

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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"TO OUTWIT THE SUFFRAGETTES."



To ensure an audience of his constituents, Mr. Asquith would only admit those speaking Gaelic.



No one would be admitted to Lord Morley's meeting who does not speak Hindustani.



Lord Holloway's audience would be confined to those who can speak Kaffir.

We suggest to these leading Members of the Cabinet that Mr. Lloyd George's recent example in insisting on Welsh as a passport to his Meeting in the City might be imitated in this manner.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

In the Divisional Court on Wednesday afternoon the judges decided against Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Haverfield in the case relating to the Right of Petition. The Lord Chief Justice, in giving judgment, acknowledged the right of women to petition the Prime Minister, but without expressing any opinion as to the right of personal presentation found against the women on the ground that on receipt of Mr. Asquith's refusal they ought to have desisted from their attempt.

A Legal Tangle.

This judgment creates an entirely unsatisfactory situation. While admitting, technically, the right of women to petition the Prime Minister—a right which, in our

opinion, involves of necessity the right of personal presentation—it provides the Prime Minister with an easy means of evading his obvious correlative duty of receiving the petition, and, therefore, renders the right absolutely null and void.

Breaking the Spirit of the Constitution.

As to what steps the authorities will now take with regard to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Haverfield, and the other ninety-two women whose fate is involved in the decision, we know nothing, but we do know that Mrs. Pankhurst will certainly not accept as final this judgment. If it be good in law it is certainly bad in the fundamentals of constitutional liberty. If Mr. Asquith, by a technicality of law, can keep the letter of the Constitution he is none the less guilty of breaking the spirit of it by his action; and, whether he likes it or not, the time will yet come when he is forced to give ear to the just demand of women, and when he will bitterly regret the blind obstinacy which he has so long opposed to their claims. We print a full report of the case in our columns this week, but reserve further comment until next issue.

The General Election.

It may now be regarded as certain that the General Election will take place early in the New Year. The precise date of the dissolution is not yet fixed, but it will probably be about January 4. The borough elections will then take place in something under a fortnight from that date, and the county elections, with the exception of Orkney and Shetland, in something under three weeks. The Women's Social and Political Union are making arrangements for a vigorous campaign throughout the country. In order to enable proper preparations to be made it is of the utmost importance that all those who are prepared to assist in the campaign should send

in their names in the course of the next two or three days to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn. They should state exactly how long they are prepared to give to the fight, and whether they are restricted to any special district or free to go where they are most required. The General Election proper will last from the dissolution until the close of the elections, but a great deal of spade work will be required from now until the dissolution, opening up the campaigns in the various districts.

Liberals in Parliament Square.

An object lesson of how not to demonstrate in Parliament Square was given last week by the Liberal Party. A small crowd, estimated at about 5,000, without leaders and without directions, gathered in the neighbourhood of the House of Lords and blocked the carriages of the Peers as they passed. We ask our readers to contrast this undisciplined action of men who possess the franchise with the carefully thought-out demonstrations which women have made on several occasions, and we ask them to notice that while those Liberal leaders who were really responsible for the demonstration kept in the background and went unpunished, the women's leaders have unhesitatingly made themselves openly responsible for the action which they have deemed justifiable. A slight repetition of the demonstration took place on Tuesday last, to which the *Daily News* referred as follows:

As one saw mounted officers backing their horses on to the pavement into masses of people whose exterior was of the mildest, one could not help feeling, with all respect to sessional laws and the free passage of privileged persons to Parliament, that the efforts of officialdom were irritating peaceable people into an appreciation of the fighting spirit. —(The italics are our own.)

We deal with the whole comparison more fully in our leading article on page 152.

Bristol Heroes.

Three further prisoners have been released, after undergoing the horror of forcible feeding in gaol. Those who are inclined to accept Mr. Gladstone's perverted statements as to the mild discomfort of forcible feeding should read the accounts given by the women who have actually endured it. Miss Allen speaks of the "terrible inflammation of the nostril" caused by the tube, and a feeling as if the whole back of the nose and throat is being dragged out with the tube. Both she and Miss Wentworth describe the use of the gag and throat tube. Miss Jessie Lawes, according to accounts, is in a very serious condition of health. To these women who have fought the good fight so gallantly we tender on behalf of all women our debt of gratitude.

Serious Account of Miss Marsh.

Meanwhile, Miss Marsh, who was sentenced in September to three months' imprisonment, is due to be released on December 7. From a report which has reached us from a member of the Union who saw her in prison recently, she is suffering intensely from her treatment. She is very thin, and her chest is extremely painful, while her throat is so swollen and congested that she can hardly swallow. She complains of a burning sensation in her head, and of a continued feeling of ravenous hunger. She offers vigorous resistance to forcible feeding, which is performed on her three times a day. Of the other prisoners still in gaol Miss Brown and Miss Paul will be released on Thursday, December 9, Miss Garnett on December 14.

Shirking Responsibility.

Mr. Gladstone added another to his series of *terminological inaccuracies* last week, when he replied to Mr. Keir Hardie with regard to the releases from Strangeways Gaol, Manchester. His attempt to shirk responsibility by saying that he left the time and manner of their release to the governor, is unworthy of a Cabinet Minister, for, as a matter of fact, he interfered with the arrangements which the governor had already made. Nor will he add to his reputation in years to come by his attempt in the House of Commons to make fun of the fact that a Suffragette, when weak and faint, was unable to reach her home in the fog till four o'clock in the morning.

Mr. Gladstone and Forcible Feeding.

Mr. Bernard Shaw, in his own inimitable manner, has dealt in a letter to the "Times," November 23, with Mr. Gladstone's answer to the Fabian Society on the question of forcible feeding. Mr. Gladstone had argued that it was not seriously painful. Mr. Shaw says:—

It may be that Mr. Gladstone is right on this point. I will, therefore, undertake to procure the co-operation of the Fabian Society in providing for Mr. Gladstone a banquet which Sardanapalus would have regarded as an exceptional treat. The rarest wines and delicacies shall be provided absolutely regardless of expense. The only condition we shall make is that Mr. Herbert Gladstone shall partake through the nose; and that a cinematographic machine shall be at work all the time registering for the public satisfaction the waterings of his mouth, the smacking of his lips, and the other unmitigable symptoms of luxurious delight with which he will finally convince us all of the truth of his repeated assurances to us that the forcible fed Suffragist is enjoying an indulgence rather than suffering martyrdom.

Lady Constance Lytton in the same issue knocks the bottom out of Mr. Gladstone's alleged facts about there being no preferential treatment in her favour.

A Welsh Shibboleth.

Militant action during the week has taken the form of a protest at Mr. Lloyd George's meeting, when a new method with the object of keeping out the Suffragettes was adopted—a kind of Welsh shibboleth. Our cartoonist this week develops this idea, and suggests to other members of the Cabinet a similar entertaining method of securing a decisive advantage. Other protests have been made at Mr. Samuel's meeting at Paddington, at Mr. McKenna's meeting at Abingdon, and at Sir Edward Grey's meeting at Trowbridge. In Birmingham a conflict with the police took place over the right of holding a meeting to protest in Stephenson's Square, resulting in the arrest of five women and one man, who protested against the way the women were being treated. The man arrested, Mr. Brette Morgan, was fined 20s.; the women have been remanded for three weeks.

The Educational Campaign.

Of the educational meetings during the week the most noteworthy was that addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the Colston Hall, Bristol, where a great deal of sympathy for the Suffragettes was aroused by the rowdiness of a number of youths in the audience, who prevented the speakers from being heard, and who enveloped the hall in noxious chemicals. At the St. James' Hall, London, on Thursday, the Rev. G. E. Startup gave a splendid speech, which, owing to lack of space, we are unable to reproduce in these columns. We hope to have the opportunity of giving extracts from it next week. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Mary Gawthorpe spoke at the Queen's Hall on Monday, and one hundred guineas were raised for the protest meetings in connection with Mr. Churchill's campaign in Lancashire. Meanwhile, owing to the General Election, the by-elections in Portsmouth and Uxbridge have been abandoned, and the W.S.P.U. workers have accordingly been recalled.

Cautious Preparations for Cabinet Ministers.

In the course of an interesting article the "Birkenhead News" forecasts an exciting situation in Birkenhead when Mr. Asquith comes to address the promised Liberal

meeting in that town. It anticipates that it "will be strange indeed if something entirely novel in the way of tactics is not sprung on the public by the Women's Social and Political Union," but the Birkenhead police consider themselves equal to coping with the emergency. This, it suggests, is in contradistinction to the situation in Stockport, where the police have warned the Liberal organisers that they are unequal to the task of coping with the expected Suffragette protest on the occasion of a visit by Mr. Runciman, and as a result the latter have been compelled to insure the Town Hall (where the meeting is to be held) at Lloyd's for £1,000.

The Question of Mandate.

One of the excuses which Liberals have given for inaction on the question of Women Suffrage during the present Parliament has been the absence of a mandate from the electors at the last General Election. Let us see what is the Liberal view of the necessity for a mandate on other questions. The *Daily Chronicle* said on Wednesday last week:—

It is an entirely new doctrine in the Constitution of this country that the elected House of Commons cannot legislate as it thinks right and proper in the interests of the constituencies it represents. Members of the House are not delegates, but representatives. They are answerable to their constituents for every act they take, severally and collectively; but the representative Chamber is not bound down to the details of its policy by the precise methods and policy advocated before election. The doctrine of a House of Commons elected on a mandate is absolutely foreign to the Constitution.

Speaking on Tuesday last in the House of Lords, Lord Morley scoffed at the idea of the necessity for a mandate for important Government proposals, and showed that this was an entirely novel constitutional theory.

Interesting Items.

In the course of an address to women journalists Mr. Henry Arthur Jones said that woman's attitude to men was changing. She was growing more and more to be his intellectual comrade.

A memorial in favour of extending the Parliamentary franchise to duly qualified women, signed by 2,110 assistant mistresses in 348 public and private secondary girls' schools, has been forwarded to the Prime Minister and all the members of Parliament.

The Bishop of Birmingham, speaking at an exhibition of leadless glaze, told his hearers that no one got anything without making themselves a nuisance.

Mr. Gladstone has replied through his secretary to the Men's League for Woman's Suffrage declining to release Miss Charlotte Marsh before the expiration of her sentence.

The two members of the Women's Freedom League concerned in the Bermondsey ballot box incident were found guilty by the jury of interfering with the ballot box, and Mrs. Chaplin of common assault, but the charge of inflicting grievous bodily harm was not sustained. Sentences of three months and four months in the second division were passed by the judge.

The French Academy of Moral and Political Science have decided to offer a prize of £80 for a thesis on "Women and Political Rights." The competition will be decided in 1913.

Contents of this Issue.

In view of the great interest and importance of the Right to Petition case, we have devoted nearly three pages to a full report; this has necessitated the curtailing of all other news, and some features, such as Local Notes, have had to be entirely omitted. On page 153 will be found the first instalment of Miss Elizabeth Robins' articles on the demand for Woman Suffrage, while in the leading article Mr. Pethick Lawrence contrasts the "House of Lords" demonstration with the deputations sent to Westminster by women.

BALLADE OF THE VALIANT ONES.

"The basis of Law is Physical Force."

Let others seek the lesser prize,
The strength that out of justice flows;
These seek the force oppression buys,
The power that the tyrant knows.
Strong barricades their rights enclose,
Their prophets all are gagged and bound;
They cry, 'mid Freedom's dying throes,
"Tis Force that makes the world go round."

When women face with open eyes
The nameless outrages of foes,
When "hiredling gentlemen" arise
Whose hiss is paid in kicks and blows,
How knightly rings the voice of those
Whose brows are with our laurels crowned:
"With sternest means we must oppose;
"Tis Force that makes the world go round."

When One of old took human guise
To heal the world's protracted woes,
For guide to coming centuries
The Law of Love at last arose;
But still throughout the world there goes
The ancient falsehood's shattering sound:
"Let might, not right, our ways dispose;
"Tis Force that makes the world go round."

ENVOY.

Princes, through all your shams and shows,
Can only this old lie be found?
"Though honour die, our power grows;
"Tis Force that makes the world go round."

KENNETH RICHMOND.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Members and friends and newcomers will have an opportunity on Monday next at the Queen's Hall at 3 p.m. of hearing a speaker well-known for his wide knowledge of social problems, the Rev. Dr. Cobb, Rector of St. Ethelburga's, E.C. The meeting is free, and all are cordially invited. On account of the great meeting in the Albert Hall on Thursday the usual St. James's Hall meeting will not be held.

Mrs. Leigh's Welcome.

Provided her case is concluded, the delayed public welcome to Mrs. Leigh will take place at the weekly free meetings—on December 15, at the Queen's Hall, Langham Place, W., at 3 p.m., and on December 16 at St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, at 8 p.m. Miss Brown and Miss Paul will be welcomed on Monday, December 20, at the Queen's Hall, at 3 p.m.

Meeting for City Men.

The meetings held for City men some months ago were so successful that another has been arranged for Monday next at 1.30 p.m., in the Great Hall, Winchester House, Old Broad Street, E.C. Business men who have little time to attend the ordinary meetings will be glad of this opportunity of hearing the Earl of Lytton, who is in the chair, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst. Members are asked to bring this meeting to the notice of their friends in the City. Full particulars will be found in the London Campaign, page 158.

Release of Charlotte Marsh.

The monstrous sentence passed by the Birmingham magistrate on Charlotte Marsh—three months' hard labour—for her courageous action when Mr. Asquith visited Birmingham on September 17, has at length nearly come to an end, and next Tuesday, December 7, she will be set free from Winson Green Gaol. Details of a public welcome will be announced later.

Thursday, December 9.

In addition to the release on Thursday morning of Miss Brown and Miss Paul from Holloway Gaol after a month's imprisonment for their plucky protest at the Guildhall a month ago, that day will also be a memorable one in the history of the movement, as the date of Mrs. Pankhurst's first public appearance after her triumphant tour in the United States. She is on her way back to England, and is expected to arrive at Plymouth next Wednesday, and will be present at the great meeting in the Albert Hall on the following evening, December 9, at 8 p.m. During the evening all the women who have gone through the hunger strike and forcible feeding in Mrs. Pankhurst's absence will be decorated by her with the W.S.P.U. medal "For Valour."

As it is expected that Mrs. Leigh's case against the Home Secretary and governor and medical officer of Winson Green Gaol will have been heard on the same day, this meeting will be one of the most memorable in the history of the whole movement. Those who have not yet provided themselves with tickets should lose no time in doing so. Prices are as follows:—Stalls 3s., arena 2s. 6d., balcony 1s., upper orchestra 6d., and boxes at various prices. Stalls, boxes, and arena will be for both men and women; other parts of the house are reserved for women only. All seats are numbered except those in the upper orchestra. Application should be made to Miss Cooke, Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.—N.B.—The 1s. lower orchestra tickets are all sold.

Mrs. Pankhurst will be publicly welcomed at Birmingham, Leamington, and Coventry on December 14, 15, and 16 respectively. Tickets should be obtained at once from Miss Gladice Keevil, 33, Paradise Street, Birmingham.

Cabinet Ministers at the Albert Hall.

The Prime Minister is to address a mass meeting at the Albert Hall on Friday, December 10, when it is expected that most of the members of the Government will be present. For this unique opportunity of making record sales of Votes for Women a large army of volunteers is needed. Will they send in their names at once to Miss Jessie Kenney, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Protest Meetings.

Great protest meetings are now being held in the North of England in connection with the Ministerial Budget Campaign. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak on Tuesday, December 14, at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester. Tickets—prices, 2s. 6d. reserved and numbered, 1s. gallery, reserved, 6d. front area, 3d. side and back areas—may be obtained from the Manchester Offices, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester. Another meeting is being held to-day at Preston to coincide with the meeting addressed by Mr. Winston Churchill. His political tour in Lancashire is being carefully followed up by the Suffragettes, and full details of the great work on hand will be found on page 154, and under Lancashire in "The Campaign Throughout the Country," page 158. Volunteers for this series of protest meetings should send in their names at once to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

The Christmas Stall.

The Christmas Present Stall in the General Offices of the W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., is now open, and friends are invited to call between the hours of 10 a.m. and 5 p.m. on sale. The local W.S.P.U. shops are also making special Christmas preparations.

The Woman's Press.

The charming Christmas cards designed by Miss H. M. Dallas and others, and produced by the Woman's Press, are now on sale, price 1d., 2d., and 3d. Calendars, games (including "Panko"), blouses, leather slides and muffs, etc., are among the many novelties. A small button with an exquisite miniature photograph of Mrs. Pankhurst is also on sale. The price is 1d. With a view to the General Election a large number of special leaflets are being prepared. Among these are "What Woman Suffrage Means in New Zealand," by Lady Stout, and a leaflet with a reproduction of the cartoon "The Two Asquiths," setting forth the inconsistency of the Government under the title "The Right Dishonourable Double-Face Asquith." Will members undertake to distribute this leaflet at once? Copies can be had from Miss Kerr, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The price is 3d. per 100, 6s. per 1,000, post free. A new pamphlet, "The Emancipation of Womanhood," by the Rev. J. M. Lloyd Thomas, price 1d., will be ready shortly.

JUDGMENT AGAINST MRS. PANKHURST AND MRS. HAVERFIELD.

The Judges Refuse to Accept Lord Robert Cecil's Views on the Right of Petition.

In the Lord Chief Justice's Court on Wednesday last the special case involving the Right to Petition was heard before the Lord Chief Justice and Justices Channell and Coleridge. Lord Robert Cecil, appearing on behalf of the Hon. Mrs. Haverfield, urged three main points—first, that women had a political right to petition the Prime Minister; second, that this right would be naturally exercised by personal presentation; and, thirdly, that they were behaving reasonably in persisting in their attempt to enter the House because his blank refusal provided no other alternative except that of abandoning altogether their hope of presenting it to him.

The Lord Chief Justice told Mr. Avory, who appeared for the Commissioner of Police, that it was not necessary to hear him, and proceeded to deliver judgment. He said that he recognised the right to petition the Prime Minister, but he did not recognise the right of deputation to him. There was no inherent right to enter the House of Commons, and in the present instance the women ought to have desisted when they received word from Mr. Asquith that he was unwilling to receive them. He therefore gave judgment against the appeal with costs.

LORD ROBERT CECIL'S SPEECH.

Lord Robert Cecil commenced by reading the formal statement of the case in the course of which the magistrate, Sir Albert De Butzen, after giving the admitted facts, said:—

I was of opinion that the appellants and the said deputation were endeavouring to enter the House of Commons with a view to lay before the Prime Minister their demand for a vote and to petition him with that object, and that after they knew by the letter referred to in paragraphs 12 and 13 of this case that the Prime Minister refused to receive the said deputation they remained at the said entrance and refused to go away in order to assert an alleged right to be and remain where they were in order to carry out the aforesaid objects as stated in the said handbill marked "C."

On behalf of the appellants it was contended that there was a right in every one of the King's subjects to petition a Member of Parliament, and there was a further right in every one of the King's subjects to petition the King and that the Prime Minister as the Chief Minister of the Crown is at the present day the proper person to receive such petition as representing the King, that the appellants were entitled to enter or alternatively to be and remain at St. Stephen's entrance aforesaid for the purpose aforesaid so long as the deputation of which the appellants formed part did not exceed ten in number and behaved in an orderly manner and that there was no duty in nor power in the police to order them to move away and that therefore the appellants were not obstructing the police in the execution of any legal duty and were consequently not guilty of the said charge made against them.

It was contended on behalf of the appellants that there was no duty in nor power in the police to order them to move away and that therefore the appellants were not obstructing the police in the execution of any legal duty and were consequently not guilty of the said charge made against them.

The Origin of the Obstruction.

Lord Robert Cecil then proceeded as follows:—My lord, my submission is that Mrs. Haverfield was on a public highway—that is found by the case—and she was about to enter the Strangers' Entrance of the Palace of Westminster, which she had a perfect right to do. It is clear that she had done, so far as coming to that point, no harm, because she had actually been escorted by Superintendent Isaacs, of the police, to that point. Therefore, when she met Inspector Jarvis it is clear that she was doing what is recognised to be a perfectly lawful and legitimate act. My lord, in the first place, I submit that there was no ground whatever for preventing her from going on and entering the Strangers' Entrance of the Palace of Westminster.

The Lord Chief Justice: The cordon of the police were just outside, I gather?

Lord Robert Cecil: Yes, my lord.
The Lord Chief Justice: And she, as I gather from your statement, said, "I am going in by force."
Lord Robert Cecil: Yes; but not until after she had

been stopped. Now, my lord, I submit that as far as the ladies of the deputation were concerned, they caused no obstruction at all. The cause of the obstruction was their being stopped from entering the Strangers' Entrance and by the crowd.

Lord Chief Justice: But they were the attraction. (Laughter.)

Lord Robert Cecil: Well, my lord, if the police were to stop your lordship or me walking down the street, there would be an obstruction no doubt. (Laughter.) But, in any case, the moment you stop anyone going on in a town where he has a right to go, or along the public highway, an obstruction is caused instantly. And the fact that the obstruction is caused is not your fault; it is the fault of those who stop you. Supposing Mrs. Haverfield had (as I hope to convince your lordships she had) a right to go to the Palace of Westminster, it is quite clear that it was not she who caused the obstruction, but the police, and that if she had been allowed to go on no obstruction would have been caused. The point I submit to your lordships is: Was she, or was she not, entitled to go to the Strangers' Entrance with the object of presenting in person a petition to the Prime Minister? Now, my lord, I think it is quite clear that the object of Mrs. Haverfield was to enter the Palace of Westminster for the purpose of presenting a petition to the Prime Minister.

The Lord Chief Justice: Do you say that there is a right of going into the House of Commons to present a petition to the Prime Minister?

Lord Robert Cecil: My lord, I say there is a right to present the petition in any reasonable way.

Lord Coleridge: Can that be exercised by the thirty million people in the United Kingdom?

Lord Robert Cecil: Well, my lord, it must be exercised reasonably by each of them. The whole test of this case is reasonableness in this matter. I quite recognise that no one has a right to present a petition at any time and under any circumstances, but, my lord, I do submit that there is, and I shall ask your lordships to find that there is, a right to present that petition, and that if you act reasonably in the exercise of your right you are committing no offence and ought not to be stopped by the police, who, I submit, have no greater right than anybody else to stop you.

The Right to Use Force.

Now, my lord, this question of force; it all turns on whether this lady was exercising her rights or not, because if she was wrongly stopped she had a perfect right to use force. I need not state cases because you of course recognise that the police have no right to stop you if you are doing what you have a right to do, and any force that may be necessary to overcome their obstruction you are entitled to use. That is the whole question.

The Right of Petition.

Your lordships will know, and it is admitted by the respondents in paragraph 18 of the case, that there is an undoubted right for every subject of the King to present petitions to members of Parliament. That is the extent of the admission. But I desire to say a few words about the nature of the right to petition; that is the right to present a request to those in authority to redress a grievance. It is a right that has always existed in England, and as established in countless cases has been actually exercised. I submit to your lordships that it is a common law right, and it is a necessary condition, as I submit to your lordships, of all free, of indeed all civilised government. Indeed, there must be a right on the part of all subjects to present a petition to those in authority to ask for a redress of their grievances, and there is a right (whether there must be a right or not I need not, perhaps, argue), but there is certainly such a right in England.

Three Characteristics of the Right to Petition.

I desire to call your lordships' attention to three characteristics of that right. In the first place, it is always a right to petition those who are the actual repositories of power. It is spoken of sometimes as if that was only a right to petition the Houses of Parliament; but it is the right to petition those who are the repositories of political power for the redress of their grievances. That is the right, and there are instances in history of petitions to all sorts of people who have been holding positions of power. There is an instance of a petition of women to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in the reign of Henry VI., and at the times of the Civil Wars and the disputes immediately preceding them there were countless petitions to all sorts of people of that kind. Petitions to the Lord High Steward at the time of Strafford's trial to ask for his conviction. But, of course, the common order in those days was a petition to the King. The right has not, I think, been discussed in a great number of cases before the courts, but there is a

celebrated case in which it was discussed—the case of the Seven Bishops. I need not trouble your lordships with all the facts of that case; shortly, they were that the King had issued a declaration of indulgence, which he had required the bishops and clergy to read from their pulpits, and the bishops regarded that as an offence to their conscience, and were anxious to present that view to the King, and they thereupon sought an interview with the King to present to him a petition.

The first extract I have to read to your lordships is the interlocutory observation of Mr. Justice Powell, page 407. It was being argued by the Counsel for the Crown that the right to petition was confined to a right to petition the King in Parliament, and Mr. Justice Powell says: "My lord, this is strange doctrine, shall not a subject have liberty to petition the King but in Parliament? If that be law the subject is in a miserable case." And the Lord Chief Justice replied: "Brother, let him go on, we will hear him out though I approve not of his position."

The Lord Chief Justice: A proper observation; that is what goes on in court sometimes.

Lord Robert Cecil: Yes, my lord, but I only read it to show how very vitally it was regarded by the judges of the court that this right to petition should be preserved unimpaired.

Lord Robert Cecil then quoted a further extract from the case, citing a remark of Mr. Justice Holloway and a reply from another justice, suggesting that though the bishops had a right to petition the King they had not done so in the right way. That view, of course, was not accepted by Parliament.

I do not think I need read anything more than one other passage in the summing up of Mr. Justice Holloway, in the course of which he says:—"So that if there was no ill-intent, and they were not (as it is not nor can be pretended they were) men of evil lives or the like, to deliver a petition cannot be a fault, it being the right of every subject to petition."

The Lord Chief Justice: That does not say at all how it is to be presented.

Lord Robert Cecil: No, my lord, it does not. It is merely treated as an instance of the right to petition the Crown.

The Lord Chief Justice: It was the right of petition? Lord Robert Cecil: That is all that the case of the Seven Bishops did establish. Then, my lord, I say that

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there is a right to petition, and the petition is to those who have the power to remedy the grievances. And then, my lord, I say next that the right to petition is generally exercised by those who have no other effective constitutional redress. I do not know that that matters very much, but if your lordships look at the matter you will find that it was constantly the last resort which the subjects had in order to secure redress of their grievances. If they could be represented in Parliament, of course, they had other resorts; but if they could not be represented in Parliament, either because Parliament was not sitting or because they had not the franchise, then it was clearly their only resort. Your lordships will not doubt recollect that there were great numbers of petitions by unfranchised men for the franchise when they were anxious to obtain it.

Personal Presentation.

These petitions in history have been usually presented in person. It is the common case—I do not say that it is essential, but it is the common case that these petitions were presented in person. There were a great number of petitions in 1640, when deputations came to the House of Commons and demanded to present petitions to members of the House of Commons, and members were instructed to go out and interview the petitioners and hear what they had got to say. In 1680 there was a great petition that was presented in person. In 1701 there was the celebrated petition of the Gentlemen of Kent, which was presented in person. In 1765 the Silk Weavers presented a petition, and in 1834 the Trade Unionists presented a petition in person. Sometimes petitions were presented to the Houses of Parliament, sometimes to powerful individuals, sometimes to the King—they were all presented in person.

Now, my lord, I think this is important, because when one comes to the statutes dealing with it one must say: What had Parliament got in its view when they legislated petitions? What did they mean by petitions? My Lord, the first of the two great and important statutes is that of 13 Charles the Second, Chap. 5, against tumultuous petitioning. That is the statute which in form limits the right of petitioning, and the importance of it is the recognition of what the right is. It begins by reciting the various evils which have arisen by large numbers of people going in a violent and tumultuous way to present petitions to the House of Parliament, and in the second section it enacts that no person or persons whatever shall repair to His Majesty or either of the Houses of Parliament for the purpose of presenting or delivering a petition with an excessive number of people (I am leaving out immaterial words), nor at any one time above the number of ten persons.

I stop here to point out to your lordships that they clearly recognise the right of personal presentation of a petition.

And then comes the proviso, which is very important: "Provided always that this shall not be considered to debar or hinder any person or persons not exceeding the number of ten to present petitions for the redress of any public or private grievances."

The Lord Chief: It is twenty in the original. Lord Robert Cecil: Ten in the revised section. However, it is never less than ten, so it doesn't make any difference.

I submit that it is quite plain, taking history into consideration, that the Legislature intended to preserve to the subject the right of presenting, as long as it was done in a reasonable manner, petitions to a member of Parliament, and that the petition did involve a personal interview. I do not think it is necessary for me to read the Bill of Rights; it is referred to in the ladies' pamphlet, which merely says that "it is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." It only deals, no doubt, with the Seven Bishops case, and so really reaffirms a right which was already recognised but which they thought had been to some extent impeded by the trial of the Seven Bishops.

Why to the Prime Minister.

Now, my lord, if I am right in saying that history and these statutes establish that there was a right to petition and a right personally to present petitions, and that this right may be exercised to any repository of political power (and particularly to a member of Parliament), then I submit that these ladies were exercising their constitutional right, and (in view of the fact that they had no other means of influencing the Government of the country) their only constitutional right in acting as they did. I say that the only constitutional method (I do not say it is the only method, because, of course, you may agitate in other ways), but the only constitutional method unless you have a vote, is to present a petition. I submit that they were legally and constitutionally right—I have nothing to do with other aspects of the case—legally right in making the Prime Minister the recipient of the petition. The Prime Minister has recently, as your lordships know, been recognised as a high State official, and as a matter of common knowledge, apart from that, he is now more than any single man in the country the repository of political power; and if you wish to make this right a real, genuine, and effective right it must be a right to present a petition to the person

who has more power than anybody else to remedy the grievance which is complained of. The right must include—admittedly includes—a right to present a petition to any member of Parliament, and if to any member of Parliament, then certainly to the Prime Minister, who is by far the most powerful member of Parliament in the country.

I do not think it is necessary—I think it was argued in the police-court—but I do not think it is necessary to argue that under the present Constitution the Prime Minister is the representative or the best representative of the Crown. It is quite enough for me to say that the Prime Minister is, in point of fact, the most powerful member of Parliament in the country, and that if you have a *fortiori* a right to petition the Prime Minister.

The Reasonableness of the Action.

Now, my lord, of course I have to deal with the question of whether under those circumstances this right was reasonably exercised. If you wish to present a petition to a member of Parliament, I submit that the proper place to seek that member of Parliament is the House of Commons. So far I do not see that any fault can be found with the proceedings of the appellant. She wanted to present a petition to the chief member of Parliament of the day. She sought him in the House of Commons. She went to the Strangers' Entrance, the regular place—I do not know whether it is found in the case, but your lordships know quite well that it is the regular procedure of anyone who wishes to interview a member of Parliament to go to the Strangers' Entrance of the House of Commons. Well, so far she had done nothing wrong.

The Lord Chief Justice: You treat as immaterial the statement that she was informed that Mr. Asquith was not in the House?—Well, my lord—

It is only a question of reasonableness, you know.—Well, my lord, I am not sure that the information of a—if I may say so without disrespect—a casual policeman, that the Prime Minister is not in the House of Commons, is a really sufficient answer. It was only an ordinary policeman in the street, and he said, so far as I understand the case—

How far is this to go, please?—Well, my lord, I do not know, of course, how far I am at liberty to say; but the ordinary procedure certainly is not to take an answer from a policeman in the street if you wish to interview a member of Parliament.

Should she go into the House?—She could go on until stopped by an official of the House of Commons. This part of the House of Commons is not under the police. They have no right to stop anyone from going into the House.

The Lord Chief Justice: They have to guard the approaches to the House.

Lord Robert Cecil: They have made a Sessional Order, I admit. But the Sessional Order cannot alter the law of the land in any way. That was very elaborately argued and decided in the case of Stockdale v. Hansard, and it applies not only to the Palace of Westminster, but to all the streets in the neighbourhood. They affect in that Sessional Order to give directions as to what is to be done in the streets. I submit, with the greatest respect to your lordships, that that part of the Sessional Order is clearly unfounded—they have no right to give orders as to what is to go on in the streets at all.

But that of itself makes no difference to the case. I say that the right thing, if you wish to present a petition to the Prime Minister, and wish to do it personally, is to seek him in the House of Commons, and to seek him in the ordinary way—that is, by going to the St. Stephen's entrance. So far they were quite within their rights.

Then, it may be said that they were given a letter from the Prime Minister saying that he could not, or would not, see them. My lord, I submit that if the Prime Minister had said: "I cannot see you here and now, but I will see you on such and such an occasion; this is not a convenient time." That would have been a sufficient answer, because this right must be exercised reasonably. But his letter contained an unqualified refusal, and if you have the right to present a petition that is no answer at all, and you are entitled to go and take such steps as seem reasonable to you to exercise your right.

The Absence of Real Obstruction.

But, my lord, these ladies were only on the public highway. What possible ground had the police for stopping them from going up, at any rate, to the St. Stephen's Entrance, or from entering St. Stephen's Entrance; what is the justification for it? I submit there is no justification. I quite agree that if they came with a great crowd with them, if they were obstructing the passages to the House, then there is a statute which says that the police are to see that the passages are kept clear. There was nothing of the kind. From the statement of the case (paragraph 11) it is quite clear that no one was prevented from going in and out by these eight or nine ladies. There was no intention of that kind, and, indeed, it is quite absurd. The police had cleared the whole space around the House. They had kept it absolutely clear. They

had kept away all traffic, and therefore I submit to your Lordships it is an absurdity to say that because there were eight or nine ladies wishing to enter the Palace of Westminster an obstruction was being caused which prevented the free circulation of traffic or impeded it at all. They, as I submit to your lordships, had a perfect right as long as they were doing nothing disorderly (and there is no suggestion of disorder until they were stopped) to enter the ordinary entrance of the Palace of Westminster.

Irrelevancy of Chaffers v. Goldsmith.

My lord, a good deal was said in the court below about the case of Chaffers v. Goldsmith. I think that the learned magistrate founded his judgment a good deal on that. The case of Chaffers v. Goldsmith really, as I submit to your lordships, has nothing whatever to do with it. My lord, that was a case in which a person called Chaffers desired to petition Parliament, and asked the defendant, Sir Julian Goldsmith (his member) to present the petition for him, and he declined. Chaffers thereupon brought an action against Sir Julian Goldsmith for declining to present the petition. It was not an action (if such a thing had been possible at all) against the House of Commons for declining to receive the petition; it was against Sir Julian Goldsmith for declining to present the petition to the House of Commons. Now, that is a wholly different matter. There is a right to petition Parliament—no one questioned it in that case—but it may well be that there is no right to compel a member of Parliament to present it. That is a different matter altogether. I submit that if there is a right to petition a member of Parliament there must be a duty on the part of a member of Parliament to receive that petition, but whether there is a right to compel a member of Parliament to present it is a different matter. That is all that that case decided, which I submit has nothing to do with this case. This case rests on those two grounds:—In the first place, that there is a right to petition all members of Parliament and any member of Parliament; that right is particularly clear and important in the case of the Prime Minister, for it involves a duty to receive a petition, and that as long as you proceed reasonably in the exercise of that right the police have no right—and no one has any right—to stop you from taking any reasonable method for carrying that right into force. These ladies were in the public highway for the purpose of carrying out that right, and also for the purpose of exercising the ordinary right of members of the public to enter the House of Commons. There is no authority to prevent them doing that, except the authority of the House and the authority of the Speaker, and I submit, with the greatest respect both for the House of Commons and for the Speaker, that they have no right by their orders to modify the rights of the public outside the Chamber of the House. That is really involved in the case of Stockdale v. Hansard (9 Adolphus and Allen, page 1). It was a petition to a member of Parliament.

The Lord Chief Justice: Have you any authority for saying with regard to this petition to the King, or a petition, if you like, to the Prime Minister—

Lord Robert Cecil: No, my lord, to a member of Parliament.

The Lord Chief Justice: I do not think it is referred to as a member of Parliament. It is referred to as the Prime Minister on the handbill. Have you any authority for arguing that the right to present a petition to the Prime Minister involves a right to present it in the House of Commons itself?

Lord Robert Cecil: Certainly not; I have no authority. I think the right to petition involves a right to present it in any proper place. I do not say the obligation—I say the right. I say that it involves the right to present it wherever you can find the Prime Minister reasonably, if you are entitled to present a petition, and to present it personally; and I submit to your lordships that history shows that quite clearly.

Lord Justice Coleridge: Was that extended to the King, too?

Lord Robert Cecil: Yes, my lord; in the old days undoubtedly. There was a right to present a petition to the King. In the "Fortunes of Nigel" King James the Second, complaining bitterly of the way in which a petition was thrust into his hand in the streets, a gentleman named Jingle Geordie takes the opportunity of presenting a petition to him then and there, in his private closet. There was the right of personal presentation, just as in the old days practically anybody was allowed to go into the House of Commons—nowadays you have to present it through a member of Parliament.

The Lord Chief Justice: Except the Lord Mayor of London?—Yes, my lord.

Lord Robert Cecil: As to the petition to a member of Parliament, I submit it is only a branch of the same right—it is a different right, and recognised as a different right in the statute of Charles II. The statute of Charles II. says in so many words that nothing is to be done to impair the right of presenting any public or private grievance or complaint to any member of Parliament after his election. I submit it is quite plain, and indeed it is admitted in the case, that there is an undoubted right

to petition a member of Parliament, and there is no doubt that Mr. Asquith is a member of Parliament, and therefore there was an undoubted right to petition Mr. Asquith. The only question in this case is, I submit, whether they were acting in a reasonable manner in the exercise of that right.

The Lord Chief Justice: Have you any authority for the proposition that a petition to the Prime Minister involves the right to present it in the House of Commons?—It is the right to present it to him wherever you can find him. That is the thing, and the question is whether they were acting reasonably in seeking him in the House of Commons.

Lord Robert Cecil then proceeded, at the request of the Lord Chief Justice, to read the original judgment by the magistrate, Sir Albert de Rutzen, remarking that the magistrate seemed to treat the petition as either a petition to the House of Commons or as a petition to the King and not as a petition to a member of Parliament, which in fact it was.

He then referred to the case of Stockdale v. Hansard, as to the explanation of which he had been interrupted by the Lord Chief Justice shortly before, and quoted the judgment of Mr. Justice Patterson on page 191 to show that even the House of Commons, acting alone, had no power to make orders affecting the conduct of the public in the streets.

THE JUDGMENT.

Lord Chief Justice to opposing counsel: I think we need not trouble you.

Mr. Avory: I think your lordship may like to have the statute upon which I rely before giving judgment. It is the Metropolitan Police Act, 1839, 2 and 3 Vic. Chap. 47, Sec. 52, which provides that it shall be lawful for the Commissioner of Police to make regulations and to give directions to the constables for keeping order and for preventing any obstruction of the thoroughfare in the immediate neighbourhood of the House of Commons.

Lord Chief Justice: Thank you, Mr. Avory. In this case the two ladies for whom Lord Robert Cecil appears—

Lord Robert Cecil: I only appear for Mrs. Haverfield.

Lord Chief Justice: The lady for whom Lord Robert Cecil appears was summoned for resisting and obstructing the police officer in the execution of his duty. It clearly is not necessary to state the facts at length. The ladies were minded to present their petition to the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith, in support of a claim to which they have a perfect right. I agree entirely with Lord Robert Cecil that they have a right to present a petition, either to the Prime Minister as Prime Minister or as a member of Parliament. I do not think it necessary to draw any distinction between the two. It is not necessary to deal with the question of the presentation of petitions to the House of Commons itself, or presentation of petitions to the King in person, because everybody agrees that at the present day it is a recognised law that petitions to the House of Commons are presented by a member of Parliament, and petitions to the King himself are presented to the Prime Minister. Therefore we need deal only with the case which Lord Robert Cecil has placed before us, namely, presenting petitions to the Prime Minister. The action taken by the ladies on this occasion was not only to present a petition to the Prime Minister—I am assuming this, of course, in favour of the view presented by Lord Robert Cecil, and I think it is fair to do so because it is involved in the opening words of Par. 16 of the magistrate's decision—I say that the deputation was endeavouring to enter the House of Commons to lay before the Prime Minister a petition which had for its object the demand for the vote. Therefore I presume that they were minded to present the petition by means of the deputation. It is therefore not unimportant with reference to certain facts of the case that their claim was not only to present a petition—a request that I do not for one moment think Mr. Asquith would have refused—but it was to be received in deputation, and therefore the action of the ladies whose conduct was impugned before the magistrate followed upon the desire by this lady to be one of the deputation to go into the House of Commons to present the petition.

The Sessional Order.

It is quite unnecessary to deal with some of the points raised by Lord Robert Cecil—not because I do not wish to treat anything he urges with respect, but because it seems to be a little beside the mark. With regard to the precincts of the House of Commons itself, there can be no doubt that members of Parliament or the Speaker have a right to make rules as to what parts of the House shall be accessible and how that access shall be enjoyed. This right has been exercised for centuries, and I have no doubt that a court of law would uphold such orders

so far as any parts of the House to which people may be allowed to come and go. It is a power about which I express not the slightest doubt, and I do not at all agree with Lord Robert Cecil that it is *ultra vires*. Further, the Commissioner of Police knew that a sessional order was made that passages to and from the House be kept free and open, and that no obstruction be permitted to hinder the passage of members to and from the House, and that no disorder be allowed in Westminster Hall or in the House during the sitting of Parliament, and that the Sergeant-at-Arms attending this House was to communicate this order to the police force. This order was certainly *intra vires* as regards the precincts of the House itself, and the Speaker had the right to make this order. Whether such an order would justify interference with the public on the public highway is entirely another question, and the point which Lord Robert Cecil mooted, rather than argued, that this order did not give the right to interfere with the people on the highway, does not arise in this case. There is the further power under the Statute to which Mr. Avory has called our attention, namely, the Metropolitan Police Act, 1839, empowering the Commissioner to give directions to the constables for keeping order and for preventing obstruction of the thoroughfare in the immediate neighbourhood of the Palace of Westminster, of a court of law or equity and of police courts and so on.

The Prime Minister's Reply.

Now, as regards the actual *locus in quo* in dispute, everybody knows that persons desiring to see members of Parliament are allowed to go into what is called the St. Stephen's Gallery Entrance. The police had been stationed there—whether actually on the pavement or not does not matter—but very near that entrance, and upon the ladies arriving they were asked their business and practically informed that they could not go any further. I call attention to the fact that it was not a mere attempt to present a petition to the Prime Minister, but to be received in deputation. That was met by a letter being handed to one of the ladies, who does not appear here, stating that the Prime Minister, for the reasons already given in a written reply, regretted that he was unable to receive the deputation. Therefore it was a courteous intimation by the Prime Minister, not in any way refusing to receive the petition, but refusing the deputation, not unnaturally, I think, in consequence of what we know did happen on previous occasions.

Under these circumstances the lady for whom Lord Robert Cecil appears—who has, I have no doubt, very strong feelings upon this point, which I can well understand, and who represents people who desire to press their views in a legitimate manner, the ladies being practically informed of the state of things, and having thrown the letter upon the street, and this lady having said that she was there to assert her rights as a subject of the King to present a petition to the Prime Minister—was asked to go away. The lady for whom Lord Robert Cecil appears—namely, the particular appellant in this case—said to the sergeant of police that she wanted to see the Prime Minister, and on being told that he was not in the House was asked several times to go away. But she said: "I am going to go inside, and will use force"; and she pushed up against the police with a view to getting through the police cordon, according to their evidence. Upon these facts it is not disputed that the police were there in the execution of their duty. No reasonable doubt can, in my opinion, be raised as to the right of the Speaker and the members of Parliament to control the entrance to their House. No doubt can be raised as to the authority of the Commissioner of Police to prevent disorder at the doors of the House. The presence of these ladies would not only lead to a large concourse of people assembling, but would most undoubtedly lead to a great amount of disorder. Under these circumstances the police received orders which they were bound to obey.

The lady in the case did what she deemed to be her right, and said, "I am going to use force," and endeavoured to get through the cordon of police. In my judgment she committed an offence against the statute to which I have referred, and was most properly dealt with by the magistrate. As it seems to me we need not for a moment consider what the case would have been if in execution of this authority the police had stopped a lady in the street, and had thereby caused what Lord Robert Cecil calls an obstruction. He said that any member of this court stopped by a policeman would *ipso facto* cause an obstruction. That might or might not be, but at any rate in this particular case the policeman was not purporting to stop the lady in the street, but to prevent her doing that which undoubtedly would cause which the Commissioner of Police had been told to prevent.

As to the right of the subject to present a petition to the Prime Minister or to a Member of Parliament and take any lawful means of making a grievance known and petitioning for the removal of any grievance, I say that this lady was breaking the law, for she tried by force to enter the House; that the police were undoubtedly right in saying that she could not enter it; and that she was properly convicted is perfectly clear.

The other judges agreed. The appeal was accordingly dismissed with costs.

HOW TO HELP THE PAPER.

Selling in Princes Street.

The historic continuity of our great struggle for liberty is a thought that constantly mitigates the drudgery of the camp-follower's tasks in Edinburgh. One may be checked in getting signatures to a medical protest against forcible feeding by a rasping "A doant approve a' violence," followed by a speedy opening of the door when one retorts, "Do you approve of Governmental violence?" But between the commonplace house in (let us say) Newington, where the snub was administered, and the West End mansion of the woman doctor who signs instantly, one has to traverse the High Street, dive down through Lady Stairs' Close, and crossing Princes and Castle Streets, walk past Sir W. Scott's house in Castle Street, and Stevenson's in Heriot Row. Memories of keen liberty and justice-lovers crowd on the way. One hardly questions how Bell, Muir, and Burns would have viewed the women's fight for liberty (though not quite so sure about either Scott or Stevenson). It seems so certain that those who suffered so much for freedom of speech, and that he who sang unceasingly the spirit of revolution would, if alive now, act as bravely as do the Nevinsons and Brainsfords *à hoc genus omne*. Whether from the beauty and interest of his surroundings, or from remoter causes, the average Scot in "Embro" seems to the bill distributor or Votes seller a more essentially civilised being than his brother of London and neighbourhood. No gibing street boys collect here and follow; "Suffragette" is pronounced softly and explanatorily rather than opprobriously. Certainly, when handing out notices of Miss Pankhurst's meeting to a musical hall queue waiting to enter a big "anti" meeting one lady did clutch my bills, strike me violently, and tear the bills in fragments. But immediately others—presumably anti-bent forward, crying, "How dare she strike you? Give us some bills, and we will all come and hear Miss Pankhurst to-morrow." The Edinburgh "anti" is not at all keen as a rule; he or she even stops now and then to accept a bill, even to argue a little; usually with a smile and politely. At street corners the crowd usually listens like a lamb, and "Votes for Wee-men" (weemen!) passes counter among the small boys more as an excellent pun than a reproach. It is also easy to see that the Edinburgh policemen are not employed by the Home Office and not worried by special Suffragette service. They are uniformly polite, helpful, and unspurious.

A Liberal Education.

It is not all giving with the women who sell papers in the streets this cold weather; they also receive. One of the sellers at the Charing Cross pitch writes that the work is a "liberal education in itself." In one day she had talks about the movement with a West Indian, a New Zealander, a Japanese, a German, and a South African, not to mention a large number of country cousins. In every case the buyers were sympathetic, and promised to come to the meetings. Then there are so many varying types to study. There is the woman who buys the paper, whispering, "It is splendid of you to do this. I have not the courage to sell," and disappears. Then there is the man who tells his version of the Bermondsey ballot-box protest, made by the Women's Freedom League. He says:—"First she put his eye out; then she bit a piece out of his hand, and scraped his face, and left a great mark down from his forehead to his chin!" A busy woman, even for a Suffragette! And so it goes on, an ever-changing stream of purchasers.

Now, there are many women who have not yet come forward to help in the sale of Votes for Women in the streets. They are very much needed, and to them we would say the words a navy addressed to one of our sellers the other day, "Bravo, ma'am; don't you be afraid to sell 'em!"

Supporting the Advertisers.

There is a very important way of helping the paper besides the extension of the sale, and that is to support actively the firms who advertise in it, and to withdraw custom from those who do not. All W.S.P.U. members have occasion at times to purchase in large or small quantities, and this purchase, after being effected with one of the firms advertising in Votes for Women, should be followed up by a letter addressed to the managing director, explaining that the writer dealt with his shop because he was an advertiser. This is a most effective way of helping, while on the other hand a letter stating that the writer has withdrawn her custom because any firm does not advertise in the paper is, as we have reason to know, equally effective. A great number of our readers have given us their practical help in this way already with very valuable results. In thanking them, we ask others to follow their good example.

Sympathy from India.

An Indian correspondent writes that he reads the paper regularly, finding it full of interest. He encloses a cutting from a paper written in a Hindoo dialect which gives some account of the Suffrage movement and the imprisonment of women in England, and shows that interest is taken in the cause even by the natives of a far-away Indian State.

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BOOK OF THE WEEK.

An "Admirable Crichton" Amongst Women.*

A woman whose portrait still hangs in many European galleries, and who was famed throughout Europe for her learning and accomplishments, died in 1678, and has since been forgotten by the world of art and letters in which she reigned as a queen as well as by the human world of men and women.

Her memory has now been revived by a woman of literary distinction in our own day, and her life story will be found of great interest to many, and especially perhaps to women in this country.

Anna van Schurman moved and had her being amongst the studios, universities, and churches of seventeenth century Holland. Queens and princes as well as scholars and statesmen came to see and to inquire of her wisdom and renown.

Her life takes us back to Holland at that period of time which supersedes the great struggle of the Dutch people to throw off the yoke of Spanish domination, with its religious tyranny and its terrible rule of the Inquisition. That wonderful chapter in history which has added so much to the heritage of modern European peoples was written in the very life blood of the people, and the victory, great as it was, was secured only at enormous cost. In the reaction that followed, politics sank into a secondary place; and the domestic arts and the pursuit of learning and of material wealth absorbed the mind and the energy of the Netherland folk.

The spirit of those times finds expression in the career of this remarkable woman. Art, science, and religion claim her in turn as their devotee. Anna the artist lived for twenty-eight years; whereupon she gave place to Anna the scholar, who continued for the next twenty years. Finally, Anna the saint took possession, and lived to the age of seventy-one.

The manner in which the last transformation came about is full of human interest. At the zenith of the scholar's fame, when she was overwhelmed with the flattery and admiration of men and women of international repute, her mother died, and two aunts, aged, infirm, and totally blind, were left entirely dependent upon her care. "The Tenth Muse," as she was called, felt it her duty to step down from her pedestal of fame and become their sick nurse. She was also their entertainer, reading and talking to them in their darkness. With extraordinary courage and still more extraordinary humility she shut her doors to visitors, cut off her correspondence and put all her former interests completely on one side, and devoted herself for more than eleven years to making these two old creatures contented with their lot. It was thus Anna the scholar died to make way for Anna the saint.

Suddenly bereft of all that made life exciting and interesting to her, she became as it were isolated with God and forced to learn independence of worldly contacts. The two prime factors in life's equation, the soul and God, were present to her unadorned with trappings and unsoftened by dreams, and out of them she had to produce love, the only result that would carry her undismayed through all despondency and regret.

In her autobiography she sets down thanks to God for his amazing goodness in filling her with such real and overflowing love as made the long years of servitude pass like a few moments.

It is interesting to note the woman's movement had its champions in Europe in the seventeenth century, and Anna Van Schurman was one of them. Beverwyck, a deputy to the States General, who, under Anna's influence, had become a convinced feminist, dedicated his treatise, "The Excellency of the Female Sex," to her. She enjoyed the friendship of Marie de Jars, fondly called by the admirers of her genius "The French Siren" and "the Pride of Gournay," the renowned writer of the thesis "L'Egalité des Hommes et des Femmes," which was read in every country of Europe.

A young Venetian widow, Lucrezia Marinelli, had, in 1694, published a treatise in defence of women's attainments and rights, and this book, which had considerable vogue in intellectual circles, was probably known to "the Learned Maid" who championed so vigorously women's education and independence. No studies are excluded in her opinion as being unsuitable to woman. Anna Van Schurman applies Plato's well-known dictum to her own sex: "It becomes a perfect man to know what is to be known and to do what is to be done."

E. P. L.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

"Women at Home." Christmas Number. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 9d. net.)

"Liberalism and the Social Problem," by the Right Hon. Winston Churchill, M.P. (London: Hodder and Stoughton. 3s. 6d. net.)

"Hermione: A Knight of the Holy Ghost," by Edith Searle Grossman. (London: Watts and Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

"Robert Emmet," by Stephen Gwynn, M.P. (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited. 6s. net.)

"The Westminster Review." Monthly. (Marlborough and Co. 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Englishwoman's Review." Quarterly. 1s. net.

"The English Review." Monthly. (Chapman and Hall, 2s. 6d. net.)

"Anna van Schurman, Artist, Scholar, Saint. By Urs Birch. Longmans, Green and Co. Price 6s. 6d. net.

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THE WORLD WE LIVE IN.

Alice at the Zoo.

By G. VAUGHAN.

"There are so many things I want to see," said Alice, "that I don't know where to begin."

"Take my wing," said a benevolent-looking stork close by; and she tucked her hand under his soft white feathers. "What do you want most to see?"

"The tortoises and the parrots and the penguins," said Alice, who had read about them in her natural history book. "And most of all, the eagles." For she had caught sight of one of the eagles on a perch, with her eye fixed on the sun. But wire netting and a heavy chain on her foot kept the eagle from flying.

"One at a time," said the stork, stopping in front of a small yard in which there seemed at first to be nothing but rocks and cabbage leaves lying on the ground. And he added, under his breath, "Down with the eagles!"

"Are they alive?" asked Alice, when she had stared for a long time at the rocks, and had discovered that they moved a little, and were not really rocks at all, but tortoises.

"Oh, yes," the stork answered, cheerfully; "they're alive all right, only you see they're very ancient, and they don't consider it dignified to be in a hurry. Sometimes," he added, thoughtfully, standing on one leg, "they're a bit too lively to suit the parrots—throw things out, you know."

"What sort of things?" asked Alice, who was very much interested.

"Oh, bills," laughed the stork, as he pirouetted on one leg.

Alice was just going to say, "Not yours, I hope."

"Other people's bills, of course," she added, hastily. "And does it hurt to have them thrown out?"

"Rather!" said the stork. He was getting more and more angry. "The parrots are determined to go to war," he screamed; "there is to be no quarter—it's to be war to the knife!"

"That sounds very grand," said Alice, admiringly.

"It is grand," said the stork. "They mean it—this time. Come along!" He spread his little wings, half flying and half running, with Alice hanging on to the tip of one of his feathers. His gait was very awkward and funny, but the stork was so serious that Alice dared not laugh. They stopped at a very large place, and Alice put her hands over her ears, for the screaming of the parrots nearly made her deaf. They were all talking at once, and it was quite impossible to hear what they were saying, but she caught the words, "Accident of birth." "Dear me," she thought, "I hope there hasn't been an accident, but I shouldn't be a bit surprised, they seem to do nothing but in one another's way!"

"It's all about the last bill," the stork explained, in a great hurry. "They throw it out, of course, and the parrots are furious! They say they'll have the law on the tortoises! Oh, it's great fun!"

"But why don't they begin?" asked Alice. The stork looked at her. "You don't understand," he said, peevishly.

"No, I don't!" said Alice. "You said there would be no quarter, and that it was war to the knife!" "Well, it will be," grumbled the stork, "when once they begin."

"I think I'll go and see some more creatures," said Alice. "Perhaps when I come back they will have made up their minds. What about the penguins?" At this the stork began to smile, and he smiled all up his long bill. "Funny old dears!" he said. "Come along!"

"What queer manners the creatures have," thought Alice, as she took his wing again. She had never seen anything half so funny as the penguins!

They were dressed in long black shiny cloaks, with white lace over their heads and tied under their chins, and they ran round and round a little pond, with their little fins flapping feebly and their webbed feet stumbling on the wet stones. She could not make out what they were running after until she noticed a gentleman penguin sitting calmly on a stone in the middle of the pond, blinking in the sunshine and half asleep. If he half opened one eye and looked at one of the lady penguins who was so distracted with joy that she tumbled into the pond, Alice laughed till she cried. "You poor, dear penguins," she said. "Don't you see how ridiculous you are?"

But the penguins were much too busy to listen.

"Now the eagles," said Alice. But the stork was obstinate. He stood with his long thin legs wide apart, and made a long speech all about where the eagles ought to be. Their place, he said, was in the cage, minding the young eaglets. . . . Eagles always had been chained.

"The zoo was ruled by force. . . . Why have they such strong wings, then?" asked Alice. The stork was very angry, and she added, hastily, "I suppose, if the zoo is ruled by force, the elephant is the king?" She was really only asking for information, but the stork flew into a passion, and she tried to change the subject.

"I should have thought," she said, hurriedly, "that if the eagles were free they could help the parrots in their war against the tortoises." "Nonsense!" said the stork.

"And if the storks are not shut up, why should the eagles be?" Alice was getting bolder. After all, the stork's rage hurt no one but himself. "Nonsense!" said the stork, more loudly.

"But why?" Alice persisted. "Why? Because"—he cleared his throat, and Alice thought he was going to say something very clever—"because storks are storks and eagles are eagles—that's why." And he opened his little wings and half flew, half ran away from her as fast as he could go.

But Alice was not convinced, and she set out to try and find the way to the Eagles by herself, and hear what they had to say about it.

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At present men who pay rates and taxes, who are owners, occupiers, lodgers, or have the service or university franchise, possess the Parliamentary vote.

It is estimated that when this claim has been conceded, about a million and a quarter women will possess the vote in addition to the seven and a half million men who are at present enfranchised.

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

VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1909.

IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE.

A year ago Mrs. Pankhurst was in Holloway Gaol, imprisoned there for three months as a common criminal for issuing a bill calling upon the men and women of London to assemble in Parliament Square and help the Suffragettes to "rush the House of Commons."

On Thursday last a Liberal crowd came to Parliament Square to boo the carriages of the Peers as they passed through to the House of Lords.

Compare the two demonstrations. First, as to provocation. The Peers are at the worst delaying the execution of the popular will, and compelling the Government to dissolve and seek the vote of the electors earlier than they otherwise would have to do.

Secondly, as to the reason for the adoption of this form of protest. Liberals claimed that this demonstration would show the Lords the spontaneous feeling of the people of London; but the people of London, so far as they are electors, will have plenty of opportunity in six or seven weeks of expressing their opinion by the constitutional method of the ballot, and so far as they are not electors Liberals have shown how little they care for their views.

In the third place, consider the methods of summoning the demonstration. The Liberal demonstration was nominally summoned by the "League against the Lords," a body with no officers and no address. Their call was supported by Capt. Hemphill, Chairman of the Political Committee of the National Liberal Club, who bid the people be "up and at the Lords" by coming into the vicinity of the Houses of Parliament, though he ingloriously suggested that they must not approach within one mile of the House—a form of invitation which has become classical in the expression "do not nail his ears to the pump." But does anyone suppose that the anonymous League against the Lords, or even Capt. Hemphill, would have summoned this demonstration if they had not known that they did so with the sanction, perhaps even at the instigation, of Mr. Lloyd

George and other members of the Cabinet? Yet when a crowd of persons assembled in Parliament Square, were these right hon. gentlemen themselves there to control the mob which had been brought together with their connivance? No, they were safely guarded in their own residences or at their clubs. Meanwhile, the crowd, without leaders and without direction, was left to come into conflict with the police. Six of its members were arrested and suffered the penalty of the law. But those who were really responsible escaped scot free. Contrast this unmanly back-door method of dealing with the crowd with the open way of Mrs. Pankhurst. On the night of October 13, and again on other occasions, before and since, she and other leaders of the Women's Social and Political Union have openly identified themselves with the demonstration, and have taken steps to guide and to control the people whom they had called out and to bear with them the full responsibility and risk.

Finally, contrast the miserable fiasco of Thursday last, with its mob of 4,000 or 5,000 ill-disciplined rowdies, with the hundreds of thousands who have gathered at the women's demonstrations, and with the brave band of well-disciplined women led by one who knows her own mind and is prepared to accept responsibility for what she does.

Now, when you point out all this to the average Liberal he will admit, if he is honest, the truth of your assertions, but he will remain entirely unconvinced. If you press him for a reason he will tell you that the men's demonstration was important, because it had potentialities of real force majeure, that everyone of the 4,000 men in the Square was capable of doing damage and of making his will felt by acts of violence. He will compare this with the demonstrations of women, and he will say that the hundreds of thousands of men have been present on those occasions merely as spectators, and as for the women, well, they were only women after all, and that means that they were incapable of doing any real mischief.

Mark first that in this final argument every shred of the hypocritical moralising with which Liberals are wont to regale women has been torn to pieces. It has become frankly no longer a question of right or wrong, but of might—"let the weakest go to the wall." If men demonstrate in Parliament Square it is good, because they are strong; if women it is bad, because they are weak. That is not the morality which we preach in this paper. We believe, and our readers believe, that right is right and wrong is wrong, on higher grounds than those of expediency. In the present instance we go further, and we say that whether it be right or wrong for men, with other means at their disposal, to make a demonstration in force, it is not only the right, but the bounden duty, of women, who possess no constitutional weapon, to use such methods of rebellion. Women are fighting for a great and noble end, they are fighting for the power to protect the weak from oppression, to safeguard the interests of women all over the world, and to guide the destinies of the race. We say that to fight thus, not skulking in the background, hiding themselves behind nonentities, but coming out into the open, taking all the risks, and bearing the full responsibility, is to uphold the greatest traditions of human freedom.

But taking the Liberal objector on his own ground, who shall say that women are less capable of rebellion than men? Women are certainly slower to commence a fight than men, but it is proverbially true that when for some great cause they throw their peaceful principles to the wind they are not a whit less formidable as foes, their greater courage and their greater endurance fully compensating for their weaker physical strength. Turn to the record of the women's agitation during the past four years, and mark how it has grown. First ten women are arrested for making speeches inside the Lobby of the House of Commons, then a score of women are arrested for marching in deputation to Mr. Asquith, then a few score, and lastly, in the present summer, out of the demonstrators over a hundred are taken into custody. At the same time the seriousness of the nature of the encounter has increased. Who shall say that it is going to stop here, either in numbers or in aggressiveness? Who is going to say that if this wicked policy of oppression continues we shall not see, not some thousands of women demonstrating, but scores of thousands, and not the mild, peaceful methods that were adopted in the beginning, but methods of greater and greater violence? And, if this happens, the blame will rest upon those Liberals in high places who have preached the immoral doctrine that might is right, and who, by their tamts, have wantonly incited women to abandon their accustomed restraint and to follow the example which men have set.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence

WHY? By Elizabeth Robins.

PART I.

1. WHY are women of all classes in England banding themselves together to work for political enfranchisement?

2. WHY have women subscribed to one society alone (the Women's Social and Political Union) £50,000 for the cause?

3. WHY will nurses, artists, librarians, writers, teachers, etc., give up congenial work to labour twice as hard on half-pay or none for the Suffrage?

4. WHY will well-bred girls and older women sell Suffrage papers in the street—exposing themselves to the scant civility of the police and the horseplay of rowdies?

5. WHY are they ready to accept the alienation of many of their friends and most of their men folk?

6. WHY, instead of petitioning for justice are women now demanding it?

7. WHY, instead of helping to elect another "member" to go to Parliament and support the Suffrage cause, are women going themselves in thousands to knock at the doors of "the House"?

8. WHY, rather than agree to abandon a dangerous and often health-destroying agitation, have hundreds of women gone to prison?

9. WHY, if these are good tactics, were they not employed before?

10. AND WHY, after all, do women want the vote? These are among the questions I am told people ask. Yet, though I speak under correction, these are questions that I am convinced many persons do not wish to have answered.

Not merely the idle and brainless, but many able and busy men ask only: How shall we silence these women? Instead of seeking information at the hands of experts ready with an answer—of the nurses, the Poor-law guardians, the teachers, the district visitors, the University Settlement folk, women factory inspectors, medical women—when such women come forward with their evidence, what happens? Where they were formerly given smooth speeches they are now spared even that hypocrisy. They are told in more or less direct terms that the authorities do not want their evidence.

I do not pretend to know how much longer the practice will be pursued of refusing a hearing to reputable, public-spirited experts when these experts* are guilty of being women. But I know that only one of the two main results of that refusal is clear to the man in the street. The result that is clear is the stone through the Government office window.

Women and Children should be Seen and not Heard.

The other result—not clear at all and well therefore to point out—is of the same nature as that mischance which, it is whispered at London dinner-tables, recently befell the King. Among the relays of guests visiting His Majesty it is said that there was recently a small princess whose beauty and liveness brought upon her the special notice of her august host. She was given (at some purely domestic luncheon) the seat of honour. Far from feeling any proper embarrassment at her elevation, she made bold to converse at her ease. That slackening of the ancient order wherein so firmly once did sit the dread and fear of kings—this Zeit Tendenz would seem to be apparent even in Royal palaces.

In the middle of an observation on the part of His Majesty the small princess made bold to interrupt. "When I am speaking," said the King, "you must be still." The child sat obediently silent, eating her meal. At last the King, thinking he had been perhaps over-severe with his little kinswoman, patted her kindly on the shoulder: "Now we can listen to you, my dear." "Oh, it is too late now," said the little princess. "I was only going to tell you there was a caterpillar in your salad. But you've eaten it."

A similar experience awaits those who refuse the testimony of the eager eyes and clear, practical brains of "the women who know." But the result is at times even more serious. For the caterpillar is eaten not only by those in authority who decline to be warned. It is eaten by the innocent multitude who have had no chance of being warned. It is for them that we are mainly concerned, rather than for the comfortable minority so ready to be soothed by the anti-Suffragist assurance that might is amiss except with Suffragettes, and that behind the stone-throwing, behind the thousands of orderly meetings, behind the £50,000 subscription is mere hysteria or hoodlumism. The women who say that are not all so ignorant as they give themselves out to be. Many of them, rather than present inconvenient facts, rather than break through some small social convention, will sit as still as the little princess and see the caterpillar go down with the salad. These are the "safe" tactics—warranted to ensure general approval.

Yet, assuming that there are certain persons waiting to have a few of the unpalatable facts pointed out, I will answer seriatim the questions propounded at the beginning of this paper, devoting the greater portion of my

space to consideration of the first, which comprehends the last.

The Root of the Matter.

To the first question on the list (why women of all classes in England are banding themselves together to work for political enfranchisement) there seem to be three answers.

First. Because women have discovered what men said they never would discover—that the higher interests of all classes are the same; and that though the working woman has the more patent and pressing need of this reform, the woman of the upper and middle class has equal if less obvious need of it.

Second. Thinking women have found that to work for the public good without working through the laws is to save one's soul with mere charity-mongering. It is to scratch at the surface instead of striking at the root of evil.

Third. All sorts and conditions of women have come to realise that each class has urgent need of the support of the others in hastening this reform.

Now the reason the reform is urged with less unanimity and vigour in other countries is because the need for it is less widely known by the women in other countries. Why is the need more widely known to English women?

The English Woman's Long Training.

(1) Because for 200 years "the political woman" has been a factor in English social life. (2) Because earlier still, English women of the upper class inherited and carried on a tradition of the responsibility of the fortunate towards the less fortunate. The natural attitude of the great lady, and of the vicar's wife and daughters, has been imitated by those who wish to establish their credit in the community. This survival of a feudal usage has its drawbacks in a tendency among the poor towards servility, and in a tendency among the rich towards condescension. But in that it brought some actual knowledge and a human relationship between class and class, it is by so much wholesomely than indifference, or blind antagonism, that it will probably save England from the more violent encounters between the rich and the poor. The social revolution here will come with less jar and bitterness because the door of communication between the House of Have and the Hut of Have-Not has been kept open—not as in America either irrevocably shut or open only to the men-folk of either camp.

These two factors then, knowledge of the forces at work and a feeling on the part of the upper class woman that it was not permissible for her to stand aloof—albeit a feeling that, however much the times were changed, she was morally still under that old feudal obligation to look after the people about her who needed looking after—these two things formed the foundation upon which the present agitation is based among the more conservative English Suffragists.

It should not be forgotten that if the Woman Suffrage movement owes its commanding proportions to the working woman, the needs and views of these women have been given their publicity and their collective weight through the organising power of educated women. The agitation will prove itself invincible in England because behind the inarticulate army of the working women are these leaders who learned leadership quietly, slowly, through the years that lie behind. For forty years or more women of some leisure and enlightenment have been serving on school boards, as Poor-law guardians, on hospital and organised charity boards, on vestries. Largely then, because of this quiet work done in the past, a work that built up the will to serve at the same time that it brought widespread knowledge of women's disabilities, legal, industrial, domestic—because, having been made to realise the need of women in public affairs (as those of us without the English tradition of responsibility yoked to practical experience have not realised it)—because, in brief, an immense number of women in England know the answers to the questions set at the head of this article, therefore it is that among the great nations England is leading the world in this reform.

(To be continued.)

A BELT OF SUFFRAGETTES.

The Albert Hall meeting on December 10, at which Mr. Asquith, in the presence of other members of the Cabinet, set to propose the essential principles of Liberalism and sound the trumpet call to their followers in the General Election, presents to the women in this movement a great opportunity of reminding Liberals that women claim the right to representation, and the right to determine their own taxation. We must be present, outside the Hall in great numbers, giving away our special leaflet and selling our paper. We propose to make a complete belt round the Hall of hundreds of women, showing by their regalia and badges the colours of the Union, and reminding every male Liberal who possesses the privilege denied to women of attending the political meetings that there are women as well as men to be considered in the forthcoming Liberal programme. We appeal to the members of this Union to answer to this call, and to send their names at once to Miss Jessie Kenney, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. E. P. L.

* Scattered up and down the biographies of public men, in the various collections of letters and political memorabilia is material for a highly significant book, setting forth the extent of the power exercised in the background of (in Greek influence) by the political salon, various opinion astun, doubly did, distributing patronage, making and unmaking men and ministers.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the £100,000 fund. Includes names like Mrs. Mosey, Mrs. M. B. Wright, Mrs. Wildman, etc.

FOR MARY LEIGH DEFENCE FUND—

Table listing names and amounts contributed to the Mary Leigh Defence Fund. Includes names like Miss Young, Miss M. Soar, Miss Birnie, etc.

A few items have been left over for want of space.

RELEASE OF THE BRISTOL PRISONERS.

The hour at which Miss Allen and Miss Wentworth were to be released from Horfield Prison on Friday, November 26, after their fortnight's imprisonment, was kept secret by the authorities. Nevertheless, a crowd of some 200 people assembled outside the prison quite early, ready to welcome them. When the prison doors were flung open a taxicab containing the two women and a wardress dashed out, and at a great pace sped away. It was followed by an equally speedy car containing Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Dove Wilcox, Miss Elsie Hovey, and Miss Dorothy Pethick, and there was much cheering, while pressmen and photographers crowded round.

The Prisoners' Experiences.

Miss Mary Allen and Miss Vera Wentworth relate that on arrival at the prison on Saturday, November 15, they informed the governor that they intended to break all regulations unless they were put in the first division. After being in bed an hour, they were told to rise, dress, and go to see the governor, who showed them a telegram received from the Home Office directing that their clothes were to be taken from them and that they were to be subjected to prison discipline. They were then undressed by wardresses, forced into prison night-dresses, and returned to their cells. Forbidden by the doctor to rise from her bed, Miss Allen refused food until Tuesday at mid-day, when she was taken to the hospital. She was forcibly fed through the nose until the nostrils became so inflamed and obstructed that this was practically impossible; she was then fed through the throat. She was held down by four wardresses, one doctor holding her head back while the other inserted the tube, and this method continued until 4 o'clock on the day before her release. When the tube is being removed from the nostrils, she says, "the feeling is that the whole of the back of the nose and throat is being dragged out." There being some slight obstruction in the throat, the tube was moved up and down by the doctor, and this caused unnecessary and intense pain. Sickened lasted the whole time, with the exception of two days. Although Miss Allen was so ill, she was not released until her time expired, because, it was said, she had not a high temperature. In a private letter to a friend she says: "I had a terrible time in prison, but shall soon be ready to go again."

Miss Vera Wentworth refused to put on prison clothes, explaining that she was not a criminal. She was then forcibly deprived of her mattress and bed-clothes for whole days, and compelled to sit in the prison night-dress in a bitterly cold cell. From 6 a.m. to 7 p.m. the prison re-echoed with the wail of the suffragettes, and for joining in the singing Miss Wentworth was carried to the punishment cell, which was in perpetual twilight. Here she was forcibly fed by the nasal tube. After two days and a half she was removed to a lighter cell where hearing the screams of fellow prisoners in pain, she broke her cell windows and was placed in handcuffs for two days and two nights, her hands being fastened behind her during the day and in front at night. She describes this as diabolical cruelty, since it is impossible to read, sleep, drink, pull up the bodice if they fall down at night. Finding cup-feeding, with four wardresses holding her down, useless, the doctor used the nasal tube, causing great pain and a feeling of sickness. The doctor appears to have been very unskilled, as on several occasions the tube was much too large, while at other times it was too short. On the last three days she was ragged and fed by the stomach tube.

The released prisoners report that Miss Teresa Arnold, as a protest against the way she was being treated, had not fire to the contents of her pillow, and thus smoked herself out. It is reported that she has been sentenced to fifteen days' solitary confinement.

Miss Jessie Lawes, who was released from Horfield Prison on Saturday, November 27, has suffered very much under the operation of forcible feeding. Here is the greatest glory because, though this was her first imprisonment, and she is very highly strung and extremely sensitive, she never gave in, and the ordeal has been terrible. Those who know Miss Lawes personally feel the utmost admiration for her courage and the deepest sympathy with her in the great suffering she has endured, and they devoutly wish her a complete recovery to health and strength again. They know that the spirit which is in her, as it is in the others, will be potent to restore her body to health.

NEWS OF MISS MARSH.

A friend who has paid a visit to Miss Marsh at Winsor Green Gas, Birmingham, gives very sad news of her condition after the cruel treatment to which she has so long been subjected. The visitors were placed in one barred room and Miss Marsh was in the cell for condemned prisoners, so that they could not hear her very distinctly, but they could see that she was very much thinner, and she complained of pain in her chest, of a terrible swollen throat, of a very hot and compressed

feeling in her head, and of a continuous feeling of ravenous hunger. Miss Marsh has been resisting forcible feeding the whole time, and she sends the message, "No surrender! Play up Yorkshire!"

QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE.

The treatment of the Manchester prisoners who were turned out of prison on the evening of November 19 and left to make their way home under great difficulties and in a weak state of health was the subject of a question in the House on Thursday last, November 25. Mr. Keir Hardie asking the Home Secretary for what reason and by whose instructions there was a change in the arrangements made between the governor of the prison and Mr. Tolson, by which the latter should meet his daughter and the other two ladies on Saturday morning at 3.15. Mr. Gladstone replied that the governor, acting on the discretion which had been given to him, decided to discharge those prisoners on Friday night. He arranged the time so as to allow Miss Tolson to catch a train for her home at 10.50, offered to send an officer home to Rochdale with another of the prisoners, while the third was to go to a friend in Manchester for the night. The three prisoners, however, being free to do as they liked on discharge, elected to go together in a cab to the office of the Women's Social and Political Union. He admitted that the governor had arranged the release for Saturday morning, as stated, and said that he changed his plan because he found that Mr. Tolson had broken his promise and commented to the W.S.P.U. the hour of the release.

Mr. Keir Hardie asked whether a notice of the change had been given to Mr. Tolson, or to any of the relatives, and referred to the prison rule which provides that women prisoners under twenty years of age must be sent to an aid society or some responsible person. He also asked if the Home Secretary was aware that the street to which the women were sent by the governor's order was one of the lowest in Manchester. He also stated that Mr. Tolson had been informed in a letter from the deputy governor that the hour of the release was changed in consequence of a Home Office telegram. Mr. Gladstone then admitted that he gave the governor discretion to act according to his judgment and release the prisoners either on Friday or Saturday, but that the Home Secretary's information was inaccurate. To prove his statement, Mr. Keir Hardie then read a letter sent by the deputy governor, which stated that the receipt of a telegram from London made it impossible for him to give definite information as to the release. Mr. Gladstone would say nothing further, and Mr. Keir Hardie then said that the facts would come out later in the law courts.

THE DELIVERER.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence expressed the feelings of many women in the Queen's Hall audience on Monday last when she told of her attitude to the woman's movement a few years ago. Ever since she was conscious she had felt the degradation of woman's position, but had acquiesced, having no leader and no outlook. Then "when I first saw and heard Mrs. Pankhurst, I said, 'Now is the leader arisen; now will our fetters be broken.'" Mrs. Pankhurst was a heaven-sent leader, destined, like Moses, to deliver her people. All this talk against methods of violence was nonsense; nearer. Women must ever rise in steps of defiance until the Government could no longer resist. By this very struggle women were freeing themselves and emancipating the whole idea of womanhood; therefore they were really thankful that the vote had not come three years ago. They would not grudge the price, but would go on to the end. In conclusion, Mrs. Lawrence spoke with deep gratitude of the help given by men supporters, and called upon them to help further in the meetings from which women were excluded.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

Owing to the decision of the Government that, in consequence of the nearness of the General Election, the by-elections will not proceed, the W.S.P.U. has withdrawn its workers from Portsmouth and Uxbridge. In both centres very valuable work has been done. At Portsmouth particularly, large and enthusiastic meetings have been held, and both men and women (especially the latter) have been remarkably quick in grasping the W.S.P.U. by-election policy. Among the notable triumphs of the woman's cause a meeting addressed by Mrs. Massy in the Portland Hall, may be mentioned, where the only opposition came from young Naval officers and an alien, the remainder of the audience being unmistakably on the woman's side. The resolution demanding the immediate release of Charlotte Marsh was passed with three dissentients. It is intended to continue the work already begun, and a number of women are anxious to take part in a permanent campaign. Although the meetings were only advertised by chalking, large crowds assembled on every occasion. At Uxbridge, although daily meetings were held, the request for more was frequently made, and the sympathetic attitude of the people was very marked.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Table listing various events and meetings across different days of the week, including locations like Bath, Birmingham, and London, and names of speakers and organizers.

THE LANCASHIRE PROTEST CAMPAIGN.

A great piece of work lies before the Union in connection with Mr. Churchill's Lancashire campaign. Wherever he goes Suffragettes are to go to, so that he may carry back a message to the Cabinet of the determination of women to have the vote. Judging by the splendid welcome given to Miss Mary Gawthorpe at the Queen's Hall on Monday, and the readiness with which £105 was subscribed towards the expenses of this special work, the members realize its vast importance. Miss Gawthorpe, in a courageous and witty speech, pointed out that there was nothing whatever to fear; that even on the basis of physical force, women were only determined enough. She pointed out that Lancashire sent fifty-five members to Parliament, that

polling took place early in those constituencies, and that the Lancashire result had a tremendous influence upon the rest of the country. That was why it was so important that Lancashire should speak with no uncertain voice. The Lancashire women cotton workers were a tremendous political force, and if they were properly roused they would go on with determination until they attained their end.

THE DRUMMERS' UNION.

Tickets for the entertainment to be given by the Drummers' Union on January 15 at the Bohemian Theatre, Maiden Lane, W.C., can be obtained from Miss J. McLeod, joint hon. sec., at 9, Thornton Avenue, Streatham, S.W. At this entertainment Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Pankhurst will be present, and, for once, they are to be entertained and not to speak. The Union was the idea of Miss H. Roberts, who is now hon. organizer.

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ALAN'S TEA ROOMS, 263, OXFORD STREET. LUNCHEON 1s., 1s. 6d., 12 till 2.30. TEA 4d., 6d., 1s. A Large Room may be Engaged for Meetings, &c. No Charge to Members of the W.S.P.U.

Mrs. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.) Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. A FEW RESIDENT PUPILS RECEIVED. BECHSTEIN STUDIOS, 40, Wigmore Street, W., and Stanley House, Milner Street, Chelsea.

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PROTEST MEETINGS.

PROTEST AT BIRMINGHAM. A Man's Account.

Gentlemen,—Here, in Birmingham, we have had a little mild history. It had been determined to make a special public protest against the torture of Miss Charlotte Marsh by forcible feeding in Winsor Green Gaol.

The seat of Brummagem Majesty, the Victoria Square, was accordingly selected as being the most forbidden spot. By good generalship, the police had been despatched in all directions except that from which the sortie was to be made.

and Miss Capper by an adroit flank movement gained the Square and stormed the sacred eminence of the Victoria Statue. In the few moments' respite, while the police stood helpless in the paralysis of failure, the protest was well and truly made. The women had kept faith with their suffering sister and the people!

The Press has favoured us with a reasonable publicity regarding the ensuing scenes. I will not offer any additions to those accounts. The writer, the mildest of men, was accused of scragging seven policemen, including a deputy chief constable. It is probably a base rumour. Gluttony is a sin.

Now, I wish to put a heavy finger on this Birmingham business. The disturbances and the arrests differ in no wise from those which have occurred in other places, except in one particular—a man had been found who was ready to hit, and hit hard, a policeman in the execution of his duty. The subsequent attitudes of the police and Press are significant. If these attitudes hurt you, gentlemen, as they have hurt me, I shall have achieved something.

The Police.—At first, I was supposed to be drunk; this attitude was abandoned on discovering me seated in the charge office reading Omar. Then that I was mad; the cogency of my arguments on the suffrage did something to remove this impression (and I think at least two policemen are recommending the W.S.P.U. to their wives!). A third suggestion that I was a pugilist, paid by the women to bash the police, received some acceptance; on this account I was refused bail. The general belief was that I was "broke," anyhow, and was defending the women for hire. This conclusion arrived at, I was runningly questioned by several detectives, and there was a constant procession of the force through the charge-room to note the features of the "bruiser" for future guidance. I had fully and properly described myself when charged, but, as I say, bail was refused, and I was put in a cell. At one o'clock, when all my friends had been sent away, I was approached with a promise of release on bail.

If I would "give more particulars about myself, and confess my real reasons for being with the women!" In the eyes of the police then I was drunk, or mad, or a pugilistic ruffian, or broke!

The Press.—Friends have shown or sent to me cuttings wherein I am variously described as "the women's champion," in "plucky defence of the women," and "a squire of dames!" In the eyes of the Press, then, I had done something exceedingly brave and chivalrous!

Gentlemen, the attitude of the police was mean and despicable. The attitude of the Press was TOSH! I am just an ordinary commonplace man, and to suggest anything else is but a further insult laid upon the brave band of women who have done without me, and such as me, in their splendid struggle against injustice and tyranny, scoring to ask the help which should have been given unasked.

The attitude of police and Press is that the natural action of defending women is abnormal. That if I had not been either a ruffian or a gallant I should not have dared! My reply to this is that I have just given myself away—I had the alternative of a month in default of the fine. The fine has been paid and I am free! I was not afraid of prison, but I dared not face the horrible accompaniment, the hunger strike, with its inevitable treatment, torture by forcible feeding. Could I go to prison and do less than the women? I chose the lesser shame of avoiding prison.

I sat in my cell after trial and debated the thing—fine or prison? In all the grand things the women have done, there is no greater testimony to their courage than the cowardice of the burly ruffian or gentle Bayard (which you will) who shrank from a little hunger and a little pain.

If we come to this: We have held our hands so long that when we do strike, languidly and deliberately, the cry arises that we are mad, or drunk, or hired! That there is not one decent man ready to stand by the women and ill-usage! The stronger and the nobler sex! My faith, it is a fine commentary. Well, it is up to you, gentlemen.

BETTE MORGAN.

A MAN'S APPEAL TO MEN.

Mr. Victor D. Duval writes from 37, Park Road, Wandsworth.—

"I am glad to be able to report a most encouraging response to my letter calling upon

men to show in a practical fashion their indignation at the Government's policy of injustice and coercion. Not only from London, but from many other parts of the country, letters have come from men who are ready and willing to help the women fight for political justice.

"One of my correspondents, who describes himself as 'a middle-aged man, who has always hitherto voted Liberal,' ends his letter by saying, 'I place the question of Votes for Women first, and am prepared to sink all other political questions, if necessary. What are we to do?'

"I shall be happy to hear from other men who are willing to co-operate with us in bringing pressure to bear upon the Government with a view to getting the question of women's enfranchisement settled once and for all."

"BY WELSH ONLY."

"Admission by Welsh only" was the rule at the new Jovin Welsh Chapel, Aldersgate, when Mr. Lloyd George was present on Friday, November 26. The rule, however, was broken, for a Welsh speaking member of the W.S.P.U., who was in possession of the password and of a ticket, was thrust away from the door, her ticket being unceremoniously snatched out of her hand. Nothing daunted, she watched the various doors of the building, and when, between an apparently impenetrable cordon of police, the Chancellor walked from his car to the door, she eluded all attempts at capture, slipped through the line and greeted him with the question, "Why talk about the House of Lords being unrepresentative when the House of Commons does not represent a single woman in the country?" Mr. Lloyd George was further reminded by being deluged with leaflets by a W.S.P.U. member, who was unable to get near enough to present him personally with a copy, and the Daily Mail says that after Mr. Lloyd George had entered the chapel, the bundle of leaflets was picked up and distributed to the crowd by the police. As the time drew near for Mr. Lloyd George to leave the meeting, the police were reinforced, and the road was blocked. Nevertheless, as his car passed through the cordon, a woman darted through the crowd and called her message through the window.

MR. SAMUEL AT PADDINGTON. There is no doubt that the organisers of the meeting addressed by Mr. Samuel at Paddington Baths on Saturday, November 27, imagined that they had circumvented the Suffragettes by extracting from them a pledge not to interrupt or disturb the meeting. They were, however, outwitted, and the women were able, without speaking a word, to bring their demand before the notice of Mr. Samuel in a particularly forcible manner. Having given their pledge, three women sat, quietly in the front row facing the centre of the platform. A man supporter of the cause had just been ejected for making a protest, when the women calmly and silently assumed the full regalia of the W.S.P.U. The greatest consternation prevailed on the platform. Samuel's voice died away, and it was evidently with a great effort that he partially recovered his self-possession. As the women had not in any way evaded their pledge, there was no excuse for ejecting them, and the brilliant colours—purple, white, and green—seemed to exercise over Mr. Samuel a fascination from which he was unable to tear his gaze during the remainder of the meeting. In all four men were ejected, with unnecessary violence. Chairs were broken in the scuffle. When Mr. Samuel left he was again accosted by women, and was smothered with Votes for Women literature.

SIR EDWARD GREY AT TROWBRIDGE.

In connection with the visit of Sir Edward Grey to Trowbridge on Wednesday, November 24, a special campaign was held, beginning on the previous Monday with a largely attended open-air meeting, at the close of which the women answered questions for nearly an hour. Further meetings were held on Tuesday, and a great protest meeting took place on Wednesday night, when the audience were somewhat annoyed by the attempts of a few young hoodlums to interrupt. A great deal of interest has been aroused in Trowbridge, and many invitations to come again have been given.

MR. MCKENNA AT ABERGAVENNY.

When Mr. McKenna spoke in the Market Hall, Abergavenny, on Thursday, November 25, the two Monmouthshire organisers met him as he was leaving the hall, and questioned him on Votes for Women and the continued imprisonment of Miss Marsh. A gentleman who accompanied Mr. McKenna, struck one of the women in the mouth. They were escorted to the railway station by a large crowd, and the same man who had struck the woman threatened to throw them on the line if they moved any nearer to Mr. McKenna. From their seat in the railway carriage the women called to the crowd for three cheers for Votes for Women, to which a hearty response was given. Mr. McKenna being bound as he passed. As the train moved out of the station the waiting crowd on their own account called for three cheers for the women.

A USEFUL INVENTION.

The "Ulrica" belt is the invention of a woman, and should fill a want that must have been long felt by everyone who is obliged to walk through wet and muddy streets. The belt is designed so that the skirt can be lifted up at the back when required by simply pulling two rings in the front of the belt. This can be easily done, even by a hand carrying a parcel, or, if desired, by a simple contrivance the cord can be hooked up at each side, and the dress remains shortened for as long as may be necessary. One of the leading belt manufacturers states, "The article is without doubt good, and we should be pleased to do our best for it." The belt is a plain, neat, shaped one of suede leather in black, brown, navy, pruned and green, and costs only 2s. 11d., sent from the Ulrica Belt Co., 9, Regent Street, S.W.

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

Madame Garrud, who, as will be remembered, gave such kindly help at the Women's Exhibition last May, has now started a Self-Defence and Physical Development Club, with branches at Kensington and Piccadilly. A private demonstration, for which tickets will be sent on application to Madame Garrud, 51, Golden Square, W., will be given on Tuesday evening, December 7, at 8.15 p.m.

Many of the readers of this paper may like to take advantage of the generous offer of the Oatine Company, 362, Denman Street, S.E. In order to introduce their soap, which is of a very fine and pure quality, they are giving away a large number of visitors' tablets, and one of these, together with a booklet, "Beauty Hints," and a delightful little box of eight different samples, will be sent free to readers mentioning Votes for Women, and enclosing 5d. to cover postage.

Perhaps the most remarkable features of the Parliament are summed up in the appearance of the Socialist member, the issue with the House of Lords, and the challenge of the Suffragettes. Nothing is more striking than the fact that for many weeks, and even on Budget day, the Chamber was closed to the public in fear of her disturbing presence.

—The Observer.

ON BUYING A BRINSMEAD

The true lover of music will always demand in his piano quality of tone, responsiveness of touch, and excellence of material and workmanship. These latter qualities are an important point because they secure durability, and the genuine pianist is as deeply attached to his instrument as a violinist is to his violin. Beautiful lustre of case, artistic decoration, gilding, and carving, certainly enhance the appearance of a Brinsmead Grand, but they are matters of secondary importance.

The worth of a piano lies in the music which can be extracted from it, and it is the voice of the Brinsmead that has first claim upon our labours. Hence the lowest-priced Brinsmead Model has the true, distinctive Brinsmead tone. The moment a chord is struck, you can tell from its full, rich quality, by the long, true "singing note," that it is an instrument of no common grade. Its touch is no less delightful, while, like the good violin, its tones become mellower with age.

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THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

General Organiser - Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 11, B. 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

There remain still a few days before the memorable Albert Hall meeting of next Thursday. Members and friends are asked to do everything in their power to make the meeting known, and are reminded that in addition to Mrs. Pankhurst's speech, all the women who have gone through the dung strike during Mrs. Pankhurst's absence will be specially decorated by her, and that as it is expected that Mrs. Leigh's case against the Home Secretary and others will have been heard on that day, this meeting holds out to be of exceptional interest.

Selfridge's GIFT THINGS OF UTILITY AND BEAUTY are here in their thousands, suggesting to the uncertain giver just what will be most acceptable to that esteemed friend with whom the bond of friendship it is good to strengthen and renew.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Rooms, Holiday Homes, Etc. APARTMENTS. - 93, Nottingham Place, Baker Street, W. Large front door suite. Sitings, 3 bedrooms, private bath; also smaller bedroom. Board optional. Tel: 3088, Paddington.

FLOUCTION. - MISS GRETA GARNIER I teaches thorough Voice Culture and Spelling for Public Speaking; Reading; Physical Culture; Gesture; Diction; Speech Privately Coached. - 92, Wigmore Street, W.

MISCELLANEOUS. JAPANESE Magic Finger-nail Polish, Culo. No pads, powder, liquid, or paste. John Strang Winter, the Anthorpe, writes: "We are all enchanted with Culo." Post free, 1s. 1d. - Belvoir and Co., New Southgate, N.

STRONG BICYCLE (Humber), suitable for country use, for Sale. Price to a Suffragette, 20s. only. Apply, M. A. K., Votes for Women Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

ALFRED DAY, LADIES' TAILOR. Coat & Skirt, in Serge, Tweed, or Cloth, from £2 2s., made to order.

London and Home Counties. Members are reminded of the meeting for City men next Monday, at 1.30 p.m., at Winchester House, Old Broad Street, when the Earl of Lytton will speak. They are asked to bring this to the notice of as many City men as possible.

West of England and South Wales. The events of the last three weeks have done untold good in Bristol and the city is rejoiced to hear before the newspapers have been full of Votes for Women, and the W.S.P.U. has now a political position which it has never previously had.

EDINBURGH AND S.E. SCOTLAND. On Wednesday a very hearty welcome was given at the two weekly At Home to Mrs. Archdale and Miss Adela Pankhurst. The Oak Hall, Edinburgh, was crowded in the afternoon, when Mrs. Archdale gave an interesting account of her progress and progress in Dundee, and Miss Adela Pankhurst's explanation of the militant tactics and their necessity met with much applause and sympathy.

DUDDIE. The event of this week is the opening of the new shop at 33, Union Street. Members and friends are invited to come and offer their services there. Meetings are being held at the office, 5, Melville Place.

YORKSHIRE. In order to advertise the Leeds meeting on December 16, members are working under captains throughout the town. Tickets (1s., 6d., and 3d.) and information can be had at the office, 5, Melville Place.

NASAL CATARRH and all affections of CHEST, THROAT and LUNGS. The safe, speedy and radical cure of nasal catarrh, chronic coughs, acute cold, sore throat, that stoppages, chocking, feeling, phlegm, accumulation, hoarseness, bronchitis, asthma, blood-spitting, difficult breathing, and all diseases of chest, throat and lungs can be effected with certainty by Veno's Lightning Cough Cure.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND A GOOD LAUNDRY. Good Work and Good Wages.

BEACONSFIELD LAUNDRY. 19, Beethoven St., Kilburn.

ERNEST M. WATTS, 444, High Road, CHISWICK. Anatomical Boot Maker.

E. DAY & CO. French Cleaners and Art Dyers.

Florist. Mrs. STICKLAND, 323, High Road, Chiswick.

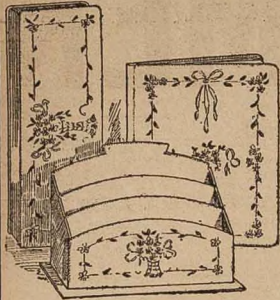
DERRY & TOMS, Kensington High St., W.

FOREIGN FANCY DEPARTMENT.

CHRISTMAS GIFTS

In Exceptional Variety

AT
Moderate Prices.



BLOTTER, etc.
Buff Corded Silk, also Embroidered with Silk. Pale Blue predominating. Blotter, 10 x 8, 2/11.
Rack, 8 x 7, 3/11.
Lace Boxes, 12 x 9, 13 x 9, 14 x 10
3/11 5/11 6/11



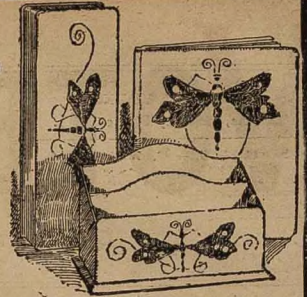
REAL POLISHED CRUSHED.
Morocco Collapsible Travelling Frames. In Oval or Square. Colours: Helio, Grey, Green.
Midst size .. 2/6
Carte-de-Visite .. 3/6
Cabinet size .. 7/3



HEAVY HALL-MARKED SILVER TRINKET BOX.
5 in. long, 1/11



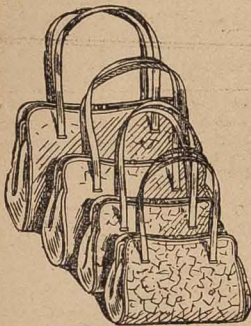
THE JOHN BILLIKEN SERIES.
In Dull Solid Brass.
Ash Tray 3/11, Inkstand 3/11, Card Box 6/11, Watch Stand 3/6, Pin cushion 1/-, 2/11, Match Slide 2/6, 2/11.



THE DRAGON FLY SERIES.
Embroidered Peacock Colours on Natural Coloured Linen. Blotter, 10 x 8, 2/11. Rack, 8 x 6, 2/11. Glove Box, 12 x 4, 3/11. Lace Box, 11 x 6, 4/11; 15 x 9, 7/11.



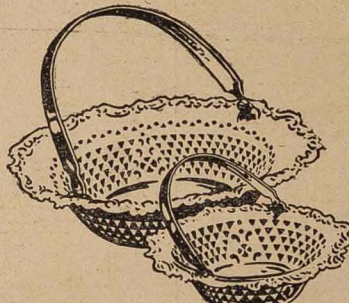
WHITE CELLULOID HAIR HAT, OR CLOTHES BRUSH.
Best Bristles, 1/- each. Any 4 for 3/11. These are Real Bargains.



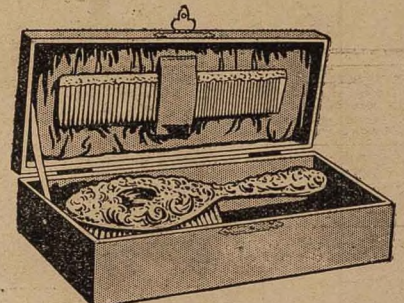
UNEQUALLED VALUE. REAL BEAVER LEATHER BAGS.
As illustration, in Helio, Grey, Brown, Green, and Blue.
6 x 4 7 x 5 8 x 5 9 x 5
2/11 4/11 5/11 6/11



DAINTY CHINA CLOCK.
Rose Decoration. Guaranteed 2 years. Complete with calendar for 1910. 8 inches high. 2/11.



ELECTRO-PLATE ON NICKEL SILVER SWEET DISHES.
4 in., 1/3; 6 in., 2/6. These are much under the usual price.



EXTRAORDINARY VALUE. ELECTRO-PLATED HAIR BRUSH AND COMB.
in case. Colours, Dark Green or Purple, 5/11. Or Gents' Military Brushes in case, Hammered Pattern, 7/9.

SALE of Important STOCKS

Monday, December 6th, and following days.

FURS. The fine Stock of Beautiful Skins of Messrs. L. H. LEISEROWITZ & Co., Wholesale & Manufacturing Furriers, 7, Ludgate Square, E.C., amounting to £1,718, having been submitted for competition by Public Tender, William Owen begs to announce that he has been successful in securing Lots 1 and 2, the largest portion (nearly two-thirds of the whole), and which includes the whole of the Sables, Skins and Tails, to the value of £1,105, at a Discount of 64½ per cent. off wholesale prices. The Lots consist of Rich Russian and American Sables (Natural and Topped) Real Seal, Electric Seal, Ermine, and various Skins and Tails.

SILVER. The Stock of Samples of an English Manufacturer (who for 30 years made exclusive designs for Howell & James), amounting to over £1,100 at a Discount of 33½ per cent. off Wholesale List Prices, consisting of Solid Silver and English Cut Glass Articles of every description suitable for presents. This Stock has been purchased through Mr. Bertolli, who for 40 years bought for the Silver Department at the late firm of Howell and James, Regent Street.

CHINA. The Stock of Messrs. E. ARTUR & Co., Ltd., of 90, Hatton Garden, E.C., amounting to over £700, consisting of French Fireproof China and Earthenware, at a Discount of 54 per cent. off Wholesale Prices.

CARPETS. A portion of the Stock of Messrs. WOODWARD, GROSVENOR & Co., Kidderminster, Carpet Manufacturers, bought under the hammer at 25 per cent. under the cost of production, consisting of Axminster and Brussels Carpets, in Body, Border and Stairs, and in Squares ready for use.

All the above Interesting Purchases will be offered for

SALE on MONDAY, DECEMBER 6th, 1909, at 10 a.m.

WILLIAM OWEN, Westbourne Grove, W.

CATALOGUES ON APPLICATION.