

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VO. II., No. 46.

JANUARY 21, 1909.

Price 1d. Weekly. (Post Free, 14d.)

## CONTENTS.

	PAGE.
Dedication	273
The Outlook	273
N.W.S.P.U. Announcements	274
Programme of Events	274
History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	275
At The Queen's Hall	276
Answers to Correspondents	279
Our Post Box	279
Extracts from the Press	279
Women as Race Builders. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence	280
Political Notes. By F. W. Pethick Lawrence	281
The Campaign Throughout the Country	282
"A Necessary Leverage"	284
Tamworth By-Election	285
Unemployed Women and Mr. Asquith	285
Heckling Cabinet Ministers	285
Local Notes	286
Treasurer's Note	287
Contributions to the £50,000 Fund	287

filled by an eager crowd of friends desirous of doing honour to their leader. Miss Mordan delighted the audience by her symbolic description of the gift, and after it had been acknowledged Mrs. Pankhurst spoke on the current political outlook and predicted the speedy triumph of the Votes for Women agitation. On pages 276-278 we reproduce in full, for the benefit of those of our readers who were unable to be present, a verbatim report of her speech on that occasion. Meanwhile in various parts of the country the weekly At Homes have been in full swing, and have attracted many newcomers. On Tuesday, January 19, as this paper went to press, a great meeting was being held in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, addressed by Christabel Pankhurst. Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who organised the meeting, adopted a number of new methods of advertisement that created a great deal of interest in the city, some of which at one time bade fair to bring her into conflict with the police. Of the meetings in prospect arranged by the Women's Social and Political Union a full list will be found on the next page. In addition to these, there is to be another Woman Suffrage meeting in the large Queen's Hall on Tuesday, January 26, organised by the Men's League.

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, 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.

We have received from the Rev. Anna Shaw, President of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, the following message:—"I rejoice in every victory which you win and glory in the defeat of every Governmental candidate, although in sentiment I am a Liberal. Yet I feel that those who see the light and refuse to follow it are more to be condemned than those who have yet failed to recognise the vision. May the year 1909 witness your full triumph in the enfranchisement of the women of my native country!" On page 279 we publish an interesting letter from Canada, from a member of the Women's Social and Political Union who recently suffered imprisonment for the cause. Miss Mary Keegan describes the interest which is being shown in our movement from across the water. We welcome these communications of the unity of the woman's agitation in other countries, and are more than ever confident that victory in this country is bound to bring, without long delay, the enfranchisement of women in every part of the world.

### Educational Activity.

During last week the principal meeting held by the Women's Social and Political Union was that in the Queen's Hall on January 14, when the presentation was made to Mrs. Pankhurst on behalf of members of the Union. The large hall was

### Cabinet Ministers Interrogated.

Mr. Winston Churchill, who has been the first politician to address audiences after the recess, has already found himself confronted by Woman Suffragists. At Birmingham Miss Gladice Keevil found her way into the banquet room where Mr. Churchill was speaking, and there interrogated him directly as to the attitude of the Government on Woman Suffrage. Among the guests there was considerable applause at her interruption. At Leicester Mr. Churchill was also approached by members of the Union, presented with a copy of this paper, and reminded of the claim of women on the Government. At Halifax Mr. Haldane was questioned by women, but refused to answer. Lord Crewe had to deal with Suffragist interruptions at Brierley Hill, and replied in a manner strangely at variance with the utterances of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George.

### The Right Way with Opponents.

Among evidences of the success of the tactics of the Women's Social and Political Union is the fact that for the first time the inveterate opponents of Woman Suffrage are finding it necessary to bestir themselves and to bring out their weapons against the granting of the vote to women. We have pleasure in printing on page 279 of this issue a letter from two of our members which is the only adequate answer to such opposition as that which comes from the pen of Lord Avebury. If in the opinion of men such as Lord Avebury and Professor Dicey women are not able enough to form an opinion on the questions of the day, then in the opinion of women such gentlemen are not suitable persons to control societies which are largely supported by women's money.

### Interesting Items of the Week.

The Scottish women graduates have formed a University Woman Suffrage Society, which will enrol graduates as ordinary members and others as associate members. They intend to carry on a campaign over the whole of Scotland, working from the University towns as centres in the first instance. An Oxford University Woman Suffrage Society has also been formed. A curious case is being discussed in Wallasey, where there has been a movement for some time past for the incorporation of the town as a municipality. It has been discovered that the effect of this will be to disfranchise 600 married women. Hitherto the town has been governed by an Urban District Council, at which these women have had the right to vote. If the incorporation takes effect these will now be excluded. An opposition move is being organised.



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

Though there are still nearly four months before the great exhibition which is to be held in the Prince's Skating Rink from May 13 to 26, the time is none too long for the extensive preparations which have to be made.

It is hoped that some local unions and many private individuals will make themselves severally responsible for equipping a whole stall during the fortnight that the Exhibition is running.

Self-denial Week.

It has been decided to repeat the successful experiment of last year of adding to the finances of the Union by having another Self-denial Week. This will commence in 1909 on February 27.

London Social on January 29.

Friends in London and the neighbourhood will be glad to know that arrangements have been made for a social gathering at the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on Friday, January 29, from 8 to 10.

The Weekly At Homes.

A special invitation is extended to all those interested in the movement to attend the weekly At Homes of the Union. Those in London are held at the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoons from 3 to 5, and in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, on Thursday evenings, from 8 to 10.

Weekly At Homes are also held regularly in each of the centres of the country campaigns, particulars of which are given on pages 282-285.

Forthcoming Meetings.

Among the special meetings of the next week are the large meeting in Leicester, in the Corn Exchange, on Monday, the 25th, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, and that at Croydon, in the Public Hall, next Wednesday, the 27th, at which Christabel Pankhurst will speak.

Our readers are also reminded of the lectures by Miss Chrystal Macmillan and Miss Elizabeth Robins in the St. James's Hall on February 16 and 23, for which tickets at 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Table with 4 columns: Date, Location, Name, Time. Includes events for Feb 2, 5, 8, 10, 12, 16, 23, Mar 13-26.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Large table with 4 columns: Date, Location, Name, Time. Lists various events from Jan 21 to Mar 30 across different cities like Leicester, Bristol, Aberdeen, London, etc.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. XLI.—Protests at the House of Commons.

We saw last week that Mrs. Cobden-Sanderson and nine other militant suffragettes were released from Holloway Prison on November 24, 1906, though they had only served one half of their two months' sentence.

Table with 2 columns: Name (Arthur Sherwell, T. R. Williams, J. Foster Fraser) and Vote (5,762, 5,422, 4,844).

Table with 2 columns: Name (Sir J. T. Woodhouse, T. R. Williams, J. Foster Fraser) and Vote (6,302, 5,813, 4,391).

The official Liberals, of course, denied that their women opponents had been able to exercise any influence whatever upon the electorate, but the following handbill is one of the many proofs that some, at any rate, of the Government's supporters had begun to realise the growing power that was rising up against them.

MEN OF HUDDERSFIELD DON'T BE MISLED BY SOCIALISTS, SUFFRAGETTES, OR TORIES. VOTE FOR SHERWELL.

On November 18, ten days before the election day at Huddersfield, eight women members of the Women's Social and Political Union had waited upon Mr. John Burns, the President of the Local Government Board, at his house in Battersea, with the object of learning from him his own and the Government's intention in regard to Votes for Women.

On the following December 12 the women Suffragists succeeded in obtaining an interview with Mr. Sydney Buxton, the Postmaster-General, but his replies were as unsatisfactory as those of Mr. John Burns, and he refused to give them any

promise that the Government would take any steps to give women the vote or that he personally would withdraw his opposition to the enactment of this reform.

Manchester, the birthplace of the militant movement, now showed itself eager as ever for the fray, and a valiant little army of North-country working women came up to London, and on the evening of December 13 gathered outside the Strangers' Entrance to the House of Commons, and proceeded to hold a meeting of protest against the Government's obstinate refusal to give freedom to British women.

About two hundred women were present, and as soon as Mrs. Baines had been pulled down from the box they linked arms and closed around Mrs. Morrissey, of Manchester, a sweet-faced elderly woman, who now began to speak.

Meanwhile, more of the Manchester contingent—Mrs. Armstrong, Mrs. Davis, and Mrs. Lily Johnston—had attempted to speak, and each in her turn had been removed to Cannon Row. Next day the five women were brought up at the Westminster Police Court, before Mr. Horace Smith, and were each ordered either to pay a fine of forty shillings or go to prison for fourteen days.

This happened on the Friday. On the following Monday evening, December 17, another demonstration took place. On this occasion four women made their way quietly into the Strangers' Lobby, where, close to the Iddesleigh statue, Mrs. Mary Keating Hill, of Cardiff, one of their number, began to speak.

(To be continued.)



## AT THE QUEEN'S HALL.

PRESENTATION TO MRS. PANKHURST AND MRS. LEIGH.

Thursday, January 14, will be ever a memorable day in the annals of the Women's Social and Political Union. The Queen's Hall was filled with a crowd of eager and enthusiastic men and women who came to do honour to the leader of the Union, Mrs. Pankhurst, and to express their respect for their brave comrade Mrs. Leigh.

The proceedings commenced at five minutes to eight by the arrival on the platform of twenty members of the Women's Social and Political Union, each dressed in white, and carrying in her hands the tricolour flag in the purple, white, and green, which has now become so familiar to everyone throughout the country. These women took up their places on the platform behind the chairs allotted to the speakers, and their arrival was the signal for the singing of the "Marseillaise" by the audience throughout the whole hall.

Precisely at 8 o'clock Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, accompanied by Miss Mordan and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, came on to the platform, and after they had taken their places Mrs. Pankhurst joined them, and was received by the whole audience standing and cheering.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence opened the proceedings by giving expression to the great joy which all the members and friends of the Women's Social and Political Union felt in having once more in their midst their beloved leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, and their beloved comrade Mrs. Leigh. Never before in the history of the movement had the outlook into the future been so bright as it was to-day. Never before had women been able to feel the same assurance and certainty of speedy success. The question people were asking now was not "Are women going to get the vote?" but "How soon are they going to get it?" Everybody recognised that the vote could not be withheld; it was only a matter of giving it now or delaying it for a period to be reckoned, not in years, but in months. Those who feared the result of women's competition should be the first to bring pressure to bear upon the Government to give votes to women without delay, for in the meantime women were learning their power, and if politicians gave them time to realise the strength that comes of union and organisation, they would have to face the prospect of not only giving women the vote, but of giving women all the other reforms that they wanted at the same time.

But although to-day women were standing on the very threshold of success, yet the struggle was not ended. Though the conflict would be short, yet it might in the near future be sharper than anything that had hitherto been waged, and it might also be fraught with penalties even more severe. This was not a matter for regret, as every woman in the Union felt proud to be able to pay her share of the great price which was demanded as a ransom for a new emancipation of the human race.

### Miss Mordan.

The Chairman then called upon Miss Mordan, who, amid applause, said:—Whatever claim I may have for the honour conferred upon me this evening springs, I suppose, firstly from the fact that I have been a life-long worker for the enfranchisement of women; secondly, that I am one of the old workers, as Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has mentioned, who saw at a glance the need for new methods as soon as new methods presented themselves; thirdly, that I am most especially fond of Mrs. Pankhurst. You will say, "So are we all." But on me has been conferred the favour.

The jewels we are going to beg Mrs. Pankhurst to accept to-night are jewels not only in the colours of the Union, as they naturally should be—amethysts, pearls, and emeralds—but they also possess certain mystic meanings which are singularly appropriate. Popular fancy has always played round sparkling gems, and has delighted in investing different stones with different magical attributes. Pearls were called by the ancients "tears of the angels," and we may well imagine that the tears shed by angels over the captivity voluntarily undergone by one woman for the sake of the enfranchisement of all women—we may well imagine such tears crystallising into pearls, to be offered her on her release from captivity by the grateful hearts of women for whom she endured it.

The emerald was said to possess the property of bestowing on its wearer two mighty gifts—the gift of being impervious to the fury of the storm—(cheers)—and the gift—this is too remarkable—the gift of an eloquent tongue. These gifts were said to be bestowed by the emerald on the person wearing it, but it is evident that the emerald sometimes bestows gifts in anticipation. (Cheers.) The

emerald in the present instance did not wait for this evening to be formally presented to Mrs. Pankhurst before endowing her with a mighty contempt for the fury of Governmental storms and with an eloquent tongue wherewith to express the same. The emerald must also possess the magical gift of knowing beforehand what is going to happen, and acting accordingly. (Laughter.)

The emerald and the amethyst, we read, are two of the twelve foundations of the wall of the Holy City. We may therefore take them as types of the foundations of that new city of justice to women which the founder of this movement has sacrificed so much to build, is sacrificing so much to go on with the building, and is ready to sacrifice all that she is, and all that she has, for the sake of making that building finished and complete.

This is the book we are giving to Mrs. Pankhurst, and the inscription on the title-page, which I will read aloud:—

To our revered and beloved leader, Mrs. Pankhurst, founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, we present, on the occasion of her release from Holloway, the deep devotion of our hearts, although we feel that this devotion can find adequate expression only in a lifetime of loyalty to those principles of justice and freedom for which she has already twice suffered imprisonment. We desire her acceptance of a small token of our gratitude and love. This chain of amethysts, pearls, and emeralds we ask her to wear for our sake as a symbol of the dignity, purity, and hope which she has wrought into our lives by the power of her great passion for humanity. Our joy in having once more in our midst our beloved leader is very great; greater still is the joy of being allowed to work with her for the emancipation of the womanhood of the country; greatest of all is our joy in the certainty of a very speedy triumph of the cause for which she has never hesitated to pour out all the treasure of her life and being.—January, 1909.

There are many pages of signatures—signatures of all the women who have esteemed themselves too happy to have the privilege of their share in presenting this gift to Mrs. Pankhurst—numbers and numbers of signatures, beautifully written in purple and green on a white ground. This is the book, and this is the ornament which, in the name of the Union, I beg you to accept, Mrs. Pankhurst.

Saying this, Miss Mordan handed the necklace and the book to Mrs. Pankhurst amidst scenes of tremendous enthusiasm.

### Mrs. Pankhurst's Acknowledgment.

Mrs. Pankhurst, in reply, said:—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Mordan, dear friends, any supposed eloquence which I might possess has deserted me to-night. When I heard—as, of course, I have heard—what you intended to offer me to-night, I felt that I did not want to come, that I did not deserve that I should have this recognition of any poor services of mine for the cause of women's freedom; certainly for going to prison I did not deserve it. (Cries of "Yes, yes.") Because I should be a mean woman indeed if I wasn't prepared to do myself what I am responsible for getting other women to do. It seems to me that to go to prison to secure freedom for all women, to go to prison for a short time is such a little thing, such a trifling thing. ("No, no.") Yes, it is—when you think of the human sacrifices that have been made for causes much smaller than ours. There are people who died at the stake for ideas to which to-day we attach very little importance.

We women who are going to inherit the fruit of the labours of other women are born in fortunate times, and whatever we may have to face in these months that lie before us, we know this, that no sacrifice we may be called upon to make will be great enough, will be worthy enough of the reward which we are going to win for all the women who come after us. What has given me courage to come here to-night is the knowledge that this gift, which I shall be so proud to hand on to my children when I go, has been given to me because, as Miss Mordan said, you love me. It is because we women have that fellowship, love, and comradeship that we are so happy in this work. We do not mind prison, we do not mind any sacrifices; we are making these sacrifices together, and we are doing it full of love, full of hope, full of faith in the righteousness of our cause.

Since this is an occasion on which reference is being made to the work of those who are leading this movement I cannot, in front of you all, omit to pay a tribute to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. We in this movement owed her much before my daughter and I went to prison; we owed to her a debt of gratitude for the way in which she came into this movement; we owed to her great gratitude for the magnificent way in which she has filled her office as Treasurer. We owed to her and to her noble husband our newspaper, without which this movement could not have become so great and successful. We who enjoy their intimate friendship and affection know how every moment of their waking lives is spent in thinking of the welfare and the prosperity of this work. We owed them all these things before we went to prison. When we went to prison she was left outside to guide this movement. We knew what she had done up to that time, but I say to you to-night I could never have

believed that Mrs. Lawrence would guide the Union in the way that she has done. When I came out my first idea was, perhaps, we should be—myself especially—more usefully employed by staying in prison and leaving the cause in her hands.

I could not have sat down again, friends, without saying what I have very feebly tried to say about Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Then she has had in that work the loyal help and support and co-operation of all the officers and members of the Union. Before we went to prison I said I was sure you would see that the work did not suffer for our absence; well, you have more than repaid the confidence I reposed in you that day.

I am delighted to have this token of love and gratitude from you. I am delighted that in this beautiful book, the work of our dear friend Mr. Cobden-Sanderson, are recorded the names of all those friends who are so dear to me, and whom I shall always cherish, and my children will cherish, when my work is finished, and I have gone to that rest which awaits every one of us, whether we be young or old.

Mrs. Pankhurst sat down amidst enthusiastic applause.

### Presentation to Mrs. Leigh.

Mrs. Leigh was not able to be present at the meeting, but the Chairman, in spite of her absence, presented her formally with the gift of the Women's Social and Political Union—a handsome clock bearing the following inscription:—

Presented by the Women's Social and Political Union to  
MARIE LEIGH,

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

"Neither to fall nor falter nor repent."

In reply, the Chairman read the following letter from Mrs. Leigh:—

"Dear Comrades,—Many sincere thanks for your invitation. From the bottom of my heart (which will always have a big place for Votes for Women) I thank you for your presentation. It will always be a pleasure to me. It is something I can hand down with pride. My absence this evening is a grief it would be impossible to exaggerate. I wish success to the cause and happiness to you all.—Yours sincerely,  
"MARIE LEIGH."

### Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

Mrs. Pankhurst was then called upon to speak. She rose amidst prolonged cheering, and spoke as follows:—

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence: Friends, we are at the opening of the year's campaign. When a great business firm begins the new year, it is customary to take stock of its condition, to consider the soundness of the undertaking, and to present to those interested in the business a statement of the finances and the prospects of the firm. We of the Women's Social and Political Union are in business; our business is to get votes for women. There are other people whose business it is either to prevent us getting votes, or to hinder us as long as possible from getting them, and it seems to me desirable, before we present to you the programme of our operations for this present year, to take stock and to compare our present standing with that which we occupied when we first came into business.

Those who oppose us tell us that since the Women's Social and Political Union began operations the movement has suffered. They tell us there were some hopes three years ago of women getting the vote, but that the women who started the militant campaign and have carried it on ever since have entirely destroyed the prospects of success. But let us examine the position and compare it with that which we held when we first adopted militant methods.

Three years ago, on February 19, we held our first meeting in London. We met in the Caxton Hall. Miss Annie Kenney, who was associated with me in getting up the meeting, knows, as I do, what our difficulties were. Immediately after the General Election she had come, with £2 in her exchequer, to rouse London. She wrote to us in Manchester, and told us she had taken the Caxton Hall, and that she was going to hold a demonstration on February 19, the day of the opening of Parliament. It would take too long to tell you of that first meeting, but when I compare that little effort of ours with meetings like this, and with those we have had in the Albert Hall, I say, so far as meetings are concerned, we certainly stand a great deal better than we did.

We have had not only meetings in London, but we have had many very large gatherings in all the greatest halls all over the country. We have held, as you know, in Hyde Park the very greatest demonstration that ever was held for any political object; we have also had, corresponding in size, similar demonstrations throughout the provinces.

Then we have succeeded in doing what other Woman Suffrage advocates never were able to do before—we have exerted a great

influence in Parliamentary elections. Since this Government came into power we have taken an active part in thirty-one by-elections. We have entered the field as an independent political force, and at the very first election we took part in we secured a Government defeat. (Interruption; two or three people cry "Shame!") I hope that is not some friend who disapproves of our by-election policy. I think by this time we have converted the people as a whole to that policy; they recognise that if you cannot get from a Government what you want the best thing is to prevent the return of Government nominees at the by-elections. So successful is our policy that now it is exceedingly difficult—it is in some cases impossible—to secure a Liberal candidate prepared to face a contest. We are among the most important factors in Parliamentary contests. There is no doubt about it. (Interruption again.) That is a very small claim to make, and if our friend would go with me to a by-election he would know, as I do, that wherever you see the largest and most enthusiastic audiences you may be sure those meetings are being addressed by members of the Women's Social and Political Union. We have made it impossible for a member of the Government to address a public meeting. ("What about the City Temple?" A Voice: "Turn him out.") Leave the gentleman to me. I know he will agree with us, because, you know, our friend likes to be on the successful side—of course he does—and when he is once convinced that we are the people who are going to win he will, if for no other reason, be one of our most ardent supporters. We succeeded in making Cabinet Ministers realise that they could not get rid of the interruption of the women at real public meetings; we succeeded in driving them into meetings which were guarded by stewards, and from which the general public was excluded, and persons were only admitted by tickets. Well, we got in in spite of these precautions. Then Cabinet Ministers began to take refuge in places like that which my friend has referred to—places like the City Temple. They thought that they would manage to escape the attention of the women in that way, but they found us there, and now to-day the only places where they dare appear are banquets and social gatherings. We know that last night, in Birmingham, Mr. Winston Churchill came face to face with women who would not let even banquets interfere with them in their determination to get political freedom.

There have now been 420 imprisonments of women under a Liberal Government which professes to believe that taxation without representation is tyranny; but though it has cost us dear we have succeeded in making the question of Votes for Women one of the foremost—nay, I say, the foremost—political issue.

Well, friends, I think to those who really want this movement—nearly fifty years old—to succeed that is a very satisfactory statement of affairs. The Home Secretary told us in the debate on the second reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill that it wasn't enough for you to have justice on your side, that it wasn't enough for you to hold demonstrations, and present petitions, and to convert the country to the justice of your claim. He said that there never was a reform won yet without pressure, even amounting to violence, being used in order to force the Government to pass the desired reform into law. Well, throughout the whole of the past three years we militant Suffragists are proud to claim that no one has suffered violence except ourselves. A prominent member of the force that preserves law and order said that if this had been a men's movement there would have been bloodshed long ago. Yet in the whole course of our campaign none have suffered except ourselves. We are very proud of this record. We don't like these militant methods. We say to you who are inclined to blame us for interrupting Cabinet Ministers' meetings, or taking part in by-elections, or raiding the House of Commons, you should not blame us, you should blame the people who have made these methods necessary. If we were not convinced that nothing else would get us the vote, do you think that we would ever have adopted these methods? But we know that they are necessary. You women in this hall who want votes must, in order to succeed, be practical politicians. You have got to understand that people who are voteless are obliged to work ten times as hard as have the poorest class of men who have the right of citizenship, that right which, if intelligently used, will secure any reform in which they are interested.

### The Prospect of Speedy Victory.

Well, now, having succeeded in making that question of supreme importance, what are we going to do in this year which is opening before us? If we work as we ought to work, if we rise to our opportunities, if we are worthy of the privilege of winning the enfranchisement of our sex, we can succeed during the short term of life which remains to this discredited Liberal Government. We mean to do it if it is humanly possible, and we want you, members and friends of the Union, to help us.

We demand that Votes for Women shall be in the King's Speech, and if Votes for Women is not in the King's Speech, it won't be the fault, it won't be through the neglect of the Women's Social



and Political Union. (A Voice: "Who's going to put it there?") The gentleman wants to know who is going to put it in the King's Speech. The Prime Minister is going to put it in the King's Speech, or it will be the worse for him and his Cabinet and his party.

It is, we know, proverbial that when the gods mean to destroy people they make those people mad; and it seems to me as if the gods do not take very much interest in the welfare of the Liberal Government. Yet we hope that at the eleventh hour better counsels will prevail, and that Votes for Women will be in the King's Speech. Well, if that is so all will be well, and we shall do all we can to secure that the Government measure which follows the promise in the King's Speech gets safely carried into law. No effort on the part of the members of this Union will be spared to ensure success for that belated Government measure.

#### If it is not in the King's Speech.

If it is not in the King's Speech, then we shall know what to do. We have known what to do before, and we shall know what to do again. If it is not in the King's Speech, we must meet and confer, as we have met and conferred before. Ladies, we shall endeavour to do that which we have constitutional justification for doing: since we have no one to speak for us in Parliament, we shall endeavour to go there to speak for ourselves. When people have no votes, no representatives in the House of Commons, they are entitled to go to the House of Commons to plead their cause in person before the Legislature. We claim, as women subject to the laws as men are subject to the laws, earning our livings as men earn their livings (but having to earn those livings much more hardily than men), as women suffering in a way that men can never have suffered, from the making of laws by people who do not understand our needs and requirements—we claim the right to go and demand of Parliament the rights of citizenship.

That is our immediate programme. We mean to demonstrate again, as we have demonstrated before. I say to women in this hall to-night, we want you who have not hitherto taken part in this agitation to join us and share with us the dangers and successes which are to come. We don't want you to do the extreme things which some people think themselves justified in saying we do. We do not ask you to do such things as voteless men have done, because we ourselves have never done them. We do not ask you to do anything unwomanly, because we have not done anything unwomanly. Some men would lead you to believe that women fighting against fearful odds for an act of justice are unwomanly. Yet these very men are ready to praise women who have taken up arms even, when they have been fighting side by side for men's causes. I do not ask you to do anything unwomanly; I think the unwomanly thing to do is to do nothing, stand idle when you see your sex interfered with by legislation without being consulted as to what that legislation shall be. You women who are as old as I am, you know, or you ought to know, that we have tried for many years to get unjust laws made more just, to get abuses removed, to get for mothers even the elementary rights of guardianship of their own children, to get purer moral laws, to get better marriage laws. In all this we have failed for want of political power. When we know that in countries where women have had the vote, even for a few years, they have succeeded in getting inequalities removed and the laws made purer and better, that they have succeeded in getting protection for the weak and feeble of their own sex, well, is she not unwomanly who refuses to take part in this agitation for the vote?

If the Government do not yield we shall again go in procession to Parliament; we shall fight every by-election at which the Government have the courage to put a candidate in the field; we shall continue our policy of questioning Cabinet Ministers wherever and whenever we can. What are niceties of courtesy where a great human right is at stake! What does it matter whether a Cabinet Minister is annoyed at a dinner party so long as we get the vote! What do these things matter? They matter most to the woman who has enough courage to do them. If the Cabinet don't like the annoyance caused by our methods, then let them give us the vote, for until we get that vote this agitation is going on, and going on with more vigour than ever before.

A word to you who are still outside our ranks. All these things will be done as well as we can do them, but they will be better done if more women come and help us to do them. You can help in many ways. All this work which I have been mapping out for you cannot be done unless the war chest is kept full. Those women who cannot help in any other way must pay a fine. They must give money to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, in order that the work which other people will perform can be done effectively.

#### Recruits for Militant Action.

As to you young people, you can carry on the work. Some people have said to me, "You mustn't go to prison again." Well, I don't want to go to prison—I never wanted to go to prison at all—but I can tell you that if you don't want me to go to prison again,

and if you don't want Mrs. Leigh to go to prison again, and if you don't want Annie Kenney, who has been to prison four times, if you don't want the women who have been to prison once, or more than once, to go again, then you must come forward in their stead. It is a very little thing to do when you realise how great the end and object is that we have before us. And then there are the women who, because of other duties, perhaps are not able to run these risks. There is a great deal that they can do; they can give drawing-room meetings and can help at our public meetings in halls. They can help with the exhibition, which is to be held next May at Prince's Skating Rink. We mean to make that exhibition the greatest of its kind that has ever been held in London, and that is saying a great deal. You ladies who are experienced in such matters will understand the magnitude of the task. We are not going to take twelve months to prepare it; we are going to have it next May. We have the greater part of the work still to do, and you can help in that. However you decide to work, decide to work in some way. Don't sit idle, don't criticise; the only people who make me angry are the people who criticise and do nothing else.

We are full of hope, we are full of confidence, we are full of energy and desire for work; we are healthy and we are strong; we feel able to do the work we have set ourselves to do. I had a letter the other day from somebody who was present at our Queen's Hall meeting on Monday afternoon for the first time, and in that letter she said that what impressed her in our meetings was the spirit of hope and cheerfulness and comradeship. It is that spirit that is going to win Votes for Women. We who are working in this great movement, although, as you know, we go to prison, we face all kinds of inconveniences, we make certain sacrifices, we are happier than we ever were in our lives before, and I can promise you that if you come into our movement (if I can promise you nothing else) you will know something that you have never known before—you will know what it is never to have a dull moment. You may be very busy, you may be very tired and exhausted when you come home at night after a hard day's work—perhaps in selling the newspaper in the street, or in doing something of that kind—but you will certainly be very happy. People spend their whole lives seeking for happiness and never finding it. Well, we can offer you that. It is our own experience; never before we joined in this work were we so happy. And well may we be so when we recognise that we, out of all the generations of women who are behind us, and of all the women who are to come, are those chosen to win freedom, not only for the women of our own land or for the women of to-day, but for the women of the whole world and of all succeeding generations.

#### A Generous Response.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence then rose to make the announcements, the most prominent of which was that of the exhibition to be held in the Prince's Skating Rink from May 13 to May 26. Mrs. Lawrence explained the importance of getting rapidly to work, as a very big task was before them, and called upon those present to assist her in every possible way.

She then directed the stewards to take up the collection. While this was being done a number of cards were handed up from members of the audience expressing their intention of subscribing special funds to the expenses of the spring campaign of the Union. Among these were the following:—Mr. and Mrs. Löwy, Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, Mr. and Mrs. Stanley Mappin, Lady Knyvett, the Misses Heale, Mrs. Willock, and Miss Mordan. The total amount received in promises was £300, and the total collection was £32, which, together with the sale of tickets for the evening, made a total of over £400.

#### Christabel Pankhurst.

Christabel Pankhurst was then called upon, and dealt with the current political situation. She pointed out that the holiday season—the political winter—was drawing to a close; that the first spring bird had been heard twittering in the eaves in the person of Mr. Winston Churchill, who had been recently speaking at Birmingham. It was true that he had not told them very much which they did not know before; that was a way which politicians had. He had dealt with the record of the Government. She pointed out that the promise to the new South African States had not been kept, because instead of granting political rights to all whites, the constitution had excluded white women entirely from the exercise of the franchise. The coming session of Parliament bade fair to be the last whose destinies would be controlled by the Liberal Government; it was imperative, therefore, that women should obtain their enfranchisement during the current year. She urged the Government, therefore, to see to it that a measure of Woman Suffrage was included in their programme for the session of 1909, and warned them that if they remained obdurate they would be courting disaster at the polls. The meeting then terminated amidst cheers and scenes of enthusiasm.

## ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Questions intended for answer in this column should be addressed to the Editors "Votes for Women," and specially marked "Answers to Correspondents." They must be accompanied by name and address of the sender, and should be questions relating directly to Woman Suffrage or to the policy of the N.W.S.P.U.

44. *When women get the Parliamentary Vote will they possess the right to sit in Parliament (if elected) without a special law being passed to that effect?*

No.

45. *Is there one member of the present Government who would prove his sincerity and power in the woman's cause by resigning his seat?*

There evidently is not one member of the Government who is prepared to resign his seat.

46. *Would you tell me exactly what is meant by "Adult Suffrage for Women"?*

We have never heard this expression used. It would presumably mean a vote for every adult woman. The W.S.P.U. are not asking for this, but for a vote for every woman who is qualified on the same lines as men qualify for a vote to-day. If this were conceded about a million and a quarter women would be enfranchised.

47. *Supposing women had the vote, does the W.S.P.U. wish women to eventually become M.P.s?*

The W.S.P.U. regard the acquisition of the Parliamentary vote as the essential requirement which will enable women to shape legislation. For this they are working at the present time. The entrance of women into Parliament is an entirely separate question, and the support which it receives among the members of the W.S.P.U. will depend, among other things, upon how able men M.P.'s prove to be in representing women's views in Parliament when they are returned by votes of men and women.

48. *Is there any regulation in the new "Children's Charter" that is unfair to women? Is there any part of it that shows any need for the women's point of view to be represented in order to make the measure more efficient?*

The Children Act imposes certain penalties on the guardians of children, which will undoubtedly fall on the mother in a very large number of cases. These clauses are capable of distinct improvement.

## OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—Some of your many readers will possibly have read in the daily papers Lord Avebury's opinions of the women who have to fight for their political freedom, such opinions being those usual to the old, the timid, the privileged, and the partisans of a so-called Liberal Government—a Government that has unceasingly adopted "methods of barbarism."

Lord Avebury is the adulated president of a scientific society, and should any women of the N.W.S.P.U. or sympathisers with us happen to be members of the society in question I trust they will follow our example—viz., resign their membership, and state their reason for doing so, and send their annual subscription to our revered Hon. Treasurer.

Herewith please find enclosed our transferred annual subscription.—Yours, etc.,

ALICE E. WILLSON.  
DOROTHY MEIHE.

## VOTES FOR WOMEN ACROSS THE SEAS.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—I feel that readers might be interested to know of the success of the paper on the broad Atlantic and of the keen interest taken in the English movement by a curiously cosmopolitan shipload of people. I crossed on a German liner. There were a few Americans, showing great eagerness to know the latest truths about us, and anxious to let me know how the question is spreading and taking root in various States of the Union. A charming woman, the wife of a professor of a State college, has taken VOTES FOR WOMEN three hundred and fifty miles beyond Chicago, into far western Iowa, likely to be the last to grant the franchise to women because of the flourishing and contented condition of its inhabitants, who are mainly agriculturists.

I am told that Colorado is the "prize" State. Women having exercised the franchise there for a generation and a-half, ample time has passed to prove results. Men welcome them to the poll, and fête them in a manner that would disappoint our cynical critics who say that chivalry must expire with political equality. They deck the dismal polling stations with flowers, and vie with one another how most regally to convey the women there. What a

contrast to our outlawish polling station experiences in England! Hungarians, Helgelanders, Austrians, Germans—all expressed the keenest individual interest in our movement in Britain. A lonely looking German woman and her daughter, who were going far west, showed an eagerness to obtain the paper that was positively pathetic. It has gone in all directions—north, south, east, and west.

On my arrival in New York I heard that a new society had just been formed at the house of Mrs. Mackay, of Madison Avenue. I lost no time in going there, ascertaining some points, and leaving behind me a copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Canada is also keeping in line. There is a very eager demand here for the franchise. The "great" man of Canada—the late Sir John A. Macdonald, Conservative leader—introduced a Bill for woman's franchise on the same terms as the men had it at that time. The Bill was thrown out by the Commons.

At a meeting in Canada lately one of the speakers said: "Consider the women Suffragists of England. . . . Every woman in that movement is giving vent to the injustice inherited from her sisters for generation after generation. . . . We have not had to follow those tactics yet, but what is to come we do not know." And the "Liberal" Government has just been again returned!

I should like to take this opportunity of wishing you and all my friends of the W.S.P.U. a happy new year and the vote in 1909.—Yours, etc.,  
MARY KEEGAN.  
Dundas, Ontario, January 6.

## THE SCOTTISH WOMEN GRADUATES' APPEAL.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir,—The legal expenses of the Scottish Women Graduates' appeal to the House of Lords exceeded the sums subscribed by £150. Of this deficit £47 19s. has already been subscribed. Will friends who would like to assist the Graduates in wiping out this deficit send donations to the Secretary, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, at Corstorphine Hill House, by Murray Field, Midlothian?—C. M.  
Yours, etc.,

## "THE PURPLE, WHITE, AND GREEN."

A correspondent writes:—

The Union colours should be termed *Green, White, and Violet*, i.e., "Give Women Votes."

## PRESS EXTRACTS:

"HEREFORD TIMES," January 16.

We are confident that nothing will more tend to ennoble the ideals of both sexes than the enfranchisement of women. Is it not absurd and unjust to practically ignore the existence of a vast host of splendid women, past and present, and insist that they—the sex as a whole—must understand politics before they receive the franchise?

"THE STANDARD," January 18.

### Leading Article.

It is perhaps a little vexatious that thinkers and men of affairs should have to concern themselves with a movement which more than a generation ago seemed to have been finally suppressed. The temporary revival of this lost cause is due, not to the energetic self-advertisement of its present champions, but to the moral flabbiness of leading politicians. . . . Great as have been the advances of moral force within the last hundred years, we have not reached—probably we never shall reach—the stage at which power can be made independent of strength. If it is unthinkable that the white men in the United States should submit to the domination of a negro vote, it is not more easily conceivable that the affairs of the British Empire should be governed by women. We need not contemplate the crowning absurdity of female legislators. Yet that would be the natural, the inevitable outcome of feminine enfranchisement. In this country—whatever may be the sexual ratio in chisement. In this country—whatever may be the sexual ratio in chisement—the women could and would send women politicians to Parliament. For a few years the demand might be staved off, but, except through the domestic coercion to which we have referred, could not permanently be resisted. By that time we should have made ourselves the laughing-stock of Europe. . . . The case against votes for women is complete without raising an invidious and inconclusive discussion as to the intellectual and moral strength of the two sexes. There is one other favourite sophistry with which we must deal. To the undeniable fact, that the great majority of wives and mothers (not the least important or worthy element of the sex) are strongly and almost contemptuously opposed to any form of female enfranchisement, its advocates reply that the women who do not want the vote need not use it. That is not the point. What most wives and mothers are saying is, that they are content to have the country governed by men; they would not be content to have its affairs regulated by a mixed crowd of men, women, and suffragists.

"THE STANDARD," January 19.

### "Women Speakers Preferred."

No political meeting now is complete without the woman speaker. Throughout the country political speakers are complaining of the successful rivalry of woman on the platform. However well advertised a meeting may be, whatever special attractions may be offered in the way of well-known orators, it is certain that if a woman's meeting is held at the same time it will draw the greater portion of the audience away from the other.



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

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

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

Mrs. PANKHURST, *Founder and Hon. Sec.* Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, *Hon. Treasurer.*  
Mrs. TUKE, *Joint Hon. Sec.* Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, *Organising Sec.*

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

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

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

### WOMEN AS RACE BUILDERS.

The secret of creation and of all life is union. Human life, in all its manifestation and development, is the outcome of the union of man and woman. Together man and woman have built up each successive generation. Together in the pioneer days of civilisation they conquered nature and won their inheritance of the earth. At that stage of their advance severance would have meant sterility, failure, and defeat, while union meant conquest and life. As they went forth to subdue the wilderness and to found the family and the home, together they suffered, together they laboured, together they encountered danger, together they met and overcame difficulty, together they fashioned the rough steps which have led humanity upward in the scale of evolution.

But with the extension of an ever more highly organised and complex civilisation it has been forgotten that all vital development of human life must depend upon the union of the man and the woman. The man has gone forward to inherit an ever wider kingdom of knowledge and of power, but to the woman he has said: "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther. It is true that we conquered the wilderness and founded the home together, but now it is fitting that I should go forth to conquer alone these new worlds spread out before my view, and that thou shouldst remain within the confines of the first circle which we circumscribed. True, my home is with thee, and with the children thou hast born to me, but my wider home is my country and my nation, and beyond that the world and the great universe, whose secret I must penetrate. I must go on, but stay thou here within that sphere that represents our first organic social achievement, and from time to time I will come back to rest here with thee." But the woman knows that the man can achieve no living and lasting inheritance for humanity unless she goes with him. She knows that his projects of progress are futile, his labour is in vain, unless they travel together along the track of the pioneer, unless she with him can hand on to future generations the possession of life and the fruit of their common endeavour.

That is the great fact that underlies women's struggle for the vote to-day, the vote which is the symbol of participation in the life of the body politic. Women realise that a crisis has come already in the development of modern social conditions, and that if they do not reassert their ancient place, which in the older, simpler days they held as fellow-workers with men, then decadence and disaster will fall upon us all. Many men realise this danger also. Lord Robert Cecil, speaking last month on the question of Votes for Women, laid stress upon the fact that the co-operation of women in public life is absolutely necessary for the well-being of the State. "In the old days of the feudal system," he said, "woman was never wrapped up in a bit of silver paper and put away in a drawer;

she was brought out, and expected to take an active and important share in the whole public life of the country." He went on to explain how in those days "woman filled great and important offices both in the Church and the State, and she in every way was recognised as of vast importance to the health of the body politic." The men, as well as the women, who to-day possess a developed sense of patriotism and of civic responsibility feel that for high reasons of State, for urgent social and human needs, for the health of the body politic, it is necessary that the union of the man and the woman shall be complete in the great family that is the nation.

And although women want the vote to-day for many and various reasons, the fundamental reason is their realisation that the great law of union is crying out for vindication. They want the vote because they know that severance between man and woman in national affairs means sterility and decadence in national life; because they know that women have a service to render to the State as well as to the home, to the race as well as to the family. Even if there were no inequalities in the position of man and woman before the law, even if there were no grievances of women to be redressed, no special hardships in the case of unprotected and wage-earning women to be removed, it would not make the smallest difference to the rightness or the urgency of our present demand for the vote. As lovers of our country, as builders of our race, as human beings conscious of our duties and our responsibilities, we should still cry out to the men who are trying alone to mould and fashion the evolution and destiny of our country, "Let us work out our salvation together. In our union is strength, in our severance is doom. The unborn possibilities of life cry to us both for realisation; without us you must ultimately fail, and your civilisation become barren." "But," say those who still believe that women should live within the first circle of organic society, which is the family, "but if men and women built up civilisation together in the old days without the vote, why is it essential in these days, for the good of the race, that women should win their political enfranchisement?" In the old days all the conditions of national life were different. Legislation did not touch the lives of people intimately as it does to-day. Social evolution was not guided and developed by direct popular volition as it is now. It developed slowly along lines of usage and custom. The severance between the rulers and the ruled was determined not by sex, but by status.

To-day the man stands isolated in his kingdom of privilege and power, the woman is shut outside the gate. Because of their severance his kingdom is a barren heritage. That gate must be opened, or the barriers must be broken down, for the man's sake as well as for the woman's—most of all for the sake of the hope and possibility of the future which is waiting to be born. "Open to me, let me in, that our life may be fulfilled and our task accomplished." Again and again has come the pleading cry from the mother of the race, but the man self-satisfied has given no heed. He has forgotten the days when she gave her body to be for him a stepping-stone to the position which he now occupies. But if he has forgotten his need and his dependence, the heart of the woman remembers, and the will of the woman is awake. The time has come when she no longer pleads. In the full consciousness of all that is involved in the issue she has set herself to break down those barriers, let her action cost her what it may. That is the meaning of the militant movement. It is militant, not because women are fighting against men. Far from it. But because women are determined to sweep away those barriers which are perpetuating a condition of deadly severance between those two who must be one. In vain is the voice of authority invoked to bid women stay within the confines of a circumscribed sphere. Life calls us, the future calls us, humanity calls, and forth into the free untrodden spaces we must go, and we will. Nothing can stay us. Joint-heirs are we with man himself in all that evolution has to unfold. And full well we know that to-day, if progress is to be assured, if the dangers that menace our present stage of civilisation are to be averted, if its difficulties in all their new complexity are to be overcome, then together the man and woman must stand, and together they must work for the common weal and for the development of that humanity for whose being they are jointly responsible.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

## POLITICAL NOTES.

Under the stress of Suffragist interrogation the silence of Cabinet Ministers is being broken down. And as a result a divergence is being revealed, not merely in their opinions upon the question of Woman Suffrage, but in their views as to the constitutional possibilities of the subject. On Tuesday last Lord Crewe was speaking at Brierley Hill. If left to himself he would no doubt have made no reference at all to Woman Suffrage, but two members of the Women's Social and Political Union were there and taxed him directly as to the intentions of the Government on the question of Votes for Women. Almost for the first time since the commencement of the agitation, instead of these women being "ruthlessly flung out," an answer was given to them by Lord Crewe, who is reported to have said:—

Anybody who supposes that this Government without any mandate from the country can bring in a Bill to bring forward a greater constitutional change infinitely than that suggested by Home Rule or the Reform Bill of 1832; anybody, I say, who shows such deplorable ignorance of how public affairs are carried on in this country encourages one to doubt of the fitness of such a person to exercise any political functions at all.

This statement is at direct variance with the views supposed to be held by Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George; by both these statesmen women have been told that a Woman Suffrage amendment, if carried by the House of Commons, would be incorporated in the Government's Electoral Reform Bill, and might be carried into law during the present Parliament. And on May 27 last year Mr. Asquith dissociated himself from the suggestion that "any revolutionary change in the Constitution such as the grant of the Parliamentary franchise to women ought not to be submitted to Parliament until it had been laid before the country at a general election," stating that, so far as he was aware, no such declaration had ever been made by or on behalf of the Government.

In face of Lord Crewe's utterance Woman Suffragists are tempted to ask whom are they to believe? If Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George are right, and are correctly understood, then Lord Crewe is not only wrong, but the "deplorable ignorance" of which he speaks should be applied to himself and not to Woman Suffragists. If Lord Crewe rightly interprets the Governmental view of the question, then either the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer are "deplorably ignorant," or they are both playing a deliberate trick and trying to impose upon the women of the country.

It is true that Lord Crewe speaks of a Bill "brought in by the Government," whereas in the Prime Minister's so-called "offer" the suggestion is that the amendment, if carried in the Commons, should be "adopted by the Government"; but surely this cannot be the ground for the difference, for if a constitutional change could not be carried on the responsibility of the Government, with the consent of the House of Commons, it surely could not be carried on the initiative of the private member alone.

The only remaining interpretation is to suppose that Lord Crewe is giving a direct invitation to the House of Lords to throw out the whole measure on the ground of its unconstititutional character. "No such revolutionary proposal can become law," he says in effect, "during the present Parliament; it is true that the Prime Minister proposes to open the door through which it can pass in the House of Commons, but it will be the paramount duty of the Upper House to reject it in this event."

Women Liberals who have been pinning their hopes to the scheme which has been sketched out to them so alluringly by Mr. Lloyd George will find little comfort in any alternative. Whatever touching faith they have up till now possessed in the integrity of the Liberal Government must be rudely shaken, and until further light is cast on the situation by the utterances of other Ministers, they must recognise a fourfold division of the Cabinet on this question. These are as follows:—

Those who, with Lord Crewe, consider that it would be unconstitutional to deal with the question of Woman Suffrage during the present Parliament.

Those who, with Mr. Asquith, hold that though not unconstitutional, it is still undesirable to grant Woman Suffrage before the General Election.

Those who share the views that Mr. Birrell expressed to Annie Kenney at Bristol, that any Woman Suffrage measure ought to exclude married women from possession of the vote.

And finally, those who, with the more Radical members of the Cabinet, profess to dislike the Bill which is being pushed forward by the members of the Women's Social and Political Union on the ground that it is too narrow in its extent.

With these conflicting factions in the Cabinet, it is evidently natural that the Prime Minister should imagine that the line of least resistance is to do nothing.

It is the special task of the Women's Social and Political Union to make inaction harder than action. On Tuesday last a letter was sent by Christabel Pankhurst to the Prime Minister in the following terms:—

Dear Sir,—On behalf of the Committee of the Women's Social and Political Union, I have to request that you will receive a small deputation in order that a statement may be laid before you of the reasons why Woman Suffrage should be the subject of immediate Government action.

It has been suggested that Parliament should postpone the serious consideration of this question until the introduction at some future time of a Reform Bill affecting the franchise as a whole. This plan we regard as quite unsatisfactory. We are of opinion that the question of women's enfranchisement ought to be dealt with entirely on its own merits, and, by means of a separate and distinct measure, to be enacted before a Reform Bill is introduced. If this were done, and the Votes for Women issue thus satisfactorily disposed of, the subsequent task of simplifying and improving the electoral machinery would be greatly facilitated.

The present relationship between the House of Commons and the House of Lords is such that a premature dissolution of Parliament is at least possible, and therefore there is danger that unless a Woman Suffrage Bill is carried this year, a General Election will occur before women are enfranchised.

We trust that you will, by receiving a deputation, give us the opportunity of presenting our case for the enactment of a Women's Enfranchisement Bill in 1909.

This is the first step in the political battle for the year 1909. If Mr. Asquith consents to see the deputation, and agrees that Votes for Women shall be included in the King's Speech, the Liberal Government will have the hearty support of women in carrying through this proposal.

But if not, it rests with the Women's Social and Political Union to prove to them that their refusal will cost them dear.

And this they are well able to do. During 1908 they were the deciding factor in keeping out the Liberal candidate at many of the by-elections; by their policy of heckling Cabinet Ministers at their meetings they made members of the Government the butt of ridicule; by their persistent educational campaign they exposed the hollowness of the so-called democratic agitation against the House of Lords. More than all this, the prestige of the Liberal Party has been seriously undermined throughout the length and breadth of the country by the prison treatment accorded to the women who are fighting for their political rights. Of these facts the Liberal Press—even if the Government are still ignorant—is becoming more and more clearly aware.

But the anti-Government campaign waged by the Women's Social and Political Union in 1908 is nothing to that which will be carried out in 1909 if the Government refuse to listen to reason. The strength of the organisation in membership, in finances, in prestige, is several times greater to-day than it was a year ago. Among the older Suffragists the more active are realising that militant action, and militant action alone, is of any avail against a Government which is as obstinate as it is perverse. Among the ranks of the women Liberals the virus is spreading; Women's Liberal Associations in many places are disbanding; in others the membership is being attenuated by defections to the Suffragist ranks. The Liberal Press have begun to urge the Cabinet to take action if they would avoid disaster.

It may be that for a few months longer the Government may be able to turn a deaf ear to the coming storm. For a few months longer they may be able to refuse to face facts or to admit conclusions. But they will be wiser if they yield now. For every day that they are blind, for every day that they resist the pressure of events, they will have a ruder awakening when the time comes. And it may be that it will come too late for them to recover a fraction of their personal popularity or to save their party from crushing and irretrievable defeat.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.



## THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

### LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

The great event of the week has been the presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh, on Thursday, in the Queen's Hall. No one who was present will ever forget how the women cheered their beloved leader, nor how deeply moved she was at the expressions of loyalty and devotion. Never in the history of the W.S.P.U. has there been an occasion on which it has been made more clear to the world at large that, come what may, the women of this Union are determined to fight to the end for their political freedom. A full account of the evening's proceedings appears on pages 276-278. Then on Monday afternoon we had another of our regular weekly At Homes, when a very large number of women were again present in the Queen's Hall, and stirring speeches were delivered by Mrs. and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who was in the chair.

The spring campaign is now in full swing, and we want all who can give us any help to come to 4, Clements Inn, and let us set them to work. Miss Fergus is here to assist me in interviewing workers, and all newcomers should ask for her. Arrangements are being made for a social evening at the Portman Rooms on Friday, January 29. There will be a musical programme, and members and their friends will be welcome from 8 to 10. Refreshments can be obtained at a small charge.

Miss Adela Pankhurst is making great headway in Bronesbury. Bronesbury Hall has been booked for February 5 at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Higgins will be the speakers, with Miss E. Sharp in the chair. Tickets can be had from Miss A. Pankhurst at 4, Clement's Inn. On Saturday an open-air meeting was held at the corner of Bronesbury Road, when Miss A. Pankhurst and Miss Hughes spoke to a splendid gathering. A drawing-room meeting was held on Sunday by Miss Corcos at 10, Grosvenor Gardens, Cricklewood; there was a very good attendance, and nine new workers gave in their names. On Monday a meeting was held outside the White Heather Laundry, and workers' meetings have been held at 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden (Mrs. Bates), and at Mrs. Penn Gaskell's, 12, Nicoll Road, Willesden, while a drawing-room meeting is to be held at the latter address on Thursday (today) at 3.30. Mrs. Auld, 19, Cranhurst Road, Cricklewood, is giving a drawing-room meeting to-morrow (Friday) at 3.30; Mrs. Steedman, 12, Craven Road, Willesden, at the same hour on Tuesday, the 26th; and Mrs. Eates on Thursday, 28th, at three o'clock, are also giving At Homes. Subject to getting the permission of the Education Committee, a teachers' meeting is to take place at the Furness Road Schoolrooms on Friday, the 29th, at eight o'clock, also three small meetings in the schoolrooms at Salisbury Road, Pound Lane, and Kensal Rise, the dates for which have not yet been arranged. Miss A. Pankhurst would like to hear from those willing to help in this district.

Mrs. Bartlett, who is working the Peckham and Camberwell districts, called a business meeting of workers for January 20 at 8 p.m. at the Peckham Public Hall. The Masonic Hall, near Camberwell Green, has been taken for the evenings of February 1, 3, and 5. Miss Seymour and others will speak on the 1st. On the 3rd (a ticket meeting) Mrs. Drummond and others will speak, and on the 5th Miss Joachim and others. These meetings have been specially arranged with the object of recruiting new speakers and workers. After this Mrs. Bartlett will conduct a similar campaign in other parts of London. Mrs. Bartlett is arranging two open-air meetings for Friday and Saturday this week (January 22 and 23), at 8 p.m., near the "Father Red Cap," Camberwell Green.

Miss Flatman is arranging a meeting at the Public Hall, Croydon on January 27, which promises to be a huge success. Christabel Pankhurst is to be the chief speaker. Mrs. Massy has also promised to speak, and Miss Evelyn Sharp will be in the chair. There is already a great demand for tickets. On Friday the first sandwich parade took place, when the Misses Ainsworth and Tyson were among the keenest workers. On Saturday evening there was another parade through the shopping districts, Miss G. Strutton and Miss Curtis, both new workers, helping in this. Miss Flatman will be glad of the assistance of more local workers, as there is much to be done before the 27th. Will those willing to help please apply at the W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms, Public Hall, George Street, Croydon?

In Brighton, the local members, with Miss Helen Ogston as organiser, are preparing for the great meeting in the Dome on February 2, when Mrs. Pankhurst will be the speaker. Many meetings are being held. All sorts of devices are being employed for bringing home to residents and visitors the importance of votes for women. Through the kindness of a local member, offices and committee-rooms have been taken at 50, Preston Street, where all able to help in making the meeting known will be welcome. Further particulars will be found under "Local Notes: Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.," on page 286.

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

Flora Drummond.

### WEST OF ENGLAND.

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

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

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

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

The first weekly At Home after the holidays was held on Monday, January 11. In order to make our At Homes better known we are now going to canvass in the Clifton district, taking At Home cards. On Tuesday I went to speak at Radstock, a little mining place just outside Bath, by the invitation of the Rev. G. Ramsay. The meeting was a most interesting one, the schoolroom was quite half full of women, and the audience was most sympathetic. One felt when speaking to these people on such social questions as the housing problem, education, etc., that they understood so well what wanted doing and how much women were needed to help in doing it. Mr. Ramsay took the chair, and I cannot help wishing that more clergymen would realise the need for Woman's Suffrage, and help us in the same way. They paid travelling expenses and gave me £1 1s. for the W.S.P.U. The same evening Miss Vera Wentworth held a meeting in the Horse Fair, and had a most attentive and interested audience. On Wednesday Mrs. Curtis gave an At Home for the members in her district, when I urged upon them their responsibility for the filling of Colston Hall at our great meeting on February 12; I also appealed to them as to filling one stall at the exhibition. On Friday we had our first meeting in the Assembly Rooms, Stokes Croft. We are hoping, through working in that part of the city, we shall get many shop assistants and others who found it too far to go to Clifton. On Saturday Miss Lillie Pike gave an At Home for the members in her district, and Miss Vera Wentworth addressed them. I should like to appeal to all those people in Bristol who are interested in our work to come forward to help us with the big Colston Hall meeting; we must make this meeting historic. From now to February 12 we shall give all our time to working it up, and, among other special efforts, we hope to organise contingents from Bath, Cardiff, and other places within reasonable distance. Should anyone in these places want information or tickets, will they please write to me at 78, Alma Road? If sufficient people apply we shall be able to let them have tickets at slightly reduced prices. I also want to remind all West of England people that we are going to have two stalls for the West of England at the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition in May—one for Bristol and Bath and one for Plymouth, Paignton, and Torquay. Work for these stalls should be begun at once, and I suggest that the articles made should be as useful as possible, such as bedroom slippers, dressing-gowns, underclothing, embroidery for dresses, leather-work, dresses, babies' clothes, and fancy articles which would be useful in the home, carrying out by the time the exhibition takes place, this should be borne in mind in designing dresses, etc. We want more workers in the West of England, so that we may cover the ground more thoroughly. Anyone willing to come, and with a little time to spare, will find, as we do, great joy in the work and a hearty welcome from the people here. Please write to 78, Alma Road, and if you cannot come yourself do your best to get others who would come if it were not for the expense and help us to raise necessary funds. We want to get the vote this session. Never did we need the personal help of women as we need it to-day. I have sent up to the treasurer this week:—Weekly collection, £1 15s. 2d.; fee from the Rev. G. Ramsay, Radstock, £1 1s.; Plymouth collections, 6s. 3d.; Paignton, 7s.; total, £3 9s. 5d. I have received from Miss Elsie Howey the following:—

### Plymouth and Torquay.

At Homes.—Plymouth: Royal Hotel, First Friday in every month, 4 to 6 p.m.; Treville Street Hall, Public Meeting, every Friday, 8 p.m.; Paignton: Masonic Hall, every Thursday, 4 to 6 p.m.

Important Events.—Torquay, Bath Saloons, February 8, Mrs. Pankhurst, Plymouth Guildhall, February 10, 8 p.m., Mrs. Pankhurst.

The first of our series of evening meetings was held in the Treville Street Hall at 8 p.m. on Friday, when Miss Keys read an excellent paper on the position which women used to hold in England in early days. It has been decided to hold the At Homes in Plymouth on the first Friday of every month, instead of every Friday, and to hold monthly At Homes also in Saltash, Devonport, and Mannamed, so that our propaganda work may cover a much larger area. An open-air meeting is to be held in the Market-place on Thursday evening. Miss Ball is carrying on the work at Paignton

and Torquay, and we hope to hold meetings all round that district before February 8.

Brixham was for the first time visited by Suffragettes on Saturday afternoon last, when Miss Elsie Bell and Miss Mills held a very successful meeting in the Fish Market, surrounded by a good 350 fishermen. A good number of copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN was sold. They were warned not to attempt a meeting there, because only a short time ago two political speakers were roughly treated, but a few men promised to stand by the women. The ringing of a huge bell by a local wag brought people out in dozens. On Monday Miss E. Ball and Miss Mills are holding an open-air meeting at Dawlish; on Tuesday Miss Ball, Miss Beard, and other members are selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets; on Wednesday Miss Bell and Miss Mills will speak on Paignton Green; and on Thursday the usual At Home will be held at Paignton.

Annie Kenney.

### LANCASHIRE.

Manchester Central Office, 164, Oxford Road.

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

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

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

At the time of writing preparations for Miss Christabel Pankhurst's visit to Manchester on Tuesday (19th) are almost completed, and everything points to a real "public welcome," such as we have announced on our handbills. All the week an enthusiastic group of workers have been doing everything in their power, from "mid-night posting" to "mid-day parading," to effect this. The weather has, on the whole, been so unfavourable for the popular chalking parties by which we have heralded important events in the past that we hit upon the valuable expedient of getting our announcements better known than if they had been displayed on the usual hoardings by posting them ourselves on the Government pillar-boxes, barrack and prison walls, in the small hours of Wednesday morning last. About a score of our members took part in this little surprise for both the Government and the police officials in Manchester, and Press notices which ensued certainly enabled us to get the point of our present opposition to the Government well rubbed in, and also served to remind everyone of the forthcoming meeting. On Saturday we carried out an equally successful idea: announcing the meeting to the crowds by human advertisement. This advertisement (or "political advertisement," as one pressman pithily puts it) was composed of as many members as would represent each letter in the name "Christabel Pankhurst." Each carried a bannerette, in the colours of the Union, on which a single letter was printed, so that when a halt was called the name of Tuesday's speaker was plainly read; and while on the march interested onlookers, of whom there were very thousands *en route*, could spell out the name for themselves as the bannerettes filed past. The first member of all carried a banner with the full details of the meeting, and other members distributed bills as the procession marched along. A slight collision with the police, in consequence of a halt to allow a Press photograph to be taken, only served to enhance the value of the proceedings by giving us a greater advertisement than ever. I hope the next time I write we may have seen the first fruits of these special efforts made by the Manchester members—efforts which plainly prove both their suffrage convictions and their real worth in the militant movement.

A crowded At Home was addressed on Friday by Miss Gladice Keevil, whom we brought over from Birmingham at very short notice, in order to tell us of her clever protest at the Liberal Party dinner, at which Mr. Churchill was present. Miss Keevil chose as her subject the tactics of the Union and the need for them, finishing with a racy account of her most recent protest, "to point the moral and adorn the tale." The speech was received with enthusiasm, and we hope to have Miss Keevil with us again very soon. Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., spoke specially to the newcomers, and plainly showed the connection between believing in the principle and helping to establish the principle by action. The other interesting meetings of the week have been the one held under the presidency of the rector of Collyhurst at the St. James's Institute, when I spoke to a warmly sympathetic audience; one held at the Queen's Park Parliament, and addressed by Miss Dora Marsden, B.A.; also meetings held at Stockport and Bolton, and addressed by Miss Williamson and Dr. Letitia Fairfield.

I have to hand in this week:—At Home, 15s. 4d.; Miss Williamson, B.A., £2 (donation, promise card); J. B. Seymour, Esq., 5s. (chairs); Miss Allen (promise card), 10s.; Miss Fergusson (promise card), 10s.; Miss M. Banks (collected), 3s. 6d.—total, £4 3s. 10d. I have to acknowledge also, with thanks, receipt of the following articles for furnishing the office, etc.:—Miss Tolson, tablecloth; Miss Swindells, chairs; A Friend, fender and coal scuttle.

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

### MIDLANDS.

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

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

Edgbaston Assembly Rooms, Wednesday, 3.30.

Wolverhampton: St. Peter's Institute, Wednesday, 7.30.

Important Event.—Birmingham: Town Hall, Feb. 23. Christabel Pankhurst.

It is a great pleasure to be able to announce to the Midland members that Miss Christabel Pankhurst is coming to Birmingham on February 23, when she will speak in the Town Hall. The intervening weeks will be devoted to the work of making the meeting an even greater success than the last. Tickets can be obtained from Miss Kate Berkley, who has kindly undertaken to act as ticket secretary. On Tuesday evening we had the pleasure of hearing Miss Macaulay, who had very kindly given up her time to come from London to address us in the Midlands. The Priory Rooms were crowded; many people had come for the first time, and old friends whom we have long missed were able to be with us once more. As usual new members joined. A splendid response was made to my request for handbill distributors for the following evening, when we made Mr. Winston Churchill's visit to Birmingham the occasion of special activities on our part.

We were determined that Mr. Churchill should be reminded of his joint responsibility as a member of the Cabinet for the attitude of that body towards the question of Woman's Suffrage. An express letter, followed by a telegram demanding that votes for women should be in the King's Speech, were sent to him during the dinner at the Grand Hotel. A few days before I had engaged a room at the same hotel for that evening. When I judged that the speeches would have commenced I made my way to the Grosvenor Room, where the dinner was being held, and after some manoeuvring succeeded in entering the room. I had five minutes' conversation with Mr. Churchill before anyone else in the room realised a Suffragette was present. Mr. Churchill assured me the vote was coming, but doubted the wisdom of our tactics. I asked him what he would advise us to do, and received his assurance that a great demonstration by women would impress himself and his colleagues immensely. I referred to the demonstration in Hyde Park last June, whereupon he argued that only a small proportion—about 10,000—were women. We did not agree on this point. I asked him to deal with the subject in his speech, and on being refused explained that it would be my duty to remain and protest. The Secretary of the Liberal Association came up at this juncture, so I had only time to make a brief protest before I was hurried from the room.

The speakers' class has begun again, and will continue to be held on Wednesday evenings at 7.30. Our At Home in the Edgbaston Assembly Rooms was very successful, and Miss Macaulay's address was again much appreciated. Miss Aimee Law told us about her campaign in Droitwich. At the close I was glad to receive offers of help in the work. I cannot too clearly emphasise this point in the Midlands: we need more workers yet. To give time from one's scant leisure is often a real sacrifice, but there is no sacrifice too great for our cause. We are glad to know that our colours were *en evidence* at the conversation at the Midland Institute, which just now is the great social function in the Midlands. One of our members has arranged a dainty Votes for Women corner in her drawing-room. It is working splendidly; friends call on purpose to see it. There are endless variations of this idea which might well be adopted.

Wolverhampton.—Owing to the difficulty of obtaining a suitable room for our At Homes here we have been obliged to change the day to Wednesday. On the 27th inst. we shall meet in St. Peter's Institute at 7.30 p.m. Miss Mordan, who is so well known in London, is to speak on that occasion as well as myself.

Saltley.—Members in this district are reminded of the large meeting which is being arranged by Mrs. Davis and Miss Ward in the Norton Institute on February 1. Anyone able to give assistance should communicate at once with Mrs. Davis, 99, Ellesmere Road, Saltley.

Stechford.—Members and friends will be glad to know that a meeting is being organised in this neighbourhood on February 15, and those who are willing to help with the work should let Miss Relf, 3, Frederick Road, Stechford, know as soon as possible.

On Friday I had the pleasure of speaking at the evening At Home which Miss Mary Gawthorpe holds in Manchester every week. I was delighted to see what a large number were present, and was much impressed by the immense amount of work which the enthusiastic members get through, directed by their tireless leader. As I left this morning they were forming up for the Christabel Pankhurst Procession, which looked most effective and original.

I am forwarding the Treasurer this week the following:—Collection, £1 3s. 3d.

Gladice G. Keevil.



## YORKSHIRE.

**Headquarters.**—Bradford: 61, Manningham Lane, Workers' Meeting, Fridays, 8 p.m.  
**At Homes.**—Leeds: Arts Club, Blenheim Terrace, Woodhouse Lane, Wednesdays, 8 p.m.

On Monday evening, January 11, several Suffragettes attended a debate on "Women's Suffrage" in Girlington Wesleyan Guild, Bradford, and took part in the discussion which followed. The Chairman remarked that the number of women speakers equalled that of the men, which, he thought, did not often happen. On Tuesday Miss Crocker and I went to Yeadon, and held an open-air meeting in a heavy snowstorm. Despite the weather a large audience listened attentively, and we sold a number of copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. Just as we were leaving the Secretary of the local Mechanics' Institute invited us into the billiard-room to address the members. Most of the first audience followed us inside, and we announced an indoor meeting in Yeadon on Tuesday, January 19.

On Friday evening, January 15, I spoke to the Daisy Hill Primitive Methodist Debating Society, Bradford. There was a large and sympathetic audience.

Miss Crocker spoke on Saturday at Ingleton at a meeting arranged by Miss Billing, and on Sunday, both afternoon and evening, to the Bentham Debating Society.

I have had some promises of drawing-room meetings. A lady in Bradford will give one (or two, if we wish) large At Homes in February, and another lady has promised a smaller one this month. A member in Huddersfield will also give a small drawing-room meeting in February. The Leeds members are anxious to arrange a whist drive in aid of local funds, and it will be held in the Arts Club.

The whist drive I mentioned last week was a great success, and, owing to the kindness of friends in giving cards, refreshments, etc., we were able to send the treasurer £22 3s. 6d.

C. A. L. Marsh.

## NEWCASTLE.

**Headquarters.**—37, Rye Hill.

**At Homes.**—Crosby's Cafe, Northumberland Street, every Wednesday, 3-5 and 8-10.

**Important Event.**—Town Hall, March 1, Mrs. Pankhurst.

Miss Parsons gave us an interesting speech at the afternoon At Home last week, showing the need of the women's point of view, and the consequent inability of men alone to deal with the many political questions that affect women. She showed very clearly how both men and women will benefit when women take their appointed place in the councils of the nation. In the evening Elspeth Carr read a paper on "The Dionysian Spirit of the Age, and its Manifestation in the Women's Movement." She traced the workings of the "Dionysian spirit"—the spirit of reform and progress—through all the forward movements of the past, from the days of ancient Greece down to the present, and said this spirit had never been better exemplified than in the uprising of the modern woman. In connection with Mrs. Pankhurst's visit, which has now been fixed for Monday, March 1, we are arranging a series of meetings next month in surrounding districts, such as North Shields, Ryton, Prudhoe, Cullercoats, etc., of which particulars will be announced later. We are hoping the present severe weather will soon moderate, so that we can also have an open-air campaign with some degree of comfort. Orders are being booked for sweets, marmalade, cakes, hand-knitted gloves, etc., which members are making in order to give the proceeds to the "Self-denial" Fund. Miss Mildred Atkinson, who is a diplomée in laundry work as well as in cookery, has volunteered to get up any article—particularly any requiring special care—which may be sent to her. It seems to me readers outside Newcastle might be glad of this unique opportunity, while helping the cause at the same time. Inquiries or parcels might be sent here, addressed to Miss Atkinson, and all particulars, prices, etc., may be had from me about any of the goods on sale. I shall also be pleased to receive orders. The Hon. Mrs. Parsons has designed a cartoon representing a Suffragist trying to reach a loaf of bread, which typifies "Votes for Women," and is placed high above her head, whilst a well-fed, fashionably dressed Anti-Suffragist stands by, the very personification of scorn and contempt. This cartoon has been reproduced as a photograph by Miss Parsons, and is also on sale for the Self-denial Fund.

Mary Phillips.

## LEICESTER.

**Headquarters.**—15, Erskine Street, Leicester.

Arrangements have now been made for a great many meetings next week in Leicester. Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. Barnes, Miss Mills, and myself will be holding from three to four meetings a day, and I hope to arrange for some drawing-room meetings as well. Although we have a good band of local workers, we need more, and I hope that anyone willing to help will apply to me at 15, Erskine Street, Leicester. We are anxious to procure the loan of motor-cars or carriages to advertise Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting at the Corn Ex-

change on January 25. Also I hope that any London members who have friends here will put me in touch with them.

On Tuesday we anxiously awaited the arrival of Mr. Winston Churchill, who was to address the Leicester Chamber of Commerce that evening. The utmost secrecy prevailed as to the time of his arrival and movements generally, and indeed very few seemed to be aware of the fact that the President of the Board of Trade was going to visit Leicester. However, one of our members intercepted him as he was leaving his hotel, and presented him with a copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, notwithstanding the efforts of the police to prevent her. Also I and others were able to say a few words to him as he passed into the Art Gallery, where he was to speak. As is usual with Cabinet Ministers nowadays, he was guarded by numbers of police and detectives.

Margaret G. Cameron.

## SCOTLAND.

**Office:** 141, Bath Street, Glasgow.

**At Homes.**—Edinburgh: 24, Shandwick Place, Wednesday, 4 p.m.  
 Glasgow: 141, Bath Street, Saturday, 5.30 p.m.

The regular weekly At Homes have now begun again, and we specially ask the Glasgow members to make an effort to be present next Saturday, when the plans for the next few weeks will be discussed. Readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* will have seen that the W.S.P.U. work in Scotland is being largely extended this year, and we greatly need the assistance of our members, all of whom can give help. We hope that everyone will come prepared with some suggestion or other of a way in which she personally will help to win the vote in 1909. One of our members, Mrs. Henderson, has already set us a good example by organising a successful café chantant, which took place last week; the proceeds are to be given as a contribution towards the Guarantee Fund. Collecting cards for this purpose are now ready, and can be obtained from the office. A friend of mine has lately collected quite a large sum in threepenny bits from her friends, and another has amassed a by no means despicable amount by begging everybody's farthings!—a coin of which most people seem by no means sorry to be relieved. Announcements of important coming events and new developments of the work in Glasgow and other districts will appear next week. All those who are interested in Votes for Women, whether members or not, will be cordially welcome to the Saturday At Home.

G. M. Conolan.

## Aberdeen.

**Office:** Crown Mansions, 41½ Union Street.

**At Homes.**—Music Hall, Round Room, Mondays, 5-5 p.m.  
 Crown Mansions, 41½, Union Street, Thursdays, 7.30-9.30 p.m.

The work in Aberdeen has been going on very well this week, and many new members have been made. The Round Room of the Music Hall has been taken for weekly Monday afternoon At Homes from three to five, and offices have been opened at Crown Mansions, 41½ Union Street. The offices are to be decorated in purple, white, and green. At Homes are to be held in the offices on Thursday evenings from 7.30 to 9.30 p.m., and there is to be a speakers' class every Friday evening from 7.30 to 9 p.m., as we are very anxious to make many new speakers before the spring, when a great open-air meeting campaign will be possible. Miss Rhind, with whom I am staying, very kindly gave an At Home at Westbourne House. There were between forty and fifty guests, and many new members were made. I have received promises to help with the furnishing of the new offices from two ladies, and as I am extremely anxious that the cost of the office furnishing shall be raised locally, I should very gladly welcome other offers of help in this direction. The N.W.S.P.U. organiser, who comes to take up her work here in Aberdeen, is likely to have a most successful campaign, for the local members, with Miss Caroline Phillips as secretary, have made an excellent beginning.

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

## "A NECESSARY LEVERAGE."

At the annual meeting of the Association of University Women Teachers, held at University Hall, London, on Friday, Miss Janet Case, the President, said that more and more they felt in their work the need for the vote as a necessary leverage. It was a great thing to have the statement from the lips of a Chancellor of the Exchequer that if women had the vote they would have to receive an equal wage with men for equal work in Government employment. When they considered that Parliament had been engaged for months in the consideration of the education question, and women had had no share in the deliberations, and also no opportunity of selecting those who were going to make legislation, they began to wonder why women's interests were sometimes overlooked in the question. The Association numbers 1,887 members.

Readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* should remember that by dealing with the firms which advertise in its pages they are materially assisting the cause of the N.W.S.P.U. In writing to advertisers please mention *VOTES FOR WOMEN*.

## HECKLING CABINET MINISTERS.

If Cabinet Ministers imagined that the passing of the Public Meetings Bill had secured for them that immunity from interrogation during their speeches to which they have recently been unaccustomed, they are now finding that they were mistaken. Both Lord Crewe, at Brierley Hill, and Mr. Haldane, at Halifax, on Monday, were confronted by the question, "What about votes for women?"

Speaking on the House of Lords, Lord Crewe was remarking that it had not shown itself willing to come into conflict with organised labour; it knew a little too much for that, when a voice said, "What about giving women the vote?" Ignoring the question, Lord Crewe was proceeding to deal with the Licensing Bill when he was again asked, "What about votes for women?" This time the question drew from Lord Crewe a statement strangely at variance with the utterances of the Prime Minister and Mr. Lloyd George. He retorted: "I am quite willing to deal with the twice-made interruption. Anybody who supposes that this Government without any mandate from the country can introduce a Bill to bring forward an infinitely greater constitutional change than that suggested by Home Rule or the Reform Bill of 1832; anybody, I say, who shows such a deplorable ignorance of how public affairs are carried on in this country encourages one to doubt of the fitness of such a person to exercise any political functions at all."

Great precautions were taken to safeguard Mr. Haldane on his visit to Halifax to distribute prizes to the local Territorials. He alighted at Brighouse, some four miles beyond his destination, whence he motored to Halifax with his host. Forty police were on guard inside the Victoria Hall, where the speech was delivered, some being at each door, and ten secreted under the orchestra. Territorials were on duty as stewards all round the circle and area.

The Secretary for War had not been speaking many minutes on England taking the lead in appealing for a reduced burden of arms when a woman in the dress-circle asked, "Why do not you free-women first?" She was ejected by the Territorials. Mr. Haldane, continuing, said he did not think war likely, because the seriousness of preparations all over the world made all realise that war would be more terrible than ever before, when a woman again interrogated him. The whole of the great audience rose, and there was immense commotion. The woman was at length removed by Territorials. Other women interrogated Mr. Haldane, and were similarly ejected.

On two occasions last week Mr. Winston Churchill was interrogated, at Birmingham and Leicester, by members of the Women's Social and Political Union. Descriptions of these interviews will be found on pages 283-4.

## TAMWORTH BY-ELECTION.

Unionist .. .. Mr. F. A. Newdegate.

The figures at the last election were as follows: Sir Philip A. Muntz (Con.), 7,561; Mr. J. Seymour Keay (Lib.), 4,842.

No Liberal candidate presented himself for this division, and on Saturday, January 16, Mr. F. A. Newdegate was returned unopposed.

## UNEMPLOYED WOMEN AND MR. ASQUITH.

Mr. Asquith's reply to the recent appeal on behalf of unemployed women not being considered satisfactory by the Women's Labour League, a demonstration will be held on January 21 at the Memorial Hall in Farringdon Street. Mrs. J. R. Macdonald will take the chair, and Canon Scott Holland and the Rev. R. J. Campbell will be among the speakers. About 300 unemployed women dependent on their earnings, who have failed to find work at the local workrooms, will be present.

Established 1851. **BIRKBECK BANK.** Established 1851.  
 SOUTHAMPTON BUILDINGS, HIGH HOLBORN, W.C.  
**2½ PER CENT. INTEREST** Allowed on Deposit Accounts. Repayable on Demand.  
**2 PER CENT. INTEREST** On Drawing Accounts with Cheque Book.  
 ALL GENERAL BANKING BUSINESS TRANSACTED  
**ALMANACK, with full particulars, POST FREE.**  
 C. F. RAVENS-CROFT, Secretary

## MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.

A

## GREAT DEMONSTRATION

WILL BE HELD IN THE

QUEEN'S HALL, ON TUESDAY, JANUARY 26,

AT 8 O'CLOCK.

Chairman: HERBERT JACOBS.

SPEAKERS:

SIR JOHN COCKBURN, K.C.M.G. (Ex-Premier of South Australia.)

SIR VICTOR HORSLEY, F.R.S., F.R.C.S.

REV. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A.

H. W. NEVINSON.

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN.

H. YORKE STANGER, K.C., M.P.

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

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



LOCAL NOTES.

**Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.**—Activities centred this week on organising for Mrs. Pankhurst's Dome meeting on February 2. On Tuesday, January 12, the Votes Corps sold VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the Dome, where the Rev. R. J. Campbell was delivering a lecture for the I.L.P. On Wednesday the members of committee met Miss Ogston, and a plan of campaign was agreed upon. Thanks to Miss Turner, our literature secretary, we obtained the use of a large room in her house (50, Preston Street) as a committee and workers' room, on payment, by our own wish, of a small sum for hire. On Thursday, although the weather was unfavourable, our open-air meeting on the Front was well attended; on Friday we went to the railway works and distributed handbills to the men at the dinner hour announcing the meeting at the Dome. In the evening Miss Ogston addressed a crowded drawing-room meeting (practically our first) at Mrs. Ridgway's house, 22, Grand Parade, Miss E. M. White in the chair, when four enthusiastic little boys offered to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN. The audience, composed of women, listened with close attention to Miss Ogston's explanation of methods, etc. The appeal for stewards was warmly responded to. On Saturday we held an afternoon meeting. We sold a quantity of papers and postcards. In the evening we held a public meeting in the New Road Lecture Hall, which was filled to the door. Miss Hare took the chair, and gave an account of the presentation to Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Leigh in the Queen's Hall, London, and Miss Ogston followed with a brilliant and comprehensive speech. The Brighton Musical Festival, which has been held at the Dome this week, has given us a valuable opportunity for pushing propaganda. Every night we have been able to distribute bills announcing meetings, etc. We have an excellent little group of workers at the committee-room, and shall be glad if others will give spare time helping there. Next week Miss Ogston hopes to address, among others, the Socialists, Friends, railway men, and laundry workers. Mrs. Jones-Williams is giving a drawing-room meeting on Tuesday (19), at 8 p.m., at 12, Buckingham Place. Mrs. Schofield is having a gathering in her studio, 16a, Dyke Road, on Wednesday, at 8 p.m. On Thursday, at 1.30, we hope to hold a meeting for railway men at the Arches, Dyke Road, and on Friday evening (22) we expect either Miss Seymour or Miss Higgins will speak in the New Road Lecture Hall at 8 p.m., as also on Saturday evening (23) at 8 p.m. The Friends' meeting is to be held at the Friends' Meeting House on Tuesday (26) at 8.15 p.m. Weather permitting, there will also be several outdoor meetings, afternoons and evenings. On Saturday (30) we have taken the Hove Town Hall for an evening meeting. We wish to make this a great success, leading up to the Dome meeting on the following Tuesday. Tickets, 1s. and 6d.; also a number of seats are free to women. Tickets for the Dome meeting are 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. (a number of seats free to women), to be obtained at the committee-rooms and from Messrs. Lyon and Hall and Messrs. Potts. Miss F. White, who designed our banner for the Hyde Park demonstration, is going to help to get out some specially artistic posters to advertise our meetings. Indeed, all the workers are gathering round splendidly. We are getting in money rapidly, and hope to get more. We want members and friends to make a special effort to this end. Please note committee-rooms, 50, Preston Street.

I. G. MCKEOWN.

**Birmingham W.S.P.U.**—An important meeting of this Union was held at No. 14, Ethel Street, Birmingham, on Wednesday, the 13th inst. Mrs. Edith Kerwood (vice-president) occupied the chair, and the members present included Dr. Helena G. Jones, Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Lacon, Mrs. Aldis, Mrs. and Miss Calway, Miss Bertha Ryland, Miss H. Burditt, Mrs. Christabel Wood, Miss Noblet, and the writer. An interesting letter, enclosing subscription and expressing regret at being unable to be present, was received from Mrs. Mary Burman, who is now on the Continent. Unfortunately, the letter did not arrive in time to be read to the meeting. The position of the local W.S.P.U. in relation to the national organisation of the Midlands Counties, under the leadership of Miss Gladice Keevil, was a subject of discussion, but as no definite change can be effected until the annual general meeting, the discussion was postponed until May, when the yearly term of office expires. The main object of the meeting, however, was the consideration of the best means to be adopted by the Union to still further enhance the progress of the national campaign in the Midlands by strengthening the hands of the organiser, and it was deemed important that the members should meet at least once a month as a step in this direction. This would tend to bind the members together and prove a strong combination in winning new adherents to the women's cause. The next meeting will therefore be held on Monday, January 25, at 8 p.m. All communications directly relating to the Birmingham W.S.P.U. should be addressed to me at Lindon Villa, Mary's Road, Stechford, near Birmingham.

ELIZABETH REDFERN.

**Hornsey W.S.P.U.**—On Friday evening, at 8 p.m., we held a meeting for the first time in our permanent quarters, provided by the joint subscriptions of five of our workers, at "Ye China Cup," in Park Road, Crouch End. It was a most encouraging meeting; between fifty and sixty interested listeners were present, of whom quite a large number were newcomers. Miss E. E. Wood, a student of economics, read a paper on "Woman's Place in Industry, Past and Present," showing clearly the difference in the relation between the sexes in the world of industry now as compared with the times previous to the introduction of the factory system. I then tried to show that the use of militant tactics was justifiable and urgent. Thus an attempt was made to present the two-fold aspect from which the great question of "Votes for Women" may always be regarded—the theoretical and the practical—and thus to make it a typical evening. A good collection was taken, and "An Old Inhabitant" of Crouch End sent an anonymous subscription, for which we are most grateful. Our meetings will be held every fortnight on Fridays at 8 p.m., and at our next gathering on January 29 Miss Maud Davis has kindly promised to take the chair, and Miss Mordan to speak. We hope that those who helped to make Friday's meeting a success will see to it that our next is neither smaller nor less enthusiastic.

THEODORA BONWICK.

**Lewisham W.S.P.U.**—Our new venture of Sunday 11.30 a.m. meetings in Deptford Broadway is proving a success. Miss Nancy Lightman was our speaker last Sunday, and I took the chair. We had a large and most attentive and sympathetic audience. Miss N. Lightman gave a very eloquent address and answered innumerable questions put by some strong adult Suffragists. We sold forty-five VOTES FOR WOMEN.

J. A. BOUVIER.

**Richmond W.S.P.U.**—We started the New Year with a drawing-room meeting at Dr. Russell Grant's residence on Thursday evening, the 14th inst.

The room was crowded, and speeches were made by Miss Cicely Hamilton, Miss Bonwick, and Mrs. Carus-Wilson, who was in the chair. On Saturday evening we had a whist drive at Bridge House, Richmond. About seventy members and friends assembled, and during the interval a short address was given by Mrs. Lorisignol. Two of our members sold VOTES FOR WOMEN in Richmond town on Saturday morning with success.

EDITH M. WARD.

**Wimbledon W.S.P.U.**—An informal gathering of members and friends took place in Johnston's Rooms, Wimbledon Broadway, on Tuesday evening, January 12. Among those present were Miss Willson, honorary treasurer of the Streatham and District Union, and representatives from Kew, Chiswick, and Barnes. During the evening the Suffrage songs of Alicia Adelaide Needham and others were sung, and "tabloid" speeches followed the "tabloid on tabloids," in which Mr. F. A. Bather explained that a tabloid was characterised by the purity and reliability of its constituents, accuracy in the proportion of the composition, extreme condensation under pressure, and excellence of finish. Needless to say, his speech was characterised by all these qualities. The address of the evening, by Mrs. Lorisignol, honorary treasurer, was fittingly succeeded by a reading of Walt Whitman's apostrophe "To a Foll'd European Revolutionaire." Since the founding of the Wimbledon W.S.P.U. in October last, during the Pankhurst trial, the membership has increased fourfold, and the numbers present on Tuesday evening plainly showed that accommodation on a larger scale must soon be provided for such members' meetings. For the celebration of Mrs. Pankhurst's release from prison at Queen's Hall on Thursday flowers were sent, with the message: "From the Wimbledon Women's Social and Political Union (founded October 22, 1908) to the leader whose arrest brought our Union at once into life, we send these flowers, witness to our admiration, hope, and love."

M. GRANT.



A DOMESTIC EPISODE.

Little Willie—"Father! Father! Father!—what does versatility mean?"  
 Father (reading the newspaper)—"Oh, it means Emperor William or Theodore Roosevelt—ask Anty Drudge."  
 Anty Drudge—"The best definition is Fels-Naptha, Willie. It can do anything it is possible for soap to do. And it does it better and in half the time. Washes clothes without boiling or scrubbing; takes out stains or grease spots without damage to anything; washes dishes, cleans the kitchen, brightens oil-cloths, painted wood, etc."

Suppose you divide your wash next wash-day. Do half of it with ordinary laundry soap in the old-fashioned way, and the other half with Fels-Naptha soap in the easy Fels-Naptha way. You find that the old-fashioned way takes twice as long and twice the labour of the Fels-Naptha way, and that the old-fashioned washed clothes look old and dingy alongside of the snow-white purity of the Fels-Naptha washed.

Why not let Fels-Naptha do it?  
**Fels-Naptha**  
 will do it. Isn't it worth trying?

TREASURER'S NOTE.

At the meeting in Queen's Hall last Thursday we resolved to pass this week the twenty-seventh milestone in our fifty-mile race. We have done it. The Women's Social and Political Union has a way of attaining its standards.

It is not too soon to remind our members and friends that the next great effort to fill the war chest will be made during Self-denial Week. The week will begin on the Saturday after we have held our Parliament in Caxton Hall. The date, therefore, is fixed from Saturday, February 27, to Saturday, March 6. Both Saturdays will be included in the week. Special collecting cards will be sent out to all our members, and we shall welcome all suggestions as to novel methods of raising funds. Last year, apart from large subscriptions, we raised over £2,000. This year we hope to realise by our united effort, in which every one of the members of this Union will join, a sum of at least £5,000. The whole country has to be aroused. In every great city centres of organisation have to be founded. The result to be achieved is infinitely worth the cost that has to be paid in labour, life, and money.

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £50,000 FUND.

January 13 to January 19.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged ..	26,669	5	8	Mrs. Stanley Mappin (for January) ..	2	0	0
Miss Marie L. Pethick ..	8	0	0	Mrs. J. Baillie Guthrie ..	5	0	0
"Votes for Women" paper (extra paid in street) ..	0	1	0	Miss E. H. Smith ..	2	0	0
Miss Wolf van Sandau ..	0	2	6	Mrs. J. Ramsbottom ..	1	0	0
Miss Mary Forster ..	0	10	0	From "Smart's Hooks and Eyes" ..	4	0	0
Anon (gold bracelet) ..	6	10	0	Miss Cynthia Massey ..	1	0	0
A. W. per Miss Venning (gold ring) ..	2	0	0	Miss Edith Downing ..	1	1	0
Anon ..	1	10	0	The Misses Townley ..	5	0	0
Miss C. Riorden ..	0	4	0	Miss Clara E. Mordan ..	10	0	0
Miss Edith Lord (gold ring) ..	0	14	0	Miss E. Standfield ..	1	0	0
Miss S. A. Turle (for organiser) ..	100	0	0	Mrs. M. Janet Littlejohn ..	0	10	6
The Misses Beck ..	20	0	0	Miss M. C. Kempe ..	0	2	0
Miss Alice Heale ..	1	1	0	Brixton W.S.P.U. ..	0	10	0
Miss Juliette Heale ..	1	1	0	Miss Ravenscroft ..	1	1	0
Miss Hart Davis (postage fee) ..	0	1	0	Miss Maria Low ..	0	5	0
Miss Rose Farmer ..	0	10	0	Dr. Mary Gordon ..	20	0	0
Miss M. B. Williamson ..	0	5	0	C. Herbert, Esq. ..	1	0	0
Miss C. Greig ..	0	6	0	Mrs. Hertha Ayrton ..	20	0	0
Mrs. Mortimer Budgett ..	42	3	0	Anon, per Mrs. F. Ward ..	0	2	6
Anon (gold ring) ..	0	7	6	Per Miss A. Kenney ..	0	12	0
Scottish W.S.P.U. ..	2	0	0	Miss F. L. Smith ..	0	3	6
Miss A. E. Willson ..	0	5	0	Mrs. Dove Willcox ..	0	3	6
Miss Dorothy Meihe ..	0	5	0	Miss I. Milner (collecting card) ..	0	10	0
Miss Charlotte Marsh ..	2	0	0	Lecture Fee (Radstock) ..	1	1	0
Miss E. M. Pethick ..	8	0	0	Per Miss Ogston ..	5	0	0
Viscountess Harberton ..	10	0	0	Mrs. Cobb ..	5	0	0
Hon. Mrs. Parsons ..	10	0	0	Per Miss Marsh ..	5	0	0
Mrs. Miriam Michael ..	0	10	6	Profit on Whist Drive, Bradford ..	2	3	6
Mrs. Saul Solomon ..	2	2	0	Contributions to By-Election Fund ..			
G. H. H. and R. H. P. ..	4	4	0	Miss Alice Heale ..	1	1	0
Mrs. C. M. Gonne ..	1	0	0	Miss Juliette Heale ..	1	1	0
Capt. C. M. Gonne ..	1	0	0	Mrs. John Brindley ..	1	1	0
"Old Chelmsfordian" ..	1	1	0	Stanley Mappin, Esq. ..	10	0	0
Miss E. M. Pridden ..	0	5	0	W. T. Stead, Esq. ..	5	0	0
W. T. Stead, Esq., through Mrs. Morris ..	0	2	6	Miss Nellie E. Smith ..	1	1	0
Miss S. Carpenter ..	1	1	0	Membership Entrance Fees ..	3	3	0
"A Thankoffering" ..	10	0	0	Collections, etc. ..	96	9	2
Per Miss J. R. Campbell ..	1	0	0				
Mrs. Ernest Lowy ..	10	10	0				
Albert E. Lowy, Esq. ..	1	1	0				
Stanley Mappin, Esq. (for January) ..	4	0	0				
				Total ..	£27,128	16	10

VEREIN FRAUENBILDUNG-FRAUENSTUDIUM.

Under the auspices of the above society, a lecture was delivered on January 8 in the Town Hall by Miss F. Bloxham on "The Woman Movement in England." The subject, which is one of special interest, attracted a considerable audience. After a few words of introduction by Frau Professor Weber, Miss Bloxham proceeded to deliver her lecture. She spoke in English. In the course of the lecture, which lasted over an hour, the speaker gave a clear and concise account of the development of the movement in England and the advantages already attained. A full and carefully selected statement of facts served as a basis for her subject, and the lecturer then went on to depict the struggles which began when woman sought to free herself from her subordinate position in order to assert her rights as an individual. This fight for freedom still continues, and although many points have been gained towards establishing men and women on an equal footing, yet before the equality of the sexes is a recognised fact much has still to be done. But the end in view stimulates endeavour.—(From a Heidelberg newspaper.)

**Hendon W.S.P.U.**—The work for the New Year is being taken up again, and a drawing-room meeting is being arranged at St. Swithin's, Parson Street, at Mrs. Bonsfield's kind invitation. A very good speaker, Miss Mabel Atkinson, will give the address, and we hope for a large audience. The date will be February 3 at 4 p.m.

F. V. CREATOR.

DELICIOUS  
**LUNCHEON CLARET**  
 At 14/- per doz.  
 Can be obtained from—  
**SUTTON BENDLE & CO.,**  
 148, Sloane Street, S.W.  
 TELEPHONE 1755 KENSINGTON.

**GENUINE BARGAIN**, through financial losses. Cash £140, remainder (£400), if preferred, by instalments; the price, £540, being less than it cost the owner. Gunnersbury Main Road Residence. 12 rooms and conservatory, no basement, good garden; lease about 60 years. Close to several stations, and open aspect.—Write, Dale, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand.

**MRS. E. AYRES PURDIE**, London Chamber of Commerce Senior Honours, CERTIFIED ACCOUNTANT and Business Specialist. Auditor to a prominent Suffrage Society. 13, Stock Orchard-crescent, N.

**MRS. W. BAKER** receives Ladies and Gentlemen as Paying Guests. Special arrangements for students, teachers, &c. Terms inclusive, 21s. to 31s. 6d. weekly. 109, Elgin Avenue, Maida Hill, London, W.

**E. DAY & CO.,**  
 French Cleaners and Art Dyers,  
 Nettoyage à Sec.  
**RECEIVING HOUSES:—**  
 5, Brecknock Rd., Camden Rd., N. | 10, Russell Gdns., Kensington, W.  
 275, High St., Camden Town, N.W. | 66, Rosslyn Hill, Hampstead, N.W.  
 Telephone: 2840 P.O. Hampstead.

**MRS. CAPRINA FAHEY**, Qualified to Administer  
 MASSAGE, MEDICAL ELECTRICITY, & THE NAUHEIM TREATMENT.  
 Attendance at Ladies' own **DERBY HOUSE, HENDON.**  
 Homes, from 5s. per Visit.

**ALLEN-BROWN'S** ENGLISH VIOLET TOILET PREPARATIONS  
 BOX OF SOAP CONTAINING 3 TABLETS, 2/3, post free.  
 BOTTLES OF PERFUME, 1/9, 2/9, and 5/3, post free.  
 SAMPLE OF SOAP, post free, 4d.  
 SAMPLE OF SCENT, post free, 4d.

THE MISSES ALLEN-BROWN, F.R.H.S., VIOLET NURSERIES, HENFIELD, SUSSEX.

**GRACE JONES**  
 Inexpensively and Artistically Furnishes and Decorates Rooms for Suffragettes, in their Colours.  
 Special terms to Members N.W.S.P.U. 11, PARKHURST ROAD, CAMDEN ROAD, N.

**ALAN'S TEA ROOMS**  
 263, OXFORD STREET (Three Doors from Jay's.)  
 Luncheon, 1/1, 1/6,  
 12 till 2.30.  
 Tea, 4d., 6d., 1s.

A Large Room may be Engaged for Meetings, &c. No Charge to Members of the W.S.P.U.

**COMFORTABLE HOME** for PAYING GUESTS, Ladies and Gentlemen.—Mrs. Wickham, 10, Glentworth-road, Redland, Bristol.

**CHARACTER DELINEATED** by the handwriting, by a Suffragette. —Six questions dealing with the character also answered. With questions, 5s.; without, 2s. 6d.

Minerva, VOTES FOR WOMEN Offices.

**FLAT TO LET**, Furnished.—2 Bed, 2 Sitting-rooms, Bath, small Kitchen. Gas, electric light, constant hot water. Rent, £2 2s.—Apply, Owner, 9, Aberdeen House, Kenton Street, Brunswick Square, W.C.



**HOW WONDERFUL!**

*Kitty*: "Oh! Mollie, have you seen Smart's Invisible Hooks and Eyes?"  
*Mollie*: "Of course I haven't. They're Invisible; they can't be seen."  
*Kitty*: "Yes, they can; I have seen them. I saw them AT THE DRAPER'S."

**WILL EVERY SUFFRAGIST**  
 WHEN AT HER DRAPER'S  
 remember to purchase

**A CARD of SMART'S INVISIBLE  
 HOOKS and EYES.**

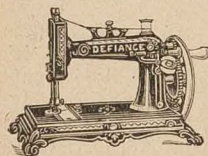
These Hooks and Eyes, now used all over The British Empire,  
 Are the patented invention and property of two members and supporters of  
 The Women's Social and Political Union.

**MADAME REBECCA GORDON,**  
*Court Milliner and Dressmaker.*

**SALE NOW PROCEEDING.**  
 Models Half Price.

**16, Belgrave Road, Victoria.**  
 Tel.: 5313 Westminster.

**LADIES! DO NOT FAIL**  
 to send for design showing exact size of our  
 UNRIVALLED "DEFIANCE" LOCKSTITCH SEWING MACHINE.



Works by hand or treadle. Four years' warranty with each Machine.

**Price 39/6 complete.**

The Cheapest, most perfect, and easiest to learn in the market. Sent to any part of the Country on Easy Terms, 5/- per month. Designs post free.

**W. J. HARRIS & CO., LTD.,**  
 Chief Office: 51, RYE LANE, PECKHAM, LONDON, S.E.,  
 And NUMEROUS BRANCHES.

**NOTHING LIKE LEATHER FOR SUFFRAGETTES' WEAR.**—Miss M. ROBERTA MILLS, 7, Stansfield-road, Brixton, S.W., makes Bags, Belts, Neck and Muff Chains, Guest Books' Cushions, Card and Music Cases, Albums, &c. Original Designs. Union and all Art Colourings.—A selection can be seen at any time at 4, Clements Inn, W.C. (Mrs. Knight).

**THELMA**  
*Robes et Modes.*

59, SOUTHAMPTON ROW, LONDON, W.C.

**DIMOLINE PIANO CO.**  
**SILENCING STOP PIANOS**

From 20 Gs., Cash.

All Makers, Cash or Instalments. Steinway, Bechstein, Brinsmead, etc. Player Pianos, Simplex Players kept in Stock.

Special Terms to Members. Private House, 11, Parkhurst Road, Camden Road, N.

**F. LUDICKE,**

*Ladies' Hairdresser and Specialist in Artistic Hair Work, Colouring and Treatment of the Hair.*

FACE MASSAGE AND MANICURE.

Lessons in Hairdressing given to Ladies' Maids, etc.

**39, Southampton Row, London, W.C.**

(Opposite entrance to Kingsway Tram Tunnel.)

**MRS. MARY LAYTON, F. R. C. O.**

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.

**AMERICAN CHOCOLATE FUDGE.** PURE HOME-MADE CONFECTION.

Air Proof Package.

A. C.,

½ lb. Box 1s. post free. Office of 'Votes for Women.'

Try 'KATE RORKE' DRY SHAMPOO BURNISHER POWDER for the HAIR. NO WATER. NO COLDS. (Prepared solely by the Florence Toilet Co.) Invaluable for Greasy or Fine Hair. Perfect cleanser. Excellent dressing. Antiseptic. Tins, 1s. each, Post Free, 1s. 1½d.  
 Depot—PORTERS' LIBRARY, 134, Finchley Road, LONDON, N.W.

**MISS EDITH PENNY, TEACHER OF MUSIC AND SINGING.**  
 SPECIALIST IN VOICE IMPROVEMENT AND BREATHING.

For Terms, &c., Address—

83, UPPER GLOUCESTER PLACE, DORSET SQUARE, N.W.

**GLYNE HALL RESIDENTIAL HOTEL.**

Established 92.

De La Warr Parade,  
 BEXHILL - ON - SEA.

Established 1892.

TERMS FROM 6s. PER DAY; 35s. PER WEEK.

Telephone 0439.

Apply PROPRIETRESS.

**ELOCUTION. GRETA GARNIER,**  
 32, WIGMORE-ST., W.

TEACHES:—Voice Culture, Gesture, Oratory, Recitation, Accent, Physical Culture. Speech Defects Corrected. Ladies Coached Privately. Interview by Arrangement.

**MISS FOLKARD,**

Artistic Dress and Mantle Maker,

**3, HILL'S PLACE, OXFORD CIRCUS, W.**

Ladies' Materials made up in January and September.

**EDUCATIONAL, DOMESTIC, & GENERAL EMPLOYMENT AGENCY.**

No Booking Fees.

Stamp for reply, GUILD, 35, Hart Street, W.C.