

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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FOR THESE WE FIGHT.



No. 1.—The Widow.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

We are glad to be able to announce to our readers the good luck which has attended woman suffragists, Mr. E. A. Goulding, M.P. for Worcester, has secured the second place in the ballot, and has declared his intention of using it for the purpose of taking the second reading debate on the new Conciliation Bill. Mr. Goulding is well known to members of the Women's Social and Political Union (some of whom had the pleasure of hearing him at one of the Monday At Homes at the Queen's Hall) as a fearless and whole-hearted supporter of the move-

ment, who has consistently acted up to his convictions on woman suffrage on every available occasion.

Gagging the House of Commons.

Against this good luck we have to set the fact that Mr. Asquith has now definitely declared his intention of gagging the House of Commons. Not only, as anticipated in these columns last week, are all Fridays up to Easter to be taken away, but also all the time usually available on Tuesdays and Wednesdays for private members' motions. Moreover, there is little indication up to the present that any real fight will be made by private members. Mr. Redmond has already signified in advance that he welcomes the decision of the Prime Minister. The Labour Party seem equally complacent, while one Liberal back-bencher went so far as in all seriousness to thank Mr. Asquith for the courtesy with which the gagging process was being carried out. The official Opposition will, of course, make some show of fight, but tempered by the knowledge that the precedent now being set may be followed with advantage by themselves on the next occasion when they are in office. Moreover, resistance by the Opposition alone cannot be successful unless they are supported by some sections of the Coalition majority.

The Proposals of the Conciliation Committee.

The net result of this action of the Government on the question of Woman Suffrage is that no opportunity will be available before Easter for the second reading

of a Woman Suffrage Bill, nor for the discussion or motion, such as Mr. Brailsford indicates in the letter which we print on the next page, asking that time shall be given during the present Session for all stages of a Woman Suffrage measure. Unless, however, a further onslaught on the privileges of the private members is made later, on a fresh plea of urgency, there will be certain Fridays available after Easter for Private Members' Bills, and also certain other days for motions. Accordingly, Mr. Goulding is, we understand as we go to press, giving notice to take one of these Fridays, either Friday, April 28 or Friday, May 5, for the second reading of the Bill.

The King's Speech.

The King's Speech contained no surprises. The principal measures foreshadowed were the Parliament Bill, the removal of certain disqualifications for Old Age Pensions, and Insurance against Invalidity and Unemployment, to which we have already referred in these columns. We notice, however, in the House of Lords, Lord Crewe distinctly stated that Payment of Member would be introduced this session, and we think it very likely that an attempt will also be made to carry a Plural Voting Bill. Speaking at Bristol on Friday last, Mr. Birrell said that:

When he began his political career in 1885, the first words he uttered were "One man one vote," and here he was, old, lame, worn out, still murmuring in his senile decay, "One man one vote." They had not got it, and yet they were told this was a country in which they did things in a hurry. They had waited too long, and he hoped that before the next General Election they would pass a simple Bill securing that wise and necessary

THE SESSION AND THE BILL.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I gladly comply with your request to give some account of the prospects and present position of the Conciliation Bill.

Facilities This Year.

Our work is governed by the elusive pledge which Mr. Asquith gave on November 22. Facilities will be given for effectually proceeding with a Woman Suffrage Bill in some session of this Parliament.

"Concentrate on 1911."

When it is remembered, as Miss Pankhurst points out in our leading article this week, that several Cabinet Ministers, including Mr. Birrell himself, distinctly urged women to concentrate on the Session of 1911, the impatience of the Women's Social and Political Union at this deliberate humbugging on the part of politicians will be appreciated.

The Election in West Wiltshire.

One opportunity of attacking the Government immediately presents itself. A by-election is occurring in West Wiltshire, where Mr. Geoffrey Howard is standing as the official nominee of the Government, and those the Women's Social and Political Union is already in the field urging its electors to vote against him on account of the way in which the Government are treating the question of Woman Suffrage.

The Welsh Revolt.

The urgent necessity of fighting against the Government unless sympathy or promises are converted into action, which has long been patent to the W.S.P.U., is rapidly impressing itself upon the minds of the Welsh Liberals.

Time to Spare.

It will be said that the first session must be devoted to the dominant issue of the Lords. The dominant sex always has some dominant issue. It is the business of politicians to make one. There never will come a year in which no section of men has a claim to press. It is for us to urge that if it be passion and earnestness and urgent need which cause an issue to "dominate," women have a claim which is second to none.

A Question of Method.

For the moment the time-table of the House has been closed to us. By an unprecedented exercise of its omnipotence, the Cabinet proposes to rob the House of all the usual private members' days up to Easter. In order to fetter the Lords, it proposes to muzzle the Commons. The consequence is that there will be no early opportunity for the introduction of motions or for the second readings of Bills. Luckily, the opinions publicly expressed last autumn to deputations of women by Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Birrell, and Mr. Runciman stand on record. They all declared, with various degrees of emphasis, that the facilities refused then might be granted next year.

The Bill.

Experience has taught us that while our Bill is the only one which can rally support from both sides of this evenly divided House, it must in some minor particulars be modified. Its title will be general—"A Bill to confer the Parliamentary Franchise on Women"—so that amendments may be freely moved. The amendment which Mr. Shackleton put down to the second clause last session will be incorporated this year in its text. One further change we have decided to make. We shall omit the £10 occupation qualification, leaving the household qualification only. The change is quite insignificant from the Suffragist standpoint, but it is important to the politician. We counted the women municipal voters in Leicester, and found that out of over

5,300 all were householders save twenty-six. These twenty-six women were qualified in respect of warehouses, shops, etc. The probability is that all of them had or could have had a household qualification, but since the law allows only one vote within the same town they had, for some reason of private convenience, chosen to be registered for their business premises. The change we are now making will simply suggest to these women the advisability of being registered for their houses instead of for their shops. On the other hand, it will render impossible the manufacture of faggot votes. Under the old Bill it was alleged that a wealthy man might do what a poor man cannot do—he might, for form's sake, make his daughter or his sister the tenant of a stable, a field, or a bit of woodland. This danger was probably much exaggerated, but it had a marked effect upon the House when Mr. Churchill played upon it last session.

What remains after this elimination is the simplest and the most democratic of all the franchise—the household qualification. It is better understood than any other. It was the joint gift of Conservatives and Radicals to men in 1867. It will give a vote to every woman, rich or poor, who is the head of her house and the mistress of her own affairs—to every woman who is the tenant and inhabitant even of one room over which she can prove that she has full control.

The New House.

The new House is, we reckon, slightly more favourable to us than the last. Our task in the interval before the testing time arrives is to make the "wobblers" reliable, and ensure that at the worst the adulterers and the neutrals will not vote against us. Every method is good which convinces these men that they have to face an urgent demand, and may serve a popular cause. There are still constituencies in which no suffrage society of any kind exists. Some members have never come face to face with the women of their locality. Others are still grossly ignorant of the Bill and the arguments behind it. Surprisingly good results have been achieved by the deputations from women which have so far waited on members. The thirty-four town councils which have passed resolutions in favour of the Bill afford the best of all possible proofs of its popularity. Manchester, Glasgow, Dublin, Liverpool, Nottingham, Hull, Cardiff, Dundee and Cork are sufficiently typical of the trend of public opinion, and the list of these towns will presently be lengthened by fresh accessions. The outlook has never been so bright nor the rate of progress so rapid.—I am, sir, faithfully yours,

H. N. Brailsford.

Monday, Feb. 6.

TO THE ALBERT HALL!

Members! It is very important that those who have not previously understood the women's movement should be brought into touch with it on such an occasion as the great Albert Hall Meeting on March 23 at 8 p.m. Therefore, you are requested to use every endeavour to bring as many acquaintances as possible.

A full list of the hall has been obtained, and reserved and numbered tickets for the whole of the seats can be obtained from Miss Florence Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, at the following prices: Stalls, 2s.; arena and lower orchestra, 1s.; upper orchestra and balcony, 6d.; boxes, £1 1s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d. As the lower orchestra will be reserved for the choir, the number of whom is at present uncertain, it is not possible to sell any lower orchestra seats until this has been decided.

Owing to the regulations made by the Albert Hall, which apply in all cases where a full list has been obtained, we are prohibited from having any public sale of tickets. Only members of the Women's Social and Political Union, therefore, can obtain tickets from Miss Cooke. It should be clearly understood, however, that strangers, both men and women, are very welcome to the meeting, and members of the W.S.P.U. can obtain tickets for them.

Friends are asked to note that on this occasion the practice of setting aside the grant tier-boxes for the local unions will not be followed, so that these boxes can be purchased by members in the ordinary way. The only part of the hall which is not being reserved is the gallery, which will be thrown open free to women on the night.

Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair, and the speakers will include Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. The unique attraction of the evening lies, however, in the fact that Miss Vida Goldstein, President of the Women's Political Association of Victoria, is coming to England from Australia specially to address this meeting. It will be remembered that it was under Miss Goldstein's leadership that the women of Victoria finally won their vote in 1908. Though Victoria was the last of the five States of Australia to obtain full woman suffrage, yet the women's victory in all the other States, and even in New Zealand, was in a great measure attributable to the splendid fight carried on by the women of Victoria for twenty years. Miss Goldstein is a speaker of great power, as well as an active and keen worker. Another interesting feature will be the singing of the W.S.P.U. Marching Song, "The Woman's March," by a mixed choir, under the direction of Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc., the composer. Musical members of the W.S.P.U. and their musical men friends who are willing to offer themselves for the choir should communicate at once with Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. They will be able to obtain lower orchestra seats, price 1s., each. Miss Hambling will be glad to have the names of those willing to steward. Members only are eligible, and they must be at the Hall at 6 o'clock.

MILITANT METHODS APPROVED.

By Ellis Griffith, M.P.

(Extracts from a speech to the Actresses' Franchise League.)

Woman Suffrage is part of the great questions of human freedom and political freedom. And these are not questions to be argued, but to be believed. If you do not believe them there is an end of enlisting your support for Woman Suffrage.

It is impossible to induce a new blade of fact or thought or argument to grow upon the well-trodden path of this controversy. And when once you have arrived at that stage of any controversy the time for action has been reached, and in regard to this question all who believe in the cause look for something to be done in the immediate future.

If you educate a class you must emancipate it. If you are going to keep a class in subjection you must keep it in ignorance. It is said that the dust of the political arena—I think that is the phrase—will contaminate all those who do not wear very long skirts, and that in some sort of way the womanliness of woman will disappear if they take part in the mere act of voting. I have no sympathy with that argument. As a matter of fact, all that is disagreeable takes place before voting takes place, and that is always open to women. We ask women to canvass for us, we ask women to speak for us, we ask women to persuade other people to vote for us, but we cannot trust them with a vote themselves. That is an illogical and hopeless position, and I think it only wants to be stated to be refuted at once. Then it is said voting takes women away from the home. That is a very sacred argument. It is not to be treated with meriment, but with very great respect. The home may have been beloved to the woman, but it no longer belongs to her as a right in this country. I believe there are five millions of women in England every day who leave their homes in order to keep their homes. In face of that fact it is idle to say that the women's place is the home.

Justice, Not Party.

The second reading was given to a Women's Enfranchisement Bill forty years ago. The matter has become urgent during the last few years. Mr. Stanger's Bill was passed through the House of Commons in 1908 with a considerable majority, but there were some men in the House of Commons who said that they could not support that Bill because it did not go far enough.

E. P. L.

GETTING NEW READERS.

With a record number of new subscription forms sent in this week we have now passed the first thousand of new readers since the special scheme was inaugurated. Hearty congratulations to all concerned, particularly to Mrs. Mansel, who has secured 15 this week! The paper has been sent to Bombay, to East Bengal, to Queensland, to Cape Town, to Ontario, to New South Wales, to Dresden, to Pomern (Germany), to Havana, and, as one sender writes, "to the only British school in Cairo."

A member in Torquay sends VOTES FOR WOMEN weekly to a Nurses' Institute in the hope that the nurses will read the paper and spread a knowledge of the movement amongst their patients.

A friend in Lichfield takes two extra copies of the paper weekly and gives to the Institute for Young Men.

A Bexhill member takes three extra copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN weekly; sends one to the Conservative Club, one to the Constitutional Club, and one to the Men's Social Club. Another Bexhill member has a copy of the paper placed in the waiting room at the station.

On one card sent in to Clements Inn was written:—"I am only a street flower seller, and will give 12 copies away to a friend."

A London member writes that she is especially proud that she has persuaded her doctor to have it regularly for his table. He is not a Suffragist, but she believes he is becoming more favourable. Another of her new readers is the wife of an officer in the Woolwich Arsenal.

Another member has secured a reader in Dresden, who is making great use of the paper among her circle. It has convinced her of the rightness of militant methods.

Miss Alice Heale writes that though she has not sent in any subscription forms she and her sister make a practice of sending out 16 copies each week as a minimum, and when there is a special number, considerably more.

Miss Watson writes that she is giving up subscribing to other papers and taking extra copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN in their place.

Another member has succeeded in increasing the sale through her newsgamers from seven to 15 during the last two weeks. Miss Ellen Midgley, of Birmingham, writes:—"My 10 days' canvassing has been so interesting and encouraging that I promise to sell 12 copies a week." One member supplies VOTES FOR WOMEN to the Poole Free Library. Nurse Harmer has 36 regular subscribers in Retford, and in addition 100 copies of the paper are sold there every week.

The Irish Women's Suffrage Society, whose headquarters are at Belfast, are selling the paper in the streets. Last

We have the morning star, O foolish people, O Kings! With us the day-springs are, Even all the fresh day springs; For us, and with us, all the multitudes of things.

SWINBURNE.

THE BELFAST MOTHER.

We have referred two or three times to the case of a Mrs. McCann, a married woman living in Ireland. She has been deserted by her husband, who has refused to maintain her. Her two children of tender age have been seized and conveyed away, she knows not where, nor under what conditions they are now living. Her appeal to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the help of detectives to discover the whereabouts of her children was refused. Mr. Birrell has explicitly stated in the House of Commons the reason why this help was denied to her. He says: "By the laws of this country her husband is entitled to the custody of his children." That is Mr. Birrell's defence. We agree with Sir Edward Carson's retort: "Even if it is the law, then the best thing to do with the time of the House of Commons between now and Easter is to alter such a monstrous state of things."

Why has this case been brought up and made the subject of a debate in the House of Commons? Such a story is common enough. Married women are wronged every day by reason of the laws of marriage and the law of the guardianship of children. Everyone knows that children born in wedlock have but one parent in the eyes of the law—that the father alone possesses parental rights. Do the wrongs of women appeal to the sense of justice of our legislators? No. It so happens that in this particular case the wrongs of this wretched woman can be exploited in the interests of one side in the game of party politics. That is all that concerns the politician. He has only one use for the misery of the unrepresented half of the community, and that is to utilise it in debate to serve his immediate ends.

Women are not taken in by the sorry spectacle of these partisans quarrelling over the vesture of the victim whom together they have crucified on the cross of their unjust and iniquitous laws. We know perfectly well that neither Catholic priest nor Protestant minister is responsible for the tragedy illustrated by the case of Mrs. McCann. There are thousands of such cases to-day of women legally wronged and legally robbed, without hope and without help, because their sex is excluded from the body politic, and lacks the political power to win redress for grievances. Let these indignant politicians who are so ready to use a wretched woman's plight to confuse political issues to their own advantage, give women the Vote and thus allow them to have a voice in the making of laws that they must obey. That is the only way in which politicians can prove to women that there is anything but self-interest in their sympathy.

Friday they sold nine dozen copies, and hope next week to dispose of 12 dozen. F. W. P. L.

Jan. 30—Feb. 4.

Table listing names and numbers of subscribers, including 'Previously acknowledged' and 'New subscribers'.

A BENIGHTED BOROUGH.

A man friend of the movement offered to supply a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week to the local Free Library. His offer was accepted provisionally by the Town Clerk, and the paper has been supplied weekly since the beginning of the year. The Town Clerk has now written to our friend to say that at a meeting of the Free Library and Museum Committee it was decided that his offer had not been accepted. Our friend says: "Can you tell me whether the paper has been accepted by many Free Libraries? A list of these would be useful." Perhaps readers of the paper can give this information?

Debenham & Freebody. Wigmore Street, London, W.



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WHY WE WANT THE VOTE NOW.

The great meeting in the Queen's Hall on Monday last coincided with the official opening of Parliament, and the fact was significant. Parliament opens to a busy session with a golden opportunity of righting a wrong which has been done to women for years.

exclusive of Colonial, who were killed in action or who died of their wounds was 5,652. In Great Britain during the same period, the number of women who died in childbirth or from illness consequent upon childbirth was 10,975.

An Army of a Thousand.

Of course the question was in everyone's mind—what if the efforts of the Conciliation Committee fail? We may be confident of success and yet we must be prepared for the worst.

The Unity of Women.

It was significant, too, of the united desire of women of all opinions that at this important meeting there should be on the platform the president of another Suffrage society, just as convinced, though armed with milder weapons, of the immediate necessity of the vote.

WANTED! A KEY.

The tremendous earnestness of the women who are fighting for the Vote could not fail to impress even the stranger entering the Steinway Hall meeting on Thursday in last week; he (or she) must have seen it in the faces of those who stood in the street selling Votes for Women or carrying posters announcing the meeting.

Delightful Speeches at the Criticism.

The campaign for the year 1911, which is to see the triumphant ending of the battle for the political freedom of women, is being started on all hands with energy and enthusiasm.

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A hundred years ago, as the newspapers of the period showed, statesmen were not in the least concerned about the state of the poor.

A most enjoyable afternoon was spent in the Grand Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on Saturday, February 4, when a reception was given by the Men's League for Woman Suffrage.

AMERICAN IMPRESSIONS.

How the Woman's Movement is Understood.

In view of the British Press Boycott, it is cheering to know that many of the American papers are publishing sympathetic articles on the woman's movement in England.



An American View of Franchise-marching in English Prisons, from a Chicago paper.

to tell why it should be. The movement, though, is likely to pass into history as one of the most romantic of human movements.

"The movement includes all ages. So the last deputation to see Mr. Asquith so great was the demand for places in it that they passed an age limit of eighty years.

"Does she express the youth of the movement? I do not know. But when I look at this great, human, woman, world-movement I wonder how any girl who is a girl—any girl who is ambitious, any girl who has a vestige of pride in her sex, any girl who is awake to life and ideas, can keep out of it.

"When speaking at a celebration of the victory in Washington, Mrs. Garvie Chapman said: 'We now have five Suffragist States, and only forty-one more to get.'"

The brilliant Suffrage tableaux announced for the evening in Washington, Mrs. Garvie Chapman said: 'We now have five Suffragist States, and only forty-one more to get.'"

Train Conductor (to lady alighting from horse-tram just deserted): Oh, Miss; I wish I was a Suffragette! I'd soon get these old trams right!

ment railings, I would smash the windows of Ministers' homes, and I would hold my head proudly in the prisoner's dock, and receive my sentence unflinchingly and unsharpened.

"The first revelation that came to me was that the winning of the vote is but a detail incident to very much more. This movement has a spiritual significance of far greater import than a mere political agitation for a political status."

"It is a pity that we have not seen and heard more of the picturesqueness of this movement and not so much of the sensational part, often highly coloured, though it is hard to tell why it should be."

"The Suffrage movement in England during the last few years, despite surface features, which appear objectionable, has proven the biggest educational movement that England has ever known."

"I felt sorry for him and told him so, but he did not hear me. He was back in his room."

"I saw a grey-haired woman (on Black Friday) holding on to the railings and a policeman thumping her in the back. I recognized Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, and thought if I called her by name the brute would cease; but I guess his knowledge of Richard Cobden and the Corn Laws was a blank; he still went on. Then I heard a voice on the other side, and turning, saw a policeman with his fingers fastened round Mrs. Pankhurst's throat. I was one could not live and not try and do something to prevent such brutality, etc. Well, my fingers in his 'duty' hand and hung on for all I was worth. He let go of Mrs. Pankhurst and turned his undivided attention to making a corker of my arm, until he had me on my knees, and then he licked me, and then took me into custody. Then an amusing thing happened. A friend has dubbed me 'Lady Betty from across the Water,' and when she saw me being dragged down the street she called out, 'Bravo, Lady Betty!' and I was released at the next corner and told to go home. (Liberal snobbery, but a joke on them)."

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A white woman recently showed immense pluck in rescuing a negro from lynching. The negro, accused of burglary, had been arrested, but broke away, and running through the main street of Eaton, Georgia, with an excited mob in pursuit, he fell exhausted at the feet of Mrs. Susie Hillhouse in front of her home. Mrs. Hillhouse took a pistol from his hand, faced the crowd, and threatened to shoot the first man who touched him. Her courage was vigorously cheered, and having extracted a promise that the man should not be injured, Mrs. Hillhouse allowed the mob to take the negro to the station, accompanying him personally to see that the promise was kept."

Milwaukee has appointed its first woman policeman for protecting woman workers. It has also appointed a woman factory inspector.

MASCULINE LOGIC.

"Are you one of them Suffragettes," asked the drunken man, flinging out his arms, not so much to give emphasis to his words as to preserve his equilibrium. I had spent the afternoon doing grade work for the Cause at a village without a railway station, and was returning homewards through a steady downpour, when I encountered my interlocutor, who followed up his preliminary inquiry by a demand to know the latest news of the movement; irresistiably reminding me of an incident described by Major Skimmer in his "Overland Journey to India."

"What for you want to go to Parliament?" he continued. I tried to explain in simple language what I really wanted. "This end of the wedge," he said solemnly, "you mean to sit in Parliament. A woman's place is at home. Man's place is to command women."

"Woman's made of nith-rof-man; that's why. Got to keep them in their place."

"Can't keep them down, that's the trouble," he said frankly; "but it's man's place to command women. A man is a man knows that."

"And what is your wife's opinion?" I asked him. "Wife—my wife's dead."

"He stopped and gazed vacantly before him. 'Dead—and we were married seventeen year an' never a word of differ. Best wif God ever made.'

"I felt sorry for him and told him so, but he did not hear me. He was back in his room."

"Never a word—we were as happy as little children. When I got home from work there were Sally smilin' as bright. Always the same—I left everything to her—she know'd best. An' she allus stood up for women; she were a Suffragette, were Sally."

"He sat down on a log and burst into tears. 'Died in left me wif five boys an' four girls, O Sally, Sully, how could ye leave me!'

"I could give him no help, and was obliged to leave him sitting there, with his unkempt clothes hanging forlornly around his bowed figure, and his ill-shod feet plunged into icy slush."

SUFFRAGETTES IN PARIS.

In La Franciscienne for January 29 there is a very interesting account of the visit of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence to Paris, and of the meeting which they addressed at the Salle de Societes des Savants.

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LIBERAL SNOBBERY.

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A white woman recently showed immense pluck in rescuing a negro from lynching. The negro, accused of burglary, had been arrested, but broke away, and running through the main street of Eaton, Georgia, with an excited mob in pursuit, he fell exhausted at the feet of Mrs. Susie Hillhouse in front of her home. Mrs. Hillhouse took a pistol from his hand, faced the crowd, and threatened to shoot the first man who touched him. Her courage was vigorously cheered, and having extracted a promise that the man should not be injured, Mrs. Hillhouse allowed the mob to take the negro to the station, accompanying him personally to see that the promise was kept."

IN A UNIVERSITY CITY.

Train Conductor (to lady alighting from horse-tram just deserted): Oh, Miss; I wish I was a Suffragette! I'd soon get these old trams right!

Milwaukee has appointed its first woman policeman for protecting woman workers. It has also appointed a woman factory inspector.

WHO WROTE THE HEBREWS?

You cannot keep woman out of any profession, and at last, in the opinion of the most competent scholars, she has attained the height of being the author of one of the Biblical books accepted by the canon. This is no other than the Epistle to the Hebrews, long attributed to St. Paul. For years scholars have known that St. Paul never wrote anything so exquisite in style; but they have failed to find the writer. Harnack now says that it was written by Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, and the fact of the author being a woman accounts for the suppression of her name. Many scholars agree with him, including Dr. Rendel Harris, Dr. J. H. Moulton, and Dr. Adeney; also Professor Peake, who adds, moreover: "As the earlier freedom with which the Gospel had anticipated women set them at liberty to use their special talents for the edification of the Church gave way to a stiffer and narrower ecclesiasticism which defrauded them of their rights, there was every temptation to suppress the unwelcome reminder that a woman had so far ventured out of her sphere as to write such an Epistle, so quickly did the Church forget that in Christ Jesus there can be neither male nor female."

"I saw a grey-haired woman (on Black Friday) holding on to the railings and a policeman thumping her in the back. I recognized Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson, and thought if I called her by name the brute would cease; but I guess his knowledge of Richard Cobden and the Corn Laws was a blank; he still went on. Then I heard a voice on the other side, and turning, saw a policeman with his fingers fastened round Mrs. Pankhurst's throat. I was one could not live and not try and do something to prevent such brutality, etc. Well, my fingers in his 'duty' hand and hung on for all I was worth. He let go of Mrs. Pankhurst and turned his undivided attention to making a corker of my arm, until he had me on my knees, and then he licked me, and then took me into custody. Then an amusing thing happened. A friend has dubbed me 'Lady Betty from across the Water,' and when she saw me being dragged down the street she called out, 'Bravo, Lady Betty!' and I was released at the next corner and told to go home. (Liberal snobbery, but a joke on them)."

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A SUFFRAGETTE.

[The following essay was written by a school-girl of 15, attending Clapham High School. The subject was "A Character Sketch," and the correspondent who sends it to us writes that the essay gained full marks.—Ed. Votes for Women.]

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THE MISERY OF MUDDLE.

Just underneath the surface of the smooth waters of polite society there are reefs of murderous rocks. Life after life is launched out into the deep, where there are drifts and currents and whirlpools, to sink or to swim. What charts and maps there were are now obsolete, and there are none who possess the wisdom or the constructive energy or the courage to make them anew. And so a conspiracy of silence is kept, and many a craft drifts upon the reef, founders and is lost to sight for evermore. And they who are lost are often the bravest, who have set forth with highest determination to win new treasure for the human race.

That is the indictment brought against our modern world by Mr. H. G. Wells in his latest book "The New Machiavelli."

The new Machiavelli, like his prototype, is a man possessed of "the State-making dream." He too has fallen out of politics, he too writes as an exile overtaken with disaster and disgrace. But this book is an appeal not to a Prince (for Princes in these modern days have lost their power to shape and fashion the destinies of peoples), but to the unseen fellowship of the thousands who will read it. It is an appeal for the unification of human effort, for the ending of confusions.

The story tells first of the making of this man. Even as a child he has a passion for planning and organising with bricks and lead soldiers on the nursery floor, and even then is at odds with the powers of muddle and confusion, which would descend, plucking garrisons from fortresses and sailors from ships, jumbling them up in wrong boxes, clumsily so that rifles and swords were broken, sweeping the splendid curves of the Imperial road into heaps of ruins, casting the jungle growth of Zululand into the fire, turning continents and lands with swiping strokes of the house flannel into swirling water. There is a pathetic glimpse of his father, a man who in his own words had "mucked about with life." "Whatever you do, boy," he tells him, "whatever you do, make a plan. Make a good plan and stick to it."

A London suburb grows up round his childhood, in all its hideous makeshift ugliness. Chaotic indiscipline, ill-adjusted effort, spasmodic aims, these give the quality of all the first memories.

The public school, with its stereotyped methods of teaching dead languages, and aimless disconnectedness from all the constructive forces of the modern community, leaves the boy ignorant of all knowledge of the actual world in which he lives. His University days are associated with the shock and horror of the Boer War disasters.

Muddle, said I, is the enemy. That remains my belief to this day. Clearness and order, light and foresight, these things I know for good. It was muddle had just given us all the still freshly painful disasters and humiliations of the war, muddle that gives us the visibly sprawling disorder of our cities and industrial country-side, muddle that gives us the waste of life, the limitations, wretchedness, and unemployment of the poor! Muddle! I remember myself quoting Kipling—

"All along o' dirtiness, all along o' mess,
All along o' doing things rather more or less."

But the most terrible and disastrous muddle of all he finds in everything that concerns the relationship of men and women. The knowledge that comes by ways the most haphazard is the knowledge that concerns the mystery of sex.

It is as a member of Parliament that he comes upon the Woman Suffrage movement. And the chapters which deal with this question are naturally of great interest to the readers of this paper.

There was a tendency, even on the part of its sympathisers, to treat the whole suffrage agitation as if it were a disconnected issue, irrelevant to all the other broad developments of social and political life. We struggled, all of us, to ignore the indicating finger it thrust out before us. "Your schemes, for all their bigness," it insisted to our reluctant, averted minds, "still don't go down to the essential things."

Like most male politicians, the New Machiavelli, though a convinced feminist, has a great scheme of his own for helping women by legislation, quite regardless of their own ideas upon the subject. His project for the Endowment of Motherhood is to be brought into the realm of practical politics, and is to be placed in the programme of the Conservative Party. It is at this point of the successful politician's career that he drifts upon the hidden rocks, and makes shipwreck of all his hopes and prospects connected with public life. It is a tragic story. All the more so because no one of those involved in it is base. They had all muddled into the disaster.

What in God's name was to be expected of us but what has happened. . . . I was born into cowardice and debasement. We are all here. Our generation is grimy with hypocrisy. I came

"The New Machiavelli." By H. G. Wells. London: John Lane, 6s.

to the most beautiful things in life—like Peeping Tom of Coventry. I was never given a light, never given a touch of natural manhood by all this dinky, furtive, canting, lumbugging English world. The very savages in Australia initiate their children better than the English do to-day. Neither of us was ever given a view of what they call morality that didn't make it show as shabby subservience, as the meanest discretion, an abject submission to unreasonable prohibitions. I know there is a case—I'm beginning to think it a valid case against us; but we never met it.

Everybody who looks or thinks beneath the surface knows this indictment to be profoundly justified. Amongst all our muddles, our morality is the worst. How can it be otherwise, since it is founded upon the subjection of one sex to the other? It seems to have dawned upon the New Machiavelli that the new city of social order and beauty which he desires with all the white passion of statecraft to create, must have as one of its main foundations the dignity and freedom of women.

E. P. L.

"THE ENGLISHWOMAN"

The *Englishwoman* for February contains a number of interesting articles dealing with the position of women. Mr. James Haslam describes the fearful conditions which prevail among the sweated women in the linen industry in the North of Ireland. Here is one statement:—

The Irish out-workers work steadily and persistently for one penny per hour, and in some cases less than one penny! I was talking to an old Irish woman who was embroidering linen handkerchiefs at the rate of sevenpence per dozen; she could finish a dozen in one day. She had got up that day at five o'clock in the morning to do the housework. At periods of the day she attended to other domestic duties. Frequently she laboured on till ten, eleven, and twelve o'clock at night. This went on—this dreary, monotonous day—from week to week, month to month, year to year. And for what? For a mere sevenpence a day, or 3s. 6d. a week towards the upkeep of the family!

Sweating in the linen industry is so rampant, Mr. James Haslam says, it is so completely a system of exploitation of human energy that he can hardly find words too harsh or too bitter to condemn it.

All the victims of this abomination are women and children. There is nothing secret about the depth of degradation to which the system has been allowed to sink. Public meetings have been held in Belfast to protest against this disgraceful thing. Petitions have been sent to the Home Office for the institution of an open inquiry into the unjust and cheerless circumstances. But, so far, the Government Department has paid no heed to the cry.

Figures are given, which are valuable to those who desire to give categorical and irrefutable facts as to this terrible state of affairs.

Another article which will be of interest to many is that dealing with experiments in co-operative housekeeping for women. Saint Nihal Singh contributes some facts about the position of the Persian women at the present day, and describes the active part taken by Mrs. Ephraim, the wife of the Armenian Prefect of Police at Teheran, who is organising the women by speech and pen to oppose foreign interference with finance. The Persian women are determined to win the political vote, and some of their leaders are even asking that women should be admitted to the Chamber.

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FOR SPEAKERS.

Aspirants to platform or pulpit will find a good deal to help them in "Speaking in Public," and "How to Speak Effectively," by Charles Seymour. There is much useful matter in both these works. They are published by the Speakers' Library, 358, Strand, London, W.C., and the price of each is 3s. net.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Famous Speeches." By Herbert Paul. London: Sir I. Pitman. 7s. 6d. net.
"Twentieth Century Magazine," February. Boston: Twentieth Century Publishing Co. 25 cents.
"Is the British Empire Ripe for Government by Disorderly Women?" By Francis Latham. London: Simpkin, Marshall, 2d.

IN PRISON.

Even to the prisoner's cell the dawning sun
Brings light; and evening, beauty. Golden lines
Of sunbeam deck the vacant floor at times.
And once through squares in iron bound there shone
The moon. I know not how, even gazing on
These friends in my captivity, my heart
Lay dull and would not care. They bore no part
In all the joys and sorrows we had won.

But still at night-time when the tiny bar
That cuts our sleep from life was nearly crossed—
I saw the sea-birds whirling, wild, wind-tossed,
I heard the deep sea thundering afar—
The bright spray dashed upon my town-pent gale,
—A cavern, lighted by the phosphorus pale!

J. E. M. B.



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THOSE readers of "Votes for Women" who, last year, participated in the splendid bargains at our White Sale will welcome the announcement of the recurrence of this important Annual Event. This year our

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THE PASSING OF THE "ETERNAL FEMININE."

A French View.

On the brilliant path of activity that opens before the woman of to-morrow, those who dread innovations see a shadow. When she enters the lists, will she not lose her womanly qualities?

This dread of any change is found in every age. The Eternal Feminine is in process of change, and the woman of political and social activity will be different from the domestic woman, no doubt, just as palaeolithic man differs from his neolithic brother, but she will not be any the less Woman. The unknown that we fear is surely here already among us. Ceasing to be a slave, woman is losing the stigma of slavery—cowardice and deceit; she is becoming sincere and independent, and claiming her rights. Under the influence of the women who lead in work and thought, the level of feminine life is being raised. The modern woman would rather be an honest human being than a false goddess. Facing life with the gravity of one delivered from an age-long slavery, woman is beginning to understand that her equality with man can only depend on a moral standard higher and calmer than that of man. The future of humanity rests on this noble rivalry of the sexes. And if it were only to spread the kingdom of truth on earth, one ought to open to women all the careers open to men.

With the new woman, many of the old ideas have been radically modified. Physical beauty is giving place to spiritual strength; woman is learning to admire thoughtfulness, energy, health, good taste, wit and intelligence. And man accepts this gradual transformation without suspecting its importance. Yet he speaks still of the Eternal Feminine, and kneels before it, forgetting that his idol has changed in body and in soul.

Let us watch the modern woman; no longer doll-like, she is now energetic and assured; not less beautiful, only differently beautiful. The fact is so plain that it is unnoticed. This evolution of woman is inevitable. When everything in the modern world is changing, can woman remain unchanged?

What, after all, is the Eternal Feminine? Are there immutable qualities which separate her from man? When we compare the animal world, we find that secondary sexual characters vary with environment. In some species of birds, there is hardly any difference; and all through the animal kingdom the secondary differences are due to chance circumstances. Sometimes the male birds have the striped plumage, again in another class the hen birds swagger and strut, or fight or wear the brilliant plumes usually found in the male. The female eagle is stronger than the male, the female hawk larger, while in the insect world of ants, bees and spiders—noted for their intelligence and forethought—it is the females that govern.


The essentially "feminine" traits are often only sports; they are transmitted and become racial, then in other conditions they disappear. Everywhere we find the same fact, that most of the sexual characteristics (apart from the purely reproductive function) are only the result of changing circumstances.

Nature does not recognise the barriers which our imagination has put up between the sexes. Those who grieve over the change in woman, seem to forget the change in man. They ignore the fact that the lives of men and women are one, and that change on one side must react on the other. Industrial conditions, the advance of science and all the other social and political changes, have acted on the environment of woman, and the law of nature is adaptation to environment. It has become impossible for woman to struggle for life on unequal terms with man. She, therefore, demands their abolition. It is no use haggling with her; she will not be content until she obtains full satisfaction. The limits of her demands will soon coincide with the limits of man's rights. One may resist caprices, but one cannot resist the needs of life. The demands of women, due to the forces of evolution, ought to be granted for the sake of both sexes. This will be the price of harmonious development. The life of man and woman can only be lived in common by a removal of distrust and on a basis of mutual justice.

Women of energy, courage and enterprise were in the past classed as saints or heroines. To-day we meet them by thousands. Reading the annals of their simple lives, filled with a courage that is all the greater for being obscure and persevering, we are overcome by admiration at this world of soul-miracles in which we have our being.

The woman of to-day is not the same as the woman of our forefathers, and she will probably not be the same as the woman of five or ten centuries hence.

*Abridged from an article by M. Jean Finot in *La Revue*, November and December, 1910.




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20 doz. White Turkish, hemstitched, size 25 by 52. Usual Price, 1/9; Sale Price, each, 1/2.	6 doz. Brown Linen Turkish, hemstitched, size 30 by 54. Usual price, 2/1; Sale Price, 2/6.
25 doz. White Turkish, hemstitched, size 30 by 51. Usual Price, 2/4; Sale Price, each, 2/5.	5 doz. Brown Linen Turkish, hemstitched, size 30 by 56. Usual price, 3/0; Sale Price, 2/11.
15 doz. White Turkish, hemstitched, size 33 by 58. Usual Price, 2/11; Sale Price, each, 2/5.	12 doz. Union Turkish, brown and white check, plain hemmed, size 25 by 45. Usual price, 1/4; Sale Price, 1/2.
12 doz. White Turkish, hemstitched, size 32 by 54. Usual Price, 3/3; Sale Price, each, 3/4.	10 doz. Union Turkish, brown and white check, trimmed, size 26 by 50. Usual price, 1/9; Sale Price, 1/8.
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VOTES FOR WOMEN—this Session.

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

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

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

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1911.

THE NEXT MOVE.

When, last year, we demanded that the Government's veto upon the Conciliation Bill should be instantly withdrawn and the Bill be allowed to pass into law, certain of those members of the Government who claim to be Suffragists told us that we were then asking the impossible, but that we might reasonably expect to have facilities for the Conciliation Bill in 1911.

Thus Mr. Birrell said, in answer to the Irish Suffragists who waited upon him in October last, "I am strongly of opinion that in the course of next year facilities must be given, because otherwise women are placed, owing to the division of opinion in both parties, in a helpless, hopeless state. My own strong opinion is that when Parliament meets next year this question will have to be decided." Sir Edward Grey said to the Suffragists from his own constituency whom he received last November that, in his opinion, facilities ought to be found for the Bill in the ensuing year.

Mr. Runciman spoke in the same sense, and his advice to women Suffragists was, "Concentrate your efforts upon 1911." Therefore the Women's Social and Political Union, in demanding the Vote this Session, is acting in strict accordance with the opinion and the counsel publicly expressed by members of the Government.

The conditions of the present Session are in no wise different from those which were anticipated at the very time these statements by Ministers were made. The Yeto Bill is before Parliament, but they knew then that this would be the case. Therefore all the considerations which prompted them to regard the present Session as the right one for dealing with Woman Suffrage apply to-day with undiminished force.

Their utterances—made, we are entitled to assume, with a full sense of responsibility—should be sufficient to silence the usual gibberish about the present Session being too fully occupied with business of "exceptional

importance" to admit of a settlement of the Woman Suffrage question. This parrot cry we have heard every Session since women first asked for the Vote. We have learnt to disregard it, and we hope that no intelligent supporter of Woman Suffrage, whether inside or outside Parliament, will pay the smallest attention to it.

The Prime Minister's pledge, made in November last, can also be adduced in support of our demand for votes this Session. That pledge runs as follows:—

The Government will, if they are still in power, give facilities in the next Parliament for effectively proceeding with a Bill which is so framed as to admit of free amendment.

Now, either this pledge was made for the sole purpose of postponing, without satisfying, an inconvenient claim, or it was made with the serious intention of carrying it into effect. If it was a genuine pledge, made in good faith, then, as Mr. Brailsford ably shows in his statement on page 302, it ought to be fulfilled in this present Session. Indeed, a refusal to give facilities to the Conciliation Bill this Session will be evidence that the Government do not mean to allow the enfranchisement of women in the present Parliament; in other words, that they do not mean to fulfil their pledge.

For, if facilities for the Conciliation Bill are not to be given in this first Session, when are they to be given? The second Session will be no more convenient, no less crowded than the present one. Home Rule, that disturbing and thorny question, will then be cited by the politicians as the all-absorbing question which crowds out Woman Suffrage.

Beyond a Home Rule Session, who can see! The third Session of this Parliament will probably never occur, and if it does some other "great question" will arise for settlement. In point of fact, the present Session is not likely to be marked by the stress and turmoil which journalistic fancy has prophetically painted. In the radiance of the Coronation, we may be sure, political differences will be solved, and some settlement of the Veto question will be arrived at without any great excitement or expenditure of time.

In short, it will never be easier for the Government to accord facilities for the Conciliation Bill than it is now, and if the present opportunity be not taken they may not have the power, even if they have the will, to carry out their pledge in the future, which is so full of uncertainty and hazard.

It is most clear that, if the Government are really prepared to give facilities to the Conciliation Bill in this Parliament, they will decide to do it now.

The Government, though they claim the whole of the time of the House of Commons until Easter, express the hope that after Easter private members will have the usual opportunities of discussing Bills introduced by themselves. Accordingly, the supporters of the Conciliation Bill took part in the ballot. By good fortune the second place was secured by Mr. Edward Gouling. He will introduce the Bill, and there is no man in Parliament in whose earnestness and tactical skill we should have greater confidence.

The Conciliation Committee is firm and united, the Bill is in the hands of one of the best friends of the Suffrage cause, and it commands a strong majority in the House of Commons. Here are all the conditions of success, save one—the consent of the Government to grant the necessary facilities for the full consideration of the Bill. We hope that that consent will be forthcoming.

As we have pointed out, now is the time for the fulfilment of the Prime Minister's pledge, if that pledge is to be regarded as a reality. One thing is certain, women cannot, without forfeiting dignity and self-respect, submit to the destruction of the hopes which they have founded upon the Conciliation movement. If the Government should for the second time veto the Conciliation Bill, they will be deliberately and callously provoking rebellion—rebellion carried through, as they well know, at heavy cost to the women in this Union.

Christabel Pankhurst.

MILITANT METHODS IN HISTORY.

By Joseph Clayton. III.—John Hampden and Parliamentary Government—1629-1643.

By the ancient laws and liberties of England it is the known birthright and inheritance of the subject that no tax, tallage, or other charge shall be levied or imposed but by common consent in England, and that the subsidies of tonnage and poundage are no way due or payable but by a free gift and special Act of Parliament.

In these memorable words began the declaration moved by Sir John Eliot in the House of Commons on March 2, 1629.

Only by physical force could the resolutions be carried, for Charles I. had ordered the adjournment of the House. So the Speaker was held down in his chair, the Serjeant-at-Arms was stopped in his effort to remove the Mace, and the key of the House of Commons was turned from within until the sitting was over.

Two days later Parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation, and for the next eleven years Charles ruled without calling Parliament together, determined that until the Commons were more submissive he would govern through his ministers alone.

The king's difficulty was to get money, and it seemed that by the device of ship-money—taxation on the pretext that ships were to be furnished with supplies for the prevention of piracy—this difficulty had been overcome.

It is John Hampden, a country gentleman and a leader in the House of Commons, whose name has come down to us for resistance to this tax.

The king's judges, by ten to two, had decided that ship-money was legal, but the House of Commons had decreed that all forced loans and taxes were unlawful unless sanctioned by Parliament; and Hampden saw clearly that if the Crown could obtain a revenue without consulting Parliament there was an end to constitutional government, and all the work of building up a representative House of Commons was undone.

The amount was small—only a matter of 20s.—but to Hampden the principle was everything. When the case came into the courts judgment was given against Hampden; but five of the twelve judges decided that his objection was valid, and the arguments for non-payment were circulated far and wide, so that, in the words of Clarendon, "the judgment proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service."

Charles was compelled to summon Parliament again, so sore was his need for money, and after the "Short Parliament" of three weeks, came, in 1640, the "Long Parliament," which lasted thirteen years, and was only dissolved in the end by the arms of Oliver Cromwell.

Charles called Parliament together for the one purpose of getting supplies, but the House of Commons met in no spirit for voting taxes before the grievances of the country had been redressed, and in no mood of submission. Men like Hampden and Pym were now determined that the king's ministers should be answerable to Parliament for their policy, that the House of Commons should, in fact, be the real governing body of the nation, that, briefly, the people who supplied the money for government should have a voice in the spending of that money.

Neither Pym nor Hampden was Republican. Both men believed in government by King, Lords, and Commons; only the royal claim of "Divine right" and the royal absolutism that regarded Parliament as a machine for voting money for the Crown without questioning or criticising the royal policy, were intolerable. If the king would not listen to the Commons, then the Commons would prove, by force of arms in the last resource, that in them and not in the Crown was the real authority of government.

But Hampden and Pym were far from desiring civil war; they were for constitutional methods as long as such methods were possible. Charles simply could not bring himself to see the point of view of the House of Commons men, and treated every movement they made as grossly improper. The crisis came when the Grand Remonstrance of the House of Commons was presented to the king, in December, 1641. The Remonstrance was in no sense a revolutionary

manifesto, but it stated, quite frankly, the case for the Parliament, and its main points were the need for securities for the administration of justice, and an insistence on the responsibility of the king's ministers to the Houses of Parliament. It was only carried in the Commons by a majority of eleven, 159 to 148. The reply of Charles to the Grand Remonstrance was to order the surrender of five members of the House of Commons on an impeachment of high treason. "All constitutional law was set aside by a charge which proceeded personally from the king, which deprived the accused of their legal right to a trial by their peers and summoned them before a tribunal which had no pretence to a jurisdiction over them."

The House of Commons declined to surrender the five members, and when Charles came in person to Westminster to demand their arrest, the five members (of whom Pym was one) were safely away in the City of London. In vain the king endeavoured to procure their arrest, the citizens—all for the Commons—ignored his writs and called out the trained bands for the protection of the people's representatives.

And now, in the end of the winter of 1642, by war, and war alone, was the issue between the king and the Commons to be decided. Constitutional precedents were rudely broken when the king levied troops by a royal commission without advice from Parliament, and when Pym, for the Commons, got an ordinance through Parliament, appointing the Lords-Lieutenant of the Counties to command the militia without warrant from the Crown.

The final attempt at negotiations came to an end in April, Charles rejecting the proposals for limiting the power of the monarchy with the words, "If I granted your demands I should be no more than the mere phantom of a king."

By August war was begun. Less than a year later and Hampden, who had raised a regiment of infantry from his native county of Buckinghamshire, fell mortally wounded after a skirmish with the king's troops on the field of Chalgrove. For six days he lingered and then at Thame, on June 24, 1643, all further battling for human liberties was over for John Hampden.

His reputation of honesty was universal, and his affections seemed so publicly guided that no corrupt or private ends could bias them. So Clarendon wrote of John Hampden. The civil war went on, though Hampden was dead, and the final success of the Parliamentary Army under Cromwell not only brought the king and his minister, Archbishop Laud, to the scaffold, but ended for ever in England all absolute supremacy of the Crown. The mass of working people in the country were largely indifferent to the struggle between the king and Parliament (see G. P. Gooch, "History of Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century"); how could it be otherwise when the labourer and the artisan must needs be about their daily work?

But in spite of this inevitable indifference time has proved the lasting value to the nation of John Hampden's work. (Mr. Clayton's article next week will deal with the Passage of the Great Reform Bill, 1832.)

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

(See page 302 for an announcement about the Albert Hall meeting on March 23.)

London Free Meetings.

Lady Meyer, the life-long worker for social reform, and Vice-President of the East St. Pancras School for Mothers, will speak at the Queen's Hall meeting on Monday next, February 13, at 3 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair. An interesting feature of this meeting will be the singing of the Women's March by Miss Ethel Clegg, who will be accompanied by the composer, Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc. Words and music will be on sale. As this song, which has been adopted by the W.S.P.U. as its Marching Song, will be sung by a choir under the conductorship of Dr. Smyth at the Albert Hall meeting, members who intend to join the choir should seize this opportunity of hearing how the march should be sung. Mr. G. A. Touche, M.P., will be one of the speakers on the following Monday. Members and friends will be glad to know that Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst will address the meeting at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, Portman Square, on Thursday, February 16, at 8 p.m. These Monday and Thursday meetings are held every week, there is no charge for admission, and similar meetings are held weekly in all the centres throughout the country where the Union is represented (see pp. 311 et seq.).

Entertainment at Portman Rooms.

What promises to be a most delightful and enjoyable entertainment will be given in the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Saturday, February 18, at 8 p.m. This entertainment, in which many well-known professionals are taking part, is in aid of the Paddington and Marylebone local Union, and Mrs. Pankhurst will be the guest of the evening. Tickets (pressed 2s., unreserved 1s.) may be obtained at the Woman's Press Shop, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C., at 50, Præd Street, Paddington, and at the Manager's Office, Portman Rooms. Friends should secure tickets early to avoid disappointment.

Other Important Meetings.

In view of the important work that lies before members of the Women's Social and Political Union during 1911, many new W.S.P.U. centres are being opened, and a very large number of meetings are being held in places hitherto untouched. In addition to the meetings announced above and those on pp. 311 et seq., the following are arranged: Mrs. Pankhurst at the Park Hall, Cardiff, to-day (Friday) at 8 p.m., at the Town Hall, Cheltenham, on Wednesday, February 15, at 8 p.m., at the Portsmouth Town Hall on Monday, February 20, at 8 p.m., in the Fitzwilliam Room, Angel Hotel, Peterborough, on Wednesday, February 22, at 3 p.m., and in the Peterborough Corn Exchange the same evening at 8 p.m., at the Synod Hall, Edinburgh on Monday, February 27, and at Glasgow and Ayr on Tuesday, February 28. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at the Co-operative Hall, Ipswich, on Tuesday, February 14, at 3 p.m., at the West Hampstead Town Hall, Tuesday, February 21, at the Ewen Hall, Barnet, on Thursday, February 23, at 8 p.m., and at the Queen's Gate Hall, South Kensington, on Tuesday, February 28, at 3 p.m. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, L.L.B., will speak at the Temperance Hall, Leicester, to-day (Friday), at 8 p.m.

The Next Deputation.

It is of the greatest importance that those who wish to take part in the next Deputation to the Prime Minister should communicate with Miss Christabel Pankhurst without delay, as arrangements in connection with so large a Deputation as is anticipated cannot be conveniently made at the last moment. Among the very large number of women who have already volunteered are several who took part in last November's deputation.

The New Marching Song.

The W.S.P.U. Marching Song, which will be sung at the Queen's Hall next Monday, is published by Messrs. Breitkopf and Hartel, 54, Great Marlborough Street, and can be obtained on and after Monday next at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. The words and music, printed on cards, price 1d., and the pianoforte arrangement, price 3d., will be on sale at Queen's Hall.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table with columns: Name, Amount, Name, Amount. Lists names and their contributions to the £100,000 fund, including Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Pethick Lawrence, and many others.

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

SPEAKERS' CLASS.

Hon. Election Mistress—Miss Rosa Lee, 45, Ashworth Mansions, Eight Avenue, W.C. Hon. Secretary—Miss Hale, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. There was a splendid attendance at last Friday's class...

CLERKS' W.S.P.U.

Hon. Secs.: Miss Phyllis Ayton, 62, Edith Road, West Kensington, W. Hon. Treas.: Miss Margaret Maguire, 15, Carlton Vale, Malden, S.W. A very good meeting was held by "Clerk" members...

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President—The Bishop of Lincoln. Officers—22, Halberstadt Mansions, 32, Charing Cross Road. Members who have not yet secured seats for the Steinway Hall Meeting...

IRISH WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETY, LONDON.

Under the auspices of the local branch a very successful meeting was held on Feb. 2, in the Temperance Institute, Mrs. Williams (Hon. Treas.) having invited a number of ladies to an address on Women's Suffrage...

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

Office—Ancient Concert Buildings, 60, Brunswick Street. On Tuesday, January 3, a torchlight procession celebrated the return of the Irish prisoners who had been released.

WHERE TO SHOP.

- Bedding Manufacturers. Heil & Son, 15, Abchurch Lane. Bookmakers. Debenham & Freebody, 21, Abchurch Lane. Dressmakers. Alfred Day, 21, Abchurch Lane. Florists, &c. Derry & Toms, 21, Abchurch Lane. Furnishers. Derry & Toms, 21, Abchurch Lane. Jewellers and Silversmiths. Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Co., 21, Abchurch Lane. Insurance Agent. Percy D. Lee, 21, Abchurch Lane. Laundries. Beaconsfield Laundry, 21, Abchurch Lane. Milliners. Debenham & Freebody, 21, Abchurch Lane. Musical Instruments. Dimoline Pianos, 21, Abchurch Lane. Publishers. The Women's Press, 21, Abchurch Lane. Restaurants and Tea Rooms. Alan's Tea Rooms, 21, Abchurch Lane. Specialities. Bon's Marking Ink, 21, Abchurch Lane.

DIMOLINE PIANOS.

"You will be glad to know that the Piano which I had for you seventeen years ago is still in excellent condition. It has needed no repair whatever during all that time."

WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.

For the most beautiful designs, combined with the highest quality at competitive prices, see the collection of Gem Jewellery, Gold and Silver Plated ware at the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company, Ltd., 112, Regent Street, London, W. (Advt.)

FREE CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

Hon. Org. Sec.—Rev. Edward Clark, 1, Burns Road, Harlesden, London, N.W. Hon. Sec.—Miss Hatty Baker, 25, Hartington Villas, Hove. A public meeting will be held at the Manor Mission, Gallywall Road, Brompton, Feb. 15, a drawing-room meeting on Feb. 22 at Lavender Hill, Clapham...

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WOMEN'S TAX RESISTANCE LEAGUE.

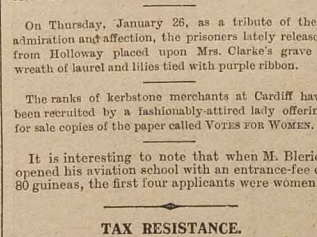
Central Office: 10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C. Third Floor left. Hours 10 to 6 by appointment with the Secretary, Mrs. Ninette Parkes. On Thursday, Feb. 2, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Tunbridge Wells, when Mrs. Kingston Parkes gave an address on "The Principles of Tax Resistance..."

TAX RESISTANCE.

On Thursday, January 26, as a tribute of their admiration and affection, the prisoners lately released from Holloway placed upon Mrs. Clarke's grave a wreath of laurel and lilies tied with purple ribbon.

THE PUREST SOAP PRODUCED

Try FLAKO this week on your Woollens, Flannels, Laces, Silks, and Fine Fabrics. WON'T SHRINK FLANNELS. AN EXCELLENT HAIR WASH.



JOHN KNIGHT, LTD. Soap Makers by Appointment to H.M. King George V., THE ROYAL PRIMROSE SOAP WORKS, LONDON.

ALFRED DAY Ladies' Tailor.



Black Navy & Cream Serge Duns. 2 Gns. Tweed, Cloth, and Flannels. 2 Gns. Fancies, Hosiery, Suits, etc. 2 Gns. Face Cloth, Gown Coating, etc. 5 Gns. Three-quarter Coats. 15 Gns. Patterns & Design post free. A special study made of fitting from pattern. Carriage paid to any part of the United Kingdom.

ALFRED DAY, 51 & 52, Park St, Regent's Park (Gloucester Gate), London, N.W.

PURE OLIVE OIL.

The "RED-LOIS" Brand is the PUREST in the WORLD. PROMINENT MEMBER of W.S.P.U. I have recommended your oil to many people, and shall continue to do so as it is most excellent.

ALAN'S TEA ROOMS, 263, OXFORD STREET.

(Three Doors from Jay's). LUNCHEON - 1s., 1s. 6d. TEA - 4d., 6d., 1s.

MR. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O.

(Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.) Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir.

BECHSTEIN STUDIOS, 40, Wigmore Street, W., and Stanley House, Milner Street, Chelsea.

E. DAY & CO., 5, BRECKNOCK ROAD, AND 275, HIGH STREET, CAMDEN TOWN, N.W.

Dry Cleaning in all its branches, and Dyeing in latest Fashionable Shades.

MR. CHODWICK BROWN, DENTAL SURGERY, MR. FREDK. G. BURGER, ASSIST. DENTAL SURGEON.

ESTABLISHED 35 YEARS. Gas Administered daily, at 11 and 3, by a Qualified Medical Man. Fee, 7/6.

SHEPHERD'S BUSH—Two Small, Furnished Rooms in self-contained flat, York Road, close Station. Suit business lady. Apply Box 52, Votes for Women Offices, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

SUFFRAGETTES VISITING BRIGHTON AND TRAVELLING TO BATH, BATHING AT BATH AND VISITING THE BATHS OF BATH.

Apply to Mrs. M. D. Jones, 10, Victoria Road, Brighton, N. Tel. 1702. Special terms for week-end.

TO LET—Furnished Rooms with partial attendance. Use of bath and light inclusive. Large Station. Apply, Robertson, 9, Young Street, Kensington Square.

RESIDENTIAL HOME FOR NURSES, STUDENTS, AND LADY VISITORS. Cobble, with board, from 12/6 per week. Rooms moderate. Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 45, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

TO LET—Furnished Rooms with partial attendance. Use of bath and light inclusive. Large Station. Apply, Robertson, 9, Young Street, Kensington Square.

VEGETARIAN BOARD-RESIDENCE, temporary or permanent. Homelike. Ladies and Gentlemen. Convenient situation. Madame Veigle, 65, Hereford Road, Bayswater, W.

TO LET, FOR SALE, &c.

BEDFORD—One hour St. Pancras. Good train service. Detached, quiet, furnished, charmingly-situated Residence, suitable for boarding and apartments. Three reception, 8 or 9 bedrooms, bath, and e. s.w. aspect. Good domestic arrangements, large garden, tennis lawn. Electric light and gas. Apply Owner, 47, Parliament Hill, Hampstead, N.W.

CHELSEA—Two unfurnished rooms to let in old-fashioned house, 85, Perceval Road, Chelsea. No bath. No other lodgers, or children. 10 minutes Sloane Square. Ladies engaged during day preferred.—M. 69, Royal Hospital Road, S.W.

HIGHGATE—To Let Furnished. Three or four bedrooms, second floor, sitting-room, gas or coal fire, bathroom, gas fire, two beds, kitchen, No other lodgers. Bath, lavatory separate. Rent, 10/0. Apply, 46, Langdon Park Road.

LARGE ROOM to let, suitable for meetings, at Home, Dances, Lectures, Refectories, etc. Apply, Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford St.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES.

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

All Advertisements must be prepaid. Tenpence insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon.

Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

ENTERTAINMENT in aid of the Paddington and Marylebone Branch of the W.S.P.U., at the Large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Saturday, February 18, at 8 p.m. Doors open 7.30. Chairman, Cecil Chapman, Esq. Guest of the evening, Mrs. Pankhurst. Performers—Miss Margaret Buss, Miss Marianne Caldwell, Madame Capron, Miss Maria Cunningham, Miss Florence Castle, Madame Alice Key, Miss Thelma Harris, Miss Edith Jenoure, Miss Sylvia Little, Miss Rosemary Moore, Miss Vera Moore, Miss Vera Moore, Miss Selma Sack, Miss Vera Wise, Miss Fanny Westworth, Miss Marie Wilson. Tickets: Numbered and Reserved, 2s.; Unreserved, 1s., can be obtained at 10, Prud Street, W., and at the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

WELL-ESTABLISHED Boarding-House for Sale (Kensington), 10, St. John's Wood, W.8. Satisfactory reasons for disposal.—Full particulars from Z. M. VOTES FOR WOMEN OFFICES, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

WANTED.

MOTHER and DAUGHTER want three unglazed or district. Rent must be moderate.—Write Mrs. V. VOTES FOR WOMEN OFFICES, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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BESTE Gelegenheit deutsch zu lernen, Examen zu machen, Musik zu studieren in deutschem heim Freiburg, Universität-stadt. Nord. Ausländer Schulen, Freiburg. —Miss A. Köhler, Freiburg, Friedrichstrasse 8.

EDINBURGH SCHOOL OF GARDENING FOR WOMEN, CORSTORPINE. Finely situated on southern slope of Corstorphine Hills, a most interesting life in bracing air. Training thoroughly practical. Prospects on application.

HOME DRESSMAKING.—Lady experienced gives private instruction to Ladies desirous of making own gowns, for terms.—Ladies Dress-cutting, 128, Kensington High Street.

HOME SCHOOL.—Family life. Happy holidays. Pupils kept all year.—Clough School, Redhill.

JU-JITSU and Physical Culture.—Mrs. Garrod, member W.S.P.U. School for ladies only. Open daily 8 to 11. Newest patterns free.—Hawling, Ladies' Tailors, Redford, Notts.

LOVEGROVES POULTRY FARM. Short courses of instruction in poultry keeping.—Prospectus from Miss Le Lachur, Checkendon, Reading.

MANAGE YOUR OWN MONEY.—Miss Noel Temple's Ladies' Classes for Lectures on Business Knowledge commence in February. Pupils catered for. Syllabus and terms on application.—48, Finchborough Road, South Kensington.

MATHEMATICS.—Experienced graduate teaches for Matriculation, Civil Service, Board of Education examinations, &c. Visits and receives. Box 776, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn.

MEDICAL.—Woman Doctor, with a good deal of experience in Nervous Cases, receives Resident Patients. Home near St.—Apply Dr. Mackenzie, 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

MINIATURE PAINTING.—Miss Mary Gowan, Exhibitor R.A., etc. Lessons given on Victoria, Newton Road, Westbourne Grove.—Address: 5, Tanquerhill Road, Streatham Common.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U. Speakers' Class, is waiting a COMFORTABLE room for day or two, or taking private lessons in communication with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Eight Avenue, W.C. Post free, 1s. 1d.—Belvoir and Co., New Southgate, N.

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Smart and useful Nightdress in Nainsook, trimmed Embroidery, as sketch, good length and size. **Special price, 4/6.**

"The Louvre."—This Skirt is specially produced by Derry & Toms for this Sale, and cannot be obtained elsewhere; made in best quality brilliant Alpaca, with deep silk satin flounce, exact as sketch, in newest shape. In sky, pink, helio, old rose, amethyst, dark helio, olive green, brown, navy, ivory and black. **6/11.** Worth 10/9.

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Useful white Skirt, with pleated flounce, as sketch. **Special price, 3/11.**

Dainty Princess Slip, trimmed Torchon Lace, yoke and flounce. **Special Price, 5/6**

Smart white Skirt, with Lace flounce, trimmed Torchon Lace, as sketch. **Special price, 4/6.**