

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

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The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

## DEDICATION.

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

## THE OUTLOOK.

As the day of the opening of Parliament draws near the greatest interest attaches to the pronouncement of the King's Speech. What prospective legislation will be foreshadowed? Is the Government going to put up a real fight against the House of Lords? And, finally, is Woman Suffrage to be definitely accepted by the Ministry? Upon their decision upon these points the fate of the Liberal Government hangs. It has admittedly lost prestige during the three years it has been in office. Will it persist in holding out against the obviously right demand of women to obtain the franchise? Will it continue in its attempt to imprison women for seeking their constitutional right, or will it recognise that the time has now come when justice has to be done? Upon the shoulders of the members of the Cabinet who have to make this

decision the gravest responsibility rests. If they choose wrong they will be subject to the censure of the members of their own party to-day who would save them from destruction, and of the criticism of posterity, which will rightly judge the folly of their action.

### Women Will Act.

While members of the Women's Social and Political Union look with intense interest to the declaration contained in the King's Speech, they know full well that it is not in the power of the Liberal Government to withhold Woman Suffrage from the women of the country except for a little space of time. The women know that they themselves have the power to wring their enfranchisement from a reluctant Cabinet, and this at no distant date. The decision of the Government will be known on Tuesday next, and on the following Wednesday week (February 24) a Parliament of Women will meet in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, when action will be decided upon. If the King's Speech is favourable, that action will take the nature of agitation in furtherance of the Government's proposal. If that declaration is hostile, then a deputation will immediately set forth to interview the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. The deputation will have behind it the hearty support, not merely of the members of the Women's Social and Political Union, whose numbers are increasing by hundreds every week, but of all the thinking mass of the people of the country, both men and women, who see that the continued refusal to women of their constitutional rights cannot any longer be maintained.

### At the Bye-elections.

Meanwhile, in Scotland, at four bye-elections the W.S.P.U. are bringing increasing pressure to bear upon the Government by opposing the Liberal nominees until such time as the Government show that they have decided to yield to the claims of women. In every one of these constituencies where the campaign has already commenced women are urging the electors to "keep the Liberal out." Wherever they go they are meeting with interest and support, and their power of influencing the result is being recognised. In all these cases the Government majority is large, and it will be a matter of difficulty to reduce it below vanishing point, but the Government are in so precarious a position that defeat even at one of these four constituencies will be a serious blow to their prestige, already weakened and decaying. The electors in each Scottish constituency have, therefore, a grave duty placed upon them to support women in their claim for political rights.

### Educational Work.

Meanwhile, the educational campaign of the W.S.P.U. is proceeding with greater vigour than ever before. A glance at the programme of events on the next page shows that, in addition to the scores of meetings being held in the bye-

elections, which are only arranged a few days beforehand, an elaborate programme is foreshadowed for the current week. Last Monday, in the Queen's Hall, a great audience listened to Mr. Granville Barker's declaration that Votes for Women was a necessity for the people of this country. In Torquay, on the same evening, Mrs. Pankhurst had an enthusiastic reception. Up and down the country, at the various "at homes" and meetings held by the W.S.P.U., striking support has been given to the women in their agitation. Other societies are finding the same result. On Friday last the Actresses Franchise League found the room in Clifford's Inn far too small to accommodate those who wished to be present, and hearty sympathy was evoked on every hand.

#### Heckling Cabinet Ministers.

Cabinet Ministers have been active in speaking during the past week, and many of them have been approached by women on the question of their enfranchisement. Mr. Gladstone, seen at Leeds, referred a deputation to Mr. Asquith's promise of the new Reform Bill. This answer being entirely unsatisfactory, he was subjected to severe heckling at his meetings. Mr. Churchill could give no satisfactory reply to the women who dogged his footsteps during his visit to Newcastle. Lord Carrington found at Slough that there was no escape from the ever-recurring question, "What will the Government do for the women?" Mr. McKenna at Blaenavon suffered a similar fate.

#### Features of this Issue.

Owing to the increase of size of this paper from sixteen pages to twenty-four pages, we are pleased to be able to present to our readers a number of additional features. Mr. Laurence Housman contributes the first of three articles dealing with the Physical Force argument. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence calls for additional workers to fill the engagements which are being demanded on every side. Miss Christabel Pankhurst writes "An Open Letter to M.P.'s." On another page will be found a verbatim report of the speech which Mr. Forbes Robertson delivered last week at the Queen's Hall. Two pages are devoted to "Some Facts for the Scottish Electors," which will be found interesting to those whose acquaintance with the movement is of recent growth. We hope that those of our readers who appreciate this addition will do their part in introducing the paper to their friends and acquaintances and in supporting it in every available way.

— THE —

## WOMEN'S PARLIAMENT

WILL BE HELD IN THE

**CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER,**

ON

**Wednesday, Feb. 24, at 7.30.**

**CHAIR: MRS. PANKHURST.**

**TICKETS** (women only), **1s.** and **6d.**, from the Ticket Secretary N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

FROM THE HALL

### A DEPUTATION

Will proceed to the HOUSE OF COMMONS to interview the PRIME MINISTER.

### ANNOUNCEMENTS.

To-night in London there will be the usual At Home at 8 p.m. in the St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street, to which all members and friends are welcome. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will be in the chair, and Miss Evelyn Sharp will address the audience. Previous to the meeting there will be an organ recital. At Homes are also held during the week in various parts of the country, particulars of which will be found on pages 338 to 340. Admission is free, and a cordial welcome is extended to all. Among the special meetings during the week are those addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst at Eastbourne on Wednesday, by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the Colston Hall, Bristol, on Friday, and by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Victoria Rooms, Bristol, on Monday. Miss Christabel Pankhurst is at present in the Glasgow constituency, and on Friday she speaks at the Sun Hall, Liverpool, and on Saturday in the Public Hall at Preston. In the early part of next week Mrs. Pankhurst will go to Glasgow and Edinburgh to take charge of the bye-elections there. On February 22 Miss Christabel Pankhurst will address a meeting in the Public Baths Hall, Wimbledon, at 8 p.m., Miss Evelyn Sharp in the chair. Committee-rooms have been taken at 6, Victoria Crescent, Wimbledon, and workers are wanted for chalking, canvassing, etc. They should apply to Miss Clarkson, at the Committee-rooms. Further particulars will be found in the London report, page 338.

#### Monday at the Scala Theatre, London.

Owing to the fact that the Queen's Hall had been engaged many months in advance for Monday afternoon, February 15th, by the Royal Academy of Music, the Women's Social and Political Union has been obliged to change its rendezvous for the At Home for that day from the Queen's Hall to the Scala Theatre, in Charlotte Street. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be in the chair, and Mr. Touche and Mr. Pethick Lawrence will also address the audience. The Scala Theatre is a few minutes' walk from the Queen's Hall, the best way to go being up Mortimer Street. The nearest station on the Tube is Tottenham Court Road Station, and on the Underground, Portland Road, from either of which it is only a few minutes' walk. On February 22nd and subsequent Mondays the At Home will be held as usual in the Queen's Hall.

#### Lectures in the St. James's Hall.

Great interest attaches to the opening of Parliament on Tuesday, February 16th, when the King's Speech will be read. Woman Suffragists are looking eagerly to see whether there will be any mention of Woman Suffrage for the forthcoming session. In the St. James's Hall in the evening, at 8 p.m., Miss Pankhurst will take the chair for a lecture by Miss Chrystal Macmillan, dealing with the question of "The Opening of Parliament." Tickets for the lecture may be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., at 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d.

#### Miss Elizabeth Robins.

On the following Tuesday, February 23, at 8 p.m., in the St. James's Hall, Miss Elizabeth Robins will deliver a lecture

dealing with the question of "Shall Women Work?" Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will take the chair at eight o'clock. Tickets, price 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### The Women's Parliament.

A week after the opening of the Parliament of Men at Westminster a Women's Parliament will be held by the Women's Social and Political Union, in the Caxton Hall. The date fixed is Wednesday, February 24th, and the time 7.30 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pankhurst. A deputation will go from this meeting to interview the Prime Minister on the question of the Enfranchisement of Women. Tickets for this meeting, which is for women only, can be obtained at 1s. and 6d. from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

#### Self-Denial Week.

Arrangements are being made for a Self-Denial Week, which will take place from February 27th to March 6th. Members and friends of the Union are invited to assist in every possible way to make the sum taken this year a valuable support to the funds of the Union. Special collecting cards are being sent out to members and subscribers of the Union.

#### Exhibition in the Prince's Skating Rink.

On page 330 is an account of the progress of the arrangements for the great Exhibition in the Prince's Skating Rink from May 13th to 26th. As it is important that all preliminary arrangements should be made in the course of the next few days, any friends who are able to help are invited to correspond with the Exhibition Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C., at the earliest opportunity. In spite of the large number of workers who have come forward to help the Union, the need for further assistance was never greater than it is to-day. We have to work four bye-elections in Scotland simultaneously, to find stewards for our ever-growing At Homes both in London and the provinces, to push our paper VOTES FOR WOMEN, and to meet the demands pouring in upon us from every part of the country for work. All these activities provide scope for women of all kinds of abilities. None should stand outside the movement now, while its rapid growth demands their co-operation.

#### The Woman's Press.

A new brooch is on sale by the Woman's Press, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C. The design, which is in silver, represents the broad arrow. The price is 1s. 6d.

### PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Feb. 11	Edinburgh, Reception, Soc. of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
Thur. 11	Paignton, At Home, Masonic Hall	Miss Elsie Ball, Mrs. Hook	4 p.m.
	Aberdeen, At Home, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Joachim	8 p.m.
	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Socialist Society	Miss Mary Phillips	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan, Miss McPhun	8 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James's Hall	Miss Evelyn Sharp, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., and others	8 p.m.
	Darwen, Debating Society Wood Green, Unity Hall	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, Election meeting	Bowes Park W.S.P.U. Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Fri. 12	Dartmouth, Open-air meeting Chiswick, 21, Brandenburgh Road, Sewing Meeting	Miss Elsie Ball, Miss Mills	3 p.m. 4.30 p.m.
	Aberdeen, Speakers' Class, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Joachim	8 p.m.
	Plymouth, Treville St. Hall	Miss E. Ball and others	8 p.m.
	Liverpool, Sun Hall, Kensington, Public meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Crouch End, "Ye China Cup," Park Rd., Hornsey W.S.P.U.	Miss Dugdale	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Men's League	Miss Macaulay and others	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Bristol Street	Miss Gladice Keevil	8 p.m.

### PROGRAMME OF EVENTS—(Continued.)

Fri. 12	Manchester, At Home, Onward Bldgs., Deansgate	Mrs. Duncan	
	Bristol, Colston Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss A. Kenney	
Sat. 13	Glasgow, At Home, Charing Cross Hall	Mrs. Drummond, Miss Conolan	3 p.m.
	Southport, At Home, Town Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3.5 p.m.
	Bristol, At Home, Victoria Rooms	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Preston, Public Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
Sun. 14	Bristol, David Thomas Memorial Church	Mrs. Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	Birmingham, Erdington Labour Church	Dr. Helena Jones	8 p.m.
Mon. 15	Aberdeen, At Home, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Joachim	3 p.m.
	London, At Home, Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street	G. A. Touche, Esq., F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.5 p.m.
	Bristol, At Home, Large Victoria Rooms	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Manchester, Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Lecture	Mrs. Duncan	8 p.m.
	Braford, Workers' meeting, 61, Manningham Lane	Miss Marsh	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Workers' meeting, 100, Hanover Street	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
Tues. 16	Chelsea, 4, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road	Preliminary mtg. for Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition	5.30 p.m.
	London, Lecture, St. James's Hall	Miss Chrystal Macmillan	8 p.m.
	Liverpool, At Home, 48, Mount Pleasant	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8.10 p.m.
	Wood Green	Miss Ada Wright	
Wed. 17	Birmingham, Factory gate meeting	Mrs. B. Smith	1.30 p.m.
	Birmingham, At Home, Edgbaston Assembly Rooms	Miss Gladice Keevil	3.30 p.m.
	Kensington, At Home	Mrs. Pankhurst	4.6 p.m.
	Wolverhampton, At Home, St. Peter's Institute	Miss Gladice Keevil	7.30 p.m.
	Preston, Members' meeting, 41, Glovers' Court	..	7.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, Green Café	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	Leytonstone, Fillebrook Lit. and Debating Society	Miss H. Lightman	8 p.m.
	Leeds, Whist Drive, Arts Club	..	8 p.m.
	Plymouth, Market Place	Miss Ball, Miss Howey	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 25, Oakley Street	Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8.30 p.m.
	Hampstead, Town Hall, Actresses' Franchise League	Miss Janette Steer	8 p.m.
	Newcastle-on-Tyne, At Home	Mrs. Massy	
	Harrow, Drawing-room mtg.	Miss Barrett	
	Leyton, Certificated Assistant Teachers' Association	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	
Thur. 18	Birmingham, Factory gate meeting	Mrs. B. Smith	1.30 p.m.
	Edinburgh, Reception, Soc. of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
	Glastonbury, Assembly Rms., Women's meeting	Miss Annie Kenney	3.30 p.m.
	Paignton, Masonic Hall	Miss Howey, Miss E. Ball	4.6 p.m.
	Morley, Co-operative Hall	Miss Crocker, Miss Marsh, Miss Hartop	7.30 p.m.
	Glastonbury, Public meeting, Assembly Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	London, At Home, St. James's Hall, Great Portland Street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen, At Home, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
	Wood Green, Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	
Fri. 19	Birmingham, Factory gate meeting	Mrs. B. Smith	1.30 p.m.
	Harrington Rd., S.W., Queen's Gate Hall, Debate	Miss Helen Ogston, B.Sc., v. George Calderon, Esq.	3 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen, Speakers' Class, 41½, Union Street	Miss Flatman, Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Plymouth, Treville St. Hall	Miss Howey and others	8 p.m.
	Twickenham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Hampstead, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Barrett	
	Edinburgh, Merchiston Rms, Miss Begbie's At Home	Miss Macaulay, Dr. Elsie Inglis	
Sat. 20	Glasgow, At Home, Charing Cross Hall	Miss Conolan	3 p.m.
	Barnt Green, Friends' Meeting House	Lady Isabel Margesson, Mrs. Kerwood, Miss Gladice Keevil	8 p.m.

In addition to the above, a large number of meetings are held in each of the Bye-elections (Forfarshire, Central Glasgow, South Edinburgh, and Hawick Burghs), the arrangements for which are made from day to day.

#### IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

Feb. 22	Wimbledon Public Baths Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
23	London, St. James's Hall, Lecture	Miss Elizabeth Robins	..
23	Birmingham Free Trade Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	..
24	London, Caxton Hall	Women's Parliament	..
Mar. 1	Newcastle-on-Tyne, Town Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
2	Glasgow, Athenaeum	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
4	Edinburgh, The Synod	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
24	Manchester Free Trade Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss M. Gawthorpe	..
My13-26	Prince's Skating Rink	Exhibition and Sale of Work	..

THE "PHYSICAL FORCE" FALLACY.

BY LAURENCE HOUSMAN. Part I.

Opponents of Woman Suffrage put forward as their final and most irrefutable argument against the admission of women to the franchise that as the State rests in the last resort on physical force, and as women cannot fight, they have therefore no right to share in the making of the laws by which the State is governed. And this argument is put forward in a civilisation burdened by enormous problems which have mainly arisen out of our sedulous preservation of the physically unfit from their natural extinction under pressure of the physically strong. The State, that is to say, has found that it can only maintain its polity by extending to the weak as well as to the strong the rights and protection of citizenship. Had it not done so, society, as we know it now, would never have come into existence; and, surely, the anxious endeavour of every community with any claim to civilisation to give protection to the weak and frail among its members, even when desperately struggling for existence amid hostile surroundings, might well give pause to those who so boldly assert this unregenerate doctrine of physical force. They are, in fact, only giving utterance to a half-truth, or rather so inverting the truth as to change it into falsehood; for it would be almost as reasonable to say that a man's legs determine his course in life, because he stands and goes upon them and not upon his head, as to assert that physical force is the fundamentally deciding factor in the life of a community. What those who exalt physical force to this position of primacy in the affairs of men fail to see is that, like certain chemical substances, it only becomes effective in a given combination: left to itself, it is as sluggish and as incapable of initiative as a certain recently discovered gas named argon; and as the recently discovered gas of our anti-Suffragist friends. I shall hope to demonstrate in the following pages, its properties and its limitations.

The True Function of the State.

It will be generally conceded, I think, that sheer physical force, the brute force of wild beast and savage man, impelled by hunger or greed, was the first external incentive to communal life, being, in fact, the original evil which primitive society set itself to withstand. And in the putting of two and two together, with a mutual trust and for a common end, man discovered that he possessed strength at compound interest, and out of this discovery the State or commonwealth came into being. Its real basis, therefore, lay in man's reasonable apprehension of the advantages to be derived from combination; and with combination and consent to common action for the general good there came into play a new force—not physical, but economical. Two men fighting back to back, sure of each other's support, make a better defence against odds than two who fight independently. But the back-to-back position can only be taken up where there is mutual trust. And in that simple formula lies the secret which States not only can, but must, afford to deal justly by the weak as well as by the strong. Society thrives on the economy of its forces; economy depends on combination; combination depends on mutual trust; and from the general unity of the component parts may be broadly measured the strength of the whole.

In the long run the State which uses its resources with economy, self-discipline, and harmony prevails over States, often numerically stronger, which employ their energies in waste and luxury and discord: and that State is always strongest, other things being equal, which sets the welfare of the whole above the welfare of the individual. I need not

labour a point which past records have proved. The most decisive events in the world's history are those victories which have been won by the few over the many, because their national ideal was more passionate, more absorbing, and more communal than that of their more numerous or more wealthy opponents. It is quite true that physical force is necessary to produce action; but its application through a wisely adjusted State resembles the application of a given unit of power by means of a lever, infinitely outweighing in result the same unit when applied with no such mediary aid. And just as your lever is the essential medium for efficiency, so is your commonwealth. As long as it holds together and is properly balanced it has a tremendous "pull," but only if welded without fault or flaw into a homogeneous structure can it be really effective; and that which gives to this communal instrument its full balance and power is the consent of all its component parts to take their share of the strain that is imposed. It is, therefore, a far heavier blow to the welfare and power of a State for the people to lose confidence in the justice of its laws than to lose confidence in its defences or in its army. In the first case it is the moral force of the State which is called in question; in the second it is merely the physical; and while doubt as regards the latter leads only to reorganisation, doubt as regards the former leads to revolution—a curious commentary on the doctrine that physical force is the true basis of government!

Of physical force amenable to reason it is evident that we have no cause to be afraid. The position of the women's movement to-day demonstrates how the hardest prejudices and the most selfish interests begin to give way when once a hearing is accorded. And so in the world's history has every great cause won from a minority to a majority through the conversion of the physical by the moral power.

If, then, it is only physical force divorced from right and reason which we are bidden to fear, let us see where and in what proportion that kind of force shows itself under present conditions of civilisation. It shows itself on occasions of great disaster, such as the destruction of a city by earthquake, when, for a time, the institutions of law and order are shaken and disorganised; and it shows itself then, not in a majority, but in a small minority, admittedly the very scum of humanity, who, to do their work successfully, must hide themselves from the light of day and run at sight of their fellow-man. Even, therefore, while cataclysm lasts, it can only maintain a precarious existence, and has no binding principle by which it can prolong life after the cataclysmic conditions are over. Lacking the moral standard which alone is capable of inspiring mutual trust, it has not sufficient economic force to impose its will on society.

In Moments of Panic.

Unsocial physical force shows itself again in moments of panic, when men are thinking only of self-preservation. But there already, as we have things now, and quite irrespective of political enfranchisement, the women, the children, and the physically weak go to the wall, and are trampled under the feet of men. But when the panic is over the men are by no means proud of their exploit or anxious for their physical prowess in the pursuit of the "ultima ratio" to be sounded abroad. A certain French aristocrat, who beat his way out of a burning charity bazaar with a walking-stick through crowds of struggling women, risked his life afterwards by fighting a duel in order to give the lie to the assertion that he had found salvation upon this "ultimate basis," which we are asked to regard as the final sanction of government. And if the individual finds the evil of that doctrine sufficient only unto the day, still less can it become for the State in its higher evolution a permanent basis of conduct.

(To be continued.)

HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

XLIII.—The First Procession of the Constitutional Suffragists.

The year 1907 began, as we saw last week, with twenty-one women in prison. Before January was out, a meeting, addressed by the Home Secretary, at Leicester, had been interrupted by members of the W.S.P.U. protesting against the imprisonment of their comrades and demanding a Government pledge to introduce woman suffrage; and in February protests were made at the meetings of Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Lloyd George.

Meanwhile, the Suffragettes were also attacking the Government in another and perhaps more potent manner. Early in January a vacancy occurred in the Parliamentary representation of North-East Derbyshire owing to the death of Mr. Bolton, the Liberal member. In order to avoid a three-cornered contest the Liberals offered the seat to the Miners, and the Yorkshire Miners' representative, Mr. W. E. Harvey, therefore stood as a Liberal-Labour candidate. Having come forward as a Government nominee, Mr. Harvey was, of course, opposed by the Suffragettes, and, though he succeeded in winning the seat, the Liberal majority was reduced from 1,669 at the General Election to 729. The figures were: January 30, 1907:—

W. E. Harvey (Miners, L.).....6,644 | Dr. Court (U.).....5,915

At the General Election they had been:—

T. D. Bolton (L.).....7,665 | Dr. Court (U.).....5,896

And now the thoughts of all women who wanted votes were anxiously turned towards the opening of Parliament and the King's Speech, in which the Government's legislative programme for the forthcoming year would be made known.

How hopeless, how well-nigh useless, the majority of Suffragists had thought was any demonstration in support of Women's Enfranchisement when, but a year before, the Women's Social and Political Union had held its first procession and "Women's Parliament" in the Caxton Hall! How times had changed, and even the most old-fashioned of the Suffragists were ready to copy the earlier doings of the Suffragettes! They, too, must do something to prove they really wanted the vote; they, too, must march in procession through the London streets. So the non-militant Suffragists organised a procession for February 9, three days before the opening of Parliament, and decided to march from the Achilles Statue at Hyde Park Corner to the Exeter Hall, Strand, where a meeting should be held. A second meeting was to be held simultaneously in Trafalgar Square, under the auspices of the Women's Northern Franchise Demonstration Committee, who, with the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, the Women's Liberal Federation, the British Women's Temperance Association, and the Women's Labour League, joined in forming the procession.

It was a dismal, wet Saturday afternoon on which the women set off on their march, but in spite of the weather the procession was over half a mile in length. At the Exeter Hall the principal speaker was Israel Zangwill, the novelist, who, in what he described as his "maiden speech as a politician," delivered that wonderfully clear and witty justification of the militant tactics and of the independent anti-Government policy of the W.S.P.U.: "One and one are two," which has since been published as a pamphlet and is so well known to us all. This speech, which created a great sensation, was warmly welcomed by the vast majority of the women present, but there was a small section of leading Liberal ladies on the platform who, in spite of the fact that they had themselves invited Mr. Zangwill to address them, now audibly expressed dissent and disapproval, and interrupted him almost as though they had been Suffragettes and he a Cabinet minister. In the same way they had objected earlier in the meeting when Keir Hardie, whom they had also themselves invited to speak, advised women to put the question of their own enfranchisement before all Party consideration.

(To be continued.)

TREASURER'S NOTE.

We have wanted a Bye-election for a long time. Now we have four all at once. If they are to be fought efficiently they will cost £800 to the Union. For we reckon with all our economy and with all our advantages it takes quite £200 to keep Votes for Women "on top" at a Bye-election. And of course we must be on top from first to last, or we should lose our pride in our own traditions. Glasgow and Edinburgh will raise the money within their own borders, for there we have established centres. But Forfarshire and Hawick Burghs are new ground. And so everybody who can will have to help a bit, and I know they will.

We have done splendidly this week. I am very proud of our Contribution List. The 1s. per week fund for a new Organiser started by Miss Regan is now complete. A similar fund has been started by Miss Russell. I want you to read her letter on page 328. Another Organiser enters upon her training this week. We could do with twenty more if they were all the right sort and if we had the money guaranteed in this way.

We are growing in every direction with amazing rapidity. The progress already made since the year began is wonderful, and quickens ambition and inspires utmost endeavour.

E. P. L.

Contributions to the £50,000 Fund.

February 3 to February 9.

Table with columns for names and amounts (£ s. d.). Includes entries like 'Already acknowledged 27,550 11 6', 'Mrs. E. Slater 0 5 0', 'For Bye-Election Fund—Mrs. J. Coventry Tarbutt 1 0 0', etc.

## A DECLARATION OF FAITH.

By FORBES ROBERTSON.

*Being a Verbatim Report of an extempore Speech in the Queen's Hall, Monday, February 1, 1909.*

Everything has already been uttered that is possible in this great cause. Every argument has been answered, every objection met, and I feel that it is utterly impossible for me to say anything new, to put any fresh light upon this great vital question. (Cheers.) But I felt it my duty to make a public statement of my faith in this reform. I think it the duty of every man to take the opportunity publicly of declaring his faith, and I was anxious to accept this invitation because from the bottom of my heart and soul I feel that this is the greatest reform of modern times. (Cheers.) The few remarks that I shall have to offer to you I fear will only be repetitions of what has been said and written—said far more eloquently than I could ever hope to say to you. But there are some points that I would like to touch upon.

Your literature is the literature of women's emancipation. It is a magnificent literature, composed of serious, exhaustive books, of magnificent treatises by learned men and women. It is a considerable, I might almost say a vast, literature. Well, that being so, and this literature having been accumulating for over forty—indeed, fifty—years, if the women's vote is going to be so disastrous to the interests of this country as the "Antis" would fain persuade you, why in heaven's name is there no anti-literature whatever? (Cheers.) They have had time enough; heaven knows they have had opportunity. This wonderful literature has been poured upon them. No answer has been given to John Stuart Mill's book, which we may call the gospel of this great movement. (Cheers.) When I speak to a man or woman who is "anti" about this great cause—I sometimes start the ball—they pour themselves out, they go on talking and talking. I feel inclined to say sometimes "Kennel." (Laughter.) But I don't. I wait till they have exhausted themselves, and then I ask them—serious men and women, clever men and women, prominent men and women—if they have ever read John Stuart Mill's book? In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred they say "No." One man said, "Well, yes; I did when I was a boy." (Laughter.) I said, "Go back home and read it now, and then come to me and I will talk to you seriously."

The other day I was talking to one of the "antis"—he had that patronising air with him, don't you know, the little flip-pant manner and the quaint japes—and I said, "My experience has been that when any woman is called upon to meet a responsibility she generally—indeed, almost always—manages to be successful." I instanced the woman Victoria. (Cheers.) What did he say? He jumped right into the trap. He said, "Yes, oh yes, but she was brought up to it!" (Laughter.) I said, "Exactly; that is my point." Then he scratched his head. He did not seem to understand. "Brought up to it," I said; "exactly!" Well, he worried, and at last I saw he was preparing what we on the stage call an "exit speech." (Laughter.) He said, "Well, the long and the short of it is, my dear fellow, they haven't the brains." (Laughter.)

### Women's "Antennæ."

What are you to answer to that sort of thing? Now, they have the brains, and they have something more. They have something which may be described, perhaps, as antennæ, that indefinable power which seems to be something which the majority of men will admit they do not understand. Let me compare the female brain with the late great discovery of radium—which, by the way, was mainly discovered by a woman—(laughter)—oh, that is just a detail for the "antis" to remember. Our great medicine men tell us of the powers of

radium, but they say there are powers in radium of which they are not aware. It is an unknown quantity. I contend that that is the position of the woman's brain. (Cheers.) The ordinary man in the street will, as a rule, admit it. They have brain, but the brain of the woman has not yet been properly developed. She is, as radium, an unknown quantity. On the one side you have the brains of men, who for æons have been working and developing and brought up to control matters. On the other side you have the brains of the women, of which you know very little. It is a quantity that you have got to consider—that you have got to give an opportunity to consider—and it is my firm conviction that those brains, given a proper opportunity, would be absolutely equal to the male. (Cheers.) Had the brains of men—had the males been under control, subservient, slaves for æons, as women have been, where would the male brain have been at the present moment?

Now, as regards the men and women in the opposite camp—the "Antis." (Laughter.) Women of this union, I admit, I think it is quite natural that men—a large percentage of men—should be against you. The man does not want to give up his throne. I frankly confess here, before you all, that there have been moments in my life when I felt I did not want to give up my throne. But, thank God, I have lived that feeling down. I have learned to know better, and I frankly admit it.

But if a man feels that (and I can understand the prejudices and the influences brought about by all these ages of custom by the authority which he has had for so many ages), it is only natural that men should find it difficult to come over to our ideas. But what am I to say about the female "Anti"? That is the person, that is the individual that I cannot understand. We are not driving her to vote; we are not driving her to the polling-booth. She says she is perfectly happy, she is perfectly satisfied, she does not want it. But why does she try to oppose, tooth and nail, those women who do want it? "I am not hungry," she says, "I am not thirsty; but you who are hungering and thirsting shall not drink, shall not eat."

### Backstairs Influence.

Men say, and many women agree, "Look at the influence of the female on the male." Yes, it is true—great influence, political influence—but what is that influence? Backstairs, wrong, immoral! There is a type of woman for whom it is hard, from a worldly point of view, to be without, and that is the woman whose husband is in a prominent position, politically or otherwise. That woman has power if she has any brains at all; that woman is a great power, and she knows it. Now, I fear that that woman, in her heart of hearts—she herself would not admit it, but the idea is there at the back of her brain—says to herself, "No, I do not want women to have votes, because my power will be gone. My influence will be discarded. I, myself, a queen, so to speak—a great, hidden queen—I shall be dethroned by the voice of the women of the world!" That state of affairs is unworthy and wrong.

There is another question which I am heartily sick of, and that is, "Surely you do not want to see women sitting in Parliament?" Well, I do not know, I am sure. I have not heard any women saying that they want to, and if things go fairly well and steadily on, and if we succeed in getting something like an Education Bill which has got any reason in it at all, I daresay they will not bother; or if we can arrange a Workmen's Compensation Bill one can understand. I am only a man in the street, but I cannot understand it at present. All I know is that at this very moment I am paying insurance for

people who are earning £10, £20, or £30 a week because I do not really know whether I am liable if they have an accident.

Now, about these petticoats. Suppose they do get there. Suppose one brilliant woman, in the course of years, is found in the House—or two or three? Won't she be an exceptional and extraordinary person if she does get there? (Hear, hear.) I ask you, supposing that fifty years ago we could have said to some of those gorgeous bucks who swaggered into the House of Commons, "Gentlemen, what would you do if you found thirty Labour Members sitting down cheek by jowl with you?" (Hear, hear.) I will tell you what they would have said and what they would have done. They would have sworn abominably and then most likely had an apoplectic fit. (Laughter and cheers.)

I am proud that I am allowed to follow in the wake of such noble, high-minded men as have fought for this great cause; or if they have not fought, have been in favour of it. Disraeli was for you. (Cheers.) Salisbury was for you. (Cheers.) Fawcett was for you. And Balfour is for you. (Renewed cheers.)

Come with me to a little country churchyard, and I will show you, in a large tablet against the wall of that churchyard, the name of the Baroness Beaconsfield in large letters, indelibly, fixed in brass and stone. Below—look below, and what do you see? You see the great man's name, "Lord Beaconsfield," in letters half the size. He wasn't satisfied to say all he did say about the opposite sex during his life, but before he lay in his tomb he arranged that the name of the great woman who had helped him, and who had buoyed him up, should not only stand first, but should stand prominently "starred" for the rest of humanity's sake. It is many years ago that I gazed upon that tombstone and that obvious declaration of Beaconsfield's as to his wife's position in his eyes.

### The Experiment in Wyoming.

It is not as if the women's vote had not been tried. It has been tried, as you all know—Wyoming for five-and-twenty years, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia.

Mr. Robertson then quoted the following resolution, passed by the Wyoming House of Representatives in 1893:—

That the possession and exercise of suffrage by the women in Wyoming for the past quarter of a century has wrought no harm, and has done great good in many ways; that it has largely aided in banishing crime, pauperism, and vice from this State, and that without any violent or oppressive legislation; that it has secured peaceful and orderly elections, good government, and a remarkable degree of civilisation and public order; and we point with pride to the facts that after nearly twenty-five years of Woman Suffrage not one county in Wyoming has a poor-house, that our jails are almost empty, and crime, except that committed by strangers in the State, is almost unknown; and as the result of experience we urge every civilised community on earth to enfranchise its women without delay.

In an excellent book, Mr. Robertson proceeded, on Woman Suffrage, Lady Grove comments on this resolution as follows:—"Here we would have thought that Mr. Asquith has what he asks for, but later on we find him saying, 'It will be sufficient to point out that it is impossible to argue seriously from the experience of a rudimentary country community like Wyoming, with a sparse population, to the case of a complex, highly organised society such as our own.'"

Now, ancient we are; complex we are; God knows; but I do not think it is anything to boast about. Highly organised society—are we such a highly organised society? Is not that remark of Mr. Asquith's very narrow? It is so British. If the women's vote is of so much importance in a pioneer country, am I to understand from that passage that it has no importance in this highly organised society? The Prince of Wales, only a few years ago, came back from almost the same part of the world—at all events, a part of the world which is very similar to Wyoming—and when he came back to this highly organised

society, this complex society, what did he say? He said, "Wake up!" That is rather an odd remark to make, coming from the wilds of Canada to this highly organised society! Now, in Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Tasmania, New Zealand, Australia, the women vote for the State legislatures.

People say to me, when I say every woman who pays rates and taxes must have a vote, "Oh, she gets all the advantages accruing from those taxes—the police, the lighting of the streets, and so forth—equally with men; all the advantages that accrue from taxation." I say, supposing some higher power than these godlike creatures that sit in the House of Commons—(laughter)—said, "Gentlemen, we are going to make laws for you—better laws than ever you can think of, and you shall not vote"—what would the man say? He would be indignant; he would say, "I do not care whether you make better laws for me or not; I retain my vote."

The other day I saw that the Post Office will send by post a person who is deaf and dumb, or who is blind; if that person is labelled, that person will reach by the post the destination written upon the label. Well, it is most awkward, because I find that the law says that a woman is not a person! Now, you know, this is getting rather like Gilbert and Sullivan. So you cannot send a girl, or a young woman, or an old woman who is not capable of looking after herself; according to the law, you cannot. But when it comes to talking of women and the law and custom, I cannot laugh, except with rage. I won't speak of it; because I don't want to have an inarticulate fury.

Now, then, it matters very much to us that we should have women's votes, because there are so many things that men know nothing at all about, and that they are trying to legislate for, and do not legislate for sensibly at all. I need not take up your time with reminding you of the cruel injustices that have been going on for years and years—you all know your troubles, you all know your wrongs, and you all know what you want to right.

### For the Sake of Future Generations.

But there is something above and beyond our present needs in this country; we want this vote in order that for future generations the bearer of mankind shall be brought up properly and fitly, and that the world may improve and advance to that exalted state which we can only dream of at the present moment. Then we may talk about a highly organised society—when all the bars in front of the women are swept away, when every calling, every trade, every profession that they can follow is open to them. When a woman shall be in this position—that if she wants her case defended in the courts of law a woman shall stand up for her. (Hear, hear.) I am tired of seeing these girls, well-brought-up girls, striving and seeking for an outlet for their ambitions. They cannot all marry; some of them do not want to. Let it be open; let there be a proper horizon for women, so that we shall not have that unfortunate percentage of females who are always thinking of "what the man thinks of her." There shall be no question of sex.

As for the physical question in this matter, I dismiss it from my mind, because it is simply talk, childish talk. The further we go on in civilisation the further are we removed from the mere physical question at all. Every person is the better for having responsibility, man or woman. Give them that, and I can imagine such a development, such an arrival at simplicity of life—not complexity—as will leave the whole world.

Mary Wollstonecraft, John Stuart Mill! May your spirits, your beautiful, noble, and glorious spirits, look down upon us, and assist us and encourage us, and soften the hearts of those opposed to us; and when the hour of our victory comes—as most certainly it will—may the Master of all convey to you the joyous news, that you may rejoice greatly with us.





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

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

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

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

### WANTED—MORE OFFICERS!

The Prime Minister has sent out a letter to the Liberal Members of Parliament apprising them that when Parliament meets on February 16 matters will at once arise of grave and urgent importance.

The most grave, the most urgent, and the most important matter from the point of view of the women of this nation is the question whether they are to be granted the right of self-government or whether they are still to be kept in a condition of political subjection.

Until that question is settled there can be for them no political issue of any urgency or of any importance. Simply for this reason: that they are set outside the constitution of their country and have neither part nor lot in the affairs of the body politic.

This position has become intolerable to all enlightened and self-respecting women. It cannot go on. It will not go on very much longer. For the women of the country have awakened to the fact that freedom must be won; and they have set out to win it; and win it they will. There is not the smallest doubt about that. But there is a battle-royal to be fought first.

The next few months are going to furnish the sharpest and the hardest bit of fighting we have ever yet had. Let the battle-cry go out through the length and breadth of the land. Women, watching afar off on the lonely heights, light your beacon fires and let it be known that there is urgent need that hundreds and thousands of women who have never heard the call before should now rally to the standard and fall into the fighting lines!

Women! Comrades, we have to fight now with all the energy all the resource, all the materials at our command. We have to fight for our honour and for our freedom. Come, come to our ranks. We need you. It is you women we need more than anything else to ensure speedy victory!

Look round and see the extending area of the campaign and its new and urgent needs! Four bye-elections in Scotland have to be fought immediately. This must be done without withdrawing our officers from the provincial campaigns which are developing with amazing rapidity and crying out for more organisers and more helpers.

And London: London has to be roused during the next fortnight as it was aroused in July when a women's deputation attempted to see the Prime Minister, and again in October when our leaders and many of our comrades were arrested and sent to prison. There is immense work to do in London in connection with the opening of Parliament on the 16th, and in connection with our own Parliament on February 24, when our deputation will carry our message to the House of Commons. And afterwards! We hardly dare to think of that yet.

And besides all this urgent and immediate work, there comes to us to-day from all over the country the appeal to send our organisers and our speakers, as there are multitudes who wish to hear and understand our position. We have a great staff of workers both paid and unpaid, whose whole time we have. Scarcely a week has passed during the past eighteen months which has not seen an additional member added to this staff. But even this rapid increase has not been able to keep pace with the enormous growth of the demand. We want ever new supplies of young women whom we can first train in our methods of organisation, and then send out to take charge of campaigns throughout the country. I appeal to young women to come forward and offer themselves for this service.

I say to you young women who have private means or whose parents are able and willing to support you while they give you freedom to choose your vocation, "Come and give one year of your life to bringing the message of deliverance to thousands of your sisters who are still living lives of social and economic and mental and moral bondage because they have never realised their human birthright of dignity and freedom. Come and help to build up the temple of womanhood that has been destroyed and defaced. Come give yourself to the forces that are making for human enlightenment and for human happiness. Put yourself through a short course of training under one of our chief officers or at headquarters in London, and then become one of our hon. staff organisers." Miss Annie Kenney, in the West of England, has two such honorary organisers. Miss Blathwayt is the only daughter of Colonel and Mrs. Lindlay Blathwayt, of Bath. Yet her parents have set her free with their fullest approbation and sympathy, and with a generous allowance, to devote her whole time to the work. She is Miss Kenney's right hand in Bristol. Miss Elsie Howey is honorary organiser in Plymouth. She is the daughter of Mrs. Howey, of Malvern. Mrs. Howey and her two daughters have given generously of all that they have, but the best prized gift is the life-work of this noble girl, who has undergone two periods of imprisonment for the sake of women less privileged and happily placed than herself. She is one of our most able and successful organisers, and takes all the duties and responsibilities of our chief officers.

There are many girls in the position of Miss Blathwayt and Miss Howey. Their lives are filled with domestic tasks and social duties and pleasures, but they are not living their life to its full value, and they know it. If they would dedicate a whole full year of their life to this work they would find a rich reward. They would feel a new sense of power in developing every capacity, in bringing into play every latent gift, both intellectual and social. They could see life, learn the psychology of crowds, realise the fascination of entering into human relationships with all types of character; they would gain infinitely, and the woman's movement would gain infinitely, too. If anyone who is in a position to offer herself for this work should read these words, I would beg her to consider very carefully before she turns away from this appeal. Do not say "I have not the gifts. I cannot speak. I cannot organise." We can teach you everything that is necessary. We shall not ask you to do militant work, or take action that lays you open to the risk of arrest. That work is done by volunteers alone. I mean by those who beg for a place in the front line. It is the quiet, steady educational work that we want our honorary organisers to do.

It may be that some girl will read this and say, "Oh, I wish I were fortunate enough to be in an independent position. But I must work for my living. I have others dependent upon me, and I must not fail them."

Well, if you feel like that, write, or, better still, come and see me or some other member of the committee. Every would-be organiser has to undergo a training and testing of three months, and during that time a sum to cover board and lodging expenses is paid to her. At the end of that time she will discover whether the work suits her. If she is fitted for the work she will become one of the staff organisers. We must have women of the right spirit and the right temperament. The method and routine of the organisation we can teach them.

In addition to honorary and paid organisers we need literally hundreds of voluntary workers who can give part of their time or take in hand various special departments of help and service to the cause. Everybody who will give her services should write to the Hon. Secretary, 4, Clements Inn.

Friends, comrades in this great battle, we absolutely need your help. We depend upon it. We cannot win the victory without you. But we are going to win it together. We are going to win it because we are prepared to pay any price to win it. We are going to conquer because we do not know the meaning of defeat, because as the opposition grows apparently stronger, we grow more determined and more steadfast; because we are going to stand together and make great sacrifices, content to purchase with our life, if so it must be, the liberties of the women who shall live after we have gone on to the place where love is leading us.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

## AN OPEN LETTER TO PRIVATE MEMBERS.

Gentlemen,—The Woman Suffragists of earlier days were confident that, through you, would come deliverance from political bondage; and, indeed, when this movement began the Private Member still had some power to control the government of affairs. In recent years, however, that power has dwindled. The Cabinet all but monopolises the time of the House, and instead of being responsible to the House, rules it with a rod of iron. However, the subjection of the House of Commons is not yet complete, though, unless you, the Private Members, turn and do battle for your rights, it will soon become so.

If you have not renounced all claim to a share in shaping legislation, an opportunity of asserting your rights is afforded to you by the question of Women's Enfranchisement. It has for over forty years been before Parliament. In 1870 a Woman Suffrage Bill passed second reading, and was defeated at a later stage only by hostile Government intervention. Four Prime Ministers have supported the measure. A majority of the present Parliament is pledged to it, and last session the second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was passed by a majority of 179. In short, the only substantial obstacle to the enfranchisement of women is the opposition of the Cabinet. Here, then, is ideal ground of battle between Cabinet and Commons! Here is food for a constitutional struggle more important, perhaps, than that which we are told is shortly to rage between the two Houses of Parliament!

Delayed action in the matter means the danger that a speedy dissolution will frustrate women's hope of enfranchisement, and means, further, the imprisonment, perhaps the injury, of women who find a militant agitation essential to the furtherance of their cause. Hitherto the support of our friends in the House has been singularly ineffectual. The council of friendly M.P.'s consists of members drawn from every one of the political parties, but, judged by results, this has proved an unholy alliance, and, for all practical purposes, theirs might as well have been a compact, not to secure, but to delay woman's enfranchisement. In fact, experience has proved that to run a movement for woman suffrage on non-party lines within the House of Commons is to cut against the grain. The party system is so deeply rooted that members do not work easily or effectively except in association with their accustomed political allies.

Gentlemen of the Liberal Party,—It is you who ought, before the next General Election, to bring about the enfranchisement of women, and you it is who will be blamed if, at the end of this Parliament, women are still voteless. You form the majority of the present House, and, therefore, since yours is the power, yours also is the responsibility. Besides, is it not your boast that in the Liberal Party are to be found the best, if not the only, friends of the woman's cause? You must not, then, complain if in consequence of your profuse declarations of friendship we expect you to take definite and speedy action. No longer do we regard unofficial Liberal pledges, so easily given and so lightly regarded, as better than nothing. On the contrary, we consider these unfulfilled promises do but aggravate the injury of denied enfranchisement.

Hitherto you have with remarkable skill contrived to make this and other proposed reforms the preserve of the Liberal Party, without committing the party to carry them into effect. Let women ask for votes, or let any group of citizens call for some other improvement in their condition, and these demands you at once place upon the list of "Liberal Measures." Upon that list they remain until, growing tired of your good intentions, one set of reformers after another insists upon deeds, not words. So long, however, as the objects of your political sympathy are content, they receive nothing more at your hands. Moreover, the fact that you have hastened to adopt their cause has in many cases the unfortunate effect of dissuading other political parties from making it their own. I have heard this plan of yours compared, by a critic, to that of the greedy child in the nursery, who, though he has no appetite for it himself, touches all the bread and butter on the plate, with the result that others also are deterred from eating it.

Perhaps the true explanation of the fact that your support of our cause has had no practical outcome is, not that you are deliberately untrue to your word, but that your good impulses are crushed by the Party leaders. In that case, it would be well for the country and well for your party if you could impose

upon them your own more enlightened views. Loyalty to political chiefs is all very well, but subservient acquiescence in their ill-doing is surely a mistake.

Let us recall the fate of last Session's Woman's Enfranchisement Bill. Having secured a place for the measure, you urged upon us the cessation of the militant agitation, and asked us to leave the fortunes of our movement in your hands. The Bill passed the second reading by a large majority, but as you had acquiesced in its reference to a Committee of the whole House, it could not advance a single stage further except by leave of the Government. With a view to securing the necessary facilities, you went in deputation to the Prime Minister. He gave a direct refusal to your request for facilities for the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, and he further made a statement as to the woman suffrage policy of the Government, which your political knowledge and experience must have shown you was highly unsatisfactory. Without a murmur and without a protest you left the Woman's Enfranchisement Bill to its fate, and you actually expressed your approval of the hostile policy sketched out by Mr. Asquith. It is not by such methods that any cause will be carried to victory, or that the rights and privileges of Private Members will be maintained.

Yet there are rare occasions on which you assert yourselves, and by force of determination and numbers compel your leaders to fulfil their political obligations. For example, when the Government introduced a Trades Disputes Bill which violated the assurances they had given at the General Election, you refused to support them in carrying through this breach of their undertaking. The Cabinet yielded, and a Trades Disputes Bill framed on the lines desired by you became law. One would like to attribute your firmness in this matter entirely to political rectitude, but unless we find you similarly strong in our defence, we must believe that your action in regard to the Trades Disputes Bill was due to fear of a power greater than that of official Liberalism, namely, the opposition of your indignant constituents. Faced with a choice of evils, the displeasure of the party leaders on the one hand and the wrath of the electors on the other, you chose the lesser, and hence your revolt.

Contrasting your prompt and drastic action on the Trades Disputes question with the inadequate support you give to our movement, we have naturally come to the conclusion that the best policy for us is to put you in fear of our opposition.

Gentlemen of the Unionist Party,—You are in a minority, and this fact would seem to diminish your power to serve our cause; but, after all, determination, good tactics, and a just cause are the main conditions of success. What deters you from action is, I have heard it said, your apprehension that if votes are given to us as an outcome of our present agitation, this will prove an encouragement to us to continue the use of militant methods in the future. But a little thought will show that this fear is groundless. The militant methods are used for want of a better and more convenient weapon—namely, the Parliamentary vote. Once the vote is ours, we shall think it a duty (as it will be a pleasure) to renounce methods which involve conflict with the authorities and imprisonment.

Gentlemen of the Labour Party,—You have until now taken small share in the movement for Woman Suffrage. That has been your loss as much as ours. You entered Parliament with a great reputation. The House of Commons held you in awe, not so much because you represented a force numerically strong in the country, but because it was thought that, whether your views were right or wrong, you were full of a great enthusiasm and of fidelity to principle. Yours was, in fact, a moral ascendancy. Do you possess it still, or is not the feeling growing amongst Members of the House that you are very like themselves? Is it not possible that the first inkling of that fact was given by your apathy concerning women's interests?

Gentlemen of the Irish Party,—From many of you the House has heard an eloquent and impassioned defence of women's claim to citizenship, but you are wont to think that, where action is concerned, your own special cause has an exclusive claim upon you. Yet are there not women in Ireland, and do not these women suffer equally with men from the evils which you contend afflict your country? Whether or no you succeed in attaining your political object, the women of your country are entitled to share equally with men existing and future constitutional powers.

Happily, neither the indifference nor the opposition of the Legislature can for long keep the door of citizenship locked against us, because we are calling to our aid the electors, who can make and unmake Parliaments. We have discovered, too, that the women of the country can by their own efforts wage a campaign of aggression which no Government can permanently withstand.

Christabel Pankhurst.

# FACTS FOR THE SCOTTISH ELECTORS.

COMPILED BY F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

The Women's Social and Political Union are asking for Votes for Women on the same terms as they are possessed by men; that is to say, they ask that women who are owners, householders, lodgers, or university graduates shall be voters. This would give votes to about 1½ million of women (most of whom would be working women) as compared with 7½ millions of men who have the vote. We are not asking for the Vote for every woman, since every man has not got the Vote. The Women's Social and Political Union claim that a simple measure giving Votes to Women on these terms shall be passed this Session.

## WHY WOMEN WANT THE VOTE.

**Because** no race or class or sex can have its interests properly safeguarded in the Legislature of a country unless it is represented by direct suffrage.

**Because** women, whose special care is the home, find that questions intimately affecting the home are being settled in Parliament, where they are not represented. Such questions include housing, education, the death-rate of infants, vaccination, the employment of children, sweating, the labour of married women, unemployment, the care of the aged, and many other matters.

**Because** great numbers of women, who have to earn their own living and often that of their children, find that the theory that woman is better off shielded and protected by man than in working out her own salvation has failed completely. Statisticians state that during the last 60 years, while the wages of men have risen considerably, wages of women have remained stationary, and in many cases even have fallen to rates which imply starvation. The more lucrative occupations are already confined to men, and laws are contemplated which shall deprive women of some of those that remain.

**Because** politics and economics go hand in hand, and while men voters can get their economic grievances attended to, non-voters are disregarded. Women are thus compelled to sell their labour cheap, and in consequence men are undercut in the labour market.

**Because** women are taxed without being represented, and taxation without representation is tyranny. They have to obey the laws equally with men, and they ought to have a voice in deciding what those laws shall be.

**Because** the Legislature in the past has not made laws which are equal between men and women; and these laws will not be altered till women get the vote. Moreover, it is making laws\* today which are unequal between men and women, and so long as women are without the vote it will continue to do so.

**Because** all the wisest men and women realise that decisions based upon the point of view of men and women together are more valuable than those based upon either singly.

**Because**, so long as the majority of the women of the country have no interest in politics, the children grow up ignorant of the meaning of the struggle for freedom, and lessons learnt in one generation by bitter experience have to be relearnt by the next in the same school.

**Because**, wherever women have become voters, reform has proceeded more rapidly than before, and even at home our municipal government, in which the women have a certain share, is in advance of and not behind our Parliamentary attitude on many important questions.

**Because** women, like men, need to have some interests outside the home, and will be better comrades to their husbands, better mothers to their children, and better housekeepers of the home when they get them.

## WHAT THEY HAVE DONE TO GET IT.

As far back as 1816 women took part with men in their agitation for the extension of the vote. And in the great demonstration in Peterloo in 1821 women suffered with men when the soldiers charged the crowd. Nevertheless, the Reform

\* At present a mother is not reckoned a "parent" under the Vaccination Act of 1907 if her husband is alive, nor would she have been under the Education Bill of 1908.

Act of 1832, which so materially improved the position of the men, did nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them. From that date till this women have agitated in various constitutional ways to obtain the vote. Some of these have been:—

### By Petitions.

Numberless petitions and memorials have been signed and have been presented to the House of Commons and to the Government. Between 1866 and 1879 there were

**Over 9,000 Petitions with Three Million Signatures** in support of giving votes to women. In 1896 alone an appeal to members of Parliament was signed by

### Over a Quarter of a Million Women.

And since that date petitions and memorials have been pouring in from all parts of the country.

### By Applying to be Registered as Voters.

In 1867 the wording of the Household Franchise Act was supposed by many people to allow of the enrolment of women as voters. A canvass of the women in Manchester was made, and out of 4,215 women who might be qualified 3,924, or

### 92 per Cent., Sent in Claims.

The Court of Appeal, however, decided against the women (*Chorlton v. Lings*), and compelled them to make their demand again to Parliament.

### By Holding Meetings.

Countless public meetings have been held all over the country, which have carried resolutions in favour of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

In the single year 1908 the Women's Social and Political Union alone held over 7,000 meetings, indoor and out. Of these, the great Hyde Park demonstration on Sunday, June 21, when half a million people came together, was admittedly

### The Largest Political Demonstration in the History of the World.

Other great outdoor demonstrations were held in Heaton Park, Manchester; on Woodhouse Moor, Leeds; in Nottingham Forest, on the Downs at Bristol, and in many other places. At some of the demonstrations it was estimated that over 100,000 persons were present. Of indoor meetings, it twice filled the Albert Hall, London; twice the Free Trade Hall, Manchester; and on other occasions the Town Hall, Birmingham; the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow; the Synod Hall, Edinburgh (in a joint meeting); and many other of the largest halls in the country.

### By Political and Municipal Work.

Women have worked hard for Liberal, Conservative, and Labour candidates, and party agents have found them exceedingly useful. They have served on boards of guardians, school boards, parish councils, vestries, etc., and have there initiated and executed many important reforms.

### By Pledging Parliamentary Candidates.

Women have extracted from candidates for the House of Commons, as a condition of working for them, promises of support to Woman Suffrage in Parliament. In the present House 420 members are so pledged.

## THE MILITANT POLICY.

In spite of the overwhelming demand which women have shown for the possession of the Parliamentary vote, in spite of the fact that every consideration of justice points to their right to possess it, the franchise has not been conceded. Women now realise that it is no use any longer praying and pleading for the vote, but that some further step is necessary in order to obtain it. Put into plain language, the militant policy of the Women's Social and Political Union means that when people ask for a thing which is their right in a proper manner, politely and courteously, and are put off with subterfuge and prevarication, there is nothing left but to take forcible measures deliberately designed to be disagreeable to those who withhold justice.

Who is the enemy who blocks the progress of this reform? Not the man in the street, for he is found to be favourable when once the matter is explained to him. Not the private

Member of Parliament, for he is powerless to give or withhold the vote.

### It is the Government of the Day.

The fate of a Bill in the House of Commons does not depend upon the support or opposition of individual private members, but upon the decision of the Cabinet to support or reject it.

In the present House there are 420 private members, or

### Nearly a Two-Thirds Majority,

pledged to support a measure for Woman Suffrage. They have done nothing, and they are powerless to do anything.

On February 28, 1908, a Woman Suffrage Bill secured a second reading in the House of Commons by a majority of 179. But nothing further was done, because the Government neither adopted it nor allowed time for it to be further discussed.

### The Opposition of the Liberal Government.

Christabel Pankhurst, early in the campaign for Woman Suffrage, discovered the powerlessness of the private member, and that Woman Suffrage was to be won, not by impressing its importance upon the private member, but by gaining the support of the Government. She realised, further, that the Government must either be willing to grant Woman Suffrage freely, or must be forced to concede it by the people of the country. She accordingly set to work to inquire, in the first instance, whether the new Liberal Government, as a Government, would be favourable to this proposal, and prior to the General Election of 1906 questions were asked wherever possible at all meetings of Liberal Ministers—commencing with the question put at the close of Sir Edward Grey's meeting in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester—as to whether the Government would or would not grant Woman Suffrage. The members of the Government refused to make any answers to these questions, and thereby convinced the members of the Women's Social and Political Union that they did not intend to satisfy this demand.

### The Electoral Reform Bill.

They have since gone further than this, and have opposed Woman Suffrage by refusing facilities for discussion of private members' Bills, and Mr. Asquith has definitely stated that it is not the intention of the Government to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill during the present Parliament. Instead, he has asserted his intention of bringing in an Electoral Reform Bill to extend the voting rights of men. To this it is, of course, open to a private member to introduce an amendment to extend the suffrage to women; but Mr. Asquith declares that the Government as a Government will oppose it unless two conditions are fulfilled. The first is that the amendment be on "democratic" lines; by this he means to exclude an amendment along the simple lines of removal of the sex barrier, on which lines a majority of the House are pledged to support Woman Suffrage. The second condition is that in the meanwhile Mr. Asquith be convinced that Woman Suffrage has the support both of an overwhelming majority of women and a majority of men. As to how he will be satisfied of this fact Mr. Asquith gives no explanation. Moreover, it is universally recognised that this Electoral Reform Bill is

### Not Intended to Become Law

during the present Parliament, but is being brought forward by the Government as a move in the game of fighting the House of Lords. Women therefore realise that the Government do not intend of their free will to give women the vote. Instead, without allowing them trial by jury, they have imprisoned over three hundred women for pressing forward their claim to the franchise. Not only so, but instead of treating them as political prisoners are treated in all civilised countries, and as cattle-drivers are treated in Ireland, they have treated them as common criminals.

## WHY WOMEN OPPOSE THE LIBERAL CANDIDATE.

In consequence of this opposition of the Government the Women's Social and Political Union call upon the electors to show their disapproval by voting against the Government nominee at every bye-election, not because of his Liberalism, but because of the failure of the Government to be Liberal in practice as well as in theory, and to give votes to women. They call upon them to bring about the defeat of every Liberal candidate, and in this way to bring home to the members of the Government, in the only way they can understand, that they are displeasing the electors by treating women in this way.

### Private Members.

It will be seen that in this definite policy no account is taken of the private views of the individual candidates; no matter whether the Liberal candidate says that he is favourable to Woman Suffrage, or even whether he says he is prepared to give his support to a Woman Suffrage measure in the House of Commons, he still stands to be opposed by the women at the bye-election. People who do not understand politics sometimes suggest that this action of the W.S.P.U. is unfair. They say so because they consider that a man ought to be judged by his own personal views, and not by those of his party. They do not realise that when a man goes down to a constituency as a Liberal nominee he has already abrogated his personal standpoint and accepted the standpoint of the Liberal Party. He is like a soldier going into battle under a certain flag; by that flag he must stand or fall, and he cannot plead immunity from attack on the ground that he does not approve of the war in which he is fighting. A Liberal candidate has already ranged himself on the side of the Liberal Government by acceptance of party support, and he must expect to gain by the merits and suffer for the demerits of that Government. So long as he elects to serve under the Liberal flag he cannot escape the odium which attaches to the Government on account of their treatment of women.

### Liberal M.P. "Friends" assist Asquith's Opposition.

Most Liberal candidates now declare that they are supporters of Votes for Women. This is what many Parliamentary candidates have told women for years past. In the present House of Commons there are 420 members, who, before the General Election, pledged themselves to support the cause, yet every session, the Votes for Women Bill is either talked out or blocked, and these professing friends either will not or cannot induce the Government to carry the measure. The fact is that Liberal members, whether they believe in Votes for Women or not, go into the House of Commons to support Mr. Asquith and carry out his policy. As that policy includes opposition to Votes for Women, every Liberal candidate sent to Parliament is actually strengthening the hand of Mr. Asquith, and making it easier for him to deny women their political rights.

### Until the Government Support Woman Suffrage it will not be Carried.

It matters nothing, then, to women whether the number of professed supporters is increased to 430 or reduced to 410.

What does matter is that the Government should realise that so long as it refuses to do justice to women it will be beaten at the bye-elections.

When a Liberal candidate is returned to Parliament as a result of a bye-election, he goes into the House as a member of the Government party, and while his individual opinions are of little account, his vote goes to strengthen the Government in their opposition to women.

When a Government candidate is defeated at a bye-election the Government is weakened by the loss of a vote.

And when a seat, previously Liberal, is actually wrested from the Government at a bye-election, the Government loses prestige in the House of Commons, for it is a sign that the country is not satisfied with what the Government is doing.

Since the women began working at bye-elections they have brought about the loss of ten seats to the Liberal Government, and in the remaining cases they have considerably diminished the Liberal vote.

### Independent of Party.

Women Suffragists stand quite independent of any party. They are fighting against the Government not because it is Liberal, but because it refuses to carry out Liberal principles by giving them the vote. If a Tory Government were in power, and refused to deal with the question, women would be fighting against the Tory candidate in this election. If women do not succeed in getting votes from the present Liberal Government, and the Conservatives come into power, the women will fight against them if they will not give them the vote. Liberals are anxious that their party shall be the one to carry this great measure of reform, but the Liberal Government will not move in the matter unless their followers in the country insist upon it.

The only way in which the Liberal electors can make their leaders act is by rejecting their nominee, thus showing them that their present policy must be changed.









## LOCAL NOTES.

**Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.**—On Monday, February 1, we held our usual afternoon open-air meeting on the Front. A number of our members "sandwiched" the principal thoroughfares in the evening, and attracted a good deal of attention. At the Dome meeting on Tuesday, February 2, large crowds were waiting for admission, and would have filled the Dome twice over. Numbers were turned away. Mrs. Massy presided, and her clever political remarks were greeted with laughter and applause. Mrs. Pankhurst, on rising, was greeted by round on round of applause, and for more than an hour the vast audience listened with the keenest attention. Miss Ogston made a brief appeal for funds, to which there was a liberal response. A brisk round of questions closed the meeting. Wednesday afternoon, February 3, the members held a meeting in the Socialist Centre Hall to consider future plans of work. It was resolved to ask members for subscriptions for an organiser for Brighton (£100 a year), and Miss White got promises amounting to £50. It has been decided that this branch shall make itself responsible for at least half a stall at the Women's Exhibition in May. On Friday evening Miss Turner, to whom we are deeply indebted for most kindly giving us a large room for committee and office purposes during the last three weeks, gave an informal farewell tea to Miss Ogston, to which a number of the younger members were invited. Some of our members sang "The Vicar of Bray" and "Bonnie Dundee" modified to women's needs. The same evening, February 5, we held a members' meeting in Forfar's Restaurant, to consider proposals re another Dome meeting, permanent offices, and stall at the Women's Exhibition, also the salary of an organiser for Brighton. It was decided to hold a meeting in the Dome on February 22, if Miss Ogston would come to speak. The Hon. Sec. announced that she had seen two central rooms suitable for offices at a reasonable figure, and the members were unanimous that they should be taken for three or six months. One member kindly offered a table and some chairs.

We had offers of various articles for the stall, such as enamelled ornaments, brooches, pendants, children's embroidered dresses, etc. Miss White reported that she had got £1 2s. per week for an organiser. One of the members said her father had promised £1 a week for a year. Other promises amounted to £1 3s. 9d. in all. Mr. J. Borrow sent £1 as his annual subscription to the local Union. As soon as our offices (18, North Street Quadrant) are ready we shall hold meetings there. Those who are busy with the articles for the Women's Exhibition stall will be able to meet there fortnightly. We hope that all our members and friends will help us to furnish our new rooms; chairs will be very acceptable. Please address all offers of work for stall, furniture for office, etc., to 209, Preston Drive.

I. G. McKEOWN.

**Bowes Park W.S.P.U.**—A splendid address was given last week, when Mrs. Bouvier spoke on "Votes for Women in Finland." The speech was full of information respecting the forward movement among Russian women. Incidentally Mrs. Bouvier mentioned that only a threatened strike of the women from domestic duties secured the suffrage in Finland. As a Russian woman Mrs. Bouvier is fighting for the vote in England, because the woman's movement is a world's movement. The chairman earnestly pleaded for help in the coming Self-denial Week and for the Exhibition. Our Union is settling down to work in good earnest. At the Thursday meeting a resolution demanding that Votes for Women be included in the King's Speech was unanimously carried, and has been forwarded to every Cabinet Minister and to the local M.P.'s.

RACHEL NEAL.

**Cardiff W.S.P.U.**—The Cardiff W.S.P.U. held a very successful meeting last Monday evening, the first this year. Miss Annie Kenny had promised to address us, but, being unable to fulfil her engagement, she sent two fine speakers in her stead. Miss Vera Wentworth and Miss Walters (Bristol) spoke very ably and convincingly, carrying the meeting with them. The result of our work was that several names were given in as members or sympathisers. We have every reason to believe we shall be able to organise a contingent to go to Bristol on February 12 from Cardiff on the occasion of Mrs. Pankhurst's visit there. If any local friends would like to join us, will they kindly apply to 14, Pembroke Terrace, Cardiff, for particulars. We hope ere long to have Miss Kenny with us, when Cardiff will, we are sure, respond very heartily to her endeavours.

E. DICKSON.

**Chelsea W.S.P.U.**—We are busy arranging our share in the Exhibition. At a meeting held last week it was decided that Chelsea would undertake one stall, and that it should be the Art Stall. We have already had promises of valuable pictures, pottery, statuettes, and art needlework, and we hope that all friends, as soon as they see this notice, will let us know in what way they can help us. We are anxious to have as many beautiful things on our stall as possible, and, in order to do the work thoroughly, have arranged a meeting on Tuesday, February 16, at 5.30, at 4, Trafalgar Studios, Manresa Road, S.W., to discuss plans and to appoint an Exhibition committee. We shall be glad to see any members or friends, as we want suggestions how to make what we have undertaken a financial success. Through the kindness of Mrs. Monck Mason, our Wednesday evening meetings will be held at 93, Oakley Street. We wish to draw attention to the change of address, and to impress upon members what a great help it would be in working the local Union if they would make a point of being present.

CHARLOTTE BLACKLOCK.

**Chiswick W.S.P.U.**—We have commenced our working parties, which are to be held every Wednesday (6.30), at 98, Sutton Court Road, and every Friday afternoon, at 21, Brandenburg Road. Mrs. East will be glad to receive any small articles suitable for a "lucky tub," for which she is making herself responsible. On Wednesday last we had a very successful At Home, at which the eloquence of Miss Evelyn Sharp succeeded in winning us six new members. Plans for a meeting in the Town Hall, when we are expecting to have Mrs. Pankhurst as principal speaker, are under arrangement.

M. COOMBS.

**Kensington W.S.P.U.**—The addition of a counter to our shop has given it a very business-like air, and it enabled us to deal more promptly with the numerous customers who, attracted by the display in our windows, ventured in to buy our literature and learn about the movement. We are glad to chronicle the arrival of volunteers to sell the paper in the streets and a very considerable sale. More helpers are still wanted for this work. Our list of promises of articles for the General Stall, and of hats for the Millinery Stall, grows daily, and some of our members have been talking the matter over with the milliners they employ, and hope to secure us some fine models. Mrs. Charles Ken's work-party is to meet on Tuesday afternoon, and we hope to arrange an evening work-party as well. On Tuesday evening we had a large drawing-room meeting at Mrs. Corbould's house, when Miss Evelyn Sharp took the chair, and Miss Adela Pankhurst spoke. From an audience of nearly 100 we obtained several new members and many promises of work and help for the Exhibition. Mrs. Hicks, of Hampstead, and Miss Morrison were the speakers at the Wednesday At Home.

L. M. EATES.

**Lewisham W.S.P.U.**—The members of our visiting committee are busy calling on all the members of our Union, with the object of ascertaining what each one will do for the Exhibition. We have made a very good beginning, and hope to have a stall of our own. On February 12 an At Home will be held at Mrs. Soskice's house, in Leo, with Miss H. Lightman as principal speaker. I have been approached by the Church of England Men's Society (Belmont Park, Lee) with the request for a speaker for a debate on Woman's Suffrage on Tuesday, March 9. Our Union will be allowed to sell literature. We intend holding a meeting on Blackheath, and also several open-air meetings before the Woman's Parliament in Caxton Hall.

T. A. BOUVIER.

**Richmond W.S.P.U.**—An "At Home" was given on Friday, February 5, at Barnard House, with the assistance of Mrs. Boulter. The speakers were Mrs. Lorisignol and Mrs. Wheatley, and their remarks were well received. There was a good attendance, and several of the audience promised to work for the May Exhibition. On Saturday evening, February 6, the second whist drive held by the Richmond W.S.P.U. this winter took place at the Freemasons' Hall. During the interval a short address was given by Miss Coombs, and the few opponents present added to the interest of the occasion. We find that the whist drive is a very good way of reaching friends of our members who would otherwise probably be quite satisfied to gather all their knowledge of the Woman's Suffrage Movement from the newspapers. It is a good thing to bring them face to face with Militant Suffragists, and to let them hear from their own lips why they want the vote.

EDITH M. WARD.

**Stoke-on-Trent W.S.P.U.**—On the 2nd inst. Mrs. Lawton, an enthusiastic member of the Union, gave an At Home to members and friends. Mrs. Lawton has lately left the district, and the At Home was, therefore held at my house, and Miss Gough very kindly contributed a cake. This was the first important meeting of the local Union this year, and was well attended. Miss Amy Gough gave a paper entitled "Why Women should be Given the Parliamentary Vote," which was well received, and I spoke on the subject, "Why Women are Agitating for the Vote." Mrs. Massey, a lady of local influence, was present, and promised to give a drawing-room meeting, at which she has invited Mrs. Lawton and myself to speak. Interest in the women's movement and the campaign of the National Women's Social and Political Union is being kept alive in this town, and we all look forward towards the accomplishment of good and effective work during the current year. All inquiries and offers of help should be addressed to me at No. 22, Penkville Street, London Road, Stoke-upon-Trent.

(MRS.) ADELINE REDFERN-WILDE.

## DEBATE.

A debate has been arranged between Miss Helen Ogston and Mr. George Calderon (hon. sec. for the newly formed Men's League for Opposing Woman Suffrage), at Queen's Gate Hall, Harrington Road, S.W., on Friday, the 19th, at 3 p.m. Will members do their best to support Miss Ogston by bringing their friends to the meeting, and by helping to advertise it.

## UNEMPLOYED WOMEN'S APPEAL TO BOROUGH COUNCIL.

A body of unemployed women, many of them carrying their babies in their arms, appeared before the Poplar Borough Council last week, demanding relief outside the workhouse. One woman (Mrs. Holland) declared that when they asked for relief they were offered the workhouse. If they did not get food by fair means they would get it by foul. Another (Mrs. Murray) said if something were not done there would be rioting in London—a repetition of Glasgow.

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## WOMAN SUFFRAGE IN CALIFORNIA.

Miss Alice L. Park, of the California Equal Suffrage Association, writes to the N.W.S.P.U. to say that she had a literature table for four days at the State Teachers' Association in San Jose, and that the teachers were much less afraid of the word suffrage than in previous years. They gladly took Suffragette leaflets. The California Equal Suffrage Association are using the words "Votes for Women" on their posters, and Miss Park adds:—"You will note on slip enclosed the effort to use the words 'Votes for Women.' I wish we had had them long ago. We owe you all kinds of a debt."

## WOMAN: THE WHITE CHINAMAN.

Girls Producing Twice as Much as Men may Earn only Half.

"Woman," said a big trade union official last year, "is the white Chinaman of the industrial world. She wears a coiled-up cue, and wherever she goes she cheapens the worth of human labour." An illustration follows: Miss Mary McDowell, of the University of Chicago Settlement, was observing a girl who was operating an unusually heavy and intricate machine in a large hardware factory in an Ohio city.

"Strong, clever girl," remarked Miss McDowell, or words to that effect. "She's doubled the output of that machine," said the superintendent. "How did she get such a good job?" asked Miss McDowell. "Her father," said the superintendent, "had the machine before she had it. We just thought we'd try her." "How much," said Miss McDowell, being Scotch and suspicious, and not completely satisfied with this proof of the Advance of Woman; "how much do you pay her compared with what you paid her father?" "Half," said the superintendent. This girl, therefore, since she was producing twice as much, and earning half as much as her father had produced and earned, was selling her labour at one-quarter of the masculine market price. It doesn't seem exactly fair, from the standpoint of society. It doesn't seem exactly self-respecting from the standpoint of the girl.

—From a Chicago paper.

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