women's Enfranchisement Bill under the 10 minute rule, and in doing so had pointed out that in reply to the deputation that had waited upon him on the previous May 19 the Prime Minister had held out no hope of Women's Suffrage being dealt with during that Parliament, and that as a result of that reply there had been an agitation carried on outside that had resulted in a number of women being sent to prison. If hope could be held out that the question would be dealt with by the Government, that would go far to allay the agitation "which was being pursued so vigorously by methods which were so apt to be condemned." He, therefore, asked for a statement pledging the Government to the enfranchisement of women.

In reply to this Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave no pledge, but he said that Mr. Keir Hardie was wrong in thinking that the Government had declared that they would not deal with the question during the present Parliament, for no such statement had been made. This was regarded by many people as being the Government's first step towards giving in. The first reading of the Bill was then carried, and the second reading was put down for November 14, but Mr. Julius Bertram gave notice of opposition to the Bill, and as the Government refused to give facilities, no further progress could be made with it during that session.

Meanwhile the Government had been pushing on its Bill for the abolition of plural voting, to which the women had persistently claimed that a clause providing for the registration of qualified women voters should be added. The Plural Voting Bill had now arrived at the Report stage, and on November 26 Lord Robert Cecil moved and Keir Hardie seconded an amendment to the Bill that

This Act shall come into operation on the first day of January after the next General Election, unless before that time an Act shall be passed giving women the franchise on the same terms and conditions upon which it is enjoyed by men, in which case it shall come into operation on the day fixed for the coming into operation of such last-mentioned Act.

This was opposed by Mr. Asquith. Speaking in support of it, Mr. Keir Hardie again referred to the agitation by the militant Suffragists, saying that it ought to convince Ministerialists that they could no longer treat this question lightly, and that the women Liberals who had pathetically put their trust in the support of the present Government for so long must now realise that, so long as this Government remained in office, there was no chance of this injustice to women being removed unless, of course, they were forced to do it.

Mr. Keir Hardie's action on this occasion was regarded as especially disinterested, because both he and his party approved strongly of the principle of the abolition of plural voting, and though he was then Chairman of the Labour Party, only one of its members followed him into the Aye lobby in support of the amendment, which was defeated by 278 votes to 50.

(To be continued.)

THE WOMAN'S EXHIBITION.

THE WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION AT THE PRINCES' SKATING RINK, MAY 13-26, 1909.

Last year the Women's Social and Political Union held its great field day in June. On Women's Sunday, June 21, 1908, seven great processions marched into Hyde Park, bearing the colours of the Union. With them came a crowd of half a million people to take part in the greatest political demonstration ever held in the history of the world. From all parts of London they came, men and women, old and young, rich and poor, thronging the streets as they went through, and filling the vast region of the park around the 20 platforms from which the suffrage orators spoke, as though it were the confined area of a public hall or the limited space available for an ordinary outdoor meeting.

The organisation of that great and successful undertaking cost much time, and thought, and money. It employed the willing services of hundreds, even of thousands, of women. And it revealed to the world the strength and the living reality of the woman's movement.

This year it has been decided to have a demonstration of a different character, but one which will bring home none the less forcibly to the public mind the broad basis on which the agitation of women for the Parliamentary franchise is built up. In the month of May the Women's Social and Political Union will hold a great Woman's Exhibition in the Princes' Skating Rink, Knightsbridge. This exhibition will be opened on Thursday, May 13, and will remain open for a fortnight, until Wednesday, May 26.

A Great Colour Scheme.

Like the great open-air demonstration on Woman's Sunday last year, the most striking feature of the great exhibition will be the unity of the colour scheme. The familiar purple, white, and green of the Women's Social and Political Union will dominate the exhibition. The famous flags and standards which have seen service in the demonstrations and processions will be there, and the rink will be decorated with a wealth of colour, which will find expression in many and various modes. The colour scheme will be carried out as far as possible through the whole of the exhibits, and throughout numerous stalls, whether those directly in the hands of the National Women's Social and Political Union or those taken charge of by local W.S.P.U.'s, or by private individuals.

The Exhibits.

About half the space at our disposal will be given up to exhibits proper. We have already a number of suggestions, and hope that in the course of the next two or three weeks readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will forward to the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, any bright ideas which may occur to them, with a view to making this section as interesting and as attractive as possible. Among suggestions that have been already made are those relating to special historical tableaux, to the portrayal of famous women, to the representation of a Holloway cell, with the accompaniments of the daily routine, &c., &c.

To Raise £5,000.

The demonstration on Woman's Sunday involved a capital outlay of about £5,000, including cost of the advertisement, of the bands, of the banners, and of the guarantees for the special trains which brought demonstrators to London from all parts of the country; a large part of this sum was recovered by sale of tickets, and the remainder was met by the generous response of the members and friends of the Women's Social and Political Union. The great exhibition of May, 1909, will, so far from depleting the funds of the Union, be a source of considerable revenue, and the co-operation of everyone is invited to make this sum as large as possible. It is hoped that the figure of £5,000 will be reached and overpassed this time on the credit side of the account.

Of course, many items will figure in this account, an important one being the entrance money paid by visitors to the exhibition, who, we hope, will be numbered by tens of thousands, keeping the skating rink crowded during the whole fortnight in which it is open.

Stalls for Sale of Work.

We look forward especially, however, to a revenue from the stalls, which it is proposed should form a large part of the exhibition.

In this preliminary article it is only possible to give a general outline of the arrangements which it is expected will be made with regard to these stalls. After allowance has been made for the portion of the rink which will be given up to the exhibits, it is expected that there will be room for about 100 stalls. These will be of three widths, 6 ft., 8 ft., and 10 ft. They will have a uniform depth of about 7 ft.

It is proposed to divide these 100 stalls up somewhat in the following manner:—The Woman's Press will take 12 or 16 stalls; from four of these VOTES FOR WOMEN will be sold; others will be given up to books and pamphlets, and to badges, brooches, and various other articles.

About 20 or 30 stalls will be let out at fixed rates to various firms who may wish to use them for the purpose of advertisement. They will exhibit articles in the colours of the Women's Social and Political Union.

The remaining stalls will be devoted to a sale of work on behalf of the funds of the Union. It is here that most valuable assistance can be rendered by members and friends. Already many generous offers of help have been forthcoming. Some have offered to send articles for sale, others are offering themselves as saleswomen, and others are anxious to take charge and equip whole stalls for the benefit of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., will be pleased to receive offers of help in all these directions. From the generous way in which members have responded before, it is certain that a very large sum of money can be raised for the Union funds from this source.

In addition, many of our friends have volunteered to provide entertainments to take place during the course of the exhibition. These will be held in an adjoining room, and are likely to be of the very greatest interest.

The arrangements for the different parts of the exhibition of all these developments will be given in the course of later articles.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

January 6 to January 12.

£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged	26,470	7	10		
Mrs. H. A. Lyman	1	0	0		
Mrs. J. F. Robinson	5	0	0		
Rev. H. Johnston Boyd					
(Miss New's travelling expenses)	0	5	11		
Mrs. F. E. Rowe	0	12	0		
Miss Kathleen Shaw's postage box	0	2	0		
Miss Isabel Seymour (lecture fee)	0	10	6		
Devizes Literary and Scientific Institution (Miss Seymour's travelling expenses)	0	14	6		
Mrs. Emily D. Cobb	1	0	0		
F. G. Adair Roberts, Esq.	5	0	0		
D. S.	0	10	0		
Miss Bessie Heyes (postage)	0	1	0		
Miss Mina M. Sheppard	0	5	0		
Mrs. Nancy Bonnor	0	3	6		
Miss Isa Ferguson	0	1	0		
Scottish W.S.P.U.	2	0	0		
Miss A. M. Goodliffe	1	1	0		
Miss Agnes Atkin (per Miss A. M. Goodliffe)	0	5	0		
Miss Edith Clarence	0	5	0		
M. E.	1	0	0		
Miss Phoebe Dixon	0	5	0		
Miss Dora Heekels	3	0	0		
Miss Emily W. Davison	0	5	0		
Miss Ledsam	1	0	0		
Per Miss J. R. Campbell	1	0	0		
Miss A. M. Ralsin	1	0	0		
Miss H. E. M. Webb	1	0	0		
Anon, per Miss G. M. Sharp	1	0	0		
Lady Cook (for Press cuttings)	5	5	0		
Miss Caroline Downing	0	3	0		
Lady Knivett (two weeks)	1	0	0		
G. E. Boxall, Esq.	1	0	0		
Miss F. Gadsby (postage fee)	0	1	0		
Miss Agnes F. Dodd	0	5	0		
Miss I. Seymour (lecture fee)				0	12
W. Hoathly meeting (travelling expenses to Miss Seymour)				0	7
Per Miss Gawthorpe				0	15
Per Dr. Letitia Fairfield Portsmouth I.L.P. (travelling expenses)				1	0
E. M. S. (donation)				0	10
Miss Tolson				1	0
Miss Hutton				1	0
Members' Guarantee Fund, Manchester				1	4
Per Miss A. Pankhurst				1	0
Mrs. Thorner				1	0
Mrs. Knox				1	0
Mrs. Mandeville				1	0
Per Miss New				2	0
Per Mrs. Hawkins				0	11
Miss Carrier				0	11
Per Miss Keevil				1	0
Miss B. Ryland				1	0
Per Miss Howey				1	2
Mrs. Darley (collecting card)				0	10
Mrs. Padwick				1	0
Plymouth members (cost of rooms for meetings)				1	4
Per Miss Phillips				1	1
Misses J. and M. Cameron				0	0
Extra paid for "Votes for Women"				0	0
Contributions to By-election Fund				5	0
Lady Knivett				10	0
Ernest Löwy, Esq.				5	0
Mrs. Ernest Löwy				2	0
Lady Constance Lytton				0	13
Sales at Stall				0	12
Membership Entrance Fees				121	4
Collections, &c.				26,669	5
Total	26,669	5	10		

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women Politicians in Finland.

Dr. Thekla Hultin, the member of the Finnish Diet who is at present visiting England, is the first Finnish woman to take the degree of Doctor of Philosophy; this she acquired in 1897 at the University of Helsingfors. She holds the office of Second Actuary of the Central Statistical Bureau of Finland, and was formerly on the staff of the "Paivalehti" (*Day-Leaf*) and edited the "Isummaan Ystäv" (*Friend of the Fatherland*), which was suppressed on account of its political tendencies. As one of the most active members for a number of years of the Young Finnish group, Dr. Hultin has been elected to a seat on the Grand Committee of the Diet, and she also sits on the Law Committee, which is in close personal touch with the Czar, and the Adjusting Committee, the duty of which is to revise all petitions presented by the Diet to the Crown. By her writings she has done as much as any woman in the country for the enlightenment and advancement of the Finnish people. Women, of whom there are now 25 on the Diet, have only sat in Parliament for two years. The Young Finns are a progressive, but constitutional body; forming a "bloc" in conjunction with the other bourgeois parties. There is, says Dr. Hultin, no friction in the Chamber between the men and women representatives. They are all paid the same salary—1,400 marks (£56) for the annual session of 90 days in February, March, and April—and are all on the same footing. Twelve of the women members are married, and in three cases husband and wife both sit in the Diet. There was no special excitement when women were elected; it was taken quite naturally and simply. Women are largely employed in the banks and the post-offices and in other departments of State work, and receive the same pay as men. Most of the cashiers in banks are women.

In the six years of despotism which preceded the granting of the franchise men and women stood together, and there was never any doubt as to women's political freedom being gained at the same time as the men's. Madame Malmberg, the novelist, who accompanies Dr. Hultin on her English tour, says:—"A sex war! That is nonsense. That could never be. It is against nature. I assure you the marriage rate and the population rate are quite normal in Finland. The country is a poor one. There is not enough money; and the people work hard—men and women. They cannot take life easily; they have no leisure. If you ask whether the possession of their rights has made the Finnish women less charming, I can only say that the Finnish men, when they go abroad, are never content with the foreign women; they always want to come back to their good comrades, their own Finnish women."

Another woman politician of distinction in Finland is Muna Sillanpää, formerly a domestic servant, and now editor of a paper called the *Woman Worker*. The servants of Finland, thanks to her organisation, now form a powerful association.

An Echo of the Russian Women's Congress.

The progressive newspaper *Slovo*, after giving a fine description of the opening of the recent congress in St. Petersburg, and commenting on the enthusiasm displayed, says:—"One thing is certain; no one will give women their rights—they are theirs, and they will take them. If we men are sensible we shall help them in their struggle, if we are stupid we shall oppose them; but get them they will, it is only a question of time." Mme. Philossofov (founder of the higher courses for women) speaks of the necessity of having in Russia a National Women's Council which will make it possible for Russian women to join the international woman's movement. Among other resolutions passed by the congress, and reported in last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN, was one demanding the admission of women to the study and practice of law.

Heroines of the Earthquake.

The Paris *Figaro* publishes a letter suggesting that the Cross of the Legion of Honour should be awarded to the Queen of Italy in recognition of the heroism displayed by her at Messina. In accordance with the desire expressed by the Queen, there were no festivities in Italy on the occasion of her birthday on Friday, and the forts did not fire salvoes. The Princesses Yolanda and Mafalda, who are accustomed to buy birthday presents for their mother, have instead dedicated the contents of their money-boxes to the relief fund. The Queen, who is working so untiringly to mitigate the sufferings of the survivors of the earthquake, is a fearless rider, and handles a rifle with the confidence of a forester. The Dowager Queen Margherita has given £40,000 for the building of a special orphanage for 100 children, who will be under her special patronage.

Through the heroism of a girl 16 years of age, the mother, two brothers, and sister were saved from beneath the debris caused by the earthquake. When her wounds had been attended to she returned to

the ruins of her house, overcoming the dangers and ignoring the risks. No one knew anything of her parents, but it seemed to her that she heard a voice in response to her cries of distress. Single-handed she began to clear away the wreckage, working for a whole day trying to make a passage to the cellars. Soldiers patrolling the streets at night took her for a thief and threatened to shoot her, but at length, touched by her grief, they began to help in what they thought was a futile task. Finally, after hours of work, first the mother, and then the other members of the family were saved from beneath the ruins and removed to safety.

Women Post Office Clerks.

An instruction has been issued to the heads of departments of the Post Office which, if stringently carried out, will affect a large number of women clerks. The instruction lays down (1) that the normal hours of duty for the clerical establishment are seven (or eight) on Saturdays; (2) that the Saturday half-holiday is granted only when it is permitted by the condition of the work, and that the staff may not leave until the regular work has been cleared up; (3) that work which can be done within the normal hours of duty on Saturdays (which are already defined as seven or eight) must not be performed on overtime in the ensuing week. "Much," says the *Civilian*, "depends upon the manner in which these regulations are construed. If carried out literally and harshly, some headquarter staffs have enjoyed their last free Saturday afternoon. The staff will be very anxious to learn whether this is really the intention of the Postmaster-General. . . . We hope to hear that this dangerous instruction has been withdrawn, or at least that its more penal clauses have been moderated." In the Savings Bank Department over 17,000 women clerks are employed.

Women Teachers in Conference.

At the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the Incorporated Association and Assistant Mistresses in Public Secondary Schools, held in London on Saturday (January 9), Miss E. M. Bancroft (Bristol), said the use of the term "masters" in the Endowed Schools (Masters) Act had created some uneasiness in the minds of the committee. She had, however, received the assurance that by the Interpretation Act "mistresses" must be included in the term "masters." Miss Jowitt (Bristol) pleaded for a scheme providing for the optional retirement of assistant mistresses at the age of 55, with an allowance of at least 50 per cent. of the average salary earned during a mistress's career. The scheme met with general approval. Miss Laurie (Cheltenham) and Miss Wood (Leeds) dealt with science teaching in girls' schools, the former remarking that only those engaged in secondary education knew the waste in many a child's life for want of some scientific training in early years.

At the Conference of L.C.C. School Teachers (men and women), held in London on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday last week, Miss G. E. Heaven, headmistress of Haggerston-road School for Infants, read a paper on "The Mental and Moral Training of Children under Five," and Dr. Marion Hunter took part in the discussion which followed.

A Health Visitor for Bermondsey.

The Bermondsey Borough Council have decided to appoint a woman as Health Visitor, and have chosen Miss E. M. Clibbers to occupy the post. Miss Clibbers holds at present the office of sanitary inspector under the Sheffield Corporation.

Nurses as "Heroes."

In a review of the year 1908 the *Nursing Times* records that the express inclusion of nurses as beneficiaries under Mr. Carnegie's Hero Fund Trust should be mentioned as a commendable instance of public recognition of the services they render to the community. The founder of the fund recorded his opinion that "no action is more heroic than that of doctors and nurses volunteering their services in the case of epidemics."

A Kerbstone Artist Prizewinner.

On New Year's Day, in a public competition of "Pavement Artists" at Olympia, the first prize was awarded to Mrs. A. G. Colman, who works at North Kensington. Mr. Tom Browne, who judged the competition, said that Mrs. Colman's work showed excellent feeling, and had it been so arranged he would have awarded all three prizes to her. Mrs. Colman has been a pavement artist for ten years; during that time her husband has been an invalid, and she makes, so she stated, about thirty shillings per week when "lucky." Formerly she made between £3 and £4.

Saharet, the celebrated Australian dancer, will only employ lady chauffeurs, being a most ardent supporter of the cause of Woman's Suffrage.

WOMAN AS SOLDIER.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

The one argument against the granting of woman suffrage upon which Mr. Asquith and his anti-suffrage friends feel that they can always rely is that women cannot fight in war, and that as they are therefore incapable of fulfilling all the obligations which men as citizens are called upon to perform, women ought not to be allowed to vote. It is a poor, miserable argument, because as we have not got conscription in this country it is only a very few men who are ever called upon to fight; and more than that, soldiers are just the people who are not allowed to vote.

But, such as it is, even this last cherished argument of the Anti-Suffragists is steadily being undermined, for as soon as one begins to inquire seriously into the matter, one is at once convinced not only that women have always been prepared to fight when their homes and those they hold dear were in danger, but also that a very much larger number of women have fought and distinguished themselves upon the field of battle than is sometimes supposed. Everyone has heard of Boadicea, Joan of Arc, and probably a score of other great and famous women generals, but there must have been many thousands of valiant women warriors whose names have been forgotten. One of the proofs of this, if any proof were needed, is to be found in the fact that in the Middle Ages, orders of knighthood were sometimes founded to commemorate the brave deeds of women. Thus in 1149, when the town of Tortosa was besieged by the Moors, the women mounted the walls and defended the town so courageously with battle-axes that the besiegers were compelled to retreat. Count Raymond, of Barcelona, hearing of the valiant deeds of those women founded a new order of knighthood for them, generally known as the Order of the Axe (Hache) from the red axe worn on the dress of its members. Great privileges were given to the women in this Order. They preceded the men in public assemblies, were exempt from all kinds of imposts and subsidies, and the same respect was paid to them as to the knights of other military orders.

A similar instance occurred in 1338, when the English helping the King of Portugal against the King of Castille, laid siege to the town of Palencia. Many of the men were absent with the King of Castille, but the women took arms in defence of their city. After a vigorous defence of several days they made so determined a *sortie* that they compelled the English to raise the siege and retreat in disorder. As a reward for their valour King John the First of Portugal bestowed on them the Order of the Scarf, which took its name from the broad red silk scarf worn across the left shoulder, by which its members were distinguished. At the same time he granted them all the privileges and honours enjoyed by the Knights of the Order.

In June, 1348, when the Order of the Garter was instituted in England, Queen Philippa, the wives of the Companions, and a few other illustrious women were members, and wore robes like those of the Knights, with the Garter on the arm. They were described as *Dames de la Fraternité de St. George*, and are even expressly said to have been admitted into the Order at the Lichfield Tournament. The King's daughter Elizabeth, Countess of Bedford, took a prominent part. She wore a coat and hood of the same colour and material as that worn by the Knights.

Some 20 years ago M. Jean Allesson published the biographies of the 21 women who had been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honour in France between the years 1809-1885, and it is interesting here to note that the Legion of Honour for men has become a distinction which is received almost as a matter of course after many years' military service, or for artistic or literary success, but when a woman has been decorated it has always been for exceptional services. Of these 21 *Chevalières* no fewer than five actually fought as soldiers in the field of battle.

The first woman who ever received the Cross of the Legion of Honour was Virginie Ghesquière, a Belgian. During the long Napoleonic wars her brother was drawn for a conscript, and because she deemed him too feeble for the hard life, she took his clothes and his passport, and in his name was incorporated in the 27th Regiment of the Line, where she was called the handsome Sergeant. In 1808 her regiment was sent into Portugal under Junot's command. During the engagement the colonel was seriously wounded, and when the battle was over his body was missed. Sergeant Ghesquière therefore set off to find him. She

succeeded in finding the colonel, but she had no sooner done so than she was stopped by two English officers. She killed one and wounded the other; but was herself wounded in return. She managed, however, to carry back the colonel alive, but whilst her own wound was being dressed her sex was discovered. The Cross was bestowed upon her for her valour, and she lived afterwards to a good old age, for she was nearly a hundred when she died.

The next of these brave women soldiers was Marie Schellinck, who, thinking the career of arms was the noblest she could engage in, disguised herself, and was enrolled in the French army, where she soon became a corporal. After the battle of Jemmapes, where she was several times wounded, she was made sergeant, and was afterwards called the Sergeant of Jemmapes. She took part in the battle of Arcole, and was wounded at Austerlitz, and finally distinguished herself so brilliantly at Jena that not only was she made sub-lieutenant, but Napoleon himself, in the presence of his staff, fastened his own Cross upon her breast. She died in 1840 at the age of 82 years.

The Widow Perrot was a *cantinière* in Africa. She went through nearly every campaign in Algeria, and was wounded and decorated on the field of battle. She died in April, 1863, and received military honours at her funeral.

Angelique Duchemin, a Breton woman, who was afterwards known as the Widow Brulon, was born in 1772. Her father, brothers, and husband died on the field of battle. She then enlisted in the 42nd Infantry, where she became corporal quartermaster. At the siege of Calvi she distinguished herself by the defence of an important strategical position. She was frequently wounded, but by a miracle escaped death. After the Restoration the officers conferred an epaulette upon her as a mark of esteem. Shortly afterwards she was admitted to the Invalides, where she received the Cross of the Legion of Honour in 1851. In the records of the Invalides she is entered as "sub-lieutenant of infantry—seven campaigns—three wounds." She was still alive in 1859, when she was 78 years of age.

Annette Drevon was born in 1826. She was *cantinière* to the 2nd Zouaves at the battle of Magenta. In the thick of the fight two Austrian soldiers seized the standard of her regiment, but she killed one and wounded the other, and then triumphantly carried back the flag under a shower of bullets. For this act of bravery she was decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honour. The war of 1870 found her in the 32nd Regiment of the Line. The sight of a woman wearing the Cross excited the ridicule and insults of a Bavarian soldier, whereupon, losing patience at his contemptuous words, she shot him, and for this was condemned to death; but Prince Frederick Charles, respecting her courage, scratched out the sentence with the point of his sword.

Among other women who received the Cross a large number took part in the nursing of the wounded on the field of battle, and performed many acts of courage and valour.

There are, of course, many examples of Englishwomen in comparatively recent days who have fought bravely in battle. An interesting illustration of this fact is to be found in Phoebe Hessel's gravestone in St. Nicholas Church, Brighton, which reads as follows:—

In memory of Phoebe Hessel, who was born at Stepney in the year 1713. She served for many years as a private soldier in the 5th Regiment of Foot in different parts of Europe, and in the year 1745 fought under the command of the Duke of Cumberland at the Battle of Fontenoy, where she received a bayonet wound in her arm. Her long life, which commenced in the time of Queen Anne, extended to the reign of George IV., by whose munificence she received comfort and support in her later years. She died at Brighton, where she had long resided, December 12, 1821, aged 108 years.

Of modern Frenchwomen who distinguished themselves in this direction, one, at least, is still alive—Madame May, who saw active service forty years ago in the Franco-Prussian War as a scout. Her courage and cleverness were soon recognised, and she was entrusted with important despatches to outposts on the frontier, which exposed her constantly to the risk of being caught and shot as a spy. On one occasion she was captured as she was carrying three important messages through the enemy's line to the commander of the besieged forces at Thionville. She succeeded in hiding the despatches in her clothes. At first she drove about in a cart, but afterwards adopted masculine dress so as to move more easily among the soldiers.

But perhaps the most recent example of women taking part in warfare is that of the Persian women who fought in the battle outside Tabriz on November 29, 1908, when the Revolutionaries completely routed the Government forces. The women fought on the side of the Revolutionaries, wearing men's uniforms, and thus passed unnoticed in the ranks. Among the 2,000 casualties were 67 women.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN," January 8.

The Poet Laureate on Women's Suffrage.

Sir Alfred Austin has written to the *Standard* about Women's Suffrage, and very politely, with many expressions of regard for the sex, he assures them that it will not do. Perhaps what he has to say is hardly novel, but so much has been said on the subject that the interest of a fresh pronouncement by a distinguished person is in learning the particular, if familiar, arguments which appeal to him. Sir Alfred Austin finds that stormy passions are aroused in Parliament and elsewhere by "great things, grave questions, weighty issues," and he asks: "Are these to rage equally on the domestic hearth and between men and women?" The question is supposed pretty well to answer itself, and probably a good many women who want the vote will think that it does. The Poet Laureate would not only keep them from voting, but he would not permit them even a spectator's interest in the biggest of human affairs. In domestic life, he says, we must not add gratuitously to difficulties, and it seems that everything that makes life interesting might be a difficulty. It is even possible to believe that an acute difference of opinion on, say, Sir Alfred Austin's poems might cause a coldness between husband and wife, though perhaps Sir Alfred acquiesces in the general mildness which art and literature diffuse in most family circles. His other argument is the more or less familiar one that women might hysterically plunge us into war, because only the minority want the franchise and "only the more emotionally combative of that minority" would exercise it. Really this seems to be a flimsy kind of danger, for why should not the compact majority of more solid women keep their erratic sisters in order? If the majority are sensible anti-suffrage people they can surely be rallied at national crises, unless, indeed, the possession of a vote is a kind of virus that would make them as mad as the others. Sir Alfred Austin says that he would not like, even in argument, to be unchivalrous, and we believe him; but he is at least unkind in suggesting that women might force on war against the efforts of the unfortunate men who would have to conduct it, while they merely acted, "as, one is pleased to remember, a poet has called them, as ministering angels." But with which class is a war the more popular—the soldiers who wage it or their mothers and wives?

"THE LIVERPOOL COURIER," January 8.

A Belated Intrusion.

The first [of the Poet Laureate's arguments] almost takes one's breath away, not with its novelty, but with its hoary, tottering antiquity. It is nothing else than the contention that to give women the vote will introduce dissension into the home, and banish domestic felicity, or, as Mr. Austin calls it, "the happiness of the hearth." Really our Poet Laureate must suppose that it is impossible for women to have political opinions unless they have the vote. Short of a measure forbidding our wives, mothers, and daughters to interest themselves in politics at all, with or without the vote, we are at a loss to know how "the happiness of the hearth" is to be preserved in this distracted land. But Mr. Alfred Austin has another argument even more crushing, and even more venerable, if that be possible. It is that "in great emergencies men are, as a rule and collectively, calmer and more submissive to sound judgment than women"; and that if women had the franchise "war might be brought about by women against the effort of men to avert it." In that event, he points out, men alone would have to fight while the utmost women could do would be to play the part of ministering angels. It does not seem to occur to Mr. Austin that these headstrong women may, after all, be influenced by the consideration that it is their nearest and dearest whom they are sending to battle. Apparently, in his idea, the very nature of woman is to be perverted to its foundations by the simple endowment of full rights of citizenship. No; we can discover from Mr. Austin's letter no adequate reason why he should have broken the silence of the recess to intrude in a controversy for which he seems to be much more unfitted than any woman, however emotional and sentimental. Our advice to the Poet Laureate would be comprised in a famous line of Wordsworth's—"Shine poet in thy sphere, and be content."

"THE STANDARD," January 9.

Mr. F. E. Smith, K.C., M.P., addressed a meeting of about 5,000 people at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, last night. Alluding to Mr. Lloyd George's meeting in the same building a few weeks ago, when ladies were rigorously excluded, he said that it was a

striking illustration of the popularity of the Government that the Chancellor of the Exchequer, like other Cabinet Ministers, in order to obtain an orderly hearing, was compelled to keep out of his meetings more than half the total population of these islands. The ladies preferred an open opponent to a fraudulent friend, and they could not understand the consistency of Ministers who promised them votes at the last election because they were women, and who refused them votes because they were Suffragists. (Laughter.)

"THE OBSERVER," January 10.

Is it to disarm criticism that two members of the Women's Social and Political Union have patented "a new kind of hooks and eyes"? One would have expected, rather, a new resistant chain, an improved dog-whip (for stewards), or a patent Grille-disintegrator. Certainly no one can charge Miss Pankhurst with lack of inventiveness.

"THE DAILY EXPRESS," January 8.

Miss Pankhurst's New Word.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst invented a portmanteau word which is worthy of Lewis Carroll at the *At Home* given by the Suffragists at St. James's Hall last night. "Now," she said, "there is no Cabinet Minister who dares to say openly that women ought not to have the vote. There are no open opponents, but there are 'post-ponents.'"

VALUE JUDGMENTS.

We owe two debts to the Suffragettes. They have shown in the opportunist world of politics that there are some people still left who are ready to suffer for their principles, and they are throwing a useful pencil of light-rays on the inside of our prisons. Anybody who will be at the trouble to attend a debate in the House of Commons may soon convince himself that party politics there are but a party-game carried on at the expense of the citizen. Women will cleanse the Augean stable by substituting idealism for self-aggrandisement, and the Suffragettes are to be regarded, therefore, as the saviours of our moribund politics. As to their revelation of Home Office woodenness it is the most vivid object-lesson in distrust of all officialdom that we have had for a long time. We now know that the food supplied to the prisoners is bad; that the sanitary arrangements outrage all sense of decency, that the exercise is insufficient, that the necessary rules and regulations are devoid of sense or intelligence, and that in short it is the prison which above all makes criminals, and does (it is no exaggeration) nothing to cure the man who has fallen into law-breaking.—The Rev. W. F. COBB, D.D.

ENCOURAGEMENT FROM HUNGARIAN WOMEN.

The following letter has been received by Mrs. Pankhurst, who has expressed her regret at being unable to accept the invitation it contains:—

DEAR LADIES.—We are very glad to hear, that you, dear ladies, left the prison and seize this opportunity to express our highest worship and enthusiasm in the name of every struggling woman of Hungary. As we know you are staying in Switzerland to restore yourselves, we wish this resting shall bring the expected good results after all the fights and struggles you have behind you. At the same time we ask you: would you be so kind as to accept our invitation and—before going back to England—come to Budapest to give a lecture in cause of woman-suffrage? The cause we address to you this asking is, that we know your immense working ability and hope, it won't rob much of your precious time, further: you surely know, our struggle is standing now before deciding and if you both would help us by giving a lecture, it is sure that with your great convincing-talent and popularity we succeed. We would be very obliged to you if you would accept our invitation for this month, if impossible, we naturally accept any time you can spare for us. Waiting for your kind reply, we are, Sincerely yours,

VILMA GLUECKLICH,
(President of the Temini sták Egyesülete.)

The offices of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association are now established at 48, Dover-street, Piccadilly, W., at which address all the business of the association will be conducted. Lady Castlereagh, Lady Howick, Lady St. Helier, Lady St. Oswald, Lady Emily Wyndham-Quin, and Mrs. Benson have consented to allow their names to be added to the list of vice-presidents.

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

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

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Hon. Treasurer,

Mrs. TUKE,

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Organising Sec.

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.

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

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

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

JANUARY.

"In January the spirit dreams," runs an ancient rune of the calendar. All the treasure, all the life-wealth, all the beauty of the whole year's evolution are enfolded within the heart of this first month, as the flowers that will gladden the seasons are folded within the heart of their sleeping roots.

The world has turned to the sun. Slowly day by day it swings upward, upward to the light. It is the time of new-born hope and new-born vision. It is the time of promise, of promise which advances every day nearer to its fulfilment. The birds know it. Already their song has a new note.

Into the sunshine of January has crept a vibration of expectancy that was not to be felt in the mild benediction of December's sun. Into our hearts there has crept the happy certainty that we stand on the threshold of a new inheritance. For we know that in the blossoming of the spring and in the fruition of the summer we shall find the reward of the toils of the year that is now behind us, and of the human labour of many preceding years.

As it is in the world of nature, so it is at this time with us in this woman's movement. This first month of the year is for us the time of new hope, new vision, new expectancy. A time when we enter in thought upon the great inheritance which the future holds in store.

Very close is the bond that unites the children of earth to their great mother, and the life forces at work in this movement of ours are very closely allied to the life forces at work in Nature.

For those who can see it rightly, this movement is the outcome of the 'stirring' of the life forces in the heart of women, and will result in nothing less beautiful than a new blossoming of the soul of humanity.

No counter-force in the world can check the rhythmic movement of the earth towards the sun. And no powers of darkness can stay the movement of the great human heart towards freedom.

"But what," you say, "of destructive frosts? What of the blighting winds? What of the storm and havoc of tempests?"

We of to-day are not merely the passive agents of this movement of evolution. We have in a measure control of both the creative and the destructive forces, and can by our own will and life influence their action. That is why we have to search and try our hearts so constantly, putting away every vestige of anger that we could be tempted to feel against those who attack us personally, putting away all temptation to bitterness, as we see day by day around us the terrible effects of a long continued system of injustice, putting away doubt and fear and self-seeking, and all those things that harm and hurt; that is why we have to be ever living in the light that puts all the darkness of negation to flight.

From our hearts alone could frost and blight come to spoil the fruition of which we now have the promise. Very great is our responsibility.

But this first month of the year is not alone for hope and vision and expectancy; it is for energy also, energy of thought and mind, energy of organisation and action. We see before us all the task that we have to accomplish, and we know that there is not one hour to waste if the year's harvest is to be prepared and reaped and garnered as it should be. We hear the call to be up and doing, and we realise that we have to awaken others, and to bring them into the field to work by our side.

If I had to state to-day what is the greatest gift that could be made to the Women's Social and Political Union, I should not hesitate for one moment as to the answer. More than anything else at this moment we need workers, workers by the score and by the hundred. If only there were a sufficiency of trained workers, this organisation would speedily take hold of every part of the country. Ten fully-equipped organisers have already gone to take charge of their various centres in England and Scotland. That is one of the very best auguries for the growth and development of this movement. But if from our headquarters we could send at least one officer to every large city in the United Kingdom, to direct the operations of scores of local workers, we should soon see the complete emancipation of women from political subjection, as a first step towards the attainment of many pressing and greatly needed measures of reform.

To all who have time, strength, or abilities to give, I would say: put all or any one of these gifts at the service of this woman's movement. You will find there the fullest scope for their use. You will find there the readiest possible return in that reward which work wins—satisfaction in success, joy of fellowship and friendship, the consciousness of taking part in the evolution of your country and your race.

Give yourself now. Do not delay one week. Work is waiting for you, work that cannot be done until you come. Begin with the beginning of the year; share in the awakening of all the year's young life; lose neither the joy of its births nor of its blossomings, nor the supreme joy of its harvest.

Life will not stay for you. The opportunity of serving this great movement will never come again in just the same way as it comes to-day. You will never be able to render just that service which you could render to-day. It is now to-day that every heart, every pair of hands counts so much, is so precious to us all.

With you we can do so much more than we can without you. But with you or without you we must go on, and we go glad and joyous, for we know that the earth has turned to the sun, and the world swings slowly upwards to the light.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

POLITICAL NOTES.

Votes before the General Election.

The Women's Social and Political Union press for the enactment of a 'Votes for Women' measure this Session, because, among other reasons, they fear that before the coming of another Session the Government will go to the country, and the hope of gaining women's enfranchisement at the hands of the present Parliament will be thus frustrated. We are not alone in thinking that a General Election is likely to take place within the next twelve months. Mr. Chamberlain, guided by his long political experience, predicts in unqualified terms a General Election this year, and from Liberals themselves come no words of hope. Even Mr. Haldane, who, as one of the leaders of the party, must surely wish to hearten and encourage his followers, is obliged to admit that "it is obvious that the tide is not flowing as strongly with the Government as it was three years ago." This fact Mr. Haldane chooses to attribute to the Government's reforming energy, which he contends has given rise to a certain amount of reaction and reluctance. We of the Women's Social and Political Union have another and a very different explanation to offer for the present unpopularity of the Government. We know that it is through their own lack of consistency and their betrayal of principle that they have lost their hold on the country. One by one every group of reformers finds them out and deserts their standard.

Their most flagrant breach of principle is the refusal to deal with women's enfranchisement. This has done more than anything else to discredit them. It was in their dealings with the Women's Social and Political Union that the members of the Government first showed themselves in their true colours. Thinking that a claim, however just, provided it were advanced by voteless women, could be rejected with impunity, the Liberal leaders were from the first at no pains to conceal their reactionary tendency. Women were their earliest opponents, and when all the world seemed on their side we of the Women's Social and Political Union stood against them. From that day to this our opposition has been continued, and has constantly gained in strength, until we can now claim to be a force capable of turning the scale against the Government should they continue to withhold women's enfranchisement.

The militant suffrage movement stands in this position. The Women's Social and Political Union, a well-organised, determined, and enthusiastic band of women, is making a direct attack upon the Government. This agitation has had marked effect on the attitude even of the immediate supporters of the Liberal Government; that is to say, although Liberal women, as a whole, are not yet prepared to join the open revolt against the Government, their loyalty and enthusiasm are weakened, and the Liberal leaders can no longer count on their devoted service, which proved so valuable at the General Election. Nor has this process of disillusionment stopped short with the women of the party. The best and most earnest men Liberals are obliged to acknowledge that Mr. Asquith and his colleagues are dishonouring the cause of Liberalism by their attitude towards woman suffrage and its advocates. As to the general public, there is no doubt whatever that the Government have alienated their sympathy by the unfair denial of votes to women, and the attempt by repressive measures to stamp out the women's movement. The results of a succession of by-elections in which we have opposed the Government nominee have shown unmistakably how strongly public opinion supports us in our claim for the vote.

Obviously the present situation must be causing members of the Government serious anxiety. Not only is it probable that they may be unable to avoid an early dissolution, but everything points to the belief that they will be defeated at the General Election. In their desire for self-preservation they are no doubt seeking about for means of regaining their former strength. This they cannot do unless they will face the fact that the cause of their unpopularity is not, as they pretend, that they have done too much, but that they have done too little. In the case of women they have cruelly and obstinately refused to fulfil the hope of enfranchisement which by the general tone of their utterances they did so much to raise precious to the General Election. Had they been wise enough to

carry a women's franchise measure, the Government would now have from the women of the country confidence and support which would have stood them in good stead. They preferred, however, to make enemies where they might have made friends. It now remains for the militant Suffragists to teach them that whatever other political sections they may satisfy, they cannot continue to hold their own in face of the distrust and opposition of women. The same means of bringing pressure to bear on the Liberal leaders, which we have already found so successful, are to be continued. These are (one would remind the women who are not yet persuaded of the merits of an anti-Government policy) precisely the same as those adopted by men politicians who seek some change in the law. Take, as an instance, the case of Mr. D. A. Thomas, the Liberal member for a Welsh constituency, who is in revolt against the Government because of their neglect to deal with the question of Welsh Disestablishment. Mr. Thomas has announced that he will maintain this attitude of hostility until he sees "a real, serious, earnest effort" on the part of the Government to pass the Bill which he desires. He complains that the Government neglect Wales and Welsh affairs, because they know they can rely absolutely on the support of the Welsh members, while they deal with the claims of the Irish and the Scotch, who are a more uncertain factor in the political world, and are known to be ready to attack the Government if the measures in which they are interested are not carried. He calls on the Welsh Parliamentary party to be more aggressive, because otherwise the Government will continue to ignore their claims.

Fortunately for themselves, men reformers are in possession of that political power which enables them to carry through with ease a revolt against the Government with whose performances they are not satisfied.

The task of women reformers is more difficult, because, being without the constitutional weapon, they are obliged to resort to those clumsy and old-fashioned methods of political agitation which bring those who practise them into conflict with the forces of law and order.

Though such methods are, in our opinion, not only necessary, but also morally right, because of the fact that by them alone it is possible for women to gain entry into the ranks of citizenship, we readily admit that those, whether men or women, who are politically enfranchised are not entitled to defy the law.

It appears, however, that certain party politicians hold views more extreme than ours on the question of tactics. None of us have forgotten the late Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's reference to Passive Resisters as the "salt of the earth." Mr. F. E. Smith was recently heard to say, in the Sun Hall, Liverpool (after pointing out that Mr. Lloyd George was a great law-breaker, and had founded his political career by law-breaking in Wales), that the people of Lancashire would yet teach him something in the way of revolt if the Government insisted upon introducing education measures unsatisfactory to them. Some weeks ago, Mr. Birrell said, in speaking of the proposal to establish a secular system of education, that under such a system half the children would not go to school, and that in Liverpool alone numbers of their parents would have to be sent to prison for disobeying an Education Act framed on secular lines. Far from expressing condemnation of such lawless methods, or stating that the views of these possible prisoners ought to be ignored by Parliament, he asserted definitely that the prospect of such resistance to the law prevents the secular system from being a solution of the Education problem.

Mr. Birrell and those who think with him can hardly complain if we take utterances like this, not, perhaps, as a justification of our methods, for that we had already, but as an encouragement to pursue the militant agitation more vigorously than ever before. If they think it wiser to yield to men rather than to imprison them, there is some hope that before long they will deem it more prudent, in dealing with women who want votes, to enfranchise instead of imprisoning them.

Christabel Pankhurst

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON.

I returned from Tamworth on Friday, where I have been with Miss Gye, awaiting the decision of the Liberals. While there we did good work in the constituency, which will prove helpful to us in the future. Our new London organisers are now in full work. Miss Flatman is organising a campaign in Croydon, and has already arranged a meeting to take place in the Public Hall, on January 27, at which Christabel Pankhurst is to be the speaker, with Miss E. Sharp in the chair. Will Croydon members willing to help apply to Miss Flatman, 4, Clements Inn, or to the N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms, Public Hall, George-street, Croydon.

Miss Adela Pankhurst is working up Brondesbury, and will be very glad indeed to hear from workers resident in the districts of Cricklewood, Willesden Green, and Harlesden. Brondesbury Hall has been booked for a meeting for February 5, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the speaker. Will those willing to help communicate with Miss Adela Pankhurst at 4, Clements Inn.

Camberwell and Peckham are being organised by Mrs. Bartlett; Ealing and Acton by Miss Cameron and Miss Wallace Dunlop. Other women are organising in other districts. We are in full work, and now is the time for willing helpers—all who can give a little time—to come and see us here (4, Clements Inn), and let us set them to work. To assist me in the work of interviewing new helpers Miss Fergus is here, and new workers should ask in the first place for her. Country members should remember that they, too, can help by writing to us and offering drawing-room meetings. One such meeting was held last week at West Hoathley, Sussex, through the kindness of Mrs. Mills and Mrs. Richards; Miss Isabel Seymour and Miss C. Corbett were the speakers, and there was a very interested audience. We want more meetings of this kind.

Miss Ogston is in Brighton working up a meeting for the Dome on February 2, at which Mrs. Pankhurst is to speak.

At St. James's Hall.

The first public At Home in the New Year was held on Thursday, January 7, in St. James's Hall, Great Portland-street, W., when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who presided, predicted a great development of the movement in 1909. The W.S.P.U., she said, meant to "make history" in the current year. A General Election was anticipated this year, and the Suffragettes were ready for it whenever it occurred. (Cheers.) She told the meeting that every part of the kingdom was being organised, and that the campaign was now to be extended to the Home Counties, where propaganda work would be carried on on the same lines as in London and elsewhere.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said that women had made up their minds to get the vote in 1909. They had been able to do so much in the last three years that they knew it to be within their power to achieve complete victory this year. Many proofs had been afforded by the enemy that the women's position was strong. The Government had paid them the compliment of carrying in a hurry a measure of coercion, which they hoped would secure them some peace at public meetings. But a little disappointment awaited them. (Cheers.) There was another encouraging sign, and that was that a Cabinet Minister had appeared on a platform to speak in support of women's suffrage. Why did he do it? He said he would not do it again. (Laughter.) He found it not so easy to throw dust in women's eyes as he thought. Now there was no Cabinet Minister who dared to say openly that women ought not to have the vote. There were no open opponents, but there were "postponents." Women knew if they began to wait they might wait for ever, and they were determined not to wait patiently. The Government had a golden opportunity to make themselves famous for all time, and Mr. Asquith and his colleagues would be very blind if they did not carry a Woman Suffrage Bill. Meanwhile the members of the W.S.P.U. must rub it into the public mind that this year is "the women's year." If women were earnest and enthusiastic enough no Government, however strong—and the present Government was not very strong—could stand against them. Continued opposition to votes for women meant the destruction of the Liberal party.

At The Queen's Hall.

Another enthusiastic meeting was the Monday afternoon At Home at Queen's Hall, where each of the speakers on rising were cheered again and again. A large number of strangers were present. The whole of the ground floor and dress circle was packed, and £40 was taken in tickets for reserved seats. The proceedings opened with an organ recital by Mrs. Mary Layton, F.R.C.O.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided, and told the meeting how she first came into the movement. In her experience as social worker, she found that every avenue to women's activities was blocked by the lack of political freedom, and when she met Mrs. Pankhurst she threw in her lot with her, placing all her energies at her service for the winning of the vote for women.

Mrs. Pankhurst said it was twenty-nine years since she joined the executive committee of the Northern Women's Suffrage Society, and, with that experience behind her, she declared that the militant methods were the only methods. They had gained for the women a hearing they had never had before. She thought she had as much right as anyone to dictate what these methods should be, for out of those 29 years the first 26 were spent in peaceable and what were commonly known as constitutional methods. She had certainly been patient; but her patience had not been rewarded. Men behaved at political meetings in a way that members of the W.S.P.U. never dreamed of doing, but no Act was passed to deal with interruptions at meetings till the women's movement came along. The Act would not stop the women; they were going on, and their New Year resolution was, "Votes for Women in 1909."

Miss Christabel Pankhurst counselled women to seize their opportunity, and to make up their minds that this session should see success to the cause. The Government was dwindling in power and had very little life before it. It was no use appealing to the Government for justice: women had learnt not to "cast their pearls before swine," but they intended to fight, and fight hard.

Nearly £200 was promised or received before the close of the afternoon; Miss C. Turle gave £100 for an organiser; the Misses Beck gave £20; and Lady Knyvett offered 10s. weekly for a year towards the expense of another organiser.

I want again especially to appeal for members to come forward and help in the outdoor sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Volunteers can get a supply of papers from Mrs. Baldock at the offices between the hours of 11 and 7 any day except Saturdays, or at the Monday afternoon and Thursday evening At Homes.

Flora Drummond.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

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

At Homes.—Bristol: Victoria Rooms, every Monday, 3.30 to 5.30.

Stokes Croft: Assembly Rooms, meeting every Friday 8 p.m.

Important Event.—Bristol: Colston Hall, Mass Meeting, Friday (February 12), 8 p.m.

We are back at work again, feeling quite ready for the fight. This week we have had two At Homes given by members, the first in Stapleton district, when Miss Ivy Heppel was the speaker, and the second in Redland district, when I addressed the members. We have now planned out the campaign for the next five weeks, and meetings are arranged for every day. Next week we shall prepare for the Colston Hall meeting, on February 12. I hope all sympathisers will note the change of address for the Friday evening meetings. Miss Vera Wentworth and Miss Elsie Ball are helping us. They are starting a corps for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets, and helping to extend the work in many other directions. I have sent 15s. 6d. to the treasurer, 3s. 6d. for a leather-work pen-wiper, the work of a member, and 12s. for work done by another member, F. L. Smith.

Plymouth and Torquay.

At Homes.—Plymouth: Royal Hotel, every Friday, 4 to 6 p.m.

Treville-street Hall, Public Meeting, every Friday, 8 p.m.

Paignton: Masonic Hall, every Thursday, 4 to 6 p.m.

Important Events.—Torquay, Bath Saloons, February 8, Mrs. Pankhurst.

Plymouth Guildhall, February 10, 8 p.m., Mrs. Pankhurst.

The first At Home of this year in Plymouth was held on Friday, in the Royal Hotel, and was well attended. Mrs. Belcher gave a most interesting paper on the "Ideals of the Feminist Movement." We are looking forward to having Mrs. Pankhurst at the Guildhall

on February 10, and expect a crowded attendance. We are starting a series of evening meetings in the Treville-street Hall, so that those who cannot come to the afternoon meetings may have an opportunity of hearing about votes for women. The local members are each subscribing 2s. to defray the expenses of these extra meetings. Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Bath Saloons, Torquay, on February 8. Will all members and friends who can help to work up any of these meetings write to me at 11, Alfred-street, The Hoe, Plymouth? Subscriptions are also needed. We hope to open offices in Torquay on March 25.

Annie Kenney.

LANCASHIRE.

Manchester Central Office, 164, Oxford-road.

At Homes.—Manchester: Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Fridays, 8—10.

Liverpool: 48, Mount Pleasant, Tuesdays, 8—10.

Preston: Glovers Court, Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

Important Event.—Great Demonstration, Manchester Free Trade Hall, Tuesday, January 19, to welcome Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Tickets, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

The new offices have been very busy this week with energetic preparations for the coming great event on Tuesday, January 19, when we hope to give Christabel Pankhurst a right royal welcome from her townspeople. Let me specially urge upon all pledged members and sympathisers to see that they are really doing something definite towards making an unqualified success of Miss Pankhurst's visit. Tickets can be obtained at any time from the various centres noted on the handbills, and these are to be obtained at the central office in Oxford-road. Posters in the colours of the Union have been prepared for exhibition in shop windows or private houses, and wherever possible, by permission, in such prominent positions as garden gates, &c. There are still a number of collecting cards, which ticket sellers should carry about with them, so as to reap in the harvest of smaller subscriptions which are to be had merely for the asking. We have promise cards, which can be filled in and handed in on the night of the meeting, and these promises, I may say, need not be redeemed, if inconvenient, until the next Free Trade Hall meeting in March.

The first members' meeting of the new year on Wednesday evening was well attended. The whole of Manchester was divided into districts, with responsible captains in charge of each. On Friday evening the new series of At Homes in the Onward-buildings was begun, Mrs. Ratcliffe taking the chair. Dr. Fairfield specially welcomed newcomers, after which I spoke on the value and necessity of the militant methods of the Union. The gathering was an enthusiastic one, and much practical help was forthcoming at the close, when the names of volunteers were given in to the captains of the different branches of organisation. During collection time a coal-scuttle, a table, and chairs were offered towards the very necessary furniture required at the new premises. Next week an active campaign of house-to-house visiting will take place in all the different ticket centres, and chalking and sandwiching will be resorted to whenever possible. Unfortunately, we in Manchester have to fight the natural elements as well as the human elements arrayed against us, and we have not yet coaxed the Manchester weather to go in for a good weather reputation. Next week we hope to give Manchester more than one illustration of the way in which the members of the N.S.W.P.U. support their war cry, "Votes for Women." The week's finance is as follows:—Per Dr. Letitia Fairfield, 15s. 2d.; donation, E. M. S., 10s.; At Home, 16s. 11d.; per Portsmouth I.L.P., £1; members' subscriptions for December, £1 4s.; Miss Hutton (Promise Card), £1; Miss C. Tolson (Promise Card), £1; total, £6 6s. 1d.

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

MIDLANDS.

Shop and Committee Rooms: 14, Ethel-street, Birmingham.

At Homes.—Birmingham: Priory Rooms, Old-square, Tuesday, 7.30.

Edgbaston Assembly Rooms, Wednesday, 3.30.

Wolverhampton: Thursday, 7.30.

Our happy expectations of a by-election in the Midlands are somewhat dwindling, as up till the present no Government nominee is forthcoming at Tamworth. Mrs. Drummond and Miss Gye have already been in the constituency, and we are quite prepared to take the field should a contest take place at the last minute. Failing a by-election, we have great pleasure in the knowledge that several Cabinet Ministers are shortly to visit us. They

will, indeed, be a "shower of blessings." I am very glad to have the valuable assistance of Miss Gye for some time. The usual At Homes recommence this week, and we look forward to meeting one another again after the holidays. During my absence Miss Bertha Ryland and Miss Freeth have kept things running smoothly. Last night I addressed gymnastic teachers, who had come from all parts of the country to attend a Conference at the Physical Training College, Erdington. The need for the immediate enfranchisement of women is very seriously recognised among them, as recent legislation is proving harmful to the profession. The discussion on tactics, which followed, was most animated, and it was strongly felt that far more than mere "wanting the vote" is necessary if we are to be politically free.

Wolverhampton.—A rally of the members was held at "The Dingle," last Thursday. The work in the town has required some readjustment, as Miss Lilian Bradburn, who has been such a splendid worker, is to be away for some time. Miss Boswell, assisted by Miss Jessie Barnett, will take her place. Miss Clarke and Miss Beresford have taken over the literature, and Miss Nelson is assisting with the At Homes.

Droitwich.—Miss Aimee Law spent a portion of her Christmas holidays in breaking the new ground of Droitwich. She was assured that the meeting which the town crier had rung up for her would be most certainly wrecked, but quite the contrary happened. "You talked real good common sense," several working men remarked afterwards, and from all sides have come requests for further meetings. Mrs. Brewster has most kindly offered to defray the expenses of a large indoor meeting, and Miss Law will shortly return to Droitwich and organise one to take place in the Salters, to be addressed by Mrs. Davis, Miss Law, and myself.

Nottingham.—Excellent work continues to be done by members under the leadership of Miss Burgis. I am spending the week-end here on January 23. A large At Home in the Lecture Hall is being arranged for that evening, when Mr. Lloyd Thomas, who is so well known in Nottingham, will preside, and I shall give an address.

Loughborough.—The women of this town who are interested in votes for women have sent me an invitation to speak at a public meeting. This I have accepted with much pleasure; they are organising the meeting for January 22.

A donation of £1 from Miss Bertha Ryland is being forwarded to the National Treasurer this week. I am anxious to have an assistant organiser in the Midlands as soon as possible, in order that the increasing work may be effectively covered. This can be arranged immediately we can produce the necessary funds in the Midlands. Please send all donations to me at 49, Bristol-street, Birmingham.

Gladice G. Keevil.

YORKSHIRE.

Headquarters.—Bradford: 61, Manningham-lane, Workers' Meeting, Fridays, 8 p.m.

At Homes.—Leeds: Arts Club, Blenheim-terrace, Woodhouse-lane, Wednesday, 8 p.m.

On arriving in Bradford I found that Miss Roberts had arranged a whist drive in the office for Thursday evening, January 14. Tickets 1s. each. As we are planning to carry out this idea in Leeds and Huddersfield, and there will be no initial expenses, we anticipate a good profit. Miss Crocker has opportunely come to our assistance, and will address the Primitive Methodist Debating Society on Friday evening, January 15. Two of our members, Miss Billing, who has recently been in Holloway, and her sister, are getting up an indoor meeting in Ingletton on Saturday evening at 7.30 p.m. On the day following two lectures will be given to the Bentham Debating Society at three and eight p.m. On Friday evening, January 8, we held a business meeting in the Bradford office, and decided to concentrate our efforts on drawing-room meetings, and to spend Saturday afternoons in breaking up fresh ground in neighbouring villages, with the main object of developing local speakers. The first meetings of this kind were held on Saturday, January 9, at Low Moor and Wyke, when Miss Crocker and I were supported by Miss Roberts and Miss Stevenson. We sold 80 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and were very glad to find that interest in the question has been roused even in the outskirts of the city. We shall hold two open-air meetings on Saturday afternoon at 3 p.m. in Cullingworth and Wilsden, villages outside Bradford.

C. A. L. Marsh.

NEWCASTLE.

Headquarters.—37, Rye-hill.

At Homes.—Crosby's Café, Northumberland-street, every Wednesday, 3—5 and 8—10.

The friends here have welcomed me most kindly, and I think everything promises well for the continued success of the Northumbrian campaign. Our thanks are specially due to the Misses Brown, who took charge of the work during the holidays. The Hon. Mrs. Parsons presided at last week's afternoon At Home, and Mrs. Atkinson also spoke, giving some very interesting facts about

the successful revolt of the women of ancient Rome against unequal laws. Cato and another tribune at first refused to further their cause, but the women were so clamorous and persistent, finally besieging the houses of the obdurate pair throughout a whole night, that they were compelled to withdraw their opposition and to remove the injustice. Mrs. Atkinson, amid laughter and applause, declared her willingness to stand before Mr. Asquith's door all night if that would compel him to grant votes for women. Plans for self-denial week were discussed, and several members suggested and promised to carry out novel and excellent schemes for getting money. The sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets, outside the Exchange and at the theatre queues continues briskly, in spite of the bitterly cold and changeable weather.

We hope to have the pleasure of welcoming Mrs. Pankhurst here about the end of February, and intend to concentrate our energies on getting up a meeting worthy of her in the Town Hall.

It is interesting to note that one of our staunchest supporters in Parliament in the 'seventies and 'eighties, Mr. Joseph Cowen, was a native and citizen of Newcastle; his memory is justly revered by his fellow-townpeople. His attitude towards the question was commented on at some length in a lecture on his life, given here last week. He seconded Mr. Woodall's amendment to the County Franchise Bill of 1884, in a remarkably able speech, in the course of which he exclaimed: "Female sphere, forsooth! Who endowed the members of this House with power to apportion the arena in which their fellow-countrywomen have to labour. . . . Let facts, not theories, settle woman's capacity, and, therefore, her sphere!"

I am sending to the treasurer the following sums:—Misses J. and M. Cameron, £1 1s.; collections, 11s. 8½d.; extra on VOTES FOR WOMEN, 6d.

Mary Phillips.

LEICESTER.

So much earnest and valuable work has been done in Leicester by members of the local W.S.P.U. that the demonstration in the Corn Exchange on January 25 to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst is sure to be a great success. Preliminary work, such as printing, &c., is complete, and all that is needed is vigorous advertisement during the next two weeks. Already Mrs. Hawkins has raised the cost of the hiring of the hall and of the tickets. Sympathisers in Leicester are earnestly invited to send contributions towards defray-

ing the cost of printing, so that a handsome sum as a result of the meeting may be put to the credit of the Union. I should like to appeal to our London members to send any names of friends they may have in this neighbourhood who would like to help us at this time. All information as to work, bills, tickets, &c., can be had from Mrs. Hawkins, the local secretary, 18, Mantle-road, or from me at 15, Erskine-street. Weather permitting, open-air meetings will be held in the Market-place and at various factories between this and the 25th. A grand opportunity is now given to local members and friends of woman's suffrage to come forward and help on the day of victory by ensuring that Mrs. Pankhurst has the largest audience possible on the 25th.

Edith New.

ABERDEEN.

The N.W.S.P.U. organiser who comes to take up her work here in Aberdeen for the local members, with Miss Caroline Phillips as secretary, have made an excellent beginning. I am at present negotiating for the hire of a hall in a central position in Union-street for the weekly At Homes, which are to be held every Monday afternoon. The first will be on Monday, January 18. On Saturday afternoon next (January 16) Miss Rhend, of Westbourne House, Ferryhill, with whom I am staying, has kindly promised to give an At Home in support of the Union. Since I arrived here on Thursday last, I have spent the greater part of my time calling on members and sympathisers, and have received many promises to take VOTES FOR WOMEN regularly, to attend our At Homes and meetings in Aberdeen, and to help us in other ways. On Friday evening I met the members at the old committee rooms, and the Press were present to hear my statement as to the present position and the scheme for future organisation. The Aberdeen Daily Journal and the Free Press both gave us good reports.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

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MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A

GREAT DEMONSTRATION WILL BE HELD IN THE QUEEN'S HALL, ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 26, AT 8 O'CLOCK.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

SPEAKERS:

SIR JOHN COCKBURN, K.C.M.G. (Ex-Premier of South Australia). REV. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A. MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

SIR VICTOR HORSLEY, F.R.S., F.R.C.S. H. W. NEVINSON. H. YORKE STANGER, K.C., M.P.

Tickets: Sofa Stalls, 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s.; Grand Circle, 2s. 6d., 1s.; Orchestra, 1s.; Area and Balcony (unreserved), 6d.

APPLY EARLY to the Hon. Secretary, 38, Museum Street, W.C.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—On Wednesday, January 6, we held a good open-air meeting, all our old friends turning up and some new ones. We sold VOTES FOR WOMEN. Our meeting on Friday, January 8, in the Hove Town Hall Reception Rooms, with Miss Nancy Lightman as speaker, was a success, both in point of numbers and financially. Mrs. John Gulich presided with her from start to finish. The open-air meeting on Saturday, January 9, on the Front, was one of the best, if not the best, we have ever had. Miss Nancy Lightman holding her audience, with the exception of one solitary interruption, for over an hour and a-half. We ended with the audience calling out for three ringing cheers for the speaker, which were given with "three out for three." We took up a collection of over 12s. The piece of news which pleased the audience immensely was that of Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting at the Dome, which was announced for February 2, and all were urged to buy tickets and tell friends. Also that Miss Helen Ogston was coming as national organiser to help local members and friends with preparations for the Dome meeting. On Tuesday, 12th, a "Votes Corps" has been arranged to sell our paper outside the Dome, where the Rev. R. J. Campbell is to speak for the W.S.P.U. On Friday, 15th, a meeting will be held at Mrs. Ridgway's house, 22, L.P. On Friday, 15th, the open-air meetings will be held as usual, Wednesday and Saturday, at 2.30, Western Boundary, Front. We also expect Miss Macaulay on Friday, January 22. She will speak on Friday, 22, at the New Macaulay on Friday, January 22. Anyone wishing to join a chalking party for Road Lecture Hall at 8 p.m. Anyone wishing to join a chalking party for Miss Macaulay's meeting, or to help in sale of literature, tickets, collecting money, &c., please apply, Hon. Sec., 209, Preston Drive. I. G. McKEOWN.

Brixton W.S.P.U.—The committee of this Union met on Monday last, and agreed to hold monthly drawing-room meetings, the first of which will take place at 32, Wynne-road, on January 22, at 8 p.m. The treasurer reported that the meeting held at Raleigh Hall in December, which was so enthusiastic and sympathetic, had also been a success financially. It was unanimously agreed to send 10s. to the National W.S.P.U. It was decided to resume open-air meetings as soon as possible. KATHLEEN S. TANNER, Hon. Sec.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—The work in Kensington has been much hampered by the lack of a centre, and the committee have felt for some time that the provision of an office was an absolute necessity if the movement was to grow locally as it should. After much hesitation the bold step of taking a shop in a busy thoroughfare was decided on, and the agreement for the hire of 143, Church-street was signed this week. These premises were chosen because the situation at the corner of Edge-street gives the windows great prominence, and they cannot fail to catch the eye of the passers-by. It is near Notting Hill Gate, and easily reached from all parts of Kensington. The committee relies on the generosity of the members to meet the heavy call entailed on the finances of the Union. Already three ladies have each guaranteed the sum of £10 per annum, and we hope that as soon as the need is known more offers of this nature will be forthcoming, and that after our At Home on January 20 and business meeting on January 25 we shall be able to publish a list of guarantors. The shop should, of course, earn a certain amount of money by the sale of literature, &c. We are now busy with the decoration and furnishing, and think that some of our friends may be able to help us by giving us pieces of furniture for which they have no longer a use. The articles specially wanted are: Linoleum, rugs, a desk or writing-table, with drawers, a plain deal table, chairs, shelves or bookcases, a small chest of drawers, screen, card index, typewriter, and cyclostyle. Will donors who have any article they think might be useful please communicate with me in the first case? A telephone will be installed, and we hope to have the shop open from 10 till 6 each day; 10 to 1 on Saturdays. Pending the appointment of a secretary, Miss Postlethwaite has kindly consented to take charge for a week or two. We hope our members will lighten her work by joining her for an hour or two at a time. No doubt many will undertake to be at the shop for definite hours each week, so that it may be possible to arrange a time-table and have more than one person on the premises all the time. Details of the work and management of the shop will be discussed at our business meeting on January 22. Our At Homes at Albert Lodge will be continued by the kindness of Mr. and Mrs. Cameron Grant, and the first one for the New Year will be held there on Wednesday, January 20, when Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. LOUISE M. EATES.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—We have started a grand campaign here to work up to the great demonstration for Mrs. Pankhurst's visit to Leicester. A meeting held at the Welford Coffee House for members was well attended. Miss New, the national organiser, explained the preliminary work; tickets were given out for sale, and all members promised to do the utmost to make the meeting a great success. We made a start on Sunday, January 10, with a meeting in the Market-place, when, although it rained all the time, a large crowd stood to listen to Mrs. Hawkins and Miss New for upward of an hour. A series of dinner-hour and evening meetings will be held during the next fortnight. I should like to thank the National Union for sending Miss New to us, for a more energetic worker we could not have had; her work in Leicester is already greatly appreciated. The members of the Leicester Union send affectionate greetings to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh, and although they may not be present on Thursday (14th) in the body, they will be in spirit. (Mrs.) ALICE HAWKINS.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Saturday, January 9, an At Home was held at Mrs. Bayly's house in Brockley. Miss Smith, secretary of the Streatham W.S.P.U., was the speaker, and gave a most interesting address, dealing with the anti-suffragists, and giving statistics re the numerous Woman's Suffrage Bills which have been introduced, and either blocked or talked out since 1865. Miss Smith's address was followed by a lively discussion, in which three gentlemen took part. On Sunday, January 10, Miss Smith and I spoke at an open-air meeting in Deptford Broadway, the subject being "The Woman's Movement and its Bearing on the Labour Question." We had a large and interested audience. Miss Billinghurst, Miss Townshend, and Miss Marshall sold 30 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN during and after the meeting. J. A. BOUVIER.

Nottingham W.S.P.U.—An At Home is to take place on Saturday, January 23, at 7.30 p.m., when Miss Gladice Keevil is coming to speak for us. The Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas, M.A., will take the chair, and some friends of the Union will contribute music. The Mechanics' Lecture Hall has been engaged for the occasion. H. K. W., pro C. M. BURGIS.

Streatham W.S.P.U.—A very successful drawing-room meeting was held at Miss Willson's on Sunday afternoon last by the members of this Union and their friends. Short speeches were made, and suggestions as to the best means of making the question of Votes for Women popular in Streatham were afterwards discussed. NELLIE E. SMITH.

TAMWORTH BY-ELECTION. Unionist Mr. F. A. Newdegate. The figures at the last election were as follows:—Sir Philip A. Muntz (Con.), 7,567; Mr. J. Seymour Keay (Lib.), 4,842.

So far there is no prospect of a contest. No meeting of the Committee of the Liberal Association for the division has, we understand, been held, and it is not expected that any Government candidate will be forthcoming. Among a section of the Liberal party there appears, says the Times, to be a wish for a fight, and the matter has been referred for decision to the party whips in London.

TREATMENT OF NON-CRIMINAL OFFENDERS IN PRISON.

The following resolution has been passed by the Humanitarian League (Criminal Law and Prison Reform Committee):—

"That in view of the fact that within the past three years, under a Liberal Government, more than 700 persons have undergone imprisonment for offences of a non-criminal nature—as in the demand for women's suffrage, free speech, religious liberty, and the agitation of the unemployed—this committee of the Humanitarian League strongly urges that in the treatment of prisoners a clear distinction should be made between those who have been convicted of some criminal offence and those who suffer for conscience sake."



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