

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 59.

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free.)

## THE BYE-ELECTIONS.

SHEFFIELD AND STRATFORD-ON-AVON.



### A HOPELESS FIGHT.

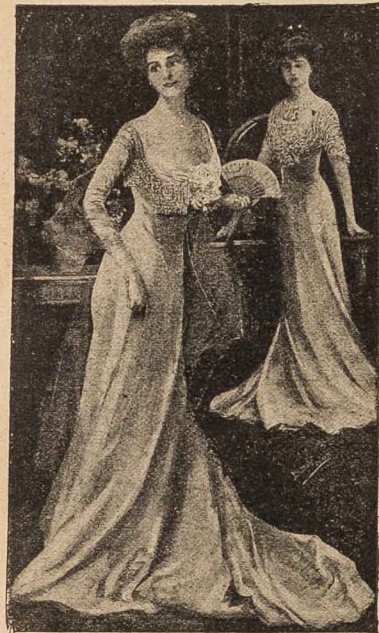
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Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

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

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

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

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

### DEDICATION.

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

### THE OUTLOOK.

The past week has been one of great rejoicing for members of the Women's Social and Political Union. On Friday morning at 8 o'clock the Treasurer, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, was released from Holloway Gaol, amid hearty cheers from a great concourse of people. Speaking at the breakfast at the Criterion Restaurant, at which between 400 and 500 people were present, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence described her feelings with regard to the life she had led in Holloway. On the following day an imposing procession was formed, and marched from Hyde Park to the Aldwych Theatre, which was packed from floor to ceiling. Mrs. Pankhurst gave a welcome to Mrs. Lawrence, who in a

speech which was listened to with breathless interest, gave the reasons for the faith that was in her. By an extension of the paper this issue to 32 pages, we are enabled to give a full account of these events, including a verbatim report of both speeches of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

### At the Bye-Elections.

The campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union against the Government at the bye-elections has been carried on with the utmost vigour. At Edinburgh, owing to the support which the women received from the electors, the Liberal majority was reduced from 4,000 to a little over 400. From the reports of our correspondents in Sheffield and Stratford-on-Avon we learn that progress is being made in undermining the Government position in both those places. A special article by Mr. Pethick Lawrence dealing with the political tactics adopted by the W.S.P.U. at bye-elections will be found on page 564 of this issue. In this connection it is specially interesting to notice the recent speech by Lord Rosebery, in which he dealt with the existing tendency by which the private member is being reduced from an individual personality into a mere counter in the Party game.

### The Brawling Bill.

The Government suffered a severe reverse in the House of Commons on Tuesday last when it attempted to deal with a phase of the Suffragette agitation by a special coercive measure. The Houses of Parliament Bill had been drawn up with the intention of preventing interruptions of women in the Palace of Westminster, such as the Grille incident of last year. Ever since the opening of Parliament the Government have endeavoured to carry this Bill after ordinary business has been disposed of as non-contentious matter. Finding this was impossible, on Tuesday last they decided to discuss the second reading in open debate, but such a volley of criticism was poured out upon it that a retreat had to be made, and Mr. Asquith acknowledged that the Bill would have to be completely re-drafted, as it was unworkable in its present form.

### Joan of Arc.

The occasion of the beatification of Joan of Arc in Rome on Sunday last has called forth thoughts and words of love and admiration from men and women of all nationalities. In this tardy recognition of one who above all others combined the highest and the noblest qualities of the human race may be traced the birth of that greater respect for women in which we look forward to seeing the regeneration of the race. We print with pleasure on page 582 an extract from a leading article in the "Daily Telegraph" in which the writer very beautifully expresses his feelings on the character of *The Maid*.

### Women and Men as Law Breakers.

During the week a Blue Book has been published dealing with the question of intemperance during the year 1908. From this it will be seen that the number of women convicted of drunkenness was less than a quarter of the men, being 30,000 against 124,000. It is specially interesting to notice that during the past three years—the years in which a greater hope has been dawning for the women of the country—the figures of women offenders have shown a rapid and remarkable decrease. Women are the law-abiding half of the community, and yet they are the half which are debarred from taking a share in the enactment of the law.

### The Albert Hall.

Among the interesting events of the future to which we call the special attention of our readers is the great Albert Hall meeting on Thursday next, when a special presentation will be made to the ex-prisoners of the W.S.P.U. This meeting will be attended by the delegates to the International Congress on Woman Suffrage. We hope to have an especially large muster of our friends on that occasion, and that many others will be present who have not previously taken an active part in the agitation.

## ELEMENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMAND.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

### Chapter IX.—Why the Women's Social and Political Union Fight the Government Candidate at Bye-Elections.

At every bye-election where an official Liberal candidate is in the field, members of the Women's Social and Political Union are present to urge the electors to vote against him.

This policy of the Women's Social and Political Union rests upon the relationship which exists between the candidates and the party to which they are attached. The Liberal, Conservative, or Labour candidates do not come before the constituencies as free lances who, if returned to Parliament, will use their own personal judgment on questions which may arise. They come forward definitely as pledged supporters of certain political parties.

The Liberal candidate comes forward as a supporter of the Liberal Party, whose nominee he is; he presents himself to the electorate, not in his own colours, but in the colours of his party. If he is elected, he will form one of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons, and so long as the government of the country is in the hands of Liberal statesmen he will sit on the Government side of the House and will support the Government with his vote on questions which arise. It is true that theoretically he has the right to vote against the Government on questions as to which he disagrees with them, but this right is very rarely exercised, and any Liberal member who seriously embarrassed the Government by voting against them on several occasions would very speedily be brought to book. It is certainly not the understanding on which he is elected, and if he persisted in this opposition he would be made to feel that the only honourable course open to him was to resign and seek again the suffrages of his constituency. This general fact is being illustrated to-day by Mr. Kincaid Smith, who, finding himself out of harmony with the Government which he was returned to support, deliberately threw up his seat, and has gone back to Stratford-on-Avon (his constituency) to place his case before the electors.

#### Unimportance of the Private Member.

In the matter of initiating legislation the private member is quite impotent. It is true he may "introduce" Bills into Parliament, but he has no power to get them carried. In the House of Commons at the present day the Government have complete control of the management of business, no private member's Bill is ever passed into law unless the Government interfere on its behalf.

The private member was not always as powerless as he is to-day, but in the course of the last fifty years his position and influence have grown less and less, until at the present time he is no more than a counter in the party game. This fact, which is of wider application than the Suffrage movement, is attested by Mr. Sydney Low in his book, "The Governance of England," in the course of which he says:—

The power to shape legislation is in practice confined to those members of the House who form the inner ring of the Cabinet for the time being. . . . The House of Commons no longer controls the Executive; on the contrary, the Executive controls the House of Commons. . . . In our modern practice the Cabinet is scarcely ever turned out of office by Parliament, *whatever it does*.

A member of Parliament is elected to vote for a particular Ministry or to vote against it; he is the delegate of his constituents.

They do not send him to Parliament to exercise his independence. They would be particularly annoyed and irritated if he did, and they scrutinise his votes with jealous care in order that they may take him to task very speedily, and with no superfluous delicacy or reserve, if he shows any dangerous tendency in that direction. And the modern M.P. understands the conditions of his political existence so well that in point of fact he hardly ever does vote against his party on any party issue when his own side is in office.

The (rank and file) Ministerialist is only in a limited sense a

legislator; he has scarcely any power to make new laws, or to prevent them being made, or to amend old ones; he is not consulted on Bills which Ministers propose to introduce; he sees them only when they come from the printers, and then he knows that, whether he likes them or not, he will be expected to support them by his vote in the Lobbies.

The real political sovereign and the arbiter of the destinies of Cabinets is the electoral body. . . . The power which determines the existence and extinction of Cabinets has shifted, first, from the Crown to the Commons, and then from the Commons to the constituencies.

It is the constituencies which, in fact, decide on the combination of party leaders to whom they will from time to time delegate their authority, but their verdict is taken by what is virtually a process of duplicate election corresponding roughly to the method whereby a President of the United States is chosen. The Electoral Colleges of America have theoretically the right to select any person they please, but they are appointed on the understanding, never violated in practice, that they will cast their vote for the candidate nominated at the great party conventions. Similarly, the member of Parliament sent to the House of Commons by his constituents goes there under a pledge—which is almost, though not quite, so binding—that he will cast his vote under all normal conditions during the life of the Parliament for the authorised leaders of his party.

In a speech at Cardiff on April 14, 1909, Lord Rosebery emphasised the change which has come over the position of the private member in the following words:—

The original idea of a member of Parliament was this: That he went to the House of Commons as a representative, not as a delegate; as a representative pledged to apply certain great principles, but to apply them in a way which his own brain dictated, and which his own conscience approved.

The exigencies of modern political warfare have stamped out such men, just as the armies of the Crusades have given place to the German armies. To-day, instead of men fighting with their own judgment for their own faith and their own convictions, you have rather a great silent army disciplined to the last point, speaking mainly through its officers, governed only by martial law. That is a necessary condition of modern warfare both military and political.

#### The Issue before the Electors.

This being the position of the private member when once he is returned to the House of Commons, the question which is presented to a body of electors at a bye-election is not whether they prefer Mr. X to Mr. Y or Mr. Z, but whether they prefer the party to which Mr. X belongs to the parties of Mr. Y or Mr. Z, and since as a matter of fact there is only one party which is in power at one time—namely, the Government party—the question before the electors resolves itself virtually into whether they wish to express their approval of the Government by voting for the Government party nominee, or whether they wish to express their disapproval of the Government by voting for his opponent. At a bye-election, therefore, the electors have the opportunity presented to them of examining into and criticising the policy of the Government. If they find that policy defective they will show their displeasure by defeating the Government nominee at the poll.

The present Government, as I have shown in previous chapters, are definitely hostile to Woman Suffrage. They have proved this hostility by refusing to introduce a Suffrage measure, while stating their intention of introducing a Reform Bill for men alone. They have imprisoned over four hundred women for insisting upon their constitutional rights. And, in consequence of this, the Women's Social and Political Union call upon electors to show their disapproval by voting against the Government nominee at every bye-election, not because of his Liberalism, but because of the opposition of the Government to women. They call upon them to bring about the defeat of every Liberal candidate, and in this way to bring home to the members of the Government in the only way they can understand that they are thus displeasing the electors by their attitude towards Woman Suffrage.

#### The Individual Views of the Candidates.

It will be seen that in this definite policy no account is taken of the private views of the individual candidates; no

### ALBERT HALL, THURSDAY, APRIL 29.

Only a few days are left before the great meeting at the Albert Hall (Thursday, April 29), to which we have been looking forward for many months. Every member of the Union is asked to make it a success by being present, and to remember the threefold purpose of the meeting—an explanation of militant methods, an appreciation of the devotion of the ex-prisoners who will be present, and a representation to the delegates of various countries of the strength and progress of our Union. It must be remembered, too, that it will be only the second public function at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will have spoken since her release from prison, and many members may like, therefore, to bring friends who are not yet actively in the movement.

The date was deliberately chosen so as to fall in the week in which delegates from seventeen European countries, as well as from Australia, Canada, South Africa, and the United States, will be present to attend the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in London; and an invitation has been extended to them for this meeting, of which they have availed themselves gladly.

We are so bound up with our struggle here, with our little bye-elections, and our contest with a Liberal Government, that we are apt to lose sight of the world-wide significance of the movement. It is not the women of Great Britain we are fighting for, it is the womanhood of the world. In nearly every country, old civilisations as well as native races and new colonies, there is an awakening among the women—a slow realisation that they are human beings first and women afterwards. Every day brings some little line of hope—in one country women obtain the municipal franchise, in another they begin to walk out alone and unveiled, in another they are allowed to have some education. All these little blossoms are breaking forth daily, till at last they will form the tree of universal world-wide freedom for half the human race. Every little bit of progress chronicled helps us in our battle; but, more than all, our progress helps those behind us. All eyes are on England, the storm-centre; what is done in the greatest empire of the world will affect the position of women in every land on earth. It is for England to give a lead to other nations in this, as she has done in the less great reforms.

Daily we receive proofs of what indirect effect our militant methods have had. In Norway it is said that the men gave women the vote to prevent their having to go to prison for it as we do; would that our men were as chivalrous! Letters pour in from women's associations abroad asking for news of this great fight, and women in the lands where they are already citizens—New Zealand, Australia, Finland, Norway, and some of the United States—send sympathy and encouragement. In America our success has had an immediate effect, and has galvanised into fresh life the many women's suffrage associations. A men's league for women's suffrage has just been started in New York, but the work will be particularly hard, as the Constitution of the U.S.A. can only be altered by a three-fourths vote of all the State Legislatures. Every country has heard of us, and is looking to the delegates to bring back a full account of the militant methods and their wonderful success; that is why the speakers at the Albert Hall meeting will deal specially with the methods, while the ex-prisoners will form a living proof of the earnestness and devotion with which the women of the W.S.P.U. follow one single aim, *coûte que coûte*.

But another thing is wanting—a grand muster of our members to prove our strength and power, a hall with every available seat filled, a message of enthusiasm from thousands and thousands of English women to their sisters of every land, so that the sight will live in their eyes and the sounds in their ears for ever, and hearten them in the struggle which lies before them.

The meeting will begin at eight o'clock (doors open at seven). Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and the other speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Annie Kenney. On the platform will be those members of the W.S.P.U. who have been imprisoned at various dates for the part they have played in the movement. As Miss Seymour is now making final arrangements for the presentation to ex-prisoners, and there are still some with whom she has not been able to get into communication, will they at once write to her at 4, Clements Inn, W.C.? Tickets of admission, price 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., are in great demand, and should be obtained at once from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Men are admitted to the 5s. seats.

matter whether the Liberal candidate says that he is favourable to Woman Suffrage, he is still opposed by the women at the bye-election. People who do not understand politics sometimes suggest that this action of the W.S.P.U. is both unfair and inexpedient. They say it is unfair because they consider that a man ought to be judged by his own personal views, and not by those of his party. They do not realise that when a man goes down to a constituency as a Liberal nominee he has already abrogated his personal standpoint and accepted the standpoint of the Liberal Party. He is like a soldier going into battle under a certain flag; by that flag he must stand or fall, and he cannot plead immunity from attack on the ground that he does not approve of the war in which he is fighting. A Liberal candidate has already ranged himself on the side of the Liberal Government by acceptance of party support, and he must expect to gain by the merits and suffer for the demerits of that Government. So long as he elects to serve under the Liberal flag he cannot escape the odium which attaches to the Government on account of their treatment of women.

But it is suggested that this method of the W.S.P.U. is inexpedient, because it may lead to the exclusion of a supporter of Woman Suffrage from the House of Commons and the inclusion of an opponent; whereas the true policy, it is suggested, would be to support "sympathisers" and oppose those who declare themselves "unfavourable" whatever be their party flag. As a matter of fact, the policy pursued by the W.S.P.U. has driven almost every candidate to declare himself a "sympathiser" with the cause, and it is now rarely known for any candidate to be "unfavourable."

But, quite apart from this fact, the policy of the W.S.P.U. is the only sound one to adopt, because, while sympathy and even a pledge of support from a private member is quite valueless, a blow struck at the Government is a real factor in the issue.

Women learnt in 1884 how little the pledges of private members counted as against the opposition of the Government of the day, and they have been taught the same lesson over and over again since. In the present House the second reading of the Bill for the enfranchisement of women was carried on February 28, 1908, by a majority of 179. It would have made very little difference if that majority had been increased to 180 or reduced to 178. The reason for the failure of the Bill to become law was the opposition of the Government, who refused time to carry the Bill through its later stages. It is this opposition of the Government which has to be broken down, and this will be done as soon as the Government have been made to realise that by refusing to carry a Woman Suffrage Bill they are incurring the displeasure of the people of the country. This lesson is being taught the Government at every bye-election. When a bye-election goes in favour of the Government they take it as a vote of confidence given to them by the people of the country. When a bye-election goes against the Government—and particularly when that seat which previously was Liberal is lost to them—they know that they have displeased the electorate, and they begin to ask what it was in particular of which the electorate disapproved.

To-day the Government are being told by their agents that it is their attitude to Woman Suffrage which is losing them the elections. When they realise to the full the truth of this fact they will give way and will enfranchise the women of the country.

#### THE PRESENTATION TO THE TREASURER.

A few days still remain before the Motor Car Fund closes. I am anxious that those friends who wish to take this opportunity of helping Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to realise one of her keenest wishes shall send their contributions to me without delay, so that when the car is presented to our Treasurer the entire cost shall have been raised. A book, beautifully worked in leather, containing the names of the donors will be given to her at the same time, and she will see the names there of many whose love and gratitude to her could never be measured in pounds, shillings and pence, but who felt they must take their share, however small, in this inadequate recognition of all that Mrs. Lawrence has done for our Union and for the emancipation of the women of this country and of all time.

Mabel Tuke.

## THE RELEASE OF OUR TREASURER.

### AN IMPRESSION.

Friday was a morning of amazement. When we saw Mrs. Pethick Lawrence looking so happy and so well after serving her long sentence we were doubly glad, but what it meant we did not know until she spoke after the breakfast, and then it was a revelation.

We in this Union have learnt many lessons, and learnt them well. From a timid faith, willing enough, but a little fearful of the future, from doubt that would intrude itself, from self-distrust and self-questioning, we have come, through rapid stages, to an enthusiasm that is unquenchable, an energy that is inexhaustible, and a courage that is indomitable. We know that we shall win, we know that the whole womankind of this country, and then of the world, will be aroused through our movement, that neither abuse nor the more chilling indifference will put out the fire which our leaders have lighted in us. We have found that in this work nothing can tire us, that labour is refreshment, and each day finds us ready for new tasks. And as to courage, we have plenty. From a maiden speech and the

and deliverance from earthly bonds, the mind can face and understand the great mysteries of existence. There she realised as never before the tremendous issues of this struggle; she saw that the politicians whom we regard as enemies are but instruments of destiny, just as we are; and that without their opposition the movement would not have been what it is.

And even the aesthetic fear, the one that is part of her being to a woman gently nurtured, falls away; the distaste that seems so trivial and is so real for ugly and coarse and ill-washed prison clothing, even that goes when it is understood what the dress symbolises. As she sat in that dress in chapel with all the other women—those who were there for crimes, as well as those who were there for the sake of the woman's cause—she realised that every artificial barrier made by the world was gone; there only remained womanhood and humanity, and she felt like a wave of a great sea—restless, resistless, infinite, unfathomable. How she longed to speak to these women, and tell them of the greater life, the greater hope



[By kind permission of the "Daily Sketch."]

chalking of pavements to being thrown out of meetings and put into prison, we have learnt not to falter. And we rather thought we had learnt all; hence our humiliation and our amazement when Mrs. Lawrence taught us a new and necessary lesson.

None of us knew what was coming and what was the secret that had brought our Treasurer unscathed through her ordeal, and through the emotion and the reverence awakened by her wonderful inspired words ran a thread of shame. How we had failed to understand! Many of us had gone to Holloway and had not made a fuss about it, but in the bottom of our hearts we felt it a horror—a martyrdom—and we had told of our sufferings and protested against the hardships. Loss of our freedom for the sake of the cause was enough; why had we to suffer bad food, prison clothes, solitary confinement, unduly long sentences?

It was our lower point of view. When we expected to hear from Mrs. Lawrence something of what she had suffered, she told us how joy had been hers. Holloway was a place where all fear was cast away, where for the first time you feel the wings of your soul, and fear no height and no abyss. The physical horror of being shut up, the fear of the wild thing for the trap, passes away; the mental dread of the problems of life and death passes, too, and in that silent cell, a place of release

And we who heard her and were thrilled to the depths of our being, we too wished she might have spoken to the poor women in Holloway and given to them what we have gained from this movement—belief in womanhood and hope for humanity. How great and how noble was the character that could welcome every degrading condition of prison life in order to realise the unity of humanity, instead of "standing on our own little rock of individuality" and seeking privileges.

Here was a new aspect of Holloway—a place of silence, solitude, and rest; a mountain top from which to gain a true perspective of the small things of life—and this was the Holloway so many of us had shirked. Our hearts responded to her earnest appeal for more volunteers; never, never could we have the honour of being the first to suffer imprisonment—that belongs to Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney—but we could be the next, and the next was to be before many months, for on June 29 another deputation would be sent to the Prime Minister, and if he did not receive it the members would find themselves in prison.

It was an honour to give a little of life to purchase the fuller and more perfect life of humanity.

"Do not let your opportunity pass you by—it will not come again." The words rang in our ears long after they were spoken. It seems likely that the call will not be made in vain.

## AT THE CRITERION RESTAURANT.

On Friday morning last our Treasurer, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, was released from Holloway after serving a sentence of two months' imprisonment in the second division for leading a deputation of voteless women to lay their claims before a Prime Minister who is supposed to represent the will of the whole country. Well before 8 o'clock the space in front of the now familiar gateway was filled with happy women, most of them wearing the colours, and many carrying purple and white flowers. A motor-car and some wagonettes decorated with flags were also ready, and as the hour drew near members of the general public swelled the crowd to over 1,000, so densely packed that only those right in front could actually see Mrs. Pethick Lawrence come out. The quick opening and closing of the inner gate, however, announced the release, and a cheer went up that must have rejoiced her heart as she crossed the courtyard to be welcomed by her husband, her mother, Mrs. Pethick, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Dr. Marie Pethick, and other personal friends. A moment later she was swallowed up in a crowd of eager welcomers, and the way had literally to be fought for her to her motor-car. Cheering was continuous, and almost drowned the music of the band; nor did it cease till, after saluting, she was driven off to Clements Inn, followed by a carriage containing Mrs. and Miss Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney, and Miss Gawthorpe.

Meanwhile, the breakfast-room at the Criterion Restaurant was being filled to overflowing, and when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence arrived, amid applause, cheers, and the waving of handkerchiefs, every seat was filled, and there was not a spare inch between the chairs. Those present, numbering nearly 400, included many strangers, notably the four brave American delegates to the coming International Congress, who recently climbed Mount Rainier, 14,444 ft. high, in order to plant a "Votes for Women" flag at the top.

The tables were decorated with white iris, stocks and tulips, smilax, and bands of purple ribbon. It was one of the most enthusiastic gatherings in the history of the Union, and the tense silence that prevailed during Mrs. Lawrence's magnificent speech was even more significant than the thunderous applause at the end.

### Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

After breakfast was over Mrs. Pankhurst rose and said:—  
Friends,—You all know the object of our meeting together this morning. It is that we of the growing "family party" of women may offer to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, the beloved Treasurer of our Union, our private family welcome back to our midst. We can try to tell her this morning, as we cannot do at a more public gathering, how we love her, how we value her work, and how we have missed her while she has been away from us. Before she went from us to that experience of prison she charged us not to let her work suffer while she was away. It is not this morning that we can tell her how the work has prospered in her absence—that she will find out after to-day is over. This morning we want, if it were possible, to tell her how glad we are to have her back.

Now, Mrs. Lawrence, I want to say to you, on behalf of all the women, and the men too, who are here this morning, as well as I can, but very feebly indeed, how rejoiced we are to have you with us after this last service which you have rendered to the cause of the emancipation of women. Some of us have thought—all of us have thought—that you had already done enough without making that sacrifice. You have not hesitated to make even that sacrifice, and we want to say to you that we, in trying to pay off some of the debt the women of this country and of all lands owe to you, will not hold back from paying our share of the price when that price is demanded from us.

### Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke as follows:—

Friends,—I can hardly express this morning the great joy and gladness with which once more I salute the colours of the Union, and find myself back again in the front fighting line. I do not know what to say to you, Mrs. Pankhurst, for the kind things that you have said about me, but the sweetest thing of all is to know that I have your love, and that of my fellow members of the Union. As you have said, we cannot speak of these things that lie so deep; they are not to be spoken of—they are to be felt and to be known—they are felt, and they are known.

But some things I must actually thank you for—the lesser things. You have been very good to me. I want to thank you for the thoughts that have upborne me during my time in prison, and that have upborne us all who have been there. I want to thank those of you who have sent to us beautiful flowers. I cannot tell you what joy and gladness those flowers have brought which you sent to the hospital when you knew that some of us were in the ward there. I want to thank you, too, for the books sent to the prison library on our behalf; I want to thank you with all my heart for the kind messages that you have sent, and, above all, for the messages that have told me you were doing for the great cause we

have at heart some special thing that you would not have been moved to do if your comrades had not been in prison.

And I want to thank you all, friends, for the royal welcome that you have given me this morning. I am glad that purple is one of the colours of our Union—the royal colour! I do love and admire the royal way you have of doing things. I love your royal way of feeling, and your royal way of giving. I have always hated more than anything else in this life anything that was niggardly, anything that was petty, that was carping, that was not adequate to the great things of which life is so full; and I have loved the things that are great, and the things that are generous, the things that are to be summed up in those two beautiful words—because they are beautiful, the more you think what they mean—the things that are "magnificent," that are "magnanimous." And that is why I love the welcome that you have given me.

I know how the personal in this movement slips into the impersonal, how the personal is bound up with the great ideals which we all have at heart, so that we can hardly tell where the personal ends and where the impersonal begins—just as we can hardly tell in life where human love merges into the divine love.

They tell us, friends, that there can be a manifestation of our body in two places at the same time. Well, I don't know about that, because I have not had any personal experience of it, but I do know this, that one's heart can be in two places at the same time! And while I am with you here to-day both in body and in heart, I have left my heart behind where my comrades are. I want to bring you news of them. They send their greeting to you. They promised that just at this time they would think of us, for they knew that we should be talking about them.

### The Shameful Sentence on Miss Woodlock.

I think the most poignant feeling that I had all the time I was in prison—the only time I felt any feeling of indignation—was when I heard of Miss Patricia Woodlock's sentence. Friends, that three months' sentence is a shameful thing. It is a cruel sentence; it is a monstrous sentence. But when one comes to think of it—like everything else, it is all for the good of this movement, and therefore Miss Woodlock does not mind. It is a challenge sent out to the women of this movement. Do these fools of politicians imagine for one moment that they are going to crush a great movement like this by dealing out these shameful and monstrous sentences? Where do they draw their deductions from? That is what I want to know! Are they in soul so abject that they could be crushed by this kind of thing? Do they care for their own precious skins so much that they would rather take care of them than risk anything? Is that it? Or is it that they are full of the old delusions that are in men's minds about women? Do they think that we are different from what men have been? Do they think that women have not got the determination, that women have not got the persistence, that women have not got the devotion to carry this thing through? If they think that, friends, they are mistaken, and we have got to show them that they are mistaken, and show them very soon and very quickly and very thoroughly.

In this connection I would like to tell you the most interesting thing that I heard in chapel while I was at Holloway. It was a stranger who came to preach to us, and he spoke to us about perseverance. (Laughter.) He told us a little story, a story of a friend of his who was a missionary. One day a young man, a recent convert, came to him and said that he had composed a hymn which went very well to one of the tunes that they sang at their services, and that he should like his hymn sung by the congregation. So the missionary said, "Yes, and what is it?" "Well," he said, "it has only got one verse," and he looked a little diffident. Said the missionary, "Let's hear what it is. If it is suitable we will sing it."

"Well," said the young man, "it is this:—

"Go on, go on, go on, go on;

Go on, go on, go on!

Go on, go on, go on, go on;

Go on, go on, go on!" (Laughter.)

Friends, I think we might add that song to our repertoire. But in any case, that is the principle that we have got to adopt. It will never do to stop now—well, we never think of stopping, do we? Go on! Go on! There is nothing that will stop us—we are bound to win the victory!

I want to talk to you a little about prison to-day. I cannot talk to you about politics, because all the two months that I have been in prison I have not been allowed to see a single newspaper. ("Shame!") You say "Shame." It is not altogether a disadvantage, you know. Everything depends on the point of view. After all, the newspaper world looks a very commonplace, garish, vulgar thing from the point of view of the prison cell. Well, as I cannot talk to you about politics (perhaps I shall be able to-morrow, when I have looked at the papers) I want to talk to you about prison.

The first thing that I have to say to you about prison is this, it is a place of many surprises. The first surprise is that you go to Holloway thinking that it is a place of imprisonment and

restriction, and you find that it is a place of release and deliverance. In the first place, it is a release from all fear. There are many kinds of fear in this world. There is moral fear, physical fear, there is the fear of imagination and the mind, and there is the horror of the nerves, which is inwrought in our very blood and constitution. Fear does not mean cowardice. There are many people who know fear who never let it interfere with their duty, and perhaps they are braver than the rest when they carry their duty through to the end. But though fear does not mean cowardice, it always means torment, and you don't begin to really live till you have got rid of fear. Until all fear is cast away you are like a bird that has to hop from bough to bough, and must always have something secure to cling to. When you have lost fear, then for the first time you begin to feel the wings of your soul. You are afraid of no abyss, of no height, of no depth, because you have got your wings. Now, that freedom is what you find in Holloway, and things that I have never been able to face before, I was able to face quite happily, quite completely, in prison. You know there are thoughts that one tries to get away from sometimes, because they are too deep for one—there are the great mysteries of life and death, of personality, of force, of cruelty—things that one does not understand, and is afraid to think of. To escape from these thoughts one plunges into active life and puts them behind one. But to escape from them does not mean to overcome them. I was able, in my solitary cell, to think of and to look all these things in the face—to face the great mysteries of life, death, cruelty, injustice calmly, and to feel that everything was right. I was able to overcome all horror of the nerves in the same way. There are some people who dread being shut up. I am one of them. I have always had that horror, the horror of the wild thing for the trap; anything else I felt I could stand, but the being shut up in a narrow place—that has always been a nervous terror. It is something one is born with. You cannot explain it. All that passed from me. I do not mean that it went without a bit of a fight. But with the victory there came a consciousness that a new domain of freedom had been gained. I want you all to know it, because sometimes we talk about the physical things of prison life. The physical things of prison life don't matter one bit! When you hear about them, you who are outside, they may seem real to you, but when you are inside they are not a bit real—you don't know them, you don't see them, you don't feel them.

Holloway, then, is a place of release and of deliverance from fear. I will tell you another thing. Holloway Prison is a release from any kind of doubt or misgiving. You know, friends, that I have never been one of the doubters! I have always been perfectly sure of our ground; I have always known that we were going to succeed. I have never doubted that we were on the right lines, and that we were going to win; but when I was in Holloway I saw even more clearly than I have seen before what this great movement really means—how important, how tremendously high, and tremendously deep are the issues of it. Yes, and I saw something more. I saw that these men who are opposing us, powerful as they seem, great as their office is, are only the creatures of destiny, just as we are. And their opposition—the opposition of men like Mr. Asquith, men like Mr. Gladstone—their opposition is working out precisely the same thing that our sacrifice is working out. Looked at from the point of view that you get in Holloway, friends, their opposition is as necessary to the life of this movement as our devotion and our sacrifice are. We could not have done without it. This agitation would never have been what it is to-day if they had not been moved to oppose, just as we are moved to fight for it. By that opposition, by that fighting against us, they have intensified the meaning of this movement, they have deepened the current, they have strengthened the force, and they have made it far more potent to wield great influence in the future.

#### The Prison Clothes.

Then I want to tell you another thing. In prison the things that you shrink from most, and that are most repugnant to you, turn out to be the very sweetest and the best things, the things you would not have been without for everything in the world. I am going to give you an illustration. Had I come out of prison at the end of the first month, when my comrades who went in with me came out, had I been asked then what was the very hardest thing to bear in prison, I should have said, as I did say to the doctor when he asked me that question, "The prison clothes that you have got to wear." It is a shock at first when you have these things brought to you—not only coarse, not only extremely antiquated in conception and pattern, not only extremely uncomfortable, but also soiled and stained. ("Shame.") Well, I don't know that they can help it; you must remember that they have got difficulties in prison to struggle against, and the laundry work has got to be done by anybody who comes in as a prisoner and happens to be put to that task. But there it is, whatever the reason for it, the clothes are stained and soiled. The underclothes are the worst, because they are the nearest to one's person. And then you put on the dress—of heavy, coarse material, all weight without warmth as it seems, with twenty great pleats round the waist. You feel weighed down and burdened. If I had

come out at the end of the month I should have said that was the worst privation. But, friends, I have learnt to love those prison clothes. (Laughter.) Yes; I am going to explain it to you presently. When I understood what they meant, then it was that I loved them.

I think the revelation came to me the first time that I went into the chapel and saw 600 or 700 women, line after line, row after row, dressed in these prison clothes. You could not have picked out the Suffragettes from amongst them. Gone was every mark of distinction between one person and another. No class left, no sign of education left, no distinction of any kind—everything swept away, except humanity and womanhood. And it wasn't until you saw all these details swept away, it wasn't until you realised all that was gone, that you knew how much those great things were worth that were left. It wasn't until then that you realised what your humanity meant or what your womanhood meant. Friends, lost in that great multitude, I felt like a wave of a great sea, the sea of Humanity—great, resistless, infinite, unfathomable! Oh, how I longed in that chapel to get up, just as I was, in my prison clothes, and speak to those people! I knew I could have made them understand the Gospel. It was a wonderful sight! That congregation clothed in the dress of shame. There, over the altar, the picture of the human God, executed as a criminal between two thieves; I knew perfectly well that the drama of the Cross and Passion, infinitely less in degree—as I felt very deeply during those Passion Week services we had in church—infinity less in degree, but the same drama, was being worked out there. I knew that I could have told those women that we, who came among them because of our faith in humanity, because of our belief in its possibilities, because of the depth of our love and pity for them, because of the hope that there is in all human life, were Christ's messengers. I knew that I could have made them understand the greater, the divine Love, the greater faith and hope. I could have taught them what their life was worth to them. This is what I mean when I say that the bitter things, the hardest things, turn out to be the best and the sweetest things. The worst thing that could happen to me would have been to be placed in the first division and allowed to wear my own clothes and keep my own individuality, and stand, as we all stand every day, on our little rock of isolation, of differentiated individuality, separate from other people.

#### The Mountain Top.

It was the same thing with the prison cell. I told you that there was a bit of a fight of the nerves for a few hours after I was placed in that prison cell and the door was shut. But after that was over, then the prison cell became to me the very sweetest possible spot. It became my mountain-top. I got back leisure, silence, solitude, the things that I had lost since I was a girl, things that one does lose in this tremendous life of rush, business, responsibility. I used to look forward most of all to those periods when I knew that no one would come to disturb me. It was then that one could read, it was then that one could think, though one could not make a record of one's thoughts, because pen and paper are denied you. Especially at night I used to love my cell. Lying down on one's plank bed, and looking up and seeing the light which came through the window and threw its reflection on the wall, I used to think of the ordinary luxurious bedroom—how vulgar it was! Do you think I wanted it? No! I would not have changed my cell for the most luxurious place in this world. My one disappointment was when the doctor (because after two weeks they said I was losing weight, though I told them there was plenty to lose), insisted upon taking me out of my prison cell and putting me into the hospital ward. Of course, I knew how very kindly it was done, and appreciated that, but I was deeply sorry and disappointed. Prison life and a prison cell is life and experience. The hospital ward is the comfortable commonplace. Well, throughout my life I have always chosen life and experience rather than the comfortable commonplace.

Friends, I am not going to talk about what Holloway Prison is to those who are there in the ordinary way. I am not going to talk about it as an institution for the sick in soul, as some of its inmates are—those, for instance, who, in depression and misery, have tried to commit suicide, and are sent to Holloway. I am not going to talk about what it is to the criminal—I will talk about that some other time. It is not that I have not my own ideas about it, but to-day is not the time to talk about it. But I want to tell you this—that as a graduating university for Suffragettes Holloway Prison is unsurpassed.

To every one of you who has not yet been I say, go and get your degree, and come back to us again. Now, there are many here who have not been through this experience. Why is it? There are some who are absolutely prevented by economic circumstances, some by absolutely unbreakable domestic ties. I know that there are some to whom it is impossible, but there are many others to whom it would be quite possible. They are afraid; they do not think their health would stand it; they have heard stories about the hardship; they cannot quite summon up the courage; they do not quite know whether it is going to be successful; they want to wait a little.

Perhaps they will go when they see that the cause is coming to success—when others have gone, when there is not the same risk about it, when there is not the same reputation to lose. Friends, I want you to look at it like this. I want you to feel that though you can never have the honour now of being the first to go, I want you to make up your mind that you will be the next to go. When I was in prison I read the historical plays of Shakespeare. They appealed to me particularly because of the courage and the calm with which the actors of the drama take the consequence of their risk and their action. And, above all, I love that play of "Henry V." Do you remember how it describes the battle of Agincourt—the little English host, worn out, impoverished, decimated, surrounded on all sides by the overwhelming armies of the French? Do you remember that beautiful scene where the King, who feels the responsibility for everyone of his soldiers, goes out in the night, goes round to the pickets, and talks to his people as if he were a private soldier? Do you remember he addresses the "God of Battles," praying:—

"Take from them now  
The sense of reckoning, if the opposed numbers  
Pluck their hearts from them."

He knows it is a desperate contest, but also he is certain that if his men will cast out all fear they are going to win. And then you remember how the Duke of Westmoreland, his cousin, says:—

"O that we now had here  
But one ten thousand of those men in England  
That do no work to-day—"

and the King turns round to him and says:—

"What's he that wishes so?  
My cousin Westmoreland? No, my fair cousin,  
God's peace! I would not lose so great an honour  
As one man more methinks would share from me  
For the best hope I have. O do not wish one more.  
Rather proclaim it, Westmoreland, through my host,  
That he, which nath no stomach to this fight,  
Let him depart: his passport shall be made  
And crowns for convoy put into his purse;  
We would not die in that man's company  
That fears his fellowship to die with us."

We few, we happy few, we band of brothers;

There's gentlemen in England, now abed  
Shall think themselves accursed they were not here,  
And hold their manhoods cheap while any speaks  
Who fought with us upon St. Crispin's Day."

Now, friends, that is the spirit that dwells in us. "I would not lose so great an honour as one man more, methinks, would share from me"—that is what I want you to feel. Don't let one more go to prison without your being there. Don't wait until there are so many who go that your going will mean very little. Remember, the greater the risk, the greater the reward; the greater the opposition the more the honour. Let us love honour—love it better than we love anything else in the world, love it better than we love our life.

As I came away from prison this morning I felt my heart full of thanks and praise for all the beautiful things that are spread out before us in this world—for the beautiful sky, for the beautiful spring now budding around us, for the flowers, for the friends, for human love, for all the things that make our life so happy. But more than all do I thank God for having given me the inestimable privilege of taking part in this movement, and allowing me to do my little bit in this great awakening which is going to be such a great influence in the future.

Well, you have got your opportunity to-day. You have got your opportunity. Don't let it pass you by—seize it. It won't come again. Make up your mind that you will give yourself to the uttermost; make up your mind that you will not stop at anything—that you will go to prison, that you will do everything that you can do. I am sure there are girls in the school-room who are envying you your chance, envying you your opportunity! I was in prison with a girl who had just come over from California. She has only been seven months married, and she came over on purpose to find out the truth about this movement, and to go to prison with us, and she tells me that all her friends in California and the women that she knows in the States are longing to come to England at once, for they are so afraid that they will be too late. Too late! Too late to take their part; to claim this opportunity, and to have their share in fighting this great battle! Well, you have not to come all the way from California; you can take this opportunity now, and if you take it now, there are babies to-day in their mothers' arms, there are children yet unborn, who will bless you in days to come and you will have that wonderful honour of entering into fellowship with those great and noble souls who have been adjudged the saviours of the world, because they have given of their own life to purchase the fuller and more perfect life of humanity.

## OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I hear that this week's issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is to be particularly interesting, as it will contain verbatim reports of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speeches at the Criterion and at the Aldwych Theatre. May I suggest therefore that all our members should do their utmost to circulate an even larger number of copies this week than usual? I am buying twelve copies myself for this purpose, and hope that others will do likewise. These two magnificent speeches should be read by everyone, and circulated far and wide.—Yours, etc.,  
39, Bernard Street.

IRENE DALLAS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Although I have been a buyer and reader of the for thirty-five years I have now ordered my newsagent to cease sending it, because I cannot bear the intolerant and ridiculous attitude to the woman suffrage question adopted by the editor. I don't think you will have much difficulty in finding at least 300 to do the same.

I gladly adopt the suggestion of buying six copies weekly of VOTES FOR WOMEN instead for distribution. I enclose my cheque for £1 6s. to cover a period of one year.—Yours, etc.,

OXFORD GRADUATE.

Oxford, April 15.

Mrs. Pankhurst has received the following letter:—

DEAR MRS. PANKHURST,—Lady Knyvett's suggestion in VOTES FOR WOMEN that we should give up our "well-known weekly 6d. paper because of its derisive attitude" to us meets with my approval. I have taken it for over twenty years, but lately I have had great qualms of conscience about doing so. Please number me amongst the 300 to give it up.—Yours faithfully,

M. MARSTON.

52, Arkwright Street, Bolton-le-Moors.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Since my release from Holloway I have had to read four back numbers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and I find in that of March 5 a special appeal from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence for the extension of the sale of our paper. As my husband and I each week buy a large number of copies (besides his waiting-room copy and my home one) and send them to friends whose education in the matter of Woman's Suffrage we consider incomplete, we felt there was nothing more we could do. Yet any appeal from Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is for many of us more imperative than a command, so some further means of increasing the circulation had to be devised.

The idea occurred to me of exhibiting the weekly poster on our walls and fences, but the horror of jeopardising the sacred privacy of our home at first made me reluctant to carry it out. I find, however, that after facing censure and going forth from comfort into prison, every sacrifice, great or small, made for the cause becomes a pleasure; so all reluctance has been overcome, and I shall be proud to make my wall an impromptu VOTES FOR WOMEN hoarding.

I have a coachyard wall and a garden wall on the main Portsmouth Road, visible also from side roads, and a field gate at the junction of three roads, one of which is the main thoroughfare to the parish church. If therefore you will supply me each week with three posters with my office copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN (and any special poster you want shown) they shall be pasted up where they will produce far more effect on the passers-by than they would in front of a newspaper shop.

I have set my heart also on floating tricolour flags (preferably with the words "Votes for Women") from two hayricks which are in view of the three roads mentioned above. Perhaps you will let me know whether or on what terms these could be supplied me. As other readers who have similar useful walls and hayricks may like to dedicate them to the Union, I would ask you to insert this letter.—Yours, etc.,

ROSE LAMARTINE YATES.

Dorset Hall,

Merton, Surrey.

#### Another Disgusted Liberal.

Mr. Oliver Wood, of Chorlton-cum-Hardy, has written to his member, Mr. Harry Nuttall, M.P., as follows:—

"SIR,—Owing to the vindictive treatment of women by the Government and the absence of protest by the 'Liberal' members, I, who have hitherto always voted Liberal, shall at the next election abstain from voting.—Yours, etc.,

"OLIVER WOOD."

## THE BRAWLING BILL.

### COMPLETE FAILURE OF THE GOVERNMENT PROPOSALS.

The House of Commons had a field day on Tuesday last discussing a phase of Suffragette agitation. The occasion was the second reading debate of "The Houses of Parliament Bill," otherwise known as "The Brawling Bill" or "The Coercion Bill for Suffragettes."

For some weeks the Government have endeavoured to carry this through the House as a non-contentious measure, but, finding this impossible, they made a valiant attempt on Tuesday to carry it in open discussion. The result was one of the most pitiable reverses which this Government have been obliged to suffer. Member after member rose and riddled the Bill with criticism until the Prime Minister was compelled to admit that it would be quite unworkable.

One of the most amusing features of the debate was the touching solicitude shown by the Attorney-General for the interrupting Suffragettes. A sentence of six months' imprisonment, he declared, was too long a one to be inflicted. It was not till later in the day his real motive was discovered, when it was pointed out that the retention of the longer penalty would enable the offending Suffragette to claim a trial by jury.

Members did not seem in the least disturbed at the destruction by the Bill of the fundamental privileges of the House, which it has enjoyed for centuries, in the exclusive control of its own affairs. But the criticism which finally disposed of the Bill was that of Sir Edward Carson, who pointed out that under its provisions the Speaker, the Prime Minister, other members of the Government, and the leading members of the Opposition could all be subpoenaed to appear as witnesses in the case, and so the measure had to go by the board.

As an example of the panic which a few women are able to produce in the minds of the Government, the Bill will stand as a lasting memorial long after the vote has been granted to women.

The Attorney-General (Sir W. Robson), in moving the second reading of this Bill, said the circumstances that gave rise to the measure must be still fresh in the memory of all. Undoubtedly those circumstances brought home to their minds the inadequacy, or unsuitability, of the powers now possessed by the House for dealing with strangers who obtained permission to enter on the understanding that they would conform to the rules and who then deliberately and grossly disturbed the proceedings of the House. If it were at all likely that the conduct of these persons would not be repeated, the House would not entertain this Bill and the Government would not desire to introduce it. It was, however, more than likely—indeed, it was reasonably certain that such conduct would be repeated, because it was part of a systematic campaign, unless by the Bill the House of Commons met the mischief by some swift, sufficient, and appropriate remedy. It could not be said that the House had a sufficient and appropriate procedure under existing circumstances. For that Assembly to suspend its discussion of the high matters in which it was concerned, to embark upon lengthy, and perhaps acrimonious debates as to how disorderly strangers should be dealt with, then to summon each of those strangers to the bar of the House for examination, thereby giving them facilities for speech in proceedings of a quasi-criminal character, and next to refer the inquiry to a committee for what would really be the equivalent of a public trial, followed, of course, by a report to the House—to take all these steps would be to encourage the very mischief which it was desired to prevent. So far from being a deterrent to wrongdoers, such procedure would, if he might use the phrase, "play their game." (Hear, hear.) It would give them the *maximum* of advertisement with the *minimum* of risk in the way of punishment.

#### The Necessity for Advertisement.

Every cause nowadays, good or bad, and every section of the political public, great or small, was, naturally enough, and properly enough, on the lookout for an advertisement. It was an essential

part of the propaganda; it was a natural aid to, and in many cases a very effective substitute for, propaganda. Any sort of notoriety would do, and it would seem that the notoriety of nuisance was the form of advertisement most widely preferred. Unfortunately for the House, from some points of view, the House of Commons was the best place for advertisement for matters of political propaganda. The temptation to propagandists was naturally very strong; in some cases it was absolutely irresistible. So soon as it became clear to the authorities of the House that the disturbances formed part of a systematic campaign, and that it was necessary to devise some means of self-defence unless the proceedings of the House were to be reduced to ridicule and absurdity, it also became apparent that the existing method of dealing with such cases was inadequate. In the recent disturbances all they were able to do was to turn the offenders out. That was neither a penalty nor a remedy.

#### The Existing Powers.

The Bill in no way interfered with any of the ancient usages and privileges of the House. The House of Commons was a Court, and possessed the powers which a superior Court had of committing for contempt. The class of offence with which they had had to deal lately was really in the nature of contempt of the House, and should be punishable very much as a contempt of Court. The House was able by its officers to arrest any person guilty of such an offence. By its warrant it was entitled to call upon all civil officers and magistrates, and indeed all subjects of the King, to arrest and bring an offender before the House. The powers for punishment, however, were not quite so certain and satisfactory as they might be. The powers to commit for contempt possessed by the House of Lords were more satisfactory and of wider range. The House of Commons could only commit for the Session. It was open to argument, like every question of constitutional law or law dependent upon usage; but he thought the general opinion would be that at the end of the Session if the House had in custody any subject by way of detention, the probability was that on an application to the King's Bench for a writ of *habeas corpus* the detained person would be released. Therefore, there was no substantial risk of a heavy punishment falling on anyone who disturbed the proceedings of the House at the end of a Session. The power of imposing fines as an alternative to imprisonment was undoubtedly possessed by the House of Lords, but the House of Commons had not exercised that power for over 200 years, and where law depended upon usage a lapse of 200 or 250 years undoubtedly imported an element of uncertainty. He thought the general opinion would be that if the House desired to take power to impose a fine it would be wise to do so after legislation rather than to rely on usage. These powers were founded on custom, and could only be increased, modified, or adjusted by legislation. By this Bill the House was not assuming any new kind of power. The House already was able to arrest and commit for a period even longer than was provided for by the Bill, so that the Government were not introducing any constitutional novelty in that respect.

#### The Provisions of the Bill.

The first sub-section of the first clause provided:—"If any person, not being a member of either House of Parliament, while present in the Palace of Westminster during the sitting of either House, is guilty of disorderly conduct or acts in contravention of any rule or order of either House with respect to the admission and conduct of strangers, he shall be guilty of a misdemeanour, and liable on summary conviction to imprisonment for a term not exceeding six months, or to a fine not exceeding £100."

Acting on representations, the Government were prepared to reduce this maximum penalty to three months. The House would not be unwilling to proceed cautiously at first, and the country would appreciate the motives, not ungenerous and not unkind, with which the House of Commons proceeded by way of discipline in as gentle a manner as possible, until the necessity for stronger measures was clearly shown. Proceedings would be under a Summary Jurisdiction Act, and would only be taken with the sanction of the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker.

#### Possible Alternatives.

Discussing possible alternatives to the present Bill he said that, of course, the House could, if it chose, simplify its existing procedure. It would be within its power to say that Mr. Speaker should exercise all his powers in a somewhat easier and more expeditious form than that which now existed. But offences of this character

in the future, as in the past, would probably be connected with some organised political movement, and it would be a novel and a somewhat doubtful proceeding to throw upon the Chair the sole responsibility of trying and imprisoning persons who claimed that they had been actuated in their conduct by political motives. That would be a step which the House would not be anxious to take or the authorities of the House anxious to adopt. The duty of holding a trial—for each of these persons would be entitled to a trial—was an important one, and one which was accompanied by many invidious circumstances from which they would gladly be preserved. It was absurd that that House, with its many duties and obligations, should be obliged to sit as a tribunal of 500 or 600 judges in order to try an offence which was not worth any further notice than an ordinary police magistrate could give to it. In saying that he was not belittling the character of the offence. There was no offence more serious or more inimical to good government than any attempt to interfere with the proceedings of the House. So far as the offender was concerned, he was only worthy of the degree of public notice which this Bill proposed to give him. He commended the Bill to the House as one that would save its time and safeguard its dignity, both of which objects were vital to its usefulness and authority. (Cheers.)

#### Opposition to the Bill.

Lord Balcarras said that the explanation of the Attorney-General had not convinced him that in passing this Bill they would not materially reduce the efficacy, if not the existence, of the ancient privileges of the House. He did not believe they could share responsibility with a police magistrate without a diminution of privileges. Whatever they might say at the end of the clause, they could not diminish the effect of what they did at the beginning. Somebody in the gallery might be arrested by the Serjeant-at-Arms for an offence, handed over to the police, and taken to the Westminster Court, and there he would be charged by the police, not by an officer of the House.

The Attorney-General.—May be.

Lord Balcarras said he could understand that there might be occasions when attendance in Court would be inconvenient. But what line would a magistrate take? He would have to try a charge for an offence punishable by three months' imprisonment or a fine of £100. No magistrate would convict if the delinquent said he was being deprived of his liberty and right in a court of law to cross-examine witnesses. What would this mean? The right to call the evidence of the Speaker or Chairman and any one else who witnessed the occurrence complained of. (Hear, hear.) Ever since the middle of the seventeenth century the House had claimed the right to withhold its proceedings from the reflections, criticism, and examination of any outside body, but in the circumstances he had indicated the Speaker, the clerks, the Serjeant-at-Arms, any member of the House would be liable at the instance of the organisers of a disturbance, the subject of the charge, to be called as a witness, cross-examined as a witness, and bullyragged in the most flippant manner—(hear, hear)—because unless a magistrate could satisfy himself by the evidence of an adequate number of witnesses he would refuse to convict. It would be a most deplorable thing if the Speaker and other officials and members of the House were hauled into Court probably for no other reason than to draw public attention to the Police Court proceedings in these cases, and make sensational paragraphs in the evening papers. It might sound small in one way, but it cut at the very root of the dignity of the proceedings of Parliament. (Cheers.) He could not see how it was possible to say that the Speaker should not be cross-examined. The Speaker was the quintessence of the collective wisdom of the House of Commons. (Laughter.) He it was who, after due deliberation, was to order these proceedings to be instituted, and he ought to be protected from the obvious disadvantages which would inevitably arise where, for the purposes of advertisement or political propaganda or in order to draw attention to a cause from which this novelty of violence had been withdrawn, it was solely sought to revive a moribund controversy.

#### Why Not Give Women the Vote?

Mr. Keir Hardie stated that in his opinion the Bill was only necessary because of the failure of members of the Government and of the House to redeem their election pledges in regard to Woman Suffrage; it was because the women felt that they could no longer appeal to the honour of the House of Commons that they were taking extreme measures.

Mr. J. D. White (Dumfriesshire, Min.) said that after a very careful study of the Bill, he had come to the conclusion that the procedure it recommended would be a most dangerous departure, and that it might very likely, in practice, open up a good many more difficulties than it settled. The recent subpoenaing of the Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Home Secretary showed that those who created these disturbances were prepared to do anything they could in that way, and he thought

it would be a great pity for the House to pass a measure which, he believed, would enable them to do it even more effectively than they had done in the past.

Mr. Mooney (Newry, Nat.) said that, after reading the Bill, he came to the conclusion that it must have been drafted somewhere in the neighbourhood of Clements Inn—(laughter)—for instead of taking away the chance of advertisement which had been given to certain propagandists, it offered them a better chance than ever. (Hear, hear.) He supposed that the occupant of the chair would, in the event of disorder in the Strangers' Gallery, see more of what took place than any other member of the House. In the event of a prosecution being ordered, it was very likely that the magistrate would hold that Mr. Speaker was a relevant witness and direct his attendance in court, so that, instead of doing away with advertisement, the Bill would furnish all the London evening papers with the most beautiful scare-lines they had seen for some time.

Mr. W. Rutherford (Liverpool, W., Derby, Opp.), in moving the rejection of the Bill, said that it would interfere with and prejudice the privileges of Parliament, which were perfectly clear and adequate if properly exercised, and would substitute procedure which would be cumbersome, undignified, and ineffectual. Any person charged under the Bill would have a right to demand a trial by jury, and there could be no doubt that, in a case in which the objects of an offender were to obtain advertisement and cause annoyance, this right would be exercised, and the Speaker and the officials of the House would be subpoenaed to attend both at the police court and the sessions. In 1751 a Scottish gentleman named Alexander Murray, brother of the then Lord Elibank, and presumably a progenitor of a respected member of the present Government, was brought to the Bar for having said disrespectful things of the House in the course of a contested election at Westminster. The Speaker called upon him to kneel, but he refused (laughter), which was regarded as an aggravation of his offence, and he was committed to Newgate. Murray was released at the end of the Session. The House, however, did not think three or four months' incarceration was a sufficient punishment for his offence, and next Session the Serjeant-at-Arms was sent to his residence to rearrest him, but he had fled, and, though a reward of £500 was offered for his apprehension, unfortunately he was never recaptured. (Laughter.) At present the House possessed powers to commit members to the Clock Tower and strangers to Newgate for disorder. But supposing the Bill were passed and some excited female or misguided male took advantage of the innocence or the incredulity or the indifference of some member of the House and got into the House and created disorder. There would be proceedings before the magistrate, and the accused person, being liable to six months' imprisonment or a fine of £100, would be entitled to call the Speaker as a witness. Not only that, but the accused person would have the absolute right to be tried by a jury, and consequently the whole business would be done over again. He held that the balance of inconvenience was overwhelming against the Bill, that there was no necessity whatever for it, that it had been hastily prepared, and for these reasons he moved its rejection.

#### Dungeons for Suffragettes.

Sir F. Banbury, in seconding the amendment, pointed out that the only effect of the Bill would be to give such an advertisement to the creation of a disturbance as to act more as an encouragement than as a deterrent. Apparently also the three months' imprisonment did not include hard labour. Up to the present the Suffragists had gloried in going to prison, and so far imprisonment had created no effect. The best way to stop these disturbances would be to pass a new Standing Order constituting the Speaker or a small committee of four or nine members as an authority to deal with these offences against the order of the House. The powers now possessed by the House should be delegated either to the Speaker or to the Committee, and the offender should be dealt with in a private room from which the Press would be excluded. The House could commit offenders to Newgate or the Tower, and not to the Clock Tower alone, guarantee being taken not to make the accommodation too comfortable. (Laughter.) The First Commissioner of Works, who was so fond of erecting buildings, would not find it beyond his ingenuity, surely, to provide two or three dungeons for those who infringed the order of the House. (Laughter.) The House therefore should consider whether or not it could make use of the privileges and powers it already possessed. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Leif Jones thought if the public had not sufficient respect for the House to keep order, he submitted that the proper remedy was to exclude the public from the galleries. No penalties would be sufficient to create a sense of order in the public if they did not possess it for themselves.

Mr. Stuart Wortley (Sheffield, Hallam, Opp.) hoped that the Bill would, at all events, receive a second reading, and that the penalties it proposed would not be diminished or abated in Committee. He was a member of the Select Committee, and agreed in their recommendations, and nothing had happened since they reported to cause him to alter his opinions in regard to the main recommendations.

If it were true that the creation of a misdemeanour carried with it the right to trial by jury, then, he thought, the Bill had unnecessarily gone beyond the recommendations of the Committee. No doubt the House had full power in its own hands under the present law, but the emptiness of the galleries showed that that law had broken down. The House could have used the weapons ready to its hand, but it preferred to empty the galleries. How long were they to be kept empty? The antiquated methods of maintaining order had only to be described to stand condemned in the face of an emergency such as they found themselves in at the end of last Session.

Mr. Hazleton contended that no workable system could be devised to keep disturbers out of the galleries, when they were open, if they wished to get in. The Bill was a provocation to disorder, and they were merely setting up an Act of Parliament as an Aunt Sally for every Suffragette to come along and have a shot at. He could understand the Bill if, along with penalising the disturber, it proposed to make the member who introduced the offending individual responsible by depriving him for the rest of the Session of his right of introduction or making him liable for any fine imposed. (Laughter.)

#### The Attorney-General Replies.

The Attorney-General, in reply to points raised in the debate, said that they had had to deal with a systematic campaign against the good order and dignity and efficiency of the House, and it was impossible to sit down in surrender to such a campaign and to admit that no measures, punitive or preventive, could be effective in dealing with it. In regard to the case of the hypothetical workman, one had to assume that the officers of the House would exercise at least ordinary sense, and it seemed to be forgotten that the Bill applied to those who contravened rules in regard to the admission and conduct of strangers. Reference had been made to the area covered. Both Old Palace Yard and New Palace Yard would come within the definition of the precincts of the Palace of Westminster. Old Palace Yard was the yard of the ancient Palace of Westminster, and New Palace Yard was laid out when the new palace of William Rufus was built. It was no newer than that. The noble lord who had spoken had said that the right of subpoena might be abused. Of course, it might be abused, but the right of subpoena was much less susceptible to abuse now than before a recent decision in connection with disorders of this character, when a subpoena issued to the Prime Minister was set aside on the ground that it was frivolous and vexatious. If it were desired, however, to make protection more generally secure there would be no difficulty in doing it, and in Committee this matter would be undoubtedly treated as one concerning which the most stringent and vigilant provisions should be made to prevent the officers of the House, and especially the great officers, from being subject to the necessity of appearing in court. He did not think the House need trouble itself with that objection, which was the most substantial that had been brought forward. They must remember they had to deal with a systematic campaign against the dignity and order of the House, and so soon as they had dealt at great cost with one disorderly person another disorderly person would be put forward. The House must make its procedure swift. A Committee selected by the different parties in that House would hardly be a convenient or appropriate tribunal to try persons who claimed to be actuated by political motives. ("Oh!") By this Bill the House was not stripping itself of any existing power, but adding an important optional power.

Mr. Stuart-Wortley.—Would a defendant have a right to claim trial by jury?

The Attorney-General said that if the penalty were maintained at six months' imprisonment there was a right to trial by jury. If the penalty were reduced to three months there would be no right to have a jury. He reminded hon. members that something must be done, because they could not go on for ever keeping the galleries closed. (Cries of "Why not?")

Sir E. Carson (Dublin University) said that it was a very important and serious innovation to introduce the police-court in connection with the order and dignity of that House. He very much doubted whether the Bill would in the slightest degree improve the possibility of order when the galleries were reopened. (Hear, hear.) The persons who created disorder would hail with delight the very punishment and procedure laid down in the Bill, which would give them exactly the opportunity for advertisement they desired. (Hear, hear.) He believed that it would not be impossible for the House out of its own members to find a tribunal that could deal properly with disorder. He agreed with the Attorney-General that the House had the fullest power, but that it was a cumbersome thing to call these parties to the Bar, to examine and cross-examine them, and allow them to speak; but was it to be said that the House, which could deal fairly with its own recalcitrant members, throwing aside all politics and bias, could not get a tribunal to deal with strangers

who created disorder? He did not believe that the House was so biased politically that it was impossible for them to do justice to parties who had broken the rules and abused their admission.

#### The Question of Subpœna.

The learned Attorney-General did not deal adequately with what was likely to happen if they introduced the policeman. How could they prevent Mr. Speaker or any other member of the House who had witnessed the disorder from being subpoenaed? In the Leeds case the Attorney-General successfully prevented the Prime Minister from being subpoenaed, but he gathered that the right hon. gentleman had no evidence to give in that case.

Mr. Asquith: I had seen nothing. (Laughter.)

Sir E. Carson said that therefore it was a frivolous application. But could the Attorney-General deal in a similar way with Mr. Speaker in regard to an incident that he had seen with his own eyes in the House? Being both an eye-witness and the director of the prosecution, Mr. Speaker might be subpoenaed as a witness. Could anything be more ridiculous or bring that House into greater contempt? Leaving Mr. Speaker out altogether, would hon. members say that their sympathies in regard to particular incidents would not lead them to volunteer evidence as to what had happened, with a view to mitigating the fines and penalties that might arise? In times of great excitement a vast number of members might be examined on the one side and the other, having formed perfectly *bonâ-fide* impressions of the particular nature of the occurrence. (Hear, hear.) Anything more lamentable than that the session of that House should be diverted to the Police Court at Westminster he could hardly conceive. The Attorney-General said that they could consider the law as to subpoena as affecting that House. Was it to be seriously suggested that in a criminal prosecution there was to be a different law with regard to subpoena for the House of Commons from that of ordinary prosecutions throughout the land? If they had to alter the law of subpoena in their own interests that was enough to condemn the Bill. They could not lay down a different code of evidence and procedure for trials of prosecutions directed by that House from that obtaining in ordinary prosecutions directed by the Attorney-General. He did not think that it was to be lightly passed over that the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker might, on investigation, direct a prosecution and the magistrate outside might decide that there were no grounds for prosecution. That would bring the proceedings into very great contempt and was not a matter that the public would very well understand. There was no analogy between that and the Attorney-General directing prosecutions. In his case he had merely certain information brought before him on which it was his duty to say that there was a *prima facie* case within the criminal law. That would not be the position of the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker, who would themselves most often be eye-witnesses of these matters. Such a result would make a caricature of the trial in the police-court. (Hear, hear.)

#### Officers of the House as Constables.

The turning of the officers of the House into constables was a very serious matter. They were told that it was only for the purpose of enabling them to hand over parties who had committed disorder. He wanted to know whether, if the officers of that High Court of Parliament arrested a man, and it was afterwards found by the Lord Chancellor or Mr. Speaker that he ought not to be prosecuted, they would be open to an action for malicious or unlawful arrest? How could they prevent such an action? Did they imagine that the people who went there to create disorder would not take advantage of every kind of legal power to annoy their officers? (Hear, hear.) By the introduction of the police constable they were opening up questions the number of which it was impossible to foresee. If an arrest were to be made for disturbance and the Speaker vetoed the proceedings the offender would be discharged, and it would be at least arguable whether damages ought to be given. As it stood the Bill was unworkable, and the objections were not Committee points; they went to the root of the question whether it was worth while to make the proposed change, whether it would not be better to set up a tribunal of their own. (Hear, hear.) Anywhere within the precincts of the House an officer of the House—whoever that might mean; he had seen a list of officers which included the printer—was to be empowered to arrest a person making a disturbance, who would be handed over to the police and prosecuted unless the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker intervened. But suppose a disturbance occurred in the lobby, how could the Speaker intervene? Was a messenger to be sent in to him asking him to adjourn the House and to come out and decide what should be done with the disturber? (Laughter.) If a man were taken by the constable to the lock-up preparatory to being brought before the magistrate, and meanwhile the Speaker, having considered the facts, decided that proceedings were not to continue, what would happen? Who would release the man from the lock-up? Was the man locked up to have no redress, or was an action to be allowed against the officers of the House? (Hear, hear.) The disadvantages of the proposed procedure far

outweighed any advantages. After all, he did not think it was a matter of Imperial importance whether they re-opened the galleries or not. (Hear, hear.) For his own part, he thought they got on very well without an audience there. He agreed entirely with the hon. member for Appleby, they never would by what he might call any Coercion Bill (laughter and cheers)—they never would in regard to faddists and extremists on particular questions be able to preserve order. The Bill would not prevent disorder from such a source; the only results would be the inconveniences he had tried to point out. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Asquith (Fife, E.) said it was refreshing to hear the right hon. and learned gentleman denouncing coercion in any form (laughter), but he could not help regretting that the right hon. and learned gentleman had not addressed his able and elaborate arguments to the committee upstairs, upon whose recommendations the Bill was framed. From what he had heard of the debate, and particularly from the speech of the right hon. and learned gentleman, who had spoken with all the authority of the front bench opposite, it seemed clear that the opinion in the House, if not adverse to the Bill, was keenly critical. The last thing he would desire would be to press in a matter which was entirely within the cognisance of the House the adoption of a measure not consonant with the general opinion now. He, therefore, made a suggestion. He did not like, after all the pains and attention given to the subject by the committee, to withdraw the Bill, but he did think that so much weight attached to the criticisms addressed to the House, and particularly in respect to procedure, that before going any further there should be time given for fuller consideration, and he thought it would be well if they now adjourned the debate so that the Government and all sections of the House might come to an informal friendly conference on the subject as to whether some form of procedure might be adopted, less open to objection, and more consonant with the dignity of the House. (Hear, hear.) He therefore moved the adjournment of the debate.

The motion was at once agreed to.

### EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

#### THE "TIMES."

It ought not to be impossible to reinforce the powers of the House. The Bill enabled the officers of the House to arrest and to punish assaults of its dignity, but the Bill offers no means of doing this. It only attaches penalties to disorder which are to be enforced by the courts of summary jurisdiction; and, however the matter may be disguised, such a procedure must inevitably bring the House, through some of its officers, and possibly through the highest, into a most undesirable position *vis-à-vis* of a police magistrate or an offender reckless of everything except getting an advertisement. Inadequate as they appear, the powers of the House have in practice been sufficient to deal with men. That they break down before the tactics of the Suffragettes may be reckoned a triumph by the victims of tarantism, but must be held to furnish another proof that our institutions cannot be worked by women. It is possible that thoroughgoing petticoat government would be a great boon to any country, though none has been courageous enough to try it. But a mixed government by men and women is impracticable, and can issue only in chaos and impotence.

#### THE "DAILY TELEGRAPH."

There is likely to be a great deal of ironic laughter at the fate which befell the Houses of Parliament Bill in the House of Commons. Hand over offenders to the police, who should appear before the magistrate as the arresting authority. But, as member after member pointed out, the upshot of this would be that disturbers of the peace, anxious for self-advertisement, would summon the Speaker, half the Cabinet, and anyone who happened to be in the House at the time as witnesses, and turn the whole proceedings into a farce. That was done on a limited scale last year; it would be repeated with joy by astute propagandists, who care not a rush for the dignity of the Mother of Parliaments. Lord Balfour truly said that members could not divest themselves of their responsibility and share it with the police magistrate at Westminster without diminishing their prerogatives and privileges. In other words, Parliament ought itself to deal with disturbances taking place in its own precincts. Even here an odd difficulty arises, for the Palace of Westminster extends half-way across the road to Henry VII.'s Chapel, and includes the cabstand outside the House of Lords. No doubt the House would be content to leave external offenders to the police, but for offences committed within the buildings, and certainly within the Chamber, the suggestion is that powers of punishment should be vested in a special Committee of the House, who should meet in private and deal faithfully with the culprits. Still, it may be doubted whether the militant Suffragist would quake even before this terror, and those who advocated this plan did not explain the kind of disciplinary treatment they have in view. Are they going to be content with grave admonition? Or do they propose to institute a new range of cells in the Clock Tower, or to commit to prison on their own authority? The members of such a committee would be denounced as Grand Inquisitors; the land would ring with accounts of the brutalities and injus-

tices of this secret Star Chamber; and we doubt if many legislators would have the courage of their convictions and be prepared to face the inevitable odium. The plain fact of the matter is that it is as difficult for the House of Commons as for any private individual to preserve its dignity when there are people who are determined to flout it at any cost to themselves, and these difficulties are immensely aggravated when the aggressors are women. We shall not be surprised if the "independent and friendly conference," suggested by Mr. Asquith, is no more successful than the Special Committee.

#### P. W. W. IN THE "DAILY NEWS."

Armed with the Speaker's warrant, the Serjeant-at-Arms may arrest a man or a woman at any place within the United Kingdom. He may break into houses, call in the police, or requisition the military forces, including, I suppose, the Territorial Army. There is thus no difficulty in bringing Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends to justice. But, as Sir William Robson explained, the ladies, when summoned to the Bar, would be entitled to make speeches. Having been sentenced, other ladies would repeat the offence, would be summoned to the Bar, and would reiterate the speeches. So it would continue. And the Bill therefore provides that disturbers who may be arrested within the Palace of Westminster can, with the consent of the Speaker or of the Lord Chancellor, be prosecuted before a magistrate, and sentenced to imprisonment up to six months or to a fine not exceeding £100. At this proposal a hornet's nest of difficulties were raised. It was alleged that the six months' penalty, though not in itself excessive, would by law enable the defendant to claim a trial by jury, upon which point the Attorney-General suggested a reduction of the maximum term to three months. It was then urged that if an official arrested a disturber and sent her to the lock-up, and if the Speaker on his discretion did not authorize prosecution, the arrested person would have ground for damage against the official. Then it was argued that a prosecution authorised by the Lord Chancellor or the Speaker would put the magistrate in an awkward position in cases where he felt it unjust to convict. But the most serious criticism was that if a disturbance took place in the House, and defendants were prosecuted, it would be open to them to subpoena almost the entire House of Commons, including the Government, the officers, and the Speaker. The Attorney-General pleaded that a recent decision had excused the Prime Minister from attending at Leeds, but an interjection by Mr. Asquith weakened the argument. "I saw nothing," said the Liberal leader, and a different situation arises when persons with subpoenas are by consent clear eye-witnesses of the occurrences which are under investigation by the Court. The Attorney-General proposed amendments which would specifically limit the right of subpoena, but Sir Edward Carson replied that you could not thus differentiate between practice in different criminal cases. The only alternative to the Bill lies apparently in the direction of a Standing Committee, small and influential, to which all disturbers would be referred for sentence. To serve on such a committee would be, as Sir William Robson says, a thankless duty, for the motive behind the disorder is, after all, political. I may be wrong, but I imagine that the subject will be allowed to drop for the present. Certainly the Government cannot, with the House in its existing mood, attempt to force any solution which does not command the free assent of the private member.

#### THE "MORNING LEADER."

The present powers of commitment which the Commons possess are clearly inadequate to maintain their authority; imprisonment which must terminate with any particular session is a positive invitation to persons possessing the kind of courage and ingenuity that has so noticeably distinguished the recent agitation to throw all restraint to the wind during its closing days.

#### THE "DAILY EXPRESS."

The House of Commons prefers to dispense with an audience, and to manage or muddle the affairs of the nation unwatched by the critical eye of electors in the gallery, uninterrupted by histrionic Suffragists behind the grille.

#### THE "MORNING ADVERTISER."

It is a curious fact about the present Government that, although they are unduly bold in bringing forward large and impossible measures, they show themselves nerveless and timorous with regard to minor and obvious duties. The Bill which they brought forward yesterday for punishing strangers who abuse the privilege of admission to either House of Parliament is a case in point.

#### THE "DAILY GRAPHIC."

The Government can hardly be complimented on the manner in which they have dealt with the question of admission of strangers to the galleries and the precincts of the House.

#### THE "STANDARD."

The Houses of Parliament Bill, which owes its origin to the disorderly demonstrations of the Suffragists on the occasions of their admission to the Ladies' Gallery of the Commons, met with such a frigid reception yesterday, when the second reading was moved by Sir W. Robson, that it is safe to assume that it will not be heard of in its present shape in the Commons again.

#### "SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH."

In a sentence, the House proclaimed itself unequal to dealing with the Suffragette, except by excluding her and everybody else. It was a ludicrous anti-climax, which must rejoice the heart of Mrs. Pankhurst.

**"ALL THE WINNERS!"**

BY EVELYN SHARP.

"All the winners!" said a sarcastic bystander with a monstrous effort of wit, when a woman in white came along the kerb with her pile of VOTES FOR WOMEN papers, just before the procession filed out of the park.

"That's what we are!" came the quick retort. Joan of Arc, flying her purple, white and green oriflamme to the immense admiration of the gathering crowd within the gates, was not more typical of the spirit that leads to victory in every sort of age and against every sort of foe, than was the paper seller, dressed in the colours of freedom, making her way imperfurably along the ranks of spectators, or the banner captain, trying to induce the local Union that began with a K not to take precedence of the Union that began with an H, or the group marshalled with the perpetual problem of forming people into fours when ties of friendship formed them into indissoluble fives. "All the winners" exactly described the whole of that purple, white and green company, going straight to their goal, taking their lead for this afternoon from the brave lady who was driving along the lines in the sunshine—the sunshine she had not seen for two months.

"Now may Hope bear sweet fruition" said the great silk banner as it went forward through the gates. And the cheer that went up from the waiting crowd sounded a note of defiance to the centuries of prejudice that lay behind it. The crowd was doing for us in Oxford Street what Sunday's ceremony in Rome was doing for Joan of Arc—wiping out the sins of the past. Of course, the crowd did not put it in that way.

"Why, it's like a bloomin' Salvation Army!" was what the crowd said.

"It is a salvation army," answered a woman from the ranks, and the crowd said "Hooray!" by way of polite acquiescence. Now, we all know what it would have said three years ago, even one year ago, possibly. But last Saturday afternoon that stale remark was made only once, and then by a noble representative of the British electorate whose appearance suggested that, although he recommended cleanliness to women as their sole vocation in life, he himself seemed to have put godliness a long way first. And it was pleasant to see that the public sense of humour, awakened and educated by three years of militant tactics on the part of the women, was equal to his.

"Go 'ome and put your own 'ead in the washtub!" said the public sense of humour.

With the exception of that one reversion to past standards, the running commentary from the line of spectators along the pavement was fresh and cheering. I believe our pace had as much as anything to do with this. You could not associate anything but immediate success with a march of women who

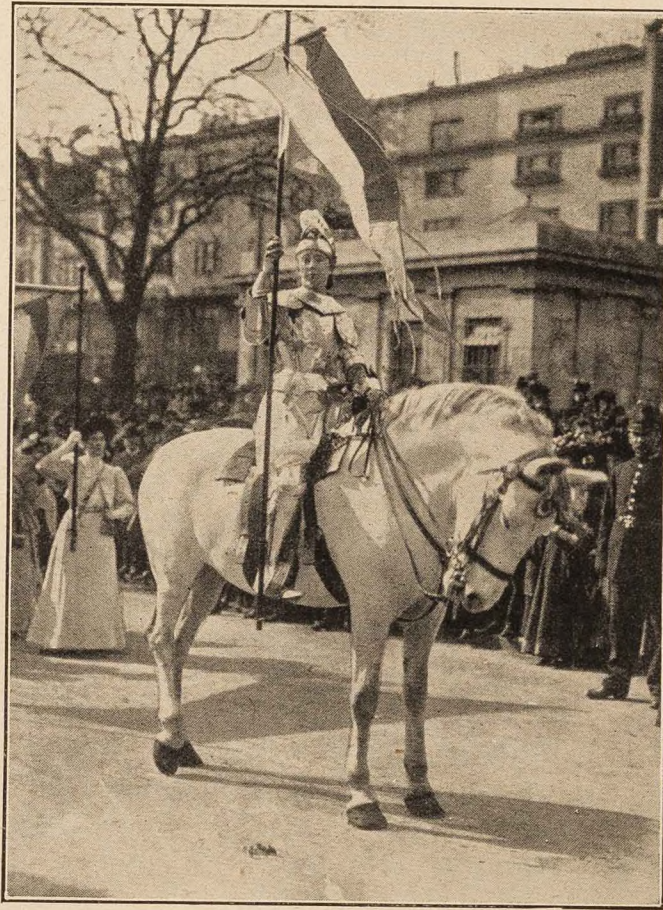
went at almost a breakneck speed across town, fearing no heat of the sun, stopping only when a momentary check, generally full in the face, from the banner or the woman in front, showed that away at our vanguard some policeman had put up his hand to demonstrate the superiority of moral over physical force. Success is what counts with the mob in all ages and in all countries. If we had walked slowly or uncertainly, we might have been suspected of a possible failure somewhere. As it was, anybody could see on Saturday afternoon that it is the business of this Union to rush the British Constitution; and the average Britisher catches on to the meaning of the word "rush," while magistrates and Cabinet Ministers are still timidly quibbling over it.

Next, of course, to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in her carriage drawn by its four fine greys, and with her escort of horsewomen—always popular with a crowd whose national love of horseflesh has not yet been killed by the motor omnibus—Joan of Arc came in for most attention along the route. I suppose there is no other character in history that needs so little explanation as hers; and if there were some in that throng of on-lookers who did not grasp the whole of the symbolism of the figure we had chosen to head our march towards freedom, the majority knew without expressing it in so many words, that the girl in armour on the great white horse stood for a battle against prejudice that is as ancient as it is modern.

The "kiddies with the flowers" came in, too, for their share of applause. "Now, that's nice, that is," said one who was a "person" in the eyes of the law; "I like to see flowers where there's women." The relief in his tone was obvious. Women, after

all, were not going to drop all their feminine characteristics. The next instant, he looked uncomfortable again, as a crowd of workgirls leaned out of a top floor window, waving handkerchiefs and cheering wildly. I was quite sorry for him. Just as he was thinking that it was roses, roses all the way when women went out to win their votes, it must have been a rude shock to be reminded that women had to work for their living, even on Saturday afternoon, also, that they could cheer like men in a football crowd. Then we caught sight of the purple, white and green flag at the top of Selfridge's, and fell to cheering ourselves. It met us again and again as we went on, now from a private window, now again from a business house. It is the most encouraging sight that can meet the eye of any Suffragette, especially when she is out on the war path.

Only at one point in our lines was the continuity of colour broken, and then it was pleasantly done by the carriage bearing the International delegates from Washington, which was draped with the American flag. "Oh, yes, we shall probably be the



[Reproduced by kind permission of Half Tone s.]  
Miss Elsie Howey as Joan of Arc.

next State over there to be freed," they were telling a friendly inquirer; "and we shall not have to be militant first. But," they added hastily and loyally, "we should not hesitate to be militant, if it were necessary; and we are entirely on your side!" They showed this by deeds not words, when, later in the afternoon, they presented Mrs. Pethick Lawrence with a charming little silk edition of their National flag, sent to her from the Union Suffrage Club of Washington.

But, after all, it was not any one feature in our procession that impressed the crowd on Saturday afternoon. It was just the fact that some hundreds of women, with scarcely any police to protect them—it is a great tribute to the advance in our movement since the mud march of February, 1907, that you might have counted six policemen then to one on Saturday—had turned out to march through wind and dust and sun in order to give a welcome to their Treasurer, who had not hesitated to sacrifice her liberty for liberty's sake. Not even for tea would they desert the flag before it passed into the Aldwych Theatre, though a pressing invitation was given to some of us from a male relative on the pavement, and heartily endorsed by a friendly crowd. "Go and 'ave a drink with the gentleman when he arsts you," they urged, and seemed quite concerned when we valiantly and thirstily pressed on.

"Bound to win, that's what they are!" growled a misanthrope, as we turned into Aldwych to be greeted warmly from the greenroom windows of the Gaiety Theatre, bright with the many coloured drosses of actresses who were also Suffragists. His tone was so gloomy that I turned to see why his words and his manner tallied so little. Then I understood. Poor man! He had obviously backed a loser, and he saw that we were winners.

Inside the Aldwych Theatre, more crowds, more cheering, more enthusiasm. "Be just and fear not," said an encouraging banner near the doorway to the stewards in purple, white and green, who had a hard matter to keep out insistent men and women who had no tickets. More flowers, too; and I hoped my friend of the crowd was there to see this second ebullition of womanliness on our part. Perhaps his was the masculine voice that called out "Bravo for the kiddies!" when little Ida Rollinson came on the stage after the bouquets of the local Unions had been presented, to give a basket of flowers "from the children," to the woman who had seen no flowers for eight weeks.

Two hours later, I suppose every woman brought away from the meeting the sentence that struck her most. Perhaps it was Mrs. Pankhurst's fine tribute to the central figure of the afternoon—"I have not the gift of words when it comes to saying what is deepest in my heart"; or Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's brilliant disposal of the sneer of "cheap martyrdom"; or "Christabel's" magnificent challenge—"Women don't know fear. Nature didn't put any fear in their hearts when she made them." But to me, fine as these sayings were, the keynote of Saturday's demonstration was the little joke of the man in the street: "All the winners!" When is the Government horse going to ride straight? When is it even going to be a starter?

**PRESS COMMENTS.**

The extraordinary combination of versatility and energy which characterises the militant Suffragists, and doubtless has contributed largely to their success, was never better exemplified than to-day.

—*Evening Standard.*

The most striking and popular feature was a Suffragist Joan of Arc.

—*Daily Telegraph.*

Imposing women's procession through West End.

—*Morning Leader.*

Thousands of people watched the proceedings near the Marble Arch.

—*Daily News.*

The weather was perfect, and a great multitude of the public assembled to watch the proceedings. . . . A most successful and orderly march.

—*Sunday Times.*

**ANNOUNCEMENTS.**

At the Queen's Hall At Home on Monday next the speakers will be Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. M. La Reine Baker, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. Members will be specially interested to hear Mrs. M. La Reine Baker, of Spokane, Washington, who is a delegate to the International Suffrage Congress, and who was chosen by them to present the trophy to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Aldwych Theatre on Saturday last. During the month of May the Monday afternoon At Homes will be transferred to the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, Tottenham Court Road.

**The Albert Hall Next Thursday.**  
There is every indication that the great Albert Hall meeting on Thursday next, April 29, will be the most interesting ever held by the Women's Social and Political Union. A special account of it is given on page 565 of this issue, and friends are invited to take their tickets at once. Prices, 5s., 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

**Release of the Prisoners.**  
On Friday next, April 30, all the prisoners, with the exception of Miss Patricia Woodlock, who were arrested in connection with the Deputation to Mr. Asquith on March 30 and 31, will be released. A welcome will be given to them at the prison gates at 8 a.m., and in the evening a special reception is being held at the Royal Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall East, S.W., and the Illuminated Addresses and Holloway Brooches will be presented to them there. The tickets of admission, including refreshments, are 1s., and can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. As the accommodation is limited to 500, application for tickets should be made at once.

**New Publications of the Woman's Press.**  
We are glad to be able to inform our readers that Miss Beatrice Harraden has consented to the republication of her interesting little play "Lady Geraldine's Speech" in the form of a pamphlet, which will be issued by The Woman's Press, price 1d. The pamphlet will be ready in the course of the next week.

Three new leaflets have been issued—"Signs of the Times," by Miss Elizabeth Robins; "Why I Went to Prison," by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence; "The Opposition of the Government to Woman Suffrage," by Mr. Pethick Lawrence. These can be obtained for 9d. per hundred, or 6s. per thousand.

**PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.**

April Fri. 23	Kensington, 8, Edith Road Waltham Green, Open-air Meeting, Edie Road Putney, 3, Oxford Road, Drawing-room Meeting Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate Fulham and Putney W.S.P.U., Crouch End, "Ye China Cup," Park Road Ilford, Open-air Meeting, beginning of Ilford Lane	Sewing Party Mrs. Mayer Mrs. Mayer Miss Conolan, Miss Kelly Miss Mary Gawthorpe Mrs. Mayer Hornsey W.S.P.U. Mrs. Sleight, Miss Hewitt	3-6 p.m. 5 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m.
Sat. 24	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street Acton, Parliament	Miss Conolan, Miss Underwood Miss Barrett	3 p.m. 8 p.m.
Sun. 25	Hampstead Heath Blackheath Peckham Rye Clapham Common Hattersea Park	Miss Cameron Miss Mills Mrs. Tanner Miss Roe, Miss Ayrton Miss Ayrton, Mrs. Mayer	11.30 a.m. 3 p.m. 3 p.m. 3 p.m. 6 p.m.
Mon. 26	London, At Home, Queen's Hall Fulham, Committee Meeting, 20, Churchfield Mansions Ilford, Loxford Hall Rustington, The Lambs Hall Wood Green, Unity Hall Ladbroke Grove, W., At Home, 34, Elgin Crescent Strand, W.C., Debate, Cliffords Inn	Mrs. M. La Reine Baker, Mr. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst Miss Ogston Miss Barrett Bowes Park W.S.P.U. Miss Ogston	3-5 p.m. 6.30 p.m. 8 p.m. 8 p.m. 3.15 p.m. 8-10 p.m.
Tue. 27	Putney, Open air Meeting Putney, 3, Oxford Road, Drawing-room Meeting Marble Arch, W. Edinburgh, At Home, Society of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss B. Ayrton Miss Macaulay	5.30 p.m. 3.30 p.m.
Thu. 29	London, Public Meeting, Albert Hall Edinburgh, At Home, Marshall Street Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Christabel Pankhurst; Chair: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence Miss Macaulay	8 p.m. 8 p.m.
Fri. 30	Release of Prisoners and Procession on Holloway Gates Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street Reception to Prisoners, at Royal Society of Artists' Galleries, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall Bristol, Victoria Rooms	Miss Conolan, Mrs. Craig Admission, including refreshments, 1s. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton	8 p.m. 8.30 p.m.

**IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.**

May 7	Birmingham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
13-26	Prince's Skating Rink	Exhibition and Sale of Work
27	Edinburgh	Mrs. Pankhurst
June 29	London	Deputation to the Prime Minister

FOR SPECIAL BYE-ELECTION MEETINGS  
see page 585.



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

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Organising Sec.

### A COERCION BILL FOR SUFFRAGETTES.

What is the most difficult of all the obstacles which the politicians have erected as a defence against the claim to women's enfranchisement? It is undoubtedly the argument, annually advanced by the party which happens to be in power, that although Woman Suffrage may be a very appropriate subject for future legislation, it cannot be dealt with in the particular Session then in progress, because the attention of Parliament is claimed by other urgent matters.

In the present Session, the Liberal Party, menaced as no party ever was before by the Woman Suffrage agitation, have adopted the old familiar pretext for inaction by saying that to carry a Woman Suffrage measure this year would be utterly impossible, if only for the reason that the business of finance will absorb an exceptionally large part of Parliamentary time. Those to whom constitutional considerations appeal will at once reply that, as questions of national finance and popular representation are, by the spirit and the letter of our Constitution, bound up together, a measure of women's enfranchisement ought to be carried this Session, even if this were done at the expense of other measures. But events have proved that the Government are in no sense prevented by lack of time from carrying a Votes for Women measure this year.

By way of illustration, let us take three of the measures introduced during the present week. On Monday Mr. Harcourt brought in an Electoral Bill for London. To devote the time of the House of Commons to the consideration of this measure, which is insignificant and of very limited application, when the same time would have sufficed to carry the incomparably more important question of Woman Suffrage is absolutely indefensible.

Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., expresses the point of view of those who support the London Electoral Bill by saying that, in consequence of the present law, men residing in London are sometimes disfranchised for eighteen months, and that 30,000 or 40,000 people lose their votes in London every year, "so that the mischief is very real." This state of affairs the London Electoral Bill will abolish. But the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, on the other hand, would remove from a whole sex the stigma of political disability which now rests upon them—not for eighteen months only, but for a lifetime—while it would actually confer the vote upon those women, numbering about a million and a quarter, who, like men voters, are rate and tax payers. No one with the smallest sense of proportion will defend the Government's action in dealing with the one measure in preference to the other.

By introducing the Welsh Disestablishment Bill the Government are guilty of a deliberate waste of public time, for they have no expectation, nor have they any intention, of seeing the Bill carried into law. When, under the last Liberal Government, Mr. Asquith introduced a similar measure, he said: "Perhaps I shall be over-sanguine if I assume that this Bill will pass into law during the present Session." History certainly repeats itself where the Liberal Party is concerned, and their action in regard to the Welsh Disestablishment Bill is one of the signs that the present Government are following the

course which brought their predecessors to political destruction, and the Liberal Party as a whole into the national disrepute which lasted so many years.

But the introduction of the Brawling Bill is the most significant of all. Here is a measure which strikes at the ancient privilege of Parliament, under which the House has exclusive jurisdiction in regard to offences committed within its precincts.

Through all the centuries, even in times of unrest and of revolution, Parliament has known how to maintain peace and order inside its own walls. Why is the ancient system to be changed? In order that the Government may be protected by the police against women, not only outside the House of Commons, in Parliament Square, but inside the House also. Freedom from women's importunity they could get by carrying a Bill giving qualified women their constitutional right of electing members of Parliament, but they prefer to seek another and less creditable remedy.

In moving the second reading of the Bill, the Attorney-General referred to the protests which women have made at various times in the House of Commons, and expressed his conviction that such conduct would be repeated "unless the House of Commons met the mischief by some swift, sufficient, and appropriate remedy." The Government must be singularly blind not to realise that to enact a Women's Enfranchisement Bill is the only remedy which is "swift, sufficient, and appropriate." Four hundred and fifty women have been imprisoned in connection with the Votes for Women campaign, twenty women are even now in prison, and one (Patricia Woodlock) is undergoing the iniquitous sentence of three months' imprisonment. Here is surely proof enough that the policy of coercion is a failure!

The precise object which the Government has in view is not to gain power to punish Suffragist offenders, for that power the House of Commons already possesses, and, as the Attorney-General pointed out, offending strangers can, after being summoned to the Bar of the House for examination, be committed to prison. But such a course has two serious disadvantages from the Government's point of view. In the first place, it makes the Government and the House of Commons directly responsible for the arrest and imprisonment of women who, as even the Attorney-General admitted during the debate, are entitled to claim that they are actuated by political motives. The fact of their responsibility the Government prefer to disguise by making the police court the tribunal for trying these cases.

In the second place, the Government are determined that women political offenders shall not have the opportunity of stating their case at the Bar of the House, because this would give them the long-sought opportunity of laying their demand for the vote before the House of Commons.

But the Government will not be content with removing the cases in question from the House of Commons itself to the ordinary Courts. They have also resolved to prevent Suffragists from having even a trial by jury, because that would give their trials more dignity, it would give them greater advantages in making their defence, and it would give them the benefit of an unbiassed verdict. We ourselves have repeatedly drawn attention to this point, but now, out of their own mouth, the Government are convicted of fearing to allow these cases to go before a jury, and of wishing to keep them in the modern Star Chamber—the police court. For, when it was pointed out by critics of the Bill that the penalty of six months' imprisonment originally proposed would entitle those arrested under the Bill to trial by jury, the Attorney-General at once suggested that the maximum penalty should be reduced to three months, in order that the prisoners' right to trial by jury might be destroyed.

That difficulty disposed of to the Government's satisfaction, a further one was perceived. For even a police-court magistrate cannot withhold from a prisoner the constitutional right of subpoenaing a witness, even if that witness happens to occupy the highest office of State. Again, the Attorney-General showed himself to be prepared with a remedy, and he was not ashamed to undertake that if the Bill went to a Committee, "the most stringent and vigilant provisions would be made to prevent the officers of the House, and especially the great officers, being made subject to an appearance at police courts." No utterance could be more characteristic of the present Liberal Government. In order that they may be enabled to resist the just demands of women they are prepared to bring down the British Constitution in ruins about their heads, and to destroy the liberties which are the fruit of centuries of struggle and sacrifice.

The Brawling Bill, the most ill-judged and absurd measure ever brought before Parliament, has been "shelved" because the Government discovered, what they might have foreseen, that by introducing it they have covered themselves with ridicule, and have once more played into the hands of the Suffragist enemy. In short, militant Suffragists can claim to have inflicted upon the Government what amounts to a serious defeat.

Christabel Pankhurst.

## THE FAITH THAT IS IN US.

A Verbatim Report of the Speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Aldwych Theatre.

Friends and fellow members of our Union, I talked to you yesterday, when we met together in the Criterion Restaurant. (Cries of "Not to all of us!") Not to all of you, but as that was a semi-private gathering, I took the opportunity of talking to you then as to the inner circle—of saying to you then the things that one could not say at a public meeting such as this is. To-day I feel that there are many members of the general public in this hall, and I know that I shall have your approval if I address what I have to say specially to them.

I feel that there are many here for the first time who may have been attracted perhaps by mere curiosity, perhaps by some deeper interest, because action or drama stirs a chord even in people who have never thought about a question like this at all. The fact that women go to prison, the fact that when they come out other women think it worth their while to prepare such a welcome for them as you have given me, makes people think, makes them ask questions, and when they hear that there is a public meeting, they say to themselves, "I think I will go. I will see what they have got to say for themselves. I will see if they can tell me anything that can explain this extraordinary action, if I can find out what it is that makes women, not in their ones, not in their two, but in their hundreds, endure a long term of imprisonment."

### Cheap Martyrdom.

Now, did I hear somebody say in their hearts or under their breath, "Cheap martyrdom!"? That is what critics say sometimes, you know, that is how they explain it—"cheap martyrdom." Well, now, friends, let us look at this phrase. *Martyrdom*. I can assure you this much, the members of the Women's Social and Political Union have not given that name "Martyr" to themselves. We could never consider ourselves worthy of such a name as that! Our enemies have put this name upon us, and, like everything that our enemies do, we esteem it an honour—an honour of which we are not worthy. It is always our enemies who give us the best things, and so you see it is our enemies who have decided that we shall stand in the same list—well, along with Joan of Arc, who to-morrow is to be beatified by a great concourse of people in Rome; along with all the splendid, all the great, all those people who have been in advance of their time and have had to suffer for their convictions. It is not what we say of ourselves, it is what our enemies say when they call us *martyrs*. Now, they have just put the right adjective to it when they put the word "cheap." *Cheap!* A thing is cheap not because of its cost, but in relation to that which it is to purchase. If you buy a thing that is rubbish for a penny it is dear at the price. But the man who found the pearl of great price, when he went and sold everything that he had in order that he might buy it, thought it cheap. And so our martyrdom, friends, is cheap. We think it cheap; we agree with our enemies there. Two months', three months', a year's imprisonment, two years', three years' imprisonment, if necessary—what would it be to buy that which we are going to achieve by it? Not the Vote only, mind you! Not the Vote only, but what the Vote means—the moral, the mental, economic, the spiritual enfranchisement of Womanhood; the release of woman, the repairing, the rebuilding of that great temple of womanhood, which has been so ruined and so defaced. Is not what they say true? *Cheap martyrdom!* Yes, it is cheap martyrdom.

Now, what is the good of going to prison? It would take me a very long time to explain the whole of the good, but one good in going to prison is that it teaches those who go there very much. It takes these things that we hear about—commonplace axioms, truths that we have heard since we have been children—and it burns them into us as living realities. Have you ever seen what they do with clay when they want to fashion the vessels? First of all, they mould the clay vessel. A touch will spoil it, a fall would ruin it. It is not ready for use. What do they do with it? They take it and they put it in the fire—into the oven—and when it comes out of the oven you have the perfect thing, finished and ready for use. Friends, just what the oven is to the clay, that Holloway Prison is to the Suffragettes!

Let me give you an illustration. You have heard, until you

are tired of it, until the phrase conveys no meaning to you, this principle enunciated: "Taxation and representation shall go together." Well, yes, you accept that. I have a birthday-book that was got out for a church bazaar. Mr. Asquith was asked to write his favourite quotation, with his signature. What is Mr. Asquith's favourite quotation? I was very interested to see it. "Taxation without representation is tyranny"! (Laughter.) I am very glad to hear that is Mr. Asquith's favourite quotation; but, you see, he is like a great many other people. What he thinks he believes, he denies by the action of his life.

What did the great Gladstone, whom Liberals believe in, and follow, and look up to, say on the subject? He said: "Taxation without representation is legalised robbery." That was his opinion, and yet, after all these years, the Liberal party, that profess to believe in him, continue to go on robbing women because they can do it legally. They go on robbing women, and if we protest about it they throw us into prison.

### In Prison for Debt.

Let me show you how this Liberal principle was burnt into me in prison. One day I was asked if I wanted to go to the service in one of the wards. I was not allowed at that time to go to chapel, because I was in hospital. The chaplain called an old woman up to him, right in front of me. I had noticed this old woman; I was struck by her face. He called her to him, and the conversation I could not help overhearing.

"What is your name?" She told him.

"What is your age?"—"Seventy-six."

"Are you married or single?"—"Single, sir."

"What are you in prison for?"—"Debt, sir."

"Have you ever been in prison before?"—"No, sir."

"How much is it?"—"£3 16s."

"I suppose it is rent and taxes?"—"Yes, sir."

"How did it happen?"—"I keep a tenement lodging-house. It has been a very bad winter for my lodgers, and they were not able to pay me."

This woman was good enough to pay rates and taxes—this old woman of seventy-six—and to go to prison when she could not meet the taxes! And yet she was not accounted fit to exercise a vote. I saw her many times after that, with her wrinkled old face, sitting opposite to me, looking so puzzled, so patient, so humiliated. One day the chaplain came in, and she did not at once stand up, and I saw a young wardress—not roughly, not cruelly, but officially (there is a great difference, you know; I do not want to say one unkind word of anybody in Holloway Prison)—I saw that young wardress come up to that old woman and catch hold of her shoulder, and drag her up to her feet; and I saw the colour come over the old woman's face, I saw the tears fill her eyes, she did not know where to look. Never in prison till she reached the age of seventy-six, and then because she could not pay £3 16s. for her rates and taxes! Now do you see what I mean by saying that what you see in prison burns a thing into you? That is it all along the line. Women are held responsible, women must fulfil the duties of citizenship, women must pay, women must be punished, but when it comes to exercising those rights and privileges which are supposed to go along with responsibility, then—well, these privileges don't apply to women. Then the difference comes in; then we hear about this sex bar! No sex bar when it is a case of the tax-collector. No sex bar when it is the police-officer who comes with the warrant. Only the sex bar when there is a man to be returned to Parliament to represent the taxpayers and the ratepayers of the country.

### Woman's Place is the Home

I will tell you another sentiment of which we women have often felt the keen irony. Our opponents say, "Woman's place is the home." I shall not be able to tell you what I felt the first time I heard the cry of a little baby in Holloway Prison. I often heard that cry, and I used to look through the windows on the passage, and see the women at exercise. Among them was a woman carrying her little baby round and round the yard. Woman's place is the home, but

if she breaks the law she is taken from her home and sent to prison. Who talks, then, about her place being in the home? She can leave her home if she breaks the law, but she is not to leave her home to *mate* the law. And it is not only women who break the law who have to leave their homes. There are women who have to leave their homes to go out to earn wages because they have people dependent upon them. How about that? A woman who is a Suffragette, a member of another League, told me in prison (this was her third imprisonment), that at one time a nail from the boots that we have to wear pierced her foot and set up blood-poisoning, and the authorities, finding that they were going to have trouble, turned her out of prison. She was feeling very ill and very bewildered—as one does after an experience of that kind. Of course, there was nobody there to help her, for she had been turned out quite suddenly. And a young girl came along, and said: "Can I help you? Are you in trouble?" Mrs. Duval told her what had happened, and she said, "I saw you come out of there. It is a dreadful place, isn't it?"

"How do you know?"

"Oh, I have been there."

"You! What did you go there for?"

"Stealing."

"Stealing! But you are not a thief." She looked the girl up and down; she could not believe her ears.

The girl said: "Well, I want to ask you what *you* would do. My husband deserted me, and left me with a little baby to look after, and my mother, who is old and sick, is absolutely dependent upon me. I go out to work, I only get 8s. a week, and sometimes I do not get that. What would *you* do if you had a little baby and a mother to look after, and if you could not get work? Would you go on the streets, or would you steal?"

"Steal!" That is what my friend said. She looked the girl straight in the eyes, and she said, "I would steal; I would never go on the streets!"

The girl said to her: "Yes; and that is what I did."

What do I hear people say? "She could go to the workhouse." Yes, that is what people say, you know, about women. They can go to the workhouse. That is what they are fit for, and I can imagine the man who says it, one who, like the man we read of in the paper this morning, makes a corner in wheat, and steals the food of the people, or one who in business would not hesitate for a moment to do a shady thing or a questionable thing, if it were within the limit of the law, in order that he may get an advantage, in order that he may make and amass a greater fortune than he has already.

#### Votes and Wages.

Yes, this question stares us in the face—the wages that our women workers are being paid. Friends, do you know how it works out? Do you know that, taking the high wages that women earn as teachers, as inspectors, or in various higher grades of work, the average wage of women in this country is 7s. a week? Now what do our opponents say? They say: "What has the vote got to do with that?" They say that one of the most misleading things we assert is that there is any connection between the wages of women and the Vote. How carelessly they speak—how thoughtlessly!

Let us take the most obvious illustration. Who is the greatest employer of labour in the whole country? The Government. Does the Government employ women? Yes, thousands of women. Does it pay them, for the same work, what it pays men? No. What did Mr. Lloyd George say in the Albert Hall last December? He said that if women had the vote it would be absolutely impossible for the Government to maintain a double standard of wages. Here is an admission from a member of a hostile Liberal Cabinet, and yet, in the face of such a testimony, people say that the vote has nothing to do with women's wages. Take, for instance, the wardresses in prison. I consider that theirs is a miserable wage, and I want to tell you one little thing that happened to me in prison. The chaplain came up to me one day and said: "I have heard a good deal about you, Mrs. Lawrence. You have started holiday homes for young girls?" "Yes," I said. "Well," he said, "I wish you would start a holiday hotel for wardresses. You see they work very hard. They work twelve hours a day." (They talk about an eight hours' day for miners, but you don't hear about an eight hours' day for the women employed by the Government.) "Yes," I said, "I know they do." He said, "they very often break down, and they haven't enough money to go away for a holiday." I looked at him, surprised. To think that a Government servant should come to me—a voteless woman—and suggest that I should supply a deficiency because they did not pay their women servants enough! I thought to myself, what in the world will they ask women for next? I daresay you will find Liberal members of Parliament thinking it was quite the right thing. It is no worse than expecting to have women canvassers doing all the dirty work

to put men into Parliament, who, when they get into Parliament, not only withhold women's rights, but openly insult them with degrading taunts. Well, friends, the Government does not give equal pay for equal work, and Mr. Lloyd George has admitted—we need not go any further—that such a thing could not happen if women had the vote.

Then, don't you see that the Government sets the standard for the rest of the country? The Government is supposed to be the model employer. Last year there was a Co-operative Congress held in Lancashire and the question of the minimum wage was being discussed. Now a minimum wage is calculated upon the lowest level upon which a human being can actually exist, and keep himself in complete life—shelter, food, warmth—just the absolute necessities of existence. And someone in that Congress got up and asked whether the minimum wage should be the same for women as for men. The chairman ruled that question out of order by saying that the Government paid its men and women on a different scale, so, of course, the minimum wage would be different. So, you see, on the very face of it, the connection between the Vote and wages.

#### An Amusing Instance.

I read in the papers of a very amusing little instance that happened the other day, showing how the law has fixed the value of the women of this country. Three people came to give evidence—a man, a woman, and a boy. When the woman got out 2s. 6d. was given her for her fee. She found that the boy was paid 5s. and the man 7s. (Shame.) So she went back into the witness-box. (Women don't take these things as they used to do, you know—our movement is responsible for that.) She went back into the witness-box, and she asked why she had been given 2s. 6d. Now the magistrate tried exactly the same tactics that have been used from time immemorial against women demanding their rights.

He tried to browbeat her, he tried to make her give in by saying all kinds of insulting, humiliating things. He tried to cover her with shame. The day has gone by for women to be beaten by that kind of thing. She stood her ground, and at last she brought him one step further. "Well," he said, "as you are not a married woman I will give you 5s. Of course, if you were a married woman you would not have been able to make good your claim to more than 2s. 6d." I do not know why a married woman is supposed to be of less value than an unmarried woman! But the woman would have none of it. She said: "I don't want your 5s. It is not the money I care for, it is the justice; and if you won't give me a man's fee—my time is as valuable as that man's who has given evidence—you may keep your 5s.; I want none of it." So, you see, it has been determined by the law of the land where a woman stands. That is how she is valued by her nation. Now, friends, do you not think it is time that women had the Vote, in order to protest against this sort of thing? But it is not only woman's status as regards wages—that is important enough; there are things perhaps even more important.

I want to tell you something I heard the other day. A friend of mine, who lives out in Epping Forest, sent her little girl up to a High School in London. She travelled with two other little girls. These young girls found themselves followed by the same man day after day, who got into the carriage with them. One day this man committed an act in their presence which is criminal. The children had the common-sense and the judgment, when they got to Liverpool Street, to go straight to the stationmaster and to tell him what had happened. The stationmaster told them to say nothing about it, to go to school, and to come back and take the same train home, and that it would be all right. They came back, they took the same train they always did. The man was waiting for them on the platform. He followed them, and he got into their carriage, and another man followed them, and he got into the carriage. The last man was a detective. The man was arrested and eventually sent to prison. The three children went up to the court to give their evidence, and each little girl went with her mother. When they came into the witness-box to be cross-examined, the mothers were cleared out of the court. They were not allowed—they, the natural protectors of these children—to remain in the court, and those children were questioned and cross-examined by men in the presence of men only.

The law as it affects women is a jumble! The woman is held responsible for this and for that. The law is very hard on her if she neglects her child; if she neglects to do her duty, she has to go to prison, and very often for longer than the father, who is the only legal parent. But sometimes it steps in and treats her as if she had no responsibility. In a police-court, only a little time ago, a magistrate gave an exemption order to a woman for vaccination. The clerk objected, but the magistrate was a man who had more common-sense than knowledge of the law. He said, "Pooh, pooh: nonsense! Of course, the woman is the parent of her child." And the authorities took the trouble to reverse that magistrate's decision; the husband had to lose a day's work and go up to the

court because, forsooth, a mother is not the parent of her own child!

Friends, I do not want to dwell upon this side of things. I do not want to dwell upon the grievances of women. It is inevitable that there should be grievances. We know perfectly well that the rights of the unrepresented cannot be understood, cannot be properly dealt with. I think if the women had had to make all the laws for the country the men might have been in the same plight as we are. We are all very human. I have told you these things because we are challenged to give these facts. I want to tell you this—that if there were no grievances to be redressed, if there were no hardships under which women specially suffered, if there were no bad wages and no trouble at all, it would not make the least bit of difference to our demand. Our demand rests upon the fundamental assumption that our enemies are so fond of quoting—you cannot make a man into a woman, or a woman into a man. They are different, they have got a different point of view, they have got different work to do in the world. Very well; that is exactly the reason why they should both be represented. Don't you see that? It is because women are different, it is because they are womanly, it is because women are women and men are men that we must have different representation.

You know, friends, some people are under the delusion that this movement is an anti-man movement that is making for severance between men and women. I tell you that the very contrary is the truth. The law of union between men and women is crying out for vindication. Men and women must live together, they must work out their future together. In the beginning, in the old stages of civilisation, men and women together made the home. They together carved out those rough steps by which civilisation has ascended higher and higher. The old law that prevailed in the simpler society must prevail in the more complex civilisation. Men cannot go out into other kingdoms and leave the women behind. Unless they go together no extension of freedom or life that they win can be assured to their children. The progress of the human race depends upon their being united, not separated as they are to-day.

Now I just want to deal with one more critic. He is generally either a Liberal member of Parliament or the candidate who wants to be one. It is the particular attitude of a man who wants to get into Parliament, or wants to stay there. This is what he says: "Oh, yes, of course, I believe that women ought to have the vote. Certainly. But I consider it a subject of very little importance compared with the questions that are now pressing for solution. What, after all, is the vote—a very poor thing—many men don't use their votes. The vote has not done what we hoped it would do; I do not think very much of the vote."

#### The Vote in South Africa.

Now let us see what the nation thinks of the vote. A few years ago we spent millions of money, we sacrificed thousands of lives. What for? "Equal rights for all whites." Because in a country thousands of miles away an obstinate old man wanted to make the disqualification for the franchise for the Uitlanders last longer, wanted to keep English settlers on a longer probation than we in this country thought either right or fair or just. So in order to get votes for men, we shed blood; we and they committed all kinds of violence; we and they spent millions of treasure. Perhaps some of you will say that was not the real reason. Well, that was the ostensible reason, and you can't take in a nation with an ostensible reason that carries no conviction. That was the ostensible reason—"We seek no goldfields, no territory; all we want is equal justice for all whites." A man of very great authority said that, and the country did not hesitate to make that sacrifice. During the course of that great war some of our fellow-citizens took up arms against the Crown. Now, that, from the point of view of the Government in power, was the most heinous, the most unforgivable sin. From the patriotic point of view these men had to be punished, and what did the Government decide was the adequate punishment for this disloyalty? They felt that five years' disfranchisement was a sufficient punishment for the rebels in order to mark their sense of the horror of their crimes. And yet, friends, we women, we are to be disfranchised all our lives, and I do not know what crime we have committed, except that we were born women.

When I was in prison I read the Blue Book that has just been published on the Poor-law Commission, and I find there that one thing that is dealt with very drastically by the majority and by the minority is this question of disfranchisement for those who seek relief. We read that this disability prevents those men who ought to have medical assistance, who really ought to lay their case before the Poor-law, from doing so. They are unwilling to pay the price. It is the "stigma and humiliation of political disability" that bars a man from going to the relieving officer to get

relief when he or his wife or little children are ill. That is how they talk about the vote when it is a case of men.

We are told that the Government has no time to bring in a Votes for Women Bill. No, but they have time to bring in an Electoral Bill for London, which, we hear, is coming on next week, to deal with votes for men. Now is it not time we saw through this policy? Is it not time we said to members of Parliament, "Be honest, talk about the vote when it is a case for women as you talk about the vote when it is a case for men. Talk about the penalisation of women, talk about the humiliation and the stigma when women are shut out from the vote, talk as you do when men are shut out from it."

#### The Militant Tactics.

Then we come to the very last objection. A great many people say, "Oh, yes, we agree with you; but where you go wrong, where we do not agree with you is in your militant tactics." Now, friends, I simply cannot understand such an attitude as that. I find it easier to understand the attitude of the man or the woman who says that he or she does not believe in the vote than to understand the attitude of those who say that they believe in it, but that those who are prepared to fight for their convictions are wrong. That is what I cannot understand. Perhaps I should understand it if the objectors were against all forms of militant action, if they did not believe in war, if they believed that under no circumstances was it right for soldiers to defend their country, under no circumstances was it right to do violence, either by way of justice or retribution. Then their attitude would be logical; but why they believe that it is right for soldiers to fight for the defence of their country, and yet believe it is wrong for us to fight for the defence of our freedom and dignity, I cannot understand.

Sometimes they say, "Oh, but it is all so sordid. You are not fighting with the Government, you are just fighting with the police." But don't you see that all war is like that? When our soldiers are sent to fight, they do not fight with the kings, the rulers; they fight with the common soldiers. When we went out to fight those people in South Africa, we fought with peasants, we fought with farm hands, and labourers. War is not dignified, war is not a pageant, war is not pleasant. When you put on your new uniform, when you ride in all your splendour, why then you are having a field day; that is what we had to-day in our procession. But when soldiers go forth to fight, do you think they are not dirty and muddy and begrimed? Do you think that they are fit to have their photograph taken? War is horrible—it is dirty, it is equal, it is miserable, and it is only dignified because there is a great ideal behind it. Well, that is the case with our war. The police are the soldiers sent out to oppose women. They are sent by those behind, who are the real enemy. We have got to meet them, it is true. We do not set out to make a show, we are there in earnest. We are there because we have a duty to perform, just like the soldiers, who fight for their country.

The people who criticise our militant action, are they absolutely ignorant of all history? Don't they know that every great political reform and every great enfranchisement of the people has depended for its success upon its fighting policy? Have they never read of the days of King John, when the Barons came to the king and at the point of the sword forced him to put his signature to Magna Charta? Have they never read of the patriot Garibaldi, who raised his country from the very ashes of the grave to be a living nation among the nations? Don't they remember how Mazzini preached three things—Education, Organisation, but, above all, Militant Agitation? And it is the same to-day. I do not say education ought not to have come first. It did. For forty years education has been going on—too long! Militant agitation ought to have come before. I will tell you when it ought to have come. It was quite right that this movement should confine itself to education at the beginning; it was right that it should have great meetings, that it should organise great petitions, that it should do everything it could to make its principles known amongst the people, that it should go to individual members of Parliament, that it should win the pledges of members of Parliament to support a Bill in the House of Commons. That was quite right; but when, in 1884, these promises deliberately made, and pledges deliberately given, were deliberately broken; when the Suffragists who had trusted in the Government found themselves deliberately betrayed, then, in 1884, they ought, seeing that other things had failed, to have had resort to a fighting policy. They preferred to yield, they preferred to submit, and the agitation which was entrusted to the hands of those representatives died. I tell you this, friends, and I say it very seriously, the representatives of the women's movement in the year 1884, whether intentionally or unintentionally—I think unintentionally—betrayed the women's movement, were traitors to it. It is to them that we owe this battle that we have got to fight now. You understand—men understand it, and you women understand it—in politics it never does to admit that you have fired the last shot in your locker. If you give in, well then nobody is going to take any notice of you. The militant agitation

has been too long delayed. Let us be thankful that we have found out the secret now of successful reform.

But, friends, it is not only tactically right, it is not only the very best, in fact the *only* tactics in fighting for this cause, but if there was no chance of the militant agitation being successful, even then to fight would be morally right; it would be the only self-respecting, the only dignified, the only right course to take. I do not say for one moment that these tactics are justified by success; I do not take that line at all. I say, whether they were successful or whether they were not successful, I and the many men and women with me would rather stand and fight for our freedom—yes, and die for it—than we would bow our necks to consent to dishonour. I pity those poor souls who have so little sense of honour that they want life and peace at any price. Life without honour is not worth anything at all, and if we could not fight for our honour, success or no success, then I say we are not fully evolved human beings. Do not make any mistake about it—the militant agitation is tactically right, but above and beyond and deeper than that it is morally right. Friends, those who have died fighting for freedom without success are the noblest names on our roll-call of history. What should we have done without them? Movements do not always succeed, not at the time. We have only to think of Joan of Arc again. How she was put to death as a criminal, and for many years the stigma of the criminal's execution was upon her and her family, and now to-day they are making her a saint. She had to wait 400 years for her justification. Don't you see that if you are fighting for the right thing, and if you don't succeed, it is as when they plough back the harvest into the soil in order to enrich it for the harvests to come? It is those who fight in the present who enrich the future.

#### We are the Reapers.

But we in this movement are not like that, for we are the reapers. I say that our tactics are not *justified* by success, yet I claim for them the most wonderful and unmistakable success that for many years has distinguished a movement. Why is that, friends? It is because the fulness of time has arrived, and every sign is here to show us that the fulness of time has arrived. We are not here to sow; we come as the reapers to gather the harvest, and this movement is the outcome of the thoughts that have been going on in the hearts of women for generation after generation, and are going on in the hearts of women to-day all the world over. That is why we see success. Who would have thought—I should never have thought for one moment four or five years ago—that the women of the upper and middle classes would lay aside their traditions, would lay aside those things which seemed their very life, would lay aside their luxuries, their comforts, would put behind them public opinion and reputation, and would go in that long procession through those gates of Holloway Gaol to experience the same life that is thought the necessary discipline for the criminals and for the outcasts of society. I think that is a splendid, a great thing.

People have been surprised while I have been in prison at our report which has been published. Surprised! Why? Because this movement has raised and spent £20,000. I believe a member of Parliament thought it important enough to refer to it in his speech in that august assembly at Westminster. But why do they seize on that point? Well, I suppose it is because you can do sums better when things are put in pounds, shillings, and pence. But I do not look at that side. It is a great side—it is one side—but what I look at is all the love, all the service that has been outpoured into this movement. And they wonder how it is done, and some people have even come to me as the treasurer and have told me an astonishing thing. They have told me that they consider me one of the best beggars in London. But that is not true, friends. I ask you, did you ever hear me beg for money for this Union? No; I would not dishonour myself, and I would not dishonour you by begging for the Union. I have always said that I esteemed it the greatest honour to give to this Union, and I think the same for you. I always tell you that I am conferring a privilege upon you when I give you the opportunity of giving. What is it, after all, giving your money to this Union? And yet people look upon it as a miracle. You see, these people don't understand the simplest laws of life.

If you *love*, give you must. There are no two ways about it; you must pour out your best. Whatever the gift may be—service, life, money—it doesn't matter; you have got to give it. You must give; that is the secret of that £20,000. That is the secret of women going to prison; it is the secret of women going to help at the bye-elections, going out to sell papers in the street. Giving!—it is the plummet line that you let down to find out how high the tide of love has risen. There is no other measure, there is nothing else.

Some people have another great delusion—that this movement is founded upon hate. They don't know anything about life, because

if they did they would know for a certainty that no movement founded upon hate ever survives. If this movement were not founded upon love—a great love for womanhood, a great love for humanity, a great love for human beings, a great love for the best ideals—it would never be what it is to-day.

#### Beware of Emotion Without Action.

Now, friends, I have just one word more to say to you. You have come to this meeting, you have heard, you have listened. Beware of emotion that finds no vent in action. Beware of excitement or interest that evaporates in applause or enthusiasm. Take this from me; if you want to save your own soul, translate every emotion, every feeling into deed, and act. If you want to be a real human being and not a walking corpse—yes, that is what a great many people are—if you want to be a real human being, let your words be less than your actions, and never more. Now, if you have been stirred to interest to-day, don't go out of this place without deciding to become a member of this Union. Come to the bye-elections, do your little bit of service at once. Take part, work, relieve some of those who have been doing your business all this time, when you were not thinking about your responsibility at all. Make up your mind that you will be on the deputation that goes to Mr. Asquith on June 29. Why should you not go when others have gone? Four hundred have led the way—there are 400 women in this hall who could follow. What prevents you? Are you thinking about domestic ties? Do you think the women who have been to prison have no domestic ties? Are you thinking of your husband or your children or your reputation? Do you think that the women who have gone to prison have had no bonds of this kind? There are very few things—there are some things, but there are very few things—that will serve to keep you out of the battle now. The way has been shown, the greater part of the price has been paid; the least you can do is to come forward now. I was very touched when I was in prison by an elderly woman from Lancashire there, who was very delicate indeed. And I said to her, "Well, you know, you have had your month's imprisonment; you have done your share; you must not go to prison again, you know." She didn't say anything to me then, but later on she said, "Mrs. Lawrence, what did you mean by saying that I was not to go to prison again?" "Well," I said, "you know, we leaders feel a sort of a mother's responsibility, even for those who are older than we are. You have done your duty, you have done enough." The tears came into her eyes, and she said, "Mrs. Lawrence, I cannot speak, and I am too old to learn. I am too weak to go out into the streets selling the paper. I cannot give money to the Union, but," she said, "I have got my life, I have got my time—I can give that, and you cannot think what a comfort it is to us women who cannot speak or do anything else to be allowed this opportunity of serving the cause." That is how the women in this movement look upon going to prison.

(The next occasion on which Mrs. Lawrence will speak in London will be at the Albert Hall on Thursday next, April 29.)

#### HONOUR TO OUR PRISONERS.

On the morning following the great Albert Hall meeting, *i.e.*, on Friday, April 30, nineteen women will be released from Holloway, after serving a sentence of one month's imprisonment for their courageous action in going to the House of Commons on March 30 and 31. One woman, Miss Patricia Woodlock, will remain until June 16, her sentence having been the very heavy one of three months. The released women will be met at the prison gates at 8 o'clock, and conducted in a procession to a private breakfast with members of the Committee of the W.S.P.U. On the evening of the same day they will be welcomed at a reception at the rooms of the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, from 8.30 to 10.30, when they will make short speeches, and, as the date of their release will preclude their being present when the illuminated addresses and Holloway brooches are presented to the other ex-prisoners at the Albert Hall meeting, these presentations to them will take place during the evening. The rooms will be decorated in the purple, white, and green, and it is hoped that members and friends will, as far as possible, dress in the colours. Tickets should be applied for at once, from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., price 1s., including refreshments. Miss Isabel Seymour visited Holloway Prison one day last week, and learned that Mrs. Eates, Mrs. Reinold, Mrs. Wiseman, and Mrs. Hilton were in the infirmary. The others were all well. The time was passing fairly quickly, although they were naturally much looking forward to their release on the 30th.

## WHERE WOMEN WILL VOTE.

### The Women's Exhibition at the Prince's Skating Rink, Knightsbridge, May 13-26.

A unique feature of the Exhibition which is to be held by the Women's Social and Political Union from May 13 to May 26 at the Prince's Skating Rink, Knightsbridge, will be the polling-booth which will occupy one of the corners of the great hall. At this booth women as well as men will cast their votes upon many of the most interesting questions of the day.

There will be no restrictions as to nationality, and therefore among those who vote at this polling-booth may be women who have already voted in the Parliamentary elections of Norway, Finland, New Zealand, Tasmania, New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, Western Australia, or of the Australian Commonwealth, or of Wyoming, Idaho, Colorado, Utah, or wherever else woman suffrage is in force.

Indeed, the fact of women casting their vote by ballot in a public election is, after all, not unprecedented even in this country.

That they once voted for members of Parliament we know. In the Isle of Man they vote for the members of the House of Keys. They have long voted for overseers of the poor, for school boards from their establishment, and in all town, district, parish, and other local elections—such as polls under the Libraries Act, Borough Funds Act, etc.—since 1869.

There is, perhaps, not a week that passes without women casting votes by ballot for the election of a representative upon some public body, or upon some proposal for the expenditure of public money.

#### Voting No Mystery.

Now, the polling at a Parliamentary election is upon exactly the same lines as that of a municipal election, so the actual process of voting is certainly no high mystery or sacred rite to be guarded from profane eyes! The ballot has long since been stripped of its mysteries, and the secret mechanism of the polling-booth laid bare to many women's eyes; whilst those women who have never before cast a vote will be highly interested to do so. It is not unlikely, too, that there will be men finding themselves casting a vote for the first time.

On each day on which the Exhibition is open a special question of the day will be selected, and all the paraphernalia of the polling booth will exist in the shape of a presiding officer, numbered ballot papers, ballot-boxes, etc., etc. The count and the formal declaration of the poll will take place during the first hour of the following day.

The Prince's Skating Rink, in effect, will be a constituency.

Each visitor on entering will receive a numbered check constituting the holder an elector of that constituency. On delivering up this check at the polling-booth the voter will receive a corresponding ballot paper, similar to those used in Parliamentary elections.

In this case, where any desired mode of ballot might have been selected, there was a temptation to introduce more novel methods.

The American ballot paper, for instance, is a very real and striking document. Each party to the contest has a column allotted to it. At the head of this appears the symbol or badge of the party and its motto, followed by the chief planks of its platform, often given in a very interesting and racy way, whilst the name of the candidate for Congress appears only as one name on the whole party ticket, which may include candidates for as many as fifty or more offices. As there are often eight or ten parties to a contest, a ballot paper will sometimes be very nearly two feet wide, and as much as two to three feet in length.

In many of the Australian ballot papers the voting is done by the suggestive method of scoring out the names rejected.

#### The Modern Ballot.

It is interesting to note that our modern ballot system was borrowed from that of Australia and New Zealand, the two nations who were the first to abolish completely the sex division in regard to the Parliamentary vote. Women in this country were among the first to practise the new methods of voting, for upon Mr. Forster's Ballot Act of 1872 being passed the new system was at once adopted for the Scottish School Boards, at which women were casting their votes within a very few months.

This system, now in use in nearly all civilised countries, will be the one adopted. On the ballot paper, in place of the usual names of candidates, will be printed the question or proposal upon which you are to vote. On the right hand side will be blank spaces enabling you to vote for or against by means of the usual cross.

This paper will bear upon it a registered number, and in the usual way you will fold your paper so as to be able to show this

number to the presiding officer before you drop it into the sealed and locked box, from which no papers can then be withdrawn until the box has been unsealed and unlocked by a key in the possession of the returning officer alone.

Having marked the ballot paper in the prescribed place, folded the paper in the prescribed way, and dropped it into the provided receptacle, you will then have achieved the adventure of casting a vote by ballot!

#### Contributions and Promises.

In addition to the Stalls promised, money or goods sent or promised have been already acknowledged (April 2) to the value of £749 15 6

Since received as per list below		107 4 8	
Mrs. Allinson	£1 4 0	Mrs. Chance (Birmingham)	£1 0 0
Miss Prior	1 0 0	Mrs. Chibnall	4 17 6
Miss Hay	1 0 0	Miss Larner (second contribution)	5 0 0
Mrs. Nelson	1 0 0	Mrs. Somerville	1 0 0
Mrs. Trimborn	3 0 0	Mrs. Newson (farm produce)	2 0 0
Mrs. Branch	4 4 0	Mrs. White	3 0 0
Miss B. Wentworth	0 7 6	Mrs. Fergus (Richmond)	10 0 0
Mrs. Charles Lovegrove	3 10 0	Miss N. D. Gourie	0 4 0
Miss Feet	2 0 0	Mrs. M. Tomson	0 15 0
Mrs. Shackleton	2 10 0	Miss F. Haughton	3 0 0
Mrs. Tanner (Brixton)	1 0 0	Mrs. Ravencroft	1 10 0
Miss Gourie	0 12 6	Mrs. Watson	1 15 0
Miss Macnaghten	25 0 0	Mrs. E. Thompson	2 10 0
Miss Phillips (Plymouth)	1 0 0	Miss R. Thompson	1 4 0
Miss Davis	0 10 0	Miss S. Thompson	2 10 0
Miss Padwick	0 15 0	Miss L. Deane	10 0 0
Mrs. Leah	2 0 0	Mrs. A. Packer, Miss H. Packer	0 8 0
Miss Milward	0 5 0	Miss Gayton	0 1 0
Mrs. Milward	0 10 0	Miss Park (one dollar)	0 4 2
Misses Tyerman	1 10 0	Modernist Roman Priest	0 5 0
Mrs. Belcher	0 10 0	Mrs. White	0 10 0
Mrs. Darley	0 10 0	Miss Patrick	0 10 0
Proceeds Suffragette Tea (Putney and Fulham)	1 3 0		

#### Suggestions Wanted.

Each day a new question will be voted upon, so that altogether a poll will be taken on twelve different subjects while the Exhibition is open. It is here that the readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN can be of special assistance, for we want these twelve subjects to be the most interesting and attractive which can be found. For obvious reasons it has been decided that no question which enters into party politics will be selected. A further necessary condition is that the voter should be able to express his view by placing a cross against one of two or three names, or against one of two or three alternative views on a certain subject. One suggestion which will probably find favour is that of a ballot on the Daylight Saving Bill, which has been lately attracting so much attention.

No restriction will be placed on canvassing, and even bribery, though strictly forbidden, will not be punished so severely as in the case of Parliamentary contests, especially where the bribe consists of an extra purchase at one of the stalls!

#### IMPORTANT NOTICE TO STALL SECRETARIES.

Parcels must not be sent to Clements Inn. Stall Secretaries should collect and keep all contributions until Thursday, May 6, on and after which date they can be forwarded in large parcels to the Prince's Skating Rink.

It is very essential that they should be most clearly addressed to the stall for which they are intended, otherwise confusion and disappointments must inevitably arise.

Those responsible for the decoration of stalls will be allowed in the Rink after 12 o'clock on Tuesday, May 11, when they will find the stalls prepared for them. These consist of tables measuring 6 ft. by 3 ft., with a space of 3 ft. between each table. They run in double rows, and there is a clear space of 3 ft. between the stalls and the partition, 7 ft. 6 ins. high, which divides the two rows from one another. Both the stall and partition will be covered with biscuit-coloured canvas, but everything else in the way of decoration will be left to the stall-holders.

#### NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS.

The Exhibition catalogue, of which a circulation of not less than 20,000 copies is guaranteed, is now in preparation. Advertising spaces are rapidly being allotted, and applications for the remaining spaces should be made at once to the Advertisement Manager, Exhibition Catalogue, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. In addition to the usual matter the catalogue will contain special articles by well-known writers, biographies and portraits of the leaders of the movement, and other readable matter. Being both a guide and programme to the Exhibition, and a souvenir of one of the most notable events of 1909, the catalogue will undoubtedly prove a valuable advertising medium.

**THE FIRST AT HOME AFTER THE HOLIDAYS.**

Last Monday saw the re-commencement of the weekly At Homes in the Queen's Hall after the Easter holidays. There was a very large and enthusiastic audience, and the spirit of determination to win political enfranchisement was very marked. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who had a rousing reception, in her opening speech touched on the beatification of Joan of Arc, which had taken place the preceding day in Rome, and urged her hearers to emulate the example of "The Maid" by giving all they had and all they were in the service of their country. She reminded them of the deputation arranged for June 29, and called for volunteers to take part in this danger service. Miss Annie Kenney, who was also most enthusiastically received, dwelt on the urgency of the vote from the industrial point of view, emphasising her remarks by illustrations from the questions now before Parliament, all of which vitally affect women in their home life. In dealing with the argument that the militant tactics had retarded the movement, Miss Kenney showed that, far from such being the case, the militant methods, and the militant methods alone, had brought the movement to the point at which it stands to-day. Miss Kenney gave a brief description of the work which is being done in the provinces, and mentioned that although the W.S.P.U. had only been six months in Bristol, yet they had raised £600 in that town alone, and had been obliged to move into larger premises.

At the conclusion of the meeting several promises were handed up towards the fund for the motor-car to be presented to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

An interesting feature of next Monday afternoon's At Home will be the presence of Mrs. M. La Reine Baker, who will address the meeting. Mrs. Baker is President of the Women's Suffrage Club in Spokane, Washington. She is on the State Suffrage Board for Washington, and has charge of the Suffrage Press work for the whole State. She and her colleagues from Washington rode in the procession on Saturday on the occasion of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's release, and she presented to Mrs. Lawrence a flag in the colours of the United States. The W.S.P.U. has presented Mrs. Baker with a tricolour (purple, white, and green), which she has sent to her club in Spokane, and members of the club have cabled their pleasure at the prospect of receiving it by the next mail.

Members and friends are reminded that during May the Monday afternoon At Homes will be held at the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, instead of at Queen's Hall. The nearest Tube Station is Tottenham Court Road, which is a few minutes' walk from the theatre. There will be no At Home on Whit Monday (May 31).

**THE TEACHERS' CONFERENCE AT MORECAMBE.**

Even opponents have to acknowledge that the brief campaign carried on by the N.W.S.P.U. in Morecambe during Easter week was a success from every point of view; and when it is known that the membership of the National Union of Teachers, as represented by the delegates to the Conference, stands at 29,475 men members and 34,986 women members, it will be seen that on the ground of majority rule alone, it was essential that the women's case should be presented.

The preliminary arrangements were in the hands of Miss Gladys Hazel, of Birmingham; Miss Capper and the Misses Lee, of Manchester, who did excellent work before my arrival in selling VOTES FOR WOMEN and canvassing visitors on the promenades. Later we were fortunate in having the valued services of Miss Palmer and Miss Neale, of Birmingham; Mrs. Coultate, of York; and Miss Thomas, of Pontycoomer, all delegates, and all members of the N.U.T. and the N.W.S.P.U. We arranged an At Home in the De Lacy Café on Wednesday afternoon, and an evening meeting in the Central Schools, by the express wish of the delegates and of the teachers generally. Both meetings were triumphantly successful. Not only were the rooms crowded, but the utmost enthusiasm prevailed on both occasions. Miss Cleghorn, L.L.A., and Miss Broome, both well-known members of the Executive, were present at the afternoon At Home; and in the evening the President of the N.U.T., Mr. Hole, moved a vote of thanks to the speakers, among whom was Miss Weevering, of Holland, who made a most interesting speech from the point of view of the Suffragists of her country. New members were made, and all the membership cards we had provided were taken away for further consideration.

Will teacher members of the N.W.S.P.U. please communicate with me at our office address, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester, as the desire for a Teachers' Group has been expressed, and I want to put teachers into communication with one another in different towns?

**Mary Gawthorpe.**

The *Morecambe Visitor* described the meeting as "a distinct triumph for the agitators of Votes for Women," and gave good reports of the speeches delivered by Miss Palmer, who was in the chair, Miss Lee, Miss Neale, Miss Hazel, and Miss Gawthorpe.

**MISS ROBINS'S PLAY.\***

Apart from its literary and human value, Miss Robins's play—a "political tract" she called it on the playbills when it was performed at the Court Theatre—will always have a very special value for all women who have fought for their political liberty, because it brings back to the reader's mind the earliest days of the militant movement, when militant suffragists were known as "female hoodlums," and it required real courage to stand openly on their side—a courage that we like to remember the writer of "Votes for Women" never lacked. One has only to turn over the pages of this little book to realise the immense change that has come over public opinion since it was first written, not only in the general attitude towards militant tactics—and tacticians—but also towards the whole woman's question. We are separated from that period of blind prejudice and vulgar ridicule, not by three short years of strenuous effort, but rather by centuries of falling traditions. So, for that reason, we recommend Miss Robins's play both to those who have come lately into the movement and do not, perhaps, realise how the ground had to be broken up for them first, and, "lest they forget," to those also who have been in the fight all along, and to whom it will come as a kind of tonic. To everyone it will make its human and artistic appeal. Geoffrey Stonor, the politician who has "arrived"; Vida Levering, the woman whose happiness he once killed; little Jean Dunbarton, whom he loves while he fears the fanatic in her; Lady John, full of a humanity she dare not disclose—all these are real, living people. So are the minor characters; the charlatan M.P., Greatorex, the aspiring young place-hunter Fernborough, and all the admirable actors in the great Trafalgar Square scene, which every suffragist speaker knows to be true to life, and which offers magnificent entertainment even to those who do not belong to the suffrage ranks. For one of Miss Robins's rare gifts is that of impartiality; and if her sense of humour sometimes modifies this in the discussions between the converted and unconverted people of the play, her attitude is a strictly impersonal one in the last scene between Vida Levering and Geoffrey Stonor, where the point of view of both is put with almost poignant clearness. The book, apart from its message, is a human document, and, read as such, it will no doubt take its message home to many who would otherwise never receive it.

EVELYN SHARP.

\* "Votes for Women." A play in three acts. By Elizabeth Robins. To be obtained of the Women's Press, price 1s.

**THE BEATIFICATION OF JOAN OF ARC.**

Whatever judgment may be passed upon the personality of the Maid, her career must be confessed to be among the most extraordinary episodes in all history. It was at the moment while Charles the Seventh and his counsellors sat in despair and the end of France seemed at hand that the magical intervention of a girl of eighteen changed for ever the fate of two nations. Long she had pleaded in vain to be allowed to attempt her task. The peril of Orleans made her will invincible, and converting at last the rough captain of the neighbouring fortress, she set out to seek a personal audience of her King. History knows no more distinct yet mysterious scene than that of the critical interview. On the evening of March 6, 1429, Charles the Seventh, in his Castle of Chinon, was informed that a maiden from the marches of Lorraine was at the gates claiming to be sent by God. She was received in the great hall, amid the flickering light and deep shadows thrown by the torches. The King was in a plain costume amongst his peers. She knew him at once. She was accepted, believed. Next day the girl of eighteen was the leader of France. Who does not know the rest? She had brought a new soul into a nation. In her white armour, upon her dark charger, she rode as the gentle Amazon of God. She threw herself into Orleans, broke the investment, swept the English from the line of the Loire, and led her King to be consecrated in the glorious cathedral at Rheims, where she stood with her banner in her hand beside the sovereign to whom she had given back a realm. From that moment dates definitely the consolidation of a people and the creation of modern France. What if her full inspiration was, indeed, at an end, the happiness of her soul disturbed? Captured and betrayed and tortured in mind and spirit for long before the supreme agony of her death, the pious might well say that she had been sold, like her Master, and like unto the Passion that redeemed mankind was here that saved a nation. Her death was as potent as the living miracle of her first campaign, and in little more than two decades the English, who seemed about to become the masters of all France when she appeared, held not an inch of its soil outside the walls of Calais.—*Daily Telegraph*, April 17.

**DEBATE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.**

Under the auspices of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage, a debate will take place on Thursday, May 6, at 8 p.m., in the Council Chamber, Holborn Restaurant. The speakers will be Mr. Alex W. Norris, against, and Mr. A. M. Langdon, K.C., for. Only men are admitted. Tickets, 1s. and 6d., may be obtained from the secretary, Men's League, 40, Museum Street, W.C.

**THE BYE-ELECTIONS.**

Another great victory has been won, this time in East Edinburgh, where, although the Liberal candidate was returned, the Government majority was reduced from 4,174 to 458. This is nothing short of a great triumph for the Suffrage cause, for it cannot be denied that the women have been instrumental here, as on other occasions—notably at Central Glasgow, which led the way, and at South Edinburgh, where the Government majority was reduced from nearly 4,000 to 1,280—in turning a large number of votes. Now that Scotland is beginning to act, a thorough electoral upheaval may be expected.

Bye-elections are now in progress at Stratford-on-Avon, where a vacancy has occurred in consequence of the resignation of Captain Kincaid Smith, and in the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield, where Mr. J. Batty Langley has applied for the Chiltern Hundreds owing to ill-health. Reports from our organisers in each constituency appear below.

**EAST EDINBURGH RESULT.**

Mr. J. P. Gibson (Lib.) ..... 4,527  
Mr. P. J. Ford (Con.) ..... 4,069

Majority ..... 458

The figures at the last election were:—Sir George McCrae (Lib.), 6,606; Rankin Dawson (Con.), 2,432. Lib. maj., 4,174.

We were certainly the predominating influence in East Edinburgh—and the real politicians, too. We pointed out that the constituency was practically disfranchising itself by its persistent refusing to vote any other way than Liberal, in spite of the Government's neglect of Scottish interests. We made the electors realise that there was no question of Free Trade or Tariff Reform to settle now—that such issues were decided at general and not at bye-elections. And, above all, we insisted on their responsibility for what might happen to the women in their fight for freedom if they deliberately voted for a Government that imprisoned women as common criminals for agitating for their political liberty. This combined appeal did not fail to move the electors, and they made a gallant response.

On the eve of the poll we had a great demonstration. Three great meetings were held simultaneously at the three chief pitches, and the three speakers, preceded by bagpipers, went one after another to the different platforms, and spoke to patient and enthusiastic crowds, who refused to be lured from their allegiance by the wiles of Free Traders, who, in desperation, set up women speakers to decoy the audience. One of Miss Adela Pankhurst's meetings, after listening to her for three and a-half hours, would have accompanied her across the constituency to the next platform had she not shaken them off by taking a cab.

On polling day itself our women were much in evidence. Not only did they stand at the entrance to the booths, reminding the electors of their duty to the women, but a charming little procession, the majority of whom were Edinburgh women, carrying tricolours and wearing placards with Miss Adela Pankhurst's "Suffragette Catechism," visited the various booths, and excited much interest.

Our thanks are due to the electors for the splendid way in which they came to the help of the women's cause, which they realised is also the cause of the whole human race. They have shown that Scotland is still true to her ancient traditions, and that no appeal to her in the name of Freedom and Justice will ever be made in vain.

**Florence E. M. Macaulay.**

**SHEFFIELD (ATTERCLIFFE).**

Conservative .. .. Mr. King Farlow.  
Liberal .. .. Mr. R. C. Lambert.  
Independent Unionist .. .. Mr. Muir Wilson.  
Socialist .. .. Mr. J. Pointer.

The figures at the general election were:—Mr. Batty Langley (R.), 6,523; Mr. A. Muir Wilson (U.), 5,735. Radical majority, 787.

Committee Rooms: 26, Broad Street, and 42, Attercliffe Common, Sheffield.

A vigorous campaign has been opened in the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield, where a vacancy occurs owing to the impending resignation of Mr. Batty Langley. A considerable uncertainty still exists as to the date of the bye-election, and the visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales to Sheffield next Monday is also expected to cause the postponement of serious work in the division until Tuesday. The members of the W.S.P.U., however, are actively engaged. Committee Rooms have been taken at 26, Broad Street, and at 42, Attercliffe Common, and meetings are already in progress. Mrs. Pankhurst went down to the constituency and addressed her first meeting on Wednesday; Miss Adela Pankhurst and Miss Crocker held a meeting on Monday. The W.S.P.U. has succeeded in booking the largest hall in the place for several evening meetings and a very full programme of both indoor and outdoor meetings is being

arranged. Miss Joachim, Mrs. Baines, Miss Jeffries, and others are now in the constituency; Miss Charlotte Marsh is in charge of the Committee Room, and all able to go to Sheffield and help in the campaign are asked to write at once to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

**Charlotte Marsh.**

**STRATFORD-ON-AVON.**

Conservative .. .. Mr. P. S. Foster.  
Liberal .. .. Mr. Joseph Martin, K.C.  
Independent .. .. Cpt. Kincaid Smith.

The figures at the last election were:—Captain Kincaid Smith (Lib.), 4,311; Mr. P. S. Foster (Con.), 4,173. Liberal majority, 138.

Committee Rooms, 21, Wood Street.

Polling Day, May 4.

Meetings Arranged.

April	Salford Briars .....	—	Miss Brackenbury and Miss Billing
Fri. 23	Temple Grafton .....	—	—
	Bilford .....	—	Mrs. Clarke
	Salterfield .....	—	Miss Keevil, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Birkitt
	Alcester .....	8 p.m.	—
	Ipsley, 2 meetings .....	—	—
	Parade through Stratford-on-Avon .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss Hewitt, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Keevil, Miss Brackenbury, Mrs. Clarke, and others.
Sat. 24	Stratford, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Hewitt, Miss Birkitt
	Temple Grafton, 2 meetings ..	—	—
	Studley, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
	Redditch, 2 meetings .....	—	Mrs. Clarke, Miss Billing, Miss Keevil, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Ayrton
	Wolverton, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Hewitt, Miss Birkitt
Mon. 25	Great Wolford, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss Keevil, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
	Bilford, 2 meetings .....	—	Mrs. Clarke, Miss Billing, Miss Keevil, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Ayrton, and others
	Studley, " " .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Hewitt, Miss Birkitt
	Ipsley, " " .....	—	—
	Warwick (hall) .....	3 p.m.	Miss Keevil, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
Tue. 27	Long Compton, 2 meetings .....	—	Mrs. Clarke, Miss Billing, Miss Keevil, Miss Brackenbury, Miss Ayrton, and others
	Stratford, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss Hewitt, Miss Keevil, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Birkitt
	Barford, " " .....	—	—
	Aston Cantlow .....	—	—
	Studley, 2 meetings .....	—	—
	Ipsley .....	8 p.m.	Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
	Stourton, 2 meetings .....	—	Mrs. Clarke and Miss Billing
Wed. 28	Stratford .....	—	Miss Brackenbury, Miss Ayrton, and others
	Aston Cantlow .....	—	Miss Higgins, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Hewitt, Miss Birkitt
	Studley, 2 meetings .....	—	—
	Spernall, 2 meetings .....	—	—
	Leamington (hall) .....	3 p.m.	Miss Keevil, Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
Illmington .....	—	—	Miss Keevil, Mrs. Clarke, Miss Billing
Thu. 29	Stourton .....	—	Miss Keevil
	Stratford, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss Ayrton, Miss Brackenbury
	Bishop Tachbrook, 2 meetings ..	—	Miss Higgins, Miss Hewitt, Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss Birkitt
	Barford, 2 meetings .....	—	—
	Great Alne, 2 meetings .....	—	Miss M. Brackenbury, Miss Spong
	Lapworth, " " .....	—	—
	Claverdon, " " .....	—	—
	Halford, " " .....	—	Mrs. Clarke, Miss Billing

An election could not have occurred in a more charming place than South Warwickshire, not only the country-side, with its quaint villages, bathed in spring sunlight, but the old-world town of Stratford-on-Avon, which is celebrating the Shakespeare Festival from April 19 to May 8. Visitors from all parts of the country will be here, so that the propaganda side of our campaign will be of additional value.

Captain Kincaid Smith (late Liberal member) has resigned, and is now seeking re-election as an independent candidate on the question of military training. Mr. Philip Foster is standing in the Unionist interests, and the Right Hon. Joseph Martin, K.C., has been selected by the Liberal Party. Immediately a Government candidate was decided upon we took the field. Miss Ainsworth and I held a preliminary meeting on Thursday evening in the Rother Market, which augured well for future meetings. Miss Birkitt joined us next day, and we set to work in real earnest opening our committee-rooms, which are splendidly situated, and holding two further meetings, at which a large amount of literature was sold. Much delight was expressed at the way we "tackled" the crowd, and as the questions were answered there were gleeful murmurs of "Done 'im agin!" "Another Liberal vote turned!"

I am glad to have the assistance also of Mrs. Clarke, Mrs. Kerwood, Dr. Ede, the Misses Floyd, Brackenbury, Higgins, Spong, Billing, and Hewitt; I look forward to further reinforcements. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will visit Stratford-on-Avon on Saturday. Stratford-on-Avon will be our principal centre, sub-centres being formed at Studley, Hatton, and Halford, in charge, respectively, of Miss L. Ainsworth, Miss M. Brackenbury, and Mrs. Clarke.

An average of ten to twelve meetings each day has been arranged up to the end of the campaign. Polling day is expected to be May 4, and before that we shall hope to have the pleasure of having Mrs. Pethick Lawrence with us, as well as our three Midland prisoners, who will be released on April 30.

I want to make a very strong appeal for motor-cars, which we need most urgently, also more workers, as the result of the poll is expected to be exceedingly close.

**Gladice Keevil.**

## EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS:

THE "HEREFORD TIMES," April 17.

As showing the immense change of public opinion on the question of woman suffrage, it may be mentioned that all the three candidates at Stratford-on-Avon are reported to be in favour of that measure of simple justice. Be that as it may, the signs are unmistakable that the enfranchisement of women is close at hand. . . . The demand for votes for women has now merged itself into a combination of reason and enthusiasm, which will never cease until the victory is won.

"DAILY MIRROR."

A feature of the [East Edinburgh] bye-election was once more the activity of the Suffragettes.

THE "YORKSHIRE TELEGRAPH."

The Suffragettes are descending on Attercliffe to-day, and until Mr. Batty Langley's successor is chosen Mrs. Pankhurst and her enthusiastic followers will splash the sombre East End with bright hustling patches of purple, green, and white.—Yorkshire Telegraph.

"SHEFFIELD DAILY TELEGRAPH," April 21.

Suffragettes' First Big Gun.

Whatever hesitation there may be on the part of other people, no such word is known to the Suffragettes. They were the first to open fire. At the first mention of a contest they were on the spot. They held the first public meetings. They have introduced mid-day gatherings. They are bringing down the first big gun—Mrs. Pankhurst, who will be speaking to-night in the Gleadless Road Council School. They are leading all along the line.

## THE PRIME MINISTER AT GLASGOW.

Several London evening papers on Saturday were conspicuous with headlines referring to a "Suffragette Incident." Mr. Asquith was visiting Glasgow to fulfil several public engagements, and in whatever part of the city he appeared he found himself confronted by women demanding political enfranchisement. The smart manoeuvring of the members of the W.S.P.U. seems to have excited the admiration of the Press, no less than that of the audience gathered at the Liberal Club and at St. Andrew's Hall.

Outside the club a W.S.P.U. wagonette, gaily decorated in the colours, drove about in the crowd, advertising the meeting to be addressed by Mr. Forbes Robertson, and as Mr. Asquith appeared Miss Hunter ran forward, and, getting through the cordon of police, threw a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN into his motor-car, asking, "When is the Liberal Government going to give Votes to Women?" As she was removed, another woman on the opposite side reminded Mr. Asquith of the loss of the Central Division of Glasgow and of the imprisonment of the Glasgow women.

On arriving at St. Andrew's Hall Mr. Asquith was again met by the wagonette, from which two W.S.P.U. members accosted him and questioned him as to the intentions of the Government and its treatment of the women prisoners. Mr. Asquith made no reply. On leaving the hall the Prime Minister was again accosted by the wagonette party and by other women on foot. As he made no reply, he was followed when he drove away by cries of "Votes for Women" and "Down with the Government."

A brisk sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN was carried on among Liberal Club members and others, to the evident delight of the crowd. When the motor started on the return journey the wagonette drove up alongside, and the women showered literature and handbills into the car. As the crowd dispersed a man was heard to remark, "Well, the Suffragettes got more cheering than Asquith, anyhow!"

## THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Members of our League are reminded that the next large At Home will take place on Friday, May 7, in the Grand Hall of the Criterion, kindly given by Miss Gertrude Elliott. Miss Maxime Elliott will be hostess for the afternoon. Tea will be served to members and their friends in the West Room (by kind permission of the Criterion management), and tea tickets for 1s. can be obtained from the Hon. Secretary now or from the stewards at the meeting. Members of our League who are going on tour are kindly asked to send a tour list to the Hon. Secretary, 19, Overstrand Mansions, Battersea Park, S.W., as many requests are coming from the country for our members to attend meetings in different towns.

At the meeting on Tuesday afternoon at the Bedford Street Studios, a stirring speech was delivered by Miss Muriel Matters. The meeting was a most enthusiastic one; many copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold, and tickets to the value of 7s. 6d. were sold for the Albert Hall meeting.

Adeline Bourne, Hon. Secretary.

## THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

Office: 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

All our preparations for the procession in honour of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's release culminated in a triumphal march on Saturday. Thousands of people watched the procession as it moved from the Marble Arch through the main streets of the West End, and there were many signs of encouragement all along the route, flags in the purple, white, and green being shown at Selfridge's and other points of vantage. A description of the procession and verbatim report of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech appear on pp. 574 and 577-580.

We are now concentrating on advertising the great Albert Hall meeting on the 29th, less than a week ahead. We have several advertising schemes on hand, and in order to carry these out we need the help of several members each day. They are invited to call at 4, Clements Inn, at 10.30 every morning, or if not able to come until the afternoon, at 2.30. As many of our workers have gone to Stratford-on-Avon and Sheffield to help in the bye-elections there, and as many others are in Holloway, there is great need at the moment for new recruits to help in the London work. In preparation for this great meeting the various districts are being worked up as follows:—

Westminster and Holborn . . . . . Miss Corson.  
Marylebone . . . . . Miss McClelland.  
Knightsbridge . . . . . Miss Ethel Mills and others.  
Paddington . . . . . Miss Barbara Ayrton.

We urgently need helpers in each of these districts, to distribute bills, get the colours shown, and generally to help in advertising the meeting. Will they send in their names to Miss Margaret Cameron, 4, Clements Inn, immediately. Miss Ayrton will be glad to see helpers in the mornings at 41, Norfolk Square, to help her in Paddington, provided they send post-cards to her the night before, saying that they are coming. All workers for other districts can meet the organisers of their respective districts at 4, Clements Inn any morning at 10.30 at the latest.

We want more speakers, and also we want more drawing-room meetings. Will those members and friends who have good-sized drawing-rooms arrange to have meetings, and we will provide speakers. This is a most useful way of securing fresh helpers and also of bringing these into touch with our movement who do not attend our large public meetings. Mrs. Ayrton, of 41, Norfolk Square, and Mrs. Willock, of Warwick Square, have promised to help in this way. An article on the Albert Hall meeting appears on page 583.

Members who are selling tickets for the meeting will be encouraged to learn that in Knightsbridge the other day two well-dressed ladies bought three tickets, giving 6d. over and above the price, and promising to use the tickets themselves or give them away.

**Release of Prisoners.**—All our prisoners, with the exception of Miss Patricia Woodcock, who will not be released until June 10th, will be released from Holloway on April 30th. They will be met at the prison gates, and a procession will conduct them to a private breakfast with the Committee of the W.S.P.U. As the date of their release will prevent their being present at the Albert Hall meeting, they will be presented with the Illuminated Address and Holloway Brooch at a reception to be held on the evening of the 30th, at the Society of British Artists, Suffolk Street, Pall Mall, from 8.30 p.m. to 10.30 p.m. Tickets of admission, price 1s. each, including refreshments, should be applied for at once, Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U. 4, Clements Inn. The rooms will be decorated in the colours of the Union, and it is hoped that members will wear purple, white, or green.

**The At Homes.**—The Monday and Thursday At Homes have recommenced after the Easter holidays. On Monday a very large audience gathered at the Queen's Hall to hear Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney. The enthusiasm was very marked, and the determination of the women to leave no stone unturned in gaining their political freedom was unmistakable. A report appears on p. 582. Next Monday afternoon Mrs. M. La Reine Baker, one of the delegates from Washington, U.S., who marched in the procession on Saturday, will speak. The Thursday evening At Home will take place as usual next Thursday at St. James's Hall, when we hope to have a splendid rally of the forces. Please remember that during May the Monday At Homes will be held at the Scala Theatre.

**The Drum and Fife Band.**—Miss Dallas reports great progress in the efficiency of the band. There is a vacancy for a drummer, who should preferably be tall and strong. The work is specially suitable for a young member, who will find it exceedingly interesting, and, under our painstaking bandmaster, not difficult to learn. The practices are held at St. James's Hall on Mondays and Fridays—drums, 7 to 9; flutes, 7.30 to 9; and on Wednesdays for both flutes and drums at 7.30 p.m.

**"Votes for Women."**—This week's paper is a special edition of 32 pages, containing verbatim reports of Mrs. Lawrence's speeches at the Criterion Restaurant and at the Aldwych Theatre. In view of this we want to make record sales, and I want all paper-sellers to call any day at the office and ask for Mrs. Mosen, who will give them supplies and tell them where to go. Sellers will be encouraged to know that on Saturday over 1,000 copies were sold along the route. Sellers are also wanted every day next week after 10 a.m. to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the meetings of the International Congress.

Jessie Kenney.

## WEST OF ENGLAND.

**Shop and Committee Rooms.**—37, 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 p.m. Bath: Beau Nash Rooms, every Saturday, 3.30 p.m.

**Important Events.**—April 22, Bath, Guildhall, 3 o'clock; speakers, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady C. Lytton. Tickets, 2s. 1s., 6d.  
April 30, Bristol, Victoria Rooms, 8 o'clock; speakers, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady C. Lytton. Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., 6d.

We have returned to work after the Easter holidays with fresh vigour, and look forward to a very busy spring campaign. Bristol and Bath members have been concentrating their energies in working up the big meetings in honour of our Treasurer's visit, which will have

taken place when this appears in print. When these are over we shall devote ourselves in real earnest to finishing up the work of the Exhibition.

Then I want all Bristol workers to work hard for the whist drive and social to be held on April 24, in the Queen's Hotel Reception Room, Clifton, tickets 9d. each.

I shall be glad to hear from West of England sympathisers who are prepared for active service in connection with the deputation to the Prime Minister on June 29. Will they write to me at 37, Queen's Road, Clifton?

Annie Kenney.

## LANCASHIRE.

Headquarters.—Manchester, 164, Oxford Road.

Local Offices.—Preston, 41, Glover's Court.  
Rochdale, 84, Yorkshire Street, Saturdays, 7.30 p.m.

**At Homes.**—Manchester: Memorial Hall, Albert Square, Tuesday, 3-5 Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Fridays, 8-10.

Liverpool: Engineers' Rooms, 48, Mount Pleasant, Tuesdays, 8-10.

Preston: Glover's Court, Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street, Saturdays, 7.30 p.m.

Southport: Assembly Rooms, Cambridge Hall, Saturdays, 3 p.m.

Easter Week being a great holiday in Manchester, many of our members transferred their energies to various seaside resorts, returning in good force for Friday evening's At Home at the Onward Buildings, when Miss Gladys Hazel dealt with the necessity of the vote in the industrial world and Miss Lee gave an account of the week's campaign at Macclesfield. (A report of this appears on page 582.) Miss Clarkson emphasised the need for a larger and more systematic sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN and the W.S.P.U. pamphlets.

We are greatly pleased that Mrs. Hyland is refusing to pay income tax. Her furniture will in consequence be distrainted upon. The same lady has also withdrawn her subscription to the Royal Infirmary, in consequence of the refusal of the management to provide residence for women doctors. We are all working for the Exhibition and preparing a fine reception for the return of our prisoners.

**Financial Report.**—Collection, At Home, April 6th, 15s. 9d.; Miss B. Pepper, collecting card, £1; collection, At Home, April 16th, 7s. 6d. Total, £2 3s. 3d.

**Liverpool.**—A series of good indignation meetings was held during the week following upon the refusal of the Prime Minister to receive the deputation on March 30, and the consequent rough handling, arrest, and imprisonment to which the women were subjected. We pointed out to the people that the deputation went taking the resolution passed at all the great Lancashire meetings, which called upon the Government to enfranchise women without delay, and that Mr. Asquith was therefore not simply flouting the women, but also the citizens of Lancashire who had voted for the resolution, and whose representatives these women were. With these protests we combined our special VOTES FOR WOMEN week, and at our meetings and in the streets were very successful in disposing of 700 copies in the first five days. We hope to give such a welcome as they deserve to our four comrades who were sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and who will be with us again early next week. We purpose having a band and a procession, and contributions towards the special fund for this welcome are specially invited, to be sent to me at 36, Oxford Street. Then there is the Exhibition. Miss Stephenson wants more promises, and wants them now.

[MARY PHILLIPS.]

Mary Gawthorpe.

## MIDLANDS.

Offices and Committee Rooms: 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham.

**At Homes.**—Birmingham: Midland Hotel, Tuesdays, 3.30;

Priory Rooms, Old Square, Wednesdays, 7.30.

Wolverhampton: St. Peter's Institute, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

**Important Event.**—Birmingham Town Hall, May 7.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

The Stratford-on-Avon bye-election has somewhat upset our working arrangements and plunged us into a fresh whirl of work. Miss Keevil is in Stratford working the election, and Miss Flatman has taken charge of the Birmingham organising. During Easter time open-air meetings have been held in Malvern by Miss Lightman.

Preparations for the Town Hall meeting on May 7th, when we shall have the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, are going on apace. Tickets, reserved 2s. 6d., 1s. unreserved (women only), and 6d., may be obtained from me at 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham.

Malvern, Cradley, and district have guaranteed half a stall for the Exhibition, and a special feature of this will be the Leadless Glaze Pottery.

Lilian Freeth.

## YORKSHIRE.

Headquarters.—Bradford: 63, Manningham Lane.

The report is held over till next week, Miss Marsh being at the bye-election campaign at Sheffield (see page 583). The work is being carried on as usual by the local workers.

## NEWCASTLE.

Headquarters.—38, Rye Hill.

**At Homes.**—Crosby's Café, Northumberland Street, Wednesdays, 3-5 and 8-10.

After the Easter vacation the work will start again more vigorously than before. We are hoping to have a shop for the sale of literature in Newcastle very soon. Those who are willing to send special contributions towards rent and fitting up, or who will help in finding a suitable place, please send

to 38, Rye Hill. I am delighted to be able to report that the meeting in the Barras Bridge Assembly Rooms on April 6, at which Mr. Forbes Robertson spoke, was a most enthusiastic one; the room was crowded with an audience who were evidently both interested and instructed. A good deal of literature was sold, and a collection of £3 10s. 6d. was taken, ticket money bringing the total up to £11 4s. 6d.

At the At Home on April 7 work for the Exhibition was done. We are most anxious to have information from all willing to send work for the Exhibition or to dress dolls, as the time is near for sending them in. We also want volunteers to go to London to help during the sale of work. Those who can give their time please send to 38, Rye Hill.

The dates of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's visit and Miss Elizabeth Robbins's lecture will be given shortly. We are especially anxious to have helpers to advertise and sell VOTES FOR WOMEN each week. Help for open-air work also is much needed.

Edith New.

## SCOTLAND.

Glasgow.

Office: 141, Bath Street.

**At Homes.**—141, Bath Street, Friday, 8 p.m.

141, Bath Street, Saturday, 3 p.m.

I am again able to report most encouraging progress in the work here; offers of contributions for the stall are coming in rapidly, and below I give a list of promises in goods and money.

Thanks to those members who have kindly undertaken to visit certain districts, we learn that the work of the Exhibition is making good progress, but we are still anxious to have many more promises within the next two weeks. The Stirling members, who are always to the front, have promised to send contributions worth about £10 or £12; some of the Helensburgh members are also at work, and we hope that Paisley (which is, of course, our latest district, with as yet the fewest members) will not be left out, so that we may have a thoroughly representative "Glasgow and West of Scotland Stall." The latest possible dates for receiving articles will be May 8, but as the space for storing articles is limited, workers are asked not to send them in at present, unless for some very urgent reason. Everyone who has promised a contribution will receive a card in good time stating when and where parcels should be sent. All articles should be priced, and all parcels endorsed "Glasgow and West of Scotland Stall." Those coming from members in outlying districts should bear the intimation "From Stirling, Helensburgh," etc. Letters and parcels should be addressed to the Exhibition Secretary. Further promises of goods have been received:—To the value of £1 1s., Mrs. Henderson; of 10s. 6d., Miss McLaren; of £2, the Misses Barrowman; of £1, Miss Anderson; of 10s., Miss Currie; of £1, Miss McLean; of £4, the Misses McPhun; of £1, Miss Ingleton; of £1, Miss Hay; of £2, Miss Ceccaldi; of 15s., Miss Dorothy Allan; of 5s., Miss Ritson; of 15s., Mrs. Schlauders; of £1, Miss Adams; of 5s., Mrs. Schlomka; of 10s., Mrs. Crawford; of 5s., Mrs. Grant. In money: Mrs. Henderson, £1 1s.; Miss A. J. Smith, 2s. 6d.; Anon., 2s.; Mrs. Honey, 2s.; Miss Hamilton, 5s. Goods have also been received to the value of about £6 from Miss Allan, Dr. Katharine Chapman, and Mrs. Mabon. A large number of other promises have been received, of which the value is not specified.

The Guarantee Fund has received a contribution of £2 from the Misses McArthur.

**At Homes.**—The usual At Homes will be held for the present at the office, 141, Bath Street.

G. M. Conolan.

## Edinburgh.

Shop: 100, Hanover Street.

(Removing in May to 8, Melville Place.)

**At Homes.**—Society of Arts Hall, 117, George Street, Thursdays, 3.30 p.m. Marshall Street Hall, Thursdays, 8 p.m.

The great event of last week was Mr. Forbes Robertson's meeting at the Freemasons' Hall on Wednesday afternoon. It was a great success from every point of view. There was scarcely standing room, and the large audience gave the speaker an enthusiastic reception after his introduction, in a charming speech, by Mrs. Maxtone Graham; this they also accorded to Miss Adela Pankhurst and her explanation of the militant tactics of our Union. The collection amounted to £6 12s., and nearly £28 10s. was taken in ticket money.

Will all our members and friends remember that our next At Homes will be held on Thursday, April 29; in the afternoon at the Society of Arts Hall, 117, George Street, and in the evening at the Marshall Street Hall. Some important announcements will be made, and we are very anxious to have a good attendance.

The shop in Hanover Street will re-open on Tuesday, April 27.

Florence E. M. Macaulay.

## Aberdeen.

Office: Crown Mansions, 41, Union Street.

**At Homes.**—Y.M.C.A. Hall, Monday, April 26, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, 3.30 and 8. Workers' Meeting each Wednesday at 41, Union Street, at 8 p.m.

Owing to the absence of Miss Adela Pankhurst and Miss Flatman in connection with the bye-elections (see page 583), the report is held over until next week. The work is being carried on as usual by the local workers.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN IN SKYE.

A campaign is being carried into the far north of the British Isles by Miss Lena M. Sheppard, who has held two successful meetings in the school-room at Dunvegan. At each there was an excellent attendance of both men and women. Miss Sheppard reports that on asking if all present were in favour of giving British women the vote, all hands went up. One of the most enthusiastic adherents of the cause is the daughter of the local blacksmith, who spoke at one of the meetings.

LOCAL NOTES.

**Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.**—The afternoon open-air meeting on Wednesday, 14th, was a particularly good one, and we had one or two helpers from London. Our Saturday meeting (17th) was postponed until Monday, 19th, as some of our members were in London helping to welcome Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on her release. All workers for the Exhibition please note that time is short, only three weeks before the date of sale. Miss Davis will hold a work-party on Monday, 23rd, at the office at 8 p.m. All work must be sent in to 8, North Street Quadrant on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, 4th, 6th, and 6th May. We hope to have an exhibition of work on Friday, 7th May; particulars later on. Miss Elizabeth Robins is coming to speak for us in June. See next week's paper for more details.  
I. G. MCKEOWN.

**Brixton W.S.P.U.**—We had a capital meeting in Brockwell Park on Sunday afternoon. A huge crowd surrounded our lorry and listened to Miss Naylor's address. We sold all our copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN, and made a good collection. Miss H. Ogston will be our speaker at Raleigh Hall at Home, May 7.  
K. S. TANNER.

**Camberwell and Peckham W.S.P.U.**—An informal meeting was held at the Samuel Bowly Coffee Tavern, 74, Peckham Rye, on April 14. New members were enrolled and Exhibition work was received. The Exhibition Secretary wishes to thank those members and friends who have so generously responded to the appeal for contributions towards our share of an Exhibition stall. Finished work will be received at our next meeting on April 28, at 8 p.m., at the same place. We hope all members will bring friends, so that our membership may be doubled.  
C. DAWSON.

**Croydon W.S.P.U.**—In future all meetings will be notified to our members solely through the medium of our paper. On April 22, at the Lecture Room, Public Hall, George Street, at 3 o'clock, Miss Mills will speak on the "Urgent Need of the Vote." Will members bring as many friends as possible. Will any friends who wish to become speakers send their names to the local Hon. Sec. Croydon mustered sixteen under their banner for the procession, which was quite good for a start.  
G. CAMERON-SWAN.

**Forest Gate W.S.P.U.**—Will all friends contributing to the Exhibition please note that goods should be sent to Miss Hewitt, 40, Clarendon Road, Forest Gate, who has kindly undertaken to receive them. They will be on view at this address from 3 to 6 p.m. on Saturday, May 8. Miss Hewitt is opening a discussion on Woman Suffrage at the Conference Hall (Y.M.C.A.), West Ham Lane, Stratford, on April 23rd, at 8 p.m. All friends will be welcomed.  
M. E. SLEIGHT.

**Hendon W.S.P.U.**—Members and friends in North-West London who intend to give contributions to the Hendon quarter-stall are asked to bring or send them to the Exhibition Secretary, Derby House, Hendon, on May 5, when all the contributions will be shown. On May 1 a Rummage Sale will be held at Lyndhurst, Brent Street. Will friends please send any things they can spare, either clothes, furniture, or other saleable articles.  
FRANCES V. CREATON.

**Hornsey W.S.P.U.**—Our meeting to-night (Friday, 23rd) at "Ye China Cup," Park Road, Crouch End, will be especially interesting, as six or seven of our members will make short speeches. We are also hoping to make definite arrangements for our local spring and summer campaign. We are anxious for all our friends to be there to-night, ready with practical suggestions. Anyone unable to be present, but willing to help, should communicate with me at 28, Weston Park, Crouch End. We also want more offers from those who would make up articles for our stall; we will supply materials. Special orders for articles are asked for, that we may make what will sell best. We have received promises of goods to the value of £65, and have decided to join with Bowes Park in a combined "Hornsey and Bowes Park Stall." We shall need £10 worth of goods to make up the £100.  
THEODORA BONWICK.

**Kensington W.S.P.U.**—Last Saturday a large contingent of Kensington members and friends assembled at the Marble Arch to walk under our silk banner, others acted as stewards in the Aldwych Theatre, and Miss Muriel Thompson presented the Kensington bouquet to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We are now concentrating on Exhibition work. Mrs. Reginald Pott would be glad of more promises of hats for our millinery stall, and Mrs. Harry Silver of promises for our general stall. Miss Boyd is busy canvassing with her helpers; besides promises of help in kind from generous friends, she has received a cheque for ten guineas from Miss Callaghan. As the list for Mrs. Bates' presentation must soon close, will all those wishing to add to it kindly send their contributions as soon as possible? Kensington hopes to send a strong contingent to the gates of Holloway Gaol on April 30th, at 8 a.m., and also to the Kensington Town Hall on May 6th, at 6.30, to give our secretary both a semi-official and a public welcome on her release. The next weekly At Home will be held on Wednesday, April 28th, when the speakers will be Miss Wallace Dunlop and Mrs. Harry Silver. All offers of help, contributions, donations, flowers for shop window, etc., will be received by me at 143, Church Street, Kensington W. A library of reference books is now housed at 143, Church Street, Kensington. Miss E. F. Harbickler is honorary librarian, and all members of the W.S.P.U. are invited to use it freely. The enrolment fee is 1s., and the books can be borrowed at 2d. a volume per week. Will the borrowers return books promptly, as it is essential for the growth and popularity of the library that no volumes be indefinitely retained. Books such as Sydney Low's "Governance of England," and volumes of the best speeches by such statesmen as Burke, Bright, etc., "The Life of Randolph Churchill," by his son, are much wanted. All communications should now be sent to the W.S.P.U. Office, 143, Church Street, Kensington.  
EVELYN MORRISON, B.A. (Hon. Sec. pro tem).

**Lewisham W.S.P.U.**—We had a very large audience on Blackheath on Sunday afternoon. Mrs. McKenzie took the chair, and Miss Hewitt and Mrs. Bouvier were the speakers. A lady, who had been an attentive listener, came to our platform after the meeting to offer us the use of a shop (rent free) for three months. Our committee will meet soon to consider this generous offer. On the previous Wednesday we had a very successful meeting in the Lewisham Market Place to advertise the procession of Saturday last. Next Sunday Miss Mills will speak on Blackheath at 8 p.m. Will Lewisham members please bear in mind that their contributions to our Exhibition Stall must be sent the first week in May to the following centres:—Miss Billinghurst, 7, Oakcroft Road, Blackheath; Mrs. M. Kenzie, Le Quinta, Grove Park, Lee; Mrs. Bouvier, 62, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.  
J. A. BOUVIER.

**Marylebone W.S.P.U.**—This week we have been busy making a letter-box distribution of handbills advertising the procession, and we showed a good muster under our banner on Saturday. The staffs of over a dozen business houses have been approached with a suggestion that each shall arrange a meeting, to which we will send a speaker. We shall be grateful for the offer of more drawing-rooms, for which we will both collect the audiences and provide speakers.  
GENIE SHEPPARD.

**Putney and Fulham W.S.P.U.**—As our whistle-drive will be over before this appears may I remind members about the Exhibition as the next object on which to concentrate all our efforts? Working parties are being held in Putney, particulars of which may be obtained from the Exhibition secretary, care of Mrs. Everett, 3, Oxford Road, Putney. Will those who are making articles please bring or send them as soon as completed to the drawing-room meetings at the same address, at 8 p.m., on Friday, April 23rd (speaker, Mrs. Mayer), and Thursday, April 29th, at 3 p.m. Open-air meetings will be held at 5 p.m. on Friday, April 23rd, in Effie Road, Walham Green; at noon in Putney on Thursday, April 22nd; and at 8 p.m. on Parsons Green on Saturday, May 1st. Our general fund has been increased by a donation of £1 from our Exhibition secretary.  
L. CUTTEN, Hon. Sec.

**Y.H.B.**—On Saturday, April 24th, the Y.H.B.s will hold their first open-air meeting of the season at Cricklewood. All members are requested to be at the Cricklewood and Willesden Station not later than 3.30. Will all those who will help by speaking at the meeting or by selling papers please let me know as soon as possible, if they have not already done so? Members are also requested to remember the working party on Tuesday evening at the Misses Polak's (2, Alexandra Mansions, Chiswick Road, Cricklewood), from 8.30 to 10.  
M. D. HARR.

"LADY GERALDINE'S SPEECH."

Miss Harraden very kindly gave a small drawing-room meeting at her house in Leamington on Easter Monday, at which her sister, Miss Beatrice Harraden, read her comedietta to a most appreciative audience. She interested us afterwards by telling us how the cause of woman's suffrage was gaining ground everywhere, and she related some amusing anecdotes in connection with it. We thoroughly enjoyed the entertainment, and during tea the question of woman's franchise was freely discussed, and some of the "antis" left, saying they were much impressed by what they had heard. There were members of the W.S.P.U. and N.U.S.S. present, and literature of both those societies was freely distributed, including a dozen copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN.—A MEMBER OF THE W.S.P.U.

No need for coppers

If you haven't a copper, don't worry; you don't need one. If you have a copper, don't light the fire. Do your washing Fels-Naptha way. Be fair to yourself. Don't do your washing in the old back-breaking way. Get a 2½d. bar of Fels-Naptha soap and try it next washing day. Try it at our expense. Your grocer will give you back your money if you're not pleased, and he'll charge the soap to us. So there!

White clothes

Wet the clothes, and soap the soiled parts with Fels-Naptha soap. Roll each piece into a close roll, and place them all in a tub with enough water to cover them. Soak for thirty minutes. Then rub in the same water; rub a little in the rinsing water; rinse in the usual way. That's all!

Fels-Naptha

The soap with a Way of its own.

S.E.B.

THE TREASURER'S NOTE.

My wife has asked me to continue to act as Treasurer for a little while until she is able to return to the helm herself. I have therefore great pleasure in acknowledging further subscriptions which have been received during the last week, which bring the total amount up to close upon £34,000. This includes a special subscription from a man who, in response to the appeal made by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Aldwych Theatre, intends to devote the twentieth part of his income to this cause.

Several friends, including Dr. C. M. Murrell, who sent in a collecting card during Self-denial Week, with the amount of one guinea, write to ask whether we are going to publish a separate list of card collectors. This will be done in the fourth annual report, published in March, 1910. The amounts were included in bulk in VOTES FOR WOMEN for April 2, as the separate items would have filled two or three pages.  
F. W. P. L.

Contributions to the £ 0,000 Fund.

April 15 to April 21.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	33,632 4 10	Mordan, Miss C. E.	4 0 0
Herbert, C. Esq.	1 0 0	Allen, Miss M. Gray	2 0 0
Howard, Miss V.	0 1 0	Hackels, Miss D. M.	2 0 0
Shaw, Miss	1 0 0	Per Miss E. Mills (travel- ling expenses)	0 1 2
Marshall, Mrs.	0 15 0	Per Miss Gawthorpe:	
M.T.B. (after reading Mrs. Pankhurst's speeches)	1 0 0	Pepper, Miss B. (collected)	1 0 0
Gould, Miss Ethel	0 2 0	Per Miss A. Kenney:	
Pope, Miss (bicycle sold)	2 0 0	Smith, Miss	0 10 0
Hudson-Williams, Mrs. G.	0 9 0	Sale of Free Leaflets	0 0 6
Swan, Miss Vera	1 0 0	Sale of Sweets	0 0 4
Scottish W.S.P.U.	2 0 0	For Bye-Election Fund:	
Powell, Miss Amy	0 2 6	Maitland, Mrs.	1 0 0
Abraham, Miss Isabel	0 2 6	Wright, Miss Ada	1 10 0
Easterbrook, Mrs. A. M.	0 1 0	Brackenbury, The Misses	1 0 0
Griffiths, Mrs. C. B.	0 5 0	For Exhibition Fund—	
Phillips, Mrs. M.	0 10 0	Hackels, Miss D. M.	5 0 0
Hebert, Mrs.	0 5 0	Allen, Miss M. Gray	5 0 0
Clayton, Mrs.	0 5 0	Mordan, Miss C. E.	100 0 0
Bousfield, Mrs. W. R.	4 4 0	For Organiser Fund—	
Anon.	0 3 0	Kirby, Miss Mabel	0 1 0
Embleton, Miss Alice, D.Sc.	0 10 6	Houston, Miss M. G.	0 4 0
Wray, Miss Celia	1 1 0	Gratton, Miss Helen	1 4 0
Wray, Mrs.	0 5 0	Kayett, Lady	1 5 0
Bousfield, R. Bruce, Esq.	1 0 0	M. V. P. and M. P.	0 10 0
Autograph (Miss Mills)	0 2 0	Self-Denial Collecting Card, additional	3 0 0
Brown, Mr. Sidney	2 0 0	Do. (Killsbegs, Co. Donegal)	0 2 0
Thompson, Miss E. A.	0 10 0	Membership Entrance Fees	2 13 0
Richardson, Miss Laura	4 0 0	Collections, etc.	118 13 8
Blathwayt, Col. Lilley (subscriptions transferred)	1 1 0		
Canning, Miss F. M.	0 12 6	Total	33,906 19 6

Interesting Announcement.

Mr. Brompton, the West-End Tailor and Costumer, who recently opened a private tailoring place at 57, Barbican, E.C., offers special terms to members of the W.S.P.U., Men's League and sympathisers.

Mr. Brompton has over 20 years' practical experience in high-class tailoring, both ladies' and gentlemen's, during which time he held positions as head cutter and fitter with reputable firms in the West-End, New York, U.S.A., and the Continent, and has hundreds of high testimonials (on view in his showrooms) for smart cut garments, faultless fittings, good workmanship and exclusive designs. Every garment is cut and fitted by himself, and made on his own premises under his own care. No garment is sent out unless absolutely perfect. Select materials guaranteed thoroughly shrunk and spot proof—no others used.

The following is some idea of his low prices:—

LADIES' COSTUMES.

Tweeds (large variety) - - - from 3 guineas.  
Serges, guaranteed Indigo - - - 3½ "  
Face Cloths, spot proof - - - 4 "  
Fancy and exclusive design. Models 6 to 12 gns.

GENTLEMEN'S SUITS.

Tweeds, English, Irish, Scotch - - - 50/-  
Serges, select quality - - - - - 60/-  
Fancy exclusive materials - - - - - 84/-  
No extra charges.

To those who find it inconvenient to call, patterns, fashion plates, and self-measurement forms will be sent out on receipt of a post card. Address: Brompton and Co., 57, Barbican, London, E.C.

EVERY WOMAN SHOULD READ  
"THE COSMIC PROCESSION."  
The Feminine Principle in Evolution.  
By FRANCIS SWINEY, Author of "The Awakening of Women," "Women among the Nations," etc. Price 3s. 6d. net; postage 3d.  
"In this remarkable book we have the most advanced views on the Woman Question, uttered with no uncertain sound. It is full of interesting matter and of deep knowledge."—Westminster Review.  
London: ERNEST BELL, York House, Portugal St., W.C.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, by the day or week, for Ladies and Gentlemen. Bedrooms, without board, if preferred. Quiet house; homelike. A few doors from Westbourne Grove.—Madame Veigolé, 63, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

CAN LADY RECOMMEND FOUR OR FIVE ROOMS, Furnished or Unfurnished, with full attendance, in Regent's Park district?  
Write, Room 317, Savoy Hotel.

TWO TEACHERS require Capable Help. Comfortable home. Small house.—Apply, Rex, Care of VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

A MEMBER of the W. S. P. U. can very highly recommend very nice Rooms (with or without Board) in Doughty Street, near Mecklenburgh Square, W.C.—Apply, Box 32, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BEAUTIFUL HEALTH AND HOLIDAY HOME.  
Magnificent Scenery of Dean Forest, Severn and Wye Valleys.  
Spacious House, 25 bed-rooms. Five acres pretty grounds. Altitude 600 ft. Billiard and Bath Rooms. Tennis. Wagonette.  
Vegetarians Accommodated. Suffragettes Welcomed.  
BOARD-RESIDENCE from 29/-. Photos, full particulars.  
CHAS. HALLAM, Littledean House, Newnham, Glos.

Every Suffragist should ask at her Library for  
"HARCOURT,"

The story of a woman's battle for what she believed to be her rights and duties.

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL, HAMILTON, KENT & CO.

**Oatine SPECIAL OFFER.**



OATINE is of exceptional value to all whose livelihood depends largely upon their appearance. There is nothing so pleasing as a cheerful face and a bright expression. Unless the skin is healthy this is impossible, and it behoves everyone to do all in their power to preserve the delicate texture of the skin. There is one remedy for unhealthy skin—OATINE. We make this statement without fear of contradiction. OATINE is a skin food. It nourishes the skin and quickly restores it to health. It does what soap cannot do, it cleans out the pores, removes grime and blackheads. Rub a little OATINE on your face, you will be surprised at the amount of dirt it will bring out. Unless this grime is removed, skin health is impossible. In the adjoining illustrations you will see how OATINE should be used and face massage conducted. Full particulars of this are contained in our book entitled "Beauty Hints," which will be sent to all availing themselves of the offer below.

**OUR OFFER.** In order that the readers of this publication may personally test OATINE CREAM and the other Oatine Preparations, we have decided to send FREE to all Readers answering this advertisement a box containing samples of eight of the Oatine preparations, together with an interesting book on face massage, showing how the face should be treated to remove the blemishes which so much disfigure the complexion.

Send to-day, enclosing 3d. in stamps to cover postage and packing, and you will receive the box of samples and book by return of post.

**THE OATINE CO., 362, DENMAN ST., LONDON, S.E.**

### WHERE DRESSES IN THE COLOURS CAN BE BOUGHT.

Among other signs of the times which point to the growing popularity of the colours of the W.S.P.U. is the preponderance of greens and purples among dress materials for spring and summer. Members of the W.S.P.U. have, therefore, no difficulty in being true to their colours, for dresses and hats second to none in attractiveness are to be bought at many of the West End and other shops, and we again urge upon our members, when buying new clothes and hats, to buy them in purple, white, or green.

A new long coat, introduced by William Owen, of Westbourne Grove, W., is made in purple serge, arranged with a turned-back collar and cuffs faced with green and bordered with white, with a few little white buttons on the facings. The fronts are single-breasted, and fastened invisibly with buttons and button-holes. The colours can, of course, be transposed, the coat being made of green serge with purple and white facings. The Union's colours are also met with in some charming and inexpensive cotton crepons, cotton Shantung, and ninon voiles for summer dresses, and in a variety of dainty little ties and other articles of neckwear. Nor must the gros-grain sunshades in purple or green, mounted on sticks to match, be overlooked.

At Peter Robinson's, in Oxford Street, are many instances of the effectiveness of the colours in dress materials, blouses, princess dresses, and costumes, which are shown in purple and in green, with braid trimmings and buttons. For motoring, purple gauze scarves and white serge for long coats are specially attractive. Costumes, which next week, we understand, will be greatly reduced in price, are to be had in frieze cloth, fine coating, and alpaca, and a summer tweed at a moderate price was specially noticed. Readers on the look out for new costumes would do well to inspect the large and varied stock here.

In the millinery department at Messrs. Derry and Toms, High Street, Kensington, members of the W.S.P.U. will have no difficulty in finding what they want in straw and crinoline shapes, flowers, ribbons, etc. The untrimmed hat of purple straw can be quickly and prettily wreathed with white lilac tied with green ribbons, and the customer with little time to spare for shopping may walk out of the shop wearing a new hat in her favourite colours. Shoes, too, are to be seen here in purple, green, and white kid.

A good idea for a Suffragette costume is offered by Miss Folkard, 3, Hills Place, Oxford Street, who suggests a dress of white serge, completed by a white toque trimmed with purple flowers and green foliage. Miss Folkard makes costumes from four guineas.

At Thelma's, 59, Southampton Row, W.C., there is always a large choice of pretty hats ready trimmed in purple, green, and white, while embroidered gowns in Suffragette colours are also made a speciality of.

Very attractive are the green tussore dress materials that Rebecca Gordon, 16, Belgrave Road, S.W., is making up for the summer. Our representative was especially pleased with a purple silk slip, veiled with white *broderie Anglaise*, to be worn with a foliage toque. Both millinery and dressmaking are undertaken, and the hats, in mixtures of purple, green, and white, are pretty and becoming.

A milliner who is very clever at mingling the colours is Mrs. Nicolson, 27, Manchester Street, W., who not only sells ready-made millinery in white, green, and purple, but makes up on the premises hats in Yedda and other straws, crinolines, and "areophane."

Odetta (the Portman Dress Company), 46, Baker Street, W., has some beautiful model gowns at prices much under the ordinary, including gowns in green, purple, and white, choice tea-gowns in white muslin and lace, and costumes for all occasions.

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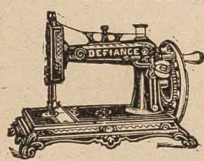
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