

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"THE OLD ORDER CHANGETH, GIVING PLACE TO THE NEW."

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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.

Last Friday the members of the Women's Social and Political Union had the pleasure of welcoming back to liberty from Holloway Prison 17 women who had served a month's sentence in consequence of the protests that they had made against the opposition of the Government to votes for women. A special luncheon was given in their honour at the Criterion Restaurant, when spirited speeches were made in defence of the militant methods of the Women's Social and Political Union. Miss Ethel Ball was due for release on the following morning and she returned to her friends. Our joy at welcoming

these women is tinged with sorrow at the thought that 16 women are still in prison, serving a sentence of two months without the option of a fine, and also that Mr. Franklin is still in Brixton Gaol over the holiday serving a sentence of six weeks for his attempt to show Mr. Churchill that he must not slander men and women without cause.

The Story of the Year.

These releases mark the last political events relating to woman suffrage of a year singularly full of unexpected developments. It is difficult when the country is just emerging from a December election to put our minds back to the beginning of the year when the January election had not yet been announced. The Government coalition then commanded a majority of 334 in the House of Commons. On the 1st of January also four women were still in prison on account of the protests which they had made at various times, and all of these were being forcibly fed. Among them were Selina Martin and Leslie Hall who, arrested just before Christmas, had been refused bail, and while still on remand had been treated with great brutality in prison. Selina Martin had been frog-marched (i.e., carried by her arms and legs, her head bumping on the stone steps) from her cell to the room in which the forcible feeding was to take place, and subsequently flung back into her cell. There were also in suspense the cases of 92 other women who had taken part in the deputation of the previous June, and who had been remanded pending the decision of the appeal with regard to

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Haverfield. These women were subsequently discharged.

The January Election.

The General Election was fought with great vigour by the Women's Social and Political Union, who threw all their strength against the Government, firstly, on account of their opposition to Woman Suffrage and their ill-treatment of women during the four years they had been in power, and, secondly, on account of the failure of Mr. Asquith to give any satisfactory promise as to the future. A special poster, "The Right Dishonourable Double-Faced Asquith," was exhibited on a great number of hoardings throughout the country, and over a million of the W.S.P.U. Election Addresses and Election Leaflets were distributed to the electors. One of the leaflets which attracted the most attention was that dealing with the disgraceful treatment of Selina Martin in prison. This called forth a specific reply from Mr. Herbert Gladstone by means of a statement sent to the Press denying the facts. The W.S.P.U. produced a rejoinder to this in the shape of a further leaflet substantiating the facts in the original leaflet by direct evidence.

The Result.

The result of the election was that the Liberal coalition lost 105 seats, their majority being thus reduced to 124, and Mr. Asquith becoming dependent on the Irish vote for power to carry on the Government of the country. It is, of course, impossible to say precisely how much of this loss was due to the opposition of the W.S.P.U., but among the defeats where the Women's Social and Political Union had

been especially active were the following:—Brixton, Chelsea, Fulham, North Kensington, Greenwich, South St. Pancras, Brighton, Exeter, Liverpool (Abercromby), S.W. Manchester, Lincolnshire (Louth), Ripon, Southport, Harrow, Bassetlaw, Reigate, Bridgwater and Bute. In addition, in many other constituencies the loss of prestige which the Liberal Government had suffered owing to their treatment of the Woman Suffrage question produced a transfer of votes sufficient to lose their candidate the seat. So that altogether the Women's Social and Political Union were probably responsible for some 30 or 40 defeats, and thus for reducing the Government majority by 60 or 80. When it is remembered that another 21 victories would have given Mr. Asquith a majority independent of the Irish the importance of the work of the W.S.P.U. will be rightly appreciated.

The Story of Jane Warton.

Shortly before the close of the election the country was roused to attention by the heroic action of Lady Constance Lytton at Liverpool, who braved the worst horrors of forcible feeding in order to make an indignant protest against the treatment of Selina Martin and Leslie Hall in prison. A few months previously Lady Constance Lytton had been imprisoned in Newcastle and, following the example of the other Suffragettes, had adopted the hunger-strike; but instead of having her fed by force as was done with the other prisoners, the Home Secretary (Mr. Herbert Gladstone) had sent down a specialist from London to examine her heart, and on receiving his report had had her released, giving an emphatic denial to the suggestion of the W.S.P.U. that his action was prompted by her social position. When, therefore, at Liverpool Lady Constance Lytton determined to make a protest against the treatment of Selina Martin and Leslie Hall she adopted an assumed name. As Jane Warton she was arrested and sent to prison; as Jane Warton she adopted the hunger-strike and was forcibly fed without any heart examination taking place. Later it is true a perfunctory examination was made, but her heart was then pronounced sound and the operation was continued. On another occasion the doctor slapped her face because the pain of the operation caused her to be violently sick.

Indignation in the Country.

After seven days' imprisonment she was released and the whole of England was ringing with the story which had exposed the snobbery of the Home Secretary and shown up the brutality of the treatment in prison. Mr. Gladstone was asked to have a public inquiry into the facts, but he refused and contented himself with a private investigation, as a result of which he white-washed the officials concerned. He also sent a special letter of commendation to the officials of Manchester Prison, where, shortly before, a hose pipe had been turned upon one of the Suffragette prisoners, Miss Davison, who had barred her cell in order to escape being forcibly fed. Miss Davison brought an action against the visiting magistrates for this outrage, and was awarded damages by the Court.

The Truce.

With the close of the General Election the Women's Social and Political Union declared a truce in its war with the Government, in the hope that peaceful considerations might prevail and that the new Parliament might accede to the women's claim for the vote. The House of Commons met on February 15, and the King's Speech was read on February 21; there was no mention of Woman Suffrage nor were any private members successful in winning a place for a Woman Suffrage Bill in the ballot. However, as the situation was altogether abnormal, owing to the constitutional crisis between the Commons and the Lords, the W.S.P.U. decided to wait a little longer in the hope of action by their Parliamentary friends. Meanwhile, they continued a vigorous campaign of educational activity. A special mission to women involving thousands of meetings was held in different parts of the country, culminating in a great demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall, London, on March 18, at which Mr. Castberg, ex-Minister of Justice for Norway, gave a striking account of how the women had won the vote in that country. Another success was the Exhibition held by the W.S.P.U. in Glasgow at the end of April, which was crowded with visitors during the three days it was open, and made a sum of £1,900 for the cause.

The Woman's Press Shop.

At the beginning of May a further extension was made by the W.S.P.U. by the opening of a central shop at 156, Charing Cross Road, for The Woman's Press. Miss Fanny Brough and Miss Evelyn Sharp, who performed the ceremony, referred to the startling growth of the trade of The Woman's Press, which had increased from £80 in the year 1906 to £10,000 a year at the present time. Since then the new venture has been well justified, and the Votes for Women clock, which

presides over the shop, is one of the features of the street.

The Death of the King.

In Parliament the situation was such that a second General Election was confidently anticipated to take place in June or July, and the W.S.P.U., in common with other political parties, was preparing for the struggle. The lamented death of King Edward, however, completely changed the political outlook. In the presence of death a more peaceful solution of outstanding differences was sought for, and a conference between the leaders of the Liberal and Unionist parties was arranged in the hope of arriving at a compromise on the issue between the Commons and the Lords. At the same time the Liberal Government decided not to press forward matters on which the principal parties were at variance.

The Conciliation Bill.

Meanwhile a Committee had been formed of Members of Parliament favourable to Woman Suffrage drawn from all parties in the House. This Committee had framed a Bill which, owing to the support it received from leading men on both sides of the House, might pass, it was hoped, into law by mutual consent. This Bill, the Conciliation Bill as it was afterwards called, proposed to give the vote to women occupiers, that is, to women who already possess the municipal franchise. It differed from the Bill demanded by all the Suffrage Societies in that it withheld the vote from (1) women owners, (2) women lodgers, (3) women University graduates. As, however, these classes altogether are small in numbers compared with that of women occupiers, and as it was said that these omissions made the Bill acceptable to both Liberals and Conservatives who would otherwise reject it, the Suffrage Societies unanimously agreed to accept the Conciliation Bill as an instalment of reform.

The First Reading.

The cessation of ordinary party warfare made the time particularly opportune, and when the Bill was introduced on June 14 by Mr. Shackleton it was realised on all sides that there was no important business to be transacted in the remaining weeks of the session which would prevent time being given to the Woman Suffrage measure if the Government were so minded. The Bill was opposed on its first reading by Mr. F. E. Smith, but though he threatened to avail himself of all the means at his disposal of blocking the passage of the measure, he refused to take a division, and the first reading was, therefore, carried without a division.

Favourable Feeling in the Country.

Immediately the first reading was carried an attempt was made to get a promise from the Prime Minister for facilities for the later stages of the Bill. Mr. Asquith postponed his answer, and during the interval there were many indications of popular support. Important memorials were collected in a few days and sent to the Prime Minister from 189 M.P.'s, from 300 doctors, from distinguished men and women of letters, from dignitaries of the Church, from leading Nonconformist ministers, from well-known educationalists, from social workers, from actors and actresses, from prominent musicians, and others. The W.S.P.U. organised a joint procession and demonstration of Suffrage societies on June 18, which was admitted on all sides to be the most imposing march which had ever taken place through the streets of London. Nearly 20,000 women took part. The vast Albert Hall was crammed from floor to roof, the Kensington Town Hall was also filled and a large number were turned away unable to gain admittance. The W.S.P.U. at its meeting in the Albert Hall raised £5,000 for the campaign, and the enthusiasm was unprecedented.

The Second Reading.

On June 21 Mr. Asquith received a deputation of women belonging to the constitutional suffragists and another deputation from the Anti-Suffrage societies. On the following Thursday (June 24) he announced in the House of Commons his intention of providing time for the second reading debate on the Bill. This debate took place on July 11 and 12. Among those who supported the measure were Mr. Haldane and Mr. Runciman from the Government Bench, Mr. Balfour, Sir Alfred Lyttelton, and Lord Hugh Cecil from the Opposition, Mr. Keir Hardie, Mr. Shackleton, and Mr. Snowden from the Labour Benches, and Mr. William Redmond and Mr. Kettle from the Irish. Among its opponents were Mr. Austen Chamberlain, Mr. Walter Long, and Mr. F. E. Smith, and from the Government Front Bench the Prime Minister himself and also Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Winston Churchill, who professed to see in the Bill an undemocratic measure framed so as to enfranchise Conservative women at the expense of the Liberals. The opposition of Mr. Churchill was particularly remarkable, as he had been understood up to a little time previously to be favourable to the measure. The division taken on Tuesday night, July 12, showed an overwhelming majority in support of the Bill, 299 voting in favour and only 189 against. A vote was then taken, and carried by 320 to 175, to keep the further discussion of the measure in the whole House instead of sending it to a Grand Committee. Many members voted for this in the belief that it was the right procedure to adopt with regard to a Suffrage Bill, but the

effect was that no further progress could be made unless the Government provided time. This they refused to do.

Indications of Public Support.

The Women's Social and Political Union, however, bent all its efforts towards inducing Mr. Asquith to change his mind so far as to allow time for the later stages of the Bill after the summer recess. Another great demonstration was organised by the W.S.P.U. for Saturday, July 23, when two monster processions converged on Hyde Park, where a joint Suffrage meeting with 40 platforms was held. All through the summer in different parts of the country a vigorous campaign was carried on. The Corporations of Manchester, Glasgow, Dundee, Dublin, Cork, and other places, passed resolutions by large majorities calling upon the Government to allow the Bill to be passed into law. Many of the Cabinet Ministers were interviewed by women in their constituencies, who urged upon them the importance of passing the Bill. The Welsh Liberal women in conference decided to work for no candidates except those wholeheartedly prepared to support the Bill. This campaign of propaganda culminated in the great meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union on Thursday, November 10, in the Royal Albert Hall, when amidst great enthusiasm a further sum of £9,000 was promised towards the campaign.

The Deputations to Parliament.

On the same night it was announced that the Conference had broken down, and that a General Election would almost certainly come with the very smallest delay. On November 15 Parliament met, but only for formal business. On the following Friday Mr. Asquith made his statement with regard to the future, indicating that unless the Lords carried the Parliament Bill the General Election would take place before Christmas. He also promised to deal with Payment of Members in the next session, but made no reference whatever to Woman Suffrage. While the House was sitting the Women's Social and Political Union was also meeting in Caxton Hall, and on learning that Mr. Asquith had not made any promise with regard to Woman Suffrage, a deputation at once proceeded to see him. Mr. Asquith refused to allow them to do so, and called out the police. A conflict ensued, and for several hours the women were very brutally handled; many of them are still suffering from the cruel assaults made upon them by the police, acting under the instructions of the Home Secretary. Finally, 115 women and four men were arrested. Brought up at the police-court on the following day, all the charges against them were withdrawn at the direct instructions of Mr. Churchill, and they were released, no opportunity being provided them of exposing the disgraceful treatment which they had received.

Seventy-five Women Sent to Prison.

On the Monday following (November 21) a further attempt was made to interview the Prime Minister, but he refused to see the deputation, who waited at Westminster till the House rose. On Tuesday Mr. Asquith made the following statement:—
The Government will, if they are still in power, give facilities in the next Parliament for effectively proceeding with a Bill which is so framed as to permit of free amendment. The W.S.P.U., which would have held its hand in the event of a genuine pledge for next session, appreciated at once the worthlessness of Mr. Asquith's actual promise, which would enable him to put women off year by year, and then by bringing the Parliament to an unexpected end cheat them of their hope. A deputation was at once appointed, which, as the House had risen, went to Downing Street. A further conflict with the police ensued, and many arrests were made. Other women protested by breaking the windows of the Houses of Cabinet Ministers. Altogether 159 women and 3 men were arrested that day, 18 others on Wednesday, and 21 on Thursday. Of these 75 were convicted and sent to prison, 33 being sentenced to 40s. or 14 days, 26 to £5 or one month, and 16 to two months, without the option of a fine.

Treatment in Prison.

Inside Holloway the women claimed the application of the new rule brought in by Mr. Winston Churchill, as a result of the heroic hunger strike, by which prisoners not convicted of "crimes implying moral turpitude" are entitled to certain exemptions from prison discipline. According to the accounts given by the released prisoners, these exemptions fall far short of the treatment which is properly accorded to political prisoners. Some of the prisoners decided on their own initiative to adopt the hunger strike, and in two cases the disgusting and brutal practice of forcibly feeding was adopted by the instructions of the Home Secretary. The other prisoners decided to go through with the procedure in Holloway and to await the decision of the leaders of the movement before making any fresh move.

The General Election.

Immediately following on the deputations of women to the Prime Minister came the General Election through which we have just passed. The W.S.P.U. again took the field against the Liberal Government, special posters were placed upon the hoardings, an election address and other literature were prepared and distributed broadcast, and a vigorous personal cam-

aign was inaugurated in special constituencies. But for this active opposition the Liberals would undoubtedly have gained ground, winning, perhaps, some 30 or 40 seats; instead of this the coalition has only secured one. Thus they find themselves at the close with only one seat more than they held before. Among the losses of the Liberal Government were ten constituencies in which the W.S.P.U. had been specially active. In many other places where the normal political forces were closely balanced the influence of the W.S.P.U. was sufficient to prevent the return of the Liberal candidate.

The Men's Political Union.

No account of the progress of the year would be complete without mention of the formation and rapid growth of the Men's Political Union for the Enfranchisement of Women. Starting from small beginnings, this Union has become a power which Cabinet Ministers anxious to burke the Woman Suffrage issue have good reason to fear. It is no longer any use their excluding women from their meetings; men are there to take their place and put the never-answered question. The men who do this have been subject to the grossest violence—and to the foulest slander by the speakers, but in spite of this they continue to protest. Three members of the Union have suffered imprisonment during the year—Mr. Duval and Mr. Jacobs for hustling Mr. Lloyd George, and Mr. Franklin for attempting to strike Mr. Churchill in order to teach him that he cannot ill-treat and slander women and men with impunity.

The Movement in Foreign Countries.

Considerable progress has been made during the year by women in other countries. In the United States, in particular, following upon the visit of Mrs. Pankhurst during the Autumn of 1909, the movement for Woman Suffrage has made great strides. In Washington State the full Parliamentary suffrage has now been conceded to women; there are now therefore five States where women have full voting rights—Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, Idaho and Washington.

On Christmas Day the Women's Social and Political Union was inexpressibly bereaved by the sudden death of Mrs. Mary Clarke, so deeply honoured and beloved of all who knew her, both for her personal qualities as a friend and her devoted and successful leadership as an organiser of the Union. Many of her friends in the Union will learn of their loss for the first time through this announcement, and the closing days of the year will be hushed by a common grief. The sympathy of all will go out to Mrs. Pankhurst, who has lost in Mrs. Clarke both a sister and a colleague, and to her family, who share this great sorrow with her. Set free from Holloway Prison last Friday, it was given to Mrs. Clarke to hear two days later that "high, sweet, musical call of release" that has brought to her deliverance. We cannot doubt but that she has gone to work "on the other side" for the emancipation of the human spirit and the fulfilment of all that together we dreamed and endeavoured.

In Memoriam.

The year that is passing has taken away from us many brave spirits who fought their fight for the freedom of women. Harry Pankhurst, the beloved son of Mrs. Pankhurst, and a stalwart in the cause, passed away in the early part of the year, and Mrs. Goulden, Mrs. Pankhurst's mother, who followed the movement with the greatest sympathy, died in the spring. Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, a pioneer of the women's medical profession, Florence Nightingale, Mrs. Ward Howe are names that are honoured throughout the world. Among the women in our movement we mourn the loss of Miss Ethel Mills, a prominent worker of the W.S.P.U.; Mrs. Dring, an active member; and Mrs. Harcourt Mitchell (aunt of the Hon. C. S. Rolls), who was a strong supporter of our movement.

THE NEW PARLIAMENT.

Until the work of agitation begins again, and the demand for the immediate enfranchisement of women is laid before them in definite form, it will not be known how far the attitude of the Government towards Woman Suffrage has been modified by recent political events. What is already plain, however, is that the new House of Commons contains a very large and an increased majority in favour of enfranchising women. The Women's Social and Political Union has made a careful inquiry as to the record and pledges of each individual member of Parliament, and is now able to make a preliminary announcement on the subject.

Members of Parliament prepared to vote for a Woman Suffrage Bill on the lines of the Conciliation Bill	407
Members prepared to vote for a measure of Adult Suffrage only	9
Members who are prepared to vote for a still more moderate measure of Woman Suffrage, though they voted against the Conciliation Bill	3
Approved Anti-Suffragists	176
Members who are neutral, or were absent during the second reading of the Conciliation Bill, or as to whose views no information is yet available	75

It will be seen that all the conditions necessary to the early settlement of the Suffrage question are present save an undertaking by the Government to allow the will of the House of Commons to be expressed in concrete form as an Act of Parliament.

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DISSENSION IN THE HOME.

By Evelyn Sharp.

"I should be delighted to get up a meeting for you in my house," said the enthusiastic new recruit. "I always have said that women who paid rates and taxes—I beg your pardon? Oh, speakers—of course, speakers! Well, they must be the very best you have; people get so easily bored, don't they? And that's so bad for the cause." She reflected an instant, then fired off the names of three famous Suffragettes and was astonished to hear that the well-known leaders rarely had time to address drawing-room meetings.

"Isn't that rather a mistake?" she suggested, with the splendid effrontery of the new recruit. "It is so important to attract the leisured woman who won't go to public meetings for fear of being stuck with a hatpin. I'm really afraid my crowd won't come unless they see a name they know on the cards." Finding that this made no appeal to one who had heard it often before, she asked in a resigned tone if a window-breaker would be available. "If I could put on the invitation card—'Why I broke a Prime Minister's windows, by One who has done it,' they'd come in flocks. No, it wouldn't matter much if she had broken somebody else's window. As long as she had broken something—do you speak, by the way? Your voice is hardly strong enough, perhaps?"

The suffrage organiser, hoarse with having held two open-air meetings a day for the past week, admitted that she did speak sometimes. "I've been to prison too, if that is any good," she added cynically.

The cynicism was unperceived. "Have you? But that will be perfectly delightful! Can I promise them that you will speak about picking oakum and doing the treadmill? Oh, don't they? I thought all the Suffragettes picked oakum in Holloway, and that was why they—never mind! You've really eaten skilly, and that ought to fetch them, if anything will. The Chair? Oh, I really don't think I could;—I should die of terror, I know I should. What should I have to do? Yes, I suppose I could tell them why I want a vote. I always have said that women who paid rates and taxes—yes, Wednesday at nine o'clock. You'll come and dine first, won't you? It's so good for the unconverted to meet you at dinner, just to see that you do know how to hold a knife and fork. My husband is so very much opposed; I like to do all I can in a quiet way to show him that the Suffragettes are not all—can't you really? Well, come as early as you can; I shall be simply dead with nervousness if I'm left unsupported. By the way, you'll wear your most feminine frock, won't you? I hope you don't mind my mentioning it, but it is so important to impress the leisured woman—to say nothing of my husband! I am so anxious to avoid causing dissension in the home: I think that would be wrong, don't you? Of course, I shall let them all think that you are sure to turn up in goloshes and spectacles; it will make the contrast all the greater, and that is so good for the cause!"

"Mrs. Fontenella wants to give a drawing-room meeting," said the organiser, when she returned to the office. "She seems to have a curious set of friends who look upon suffrage as a music hall entertainment; so she wants me to speak because I have picked oakum in Holloway, and you, because you have broken something. I think she must be an Anti by birth."

"Oh, no," answered the woman who had broken something. "She is really a Suffragette by birth, and only an Anti by marriage. I am glad we have won her back again."

"Then why does she talk as if we were all mountebanks?" asked the other, unconvinced.

The breaker of Government plate glass shook her head slowly. "I don't know," she said. "I think, perhaps, it may be because she has lived eleven years with somebody from whom she is obliged to conceal what she really feels about things."

"She isn't obliged to conceal anything; nobody is!" cried the organiser, hotly. "If these people had the courage to show fight—"

"They have—when the fight is worth it," struck in

the older woman. "Those are just the people whose courage is inexhaustible, when real courage is required. I don't know why it is so, unless it is that they haven't wasted it over things that don't matter, and so they have a reserve fund to draw upon for a great occasion. That's the best of a cause like ours—it furnishes them with the great occasion."

"Mrs. Fontenella's reserve fund must be colossal," said the organiser, still unconvinced.

The audience that was lured to Mrs. Fontenella's house on Wednesday evening by a prospect of meeting two eccentric females who had been to goal—doubtless because they richly deserved it—was composed of the elements that usually go to make up such audiences. It was very rich, very idle, very limited; it was polite by education and rather insolent by nature; and, with the exception of one or two of the men, who nursed an academic belief in the woman's vote because they hoped that under masculine influence it might be used to strengthen the right political party, it was not interested in politics. The men were there because they thought it was a sporting idea of the most popular hostess in their set to pretend to be a Suffragette; and the women were there to show their disapproval of a shrieking minority, who, for the sake of notoriety, were rapidly destroying the ideal of womanhood that had been implanted in every Englishman's breast by his mother;—at least, those were the reasons they gave one another for being there, as they sat in rows on gilded upright chairs, waiting for the fun to begin. When it did begin, they experienced a distinct sensation of having been cheated of their entertainment.

It was not because they found it difficult to recognise the most popular hostess they knew in the apologetic lady who stood up, glittering with gems, against an expensive background of hothouse plants, and read out platitudes from a type-written paper in a high-pitched, jerky voice; though everything was wrong in that opening speech from the Chair. It was flippant without being funny; it threw up defences where it should have attacked; it jarred where it should have conciliated. One at least of the two women who shared the platform with her, chafing under the huge mistake of her speech, felt inclined to agree with the audience that the speaker was only pretending to be a Suffragette. It was not this that disappointed the audience, however. It had expected nothing else from one of its own set, who was obviously unfitted both by nature and upbringing to sustain a part that she had only assumed because it was something new—just as she might have hired a pianola or a gramophone when these, too, were novelties. But it was not fair to invite people to meet two hooligans who had fought with policemen, and then to confront them with two normal-looking, normally-dressed women, of whom it was impossible to believe anything that was not consistent with breeding and good form. Disappointment grew when the faltering little speech of the Chairman came to an end, and the younger of the two Suffragettes, with a fleeting glance at her notes, rose to her feet. A woman who had picked oakum and defied wardresses—their hostess had omitted no detail likely to attract her "crowd"—had no right to a soft, humorous voice, or to an educated accent. Entertainment there was of a sort; for the most obdurate Anti-suffragist could scarcely have remained proof against the wit and good temper of the girl who stood there, undaunted by the atmosphere of opposition that filled the room, turning the laugh against her opponents with every point that she made. Still, it was not the kind of entertainment they had been led to expect, and a certain amount of discomfiture mingled with the laughter and the applause that she won by the time she sat down.

Then the older woman, the one who had broken windows, took her place. There was nothing conciliatory, nothing amusing in what she said. She did not raise a laugh once; she uttered no sort of appeal; she never so much as hinted at an apology for what she and other women like her had felt impelled to do. She made some of her listeners angry; some of them she moved deeply; others she greatly perplexed; but she left none of them precisely where they had been when she began to speak, and when she sat down there was hardly any applause. Nearly every man in the room was staring at his boots; the women played with their lace and their rings, avoiding one another's eyes. A few were horribly ashamed of having tears in theirs.

The Chairman did not rise for a moment or two. She was scribbling something rapidly on a piece of paper, which she twisted up and sent down the length of the brilliantly lighted room to a man who stood lounging carelessly in the doorway. He untwisted it with extreme deliberation, crushed it up in his hand when he had read it, and looked his wife straight in the eyes, across the backs of the waiting people in the chairs. She met his look for just two seconds before she stood up and cleared her throat.

The rows of people in the chairs stirred with a sensation of relief. Eloquence and wit, they knew, were not in the repertory of Mrs. Fontenella when she was posing as a Suffragette; but at least she could be counted upon not to make them feel uncomfortable. When she stood there silent, gripping the table with both hands and looking straight down the room, along the road that her twisted scrap of paper had taken to the man in the doorway, they began to think something was a little wrong.

Did she, realising that the last speaker had overstepped the limits of good taste, feel incapable of dealing with the situation? It was certainly a little awkward for her to continue to occupy the Chair under the circumstances.

"Ask for questions," prompted the organiser who sat on her left; and she pushed the agenda paper towards her, thinking she was nervous and could think of nothing to say.

Mrs. Fontenella was not nervous. She glanced round at her prompter with a reassuring smile and brushed aside the agenda paper. Then she faced the crowd she had brought there under false pretences, and gave them the second shock they had received that evening.

"Friends," she said, in a voice that no longer faltered or apologised, a voice that was pitched exactly right and held her listeners strangely, "the last speaker has told us that another deputation of women will try to reach the presence of the Prime Minister next week. You know what that means—almost certain imprisonment for the women who go on that deputation, but also an opportunity for every one of us to do something towards winning a great reform. I am going on that deputation. Which of you will come with me?"

Those who managed furtively to look round at the man in the doorway were extremely puzzled by the interested smile he wore.

"You were right about that woman, and I was utterly wrong," confessed the organiser, as she walked away from the house with the other speaker. "I do hope she won't have a bad time with that Anti husband of hers!"

"You never know," said her companion, who had seen the interested smile of the man in the doorway. "That's the blessed thing about marriage;—you never know."

"What!" exclaimed the younger woman. "Do you mean to say that he is a Suffragette by birth, too?"

"No," was the reply. "I should say he was an Anti by birth: but I think he may be a Suffragette by marriage, though I doubt if he or his wife had found it cut until to-night."

In a long and brilliantly-lighted drawing-room, desolate with its rows of empty chairs, the popular hostess, who was also a Suffragette, stood alone with the man whose smile had puzzled every one who saw it, half-an-hour ago, except the woman who had broken windows.

"It's simply magnificent of you," said his wife.

He took a walk round and moved some of the expensive hothouse plants. "I hate these things," he said. "Why do we have them? Let's open some more windows and get rid of the smell."

She laughed, and watched him go across to manipulate blinds and bolts. "You are always the man I married, even when you are quite different, as you were this evening," she remarked, with equal inconsequence.

"You're not the same woman as the one I married!" he shot back at her.

"But I am!" she cried. "I am, I am! And that's the whole point!"

He looked round at her, the smile back in his face. "Perhaps it is," he said. "Perhaps it is. Pity we've both missed it for eleven years, isn't it?"

(This article forms the last chapter of the American edition of "Rebel Women," copyright in U.S.A. by the John Lane Company.)

MRS. CLARKE.

There was something very beautiful, very joyous, and very touching about our festive gathering last Friday, when we met at the Criterion to welcome our prisoners on their release from Holloway. Many people spoke of it afterwards to me as the happiest of all our many social reunions. We little thought at the time how memorable it would be, because of a beloved presence seen there in our midst for the last time, and because of words that would live with a special sacredness in our minds as the final message of one whose life has taught us much.

One by one our honoured guests, that morning released from Holloway Prison, responded to the toast "To the Pioneers of Liberty"! Mrs. Clarke was the last. I remember the first speech Mrs. Clarke ever made. It was on her release from her first imprisonment. That it was a great ordeal one could see, but there was something in her voice even then which moved me almost to tears. She had the power of setting the strings of the heart vibrating. That power grew with the expansion of other powers all the time she was working in the movement.

In low, thrilling tones she told us on Friday the thoughts that had come to her in prison while serving her third sentence of imprisonment, and especially of a sermon she had heard in chapel. It was a sermon on "Ministry." The chaplain had explained the real meaning of the word. A minister, he said, was a servant. Christ came into the world as a minister. He came to serve. His one desire was to do things for people, and to bring them good. She thought there in chapel of men who were called "ministers"—"public ministers." Did they realise that their mission was to do things for people, to bring them good? Did they know the people, and the people's needs? Did they care or understand? She wished they could be in the chapel and look out on the faces of the congregation with her eyes. Then they would know and understand perhaps the meaning of this great movement for the uplifting of womanhood. She wished they could see that slow procession pass from the chapel back to their cells. They would read from the imprint upon those silent witnesses the tragedy of men's domination over women, the failure of men's systems and men's laws. They would know the need of the ministry of women as well as men. Going to Holloway for the third time had only increased her determination to give her life to this fight until victory was won.

The earthly ministry of our brave pioneer of liberty is over. But she has left an example we can follow, and an inspiration to guide us to more devoted service for humanity in the days to come.

E. P. L.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

The London free weekly meetings, which are discontinued during the holidays, will be resumed in the New Year, at the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon, January 23, at 3 p.m., and at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, Portman-square, on Thursday evening, January 26, at 8 p.m. The speakers for both meetings will be announced later. Members are asked to make these meetings widely known, especially among their unconverted friends, and to bring them to hear the speakers.

Reception to Prisoners.

As soon as the date of the release of the sixteen women still in Holloway is definitely known a reception in their honour will be arranged. Details will be announced later.

W.S.P.U. Offices, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

These offices will re-open on Monday morning, January 2nd.

LETTER TO HOME SECRETARY.

On December 14 Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson addressed the following letter to the Home Secretary at the Home Office. No reply to it has, we understand, been received by her:—

Sir,—In the *Daily Telegraph* of the 12th inst. you are reported to have said that Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson was in Downing Street to throw stones at the Prime Minister's windows. I was in Downing Street on the occasion to which I presume you refer as one of a deputation to the Prime Minister. I am, for personal reasons, a passive resister, and I had no intention of throwing stones at the Prime Minister's windows. I had been left on the pavement by the police, exhausted by the struggle in which the police, obstructing our approach to the Prime Minister's residence, and driving or attempting to drive us back, had obliged us to engage, and I had just risen to my feet and was resting against a window of the Foreign Office when I saw you approach. I went forward to speak to you, for you were not unknown to me, who, without inquiry as to my purpose or pause to hear what I had to say, you ordered the police who accompanied you to remove "that woman." I protested, but your order was executed, and I was "removed." You are a Secretary of State, but your office does not release even a member of the present Government from the obligations of a gentleman, or authorise him to make allegations without foundation; on the contrary, his high office should impose the obligations of a gentleman even where they have not been naturally engrained, and it should make the holder of it particularly careful as to the truth of his observations, and the justice and propriety of his public conduct. If you have been correctly reported you have in this case made a statement which I know to be false, and you have made it in defence of conduct which you know to be indefensible. I await your apology, and am, yours faithfully,

ANNE COBDEN-SANDERSON.
To the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P.

ECHO OF WISEBECH ELECTION.


Under the title, "Hon. Neil Primrose and the Suffragettes," the *Wisebech Times* says:—"Without in any sense holding a brief for the Suffragettes, whose campaign in Wisebech, if not in other parts of the division, has been attended with considerable success, we certainly think Mrs. Pankhurst has some cause for umbrage at the terms of the Hon. Neil Primrose's letter, which was read at the Selwyn Hall on Monday evening. It appears that this lady had reason to complain of the manner in which two Suffragettes had been treated at open-air meetings in the division by an organised gang of Radical rowdies, and in the mildest terms possible expressed a hope that the Liberal candidate disapproved of these tactics. In reply the Hon. Neil Primrose said: "I disapprove of all disturbances at public meetings, though I believe you do not share this view." Mrs. Pankhurst has—and many will say with justification—repeated in the strongest terms possible the insinuations in that portion of the reply which we have italicised. It would certainly have been becoming if Mr. Primrose had stated his disapproval of organised attempts being made by his supporters to break up meetings, without adding the sting that his cynical remark at the expense of Mrs. Pankhurst occasioned. . . . The influence of ladies at elections is generally recognised, and therefore we can only say that if the episode leads to more votes being cast for Lord Robert Cecil it is a very gratifying outcome."

(One of the Suffragettes who suffered at the hands of Radical rowdies is Miss Sylvia Hart, at whom (in mistake for Mrs. Pankhurst) a cooked apple filled with pepper was thrown. Miss Hart, who has had a narrow escape of losing her sight, is still under the care of a specialist.—ED. VOTES FOR WOMEN.)

LETTER FROM MR. HAWKINS.

In the course of an interesting letter to Mr. Frank Butler Mr. Hawkins, who has been under treatment in Bradford Infirmary as a result of injuries received at a Liberal meeting, where he stood up for the women, says:—"I have won the respect of the nurses for the badge. They seemed inclined to sneer at it at first, but I quickly let them see that I would not brook any insult. I have insisted on having the W.S.P.U. Votes for Women badge on my pillow and the M.P.U. badge on my shirt front. When the barber came to shave me he asked what my complaint was, and I replied, 'Votes for Women.' He laughingly asked, 'Do you think there is any cure?' I said, 'Yes, the passage of the Women's Conciliation Bill!'"

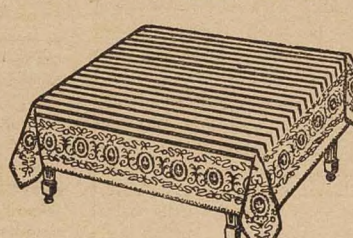
We understand that Mr. Hawkins is exceedingly anxious to get back to work, and it is hoped that, although he will be laid up for some time, he will be able soon to get about on crutches. It is also hoped that he may be present at a meeting in London on January 12.



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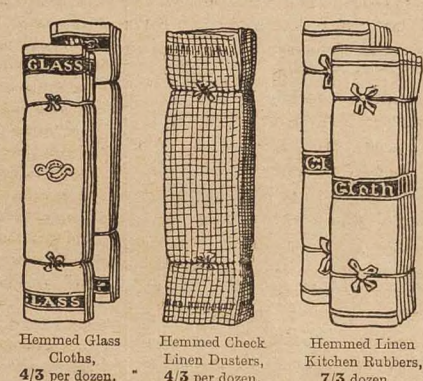
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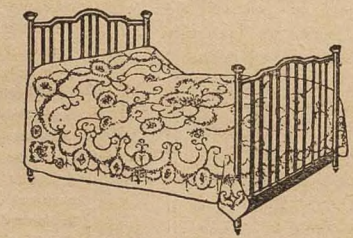
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GETTING NEW READERS.

Another splendid response this week to the appeal for new subscriptions to the paper! Taking the two weeks together we have now reached a total of 181, and the Circulation Manager reports that numbers of order forms are coming in by every post. It will be a delightful Christmas present for all on the staff of the paper if we increase the circulation by a thousand or more during the holiday. Those who mean to take this opportunity of helping in this matter are asked to remember to send their letter to "The Circulation Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.," to give the name and address of the person to whom the paper is to be sent, also their own name and address, and to enclose the sum of three shillings and threepence. A special order form appears on page 215.

F. W. P. L.

SECOND LIST DEC. 19-DECEMBER 24.

Table listing names and amounts for the second list, including Miss M. Marsden, Mrs. H. Bury, Miss A. M. Bain, etc.

THE MEMBERSHIP OF THE W.S.P.U.

Women of all shades of political opinion who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements Inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

"I endorse the objects and methods of the Women's Social and Political Union, and I hereby undertake not to support the candidate of any political party at Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the Parliamentary vote."

There is an entrance fee of 1s. No definite subscription is fixed, as it is known that all members will give to the full extent of their ability.

Advertisement for SOAP VALUE featuring THE ROYAL PRIMROSE SOAP. Includes text: 'real honest soap value - is what you always get when you buy THE ROYAL PRIMROSE SOAP' and 'each bar stamped thus: JOHN KNIGHT LTD. LONDON. SOAP MAKERS TO THE KING'.

"THE PIPER" AT ST. JAMES'S THEATRE.

In the world of dramatic authorship, as in every other world of achievement, women are stepping to the front. London owes to a woman, "George Paston," two of its most successful recent plays—"The Naked Truth" and "Nobody's Daughter." In Paris "Les Affranchis," by Mile-Marie Lenôtre, is attracting immense interest. And amongst the Christmas plays there is nothing on the London boards more delightful than "The Piper," written by Josephine Preston Peabody, the play that won the prize offered some months ago by the Governors of the Shakespeare Memorial Theatre at Stratford-on-Avon.

"The Piper" is a play for children of every age and condition. The wearer of the "motley" belongs to all time and all countries. For he is an incarnation of Orpheus, who speaks to the heart of wild things by music; Orpheus, who has stepped down from the region of classic mythology to occupy the centre of a German folk-tale; Orpheus, who as a strolling player works miracles in Hamelin town as strange, as erstwhile when he went, the only living being, amongst the dead of the nether world; Orpheus, who has dropped his semi-godhead, and is all human, vulnerable to pain and shame, acquainted with sorrow, though attuned in all the strings of his nature to laughter and to joy.

Into the petty world of Hamelin town, plagued with rats, absorbed with its sordid troubles and its material possessions, enters this spirit of music in the guise of a strolling player. He belongs to the wanderers upon the earth, the outcasts who have no rights under the law, which is framed for the protection of respectable citizens. "Masterless dogs" are such as these in the eyes of the pious, coldly-calculating burghers of the strait-laced little town, who are within their legal rights in breaking their bargain and refusing to pay the contracted 1,000 guilders for their riddance from the plague of rats. They repudiate their despised deliverer openly in the Market Place of Hamelin.

The curtain rises for the first act upon a picturesque scene. The church dominates the background; the roofs and dormer-windows abut upon the market square. Shouts of merriment and bursts of laughter come from groups of delighted children who are watching Cheat-the-Devil thrusting lost souls into Hell's Mouth with a pitchfork. Their elders are discussing the mystery of the "Piping Man" who charmed the rats into the river with a tune, and then completely vanished from all ken. A miracle, surely! St. Willibald is praiséd!

For form's sake the Town Crier is bidden to call upon the stranger to come and claim his reward. In response to the call, one of the strolling players steps forward, hailed with delight by the children as Reynard the Fox, doffs his mask, and is acclaimed by the crowd with shouts, "The man! the man!" And full of incident, full of colour and movement and interest, the first act is played out till the Piper stands deserted in the market place, the derision of the burghers ringing in his ears, his head bowed in dejection.

There is a moment of suspense. Then lifting his pipe, the minstrel sends a soft, seductive call to the four points of the compass. He breaks into a tune, so haunting, so wild and sweet, that all who hear must be drawn to follow after it. The doors of the gabled houses open slowly, and the children steal forth with hushed footsteps, moving in a kind of dream. Little Jan, the cripple, who has been sitting under the crucifix talking to "The Lonely Man" to see Him smile, creeps close up to the Piper; the boys and girls crowd about him fascinated. Wilder, merrier grows the tune. The children's feet begin to trip, their hands move to the measure. Motion and music fill the air. The Piper lifts the lame child on his shoulder and dances off with him down the village street, followed by the gleeful throng.

The children are gone, and Hamelin is left to awaken to the consequences of its materialism and greed.

What happens next? That is the question that, unanswered, makes the game of life so wonderful, says the Piper.

Strange things, happy, sweet things come to pass in the hearts of those who live in Hamelin town, and in the heart of the Piper himself. But the story must be lived out there upon the stage of the St. James's Theatre for those who want to know all about it.

The play is not sheer merriment. It is full of that charm of mystery and elusive pathos so dear to children whose joy is in the rainbow, the gleam seen through tears, revealing strange and bewildering beauty.

Emmeline Petthick Lawrence.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Commons, Forests and Footpaths." By Lord Eversley, London: Cassell and Co., Ltd. 2s. net. "William Sharp." By Elizabeth Sharp. London: Heinemann. 16s. net. "Revolution in Art." By Frank Rutter. The Art News Press, 69, Chancery Lane, W.C. Cloth, 16mo., 1s. net; post free, 1s. 2d. "The Englishwoman," January. Sidgwick and Jackson, Ltd. 1s. net. "Pauperism in Scotland, Past and Present." By the Rev. John Glasse, D.D. The Scottish Nat. Committee for the Prevention of Destitution. 180, Hope Street, Glasgow. 6d. net.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts for the £100,000 fund, including Mrs. M. Marsden, Mrs. H. Bury, Miss A. M. Bain, etc.

Note.—Name entered in last week's issue as "Miss Gill, 45," should be Mrs. Gibb, 45.

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Petthick Lawrence, and crossed, "Barclay and Co."

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THE STORY OF SHIBI RANA; OR, THE EAGLE AND THE DOVE.

(From "Cradle Tales of Hindoism," by the Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble). By permission of the publishers, Messrs. Longmans, Green and Co.)

There was a certain king whose name was Shibi Rana, and his power was so great, and grew so rapidly, that the gods in high heaven began to tremble, lest he should take their kingdoms away from them. Then they thought of a stratagem by which to test his self-control, and humble him by proving his weakness. For in the eyes of the gods only that man is invincible who is perfectly master of himself.

One day, as Shibi Rana sat on his throne in his pillared hall, with the open courtyard and its gardens and fountains stretching far before, there appeared high up in the air, flying straight towards him, a white dove, pursued by an eagle, who was evidently trying to kill it. Fast as the dove flew in its terror, the eagle flew faster. But just as it was on the point of being captured, the smaller bird reached the throne of Shibi Rana; the King opened his robe, and without a moment's hesitation it fluttered in, and nestled, panting and trembling, against his heart.

Then the eagle's flight came to a stop before the throne, and his whole form seemed so to blaze with anger, that every one trembled except the monarch, and no one felt the slightest surprise at hearing him speak.

"Surrender my prey!" he commanded in a loud voice, facing the King.

"Nay," said Shibi Rana quietly: "the dove has taken refuge with me, and I shall not betray its trust."

"This, then, is your vaunted mercy?" sneered the eagle. "The dove that you have sheltered was to have been my food. Show your power by protecting it, and you starve me. Is such your intention?"

"Not at all," said the King; "in fact, I will give you in its place an equal quantity of any other food you choose."

"Of any other food?" said the eagle mockingly. "But suppose I asked for your own flesh?"

"My own flesh should be given," said Shibi Rana firmly.

A harsh laugh sounded through the hall, startling those who were standing about the throne; but when they looked again at the face of the bird, his eye was steady and piercing as before.

"Then I require," said he, speaking slowly and deliberately, "that this dove be weighed in the balances against an equal weight of the King's flesh."

"It shall be done," said Shibi Rana motioning for the scales.

"Stay!" said the eagle. "The flesh must be cut from the right side of the body only."

"That is easily granted," said the King with a smile.

"And your wife and son must be present at the sacrifice."

"Bring the Queen and my son into our presence," said the King to an officer.

So the witnesses took their places, the balances were brought, and the dove was placed on one side, while the executioner prepared to carry out the horrible order. As he proceeded, however, it was found to the dismay of the whole court, that with each addition of the King's flesh the dove grew heavier, and the weights of the two could not be made equal.

Then at last, from the left eye of Shibi Rana there fell a single tear.

"Stop!" thundered the eagle, "I want no unwilling sacrifice. Your tears destroy the value of your gift."

"Nay, my friend," said the King gently, turning on the eagle a face radiant with joy—"nay, my friend, you are mistaken; it is only that the left side weeps, because, on behalf of the weak and unprotected, it is given to the right of the King alone to suffer!"

At these words, startling all who heard them, the forms of the eagle and the dove were seen to have vanished, and in their place stood Indra, the Chief of the Gods, and Agni the God of Fire.

And the voice of Indra was hushed with reverence as he said, "Against greatness like that of Shibi Rana, the gods themselves shall struggle but in vain. Blessed be thou, O King, Protector of the Unprotected, who burnest with the joy of sacrifice! For to such souls must the very gods do homage, yielding to them a place above themselves."

Advertisement for PETER ROBINSON'S Great Winter SALE. Includes text: 'LADIES who regularly attend our Sales will welcome this important announcement...' and 'Mantles. The "Masco," pictured on left, is made in a rich Black Velour du Nord...' and 'The "Florizel," on left, is a distinctive model made in Navy and Black Coating Serge...'.

Articles and News contributed for insertion in VOTES FOR WOMEN should be sent to The Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested if stamps for postage are enclosed.

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The Women's Social and Political Union. OFFICE 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C. Telegrams "WOSPOLU, LONDON." Telephone: Holborn 2724 (3 lines). Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street. Colours: Purple, White and Green. Mrs. PANKHURST. Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE. Founder and Hon. Sec. Hon. Treasurer. Mrs. TUKE. Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST. Joint Hon. Sec. Organising Sec.

VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND. FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1910.

"FACE TO THE DAWN." The life of a great movement is very like the life of a human being. It begins with high ideals, great hopes, much enthusiasm, and a fair promise of a successful future. Happy are the workers for a great cause who after years of effort can review their work without regrets for disappointed hopes and wasted opportunities. The members of the Women's Social and Political Union can claim that happiness. Although the year 1910 has brought to many of us grievous personal loss, sacrifice, and suffering, our public work has been full of joy and encouragement, and is proving abundantly fruitful. Our organisation is immensely stronger in influence, numbers, and efficiency than it was a year ago. The opposition to Woman Suffrage, on the other hand, gets steadily weaker. During the year the members of the Union have shown not only that women can fight for their freedom with unsurpassed heroism, loyalty, and power of endurance,

but that they also possess a capacity for what are called "Constitutional" methods of agitation which excites the admiration and envy of men's political organisations.

The great women's meetings in the Albert Hall, the wonderfully beautiful processions, the enormous Hyde Park Demonstration, the thousands of meetings held all over the country during the year, have far surpassed anything attempted by men in the whole history of political reform.

The final refusal of the Cabinet to withdraw the veto from the Conciliation Bill for Woman Suffrage, and their insulting offer of a hollow and illusory pledge for the new Parliament, while bringing dishonour upon the Government, have filled the women in this Union with a new determination, as deep and steady as it is eager and fiery.

At Westminster a few weeks ago this determination was put to the sternest test which the Government dared to apply, but it remained unbroken, and the magnificent display of moral and physical courage on the part of the hundreds of women who composed our Deputation will be remembered long after the vote is won. Of the seventy-three women imprisoned for their share in these events, sixteen have spent Christmas in goal. Hard as this has been for them and for us they and we see in their imprisonment at this time a sign that women shall hereafter be free.

Looking back in the past year, one sees with rejoicing the springing up of a militant movement among the men supporters of Votes for Women. Undaunted by severe physical injury and by loss of liberty, the members of the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement continue their struggle, and although one of their number is lying in hospital and another is in prison, their resolution to serve the cause of human liberty is unshaken.

The year 1910 will be chronicled as one of the most eventful in the history of the Suffrage agitation.

In this holiday season of rest and peace, which celebrates a sublime act of self-renunciation and sacrifice, the members of the W.S.P.U. are looking to the future, and we are resolved that the year 1911 shall see the end of the long struggle for the political emancipation of our sex.

We call upon the women of our race who feel within their souls the desire for freedom, and who long for power to combat the forces of wrong, injustice, and oppression, to cast off all doubt and fear, and to unite with us in a final effort to win from an unwilling Government the golden key which will unlock our prison-house.

We militant women who, in fighting for the outward sign and symbol of Liberty, the vote, have already broken the invisible fetters that bind human minds and souls, feel within us—

"The stings Of new ambition and the force that springs In passion beating on the shore of fate." We say to those who still shrink from action: "There comes a night when all too late The mind shall long to prompt the achieving hand." "The eager thought behind closed portals stand, And the last wishes to the mute lips press, Buried ere death in silent helplessness. Then while the soul its way with sound can cleave, And while the arm is strong to strike and heave, Let soul and arm give shape that will abide And rule above our graves, and power divide With that great god of day whose days must bend As we shall fashion acts that are to be, When we shall lie in darkness silently." Emmeline Pankhurst.

GREETINGS FROM NOTABLE MEN AND WOMEN.

MISS ETHEL SMYTH, Mus. Doc. The Celebrated Composer of "The Wreckers."

Let my message, O our army, reveal the deepest part of my thought about you. It is this: If you have brought new value to rich happy lives such as mine, what must you have done for the morally starved, the miserable? I once heard words which I have lived on ever since: "One must be prepared to begin life afresh, as a matter of course, again and again." Should the goal be farther off than we think, I have seen your faces and know that the end is safe.

Ethel Smyth.

COMMANDER E. S. DUGDALE, R.N.

To the Suffragettes, 1911. You are the salt of the earth. You are all and each of you endowed with the grandest qualities of the British race—doggedness and perseverance, combined with fighting qualities second to none. Agreeable to the axiom, "All will give way to pressure," roll on, militant orb, growing, blowing, pressing forward through all obstructions. Nail your colours to the mast!

Commander E. S. Dugdale.

THE COMTESSE ANNA DE NOAILLES.

The Poetess whose Reputation stands higher than that of any other French Poet of the day.

C'est avec émotion et fierté que je pense au courage, à la flamme, à la noble endurance des Suffragistes d'Angleterre; elles démontrent qu'au moment des combats l'héroïsme est le plus impérieuse et le plus aisé des instincts féminins.*

Anna de Noailles.

THE COUNTESS OF SELBORNE.

President of the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.

It seems to me that the opinion that women householders ought to have the vote is growing among all classes. There is a reluctance to undertake new duties on the part of a great many conscientious women, but I believe they will gradually come to the conclusion that they will be able to do good by taking their part in selecting the men who are to govern us. We ought not to be impatient that they are slow to convince. The very quality that will make them a valuable element in the electorate makes them very cautious about admitting a new idea.

Maud Selborne.

MISS EVA MOORE.

The well-known actress, the wife of Mr. H. B. Esmond, the Playwright.

1910. Ring out the grief that saps the mind, For those that here we see no more; Ring out the feud of sick and poor, Ring in redress to all mankind.

1911 holds out so much for all, from Crown to gutter, that the hearts of all Suffragettes beat high with hope. We start the New Year proud of what has happened in the past, proud of a big cause that has bound together all women, and proud of our hopes for the future.

Ring out the old, ring in the new, Ring happy bells across the snow. The year is going; let him go; Ring out the false, ring in the true.

Greetings to all whose hearts are in our cause.

Eva Moore.

* It is with pride and emotion that I think of the courage, the fire, the noble endurance of the Suffragists of England; you prove that in the hour of battle heroism is the most imperious and the most natural of feminine instincts.

LADY MEYER. A life-long worker for Social Reform among women.

All good wishes for Christmas and the New Year to the members of the W.S.P.U. May all those who have worked so hard during this past year, and especially on the Deputations and during the Election, enjoy well-earned and pleasant holidays. Our thoughts will be with those who are still in prison, suffering for our cause. I wish success to our Union and to VOTES FOR WOMEN. It is good to look back upon 1910 and to realise that, in spite of what angry Cabinet Ministers say, the movement has made great progress. But we have hard work before us. Let us take fresh courage. En avant! Votes for Women! En avant!

Adele Meyer.

MISS DECIMA MOORE.

The popular actress.

Best of everything in the New Year to all our comrades who are working, shoulder to shoulder, co-operating and combining in this great woman's movement, which has done, and is doing, so much for all us women, rousing the splendid feeling of esprit de corps in us, broadening our sympathies, enlarging our outlook, and increasing our feeling of responsibility towards our fellow creatures and our country. When the time arrives that we become recognised citizens, may the splendid feeling of comradeship, union and self-sacrifice of women working for women remain with us in all our new years to come.

Decima Moore.

MISS NORMA LORIMER.

Author of "By the Waters of Sicily," "By the Waters of Egypt," and "By the Waters of Italy."

I feel quite sure that the Suffragist movement must be right, for I scarcely ever meet any woman whom I instinctively respect who disapprove of it. I should feel that it was almost a betrayal to my sex if I denounced a movement which is working for a cause which must add to woman's self-esteem. Many people say: "But once these women have got their vote they won't take the trouble to use it." I always answer, "Well, and if they don't, isn't it much better for them to know that they can use it, than that they can't? Is it not much better for their sons and husbands to know that they could use it?"

It is the moral effect that it will have upon women more than the political one which interests me, for I feel convinced that the greater reason we are given for self-respect, the more we shall try to be worthy of it.

Norma Lorimer.

THE RIGHT REV. ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW, D.D.

Bishop of the Old Catholic Church, and Author of "Woman Suffrage."

We want to win the men of England to the cause of justice for women all over the world. Let England set a good and manly example. Let her take the lead among the nations in giving political rights and equality to those to whom the men of every nation owe everything, even their very existence. This is civilisation! There is not a single valid reason against the enfranchisement of women; there are hundreds of reasons in its favour.

Arnold Harris Mathew.

THE REV. HUGH CHAPMAN, M.A.

Chaplain of the Royal Chapel, Savoy.

I should like to send my very best wishes and to pray for God's blessing on the work of the W.S.P.U. during the ensuing year. It is daily becoming an increased conviction with me that untold good might accrue to the State if women possessed the vote, and thus influenced legislation in the direction of morality, charity, and justice. I heartily commend the courage of those concerned, and the movement has no more loyal friend and enthusiastic supporter than myself.

Hugh B. Chapman.

FATHER ADDERLEY. Vicar of Salfley, near Birmingham.

The fact that I do not wholly approve of militant methods, and think that a certain amount of harm is done by them to the cause, does not prevent me from writing to wish well to the Women's Social and Political Union in the new year. Of certain things there can be no doubt. You have succeeded in making it impossible to ignore the demand for women's votes any longer. You have made it clear that the whole question is something much more serious than one of votes only. You have entered your solemn protest against all that contempt of women which is so rife among men, and, I am sorry to say, among Christians. You have shown that it is possible to be ready to suffer for the sake of the truth in the twentieth century as it was in the first. I think the thing that appeals to me most in the women's movement is that it treats politics seriously and follows out principles to their logical conclusion. You and the Socialists are almost alone in this. Both the so-called "great" parties in the State seem to me to fail in this and to be mere opportunists. They appeal for votes for "Liberals" or "Tories." We appeal for votes for "women." The former is partisan and transitory; the other is human and eternal.

James Adderley.

MR. C. MANSELL MOULLIN, M.D., F.R.C.S.

Vice-President of the College of Surgeons.

My warmest congratulations to the W.S.P.U. on the wonderful impulse it has given to the movement for the enfranchisement of women. Four years ago, before the Union was as prominent as it is now, the cause was regarded with good-humoured contempt. Now it is admitted by all to be one of the most serious questions of the day, and by none more than by those who are fighting against it. The measure of your success is the rage of your opponents, who, by the lies they tell in places where they are privileged, by their desperate efforts to suppress the truth, and by the brutality they openly advocate, show what manner of men they really are, and why they dread the changes the women's vote would inevitably bring.

C. Mansell Moullin.

DR. J. A. NEALE. The eminent lawyer, D.C.L. of Queen's College, Oxford, and an Oxford supporter of the W.S.P.U.

I have from the first consistently supported the cause of the women. They bear the chief brunt of life from the cradle to the grave; they have, as a body, far more common sense and intelligence than our mankind, and yet they are denied the voice they are entitled to in the making and administration of the laws they are sometimes brutally compelled to obey. Theirs is a just and righteous rebellion, and it will in the end, I think, succeed. It has not yet met with the success which is said to justify every rebellion—an assertion, by the way, as trumpery as it is untrue. At the same time, there is not a man who is justified in condemning their methods, as under far less provocation men have almost invariably in the past defied the laws of their country in a far more disgraceful and even criminal manner, and have not infrequently been encouraged therein by very leading personages.

J. A. Neale.

MR. WILLIAM DE MORGAN. Author of "An Affair of Dishonour," "Alice-for-Short," "Joseph Vance," and other novels.

You have from me all the sympathy that can be given by one who believes that the only remedy for the Fall of Man is the Rise of Woman. I have an old-fashioned reverence for the Hebrew legend which speaks to me about some fact in the evolution of mankind that lies deep in the root of nature. That, however, is neither here nor there. What is here is the hope of political fair play between man and woman, as a preliminary to fair play all round. Both have my earnest God-speed.

William de Morgan.

working in the East End, in connection with schools for mothers and other such institutions...

Table listing names and amounts for a campaign fund, including Miss E. G. G. 2/0, Miss A. Farmer 2/0, etc.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND THE FREEDOM OF EDINBURGH.

Mr. Asquith received the Freedom of the City of Edinburgh on Tuesday, December 20, but the ceremony was not completed without a protest...

MISS SYLVIA PANKHURST IN AMERICA.

An interesting lecture tour is being arranged for Miss Sylvia Pankhurst in America, and her first engagement is at New York on January 6...

CHRISTMAS HAMPERS FOR W.S.P.U. PRISONERS.

Many kind friends have sent gifts in money and kind to Christmas hampers for those Suffrage prisoners whose release is not due until January...

THE MONEY HAS BEEN SPENT AS FOLLOWS—

Grapes, 16s.; tomatoes, 2s.; flowers, 6s. 4d.; cheese, 3s. 3d.; jam, 2s. 1d.; envelopes, 4d.; bottled meringue...

TAX RESISTANCE.

One of the weapons of oppression which will be employed by women will be tax resistance. Those who are proposing to do this should make themselves acquainted...

MEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

This Union, now on the point of completing the first year of its existence, has so grown and developed that the committee find it impossible for the work of the office to be satisfactorily discharged in the spare time of voluntary helpers...

WALLIS'S For Value I AM GOING TO Wallis's SALE NEXT WEEK Because I always go. I know no better place to go to. I never miss their Sales, and never mean to. Experience has taught me that I can save money by going. I find that nowhere else can I get the same value for the money I have to spend. You had better come, too!

THE MOTHER NOT THE PARENT.

A great deal of capital has been made by Unionist papers during the election, over a certain case in which a Roman Catholic man married a Presbyterian woman...

HOW TO BREAK DOWN THE PRESS BOYCOTT.

The power of the Press to boycott suffrage news has recently been especially remarkable. First there was the exclusion of all mention of Mr. Israel Zangwill's great speech at the Royal Albert Hall...

Six Months' Subscription, post free, 3s. 3d. (Foreign, 4s. 4d.)

'Votes for Women' (Price 1d. The Weekly Newspaper of the Women's Social and Political Union.) Published every Friday at 4, Clements Inn, Strand, London, W.C. EDITED BY MR. & MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

To THE CIRCULATION MANAGER, 'VOTES FOR WOMEN,' 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND W.C.

Please send each week for six months one copy of 'VOTES FOR WOMEN' to Name Address

for which I enclose s. d. This form is sent in by (Name) (Address)

When filled in, this form is to be posted, together with postal order, to The Circulation Manager, 'Votes for Women,' 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., who will acknowledge it in the columns of 'Votes for Women,' unless otherwise directed.

GETTING NEW READERS.

Miss Elspeth Weir writes:—'I have, I am glad to say, secured eight new regular subscribers, and have several others dangling on the books. Most of the copies I deliver personally; one, however, goes to Germany.' This lady, with a friend, Miss Lees, also sells in Uxbridge High Street on market days, and reports that the tradesman is quite eager to buy.

Another writes:—'I have secured three regular customers. I take the paper to them each week, as they did not feel inclined to pay so much down. Each member could in this way, as well as by getting new subscribers, raise the sales.'

Dear Mrs. Pankhurst—I have secured two new subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN, and am afraid I have now exhausted all my personal friends who can be induced to subscribe. But it may interest you to know that the week after the 'raid' in November I bought and sent away seven dozen copies containing Mr. Nevins's and Miss Evelyn Sharp's articles. These I sent to a large society (of which I am a member) containing many thousands of women of all kinds, from Lady Dufferin and Mrs. Humphry Ward down to very humble workers. I sent a marked copy, with a covering letter of my own, to every member of Council and Committee, and I have received many replies and much comment. The idea of sending to the particular people I chose was a good one—as is proved by these letters I have had. Many said they had never seen the paper before, all said they were glad to see our own version of the affairs, and with some it has led to further correspondence. I hope, too, it will result in many of the ladies either becoming regular subscribers, or at any rate, buying stray copies of the paper. You might suggest to other people who belong to big societies that they should adopt my plan on a future occasion. All good wishes to you and the paper, and may we have Votes for Women in the New Year.—Ever most sincerely yours, (Mrs.) ALICE POLLARD.

AMERICAN WOMEN HELP ENGLISH SUFFRAGETTES.

We referred recently to a fund which our American friends were raising for the war chest of the W.S.P.U. We have now received the names of some of the contributors.—Mrs. Stanton Blatch, Mrs. H. W. Miller, Mrs. A. F. Townsend, Mrs. John Rogers, jun., Miss A. T. G. Perkins, Miss Miller, Miss G. G. Cook, Miss Garwood, Mrs. Benitz-Rees, Mrs. Brannan, Mrs. Fredrich Hamzart, Mrs. James Inglis. The amounts varied from two dollars to 100 dollars.

Mrs. Florence Farmer states it was she and not Miss Fison who at Bow Street on November 24 said: 'I want to say this: We were out to make a protest. I want you to know that I am a law-abiding woman, but I have had to do this for political reasons. I am not in the habit of throwing stones through windows.'

CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

W.S.P.U. General Offices: 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Strong, 84, Elspeth Road, Lavender Hill, S.W.

Office—2, Station Buildings, West Crofton, Tel. 80 Crofton, Nias. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Cameron-Swan, 78, Mayfield Road, Sandstead, Bury, and Miss Leslie Hall.

Shop—6, Victoria Crescent, Broadway, Wimbledon. Hon. Organising Sec.: Mrs. Lammington Yates, Dorset Hill, Merton, Surrey.

HAMPSTEAD. Shop and Office—89, Heath Street. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Kilburn Road, N.W. London.

Shop and Office—215, High Road, Kilburn. Tel. 118, Hampstead. Hon. Sec.—Mrs. Penn Gaskell, 12, Kilburn Road, N.W. London.

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LIBERAL VIOLENCE.

The following paragraph, taken from the Pall Mall Gazette, throws an interesting sidelight on the hypocrisy with which Liberals condemn the tactics of the Suffragettes: 'Reports from all parts of the country show that intimidation and mob violence have been employed against Unionist candidates, and without scruple. The experiences of Mr. King Pabow, the Unionist candidate in South Hackney, could be matched in a hundred other contests, and the police appear to be afraid to take proceedings—held in check, no doubt, by the example of Mr. Churchill's attitude towards the ruffians of the Rhondda Valley. Candidates may be assaulted, not with whips, but with stones, and there is no imprisonment for these assaults; that is a luxury that only threatened Cabinet Ministers may command.'

THE IGNORANCE OF WARDRESSES.

We have repeatedly urged upon the Home Office the necessity of including among prison wardresses some at least in every prison who are qualified as trained nurses, and it has now come to light that in November last in the prison at Oxford, a woman prisoner was poisoned by the wardresses applying to her undiluted carbolic acid. Mr. Churchill, describing the accident as due to an 'unfortunate misunderstanding,' refuses to admit that the ignorance of the wardress had anything to do with it; but the public will draw their own conclusions.

MAN MADE LEGISLATION.

Now that women have begun to realise how often legislation misjudging in the guise of a benefit is apt to interfere with their welfare in a most damaging way, we are glad to see frequent protests being made against unjust laws. An excellent example of reversed legislation has just come before us. The new London County Council Act, which was passed very quietly this year, contains a clause for the licensing of employment agencies. This sounds splendid. When we come to look at it, however, we find that employers who pay fixed salaries do not come under the Act, and that licences need only be taken out by employment agencies, or by institutions which work on a basis of co-operation. An excellent example of reversed legislation has just come before us. The new London County Council Act, which was passed very quietly this year, contains a clause for the licensing of employment agencies. This sounds splendid. When we come to look at it, however, we find that employers who pay fixed salaries do not come under the Act, and that licences need only be taken out by employment agencies, or by institutions which work on a basis of co-operation.

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SPIERS & POND'S Winter Sale BEGINS ON MONDAY NEXT.

Advertisement for Spiers & Pond's Winter Sale. Features images of various household items like coal cauldrons, tin dishes, and cookers. Text includes 'The frugal housewife's opportunity to buy everything for the home at money-saving prices.' and 'Bargains to the Value of £100,000.'

FREDERICK GORRINGE Buckingham Palace Road, S.W. Ltd.

Advertisement for Frederick Gorrings Winter Sale. Features images of women in elegant dresses and hats. Text includes 'A few Typical Values at the WINTER SALE' and 'A Genuine Opportunity because of the Extraordinary Reductions in every Department.'

Home Counties.

Bournemouth. Bournemouth. Office—21, Old Christchurch Road. Hon. Sec. (pro tem): Miss Basile Berry. Organiser—Miss G. Lewis.

Brighton, Hove and District. Office—8, North Street, Quadrant, Tel. 483 Nat. Organiser (pro tem)—Mrs. McKewen.

Canterbury and East Kent. Office—2, York Terrace, Ramsgate. Organiser—Miss F. E. M. Macaulay.

The Midlands. Nottingham. Office—6, Carlton Street, Tel. 4511. Hon. Sec.—Miss C. M. Bungie, B.A., 31, Chaucer Street, Miss Wallis, The Castle.

West of England. Bath. Organiser—Mrs. Mansel, Bayford Lodge, Winton. Shop—12, Walcot Street, Bath.

Eastern Counties. Cambridge. Organiser—Miss Grace Roe, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

North-Eastern Counties. Bradford and District. Organiser—Miss Mary Phillips, 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford.

North-Western Counties. Liverpool and Cheshire. Office—28, Berry Street, Tel. 5751 Royal. Organiser—Miss S. Ada Flatman.

Scotland.

Edinburgh and East of Scotland. Office—6, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Organiser—Miss Lucy Burns, B.A. Tel.: 688 Central.

Speakers' Class. Hon. Election Mistress—Miss Rosa Lee, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Edin Avenue, W. Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Christmas Presents of Distinctive Designs. The gem jewellery, gold and silver plate of the Goldsmith and Silversmith's Company, Ltd., of 112, Regent Street, London, W., are distinguished by the finest workmanship.

The January Sales. "This is a time that blows nobody any good," says the proverb, and the bargain-hunter will be joyfully reminded of the saying when buying goods during next week's clearance sales.

Cunning nature's device to make us eat is a good appetite, and in mustard nature provides us with an appetiser which will always keep that appetite keen, but it should be COLMAN'S D.S.F. MUSTARD the appetiser of supreme merit.

ALFRED DAY Ladies' Tailor. Coat & Skirt Made to order from £2:2:0. Mrs. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.) Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. A FEW RESIDENT PUPILS RECEIVED. BECHSTEIN STUDIOS, 40, Wigmore Street, W., and Stanley House, Milner Street, Chelsea.

ISLINGTON DENTAL SURGERY 69, Upper St., London, N. MR. CHODWICK BROWN, Dental Surgeon. MR. FREDK. G. BOUCHER, Assiat. Dental Surgeon. ESTABLISHED 15 YEARS. Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. Fee, 7/6. Record of 30,000 successful cases. Nares in situ & mechanical work in all its branches. THE BEST ARTIFICIAL TEETH from 5/- Send Postcard for Pamphlet. Telephone No. 6348 Central. No Show-up at door.

New Year Presents. PURE OLIVE OIL. The "NEBE-LOIS" Brand is the FINEST in the WORLD. PROMINENT MEMBER OF W.S.P.U. "I have recommended your oil to many people, and shall continue to do so as long as it is in the market." BOTTLES 2s. and 3s. 6d. carriage paid anywhere in the United Kingdom. SAMPLE BOTTLES 6d. or 1s. 6d. per quart. CLAYTON, 41, St. Andrews Rd., Enfield, London, N.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES.

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

ADVERTISEMENTS must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

DEATH.

CLARKE.—On Christmas Day, Mrs. Mary Clarke, sister of Mrs. Pankhurst.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

CHISWICK W.S.P.U.—The next of the series of Ciderellas held in the Chiswick Town Hall on Saturday, January 7, will be FANCY DRESS DANCE (evening refreshments), as usual, obtainable from the lady and gentleman who obtain the greatest number of votes (by ballot) for their costume.

LOST PROPERTY.—Miss Kerr is in charge of this department. All communications in reference to property lost or found should be sent direct to Miss Kerr, Lost Property Department, Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

BOARD RESIDENCE.

A LADY wishes to recommend most comfortable Rooms in Worthing, on to Sea.—Miss Kerry, 87, Marine Parade.

AT 23, Leinster Square, Bayswater, most comfortable Home, ladies or students. Breakfast and dinner from 21s. Sharing, 18s. 6d. Clergy and other references.

BLOOMSBURY—Vacancies during holidays. Students, teachers, or other ladies. Full or part board. References exchanged.—"Epsom," Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

BRIGHTON.—Board-Residence or Apartments, in home of Suffragette, W.S.P.U. Recommended by members. Special care to those needing rest.—Mrs. Wright, 60, Preston Drive.

COVENTRY.—Board-Residence required by a lady, about twenty-five shillings weekly. Good bedroom.—Miss H. G. Queen's Walk, Baling, London.

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