

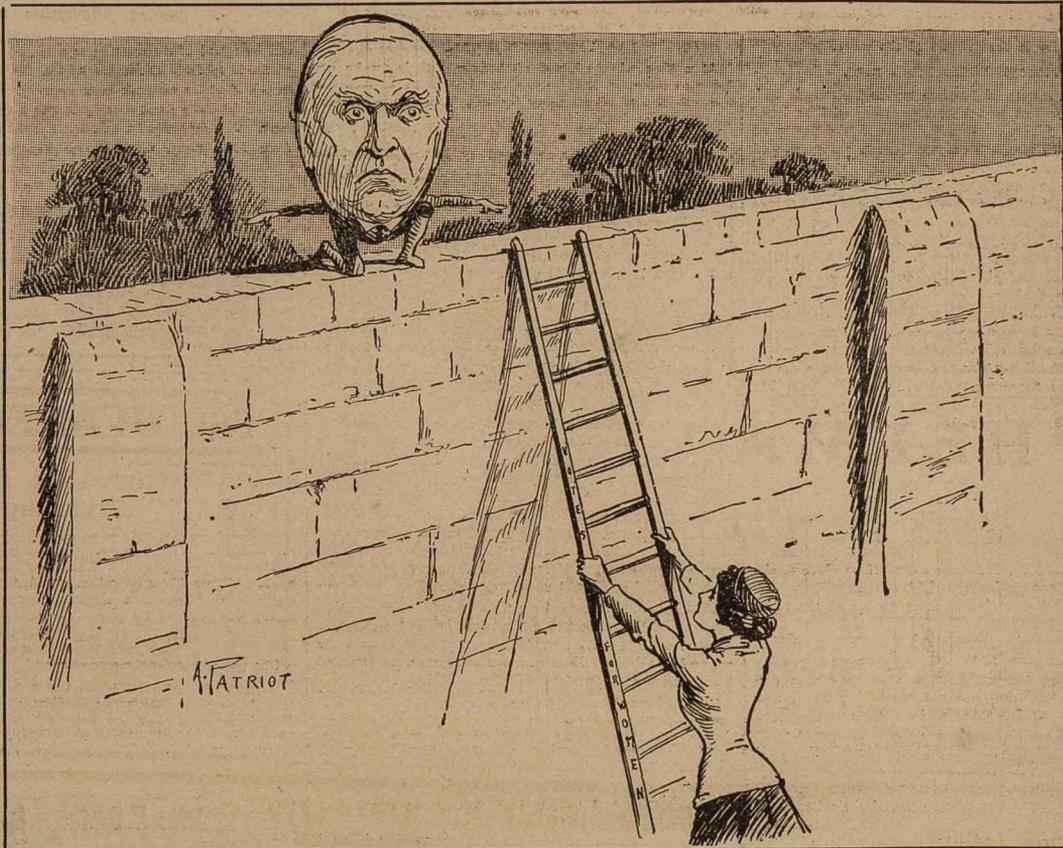
# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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SUFFRAGETTE: "Come down this way, or you'll fall."

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## THE OUTLOOK.

As we go to press we receive an abbreviated report of Mr. Keir Hardie's Presidential Address to the annual meeting of the Labour Party. Dealing with the attitude to be adopted by the Labour members in the new Parliament, Mr. Keir Hardie declared emphatically that the Labour Party would continue to be independent of the Government. This statement is important from the point of view of the Women's Social and Political Union, for it means that the Labour Party, instead of entering into an agreement to give the Government general support, will be free to oppose them in the event of the continued withholding of women's enfranchisement. As the Labour Party with the Nationalist Party now hold the balance of power, Mr. Keir Hardie's denial of the rumoured Parlia-

mentary coalition between Labour and Liberalism is highly satisfactory. Further comment we reserve until next week.

### Comments on the "Truce."

The so-called truce of the Suffragettes has been much commented upon by the Press generally during the past week. A selection of the comments made will be found on page 308. It is interesting to notice in these that while the majority of the papers condemn the militant methods either as useless or as unladylike, they are forced to admit directly or indirectly that it is these very methods that have brought the Woman Suffrage question to the front in the past three years, and have placed the W.S.P.U. in its present strong position. Thus the *Birmingham Post* admits the truth of the contention made in these columns a week ago, that the militant methods are the very root of our strength and power, and goes on to say that they have been the means of successfully appealing to "many women who otherwise might have been content to wait patiently for voluntary franchise concessions." It also admits that Votes for Women is appreciably nearer to attainment. The approval of the principle of Women's Enfranchisement which the *Birmingham Post* expresses is valuable, and this declaration of support cannot fail to have a good effect upon public opinion in the Midlands. Another provincial paper says in a leading article that the cause has advanced wonderfully, and that even its most bitter enemies are to-day obliged to treat it as a serious question. The same paper also asserts

that the present attitude of the W.S.P.U. with regard to militancy is one upon which the leaders of the movement may be congratulated. The *Daily News*, in approving the decision, renews its appeal to the Government to treat the women concerned as political prisoners. The *Nation*, commenting upon the present abstention from militancy, speaks, oddly enough, of "this wretched war between men and women," but, as Miss Pankhurst explained so clearly at the Queen's Hall meeting last Monday, there is no war between men and women. The war has been between just men and women on the one side against an unjust Government on the other.

### What It Really Means.

Members of the Union understand thoroughly the fact which the Press is trying to ignore, namely, that this decision is a very carefully considered tactical movement, and is essentially a sign of strength. The Government are to be given a chance of showing whether they are now prepared to carry a measure recognising women's claim to the vote. Although, as regards militancy, the hand of the W.S.P.U. is to be held temporarily, never was the Union more able to use militant methods if required; never was the spirit of its members bolder, nor their devotion greater, and if the Government do not now yield to the demand so strongly expressed by the men and women of the country, they will be taught a harder lesson than any they have yet learnt. If, however, the Government by fair treatment make it unnecessary for the women to adopt strong measures, the members of the Union will be the first to rejoice. It is they who have

suffered terribly and deeply, and it is they who will be glad if their martyrdom comes to an end. But they are more glad still, as Mrs. Brailsford pointed out in her speech on Monday, that the struggle of the past four years has taken place, for it has taught women two lessons they could not otherwise have learnt—it has raised a higher ideal of womanhood, and it has brought out a heroism which was almost incredible.

#### By-Elections.

The fight with the Government on the political field will go on with no abatement, and at forthcoming by-elections (there is a rumour of one in Lancashire) all the energies of the W.S.P.U. will be concentrated against the party which has so signally failed to uphold the traditions of Liberalism and liberty. The Prime Minister has lately afforded a strong argument for the adoption by all Suffrage societies of this anti-Government election policy. Asked by one of his constituents whether, in the event of the majority of the electors in East Fife petitioning him to give Votes for Women, he would accept this as the voice of the people, Mr. Asquith replied, "No; the only expression of the voice of the people I recognise is their votes at the poll." In vain, therefore, is the collection of electors' signatures for Woman-Suffrage petitions. The only way in which the electors can induce Mr. Asquith to grant women's enfranchisement is to vote against his nominees at the ballot-box. The adoption by all Suffrage societies of an anti-Government election policy is urgently called for in the interest of the cause.

#### Torture of Political Prisoners.

Two more instances of the bravery and strength with which this cause has armed its supporters will be found in the stories of Miss Martin and Miss Elsie Howey on page 308. These two, the only W.S.P.U. prisoners still in gaol when our last issue was published, were released on February 3, two weeks before their sentences were due to expire. What influence the story of Lady Constance Lytton had upon the authorities we cannot gauge, nor can we say whether the fact that a great protest meeting addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst had been arranged in Liverpool on Friday had to do with their decision. We rejoice, however, that this tardy justice has been done. Miss Martin's story is of particular interest, since the shameful treatment to which she was subjected while on remand has been the subject of so much controversy, and provoked a denial from the Home Secretary. As will be seen from her statement, she does not withdraw a word of what she has said. While she was on remand, and before her trial, she was not only forcibly fed with what seems to have been perfectly unnecessary roughness, but she was shaken and pummeled by the wardresses, handcuffed even during the night, so that she could not rise from the floor, carried face downwards by the arms and legs (a process known as "frog-marching") to the doctor's room, and kicked and allowed to fall by the wardresses. Moreover, as a punishment for refusing to wear prison clothes, she was put into a canvas jacket, which she describes as "a perfect form of torture," and made to spend the night in it.

Miss Howey was also forcibly fed the whole time, and gives a terrible picture of the attempts made to open her mouth. The doctor tapped her forehead with a wooden gag, and afterwards he held the top of her head, and the wardress held her chin, and by pulling they succeeded in forcing open her mouth. Miss Martin is weak and ill and has a bad throat; Miss Howey's throat is very weak, and she is in a very nervous condition. Both these women, with magnificent courage, continued their resistance throughout the whole time of their imprisonment.

#### Miss Brewster's Sentence Remitted.

The release of the prisoners has been followed by one more concession. Rather than allow the discreditable facts to come up again in a court of law, the Home Secretary has decided to remit the sentence of six weeks, with hard labour, passed upon Miss Bertha Brewster for breaking her windows in Liverpool Gaol in August last. Miss Brewster has, therefore, withdrawn the appeal, to prosecute which she was conditionally released on January 31. As Miss Brewster had already been punished in gaol for breaking the windows, and as the damage done by her amounted to only 3s. 9d., the sentence of six weeks' imprisonment was perfectly monstrous. She had already served ten days of it, during which she was forcibly fed.

#### A Legal Paper on Forcible Feeding.

With reference to the question of forcible feeding, we would draw the attention of our readers and the public generally to an article in a paper which speaks with such authority as the *Law Times*. This paper appeals for a direct and definite protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragette prisoners. It says—

Lady Constance Lytton, having laid a bold and clever trap for the prison authorities, seems fairly to have caught them in it. So much we gather from her communication to the Press this week, a serious document demanding serious consideration. If the lady's statements are not disproved—and so far as our present knowledge goes they have not even been denied—we are called upon to deal with a case of gross preferential treatment. This, in fact, is what the printed charge amounts to. For a Suffragist of title the prisons have one method. For the working-woman in this League they have another and less delicate method.

There is no need for us to dwell upon the extraordinary difference presented by these two cases. If Lady Constance Lytton was justly dealt with, Jane Warton was the victim of outrage; and, unfortunately for those who have to explain the matter, the two persons are one and the same. The statement which the ex-prisoner has offered to the public seems to us to carry truth on its face—and the question must come before Parliament. We have here a particular perversion of justice, or we have not; the matter cannot be allowed to rest where it stands.

We are further of the opinion that the time has come for a direct and definite protest against the forcible feeding of Suffragist prisoners. The practice, as revealed in far too many instances, savours over-much of Russia. In this country it can no longer be tolerated. Forcible feeding, as applied to these women, has pretty clearly passed into a deliberate form of punishment. It is a form of punishment standing rather nearer to the methods of the torture chamber than English sentiment will endure to see. We have been told by one Minister that another Minister has tried it on himself. We shall be impolite enough to say: A fig for that! No one could try it on himself in the style that has been adopted with the Suffragists; the notion is impossible, ridiculous.

#### A Splendid Meeting.

It has often been asked what other political association could gather such splendid audiences every week throughout the year as are found at the Queen's Hall and St. James's Hall on Mondays and Thursdays. On each occasion there is the same intense interest and whole-hearted enthusiasm, and there is ever a new point of view to be put forward and news of the progress of the campaign. Next Monday afternoon, at the Queen's Hall, members and friends will have the good fortune to hear Mr. John Masfeld, the well-known author and poet. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, after a short holiday, will again be in the chair, and Miss Pankhurst will speak on the political situation, which, in view of the first Cabinet meeting next Thursday, should be of particular interest. Members will also be delighted to hear that they will have an opportunity of welcoming Miss Charlotte Marsh.

#### The Current Issue.

At a time when militant methods and their results are being so discussed it is particularly interesting to read the fine vindication of militancy by Mr. Laurence Housman, which will be found on page 311.

The scope of the great mission to women, the need for it, and the effect of it, is explained by Mrs. Pankhurst on page 316, while Miss Christabel Pankhurst deals with the present relations of the Government and the W.S.P.U.

This issue also contains the first of a series of articles by Mr. Pethick Lawrence on "Women's Fight for the Vote," which should be particularly useful in making clear to new inquirers both why women want the vote and why they have had to fight in this way to get it.

#### THE WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT BILL.

"Will you support the women's cause by balloting in the coming Session of Parliament for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill?" This is the question which members and friends of the Women's Social and Political Union all over the country are putting to members of Parliament. It is most important that a large number of favourable replies shall be received. Members of Parliament are obliged to ballot for the right of having the Bill in which they are interested discussed on one of the very few days in each Session set aside for the consideration of private members' Bills. Therefore, the greater the number of members who ballot for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, the greater our chance of getting the Bill discussed and voted upon.

Members of Parliament are making a very encouraging response to the request that they shall ballot for the Bill. It is evident that its terms are such as to command the support of all those Members who have any real claim to be regarded as supporters of Woman Suffrage.

The Bill reads as follows:—

That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election; any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

The opinion entertained in some quarters that Liberal members of Parliament will support nothing but a measure in the nature of Adult Suffrage has not so far been borne out by the replies received from Liberal Members of Parliament. Thus, one Liberal Member, who represents a Lancashire constituency, writes:—"I wish to say that my views on the Woman Suffrage question have never changed. I stated in my election addresses of 1900, 1906, and 1910 that I was in favour of the enfranchisement of women householders, and I have never been prepared to go beyond this. If the enfranchisement of women householders had been adhered to, and had not been enlarged by Adult Suffrage and other claims, I believe it could have been got from the last Parliament. Suffragists are attempting too much at once; the same mistake appears to have been made as that of the United Kingdom Alliance, and this has had a bad effect in the House of Commons." The Women's Enfranchisement Bill meets this member's view much more nearly than would an Adult Suffrage Bill.

Another Liberal member, who represents a Yorkshire constituency, writes:—"I shall support any measure in the coming Session extending the franchise to women who have the same property or occupation qualification as men."

In short, everything points to the conclusion that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, proposing as it does, simply to remove the political disqualification of sex, without making any other alteration in the franchise, will command more support in the House of Commons than any other measure for enfranchising women which could possibly be devised.

The readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* are urged to devote themselves, during the few days that remain before the opening of Parliament, to the task of getting from members of Parliament a pledge to ballot for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

#### W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, who have read and enjoyed "Multitude and Solitude" and the beautiful poem, "First Fruits," published in our issue of January 23, will be delighted to hear that the distinguished novelist, Mr. John Masfeld, will speak at the Queen's Hall free meeting next Monday at 3 p.m. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Charlotte Marsh, who is honoured throughout the movement for her magnificent fight for political freedom, will also speak. On Thursday, at St. James's Hall, at 8 p.m., the speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Miss Charlotte Marsh.

#### Missions to Women.

The great awakening among women all over the country is finding expression in special Women's Missions, which are being held in many centres. Some early reports of the work being done and of the intense interest roused among women of all classes will be found on pages 312 and 313.

#### An Important Theatre Meeting in London.

A special meeting has been organised by the Chetrea W.S.P.U., to take place in the Court Theatre, Sloane Square, on February 22, at 3 p.m. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady Constance Lytton, and a sum of money will be raised at the meeting as a mark of appreciation and gratitude to Lady Constance Lytton for her heroic sacrifice on behalf of the women's cause recently. The money will be handed by Lady Constance Lytton to the national campaign fund. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., may be obtained from Miss Haig, 4, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, Chelsea, S.W., who will be glad to hear from those who are willing to help in the arrangements for the meeting.

#### The Great Albert Hall Meeting.

Already, more than a month ahead, the lower orchestra tickets for the great Albert Hall meeting on March 18 are sold out. Members and friends, therefore, who wish for the opportunity of being present are advised to communicate without delay with the Ticket Secretary, Miss Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C. The prices are as follows:—Stalls, 3s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony, 1s.; upper orchestra, 6d., and boxes at various prices. The 1s. and 6d. seats are for women only, and all seats are numbered except those in the upper orchestra.

#### The Scottish Exhibition.

Little more than two months will elapse before the great Scottish Exhibition and Sale of Work in Glasgow, in the closing days of April. Women who have leisure and who are anxious to see the forwarding of the women's cause in Scotland are invited to devote their energies to preparing articles suitable for sale on the stalls. By means of this exhibition the strength of the movement beyond the Border will be emphatically demonstrated. The arrangements are in the hands of General Drummond, who will be glad to hear from any who can give their help. Address, 502, Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow.

#### Poster Parades in London.

The poster parades, or processions of women selling *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, held during the last few weeks in London, have become so popular a feature of the agitation for the vote that they are now looked upon as a weekly fixture. Details of a parade to take place to-day (Friday) will be found on page 312.

#### Join the Union!

Owing to the coercive methods employed by the so-called Liberal Government against women who are demanding political enfranchisement a very large number of people have been drawn into sympathy with the Suffragettes. Many have definitely joined the W.S.P.U., and the attention of those who have not yet done so is drawn to the membership form on page 311, which should be signed and posted, with the entrance fee of 1s., to the Hon. Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

#### The Forcible Feeding Poster.

A coloured poster representing the forcible feeding of Suffragettes in prison, a black-and-white drawing of which appeared in *VOTES FOR WOMEN* of January 23, is now ready. It is printed in four colours, and is a very graphic means of bringing home to the public the terrible ordeal through which nearly forty women have gone in the cause of political freedom. Members are invited to write to the Secretary, Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, W.C., for this poster, which is in two sizes—viz., 80 ins. wide by 60 ins. high (suitable for boardings), price 6d., by post 7d.; and 120 ins. by 15 ins. (suitable for windows), price 1d., by post 14d.

#### TO MEMBERS.

The members of our Union who cannot take active part in the militant work themselves are only too anxious, we know, to help those who have done and suffered so much for the sake of all women. A young hospital nurse, fully trained, and speaking French and German, has lost her appointment through her courageous stand for the cause. She now seeks an appointment as travelling nurse attendant to invalid or child. A cook, who has lost her situation because she sold *VOTES FOR WOMEN* in her spare time, also seeks work. We appeal with confidence to members on behalf of these women. Communications should be addressed to Mrs. Tuke, Hon. Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

We regret to announce that, owing to illness caused by her recent imprisonment, Lady Constance Lytton will not be able to fulfil any engagements for some time.

## WOMEN'S FIGHT FOR THE VOTE.

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence. Introduction.—Chapter I.: What Women are Asking For.

Woman Suffrage has been for such a long time under discussion that one is sometimes tempted to assume that everyone knows all that there is to be said about it, and that the time for argument is in reality past, and the time for action come.

There is a sense in which this is true. It is true that the question has been argued about by politicians for so long a time without anything being done that action by the advocates of Woman Suffrage is now absolutely necessary if victory for their cause is to be won.

But it is not true that in consequence of this action argument is no longer necessary. On the contrary, argument is required more than ever before, because while it is still necessary to explain to people the fundamental principles of the demand for Votes for Women, it has become also necessary to explain the action which has been taken to enforce this demand.

The Women's Social and Political Union, since the commencement of militant methods of agitation in 1905, have carried on the double work of fighting and educating simultaneously. They have to fight to-day, as the warriors did of old, with the sword in one hand and the trowel in the other. Or, to change the metaphor, while the fundamental business of the Union is a direct attack upon the Government of the day who are the obstacle to the enfranchisement of women, yet, at the same time, they have to fight a rearguard action against the straggling hosts which are still opposed to the principles of Woman Suffrage.

Of these opponents some have adopted the direct and honest method of frank hostility, and others have preferred the dishonest policy of professing friendship while in secret they do not hesitate to use every means in their power to block, to sidetrack, and, if possible, to prevent the enfranchisement of women.

#### The Anti-Suffragists.

Among the direct opponents, the most interesting are those who have banded themselves into Anti-Suffrage Societies and have accordingly been forced to try and formulate arguments to support the faith that is in them. The weakness of these arguments and their mutually inconsistent character have already done good spadework in favour of Woman Suffrage. It is said that during the South African War the Boers expressed themselves as glad of the presence on the British side of a certain class of untrained volunteers, because they presented an easy prey, and when captured provided additional stores of ammunition to their captors. The Anti-Suffragists are of even more assistance in furthering the cause of Woman Suffrage, because not only do they provide their enemies with a store of ammunition, but of personnel. In fact, they prove excellent recruiting sergeants, introducing the subject into quarters where it would otherwise be taboo and ultimately bringing into the ranks of the Women's Social and Political Union many recruits who, but for this opposition, would never have become acquainted with the movement. The opposition is, in fact, parallel to that which is described in Moleworth's History. Speaking of a society which was formed to oppose the Anti-Corn Law League, he says: "This association was rather a help than a hindrance to the work of the league. By promoting discussion it drew attention to the arguments of Free Traders and thus hastened the spread and prevalence of the truth."

#### False Friends.

Prominent among the other section of opponents must be reckoned those members of Parliament, who in order to obtain the devoted service of women to win them their seats, have done lip-homage to Woman Suffrage, confident that once elected they could so manipulate the complicated procedure of the House of Commons that their faithfulness would not be detected. These men have been rendered angry when they have been confronted by the one test which separates sincerity from insincerity—the test of action.

When they have been told by the Women's Social and Political Union that actions speak louder than words, and that by their actions alone they will be judged, many of them have thrown off their disguise and have frankly announced their opposition; others still hide themselves behind specious proposals which they hope may render impossible the enactment of a Woman Suffrage Bill.

#### The Indifferent.

Finally, there are the people who, while not unfavourable to Woman Suffrage, regard the question with comparative indifference. Many of them are conscious that the conditions in which large numbers of women have to live to-day are deplorable; they feel that they would be prepared to do anything which would improve these conditions, yet they do not understand that the first step towards this end is the enfranchisement of women. They have never taken the trouble to inquire into the nature of the demand women are making to-day, nor have they followed the steps commencing with long years of patient constitutional agitation which have led up to the present vigorous methods of the modern Suffragette.

In response to a very large demand from readers of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, I have decided to restate the elementary facts concerning Woman Suffrage in a series of

articles in this paper, in a form particularly suitable for new readers. The articles will cover the nature and reason of women's demand for the vote, the absurdity and inconsistency of the arguments of the Anti-Suffragists, and a restatement of the successive stages of the agitation with an explanation and defence of the present militant methods of the Women's Social and Political Union.

#### CHAPTER I.—WHAT WOMEN ARE ASKING FOR.

The demand which women are making is simply and solely that sex shall not of itself be a disqualification for the possession of the Parliamentary franchise. As it has been decided in the Courts of Law\* that no woman in the United Kingdom is entitled to vote in Parliamentary elections under the existing law, in order that women may obtain this right, a statute must be passed specifically conferring it upon them. Women suffragists have accordingly drafted a Bill which they desire to see carried into law. It is known as the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and reads as follows:—

That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of Members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender the same shall be held to include women for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

The effect of the passage of this Bill will be immediately to confer the franchise upon all those women who possess the qualifications which at present entitle men to vote, and subsequently to secure that if any extension be made in the franchise law it shall affect men and women alike. Under the existing law a man is qualified to exercise the vote who is one of the following:—

- (1) An owner of freehold estate valued at not less than £5 per annum.
- (2) An occupier of a house or tenement. (The occupier is the person in whose name the house is taken, and he can obtain a vote, however small his rental. But the law allows two or more persons to claim as "joint occupiers" where each pays a rental of not less than £10 a year.)
- (3) A lodger, provided he occupies apartments of the value of not less than 3s. 10d. a week. (The apartments may be furnished or unfurnished, but in either case the minimum rental of 3s. 10d. a week—i.e., £10 a year—is reckoned on the unfurnished value.)
- (4) A University graduate.
- (5) A man whose living rooms are provided as part of his salary, provided his employer does not live on the premises (the service franchise).

#### Who will get the Vote?

By the passing of the Bill cited above, women—numbering, it is estimated, about a million and a quarter in all—possessed of any of these qualifications, will be immediately enfranchised. As there are at present between 7,000,000 and 8,000,000 male voters this will mean that the female electorate will be about one-seventh of the whole.

Under the present franchise law by far the largest number of men qualify as occupiers. This will also be the case with the women voters. Those women who, as householders, are paying rates and taxes, either directly or indirectly, and are fulfilling all the conditions of citizenship, will then be entitled to the Parliamentary vote of which they have been deprived hitherto simply on the ground of sex.

Of the new voters a large proportion will be widows, upon whom the whole burden of supporting the family rests. Another large class will be spinsters living by themselves, or in whose name the house is taken. The position of married women will depend upon circumstances; just as marriage is neither a reason for nor a bar against enfranchisement in the case of men, so it will not be in the case of women, and only those married women who possess a separate qualification, as, for instance, where the house is taken in their name, will obtain the vote under this Bill.

An examination of the women who are at present voters for various local bodies under the Local Government Acts, to which the proposed Parliamentary franchise would approximate,† indicates that the distribution of women in the various classes of society will correspond roughly with the present distribution of the male electorate. A special analysis undertaken by the Independent Labour Party for this purpose showed that about 80 per cent. of the women enfranchised will be working women.

Though this is the demand put forward by all Woman Suffrage Societies, it has been criticised by many people who profess themselves to be in favour of Votes for Women. These critics suggest either that women should ask for a different and distinct franchise from that which men possess, or that they should work for the inclusion of Woman Suffrage in a general franchise reform. I shall deal with these critics in a later chapter.

(To be continued.)

\* Chelton v. Lingo, Court of Common Pleas, 1867 (see *Time Reports*, Court of Common Pleas, vol. 16); Scottish Graduates Case, House of Lords, 1908. (See "Report of the Scottish Women Graduates Appeal to the House of Lords," London: Athlone Press, Price 3d.)

† The principal difference would be the inclusion of women lodgers. In the case of men the lodgers are about 3 per cent. of the whole electorate.

#### LIBERAL AND LABOUR.

Mr. H. N. Brailsford has written to the *Labour Leader* urging that the Labour members of Parliament shall not form a "coalition" with the Liberal Party in the House of Commons. In the course of his letter he says: "Clearly, for certain purposes there is and ought to be a combination in the House of Commons. But a loose combination, based on the merits of each measure as it comes before the House, is very far from being a coalition. Such a combination leaves an independent party free to follow its own principles and to obey its own judgment. A coalition, on the other hand, while it lasts, is necessarily as rigid as a united party. It is an alliance to divide power and retain office, and the group which once enters it must be prepared to accept responsibility for everything which its allies may do. Labour, in all probability, will be invited to enter such a coalition, and a specious case might be made out for accepting the offer. The Liberals will promise to reverse the Osborne judgment, and to restore the financial power of Labour. They would doubtless be ready to consider the views of Labour in social legislation. But the price of the compact would be the acquiescence of Labour in the tacit arrangement by which the Radicals have already abandoned certain departments to the Whigs. . . . But, after all, some may say we shall have broken the Lords. For my part, I find it difficult to believe that the Whigs will allow the Lords to be broken. . . . There is another issue whose fate Labour can, if it is wise, decide. The I.L.P., to its lasting honour, opened its electoral manifesto with a confession of faith in the political equality of the sexes. The Liberals have already ceased to talk of their Reform Bill. They are proposing instead separate measures to deal with plural voting and corruption—measures which would be quite superfluous if they really intended to deal with the franchise as a whole. If that is their mood, we can forecast the future. The militant campaign will continue, and the long line of brave women who have faced the degradation of prison, with all that it now involves in brutality and torture, will lengthen out from hundreds to thousands. If Labour enters a coalition, it, too, must share the responsibility for this denial of justice, and face the odium of this persecution. That would be more than an unmanly meanness; it would be a folly. Most of the leaders in this women's movement are our comrades. Even the Liberal women who have joined them, and the women who had at first no decided political convictions, have moved unconsciously towards Socialism during these years of revolt. A woman who has once learned to see the world through the bars of a prison cell loses the illusions of comfort and the optimism of the possessing class. If Labour in its independence can win the vote for women, it will gain for its ranks the young veterans of the bravest movement of our generation. Whether it is of the democratic issue that we think, of armaments, of foreign policy, or of this urgent woman's question, coalition means disloyalty to our principles, the smirching of our flag, and the loss in the end of our own soul. If we are firm, the Liberals will know how to adjust themselves to the new situation. They aim at office and power. If they can keep it only by yielding to our unwavering assertion of our principles, be sure that yield they will. The man who follows his ideal can always dominate the office-seeker. Each has his reward. Let us be clear that the fulfilment of our ideal is the one reward we seek.

**Debenham & Freebody.**  
Wigmore Street,  
(Cavendish Square) London, W.

Early Spring  
Tailor Suit

Ready to Wear

(as sketch)

in Navy Coating  
Serge, trimmed  
with black silk  
braid and Moire  
collar and cuffs,  
edged with black  
and white silk  
piping. Coat lined  
— Silk —

£5

Sent on Approval.



RELEASE OF THE LIVERPOOL PRISONERS.

Treatment of Miss Martin on Remand: Miss Howey's Story.

On Thursday of last week (too late for insertion in last issue) came the glad news that the Government had released the two remaining Suffrage prisoners, Miss Selina Martin and Miss Elsie Howey, who had still about two weeks of their sentences to serve.

Miss Selina Martin, it will be remembered, was arrested at Liverpool on December 21, and afterwards sentenced to two months' and one-month's imprisonment for a protest and for breaking her windows in Walton Gaol in August last, for which latter offence she had received punishment at that time.

But it was the treatment she received while on remand—and therefore presumed by the law to be innocent—which aroused widespread indignation. Her account of what she suffered was printed in a leaflet, which was widely circulated during the General Election, and turned innumerable votes against the Government.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone denied the truth of her statements, but Miss Martin, both when interrogated in prison by the visiting magistrates and since her release, has insisted upon the absolute accuracy of her original statement as to her treatment while on remand.

On her release Miss Martin was taken to a nursing home. As a result of what she has undergone she is very thin and ill. She has been forcibly fed twice a day for five weeks and two days, and her wrists still bear the marks of the handcuffs.

As a protest against the refusal of bail, although the prisoners promised to keep peace, Miss Martin on arriving at the gaol refused in every way possible to her. She protested to take any food, and she broke her cell windows.

To prevent the entrance of officers she barricaded the cell, and an entrance was forced by two women warders. The chief wardress, seemingly losing all self-control, shook and pumelled her.

Miss Martin's Story.

Miss Martin writes:—"The next break was a visit from the deputy medical officer. I refused to allow him to examine me, making request for a woman doctor. Of this no notice was taken, but I was threatened with forcible feeding, if I refused food on this day. Not many minutes had elapsed when several women entered and commanded me to dress in my garments, which were very wet from the previous day's snow."

Being on remand Miss Martin wore her own clothing. "Upon refusal I was dragged up, forced into my clothing, taken to a punishment cell, and my hands handcuffed tight behind. I was left in an exhausted state, and was unable to rise from the floor, as my hands were still fastened. Some hours later a wardress visited me, and lifted me on to the board. The cell was extremely cold and badly ventilated. In the evening the doctor ordered me to a different cell, which he suggested would be warmer, but which I found to be no improvement. In the evening my hands were unfastened, brought to the front, and again handcuffed for the whole night. On Thursday a further unsuccessful attempt was made to examine me medically, and the doctor renewed his threats to feed me by force. In the morning I was taken before the visiting magistrates to answer the charge of breaking my windows. Judgment was withheld sine die. I complained of the threats of forcible feeding while I was on remand, and also the unwarrantable actions of the chief wardress. I was informed that the wardress was quite justified so long as I refused to conform to prison rules. I then made application for a private doctor to examine me. I was questioned as to whether I was suffering from any known illness, to which I replied in the negative, but suggested an examination was necessary before an operation such as forcible feeding was forced upon me. My application was refused, and I returned to my cell.

"Late the same evening several wardresses entered my cell and commanded me to go with them to the doctor's room. I refused, and was dragged to the foot of the stairs with my hands handcuffed behind. Then I was carried face downwards by the arms and the legs to the doctor's room. After a violent struggle I was forced into a chair, the handcuffs removed, and my arms held by women whilst the doctor, forcibly fed me by that obnoxious instrument—the stomach tube. Much unnecessary force was used by the junior assistant medical officer in applying the gag. The operation finished I walked from the room handcuffed to the top of the stairs, but refused to return to the punishment cell. Two wardresses caught me by the shoulders and dragged me down the steps, another kicking me from behind. As I reached the bottom step the wardresses relaxed their hold, and I fell on my head. I was picked up and carried to the cell. Utterly worn out, I threw myself upon the floor. Subsequently I was put into bed."

Next day the doctors tried in vain to make a medical examination, and Miss Martin was again forcibly fed with quite unnecessary violence. After the operation she refused to go back to the punishment cell, and again she says:—"I was carried by a number of wardresses down the steps, my head being allowed to bump several times."

On Monday, December 27, she received her sentence, and was placed in a punishment cell. "Next day," she says, "on refusing to wear the prison clothes, I was put in the canvas jacket—a perfect form of torture, bringing to the mind the days of the Inquisition. Whilst wearing this instrument I was forcibly fed, this time by the chief medical officer. A decrease of brutality was the only marked difference. The action was repeated in the evening, and I was compelled to sleep in the canvas jacket."

The next day the jacket was removed, and the following day she was taken to an ordinary cell. On Monday, as she was in a dangerously weak condition, she was removed to the hospital cell, and attempts were made to feed her by a spoon. The treatment, however, was so rough that it caused her great suffering. The stomach tube was again used. On January 8 the inquiry to which Mr. Gladstone referred was made. A number of magistrates entered Miss Martin's cell without warning, and catinched her as to her statements regarding the treatment she had received while on remand. All through her imprisonment Miss Martin seized every opportunity of making her brave protests. On Sunday, January 9, although she was ill and guarded night and day, she succeeded in barricading her cell, and it took some men several hours to force an entrance. After this a wardress was stationed permanently outside the cell, as is the custom in the case of a condemned criminal. The next day Miss Martin again eluded the vigilance of the watcher, and wrote on her cell wall:—"Torture chamber! Votes for Women! No surrender! Freedom's cause till death." After this the door of her cell was screwed back leaving it wide open, and relays of wardresses stood at the entrance the whole time. Meanwhile Miss Martin's throat, which had always been rather delicate, was becoming very troublesome as a consequence of forcible feeding, and she applied for permission to see a woman doctor. Three days later she was released, and no reason was given in answer to her inquiries.

Miss Elsie Howey, who was sentenced on January 14 to six weeks' hard labour for breaking windows of the gaol governor's house, on the same occasion as Lady Constance Lytton was arrested, was released at the same time. She has also been fed twice daily. Her throat, however, became so sore that she was given one day's rest. Miss Howey sends us the following statement:—"On arriving at the prison on Saturday, January 15, I refused to dress in the prison clothes, but they were put on me, and I was taken to a cell. I was then taken to a cell, and I was carried face downwards by the arms and the legs to the doctor's room. After a violent struggle I was forced into a chair, the handcuffs removed, and my arms held by women whilst the doctor, forcibly fed me by that obnoxious instrument—the stomach tube. Much unnecessary force was used by the junior assistant medical officer in applying the gag. The operation finished I walked from the room handcuffed to the top of the stairs, but refused to return to the punishment cell. Two wardresses caught me by the shoulders and dragged me down the steps, another kicking me from behind. As I reached the bottom step the wardresses relaxed their hold, and I fell on my head. I was picked up and carried to the cell. Utterly worn out, I threw myself upon the floor. Subsequently I was put into bed."

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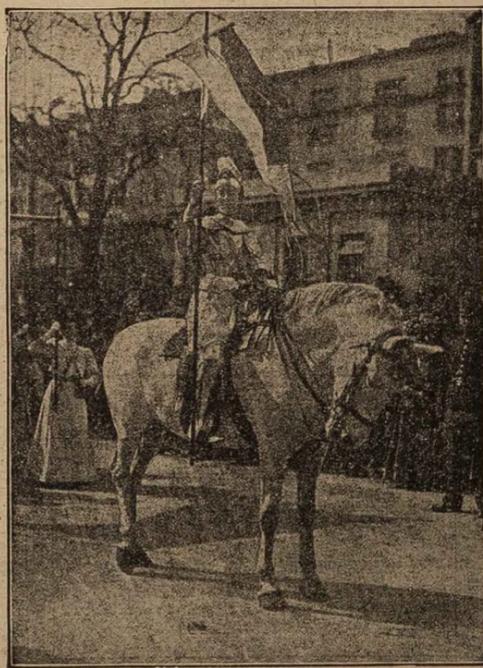
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Miss Elsie Howey as Joan of Arc in the welcome procession to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, April 17, 1909.

clothes, but they were put on me, and I was taken to a cell. On Monday morning the doctor came in, and seemed rather excited; he said I should be fed by force after Tuesday, and made some disparaging remarks about the cause I was fighting for. After he left, I was again dressed and taken before the governor, who sentenced me to three days' close confinement in a punishment cell, saying that owing to the fact that I was talking no food he could not pass a sentence such as he would like to. In this cell I scratched "Votes for Women! No surrender," as deeply as possible with a hairpin.

On Tuesday evening I suddenly heard sounds of choking and moaning up above me, and realising that my companion was being fed, I tried as a protest to break my window and the glass over my gas, but having only a wooden spoon, I could not manage it. Then the door was flung open, and the doctor and six wardresses entered. They seized me, and I was soon overpowered and placed on my back on the plank bed, a wardress kneeling on each leg and on each arm, so that movement was impossible. The doctor then knelt down and gripped my head tightly between his knees, so that I was perfectly helpless. I kept my teeth shut, however, and for some time he could not get them open, though he tapped me on the forehead with the wooden gag and tried to taunt me into speaking. At last he took the top of my head and a wardress took my chin, and by both pulling they managed to insert the steel gag, with which my mouth was forced open as wide as possible, and the feeding proceeded.

I was taken back to my cell upstairs, where I dug into the wall opposite my bed, "No surrender!" in big letters, so that I might see it whenever I was being fed, but though the governor saw this and what I had written downstairs, he said he should take no notice of it, as I was undergoing forcible feeding. This in itself seemed an admission that being fed by force was a horrible proceeding, as prison authorities are not prone to err on the side of mercy. Next morning I was sick while being fed. A few days afterwards the doctor had great difficulty in getting the tube down my throat, and when it went down it caused me to choke so violently that it had to be withdrawn. When I was very exhausted by this he would leave me for ten minutes and then return. Sir James Barr came in and examined me and recommended a day's rest, which was given me, and things went better after that till my release a few days later.

Medical Certificate.

I hereby certify that I have this day examined Miss Elsie Howey. I find her pulse occasionally irregular, and her throat very much congested and swelled, and her nervous system a good deal shaken.

ALICE J. STEWART KEE, M.D. February 5, 1910.

THE PRESS ON THE TRUCE.

We are glad to know that the promoters of an agitation which has appeared to us to be mischievous, no less from the point of view of women desiring the vote than from that of those who wish to see political issues fought out with due regard to decency and public order, have at last concluded that a change of policy is desirable. It is perfectly true, probably (as is asserted by VOTES FOR WOMEN), that the militant methods "are the very root of the strength and power possessed by the Women's Social and Political Union at the present time." The Union has admittedly achieved notoriety by its departure from conventionality, and has thus successfully appealed to many women who otherwise might have been content to wait patiently for voluntary franchise concessions. But it is a mistake to suppose that this accession of strength by the Union has furthered the cause of women's suffrage. Indeed, a permanent continuance of militancy could only mean permanent exclusion of women from the Parliamentary vote, for the simple reason that no Government would submit to an intimidatory demand. Several members of the present Administration are theoretically in favour of votes for women, but even the most friendly among them have made it quite clear that they could not give practical effect to their opinions so long as they were being subjected to threats. The agitation has not been condemned so much because of any doubt of the sincerity of its abettors or its instruments as because of its inherent mischievousness and its absolute futility. Now that the promoters have decided on a change of policy it will be possible for politicians to give a much more ready ear to their demands. That the vote will be given as an immediate consequence is too much to expect; but that it will be appreciably nearer to attainment no one can doubt. Being among those who think there is more than a little in the case presented by the women (whether members of the Union or any other of the suffrage societies), we welcome the abandonment of a course of action which could only operate as a prejudice. We hope that impatience at what must necessarily be slow progress towards the desired goal will not induce a relapse.

The silence which has reigned in the camp of the Suffragettes during the past few weeks is explained—and well explained. Mrs. Pankhurst, as leader of the militant party, has declared a truce; and for the present, at any rate, militant tactics are to be suspended. The course is a wise one. The cause of women's suffrage is one which has advanced wonderfully; even the most bitter enemies of it are bound to-day to treat it as a serious question. But much still remains to be done. Meanwhile, a private member's Bill will be introduced, and the attitude of the Government towards it will be carefully watched. If it is treated in the proper manner—and there are signs that the Government is prepared to consider the matter seriously—there will be no further trouble. If, on the other hand, the Government show conclusively that they do not intend to respond to the demand of the women, the militant campaign will be recommenced even more vigorously than before. Such is the declared policy of the Suffragettes, and, as has been said, it is one upon which the leaders of the movement may be congratulated. There must, however, be no show of impatience. It must be kept in mind by those who are so urgently demanding votes for women that the new Parliament, when it assembles, will have many grave questions to deal with. Its time will, during the first session at any rate, be very fully occupied, and the white flag which has been hoisted by Mrs. Pankhurst's army must not be hauled down too hastily.

—Wolverhampton Express and Star.

We observe with pleasure that the Women's Social and Political Union have decided to drop militant tactics—for the present. Even if this is meant to be a truce rather than peace, it is an event of some consequence, because it opens the way to a healing of some of the wounds made in this wretched war between men and women. We have always understood that the Government attached importance, from a social point of view, to the closing of this strife.

—The Nation.

Our readers will remember that we have maintained from the beginning the futility of the methods in question. Brilliant as an advertisement in the early stages, they are impossible as a continued policy, and we are perhaps not wrong in concluding that the leaders of the W.S.P.U. have realised the essential facts of the situation. In relation to such a question as the enfranchisement of women, the Government, after all, is dependant upon the House, as the House is dependant upon the electorate. Whether the Liberal Government is destined to reach the stage of the promised Reform Bill depends upon several important circumstances, and most of all upon the fate of the Lords' veto. As for the women's demand, we cannot hope, in view of what has happened, that the victory will be secured without further severe struggle. But we earnestly hope that the period of bitter strife is at an end, and in giving expression to that hope we would renew our appeal to the Government to recognise the claim of political prisoners to "first-class treatment."

—Daily News.

WILLIAM OWEN, WESTBOURNE GROVE, W.

THIS WEEK sees the finish of our sale; for advantageous buying of everything in dainty white; Underclothing, Lingerie, Linen, Curtains, Blouses, etc., infinitely varied as regards style, but of consistently high grade quality, it presents opportunities such as rarely occur.

A perusal of our Catalogue, a copy of which will be sent post free, or, better still, a visit to our showrooms, cannot fail to interest.



Y 321. Elegant white Petticoat, trimmed fine lace and insertion, with embroidery heading, suitable for evening wear, 22/9. Same design, Princess shape, 23/6. O 764. Pretty white Petticoat, deep flounce of embroidery, finished wide ribbon insertion, 7/6. Y 789. Durable embroidery-trimmed Petticoat, composed of good wide embroidery with insertion to match, threaded broad ribbons, 12/4.



O 52. Dainty hand-embroidered combination in pretty design, finished Valenciennes lace and ribbons, 12/8; o/s, 13/6.



Y 1662. Little boy's Nursery Overall, in white drill, 20 to 24 ins., as sketch; 20 ins. 3/4, rising 6d. every size. 3 for 9/6. Y 1577. Infant's Cambric Frock, trimmed Swiss embroidery and Valenciennes insertion, 4/9. 3 for 13/9.

WILLIAM OWEN, Ltd., Westbourne Grove, London, W.

THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

Women Rulers in India.

The women's movement is, naturally, more backward in the East than in other parts of the world, but even there it is forging steadily ahead. Turkish women have recently broken free from many old restrictions. Among the Chinese women a wave of unrest is surely at work; and even in India, though emancipation is a dream of the future, women can boast that they have from the earliest ages proved their equality with men on the throne, in the council chamber, and on the field of battle.

In the course of a most interesting article in the Standard recently it was pointed out that a woman has ruled over the State of Bhopal, in Central India, for no less than three generations. Nawab Sultan Jahan, who has been created a Knight Grand Commander of the Star of India, is the third Begum to receive this honour, and she earned it not alone by her outspoken loyalty to the British Government, but by earnest devotion to the welfare of her subjects. Her name will certainly have a place among the famous women of India.

She has administered the State for nearly ten years, and though, unlike her mother and grandmother, she has not thrown aside the veil, she was present at the great Durbar at Delhi and at the State ceremonies connected with it. Recently she held a grand Durbar of her own, and made a stirring speech, especially denouncing the attempt on the life of the Viceroy at Admadabad. She called upon her people to follow their ancestors in loyalty and devotion to herself and the British Government, and she insisted that India enjoyed many great advantages under foreign rule, the justice of which it was base ingratitude to question.

Her grandmother, Sikandar Begum, was also a woman of exceptional ability, and the British Government recognised her first as regent and then as ruler of Bhopal. Her opportunity for displaying her loyalty occurred during the Indian Mutiny, when she succeeded in handing over a quantity of treasonable correspondence to the agent of the Governor-General. She also sheltered English officers who had been expelled from Indore, and dealt promptly with her own troops when they showed signs of joining the rebels. This lady was her own Prime Minister, and the hand with which she governed Bhopal was a firm and just one. She was succeeded by her daughter, Shah Jahan Begum, who followed her mother's example in throwing aside the restrictions of the purdah, and who proved herself another successful ruler.

The article already quoted points out that the heroines of the Sanskrit epics would give points to the most valorous claimant for Woman Suffrage.

"Nur Jahan, wife of the Great Mogul Jehangir, was," says the writer, "a better man than her Imperial husband. She managed all the affairs of the realm, a Persian chronicler records, and nothing was wanting to make her an absolute monarch but the recital of the Khutba in her name. The Emperor recognised her merits as a stateswoman. She was quite clever enough, he said, to look after the Empire; and all he asked for was a bottle of wine and a slice of meat to keep himself merry. What, if true, is still more to her credit is that, according to the same history, she won golden opinions from all the people."

"Rajput and Maratha annals contain many instances of female ability. Ahuri Bai from the time she was thirty to her death ruled the State founded by her father, Mulhar Rao Holkar, with wisdom and determination. Her fame spread over the length and breadth of India. The other Maratha chiefs, ready enough to quarrel among themselves, would have thought it a sacrilege, Sir John Malcolm said, to show hostility to her, and would have defended her against any outsider. Potentates like the Nizam of Hyderabad and Tipu Sultan of Mysore held her in high esteem. On her accession to power she had a bow and quiver fastened at each corner of her elephant's howdah, as a hint that she was ready to defend her rights; but no one questioned her authority, and for thirty years she reigned in peace. The heroine of Rajput history, Tara Bai, belonged to an earlier age. Tara Bai took up arms with her husband, the gallant Frithiraj, and helped him to recover their ancestral estates from an Afghan usurper. Rupamati, another Rajput lady, led her troops against Akbar's general and twice defeated him, perishing by her own hand, in a third engagement, when the tide of battle turned against her."

"Among the female sovereigns at a later date, the Begum Sumru of Sindhana deserves to be remembered. After the death of her French husband she managed her State and commanded her troops in person, leading them on one occasion in a charge which turned the fortunes of the day. Of the Empress of Jhansi it has been said that she and Tanika Devi were the only generals on the side of the mutineers in 1857 who showed the least capacity for command. She died fighting in men's clothes against Sir Hugh Rose's troops."

"AND A LIGHT SHINED IN THE PRISON."

"Can spring return? More dark the winter grows;— The earth lies dead, the north winds howl despair." —Yes! even now sleep flowers beneath the snows. Naught shall be missed of April's pageant fair.

"Can we be free? More fierce the battle grows, — Our warriors fall not, but the night is long." —Look! in the east what dawning glory shows, — O, faithful warriors, yet awhile be strong.

O, fettered woman! like the saint of old Freedom's bright angel shalt thou one day see Turning thy prison's gloom to radiant gold—" Thy chains are loosed; arise and follow me."

A. M. E.

"PIRLE"

A Plain Statement:

What "PIRLE" Finish Is: This celebrated finish is a specialité of the well-known firm of dyers, Messrs. E. Ripley and Son, Ltd. (that firm being the sole proprietors), and its extraordinary success is the best testimony of its merits.

What "PIRLE" Finish does: It so permeates every fibre of both warp and weft that it prevents any cloth to which it is applied from shrinking, or spotting, or "cockling" with wet, either rain or sea water. At the same time it improves the appearance of the cloth and makes it more durable.

What it does not: It does not claim to make a cloth waterproof, although it does to a certain extent increase its rain repellent qualities.

How to ensure getting genuine "PIRLE": Buy only those goods that bear stamped on the selvedge the words "THE 'PIRLE' FINISH."

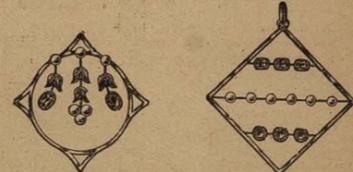
Why this caution is necessary: Because there have been frequent cases of late of fraudulent substitution.

"PIRLE" FINISHED CLOTHS and MADE-UP SKIRTS in great variety to be obtained from all leading Drapers.

Any further information can be obtained from EDWARD RIPLEY AND SON, Ltd., 100c, Queen Victoria Street, London, E.C.

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SUFFRAGETTE JEWELLERY in ENAMELS and GEMS.



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LONDON'S LARGEST FLORAL, FRUIT, AND HEALTH FOOD STORES, 231-234, Tottenham Court Road, W., and 42, Store Street.

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common Tea without knowing it, but the finest lady in the land must realise when drinking

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that they are not common, but that they are pure, sweet, and refreshing, and she need not feel ashamed in these "Budget" times to economise by using his blends

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MEN'S LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. GREAT DEMONSTRATION

QUEEN'S HALL, (Daily Express Market, Chappell & Co., Ltd.), Langham Place, On TUESDAY, February 22, 1910, At 8 o'clock.

Chairman HERBERT JACOBS. SPEAKERS: The Rt. Hon. the EARL OF LYTTON, H. G. CHANCELLOR, M.P., GEORGE ELLIOTT, K.C., LAURENCE HOUSMAN, A. M. L. LANGDON, K.C., HUGH LAW, M.P., ANEURIN WILLIAMS, M.P.

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LADIES, DO NOT THROW AWAY YOUR SOILED CORSETS OR BELTS, BUT SEND THEM TO BE CLEANED AND THOROUGHLY RENOVATED EQUAL TO NEW.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1910.

THE WOMAN'S MISSION.

The General Election of 1910 has shown unmistakably the immense advance of the woman's movement.

Never before in the political history of our country have women manifested such interest and taken so active a part in the making of Parliament.

There can be no doubt that this awakening of women to a realisation of the influence of government upon their lives is due to the militant agitation for Woman Suffrage.

The W.S.P.U., as responsible for this awakening, must now press on more vigorously than ever before with the work of making women take an active part in the struggle for political liberty.

As a means to this end, Women's Missions are being arranged all over the country, and no time must be lost in securing the help and support of the women who have been roused by the election campaign.

During the Mission, women will be shown how vitally their lives are affected by legislation. Special appeals will be made to women householders and lodgers to demand the Parliamentary vote, for which they are fully qualified.

The self-supporting women will be shown how their economic independence is threatened, and how powerless they are, by reason of their voteless condition, to protect themselves. Women of all classes will be urged to claim a share in deciding the welfare of the country and the destiny of the race.

To make the Woman's Mission fully successful a special effort on the part of our members is needed. I know they will not fail us. Their splendid work during the General Election proves that they are equal to every claim we make for their assistance.

This we can do if women themselves show that they will tolerate no longer their unfranchised condition. Let us work on, full of serene confidence that victory is near at hand.

Emmeline Pankhurst.

SHALL IT BE PEACE OR WAR?

Our minds are full, during this pause in militancy, of the heroic action of those brave women who, ever since the day when Miss Wallace Dunlop began the hunger-strike in Holloway Prison, have waged so gallant a war against political oppression.

Government rests upon the consent of the governed; it rests on nothing else. The struggle of the past few months has taught us this truth anew, for the Prime Minister, invested as he is with all the power of the State, has not been able to compel the obedience and the submission of the women who have defied his authority.

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It is the heroism of those who have been engaged in the militant action of the past few months which has made possible the present pause in militancy. By their bravery and self-sacrifice they have raised the Women's Social and Political Union to a position of commanding power in its negotiations with the Government.

Why this Panic? If twenty or even a hundred criminals were to announce their intention of attacking the Bank of England on a certain day, would all these barricades and reinforcements of the police become necessary?

Why are these women, who, as we are constantly told, have descended to low criminal methods of violence, so much more difficult to deal with than an equal number of sturdy male ruffians bent upon obtaining what is not their own? Can it be—I put it forward as a mere suggestion—that these women are harder to deal with simply because what they are bent on obtaining is something which they firmly believe to be theirs by right, and that there is an ever-present possibility that quite a large number of the onlooking public may come to think so, too, and act accordingly?

Many a man, though very unskillful by nature, would be prepared to face a good many more policemen in trying to break into his own house if he found the door shut against him than he would if trying to break into someone else's; and similarly it is quite likely that he would be far more destructive of obstacles in asserting a right of way than where no such right could be thought to exist; and, though his acts might in outward form very much resemble the criminals', there would be a really fundamental difference between them; for, whereas the criminal's aim would always be to avoid detection

Christabel Pankhurst. The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that women who fulfill the same conditions shall also enjoy the franchise.

LAW AND ORDER.

A Vindication of Militant Methods. By Laurence Housman.

Eighteen months ago an Anti-Suffragist said a really wise thing—almost the only wise thing I ever heard an Anti-Suffragist say. He was the driver of a Piccadilly omnibus, and he, together with hundreds of others—chauffeurs, coachmen, conductors, carters, and cab drivers, all of them directors of traffic for different classes of the community—was being held up on a certain Saturday afternoon in June to allow passage to a procession of ten thousand "constitutional" Suffragists.

The procession was very orderly, very respectable, and quite as representative of the various interests and classes as the vehicles whose progress it impeded. For some ten minutes the omnibus driver sat patiently eyeing the demonstration with a hard and scornful eye. Then losing patience as he realised how time had flown—his time, time that he could ill spare—he threw up the sponge. Waving his whip despairingly to the world at large,—"Oh! give 'em the vote," he cried, "but don't stop the traffic!"

That was a cry of sound common sense; he had not altered his opinion on the main point, but he had realised that women, if sufficiently in earnest, even when acting "constitutionally," could make themselves more of a nuisance to him than resistance to their demand was worth. If he had to choose between obstruction of the public way and the enfranchisement of women, then enfranchisement it must be; a free road for him and his omnibus stood for far more in his eyes than women's rights or wrongs.

His cry made him for the moment quite a popular character, for he voiced the general sentiment of a public anxious to get home; but his sage advice has not yet penetrated as far as Downing Street.

Much has happened since then, and in various parts of the country the traffic has been stopped a good many times because women continue to ask for the vote. There have been big bills for barricades, bigger bills for extra police service, running into thousands of pounds; and the payment for these bills does not come from the women against whom the expenditure is incurred. The women may have had to bear something of the cost in pains and penalties, but others are paying the price in hard cash, which they know they could employ far more profitably; and while the woman's movement increases in determination and strength, the cost in hindrance to the traffic is not likely to grow less.

The matter is worth considering, for here clearly we have an object-lesson of the inconvenience and expense which a continued denial of justice may bring in its train; and the 'bus-driver, alive to the interests of his trade, was sharper than the Government in finding it out and laying the moral to heart. Women may be, physically, a good deal weaker than men, but it is a curious commentary on their weakness when the Government, or the local authorities, spend hundreds of pounds in reinforcing the police and in supplementing their strong right arms with wooden barricades merely to oppose a body of women who—if one may judge by the arrests that follow upon all these vast preparations—have seldom amounted to more than a mere handful.

Why this Panic? If twenty or even a hundred criminals were to announce their intention of attacking the Bank of England on a certain day, would all these barricades and reinforcements of the police become necessary? Would we not be prepared to grant that the police would find a strength of, say, two to one amply sufficient for coping with any body of men burglariously inclined? Why, then, is something like a hundred to one so necessary against the "ministering" attentions of the women Suffragists? Why are these women, who, as we are constantly told, have descended to low criminal methods of violence, so much more difficult to deal with than an equal number of sturdy male ruffians bent upon obtaining what is not their own? Can it be—I put it forward as a mere suggestion—that these women are harder to deal with simply because what they are bent on obtaining is something which they firmly believe to be theirs by right, and that there is an ever-present possibility that quite a large number of the onlooking public may come to think so, too, and act accordingly?

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Christabel Pankhurst. The Women's Social and Political Union are NOT asking for a vote for every woman, but simply that sex shall cease to be a disqualification for the franchise.

and punishment, the aim of anyone asserting a right of way would be to court publicity and to prove by facing all consequences that for him the repressive measures of unjust authorities had no terrors.

It is for these reasons that those who are strenuously defending a right will always be a far more expensive and troublesome handful to the police than double or treble the same number of criminals whose hope of attracting public sympathy would be nil. History tells us that the repression of liberty has always cost more than the repression of crime. The reason lies in human nature; and the State, which aims at good government and not at mere tyranny is bound to consider human nature and shape its course accordingly; for in the long run the moral and the economic argument combined become irresistible and must inevitably prevail over the merely physical.

But it is urged sometimes against the policy of militancy that for the Government to yield now to its pressure would be a surrender to the forces of disorder, and that at all costs respect for the law must be maintained. At all costs? A good deal of cost has already been incurred, and are we any nearer the desired end? The authorities can hardly go further in severity of sentence or harshness of treatment than they have done already by their resort to forcible feeding and punishment cells; yet the law is no nearer respect now than when these attempts at forcible repression first began. It is perfectly evident that the law has miscalculated its powers, and that the physical weakness, the physical exhaustion of the women hunger-strikers, coupled with their indomitable will, is, by a fine irony of circumstances, the force which is breaking it down. The physical force argument—the last argument of all bad causes and of all bad governments—is being brought into public odium, and when that has finally broken down, what argument will be left?

The Repeal of Unjust Laws. How in the past has respect for the law been secured in the face of opposition arising from its inherent defects? The answer is written on every page in the history of our advance toward democratic freedom—By an alteration of the law. When juries protested against the inhuman severity of the old penal code by refusing to convict, the penal code had to be altered, and the majesty of the law in no way suffered from this surrender to a common sense of justice which had begun to militate against its authority.

When, more than half a century ago, a courageous judge, as a protest against the then condition of our marriage laws, sentenced a bigamist to only one day's imprisonment, giving a plain statement of his reasons, the law did not vindicate its majesty by dismissing the judge; it made haste to alter its procedure. Yet here are instances where contempt for the law was publicly expressed, and in each case the law recovered the respect it had rightly lost by shifting its ground.

And we have only to look further back to see that a resolute breaking of the law, and imprisonment courageously endured, have been the almost invariable prelude in our history to any great extension of liberty. Commercial and industrial reforms have, as a rule, been secured without resort to such extremities; but hardly ever has personal liberty or relief from political disability been gained except at the price of imprisonment and of suffering willingly endured for the express purpose of holding unjust laws up to contempt.

W.S.P.U. MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

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

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

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

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 AND GENERAL ELECTION FUND.

Table listing contributions to the £100,000 and General Election Fund, including names and amounts. Includes sub-sections for 'Week ending February 5' and 'FOR WOMEN'S MISSION FUND'.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE METROPOLIS.

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

From the reports which follow it will be seen that the ground for the special Mission to Women is being thoroughly well prepared.

A poster parade to advertise VOTES FOR WOMEN will take place to-day at 11 a.m. Will volunteers be at the General Offices a little before that hour, ready to take part?

Two splendid meetings were held in London last week—at the Queen's Hall on Monday afternoon and at St. James's Hall on Thursday evening.

These meetings take place regularly each week, and forming a unique opportunity for introducing new friends to the movement.

For next week's speakers see Announcements, p. 305. Volunteers are wanted to sell VOTES FOR WOMEN outside the Houses of Parliament next Tuesday, the 15th, when Parliament will be opened.

They should communicate with Miss Ainsworth, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Those wishing to act as stewards at the great Albert Hall meeting on March 15 should communicate with Miss Hambling, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Members only are eligible, and they must be at the Hall at six o'clock.

The W.S.P.U. Drum and Fife Band is much in demand. It will be next Friday (15th) at Fulham to advertise the Town Hall meeting on the 22nd; Saturday (16th) at Brixton (to advertise the Avondale Hall meeting on the 25th); Saturday (26th) at Kensington (to advertise the Town Hall meeting on March 4).

All communications with regard to London work should be sent to the various departments at the General Offices, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

BATTERSEA.

Hon. Sec. pro tem, Miss L. Vedy, 33, High Street. Special attention is drawn to the meetings in connection with the Woman's Mission. On Wednesday the subject will be "Why Women Want the Vote," and on Thursday "How Women Can Help." On this occasion there will also be music, and members are asked to bring friends to both meetings.

Any who helped in the recent canvass are asked to visit again those residents who gave them a specially cordial reception during the election, and leave handbills announcing the meetings.

BRISTON.

Office: 248, Stockwell Road, Tel.: 967 Brixton. Organiser, Miss Grace Ross. All arrangements for the Woman's Mission are now made. The Misses Brackenbury, Mrs. Brailford, and Miss Joachim are the speakers, and Mrs. Marshall, Miss Leslie Lawless, Miss Fergus, and Miss Joan Dugdale the chairman at the series of afternoon meetings for women only (see Programme below). The proprietor of the Avondale Hall is kindly allowing large notices of the meeting on the 25th to be placed in the windows and at the entrance.

Immediate help is needed in selling tickets to be obtained at the Committee Rooms, selling VOTES FOR WOMEN, distributing bills, chalking, speaking, and canvassing. It is hoped that every woman on the municipal register will be interviewed during this three weeks' campaign. In addition to the meetings in the programme, two open-air meetings will be held each evening, and a large number of shopping meetings. On Saturday, February 19, the Drum and Fife Band will march through Brixton in the afternoon, advertising Miss Christabel Pankhurst's meeting on the 25th. Will friends come forward and subscribe towards the rent of office? A shilling fund has been opened, and £3 4s. has been subscribed.

CAMBERWELL.

Organiser, Miss Theresa Garnett, W.S.P.U., c/o Mrs. Hefford, 51, Barry Road. Drawing-room and open-air meetings are being arranged, and the organiser will be glad if any able to help will call at 10.30 any morning at above address. An important meeting will take place at Dulwich on March 9.

CHELSEA.

Shop and Office: 278, King's Road, Chelsea. Hon. Sec., Miss Haig. During the Woman's Mission there will be two drawing-room meetings, which Mrs. H. V. Edmond and Mrs. Carpalan are kindly giving; a studio meeting by Miss Downing; a series of meetings at the office; and two open-air meetings daily, leading up to the important meeting at the Court Theatre on the 22nd. Tickets for this meeting, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., may be had at the shop. A preliminary address was given last Wednesday by Miss Naylor on "How Women Lost Their Right to Vote." To meet the expenses of the Mission Week a jumble sale will be held about the middle of March. Will friends immediately prepare for this, and put on no side any article for which they have no further use. The date will be announced next week.

CHISWICK.

Shop: 476, High Road. Hon. Sec., Miss Coombs. Baling and Acton are being combined with Chiswick for the purposes of the Woman's Mis-

sion, and a number of meetings have been arranged. Two poster parades have been arranged, in Chiswick and Acton. Will volunteers send their names to the Hon. Secretary, 93, Sutton Court Road, or call at the shop?

CLAPHAM.

Organiser: Miss Elsie Mackenzie, 82, Kyrle Road, Clapham Common. Further particulars of the Woman's Mission will be given next week; meanwhile will volunteers communicate with Miss Mackenzie at the above address?

CROYDON.

Office: 2, Station Road, West Croydon. Tel.: 959 Croydon (Wald). Hon. Sec., Mrs. Cameron Swan. In addition to meetings announced in the Programme, there will be two poster parades, in Sutton and at Norwood. Volunteers are asked to meet at the office at 10 this (Friday) morning, ready to take part. They are also wanted to-morrow for selling papers in Croydon from 10 to 1 and 2 to 4. These special efforts will lead up to Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting in the Public Hall next Tuesday.

FOREST GATE.

Hon. Sec., Miss V. H. Friedlaender, 129, Earliman Grove. In addition to the meetings announced in the Programme, a whist drive to enable members to recover from the financial strain of the election campaign will take place early in March at Earliman Hall. Will those who can use or sell tickets (1s. 6d. each) communicate with the Hon. Secretary?

HORNSEY.

Joint Hon. Secs., Miss Bonwick, 28, Weston Park, Crouch End; Miss Clare Browne, 11, Gladsmuir Terrace, Highgate. There is still room for canvassing volunteers. Will those who can give any part of their leisure call at 23, Weston Park? The indoor meetings in the Programme will be preceded by short open-air meetings at 7.25. Will members come and distribute handbills, etc.? reserved seats on the 25th are 2s. 6d.; unreserved, 1s.; and 6d. (last for women only).

ILFORD.

Hon. Sec., Miss Ethel Haslam, 63, Cranbrook Road. During the Woman's Mission week drawing-room meetings for women and outdoor meetings will be held; the time and place of the latter will be announced at a meeting opposite Ilford Station next Tuesday (15th). The Hon. Secretary is At Home to anyone interested in Votes for Women on Saturday evenings between 6 and 7; address as above. Two members, Mrs. Dearden and Mrs. Whitten, arranged a most successful dance on February 1, resulting in a substantial profit to the fund. The charming hand-painted programme were the work of these ladies.

KENSINGTON.

Shop and Office: 143, Church Street, Kensington, W. Telephone 2116 Western. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Eaton. Workers have already begun to canvass North Kensington in preparation for the Woman's Mission. Helpers, who are urgently needed, should apply at the shop for particulars before the Mission begins. Volunteers are needed as stewards for afternoon indoor and evening outdoor meetings. Admission to the Ladbroke Hall meetings is free, and we are asked to state that ladies will be welcomed. From the 15th onwards it is suggested that helpers should apply to the workers at the Ladbroke Hall, before or after the afternoon meetings. Open-air meetings will be held every evening from February 14 to 19, inclusive. It is suggested that as the district is a poor one those unable to offer active service may like to send a donation towards expenses.

LEWISHAM.

Shop and Offices: 107, High Street, Lewisham. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Boulter. Open-air meetings every evening from February 15 to 22, an afternoon meeting for women only at Forest Hill, a special meeting (when tea is provided by members of the committee), to be addressed by Miss Naylor, on the 21st, and Miss Pankhurst's meeting on the 23rd, are some of the arrangements for the Woman's Mission. Tickets for the last-mentioned (price 1s., 6d., and 3d.) can be obtained, on sale or return, at the shop, at 22, Mount Pleasant Road, and at today's meeting at the Ethical Hall. Volunteers as stewards should communicate with Mrs. Mackenzie, La Quinta, Grove Park, Lee, and literature sellers with Miss Graham at the shop. A registry office and jumble sale are two of the means being arranged for raising funds to cover the rent of the shop. Miss Lambert is thanked for 2s. towards the special Mission.

N.W. LONDON.

Shop and Office: 215, High Road, Kilburn. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Penn Gaskell. About eighteen meetings in halls are already arranged in connection with the Woman's Mission, and four more will take place in Hendon. To advertise these volunteer are urgently needed, as well as speakers for open-air meetings, canvassers, and chalkers. As it is also intended as far as possible to include a song or recitation at these Mission meetings, help is invited towards this part of the programme.

PUTNEY AND FULHAM.

Shop: 905, Fulham Road. Organiser: Miss Wuerrie. A hearty invitation to members and friends is given to the "Shop Warming" to-morrow

from 5 to 5, when there will be speeches, recitations, and discussions of plans for the Woman's Mission. Refreshments are free. Canvassing has already commenced. On Friday, February 15, the Drum and Fife Band will visit Fulham. Tickets 1s., 6d., and 3d. for Miss Pankhurst's meeting (22nd), and also for the Albert Hall meeting on March 18, can be obtained at the shop. The Treasurer, Miss Hughesdon, makes a special appeal towards expenses for furnishing the shop, as the funds have been heavily drawn upon for the election campaign.

RICHMOND AND KEW.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Clayton, Glengarriff, Kew Road, Richmond. With a view to taking a shop, an earnest

appeal for funds is made. Will those able to help communicate with the Hon. Secretary? Volunteers for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN should communicate with Miss Ella Stevenson, 10, Cumberland Road, Kew Gardens. Over 100 copies are being sold weekly, and it is hoped to increase the sales.

WIMBLEDON.

Shop and Office: 6, Victoria Crescent. Hon. Sec., Mrs. Lovingsol, 27, Merton Hall Road. Members are devoting much attention to varied displays of home-made products, etc., in their shop windows, and friends are invited to call and see the various attractions. Next week children's clothes will form a special show. The weekly At Home are in full swing, and friends are cordially invited.

London Meetings during the Forthcoming Week.

Table listing various London meetings with dates, times, and organizers. Includes entries for Feb. 11-17 and March 1-15.

Important Future Events.

Table listing important future events with dates and locations. Includes entries for Feb. 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, and March 1-15.

For Meetings throughout the Country, see page 318.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE COUNTRY.

Home Counties.

BRIGHTON AND DISTRICT. Office—8, North Street, Quadrant. Organiser—Mrs. Clarke. A Brighton member has cleverly enlarged some of the VOTES FOR WOMEN cartoons, and these, shown in the windows of the office, are attracting considerable attention. Members and friends are cordially invited to a weekly At Home at Fordar's Restaurant, where speakers from London will attend; particulars may be had at the office.

READING.

Organiser—Miss Margesson, 7, Lawn Road. A campaign is being opened here, and Miss Margesson will be glad if members in the town will communicate with her at the above address.

WEYBRIDGE.

Hon. Sec., Miss Wallace Dunlop, Greenbank, Walton-on-Thames. Will members or friends in or near Weybridge communicate with Miss Wallace Dunlop as above? Miss Charlotte Marsh is also in Weybridge, and the following meeting has been arranged: Wednesday, 16th—Holstein Hall, Miss Cristabel Pankhurst, Lady Constance Lytton, 8 p.m.

The Midlands.

BIRMINGHAM AND DISTRICT. Office—33, Paradise Street. Organiser—Miss Dorothy Evans. Mrs. Pankhurst addressed an enthusiastic meeting on Monday, when plans for the Woman's Mission were explained. At Homes successful, and especially good collections most Miss Gladice Keovil's meetings are reported. Meetings are being arranged in Salfley and Stechford.

Friday, 11th—Bull Ring, Miss Burdett; Stourbridge Literary Society, Dr. Helena Jones. Tuesday, 15th—At Home, Queen's College, Mrs. Lumpy, 3.30. Wednesday, 16th—Drawing Room Meeting, Mrs. Byron Smith speaker, Lady Isabel Margesson. Friday, 18th—Temperance Hall, Miss Mary Gwyther, Dr. Helena Jones.

DERBY.

Organiser—Miss Elsa Gye, 76, Curzon Street. Preparations for a meeting in the middle of March, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will speak, are being energetically pushed forward. Miss Elsa Gye is acting as organiser, and is arranging drawing-room meetings, etc. Will sympathisers communicate with her? The following meetings will be addressed by Miss Gladice Keovil: Wednesday, 16th—Drawing Room Meeting (Mechanics' Institute). Thursday, 17th—Temperance Hall, 8.

LEICESTER AND DISTRICT.

Office—17, Highfield Street. Organiser—Miss D. Pethick. Further details of the Woman's Mission (March 8-11) will be given next week. Admission to the "Trial" of a militant Suffragette (given by the local Y.M.C.A. Debating Club) is 6d. and 3d. Dr. and Mrs. Pemberton Peake have kindly consented again to take the parts of prisoner in the dock and counsel for the defence, and the entertainment promises to be a very interesting one. It is hoped next week to announce that a shop has been taken as headquarters for the work in Leicestershire. Financial as well as personal help in this undertaking is invited. Details of speakers' classes can be had from the organiser, Dr. Fairfield and Miss Joachim have delighted their audiences at the At Homes.

Friday, 18th—At Home, Mrs. Pankhurst, afternoon and evening. Monday, 21st—"Mock Trial," Association Hall, 8.0.

NORTHAMPTON AND DISTRICT.

W.S.P.U. Organiser—Miss Corson, 10, Holly Road. Details of plans for the Woman's Mission will be published next week.

NOTTINGHAM.

Office—6, Carlton Street. Organiser—Miss Crocker. Plans for the Woman's Mission will be published next week.

West of England.

BRISTOL AND DISTRICT. Office—37, Queen's Road, Clifton. Organiser—Miss Annie Kenney. Mrs. Pankhurst will inaugurate the Woman's Mission next Monday, and volunteers are invited to come forward and help to make the Mission a great success. North, South, East, and West Bristol are being covered by afternoon women's meetings. On Saturdays open-air meetings will be held on the Broad Quay. Mrs. Fowler's most interesting address on the movement in Holland gave great pleasure last week.

Great sympathy is felt for Mrs. Gee, a Bristol member, the death of whose mother, Mrs. McIlhugh, we announced last week. The cause of woman's advancement has lost a strong supporter in Mrs. McIlhugh, who

only recently, while staying with her daughter, attended one of the Victoria Rooms meetings, and spoke a few encouraging words. Monday, 14th—Victoria Rooms, Bristol, special At Home (women only). Subject: The Woman's Mission. Mrs. Pankhurst, 3.30. Tuesday, 15th—Kingswood Hall, Miss Douglas Smith, 7.0. Wednesday, 16th—South Bristol, Meeting for Women Miss Douglas Smith, 3.30. Saturday, 19th—Broad Quay, Miss Douglas Smith, 7.30. Monday, 21st—At Home, Victoria Rooms, 3.30. Wednesday, March 2nd—Colston Hall, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 8.

BATH.

Friday, 18th—Guldhall, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Douglas Smith, 8.

NEWPORT.

Organiser—Miss Rachel Barrett. Office—46, Clarence Place. Some details of a special campaign in connection with the Labour Conference will be found on p. 314. A number of meetings have been held, and VOTES FOR WOMEN has been held outside all the meetings of the Conference. Friday, 11th—Drawing-room Meeting. Monday, 14th—Bridge Street, Mrs. Leigh, 7; Cardiff Road, Mrs. Leigh, 6.30. Tuesday, 15th—Bridge Street, Mrs. Barrett, 6.30; Cardiff Road, Mrs. Leigh, 6.30. Wednesday, 16th—Cardiff Road, Miss Barrett, 1.30; Bridge Street, Mrs. Leigh, 6.30. Thursday, 17th—Mrs. Pankhurst. Friday, 18th—Cardiff Road, Mrs. Barrett, 7.30; Bridge Street, Mrs. Leigh, 7.30.

SOUTHAMPTON.

Hon. Organiser—Miss K. S. Birnstingl, 35, Denzil Avenue. Miss Birnstingl is holding weekly meetings (admission free), and gave a most interesting address at the Hartley Women's College, when new members were made. She will gladly welcome volunteers for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN.

North-Eastern Counties.

NEWCASTLE AND DISTRICT. Office—77, Blackett Street. Organiser—Miss A. Williams, 291, Westgate Road. The generous gift of £5 from Miss Violet Taylor for furnishing the office is most gratefully acknowledged. Other donations will be welcomed, and it is hoped that the office will be ready within a fortnight. Volunteers for selling VOTES FOR WOMEN in the streets on Friday evenings and Saturday afternoons are invited to communicate with the organiser.

The Hon. Mrs. Parsons is organising a local union in Wylam, where a meeting for women only will be addressed by Miss Williams next week.

Scotland.

GLASGOW AND WEST OF SCOTLAND. Shop and Office—802, Sauchiehall Street. Organiser—Miss G. Conolan. Members and friends are asked to bear in mind that an excellent way of helping to make the Scottish Exhibition a success is to interest others in the movement by bringing them to the regular meetings. The first At Home in the Charing Cross Hall will be held to-morrow (Saturday), at 3 p.m. (See Programme below.) Invitation cards, useful for reference but not necessary for admission, may be obtained from Miss Conolan, who would also be glad to hear from all members who can arrange for display or distribution of handbills in their own district to advertise Mrs. Lawrence's meeting. Those who still have collecting cards are asked to send them in to the office as soon as possible. The results so far have been very satisfactory. Stirling members alone have contributed over £18 this week.

Meetings are being arranged for the first week in March in Paisley, Stirling, and Helensburgh. Dates and particulars will be announced next week. Saturday, 12th—At Home, Charing Cross Hall, Miss Mary Watson, 8 p.m. Saturday, 19th—At Home, Charing Cross Hall, Dr. Mary Watson, Mrs. Drummond, Miss Conolan, 3 p.m. Wednesday, 23rd—Large Charing Cross Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 8. April 30—Exhibition and Sale of Work, Charing Cross Hall.

EDINBURGH AND EAST OF SCOTLAND.

Office—8, Melville Place, Queensferry Street. Organiser—Miss Burns. Although members are much occupied with preparations for the Exhibition, they have found time to break new ground at Liberton, while at Portobello new members have been made. Tickets for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's meeting (24th) can be obtained from members and at the office. Friday, 11th—Leith, Dr. Grace Cadell, At Home, 8 p.m. Thursday, 17th—At Home, 8, Melville Place, Miss Burns, 8 p.m. Friday, 18th—Drawing Room Meeting, Miss Thomson, Speakers, Miss McFarlane, Miss Burns. Thursday, 24th—Edinburgh, Synod Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Advertisement for Spiers & Pond's Stores, Queen Victoria St. London, E.C. featuring three styles of coats: 'The Grosvenor', 'The Clifton', and 'The Victoria'. Includes text 'Do you need a Useful Coat?' and 'The three styles illustrated here are essentially useful and of unusual value.'

Advertisement for Alfred Day, Ladies' Tailor, 51 & 52, Park St., Regent's Park (Gloucester Gate), London, N.W. Includes text 'ALFRED DAY, LADIES' TAILOR.' and 'Coat & Skirt, in Serge, Tweed, or Cloth, from £2 2s., made to order.'

LARGE LONDON MEETINGS.

Those present at the Queen's Hall on Monday last had the pleasure of hearing Mrs. Brailsford and Miss Mordan as well as Miss Pankhurst. Miss Pankhurst explained for the benefit of newcomers present, the meaning of the movement and the adoption of militant methods. She pointed out, too, that the strength of the Labour party might be a danger to women unless the women had a voice in legislation which concerned them. She showed how every step of the militant movement had been carefully thought out beforehand, and warned the Government of what would happen at the next General Election if they had not done justice to women.

Miss Mordan gave a delightful account of her connection with the movement for the past forty years, and stated that she intended to "peg away" to the very end.

Mrs. Brailsford spoke of what had been gained by the militant movement, the heroism and devotion that had been called into being. Another gain was the loss of "ladylikeness"—it was now not considered womanly to sit at home, but rather to go out and do with courage the things that required doing.

At the weekly meeting at St. James's Hall on Thursday last, the glad news of the release of Miss Selina Martin and Miss Elsie Howey, which came by telegram during the evening, was received with tumultuous applause. Miss Christabel Pankhurst in reading the telegram said that if the Government were to meet the women's demand, militant methods and subsequent imprisonment would become unnecessary in future. From the applause which greeted these remarks it was evident that the audience shared the feeling of the women who have carried out these protests—that the methods to which the women have been driven by the Government have been resorted to as a last extreme, and that their cessation, if it could be effected upon honourable terms, would be welcome throughout the movement.

The inimitable wit and humour of Miss Mordan's speech was greatly appreciated. She rounded much laughter by her description of early Suffragist meetings (she herself attended the very first public meeting in London, at which John Stuart Mill was present) when, so far from people paying for seats to hear speeches on votes for women, as is the case to-day, they had almost to be paid to attend at all.

Nurse Bryant received from Mrs. Pankhurst her special medal "For Valour" in recognition of her two splendid hunger strikes in prison. She assured the leaders that she and other women, though thankful for the temporary cessation of militant tactics, were quite ready to go to the front again.

Mrs. Pankhurst dwelt on the liberty of the subject, and pointed out how the subject, when this phrase was used, was invariably a man and not a woman. The year had begun well. She would take the release of the two Liverpool prisoners as a good omen for the future.

AT THE SUN HALL, LIVERPOOL.

Up to Thursday evening the great meeting arranged to take place in the Sun Hall on Friday, February 4, was to have been a public protest against the continued imprisonment of Miss Selina Martin and Miss Elsie Howey. Twenty-four hours before the meeting began, however, the two women were released, and the meeting took the form of a public rejoicing. Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who presided, suggested that the release might be an admission that the sentences were vindictive, or it might be a tribute by the Government to the work of Lady Constance Lytton in Walton Gaol.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who had a magnificent reception, said that they were willing to believe that the release of these women meant an amnesty on the part of the Government. Possibly the Government wished to start with a clean sheet. Referring to the temporary cessation from militant methods, Mrs. Pankhurst said the women did not fight for the sake of fighting. They had many so-called friends in the new Parliament, and they wished to give them an opportunity of proving their friendship. The by-election anti-Government policy would go on unless there were a promise of justice to women in the King's Speech. She hoped the time had come when prison would be unnecessary, and when the methods, which women themselves held so obnoxious, might prove to have done their work. Mrs. Brailsford also addressed the meeting.

THE W.S.P.U. AT THE LABOUR CONFERENCE.

In view of the Annual Conference of the Labour Party, held at Newport (Mon.) during the past week, a vigorous campaign has been conducted by the W.S.P.U., with Miss Rachel Barrett as organizer, assisted by Mrs. Leigh and Miss Jeffery. A specially prepared leaflet, "Women's Demand," was widely distributed, and W.S.P.U. literature and VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold to the delegates as they entered and left the conference hall.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS.

Humours of the Movement.

He was lying, a mass of bandages, in his hospital bed, and I asked the doctor to tell me who and what he was. "We don't know," he said. "He hasn't spoken yet. He was brought in late last night, and is still unconscious." Just as I was passing on, the bandages stirred and the man opened his eyes. "Hullo!" he said, looking at me. "Hullo!" said I, recognising his voice. "You? What on earth are you doing here? What's the matter?"

"But where am I?" he asked, and then took in his surroundings. "Great Scott, it's a hospital!" "Of course. You're hurt. You must have had an accident," I said. He thought silently for a little while, and then remarked, "Of course. I was thrown out of the Town Hall at last night's Liberal meeting."

He began to laugh. "But you're not a Suffragette," I said. "No," he said, "that's the joke. I called out, 'Down with women!' and they thought I said, 'Votes for women!' and threw me out. I must have put the accent on the wrong word, and all they heard was 'women.'"

"What is that you're saying?" a feeble voice inquired from the next bed. My poor friend repeated the story. "It's true enough," said the feeble voice. "I ought to know, because I was sitting next to you. I know it was a mistake, but it didn't help matters a bit, and one of the stewards broke my head. And," he quavered piteously, "the stupid thing is that I'm a Liberal too, and dead against the Suffragettes!"

Political meetings are rather crowded and confused at this season. There was one man who was fixed tight in the crowded audience, and began to be a nuisance. He tried "Chamberlain" as a shout, and "Tariif" was not a great success. But when he shouted "Votes for women!" he was seized and handed out to the press. There was never a man so quickly removed. And as he picked up his hat outside he confessed to the policeman—that he wanted to catch his train. And the best way to get out of a crowded political meeting is to call out "Votes for Women."

Bath streets were very much alive on Thursday night, especially those leading from the centre of the city to the Central Skating Rink, and the Suffragettes were far more spoken of than the Premier. The stewards of the skating rink had a bad attack of nerves. One upon the platform raised the alarm that a "woman was on the roof." All eyes were turned upwards to the spot where the disordered eyesight of this Radical stalwart had detected petticoats. A hurried rush was made to immediately below the spot he had indicated, and the excited officials discovered a blue flag.

An Italian journalist (Signor Luigi Barzini), who was present at Dundee during the General Election, writes in the *Corriere della Sera* of his astonishment at seeing Mr. Churchill surrounded, during his triumphant tour of the city, by a strong police guard. "Are you afraid of an attack on the Minister?" Signor Barzini asked. "Yes," was the reply. "Are there any anarchists about?" and the further inquiry. "Worse," was the response. "There are the Suffragists!"

The W.S.P.U.'s War Chest.

It is impossible for any practical politician to ignore a body which has collected £38,000 in one year in support of its propaganda, and has shown itself phenomenally energetic in re-ignition. I cannot but think that the Liberals made a great mistake when they decided to "smother" the Suffragettes. The history of political agitation in England shows that when a number of people are resolutely determined to obtain representation they eventually come to be represented. I remember how Henry Berkeley used to get up in the House, time after time, and plead for the ballot, and how the idea was pooled and derided by everybody. And the advocates of the ballot were not half as much earnest as the woman are about the vote. They are certain to get it in the end; and, meanwhile, it is merely a question which party is going to buy their support by helping them to obtain the suffrage.

I believe they are well supplied with funds for the campaign, and that they have been assured that more money will be forthcoming if they need it. With a good war chest and their own energy and audacity, they still believe that nothing is impossible for them: This must be very cheering to Downing Street.

This paper [VOTES FOR WOMEN], perhaps more than any other single factor, has made the world realise the great spiritual force which is making the woman's movement irresistible.

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This precept we make good by practice every hour of every day a week.

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LINES SUGGESTED BY MR. ASQUITH'S VISIT TO BATH.

(With apologies to Sir John Moore.) Not a sound was heard, not a Suffragette stirred. As the Premier thro' Cabbage Patch hurried Not even a snapshot could be transferred To show how the poor man was worried! By back door he entered out of the night, And we noted with shame and with sorrow, That Suffragist fright put Home Rule out of sight. Oh, won't he just catch it to-morrow! No wonder the Suffragettes "Ask-With" scorn, When so close on the day of election The police and the Press with grave concern Say he's really accepted Protection!

THE ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE.

At the Actresses' Franchise League's first reception of the season in the Victoria Hall of the Criterion Restaurant on the afternoon of the 4th inst, the guests were received by Mrs. Madeline Luettich Ryley, and Miss Granville Redfern. The room was filled to overflowing by a most appreciative audience, and the opening speeches of Mr. A. Campbell-Johnson (hon. counsel to the A.F.L.) and Major-General Sir Alfred Turner aroused frequent applause.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst dwelt on the position to-day of working women of all grades, and explained how they were likely to be affected in the future by the present trend of party politics. The question of Votes for Women was one of "bread-and-butter," for, as the various demands of men voters became more and more insistent, women were being gradually pushed out, and their prospects of earning a living seriously threatened. Referring to the case of the married woman teacher, Miss Pankhurst aroused considerable merriment by asking the actresses present how they would like to be compulsorily retired from the stage on the marriage. The threat, she added, could not get along without them, but women in other professions were less safe from attack. Miss Maud Hoffman (Hon. Treasurer) explained that though all friends and sympathisers might not be eligible for membership of the A.F.L., the League was prepared to accept and enrol "patrons" who, while contributing to the funds, would otherwise support its aims and objects. As a result many names were sent up to the platform, and the amounts promised, together with a collection in the room, make a substantial addition to the A.F.L. coffers.

THE DRUMMERS' UNION.

An excellent inaugural meeting was held at the Rehearsal Theatre on Saturday, February 5, when several young workers, who had been invited to make a collection in the room, made a substantial addition to the A.F.L. coffers.

WOMEN WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The large hall at the Waldorf Hotel was so crowded on Wednesday afternoon (February 9) that late arrivals could only secure standing room. It had been announced that several well-known writers, who are also warm supporters of Votes for Women, would read selections from their works, and that this programme was popular with the audience—a very evident. Miss Evelyn Sharp, in a humorous speech full of literary allusions, opened the proceedings, and introduced Mrs. W. H. Nevinston, Mr. John Masefield, Mr. Henry James, and Dr. Saleeby. Miss Elizabeth Robins, the President of the League, also delighted the audience with a selection from one of her works.

CONSERVATIVE AND UNIONIST WOMEN'S FRANCHISE ASSOCIATION.

A number of At Homes are being held during February and March in London and elsewhere. Particulars may be had from the Hon. Sec., 48, Dover Street, Piccadilly, W. Among the hostesses are the Lady Knightly of Fawley, the Countess of Galloway, and the Lady Willoughby of Ereshy, while the speakers include the Lady Betty Balfour, the Hon. Mrs. John Bailey, Mrs. Uniacke, Miss Tulke (Bedford College), and the Master of the Temple.

THE NEW VAGABOND CLUB.

We are asked to announce that Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B. will be the guest of the New Vagabond Club at their next annual dinner, at the Hotel Cecil, on Saturday, February 19. Chairman, Mr. Douglas Sladen, with Mr. G. B. Burgin and Mr. Carl Hentschel as deputy chairmen. The toast of the evening will be proposed by Mr. Edward F. Spence.

THE PAYMENT OF FINES.

An interesting point is raised by Dr. F. A. Bather in the *Saturday Review* of February 5 with regard to vicarious punishment. If, he says, English law would not permit a non-offender to serve a term of imprisonment in place of an offender, should the State accept money from a non-offender (particularly when anonymous) in place of the punishment of the offender?

ITEMS OF INTEREST.

The interesting news of a successful hill climb by a woman comes from Surrey. After the driver of a large car, even by dropping his passengers, had failed to make the ascent, this lady, her car well filled with friends, arrived triumphantly at the top of the hill. Her car was a 15 hp. "Deasy."

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KENSINGTON, Holland Park.—Member of the W.S.P.U. offers comfortable home; nice locality, close to skating rink, tube, Met., and Exhibitions. Terms moderate and inclusive. Good and liberal table.—Box 534, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

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LARGE, Handsomely-furnished Rooms (Two 4 Shaking), 12s. 6d. each, inclusive terms (fires, lights, attendance, cooking)—84, Tavistock Square, London, W.C.

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MRS. MITCHELL, 137, West End Lane, N.W., receives Paying Guests, comfortable home, well-appointed bedrooms from 21s. Near three stations, buses pass the door.

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(Continued on page 316.)



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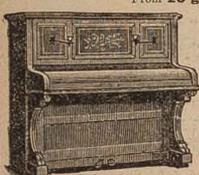
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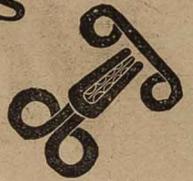
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