

"Votes for Women," May 7, 1909.

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

EDITED BY FREDERICK & EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. II., No. 61.

FRIDAY, MAY 7, 1909.

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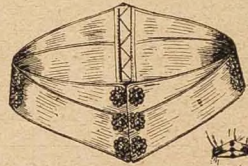
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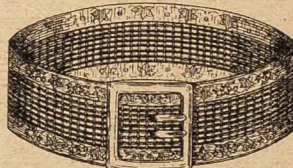
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Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper.

Subscriptions to the paper should be sent to The Publisher "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The terms are 6s. 6d. annual subscription, 1s. 8d. for one quarter, inside the United Kingdom, 8/8 and 2/2 abroad, post free, payable in advance.

The paper can be obtained from all newsagents and bookstalls.

For quotations for advertisements, apply to the Advertisement Manager, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

DEDICATION.

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

THE OUTLOOK.

It is with very great pleasure that we present to our readers this week the paper enlarged to thirty-two pages. This has been rendered necessary by the rapid development of the Women's Social and Political Union; for the accounts of which the space at our disposal has proved altogether insufficient, in spite of the increase from sixteen pages to twenty-four which we effected only three months ago. We are enabled to make this fresh extension by the hearty support which we have received from our readers, who have pushed the circulation up to its present figure of 22,000, and who have also assisted the paper in its advertisement revenue by securing the support of new advertisers and by giving their

custom to those firms whose names appear in our advertisement pages. We look to our readers to continue their support in the future with increased zeal.

The Bye-Election Results.

The two crushing blows which the Government have suffered at Sheffield and Stratford-on-Avon should serve to show them the folly of their continued opposition to the women of the country. Taken together these two results cannot be claimed as a victory for Tariff Reform, or for any other anti-Government policy except that of Woman Suffrage, for in one case a Liberal seat has been handed over to the Labour Party and in the other to the Conservative Party. Nor can the Government take refuge behind any such equivocal plea as the "split vote," because it was their opponents in each case who suffered from this calamity. Nevertheless in both instances the seat has been lost, and those who followed the elections on the spot know the true reason—the unpopularity of the Government owing to their treatment of the women. On page 636 we print extracts from two bills circulated from the Liberal Committee rooms in Sheffield in which the damage inflicted by the women's campaign is shown to be fully realised.

A Great Meeting.

At the Albert Hall on Thursday last took place one of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held by the Women's Social and Political Union. All of the seats not specially reserved by the Albert Hall authorities for freeholders, were filled by an interested and friendly audience. The presentation to the prisoners on the platform provoked prolonged cheers, and the presence in the boxes of the International Delegates gave an added pleasure to the evening. We trust that our International visitors are returning to their own countries encouraged by what they have seen here of the rapid strides which the Suffrage movement is making towards success.

Congratulations to Holland's Queen.

The Women's Social and Political Union joined with men and women all over the world in heartfelt pleasure at the birth of an heir to the Queen of the Netherlands. The following telegram was dispatched to her on Friday morning:—

The Women's Social and Political Union send their respectful congratulations to her Majesty the Queen of Holland upon the birth of a daughter. They trust that the young Princess may live to add yet another name to the illustrious roll of women sovereigns who have enriched the history of nations by their wise governance, and have magnificently proved the fitness of their sex for the exercise of political power.

Referring to the event, the Westminster Gazette said:—"For our part we can see very real advantages in the Throne of Holland being occupied by a woman"; and this sentiment, according to the correspondent of the Times, was echoed in The Hague itself.

Release of the Prisoners.

The welcome which was extended to the nineteen women who were released from Holloway on Friday last struck a deep chord in the hearts of all the members of the Union, touched with sorrow that one of their number, Patricia Woodlock, had many weeks of sentence yet to serve. The account which the released prisoners gave of their determination to continue the fight for the freedom of women has inspired many others to follow their example, and the ranks of those who are to take part in the deputation to the Prime Minister on June 29 are growing rapidly.

Heckling Cabinet Ministers.

On several occasions during the week Cabinet Ministers have been approached by members of the Women's Social and Political Union. On the occasion of the dinner to the German Labour leaders, attended by Mr. John Burns, women were present at the entrance to the banquet hall at the Waldorf Hotel to cross-question him, and were ejected. At Bristol, two women succeeded for a long time in eluding detection in an organ loft, and considerable confusion pre-

vailed at Mr. Birrell's meeting in consequence. This gives point to the remark of the correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who in another connection refers to the Suffragettes as a "resourceful race." Other occasions at which protests were made were Mr. Birrell's meeting at Canning Town, Lord Morley's at Manchester, and Mr. Haldane in London, and Mr. Sidney Buxton at Northampton.

Chartered Accountants.

We are glad to see that in the Bill which has been drafted by the Institute of Chartered Accountants with a view to providing for their registration, a clause is included to admit women to membership of the Institute. We understand that this clause was introduced in order to meet the active criticism of women whose position would otherwise have been worse after the passing of the Bill than it is at the present time. Under the new clause women will stand on precisely the same footing as men.

The Exhibition.

Every attention is now being turned towards the great Exhibition, which will be opened on Thursday in next week. From the account which will be seen on pp. 626-7 readers are given some idea of the charm and interest which will attach to this great display. In order to acquaint the general public with the facts about the Exhibition, a great many advertising schemes are being set on foot. A large number of women who are able to give time during the current week are urged to take part in this work, and are requested to come to the Office, at 4, Clements Inn, for this purpose.

Conferences of Political Women.

During the present week the Primrose League is meeting in conference in London, and next week their example is to be followed by the women of the Women's Liberal Federation. The active interest in politics displayed by these two bodies of women is ample proof, if proof were needed, of the fitness of extending the vote to women. Special leaflets will be given away, and VOTES FOR WOMEN will be sold by the W.S.P.U. to the women taking part in these conferences; while a special invitation is being extended to Liberal women to be present at the At Home in the Scala Theatre on Monday, May 10, when Mr. Kettle, M.P., Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak on the Woman Suffrage policy of the Government.

Interesting Items.

The Speaker announced on Monday last his intention of reopening the galleries of the House of Commons. Special pledges will be exacted from visitors. The ladies' gallery will be confined to relatives of members of Parliament.

Features of this issue include a special article by Lady Constance Lytton on "Putting Back the Clock?" an article by Mr. Pethick Lawrence on the militant demonstrations, and by Miss Christabel Pankhurst on "The Political Importance of the Colours."

PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women Students in Germany.

The first matriculation of women students at the universities of Prussia has resulted in the admission of 663 students, including forty-three from America and seven from the United Kingdom. The results show that philosophy, philology, and history claimed the highest number of students (363). Medicine was second with 134 students, while 108 studied mathematics or natural sciences, 25 dentistry, 22 political economy, 6 law, 3 evangelical theology, and 2 pharmacy. The University of Berlin matriculated 400, Göttingen 71, Bonn 69, Breslau 50, Marburg 27, Halle 22, Königsberg 17, Greifswald 5, and Kiel 2. Of the women students from non-German States, 43 were from America, 35 from Russia, 14 from Austria-Hungary, 7 from the United Kingdom, 6 from France, 4 from Roumania, 3 from Switzerland, 2 from Italy, one each from Denmark, Holland, Norway, Servia, and Australia. In addition to these matriculated women students, there are 958 women enrolled in various lines of hospital work at the Prussian universities.

Sixty Years' Work for Women.

There has just been commemorated in Dublin the eightieth birthday of Mrs. Hannah Maria Haslam, a member of the Society of Friends, and a lady whose record of work for women takes us back to the days of the great famine in Ireland, of Elihu Burritt, of Mrs. Josephine Butler, and Ellice Hopkins. Mrs. Haslam was closely associated with the developments of the higher education of women, intermediate, university, and professional, the importance of which she describes as scarcely second to the movement for Par-

liamentary enfranchisement. "We women," she said at the Commemoration, "must everywhere be raised to our rightful position in the social and political scale. Our claim for our appropriate part in the moral government of the world must be recognised. Every office for which we possess the necessary qualifications must be thrown open to us. Our remuneration for similar work must be raised to something more near equality with that of our brothers. Our education must be broadened in various directions and be made more practicable, and above all the natural rights of wives and mothers must be sacredly safeguarded."

Women and Science.

The admission of women to the more important learned societies, though delayed in a few notorious instances, proceeds apace. The latest society to admit women on equal terms with men is the Royal Physical Society of Edinburgh. At its March meeting there were elected to ordinary fellowship; Mrs. Elisabeth Gray, of Edinburgh, long a zealous student and collector in the older Palaeozoic rocks of Ayrshire; Mrs. Maria M. Ogilvie Gordon, D.Sc., Ph.D., well known for her work on corals and on the geology of the Tyrolean Alps; Miss Marion I. Newbiggin, D.Sc., author of various zoological works, and Lecturer on Zoology at the Edinburgh College of Medicine for Women; and Miss Muriel Robertson, of London.

In no class of professional women has the struggle for equal opportunity been greater than in the medical world. At a special meeting of the Leeds and West Riding Medico-Chirurgical Society recently it was decided, on the recommendation of the committee, that it should be specifically stated that women are eligible for admission. Notwithstanding some opposition, the motion was carried by a large majority. In Berlin the medical women have recently formed an association of their own. They intend to establish a hospital with a staff exclusively composed of women, where there will be wards for the poor as well as paying wards for patients of better position. The number of medical women in Berlin has increased since they were admitted to the States examination, thus obtaining the opportunity of becoming duly qualified. Nearly every one of the numerous medical societies of Berlin now includes women. A number of medical women were present at the Bombay Medical Congress recently, and at the first general meeting of the Association of Medical Women in India, held at the House of Dr. Annette Benson, Physician in charge of the Cama Hospital, Miss Staley, M.B., described on behalf of the Council the scheme for the organisation of a Women's Medical Service for India.

A movement starting in America has led to the formation of an International Association of Medical Museums, which has just published its second bulletin. It is interesting to note that the secretary-treasurer of this important association is Dr. Maude E. Abbott, of McGill University.

Fraülein Johanna Westdorf, one of the most distinguished women in Germany, is retiring from the post of director of the National Archaeological Museum at Kiel, a position she has occupied for thirty-five years. She is eighty years of age.

At the Nursing Conference.

A recent event of interest to women was the second annual Nursing and Midwifery Conference and Exhibition at the Grafton Galleries. A general discussion took place on the direct representation of midwives on the Central Midwives Board, and Mrs. M. Lawson, President to the National Association of Midwives, Manchester, moved that in the opinion of the Conference the time was opportune when the midwives of the country should be directly represented on the Central Midwives Board, and on local supervising committees. Apart from direct representation, Mrs. Lawson said the midwives' point of view was not seen or considered, and she contended that without it they would never be able to do any good for the profession. Miss Beilon urged the Suffragist point of view, and said that at the root of all women's grievances was the want of the Parliamentary vote, a remark received with cheers.

A Woman's University in Paris.

"Cousine Yvonne," daughter of the late Francisque Sarcay, one of the most eminent critics of the nineteenth century, has, we understand, started a Woman's University in Paris. This institution gives instruction in all branches of knowledge, and is open to young women of all sorts and conditions in life. A success from the first, its popularity has grown so rapidly that now the Université des Annales occupies a handsome modern building of its own in the very heart of the city. The lectures, which are of a very high character, are delivered by the most eminent French writers and orators.

Triumph of the Women Teacher.

The annual report of the West Ham Education Committee deals, among other things, with the interesting question of whether women teachers are a success in the lower standards of boys' schools. An experiment made by the committee resulted in the increase of the number of women teachers appointed.

ELEMENTS OF THE WOMAN SUFFRAGE DEMAND

By F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

Chapter XI.—Demonstrations Leading to Arrest and Imprisonment.

The most important of all the militant operations of the Women's Social and Political Union are those demonstrations which lead to arrest and imprisonment. In them is expressed the ultimate policy of the Union, which is rebellion to the Powers that be so long as women remain without their constitutional rights.

To those whose minds are cleared of conventional prejudices it becomes at once apparent that no other policy is possible. All government rests on the consent of the governed, and no one can be governed against his will except he be physically constrained. To those who disapprove of the continuance of the Government in its present form there are only two alternatives, submission or rebellion. Submission means that however much the Government may refuse to do justice, however much it may turn a deaf ear to appeals or entreaties, it will be obeyed. Rebellion means that its decision is challenged, and challenged right up to the point when Government calls in its powers of physical force to restrain the rebel.

Circumstances alone can decide which of these two courses may be right at a particular time. In the great woman's movement, for many years a course of submissive entreaty was adopted. Against this attitude the Government presented a front of contemptuous opposition, and the average politician and the man in the street did not attempt to take those seriously who brought no other pressure to bear than quiet and mild entreaty. That day has gone by. To-day, when a deputation is appointed to go and see Mr. Asquith and he refuses to see them, the policy adopted by the women is to proceed in their attempt until the power of physical force which the Government possesses is used to overcome them. Such a course is the only one for self-respecting women to pursue. To give in, to abandon the deputation, to fall back upon fruitless entreaty, would be cowardly and hopeless. It would imply submission to the Powers that be. It would of itself constitute that "consent of the governed" on which the authority of the Government rests, and it accordingly would strengthen the hands of the Government in its opposition to the claims of women. The other alternative of going forward until arrested and imprisoned not only implies no shame—for there is nothing derogatory about being beaten by *force majeure*—but is a direct duty. The only shameful and derogatory course is to abandon a sacred duty before *force majeure* has been applied.

Opponents of the militant methods of the Union often say that they do not believe in the use of force, and they condemn the action of the women in consequence. How completely muddle-headed they are! The whole opposition to the woman's movement is only possible because the Government use force in order to quell the rebellion of the women, while the women who are fighting for their rights do not use force against them.

Who are the Belligerents?

But the women, though they do not use force, do take part in a rebellion. Rebellion means war, and war implies an enemy to be fought. The enemy of the women is the Government of the day. Ignorant people sometimes imagine when they see the conflicts in the streets of London between the women and the police that the women are fighting against the police force of the country. Their mistake is the same as would be that of those people who, seeing the soldiery of two countries engaged in a battle, should imagine that the quarrel was between the individual members of the two armies instead of between the countries which they represent. Just as when two countries are at war we do not find the Prime Ministers engaging in a hand-to-hand conflict, so in this war between the women and the Government the women do not find themselves ranged in direct combat with Mr. Asquith and the other members of the Cabinet. Instead the Government of the day prefer to call

forth their armed retainers in the shape of the police force of the country, and it is by them that the women find themselves confronted when a deputation is appointed to go and seek Mr. Asquith.

Between the women and the police there is no quarrel; the women know perfectly well that the police have to do their duty as they have to do theirs. Individual members of the force may possibly exceed their duty and use unnecessary violence in resisting the women, but, though the women experience considerable suffering in their task, especially in such individual cases of maltreatment, they do not for one moment lose sight of the main fact that their only enemy is the Government, and that the police are merely the agents of that Government called out to prevent them from winning their political battle.

The Nature of the Women's War.

The war which the women are waging with the Government differs in certain cardinal features from the wars which men have waged in times past; it is a war conducted, on the part of the women, without weapons and without any physical violence. When men have fought for their rights in this country riots have taken place, bloodshed has ensued. When they fought in South Africa only a few years back many thousands of lives were sacrificed; men thought this worth while in order to attain their ends. Women, who, as the mothers of the race, have a greater respect for human life, have avoided this mistake; instead, they have given their own liberty as a pledge to win the liberty of their sex, for it is a universal truth that the price of national liberty is personal liberty—personal physical liberty, which must be jeopardised and sacrificed if the liberty of a race or a sex is to be won. But though the struggle of the women results in the loss of personal physical liberty, those who sacrifice themselves for this ideal, who willingly undergo imprisonment for the sake of their cause, gain for their individual selves as well as for their sex a freedom far greater than they have ever known before. That is why there is found a new light in the eyes of those who have passed through the prison gates; that is why they are possessed of a power which their enemies cannot understand. It is for this reason also that the Women's Social and Political Union holds the imagination of the men as well as the women of the country, that it commands their respect, and that it has achieved a growth and influence that seem almost miraculous.

Women who are living in this country to-day have a glorious opportunity of proving their loyalty to an ideal; it is an opportunity which the truly great of all ages have looked forward to, but have often failed to find. Those who take that opportunity to-day may not be known by name in years to come, but their sacrifice and their devotion will have given them a place for ever among the saviours of their race.

GRACE DARLING IN THE LONDON STREETS.

Londoners have already seen a modern Queen Elizabeth and the new Joan of Arc in processions of the W.S.P.U. through the streets, and to-morrow (Saturday) they will have the opportunity of seeing another heroine of the past, Grace Darling. It had already been arranged to have a procession to advertise the Great Exhibition on May 8, and when it was found that this date coincided with Lifeboat Saturday Grace Darling was at once selected as the chief feature of the procession. The procession will form up in Kingsway at 10.30 on Saturday morning, and will start at 11 o'clock, a double band marching at the head. Then will follow a large banner announcing the Exhibition. Next will come Grace Darling, and there will also be a Maypole decorated with ribbons in the colours of the W.S.P.U. A large number of London members are expected to take part in the procession, which will be accompanied by horsewomen. The whole procession is expected to be very picturesque and of a unique character.

The delivery of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's motor-car is expected shortly, and it will be at once utilised for advertising the Exhibition. It will be gaily decorated in the colours, and will drive round various London streets.

PUTTING BACK THE CLOCK?

By LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON.

A point of special practical concern to workers in this movement for female enfranchisement is the attitude of those who support it in theory but disapprove of it in practice. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN may, therefore, perhaps, be interested in typical examples of this kind of opinion, as expressed in two letters from private correspondents—one from a man, a Member of Parliament holding a position of great influence and responsibility; the other from a woman who, from youth up, has been conversant with the mechanism of the State, the turmoil of Parliamentary Elections, and the inner history of Cabinets.

The woman writes:—"The theoretic arguments seem to me all in favour of women's votes—I mean, as regards their right to them being as good as men's, and their fitness for them being, in many cases, greater. But, even as I write these sentences, I am conscious of their utter unreality as coming from me. . . . Except in the most indirect and inadequate sense, I do not see that the franchise gives power to those who have it. There may be occasions when the moderate desire of a very large majority of the electorate secures a result, but from what I have seen it is the passionate desire of a small minority which is usually the triumphant force. And yet the machinery by which laws are passed always depends on the vote of the majority. That means, so it seems to me, that the voter is only a piece of machinery; he (and it would be the same with she) votes by a will that is not his: the power lies elsewhere. . . . Therefore, I cannot measure the importance of the franchise by that of the social and economic reforms which it is desirable—immensely desirable—to effect in the position of women. It may help these forward; I am not sure. Anyhow, it is not a cause in which I can feel any real interest, which can in any way stir my sympathies. . . . If a way was pointed out to me of helping (without serious harm in other directions) in any direct or adequate fashion towards securing for women a more independent economic position—above all, for interfering with the lower type of man in his appalling abuse of the power which their present dependent position gives him—then I won't say that I should take action, but at least my conscience would torment me grievously until I did."

The Value of the Vote.

I agree with this correspondent that the voter is a piece of machinery, but I cannot follow on to the amazing deduction that it is, therefore, valueless. It is a medium, a channel of expression. A steam engine is a piece of machinery, a musical instrument is a piece of machinery, only that; but by their help the mechanic and the artist can express themselves. A widely extended franchise is the machine which this country has chosen laboriously to build up. By means of it, and by no other means, the corporate will of the nation must find voice. It is on this instrument that our statesmen must learn to play, to regulate it, to probe and temper it, to extract from it full and harmonised tone. Women's enfranchisement is not a question of whether this instrument is good or bad, incorrigible, improvable, or perfect. It is a question purely of equalisation in the application of the franchise on its present basis. As Lord Robert Cecil remarked in a recent speech to the Conservative Women's Franchise Association: "Any competent political historian will agree with me that the Conservative party has consistently advocated the extension of the franchise to all those who belong to the same position, the same educational or financial position, or social position . . . as those that already possess it." The friends of democracy, on the other hand, must admit that the enfranchisement of women on the basis of the present male franchise would give immense numerical preponderance to women of the bread-winning, as distinguished from the leisured, class. Those who believe the vote valueless in any direct sense admit its indirect effect to be considerable; the indirect effect of no vote, consequently, is also considerable. Take, as an example of one large section of the community, the male members of the

Church of England. Suppose that these were disfranchised on the ground that they had the prestige, the pulpits, and the funds of the State Church as means of influencing the Legislature; suppose that they had no more direct representation in the House of Lords than they have in the House of Commons. Suppose, at the same time that the priesthood and members of the Roman Catholic, Nonconformist, Jewish, and other Churches had direct representation in the House of Lords and the Parliamentary franchise on the present basis. Would those who agree with my correspondent maintain that legislation bearing on Church interests would then have been the same as it has been; and would they discard, under these imagined conditions, a proposal to enfranchise the clergy and members of the Church of England as giving them no additional leverage whereby to affect their position? Do they think, too, that recent labour legislation would have been achieved without the extension of the franchise to the labouring class?

A Politician's View.

I turn now to my male correspondent, a staunch advocate of Woman Suffrage, to whom I had sent information as to the overwhelming demand of women for the vote. His contention, which has been verbally reported to me, was of the kind put forward by the late Mr. Gladstone in a letter circulated against the Bill of 1892: "There has never within my knowledge been a case in which the franchise has been extended to a large body of persons generally indifferent about receiving it." This point was well met by Mr. Arthur Balfour during a House of Commons debate on the same Bill. He said:

"I think those who wished to be enfranchised have used the only methods they could use in the matter. That is to say, they have expressed their desire to obtain the vote on platforms and by public meetings, and by whatever other means were open to them. The hon. gentleman appears to think that there was a widespread desire on the part of the agricultural labourers to claim the franchise in 1885. I do not believe the desire existed, and I am sure it was never demonstrated. I am sure it could not be demonstrated; there were no means of demonstrating it except the means which have been used in the present case—platform speeches, public meetings, petitions, votes, and resolutions. . . . The argument of the hon. and learned gentleman (Mr. Asquith) was that in the case of every previous Reform Bill there had been a grievance of the class to be enfranchised which required to be redressed, and which could not, and would not, be redressed until the franchise was given to them, and he pointed out with great force that in connection with each of the great Reform Bills the grievances of the enfranchised class came to the front. But when did they come to the front? Did they come to the front before the enfranchised class received the vote or after it? The hon. and learned gentleman has only to consider the list of cases he has himself given, and he will discover that it was only after the vote was conferred that it was discovered that this House had really a function to perform in modifying legislation in this country in the interests of the new class of voters. . . ."

In acknowledging the papers my correspondent writes:—"The facts are not easy to get at, and the lists you send me, though important and valuable, give no conclusive answer. Organisations, for instance, like the first and one of the largest on your list (the National British Women's Temperance Association) would almost certainly in their corporate capacity desire the vote, if only to carry on their particular propaganda. My observation rather referred to the great mass of our female population, and their opinions are much more difficult to arrive at." I take it that the declaration of the above-named Temperance Association in favour of the vote is proof of the practical foundation for the general demand as reflected in a woman's organisation of this kind. Had men been disfranchised at the introduction of the recent Licensing Bill, an appeal for the vote from an Association of Amalgamated Brewers could hardly have been discounted on the ground that their reason for needing it was obvious as a means of furthering their particular interests. Both licence-holders and temperance reformers may be mistaken from the point of view

of the State's welfare, but the fact that monetary and concrete self-interest have less influence with the latter than the former cannot be considered a reason for refusing them a hearing.

Another point often alluded to by professed friends is the opposition offered by individual women. The vote is not compulsory nor is it proposed to make it so. Those who think themselves unfitted to vote need not use the power when it is within their reach. The Anti-Suffrage League, therefore, is, in fact, an organisation of women who are opposed to the granting of votes to other women. Every extension of the franchise to men has in like manner been met by opposition from men; many of all classes to this day disapprove of their present wide franchise.

During the last forty years, by memorials and petitions, by declarations and resolutions at meetings and demonstrations, immensely large numbers of women have appealed for the vote. But numbers are not the sole nor the chief point to be considered. The question turns rather on the representative character of those who claim this right and on the force of the arguments they bring forward to show the injustice to women and the consequent handicap to the nation of the present unequal adjustment of the franchise. The great bulk of the population, both men and women, are necessarily of a type to be influenced by students of their interests more conscious than themselves of the need for reforms and more keen in carrying them through. If collective bodies of women representing education, social service, the learned professions, Government servants, skilled trades, and organised labour agree in asking for the vote, their unanimity on this question, the extreme necessity to which they are able to point, the courage with which many of them overcome the natural diffidence of women in order loudly to cry out for belated justice, do not these signs, in their concentrated intensity, count for more than mere extensity of numbers, great as that has been proved to be?

The Time for Activity.

The point at which this movement has finally arrived was exactly described by Mr. Herbert Gladstone in his speech in favour of Mr. Stanger's Bill of last year. "On this question," he said, "experience showed that predominance of argument alone—and he believed that had been obtained—was not enough to win the political day. . . . Then came the time when political dynamics were far more important than political argument." I have a picture in my mind which seems to illustrate the situation. A railway train, packed and equipped for its journey, awaits the signal to start, but an obstacle across the line blocks the way. The passengers appeal for its removal. Authority answers, "We agree it should be removed," but, pressed on all sides to attend to other matters, nothing is done. Presently a new engine driver takes over and proceeds to connect the steam, realising that the removal of the obstacle depends upon the train being set in motion. Authority then grows angry and agitated; spectators assemble and swear at the engine driver for the ricks incurred by this reckless conduct of affairs. But at last the claim of the passengers is heard and understood, and there is a stir towards the obstacle on the part of those who alone can remove it.

The accumulated inertia due to mere inactive approval has told against the women's cause as no active opposition could have done. The vigour and effort of its tides over and over again have been stemmed by breakwaters of merely verbal approval. Its first need was a policy that would expose, so that it might overcome, the reactionary behaviour of those who speak it fair. It is not those who fight in the vanguard who are "putting back" the cause, but the stragglers who clog its advance by stagnant approval.

The leaders of the Conservative party, the late Lord Salisbury and Mr. Arthur Balfour, and numbers of their rank and file have for years commended this reform. Many of the members of the present Government profess to be supporters of the woman's cause. They include Lord Morley, Mr. Herbert Gladstone, Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Edward Grey, and Mr. Haldane. The Labour Party, led by Mr. Keir Hardie, whose support has been loyal and more than nominal, contained hardly any opponents of woman's franchise, and 420 members of the House of Commons were pledged to its principles—many of them pledged, as was afterwards shown, not only by their election time promises, but by their independent opinion on a private Bill; in 1908 271 members voted

for Mr. Stanger's Bill. This company of friends was headed by Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, whose verbal advocacy of the women's cause was open and unstinting. When receiving the Women's Suffrage deputation in 1906 he welcomed them with a speech that could not be surpassed for fervent backing of their claim.

But what was the advice, what the promise of his peroration?—"I have only one thing to preach to you, and that is the virtue of patience." Patience, the arch enemy of this movement! If it had not been for a superfluity of patience, would it be possible for responsible Ministers still at this eleventh hour to be asking, "Where is the women's need, and what the extent of their appeal?" At this point in the history of our constitution, franchise reforms should be acceded when they show themselves to be just, necessary, and expedient without awaiting further testimony. The vote is the voice of the dumb, the more than half-unconscious automatic speech of the normal, occupied, non-political citizen. To raise conscious expression into this dumb mass without the franchise necessitates agitation and public revolt. How can women, above all the women of a modern hyper-civilised country, speak in that way? When the conditions of government ignore the lessons of civilisation, the results are the same as they have been from all time. "The revolutions that come to pass in great States are not the result of chance, nor of popular caprice. As for the populace, it is never from a passion of attack that it rebels, but from impatience of suffering." While the legislators "again and again deliberate before aiding in the issue," the laws enter the factories in which women work, the homes in which they live, and decide, uncontrolled by them, how their money shall be spent, their labour regulated, their children reared. On the one hand, driven out from their homes by insecurity of right, undefended, unsheltered, and unfed, they, on the other hand, are wedged in by laws which hinder their right to work, and grind down the standard of their labour market to the inhuman minimum which now degrades its many branches; and in numberless departments of the public service the door is still shut to the educated woman whose point of view would be invaluable to her less fortunate sisters. Without injury to any but themselves they press their claim for justice till there is no choice for the Government of the day but to listen to the appeal or stifle it by repressive measures which to posterity will seem incomparably more incredible, more ludicrous, and more compromising to national honour than the behaviour of the rebellious women themselves.

The women who rebel to-day are no friends to disorder. Having their quarrel just, they are thrice armed, and the weapons that they carry are publicity, persistency, and self-sacrifice. Misinterpretation scoffs on every side, "Absurdity, noise, advertisement," but while abusing the methods, the minds of the startled spectators inevitably turn to recognise the injustice which, at overwhelming cost to themselves, has pressed women of every class and temperament into the forefront of the fight. The conspiracy of silence is broken, since abuse of the methods cannot contain itself; the prejudice which damned with contempt the woman's franchise cause has lifted and moved itself on to the "fighting Suffragettes"; the angry demand that they should in future be personally disfranchised has made way for the claim of other women to enfranchisement. When we look closer and see of what stuff the leaders of this militant movement are made, at what cost they have flung aside self-interest to push forward, as they believe, the welfare of all women, and, through women, of all mankind, can it be thought that they are concerned as to laurels of reward? The only reward that they value is achievement of their aim. Theirs is the spirit of pioneer road-makers who blast the rocks that others may tread a fair path; for them the mountainous opposition, the dust and noise and labour of breaking through; for them, too, the royal prize—the fact that the road is made. To the women who show such a spirit what bribe can there be in personal compensation, what force in repression, in misrepresentation, in contempt? They have raised a sound which will echo through the centuries, the voice

"Of a loud and high defiance hurl'd

At sorrow and darkness and sin,"

and to those of the rank and file who humbly follow in their footsteps no outward disgrace is costly, no sacrifice is dear, and the privilege to serve the cause led by them is abundant reward.

THE PURPLE, WHITE, AND GREEN

At the Women's Exhibition, Knightsbridge, May 13 to 26.

Before our next issue is in the hands of our readers, the Prince's Skating Rink at Knightsbridge will already be thronged with those who have come to the opening of the Women's Exhibition of 1909.

Get Tickets Early to Avoid the Rush.

On all our readers we wish to urge the extreme advisability of obtaining their tickets before the opening of the Exhibition in order to relieve the great pressure which will otherwise fall upon those who are selling tickets at the Exhibition building itself. There will undoubtedly be a great attendance of the general public, and the task of dealing with the sale of tickets will be very onerous indeed unless all our members and friends make a point of obtaining their tickets beforehand, either from 4, Clements Inn, or at next Monday afternoon's At Home at the Scala Theatre, or through the Secretaries of local Unions.

On the opening day the charge for admission to the opening ceremony and up to six o'clock will be 2s. 6d. These half-crown tickets are violet in colour. Admission on the opening day from six o'clock onwards will be 1s., and on every day afterwards the admission will be one shilling. The shilling tickets, both for the evening of the opening day and for every day afterwards, are of one colour—green—and are otherwise identical; that is to say, they bear no dates and therefore a shilling ticket once bought can be used either on the 13th from six o'clock onwards, or should one be prevented from coming on that day the same ticket will admit one upon some other day. This is intended to facilitate the purchase of tickets beforehand, and we most earnestly hope that all members and friends will take advantage of the arrangement.

Season Tickets.

Season tickets will cost 5s. We would point out that this is really a good investment, both for its convenience and its low price. It is, for instance, cheaper than buying separate tickets for the opening ceremony and for three subsequent visits.

Important Notice to Local Secretaries.

Tickets for the Exhibition can now be obtained from 4, Clements Inn, on sale or return. Local Secretaries and others are urged to send for handbills for distribution, also for posters if they are able to get them displayed. Address the Exhibition Secretary, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

The Purple, White, and Green.

There is little further that need now be said of the Exhibition itself. Of the articles for sale, the novel exhibits, the pictures, the splendid entertainments and music, the admirable arrangements for the comfort and refreshment of guests, much has been said.

Our readers, however, have yet to learn something of what is perhaps the greatest feature of the Exhibition, and that is, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's great colour scheme in the Purple, White, and Green.

As we approach the Prince's Skating Rink we shall find that the outside of the building lends life and colour to Knightsbridge and Hill Street.

Around the building from Venetian masts, will float bannerets in purple, white, and green. Just below them trophies of colours will be grouped behind heraldic shields, and from mast to mast intertwined lines of fair garlands will swing.

The upper part of the building will be even more picturesquely draped and festooned with the colours, and from the roof more masts will rise with bannerets flying.

None can mistake who is in possession of the building for the time being. The women have planted their colours here, and bravely they fly.

This outer bravery is but the note of the colour scheme of decorations carried through alike within and without under the superintendence of Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

Let us suppose that it is the fateful opening day, and we are at the Prince's Skating Rink.

The Decorations.

The first thing that will strike the visitor is Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's beautiful work, bold and original in conception, and carried throughout the building with exquisite attention to detail.

Along the whole length of the walls, that is to say, for 214 ft. on either side, runs a series of arched panels. The arches consist of rich, decorative designs, in which the principal features are a mingling of ivy, the vine, and the rose; the conventional clusters of ripe purple grapes and the green of the ivy supplying the dominant colours, which are varied by the brilliant hues of orchid-winged butterflies.

In the centres of the panels, which measure about 15 ft. across, are three designs which alternate throughout. These are: A pelican on its nest with two young feeding from its breast; a dove rising with outspread wings and holding an olive branch in its mouth; and the broad arrow surrounded by a wreath of laurels.

The lettering shows that these decorations carry a story with them, but on first entering one's eye is drawn to the vista converging towards the further end of the building which is covered by a magnificent canvas having for its centre a group of three beautiful female figures at least twice life size. The most commanding of these figures stands upon the green sward. Around her feet spring daisies, daffodils, and many bright-coloured wild flowers, whilst a briar rose in blossom also rises up here in pattern-like quaintness. This central figure, in whose arms is a sheaf of grain, is clad in a robe of neutral tint, relieved with purple wherever the robe is raised or drawn back.

The figures looking either way from the central one supply the green and purple notes of the group. They are expressing in music their joy at the harvest, typified by the gathered sheaf. Above their heads is a golden sun which irradiates the picture.

The vine and ivy design forms a great arch over this splendid group. In the great panels either side of it are symbolic trees loaded with fruit and flowers. One realises now that this group is the culmination of the design, the climax of a drama, for the figures are radiant and triumphant, as those should be who have reaped success.

The Sower and the Reaper.

The design, in fact, is interpreted by the Psalmist's words running round the building: "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. He that goeth forth and weepeth, bearing precious seed, shall doubtless come again with rejoicing, bringing his sheaves with him."

Across the culminating picture appear the words: "Shall doubtless come again with rejoicing."

The story actually begins with the picture which is best seen when we are returning from the further end of the hall. Near the entrance, upon our right, is a large canvas on which appears the figure of "The Sower," representing the opening words of the text: "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

The final group are radiant in their triumph, symbolised in the sheaf of gathered grain. The sower is eager and anxious, stepping forward and looking forward into the unknown future. On each side of her figure are a small and a large arched panel, each containing perfect conventional representations of the almond tree, whose blossoms exquisitely typify the first and fairest promise of spring.

There will be few who will not then again pursue Miss Pankhurst's theme from "The Sower" to "The Reaper," and thus enjoy her work in detail.

The National Stalls.

The four stalls—Nos. 18, 26, 37, and 42—which bear the articles kindly sent to the National Women's Social and Political Union.

have been named after the four Executive Officers of the Union, viz.:—Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and Mrs. Tuke.

Entertainments.

On May 22 and 26 Miss Rita Milman will produce a new and original sketch, written by herself, entitled "A Suffrage Episode." The scene is laid in the Prince's Skating Rink itself. The sketch is both amusing and instructive, for it appeals to historical fact to show that women of the present time are demanding nothing new in law. In many instances the actual words of historical personages are put into the mouths of the performers.

The Actresses' Franchise League have received additional offers of help from the following:—Mr. Malcolm Scott, Miss Helen Mar, Miss Elsie Hall, Miss Vera le Fleming (child dancer), Miss Beningfield (cello), Miss Fanny Wentworth.

The Ice-Cream Soda Fountain.

Mrs. Baillie Guthrie is at present serving an apprenticeship in the preparation of aerated drinks, such as lemon squash, ginger ale, soda water, and such-like drinks, in order that she may supply these to the refreshment department for their cold collations! The soda fountain is a considerable undertaking, necessitating supplies of block ice and ice cream, large stocks of syrups and fruits—not to mention the minor details of cylinders of CO₂. For all these, together with the moving, fixing, connecting, the glass, breakages, etc., and, in fact, every detail, Mrs. Baillie Guthrie has made herself solely responsible. This is a heavy responsibility, and all who can do so should send some subscription towards the expense of the materials and thus promote the success of this attraction.

The Lucky Tub.

The Lucky Tub, which is being managed by Mrs. East in connection with the Chiswick stall, should prove a popular feature. Those who are making gifts for the benefit of the Exhibition should not overlook Mrs. East's Lucky Tub. All sorts of small articles, pretty, amusing, or useful, will be welcome, nor need gifts be restricted to smaller things, because there will be dips at varying prices from one penny to one shilling.

Refreshment Department.

Stall-holders and helpers engaged in the Rink on Tuesday and Wednesday will be able to obtain light luncheons and teas at moderate prices from the refreshment stalls. The Hon. Secretaries wish to acknowledge the following contributions:—Mrs. Beaumont Thomas, £15; Mrs. Saul Solomon, £1; Mrs. Willock, £1; Mrs. Ward Higgs, £1; Messrs. Lipton, tea to the value of £1. Miss Daisy Dugdale has undertaken to paint all the menu cards. Contributions will be welcome, either of money or provisions, especially fruit and tinned fruits, strawberries and bananas, cream and butter.

HOW TO GET THERE.

To those of our provincial friends who are not familiar with London we would point out that Knightsbridge is south of Hyde Park, and that the Prince's Skating Rink is at the corner of Hill Street, and near to the junction of Brompton Road and Sloane Street with Knightsbridge.

The nearest railway station is Knightsbridge Station, on the Great Northern, Piccadilly, and Brompton Tube Railway. Passengers may book through to this station from any station on the other London underground railways. These are the following:—

Bakerloo Railway,	District Railway,
Central London Railway,	Great Northern and City Railway,
City and South London Railway,	Hampstead Railway,
	Metropolitan Railway.

This rule applies to all stations in the London underground area. Passengers may also book from further north than this on the Great Northern Railway, and further west and south on the District Railway.

Omnibuses.

There are numbers of omnibus services passing or coming close to the entrance.

The London General Omnibus Company runs the following services:—

MOTOR.

Between Child's Hill and Ebury Bridge. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Orickwood and Victoria. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Putney and Stratford. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Hammersmith and Leyton. Pass the door.

HORSE.

Between Putney and Liverpool Street. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Putney Common and Liverpool Street. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Turnham Green and London Bridge. Pass the door.
Between King's Cross and Victoria (royal blue). Nearest point, Hyde Park Corner.
Between King's Cross and Victoria (green). Nearest point, Hyde Park Corner.
Between Piccadilly and Baker Street. Nearest point, Hyde Park Corner.
Between Hammersmith and Bayswater. Pass the door.
Between Earl's Court and Elephant. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between West Kensington and London Bridge. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Greyhound and London Bridge. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Greyhound Road and Islington. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
Between Hornsey Rise and Sloane Square. Nearest point, Sloane Street.
The Atlas and Waterloo green omnibus running between Elephant and Castle and Earl's Court, via Vauxhall Bridge, Victoria, and Sloane Street, stops at the Knightsbridge end of Sloane Street.

From Home Counties and Provinces.

The following are some of the arrangements of the principal railway companies for excursions from the home counties and provinces during the period that the Exhibition is open.

Great Northern Railway.—There are day and half-day excursions every Wednesday and Saturday during May from Letchworth, Hitchin, Welwyn, etc., and from Luton and district; also on Thursdays and Saturdays from practically all stations between Hitchin and Peterboro', from most places in the Hertford, Hatfield, and St. Albans districts, Peterboro' and Grantham districts, and Derby and Nottingham. From the principal places also there are excursions for two to eight day periods.

Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway.—On Monday morning, 24th, and Tuesday night, 25th, there are excursions for a varying number of days from Manchester, Salford, Oldham, Southport, Wigan, Burnley, and, in fact, most parts of Lancashire.

London, Brighton, and S.C.R.—There are the usual cheap return tickets on Fridays and Saturdays from most places on the London, Brighton; also day return tickets from Hastings, St. Leonards, and a large number of other places on Wednesdays, and from many places on Fridays.

L. and N.W. Railway.—There are excursions for half-day, one day, and varying periods up to eight days, as follows:—On May 15 and 22, Coventry and Rugby; on May 24, Birmingham, Carlisle, Crewe, Dudley, Leamington, Lancaster, Liverpool, Manchester, Penrith, Runcorn, Stafford, Stockport, St. Helens, Warwick, Warrington, Walsall, Wigan, Wolverhampton; Thursday and Saturday, May 20 and 22, Nottingham, Leicester, and most places in these districts; also Hinkley and Nuneaton.

Midland Railway.—On this line there are excursions for half-day, one day, and varying periods up to eight days, every Thursday and Saturday during May, from Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, Pye Bridge, Ilkeston, St. Albans, and Bedford, and most places in these districts. Every Wednesday and Saturday, day and half-day bookings from the Hemel Hempstead, Luton, and Kettering districts.

North-Eastern.—On Tuesday, 18th, for two, four, and eight days, from all principal stations.

S.E. and Chatham.—Every Wednesday excursions from nearly all places on this line, and from Abbey Wood, Swanley, Faversham, and the Lee and Woolwich districts.

L. and S.W. Railway.—There are excursions from Ascot, Addlestone, Ashted, Alton, Ash Green, Byfleet, Bookham, Bentley, Bordon, Bracknell, Barnes, Chertsey, Clandon, Cobham, Eastleigh, Esher, Effingham Junction, Epsom, Feltham, Fulwell, Farnham, Guildford, Hounslow, Hampton Court, Haslemere, Horsley, Isleworth, Kingston, Leatherhead, Milford, Malden, Norbiton, Oxshott, Petersfield, Raynes Park, Richmond, Surbiton, Shepperton, Strawberry Hill, Twickenham, Thames Ditton, Tongham, Wimbledon, Weybridge, Walton, Woking Junction, Winchester, and Wanborough on Wednesdays. There are excursions from Bagshot, Camberley, Frimley on Mondays; Southampton and district Fridays and Saturdays; Basingstoke, Brentford, Chiswick, Egham, Sunbury and Staines on Thursdays; Reading, Windsor, and Wokingham on Wednesdays and Saturdays.

Wales.

On Monday, 24th, for three, five, and six days from Pool Quay, Brecon, Newbridge, Rhayader, etc., Oswestry, Wrexham, Ellesmere, etc., Borth, Llanidloes, Newtown, Montgomery, Pwllheli, Barmouth, Aberdovey, etc., and Aberystwyth.

Scotland.

The Caledonian Railway, and the Glasgow and South Western, both have excursions from many places on Tuesday, 25th, and there are of course the usual week-end tickets issued every Friday and Saturday available for return on the Sunday, Monday or Tuesday.

WHAT THE FOREIGN DELEGATES SAW.

"Sweet lady,
No court in Europe is too good for thee,
What dost thou, then, in prison?"

—"Winter's Tale."



"Pride and shame"—the keynote of Mrs. Pankhurst's speech at the Criterion Restaurant on Friday morning—found an echo in the hearts of many who took part in that day's doings, and who knew the events which led up to them. Pride that England has so many daughters who gladly give of their own freedom—some more than once—because of their intense love of freedom; and shame that there exists a Government that demands so great a price and sees in their courage, determination, and spiritual perception only food for coercion and—ridicule.

Did the Government stop to think, when it ordered that these women should be treated with the severity meted out to them any time these last three years, how the people of other lands would judge them? When, at the end of March, members of the Mother of Parliaments "from behind the protection of the police stood and watched the fun," as two score women were hurled to and fro until, exhausted, they were ultimately arrested, did they consider that the cloud of witnesses was soon to be augmented by keen observers from countries where such treatment of women would be accounted a shameful thing? They have come, these foreign delegates, from America, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa, and from nineteen countries of Europe to see with their own eyes what is going on in the storm-centre of the women's movement. And they have seen—what? Women of education and refinement, women valued for their public and private work for the State, treated as common criminals because they dared to demand that which should be theirs by right, recognition as citizens. It is to liberty-loving England under a Government calling itself Liberal that these visitors from other lands come to see such things—a fine object-lesson for the peoples of the earth to gaze upon!

And what impression has it made upon them? Are they horrified, disgusted with these "militants?" No! They say it is "splendid," it is the finest thing they have seen in all their lives, it is the most interesting phase of the English Suffrage movement. "We have nothing like it in our country," said one.

"I am just longing," said another, "to come and live in this country and throw myself into this movement!" Expressions of admiration of the militants, and appreciation of the strength of the movement, have been indeed heard on all sides.

"Are there women in your country willing to go to prison for the vote?" they were asked. And invariably the answer was, "It is not necessary. Our men would not let us. We shall get the vote without."

"Never," said a delegate from Hungary, "have I seen anything so touching." She with many others, had been at the prison gates to meet the women on their release. She had

heard the stirring strains of the "Marscellaise," seen the gathering crowds and waving flags, felt the tense moment of waiting for the heavy doors to swing back, and joined in the cheers, greetings, and congratulations showered upon the "prisoners." "Most touching of all," she said, "was the moment when a tiny girl, clutching a posy of purple, white, and green, ran to meet the mother from whom she had been separated for a month."

The Welcome Breakfast.

No detail escaped these keen observers, who joined in the procession from Holloway. They saw the welcomes waved from many windows, heard the sympathetic comments of the bystanders, as, following the colour-bearer, banner, horsewomen, and prisoners' carriage, they drove through the London streets on that April morning. And then, as the leaders, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Christabel Pankhurst, Annie Kenney, Mary Gawthorpe—women whose names have become household words in many countries where the stirring of a new life is awakening womanhood to its true nobility—entered the crowded room, followed by the comrades just returned to the world, these women of other lands joined in the cheers that greeted them and that lasted until they had taken the seats of honour on either side of the chair occupied by the "Napoleon of the movement" (as one of the papers called her), Mrs. Pankhurst.

Among all that throng of newly released prisoners perhaps more than ordinary interest centred in the colour-bearer. All had acted on those momentous last days of March, to the events of which they owed their imprisonment, with magnificent courage. But this girl had been in the forefront of the battle. She had carried the colours, and, in spite of treatment that made those who witnessed it turn sick with horror, had never let them go. And for all these women, who "held the glory and honour [of the Liberal Government] so cheap that they dared them with one little ship and their dauntless few," a special greeting was waiting, and in the cheers that resounded through the hall the foreign delegates joined with warm enthusiasm.

The internationalism of the occasion was accentuated when Mrs. Pankhurst rose to speak.

Having welcomed the prisoners, she extended a greeting to "those other women representing the nations of the earth." With pride and shame she told them the story of those closing days of March, when, appointed by great meetings in Lancashire, these women had gone to the Prime Minister carrying a resolution, unanimously passed at those meetings, calling upon the Government to enfranchise the duly qualified women of the nation during the present session of Parliament. How negotiations had been opened with the Prime Minister by letter, and how, on his refusal to receive the deputation, these women had determined to go in spite of that refusal; how, unarmed, they had tried for hours to force their way through the columns of police, and how, when some were arrested on the 30th, the remainder of the deputation renewed their attempt on the 31st, and were in turn arrested. At the words, "I want you women from other countries to admire with me the bravery of these women," applause broke out all over the hall, and as the speaker went on to tell how the members of Parliament jeered at the sight of these women being forced back again and again, there were cries of "Shame!" For this service, said Mrs. Pankhurst, these women were welcomed and honoured. Their service, however, did not end there. On the morrow they would go—some to Sheffield, others to Stratford-on-Avon—to fight the Government in a more equal contest. How could any Government stand out against courage and determination like this? These women were paving the way for those less fortunate than themselves—they were paving the way for the women of the whole world.

The Effect of Imprisonment.

Next, Mrs. Eates spoke. She was introduced by Mrs. Pankhurst as one of the most devoted workers, and Hon. Secretary of the Kensington W.S.P.U. She rose to the accompaniment of "Bravos" from all over the hall.

At last, said Mrs. Eates, she could call herself by that honoured name, a Suffragette, for she had graduated in the Suffragettes' school, Holloway. To her it had seemed no prison. Those narrow

cells and high walls were symbolical of many women's lives. But even in prison there was comradeship. The leaders of the movement had been there, and their spirit sustained their followers. The bursting open of the prison gates was like the opening to the greater hope for the womanhood of the world.

Two other women—Rona Robinson and Dora Marsden—both Bachelors of Science of Manchester University, made short speeches. Miss Rona Robinson, Mrs. Pankhurst explained, having devoted herself to the work of a teacher for some years, was now about to throw her talents and energies into the enfranchisement of the woman of her profession.

Miss Robinson spoke of this wonderful movement, and of the great honour that had been done her; she could hardly believe that after spending only one month in what she described as "the dead house," she was to be one of the active workers in its ranks. There was something supernatural about this movement; it seemed, indeed, able to remove mountains.

Then Mrs. Pankhurst introduced the colour-bearer, Miss Dora Marsden, and asked: "Does it not seem a strange thing that the Government can think that the work of such women can be spared? Would it not be a wiser policy to set such women free to work for the nation's welfare? Have our rulers no better use for Bachelors of Science than to shut them up as criminals in one of our common goals?" Miss Dora Marsden, she went on, had relinquished her distinguished position as a teacher in order to go on the deputation. She bore the colours—and at this point the cheers broke out afresh—and when she came back, after being detained until Parliament rose, she showed her leaders the colours, crumpled, but unturn. Dora Marsden had more courage that day than any man of the nation—and again the cheering drowned Mrs. Pankhurst's voice.

There had only been one moment, the colour-bearer said, when her spirit had said "I won't." It was at the sight of "Black Maria." But the moment passed. The great work was the work of faith. Women could see behind the barriers—behind the veil. Because of faith she had held fast to the colours—faith in the woman's movement as the greatest cause the world had ever seen. As a teacher, she protested against the survival, in our prison system, of the fear of individual expression, which was the bane of education half a century ago. Half or a quarter of a century ago they shut up naughty boys until they came of a better mind. The same system prevailed in our prisons to-day. The thing was bad; if it was bad for healthy boys to be shut up alone with their thoughts—and modern education had condemned it—how much worse for women who went into those cells with minds darkened by sin, sorrow, and hardship, to be left under the depressing influence of solitary confinement. A system which was reduced to one form of punishment had confessed itself bankrupt of ideas. Some big-souled woman was needed in Holloway to remedy these things. For herself, she was prepared to spend another month, or even half her life if she could only give these women a better chance of a purer and a freer life. Thus the colour-bearer spoke, and then the assembly parted with one great cheer for Patricia Woodlock, who was left alone in Holloway for another two months.

At the Artists' Rooms.

At the reception held on Friday night at the Society of British Artists there was a large gathering. The beautiful banner by Mr. Laurence Housman, "From Prison to Citizenship," hung behind the chair, from which Miss Christabel Pankhurst, in introducing the prisoners, told the audience of the telegram of congratulation which had just been sent to Queen Wilhelmina.

In a brief speech Miss Pankhurst called attention to the various forthcoming events in connection with the W.S.P.U., and gave her hearty welcome to the international delegates who were present. Each of the prisoners made a short speech.

Miss Nora Binnie was the first called upon, and in a bright little speech said that never had the "Marscellaise" sounded so sweet as on the morning when the prisoners were released from Holloway. She alluded to the welcome given them as a glorious one, and said she was quite ready to go again to prison if it would advance the cause.

Miss Alice Burton adapted a quotation from "Macbeth," "I dare do all that may become a woman; who dares do more, is none."

Miss Broughton said it was only when she was sentenced to prison that she realised for the first time what this movement meant. She had been recognised then as a citizen as far as penalties went, but she demanded the privileges of a citizen also. In Holloway she had read the lives of great women reformers—Florence Nightingale, Miss Weston, and others—but when women were politically free they would create conditions in which these reforms would be unnecessary, because the evils would be tapped at the root.

Miss E. Davidson, another University woman, told of a little interview she had had with Miss Woodlock in the early hours of Friday morning, and cheers broke out at the mention of Miss Woodlock's name. Miss Woodlock had sent a message to her fellow-workers; she said, "Give them my love, and tell them I hope the cause is going strong. If only the Government knew the effect it has upon us they would realise what a terrible responsibility they are incurring in sending us to prison." She herself had been given two months'

imprisonment because she had spoken her mind plainly about the Government. This sentence had, however, been reduced to one month, the magistrate evidently realising that it had been too excessive.

Miss Farmer, like the rest of the prisoners, expressed herself proud to have taken her share in the militant action. She hoped that everyone in the room would follow their example on the first possible opportunity. At this "Bravos" and "Hurrahs" broke out again.

Miss Dora Marsden told the audience why that day was one of the happiest she had ever spent; it was because she had had a letter from her mother, who three years ago, on the occasion when Christabel Pankhurst and Annie Kenney questioned Sir Edward Grey at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, had described the meeting as "a beautiful one, but spoiled by the action of these two women, who were well-meaning no doubt, but whose action was to be deprecated." The future colour-bearer had stayed up half the night arguing the point with her mother and sisters and defending the action of the two pioneers, and now to-day a letter from her mother told her that her opinions had changed, that she approved of her daughter's action of March 30, and that on the next occasion the mother and daughter would go together to the Prime Minister. That reward, said Miss Marsden, was well earned.

Mrs. Bessie Morris said that although she had only come out of Holloway that morning she was already making plans to go on the next deputation.

Mrs. Julia Scott, of Chertsey, and Miss Kate Noblett, of Birmingham, each made a bright little speech, telling their friends that they considered they had done nothing but their duty in following the leaders, and Miss Noblett added, humorously, that she would rather go on another deputation than address an audience.

Miss Rona Robinson said she was more proud than she could express at the honour which had been done her in being appointed to take an active part in the work of the W.S.P.U.

Miss Margaret Smith delighted the audience with her racy criticism on life in Holloway, and Miss Helen Tolson, one of the Manchester delegates, said she had been strengthened in her determination to fight for the vote. She hoped women would continue to go on deputations to the Prime Minister until he acceded to their demands.

An amusing speech came from Mrs. Eates, Hon. Secretary of the Kensington W.S.P.U., and a well-known social worker. Helped by her knowledge of book-keeping, she had amused herself in Holloway by making up a profit and loss account for the Prime Minister. She had been for a month cut off from exercising her domestic rights and privileges, and this, with her cost as a prisoner, at the expense of the Government, was among the entries on the loss side of Mr. Asquith's account. She felt very proud of being able to add her quota to the work of such a great and splendid organisation as the W.S.P.U.

Miss Florence Feek said that the words of the "Women's Marscellaise" had haunted her in prison—

"For what they loved the martyrs died.

Are we of meaner soul?"

It was more than a reward for the time she had spent in prison to know that during her residence there her two brothers and a man friend had entirely changed their views on the militant methods.

Mrs. Reinold told how she had read while in Holloway the life of Joan of Arc, and was especially cheered and encouraged by the Maid's words, "If I had a hundred fathers and mothers, had I been a king's daughter, I would have gone."

Mrs. Hilton, a lady never associated, until she joined the W.S.P.U., with any women's suffrage society, said that she did not think English women realised how their action was rousing women all over the world. She was determined to go on with the fight.

Miss Selina Martin, a Lancashire woman, who was a member also of the deputation which waited on the Prime Minister last October, said that if she had not gone to Holloway her mother would have gone, and she could not bear to lose her or allow her to suffer the ill-effects of imprisonment.

Mrs. Wiseman, a University woman, who has devoted many years of her life to study, both in England and abroad, as well as to social work for women, also expressed herself as determined to continue the fight against the Government. The words which she set before herself when she went on that deputation were, "I must get into the House and see Mr. Asquith, come what may." She made some interesting remarks on the conditions of life in Holloway, and of the futility of much of the employment there. The whole system needed to be put on a higher plane, in order that the women sent there for criminal offences should be enabled on regaining their freedom to live a better and a purer life.

Miss Streatfield said the movement had given women a high hope; it was spreading to all lands, and the veil was being lifted from the lives of women in many countries.

All the prisoners were presented with the silver Holloway brooch, in the form of a gate, with two chains attached, surmounted with the broad arrow in purple, white, and green enamel.

"Enjoy?" said a delegate, when questioned as to her impressions of the day, "it is more than enjoy; I am amazed—yes, amazed at the courageousness of your women."

OUR POST BOX.

Disgusted Liberals.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—The perusal of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article, describing the changes wrought in the microcosm of Holloway Gaol by the influence of the Suffragists who have brightened its gloom with their presence, led me to think of the good which women, possessed of political power, will work in the microcosm of our social life—in our public institutions generally, in the homes of the working poor, in the streets of our cities, and in a far-extending betterment of the world.

Impelled by the conviction that innumerable reforms are embraced in this progressive movement, which so many of us have at heart, I beg your permission to state that the two votes, which for a number of years I have possessed (for the City of London and for the neighbourhood of my place of residence), at the next General Election (and at others if necessary) will be given as the President of the N.W.S.P.U. may direct.

Few of those who, with myself, had the privilege of listening to the Treasurer's magnificent speech at the Aldwych Theatre recently will be likely to forget it or the immense impression it made upon the auditors.

Enclosed is a very small contribution to the fund now being raised.—Yours, etc.,

EDWY G. CLAYTON.

Glengariff, Kew Road, Richmond, Surrey,
May 3, 1909.

Mr. Fred A. Carlton Smith writes that he has been in correspondence with his Member, Enfield Division. As the member expresses only academic sympathy, and refuses to do anything to harass the Government to give votes to women, Mr. Smith has explained to him that he feels bound to withhold his vote at the next election.

Mr. Charles B. Mabon has written to his member, Mr. H. A. Watt, for the Glasgow (College) Division, indicating his views on the urgency of the demand that women shall have the Parliamentary vote on the same terms as men. In the course of his letter he says: "I admit, of course, that there are many other changes required, but, on account of the way in which this simple measure of justice of prime importance has been played with in Parliament both by the Government and by private members professing allegiance to the Government, I intend as an 'Independent Liberal' to withhold my vote for the Glasgow (College) Division from any supporter of the existing Government, no matter what pledges he may make, until such time as the enfranchisement of women is complete, unqualified." Mr. Mabon has also sent a copy of the letter to the Prime Minister.

Mr. L. W. P. Lewis, 13, Rawlinson Road, Oxford, voter in the Otley Division and in the Oxford City Division; Mr. W. A. Jones, 2, Cowper Street, Chapeltown Road, Leeds (North Leeds Division); and Mr. W. H. Lamb, Barwick-in-Elmet (Barkston Ash Division), promise to use their Parliamentary votes against any Government that opposes votes for women.

A Disclaimer.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I thought perhaps you might like to know that I have just written to the Anti-Suffrage League, requesting that my name should be removed from their petition, which I regret I signed about two years ago. I am now thoroughly convinced of the soundness of your cause, and have become a member of the N.W.S.P.U. I am sure that, like myself, there are many who signed, but have since become Suffragettes.—Yours, etc.,

MADELEINE GAREDELL.

16, Earl's Court Square, South Kensington, S.W.

A Revelation.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—Whilst waiting for a taxi to go to Euston I saw a woman selling your paper in the rain. She was so evidently a gentlewoman, and the rain was so bad, that the sight made an impression.

I wanted to know what could induce that lady to trouble about selling a paper on such a day. Immediately on my return home (I had been abroad) I sent to three local newsagents and the book-stall for VOTES FOR WOMEN, but had to get it finally by post. It arrived this morning, and I have read it right through.

May I say it was a revelation! The thought came at once: Why doesn't every woman know about this? There must surely

be many like myself totally ignorant of this movement, who have heard of it only vaguely or derisively through their daily papers, and who, if they had the opportunity of seeing your paper and knowing a few of the facts would be willing and anxious to help in any way they could.

I beg to enclose 5s. 4d. for two copies for a quarter, by which time I hope, by asking for it repeatedly, to have got the bookstalls here to keep VOTES FOR WOMEN.—Yours, etc.,

(Mrs.) L. M. METZE.

Hughenden, Lisburn, Ireland.

Helping.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—It may interest you to know that the Ladies' County Cornwall Club Committee accept with thanks my offer to supply them with VOTES FOR WOMEN weekly.—Yours, etc.,

LOE Y. TREMAYNE.

Carclew, Penryn-ar-Worthal, Cornwall.

Helping the Exhibition.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—As a proof of the interest roused in all quarters by the Women's Exhibition in May, I may mention that a lady, Miss Brazil by name, living in North Wales, has just sent me on as a contribution a water-colour drawing by herself, beautifully framed, representing a canal scene in Holland. To the said lady the question of Votes for Women was quite novel till she came to stay in London last winter, when she attended one of the Monday At Homes at Queen's Hall, with the result that she became anxious to devote to the women's cause some of the talent with which the public has already been made familiar in various art exhibitions up and down the country.

Other promises of pictures are coming in for our Exhibition, and during a period of enforced lying-up I have been occupying myself with the making of cushions and work-bags.—Yours, etc.,

CLARA EVELYN MORDAN.

28, Bedford Place, April 24, 1909.

"Detained by Marital Authority."

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—With regard to the woman in the Hampstead Workhouse whose husband objected to her taking her discharge, referred to in VOTES FOR WOMEN, April 16, the matter was brought before the Guardians, and referred to the Visiting Committee, who recommended that the woman be allowed her freedom; this was agreed to at the last Board meeting, and the woman is to be allowed to take her discharge.

So far neither Mr. John Burns nor the Home Secretary has interfered with this bit of law-breaking, and the husband, being still in the workhouse, is not in a position to bring an action for the recovery of "his marital rights."—Yours, etc.,

MARGARET WYNNE NEVINSON,

Poor-law Guardian, Hampstead.

4, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, April 19.

The Girl of To-day.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—I was pleased to see a recent letter from "A School-girl" endorsing mine on the physical ability of women. The girl of to-day is a splendid creature, full of the highest potentialities and promises. I love her and have faith in her. I am very proud of a niece, who, although only sixteen, last year left school to keep her father's house. She plays cricket and hockey for her county and yet neglects none of her household duties, which are numerous, including the management of servants and all the mending for herself, the house, father, and two brothers.—Yours, etc.,

MARY L. PENDERED.

SUMMER HOLIDAYS.

The Women's Social and Political Union have a special scheme for the summer holidays. It is proposed that all the holiday resorts should be covered during the summer months by an extensive campaign. All members of the Union are invited to take part in the proposal, further particulars of which will be given later.

ANNOUNCEMENTS.

In order to advertise the great Exhibition at the Prince's Skating Rink, there will be a procession through the principal streets of the West End to-morrow (Saturday). A feature will be that, owing to to-morrow being Lifeboat Saturday, Grace Darling will be a conspicuous figure in the procession. Full particulars will be found on page 623.

Mr. Kettle, M.P., at the W.S.P.U. At Home.

At next Monday afternoon's At Home, at the Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street, Tottenham Court Road, at 3 p.m., one of the speakers will be Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P. Members will be specially interested in Mr. Kettle's speech, since he was one of the members of Parliament present on the occasion when members of the W.S.P.U. chained themselves to the statues in St. Stephen's Hall. Mr. Kettle's comment on the occasion was that it was an excellent piece of symbolism, the woman burdened with all the duties, but deprived of all rights of citizenship, standing manacled at the feet of men who founded and consolidated the State which still treats women as outlaws and outcasts. There was, he said, one element to which public attention ought to be drawn. The language used by certain of the bystanders was of the grossest character, and if Parliament was to be protected from riot, it ought also to be protected from grossness. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mrs. Pankhurst will also speak at this At Home, and it is expected that some of the Liberal women attending the Women's Liberal Federation Conference will also be present, a special invitation having been sent to them to come and hear why the W.S.P.U. opposes the Liberal Government.

No At Homes During the Exhibition.

It has been decided to abandon the weekly At Homes in London during the time the Exhibition is open, i.e., May 13 to 26. There will therefore be no Monday afternoon At Homes on May 17 or 24, nor on May 31, as that is Whit Monday; and no Thursday evening At Homes on May 13 and 20. The first Monday afternoon At Home after the Exhibition will therefore take place on June 7, at the Queen's Hall, at 3 p.m., and the next Thursday At Home on May 27, at St. James's Hall, at 8 p.m.

The Exhibition.

Tickets for the Exhibition are now ready, and can be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. Season tickets, admitting every day and all day throughout the Exhibition, are 5s. Tickets for the opening ceremony on the first day, May 13, are 2s. 6d. After 6 o'clock on the opening day admission is 1s. For the rest of the time the Exhibition is open the entrance is 1s. Members and friends are urged to take tickets early. As 1s. tickets are not dated, they can be used on any one day during which the Exhibition is open. There is still time for those able to act as stewards and helpers at the Exhibition to send in their names to Mrs. Drammond, 4, Clements Inn.

St. James's Theatre, June 15.

A great meeting will take place in St. James's Theatre, King Street, S.W., on June 15, at 3 p.m. The theatre has been kindly lent by Mr. George Alexander. Mrs. Pankhurst will be in the chair. Tickets, 5s., 4s., 3s., 2s., and 1s., are ready, and can be had from the Ticket Secretary, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C. One or two boxes are available.

The Deputation on June 23.

Names of volunteers for the deputation to the Prime Minister on June 29 are already coming in. All those who are willing to take part are asked to send in their names as soon as possible to Miss Christabel Pankhurst, 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Workers Wanted To-Day.

To-day (Friday) Mr. Balfour will address a Primrose League meeting at 3 o'clock at the Albert Hall. Workers are wanted to give away to those entering the meeting bills advertising the Exhibition, and a leaflet giving quotations from three Prime Ministers—Disraeli, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour—in favour of woman suffrage. A decorated motor-car will drive in the neighbourhood of the Albert Hall before the meeting begins.

Patricia Woodlock.

When the nineteen women released last Friday left Holloway they remained in prison Patricia Woodlock, whose courageous action in going to the House of Commons on March 30 brought upon her an excessively heavy sentence of three months' imprisonment. It is expected that she will be released on June 16, and great preparations are being made to give her a welcome worthy of her great services to the Union. Details will be announced later. In the meantime, Miss Woodlock was visited in the prison last Friday. Her friends found her filled with determination, and very anxious to know the latest news about the movement. She urged her comrades outside to continue the fight with unabated vigour.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

May	London. Workers wanted, 4, Clements Inn.	Miss Vera Wentworth	3.30 p.m.
Fri. 7	Plymouth, At Home, Royal Hotel	Mrs. Pankhurst	4 p.m.
	Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Bonwick	7 p.m.
	Hammersmith, Open-air Mtg. King Street	Miss Ogston	7.30 p.m.
	Brixton, Raleigh Hall, Saltoun Road	..	8 p.m.
	Fulham Cross, Open-air Mtg. Putney, Drawing-room Meeting, 3, Oxford Road	Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Gladice Keovil	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Town Hall	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Lamartine Yates	8.10 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings	Exhibition articles on view	10-1 10.30 a.m.
Sat. 8	Putney, 26, St. John's Road	Miss Mills	3.5 p.m.
	Procession from Aldwych, through West End, form up 10.30 a.m.	Liverpool ex-Prisoners	7 p.m.
	Brighton	Mrs. Henry, Miss Mary Davies	7.30 p.m.
	Southport, At Home, Assembly Rooms, Cambridge Hall	Mrs. Wiseman (released prisoner)	11.30 a.m.
	West Kensington Station, Open-air Meeting	Miss Ogston. Chair: Mrs. Williams	3 p.m.
	Rochdale, At Home, 84, Yorkshire Street	Miss Ayrton, Mrs. Bouvier	3 p.m.
Sun. 9	Hampstead Heath	Miss Barrett and others	3 p.m.
	Blackheath	Mrs. Massey and others	3 p.m.
	Regent's Park	Miss Haweis, Mrs. Tanner	3 p.m.
	Wimbledon Green	Miss Mills, Miss Dawson	3 p.m.
	Clapham Common	Miss G. Brackenbury, Miss Joan Dugdale	3.30 p.m.
	Peckham Eye	Miss Naylor, Miss Barry	6 p.m.
	Hyde Park		
	Putney Heath, Open-air Mtg. Battersea Park		
Mon. 10	London, At Home, Scala Theatre, Charlotte Street	T. M. Kettle, Esq., M.P., Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3.5 p.m.
	Chelsea, Speaker's Class, 4, Trafalgar Studios	Miss Mayo	8.45 p.m.
	Forest Gate, small Earham Hall	Mrs. Bouvier. Chair: Miss Sharpley	
Tue. 11	Wood Green, Unity Hall	Bowes Park W.S.P.U.	3.15 p.m.
	Liverpool, At Home, 48, Mount Pleasant	Miss Mary Phillips, Miss Dora Marsden, E.A.	
	Manchester, At Home, Memorial Hall	Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Evelyn Sharp	3.5 p.m.
Wed. 12	Preston, At Home, 41, Glover's Court	Miss Dora Marsden	7.30 p.m.
	Redhill, Public Meeting, Market Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Chelsea, 93, Oakley Street	Chelsea W.S.P.U.	8.30 p.m.
Thu. 13	Exhibition, Prince's Skating Rink, 2.30 to 10.30 p.m.	Opening Ceremony, Mrs. Garrett Anderson	2.45 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, Society of Arts Hall, 117, George St.	Miss Macaulay	3.30 p.m.
	Finsbury Park, N., Open-air Meeting	Hornsey W.S.P.U.	7 p.m.
	Edinburgh, At Home, Marshall Street Hall	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	Lancaster, "Welcome at Home"	Miss S. Martin, Miss Dora Marsden (ex-prisoners)	
Fri. 14	Exhibition, Prince's Skating Rink, 2.30 to 10.30 p.m.	Opening Ceremony, Mrs. Ayrton	2.45 p.m.
	Hammersmith, Open-air Meeting	Mrs. Penn Gaskell	7 p.m.
	Brighton	Miss Ogston	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan	8.10 p.m.
	Manchester, At Home, Onward Buildings, Deansgate	Miss Dora Marsden, Miss Rona Robinson	
Sat. 15	Exhibition, Prince's Skating Rink, 2.30 to 10.30 p.m.	Opening Ceremony, Miss Beatrice Harraden	2.45 p.m.
	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath Street	Miss Conolan, Mrs. Craig	3 p.m.
	Southport, At Home, Assembly Room, Cambridge Hall	Miss Rona Robinson, Miss Dora Marsden	3.5 p.m.
	Rochdale, At Home, 84, Yorkshire Street	Miss Helen Tolson	7.30 p.m.
	West Kensington Station	Miss Dallas	
	Crouch End, Open-air Mtg. Clock Tower	Hornsey W.S.P.U.	

IMPORTANT FUTURE EVENTS.

May	13-26	Prince's Skating Rink	Woman's Exhibition
	27	Edinburgh	Mrs. Pankhurst
June	15	Public Meeting, St. James's Theatre, King Street, St. James's	Mrs. Pankhurst
	16	Release of Patricia Woodlock	Holloway Gates
	29	London	Deputation to the Prime Minister

The National Women's Social & Political Union.

OFFICE:

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

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

Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY & CO., Fleet Street.

Colours: Purple, White and Green.

Mrs. PANKHURST,

Founder and Hon. Sec.

Mrs. TUKE,

Joint Hon. Sec.

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,

Hon. Treasurer.

Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,

Organising Sec.

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

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

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

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

Constitution.

OBJECTS.—To secure for women the Parliamentary vote as it is or may be granted to men; to use the power thus obtained to establish equality of rights and opportunities between the sexes, and to promote the social and industrial well-being of the community.

METHODS.—The objects of the Union shall be promoted by—

1. Action entirely independent of all political parties.
2. Opposition to whatever Government is in power until such time as the franchise is granted.
3. Participation in Parliamentary Elections in opposition to the Government candidate, and independently of all other candidates.
4. Vigorous agitation upon lines justified by the position of outlawry to which women are at present condemned.
5. The organising of women all over the country to enable them to give adequate expression to their desire for political freedom.
6. Education of public opinion by all the usual methods, such as public meetings, demonstrations, debates, distribution of literature, newspaper correspondence, and deputations to public representatives.

MEMBERSHIP.—Women of all shades of political opinion who approve the objects and methods of the Union, and who are prepared to act independently of party, are eligible for membership. It must be clearly understood that no member of the Union shall support the candidature of any political party in Parliamentary elections until women have obtained the parliamentary vote. The entrance fee is 1s.

THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THE COLOURS.

Last summer, with a swiftness that surprised us all, the colours of the Women's Social and Political Union became universally known. To-day the very children can tell you that the Suffragette colours are purple, white, and green, and at sight of them they cry "Votes for Women!" To members of the Union the tricolour is full of meaning, and they now understand to the full the devotion of a regiment to its colours.

Apart from its significance, the effect of the purple, white, and green combination is unsurpassed. This we realised for the first time on the day of the great Hyde Park Demonstration, when, by using these three colours to the exclusion of all others, a colour harmony of great purity and beauty was produced. Since that day colour displays have been an important feature of the Union's work, and during the present summer parades and processions, held sometimes for advertisement purposes, sometimes to mark days of special rejoicing, will be of frequent occurrence. By the publicity which they bring they go far towards making the movement independent of the Press. If their knowledge of our existence were derived entirely from the newspapers the people might sometimes be led to suppose that the Suffragettes had given up the fight, but no such mistake can arise if they have the visible proof of our existence and activity which our public displays afford. Heralded by music, with colours flying, the dress of everyone in the ranks lending itself to the colour scheme, the procession of women marches through the streets, by this means proclaiming to all the world that they have joy in their political battle and confidence of victory. For the Suffragist army, like the armies of national defence, has its fête days as well as its days of battle, and display and rejoicing are as necessary as struggle and conflict.

It is easy to understand the importance of this means of popularising the movement. By speeches we make our appeal to reason, and by militant methods to that love of pluck and determination which is strong in the British people. The colours enable us to make that appeal to the eye which is so irresistible. The result of our processions is that this movement becomes identified in the mind of the onlooker with colour, gay sound, movement, beauty. As the Votes for Women procession passes along, people crowd to their windows, all sorts and conditions of men and women, the rich and the poor, the idle and the busy, stand watching by the roadside, and at the sight ridicule is quenched, and there is born a new understanding of what the woman's movement means.

By thus endearing the Votes for Women cause to the public we gain an immense political advantage over the Government of which we cannot be robbed by anything which the Prime Minister and his colleagues may do. On June 21st, 1908, when the Suffragettes marched to Hyde Park, there marched with them thousands of the public, so that the streets were filled with a great moving concourse of people following the colours and marching towards one goal. That is the aim of the Women's Social and Political Union, to have the people marching with us, and when the Prime Minister realises that in the political world as well as in the streets of London the people are following our flag the vote will be ours.

Another opportunity of displaying the colours is given by the Exhibition at the Prince's Skating Rink which will be opened on Thursday next. Everything, from the symbolic painting on the walls to the goods which cover the stalls, will give expression to the colours of the Union—purple, white, and green. The fortnight during which the Exhibition will be open must be turned to good account in bringing into the movement many women whom it might be difficult to reach by political argument alone. In order that this may be done, every member of the Union will become an advertiser for the Exhibition, and will bring to the Prince's Skating Rink a dozen or a score, or an even larger number, of men and women of her acquaintance who, seeing for themselves, will appreciate for the first time the strength of the woman's movement.

Christabel Pankhurst.

A LESSON TO THE NATIONS.

THE INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES AND THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.

"Words have gone forth whose powers shall sleep no more." Time alone can show what effect the words spoken at the great Albert Hall meeting on Thursday night will have on the progress of the Suffrage movement all over the world. In the boxes sat the delegates, to the number of nearly 200, who had come to London for the International Suffrage Congress from twenty-three countries; and as they looked round at the vast hall, crowded with enthusiastic women unanimous on one policy; at the platform, filled with the happy women who had undergone common imprisonment; and at the inspired leaders, who never flag in their energy, devotion, and confidence, what were their thoughts? Sympathy, appreciation, and admiration were evident. What was behind it? Did the representatives of Australasia, Finland, and Norway congratulate themselves on their easier victory, or did they see dimly that they had, perhaps, lost something—the indefinable spiritual power which comes of a great struggle calling out the noblest qualities, a power that makes life full and sweet and can never be taken away? Happy countries that have Governments with a sense of justice! But we do not envy them; we would not lose what the battle has already given us and what we know it will give us in the future—courage, self-confidence, unity, loyalty, power.

And those countries in which the movement has gone on, painfully limping, kept barely alive by a few ardent spirits, fighting that indifference in women which is so much deadlier than opposition—may not their delegates have had a tinge of regret that they had not adopted a bolder policy, had not called into being a band of women who believed in "deeds, not words," had not shown their Governments that they were in earnest and had the determination against which no obstacles can stand? Perhaps most of all the British delegates whose noble spade-work for so many years has laid the foundation for the militant work may have wished they had thrown down their spades when the time was ripe and gone out with the attacking party.

A Vision of the Future.

Well, regrets are futile; but the future is still before us, and it may be that the better understanding of the militant movement after Thursday's meeting will have results that none of us can foresee. A vision splendid of the women of the world united in an unconquerable army, giving no compromise, seeking no quarter, fighting with bloodless weapons the greatest battle in the history of the universe, may have come to the minds of those who organised the meeting.

Certainly, the effects on the delegates must have been far beyond what they expected. They had come to hear the movement explained, to learn something of the wonderful methods that have focussed on England the eyes of the women of the world. That they were longing for the opportunity we know from some of the delegates themselves. The immediate effect was unmistakable, nearly all of them joining in the rousing cheers that greeted the speakers and the ex-prisoners. Russia, Sweden, and Denmark were particularly enthusiastic, while a special demonstration was made from the German box to Annie Kenney, whose visit to Germany in the early days of the militant movement they remembered. The speeches explained so clearly that the militant policy was the only one, that the time for waiting and pleading was over, that self-respect was the dominant motive of the Suffragettes, and that victory was sure. Again and again the applause broke out at the keynote of all the speeches: "We are bound to win. The Government can never crush us," and the clear exposition

by Mrs. Pankhurst that the sending of deputations was only a constitutional right of the unrepresented, may have given the delegates an insight into the justice of the campaign which they could never gather from newspaper reports. Miss Pankhurst's appeal to women not to cringe and beg, but to realise the dignity of womanhood, must have touched a responsive chord, and they may have shared her fine scorn of the Cabinet Minister who, in that very hall, had "deigned to express his support of Woman's Suffrage," and pretended he had a message from the Government which does nothing to help the cause. She thought any statesman might have been proud to address women in their thousands, whether they had the vote or not. Her words may have inspired with self-respect some of the women who came from countries where woman is still considered of less value than man. Did they foresee, too, her picture of the time when the men now in the Cabinet would be on their knees to the women voters of the country?

The Lessons of the Meeting.

But if their brains were appealed to by the clear logic of the speakers, their hearts must have been touched by many things they saw. They saw enthusiasm shedding its golden light on every event of a remarkable evening, breaking out spontaneous and irrepresible when the beloved leaders stepped on to the platform, amid mighty cheering and waving of flags; they saw the spirit of comradeship in the royal welcome that the audience gave them; they saw the wonderful unity when one of the young organisers aroused a great ovation by a reference to the veteran fighter, Mrs. Elmy, who has worked for the cause nearly the whole of her eighty years of life; they saw self-sacrifice and devotion in the persons of the prisoners on the platform; they saw gratitude and appreciation from those who had not gone to prison to those who had earned the "Holloway brooch"; they saw generosity in the splendid response (over £800) which was the financial result of the meeting; they saw the absolute faith of the vast audience in the wisdom of their leaders; and they saw complete unanimity in the three solemn cries of "Shame!" given for the Government which is responsible for sending to prison women who are urging a just claim in a constitutional way.

Points from the Speeches.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, after calling for a hearty greeting to the guests and a cry of shame upon the Government, which she hoped would penetrate to the House of Parliament, said one of the purposes of the meeting was to send yet another message to the Government that the women were not satisfied and would protest with more vigour and more determination against the refusal to put into practice the fundamental principles of the British Constitution. The Government could never stop the agitation or wear out the enthusiasm, because the Suffragettes had found out the secret of the conservation of energy, and that was action. Victory was certain, but she warned her hearers against an easy optimism: there were rocks and shoals ahead that would require great vigilance. Mrs. Pankhurst moved the resolution:—

That this meeting records its profound conviction that Great Britain should take its place among those countries where men and women possess equal citizen rights, and claims from the Government the immediate enfranchisement of women. This meeting further expresses its high appreciation of the service rendered to Woman Suffrage by those women who have undergone imprisonment for the cause, and calls upon other women to stand shoulder to shoulder with them until the final victory is won.

She said that because this country was so conservative the position of women was depressed and degraded, and so the fight was a very hard one. No people enslaved ever had freedom given to them; they always had to win it for themselves. The Suffragettes were militant against wrong and oppression, but violence was left to their

enemies. Their action had put the movement in the forefront of politics, shown that women possessed loyalty and power of combination, and had swept away class distinctions; the women were loyal to one another and to the leaders. The sending of deputations was a constitutional right which the unrepresented had always claimed; women had no delegates in Parliament, and had to act for themselves. In June a great and final effort would be made to induce Mr. Asquith to receive them. They appealed no longer to the politicians who promised and forgot them; they appealed to the masters of the members of Parliament, the voters, who were supporting the women, because they knew they could win alone, and because they admired good fighters. Their appeal to the working man touched his heart and conscience. They were going to win, and rejoiced in the privilege of taking part in the great movement for raising the womanhood of the earth.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst said, although violence was sometimes right, they would never use it till driven to it. The rulers of Russia and the present Government were one in spirit, policy, ideals, and aims, but nothing could stop women demanding the vote. Their policy was one of defiance, revolt, rebellion, revolution. They said to other women who were content with words, not deeds, "Remember the dignity of your womanhood; do not appeal, do not beg, do not grovel, take courage, join hands, stand beside us, fight with us."

The Verdict of Posterity.

They had entered the Houses of Parliament to plead their cause, and special measures were suggested which were never used against reformers of old days. Disturbances were made because the House of Commons did not represent the women of the country and defied the Constitution by denying votes to taxpayers. Parliament had forfeited the respect of women, and they were prepared to make their protest again and again as near to the Speaker's chair as possible. Westminster was the very place where protest should be made. They were criticised now, but all through history those who protested were not respected until afterwards, and they, too, were prepared to abide by the verdict of posterity. In days to come deeds called petty or undignified would be understood to have a mighty significance. They were immune from criticism; some day people would recognise that they were doing their duty. The Bill of Rights laid down the right of subjects to petition the King, and all prosecution for such petitioning was illegal. People would not much longer stand the present Government's lack of fair play. Their weapon was public opinion, and it was not allowed to rust; they smote the enemy hip and thigh at the bye-elections, by opposing the Government candidate every time. It was no use asking which man was most friendly; there were 420 such friends in the House, and they did not and would not help the Suffrage cause. Liberal members had no power, but had to be loyal followers of Mr. Asquith; every such follower was an enemy, and that was why they opposed the Liberal candidate so long as the Liberal Government was in power and refused justice. Their policy was politically sound and remorselessly logical. Enthusiasm for the cause should be a living flame that would burn up all the subterfuge, hypocrisy, and injustice which had stood in the way of women's development for so many centuries, and which were personified in the present Liberal Government. If they stood together and quitted themselves like women and did their duty as British citizens, nothing whatever could stand in the way of the emancipation of women, which would be at its beginning only when women gained the Parliamentary vote.

Miss Annie Kenney spoke of the everlasting gratitude of the members to the leaders who had shown the way and trusted their own political insight; the members of the W.S.P.U. had the best statesmen in this country as leaders. What they asked, the members would do, whatever the cost. Women ought not to think of what they were giving to the movement—rather of what the movement had given to them; it had made women of every one of them. In future days people would turn back to the pages of history now being written to look for light and guidance.

Miss Mary Gawthorpe struck the note of gratitude to the "old guard," and evoked great applause by her reference to Mrs. Elmy, who was present. All the reforms the women had been fighting for—Married Women's Property Act, social purity, equal pay—would be only finally settled when women had the vote. She called on all women to get ready for the demonstration in June.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence ended one of the most enthusiastic meetings ever held by the Union by inviting all present to be outside Holloway the next morning to welcome the prisoners, and to be inside Holloway the day after June 29 if the Prime Minister still refused to receive a deputation.

QUESTIONING CABINET MINISTERS.

Members of the W.S.P.U. made a very effective protest on the occasion of Mr. Birrell's visit to take the chair at a meeting of the League for the Taxation of Land Values in the large Colston Hall, Bristol. In spite of the great precautions taken, the hall being searched by stewards and policemen before the meeting, two women contrived during the afternoon to slip in unobserved and hide in the organ among the pipes, where, directly behind Mr. Birrell and on a level with the gallery, they could see everything, including the police searching for them, without themselves being visible.

At 8 p.m. Mr. Birrell had just begun his address, and was remarking "I am going to state a few rudimentary facts—" when a voice called out "Votes for Women!" The hall was at once in an uproar, applause predominating. For seven minutes the stewards dashed wildly round, vainly looking for the interrupters, the audience cheering, booing, and rocking with laughter, while Mr. Birrell, with his back to the assembly, gazed helplessly at the pipes. After being discovered, the two interrupters were conducted out of the building by the stewards, and Mr. Birrell endeavoured again to get a hearing.

"I am the only person to listen to here," he cried. "I am a member of the Cabinet and a follower of Mr. Asquith." Here a gentleman in the audience rose and said, "Then why don't you make him give women the vote?" Upon this there was continued uproar, and the gentleman was thrown out. Mr. Birrell then got up again, but the audience were now too interested in waiting for interrupters to listen attentively, and a megaphone, directed at an open window just above the platform from the top window of a house opposite, prevented his speech from being heard at all clearly. The door of this house having been forced open, the secretary of a political organisation made his way upstairs and said: "In the name of the society which I represent I implore you to desist. You have wrecked our meeting quite sufficiently, and we have had enough trouble to find the two young ladies in the organ." He was told that the women wished to interrupt no one but Mr. Birrell, and, after he had given his word of honour (handing them his card) that Mr. Birrell had finished speaking, they left the house. As the audience left the hall members of the Union gave out leaflets and sold copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN to them.

Commenting upon the incident, to which it devoted a large headline, the *Bristol Times* remarked that the "incident was taken in good part by the audience, who could not fail to recognise the ingenuity of the women to secure their end." The *Bristol Daily Mercury* also devoted considerable space to the women's protest, under the heading "Suffragettes and Mr. Birrell—A Voice from the Organ." "Ingenious Suffragette Tactics" was still another headline, and the "Suffragettes in the organ" were interviewed by Press representatives eager for an explanation of how it was done.

A Second Protest.

The growth of public opinion in favour of the Suffragettes' protests at Cabinet Ministers' meetings was strikingly shown on Thursday night, when Mr. Birrell attended the Public Hall, Cannon Town, on the occasion of a prize distribution. In his remarks upon the forthcoming Budget Mr. Birrell stated that money certainly did not drop down from Heaven. "No," said a woman in the audience, "much of it is provided by the women of the country, who pay rates and taxes." She was immediately removed by two or three men, the audience, however, crying, "Good old Suffragette!" "Let her speak," and "Three cheers for the Suffragettes!" Mr. Birrell proceeded to talk about the Reform Bill, which would, he said, give votes to men and women. A woman immediately asked him to give a Government pledge that votes for women would be included in the Reform Bill, adding, "I want a Government pledge." Mr. Birrell, however, did not reply, and she was removed from the meeting. When the first interruption was made Mr. Birrell threatened that if another occurred he would return to the House of Commons.

The President of the Local Government Board.

As Mr. John Burns was making his way in a furtive manner to the International Arbitration League Dinner, held at the Waldorf Hotel, a member of the W.S.P.U. met him, and asked him why he taxed the women of this country and then refused to give them votes. He told her he had nothing to say, whereupon she accompanied him to the dining hall, asking for an answer to her question. He took her by the shoulders and ejected her, saying that was a private room. The waiter looked on in astonishment at seeing a Cabinet Minister treating a lady in such a manner.

Later in the evening another member of the W.S.P.U. encountered Mr. Burns as he was about to enter the reception-room, and asked him why he refused to enfranchise the women of his own country; whereupon Mr. Burns took her by the arm, and exclaimed angrily that she had no business there, and that he had nothing whatever to say to her. A gentleman standing near told Mr. Burns that the lady had every right to question him, and that there was no

necessity to be either rough or rude. Mr. Burns said he was neither, and advised the lady to learn manners.

The Secretary of State for War.

As Mr. Haldane was entering the Hotel Cecil on Saturday evening to attend a dinner he was accosted by a W.S.P.U. member, but on seeing her he made his way with great rapidity into the hotel, and thus evaded the awkward question, "When are you going to give votes to women?"

The Postmaster-General.

To attempt to suppress the women's protests by ridicule is Mr. Sidney Buxton's interpretation of his duty as a servant of the country. Thus he pretended to hide his embarrassment at a meeting at the Northampton Institute last Thursday. He had hardly uttered the words "Ladies and gentlemen," when one of the ladies addressed rose and said, "When you return to the House of Commons tell them..." The rest was drowned in the uproar of excitement which at once overcame the audience. Mr. Buxton sat down, and leaning back in his chair, burst into peals of laughter. When order was restored he began again, "By the kind permission of the ladies"—but another woman called out, "When is your Government going to give us the vote?" Greater hubbub followed, and she was escorted outside. Some attempt at booing on the part of telegraph boys was at once put down by the Post Office officials, who were most courteous.

Although in Manchester for purposes connected with the university on Friday, Lord Morley showed no disposition to give a satisfactory answer to the challenge of Miss Lillian Williamson, herself a graduate of Manchester University. When she approached him as he was about to enter the building, and said, "Sir, you are responsible for the imprisonment of two distinguished graduates of this university, who were released from Holloway this morning," Lord Morley, says an eye-witness, vouchsafed no answer, but bit his lip and looked decidedly uncomfortable. It was obvious and unmistakable that the shaft had gone home.

An Organ Record.

(Tune, "The Lost Chord.")

Seated one day in the organ,
We were weary and ill at ease;
We sat there three hours only,
Hid, midst the dusty keys.
We knew not if they'd be playing,
And to us what would happen then,
But when we heard Mr. Birrell,
It was then we protested, then.

Our voices rang out from the twilight,
But nowhere could we be found;
They looked from the floor to the ceiling—
Their stewards came searching round.
We asked for Votes for Women,
And that justice should be done;
But Birrell he could not answer,
And the audience made such fun!

He said he had come from Asquith,
And to him they must give ear;
But a voice rang out still louder,
Making our question clear.
It may be that Mr. Birrell
Daren't speak in that hall again,
And it may be, never in Bristol,
Until the vote we gain!

VERA L. HOLME.

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

WOMEN in all parts of the country who are not as yet definitely enrolled as members of the National Women's Social and Political Union are invited to sign the members' pledge card, which they can obtain from the offices, 4, Clements-inn, and apply for membership. The pledge is as follows:—

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

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

THE W.S.P.U. AT THE SCALA THEATRE.

The members of the Women's Social and Political Union had the great pleasure of hearing one of the delegates attending the International Congress of Women Suffragists at their At Home at the Scala Theatre last Monday. Miss Christabel Pankhurst was in the chair, and Dr. Anita Augspurg, representing Germany, in an interesting speech, described the progress of the women's movement in that country. Dr. Augspurg explained that although there were many hundreds of women only too ready and willing to take up militant action, and even to suffer imprisonment for the sake of Votes for Women, yet the men of Germany were not so interested in the question as were the men of England, and so it would not be wise, perhaps, to adopt militant methods as yet. They hoped, however, to do so before very long, and meanwhile they had been intensely interested and impressed by all they had seen and heard of the militant Suffragists during their visit to London. They had been very grateful for the opportunity afforded them to be present at the great Albert Hall meeting last week, and to hear the leaders of the movement explain the militant methods which have done so much to place Votes for Women in the very forefront of practical politics in England. They had also felt it a great honour to be present at the gates of Holloway the following morning, when nineteen women were released, and also to be allowed to go in procession with these women to the subsequent breakfast, and to the reception the same evening. Dr. Augspurg mentioned what great pleasure had been given to the German Suffragists by the visit of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney some three years ago, and also of the Misses Brackenbury last year.

Fraülein Heymann, another of the German delegates, was to have been present, but had taken the opportunity to see for herself what part the Suffragists took in bye-elections, and had, therefore, gone to Stratford-on-Avon.

Next Monday afternoon the speaker will be Mr. T. M. Kettle, M.P. (see Announcement on page 631). During the time the Exhibition is open (May 13-26) there will be no At Homes either on Mondays or Thursdays.

A PARALLEL CASE: THE FIGHT FOR A FREE PRESS.

"A considerable duty was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, laid on paper, a tax was levied on every advertisement, and a further tax of fourpence was exacted on every issue. Sixpence halfpenny was the lowest price at which a newspaper could be legally and profitably issued. Any person could arrest a hawk who sold unstamped papers. A fine of £20 for each copy was imposed on those who printed, published, or merely had in their possession unstamped periodicals.

"Happily there were from the first men of spirit and courage who scorned the penalties. The most famous of these rebels were Richard Carlile and Henry Hetherington. Moved by the conviction of an unstamped paper in 1831, Hetherington at once announced a penny weekly, the *Poor Man's Guardian*. Popular publishers had hitherto been content to evade the law. The rugged spirit of Hetherington gave open defiance. 'Established contrary to law,' he boldly inscribed on his paper, and, in place of the red Government stamp, he put a black one. Hundreds of poor men risked their liberty in collision with the police. Twice in six months the authorities sent smiths to break up Hetherington's press. The *Times* described him as one 'familiar with the inside of every jail in the kingdom,' and his manoeuvres to keep his paper in circulation, his disguises, his sending out bogus parcels by the front door while the precious *Guardian* left by the back, and so on, make a diverting story of heroism. For three years he fought the Board of Revenue, 500 men went to jail for selling his paper, and the battle ended with a jury's verdict—a quite illegal verdict—that the *Guardian* was not liable to the tax.

"In 1836 the stamp was reduced to one penny. "The agitation subsided until 1849. Meanwhile, Holyoake went on publishing unstamped papers. From 1850 the Government were being continuously placed in ridiculously false positions. In 1853 the 1s. 6d. advertisement tax was repealed.

"In 1855, Holyoake had incurred penalties exceeding £600,000. Gladstone undertook to repeal the stamp tax, but Holyoake continued his weekly fly-sheet meanwhile. His policy was right, for the Ministry was defeated. At last, after more attacks on the Government, the tax was repealed. In 1861 the paper duty was repealed."

Extracted from "Life and Letters of George Jacob Holyoake." Vol. I., p. 258, et seq.

THE BYE-ELECTIONS.

SHEFFIELD (ATTERCLIFFE)

RESULT.	
Mr. J. Pointer (Lab.)	3,531
Mr. King Farlow (U.)	3,580
Mr. R. C. Lambert (L.)	3,175
Mr. Muir Wilson (Ind. U.)	2,803

Majority over Liberal 356

The figures at the General Election were:—Mr. Batty Langley (R.), 6,533; Mr. A. Muir Wilson (U.), 5,739. Radical majority, 787.

Committee Rooms: 28, Broad Street, and 42, Attercliffe Common, Sheffield.

(Polling took place on Tuesday, May 4.)

Another victory gained for the women's cause! Not only have we kept the Liberal out, but we have placed him third on the poll, with a majority of 356 against him instead of, at the last election, 787 in his party's favour.

When the poll was declared the scenes of enthusiasm were tremendous. The W.S.P.U. Committee Room, exactly opposite the screen on which the figures were displayed, was at once the centre of the crowd's attention, and so great was the cheering that the official speeches from the Town Hall balcony could not be heard at all, and the speakers had to retire inside the Hall.

The excitement during the days preceding the election grew wilder every day. Meetings went on from early morning till late at night, and the voters never seemed to be weary of listening to the men and women politicians. "Lady Speakers take part in the Election in the Open Air," the only headline on the contents bill of the *Daily Mail* on Friday morning, shows to what an extent women have figured in the election. At the works gates each party held daily meetings, and from five o'clock to midnight certain recognised pitches swarmed with people—the biggest crowd always collecting round the platform of the W.S.P.U. The prisoners, Mrs. Morris, Miss Burton, and Miss Broughton, arrived on Saturday afternoon. A huge crowd gathered to meet them until the great square outside the Midland station was dense with people. The released prisoners were received with cheers, and the procession, consisting of a colour bearer, the Sheffield Prize Band, a motor containing the prisoners (who were greeted with great enthusiasm on the route), speakers, organisers, and members of the W.S.P.U., as well as large numbers of Sheffield men and women marched three miles cheerfully in spite of the heavy sleet and rain. Mrs. Pankhurst and the prisoners spoke to a magnificent meeting of women in the Vestry Hall, Attercliffe, and an overflow of several thousand men was addressed outside. In the evening the Vestry Hall was packed like "herrings in a box," according to a perspiring elector. Every corner was occupied, the platform was overloaded, men sat almost on top of one another, and there were still enough people outside to divide into seven more meetings and have plenty over.

All the prisoners spoke, and the pitch of enthusiasm rose to a tremendous height. Nothing satisfied them; and, to keep the meeting going longer, questions were put by regular attenders for the benefit of strangers: "What about the Brawling Bill?" "What about the Public Meetings Bill?" and so on.

The Liberal candidate and his supporters were so full of apprehension at the undoubted success of our work that a leaflet was issued headed

**"WORKING MEN, DO NOT
BE FOOLED BY
MRS. PANKHURST."**

Another bill issued by Mr. Lambert was headed

**"SUFFRAGETTE AND TORY LIES
NAILED TO THE COUNTER."**

Among other things the Bill stated that:—

Another unscrupulous "Suffragette" argument is that the Government is to be blamed because women have been sent by the police to prison for breaking the law in various ways. It is deliberate misleading. They know the Government has nothing to do with it. It is the police, who have the duty of maintaining peace, and these women have been sent to prison by the magistrates in the same way as other breakers of the law. They have no right to make complaint. They urge the police to arrest them. They ask to be taken to prison. They delude themselves and thoughtless electors into thinking that they are martyrs. It is all nonsense. By creating all this uproar they are only injuring their own cause—delaying, if not defeating, their professed object.

The electors were highly delighted at our pleasure in welcoming this acknowledgment of our power.

The outdoor meetings held on Saturday night were a won-

derful sight. Nearly all the speakers held two, or even three, meetings, for the speaking began at 6.30 and went on until 11. The rain fell heavily for part of the night, but the audience and the speakers stood faithful to their post. A great demonstration was held on Sunday, and on Monday many meetings were arranged, including two at midnight for the tramway men. We put in our usual appearance at the polling booths on Tuesday.

Comments by Electors.

Man in the crowd (to reluctant friend, offered VOTES FOR WOMEN): "Here, you should buy a paper—you'll want it every week if you have one—it's got champion reading in it."

Converted Liberal in Suffragette meeting (to small boy with a whistle): "Here, if you want to make a noise go to the Liberal meeting!"

Said to Miss Marsh at reception of prisoners by enthusiastic working man: "Aren't you pleased with your reception, miss? It's like royalty."

Suffragette (at Attercliffe Baths): "If you vote for Mr. Lambert—"

Audience of voters (united): "But we aren't going to."

STRATFORD-ON-AVON

RESULT.

Mr. P. S. Foster (Con.)	5,374
Mr. Joseph Martin, K.C. (Lib.)	2,747
Captain Kincaid Smith (Ind.)	479

Conservative Majority over Liberal... 2,627

Committee Rooms: 21, Wood Street.

The figures at the last election were: Captain Kincaid Smith (Lib.), 4,321; Mr. P. S. Foster (Con.), 4,173; Liberal majority, 148.

Polling took place on Tuesday, May 4.

Seldom has the W.S.P.U. had greater cause for congratulation. Not only has the Liberal been kept out, but kept out by the enormous majority of 2,627 votes. The following report from our correspondent gives a clear indication of the influence exerted by the women at this as at other bye-elections:—

The popularity of the speakers has increased; many audiences declaring that the women themselves ought to be candidates on polling day because of their earnest, convincing speeches. They have absolutely covered the constituency with meetings, and one aggrieved Liberal remarked to me that the moral effect of so many anti-Government meetings would in itself have a damaging influence on Mr. Martin's chances. This is undoubtedly true, but beyond this I have continually come across cases of Liberal men who declare that they cannot vote for their Government while it treats English women as it is now doing. "We're goin' to back you up, Miss," declared an intelligent voter in one large village. It is plain that these men do not listen unmoved to the women's account of their fight for freedom. Last Saturday afternoon I came across a large open meeting in the Rother Market, Stratford. Miss Gladie Keevil was introducing to the audience two Midland women just released from Holloway after one month's imprisonment, the result of an attempt to interview the Prime Minister. The crowd were on the side of the women—that was easy to see.

In all parts of the big straggling constituency one meets with the same admiring appreciation of the women Suffragettes. At Henley-in-Arden they held a large meeting in the Public Hall, which was entirely sympathetic. Mrs. Massy spoke on Saturday afternoon to a crowded audience in the Temperance Hall, Redditch, and in the evening an enormous crowd waited at Headless Cross for the arrival of Miss Keevil with the lately released Midland prisoners. They were given a splendid reception, and were sent off with hearty cheers and cries of "You'll get it. Bravo!"

In the brief snatches between their meetings the Suffragettes have employed the time very effectively in posting "Keep the Liberal Out" on conspicuous gates and fences. I came across several Liberal posters bearing the words, "When this you see, remember—Votes for Women." These words had been deftly stuck on by the alert Suffragettes.

When the Liberal candidate appealed for workers to give assistance during the election he instanced the fact that the Suffragettes had spent a week and more in prison for their cause. The result must have surprised him somewhat, for there were cries from all sides of "Yes, and who put them there?" Nor did these remarks really cease for the rest of the meeting.

Monday, the eve of the poll, was a day of strenuous effort. In the afternoon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke to a crowded audience in the Corn Exchange, and the evening finished with a perfect cannonade of meetings—north, south, east, and west. The speakers had excellent audiences; wherever they went. Agair and again I saw them sent off with ringing cheers, and I am more convinced than ever before that the working men of this country will insist on justice being dealt out speedily to the women.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"Suffragettes Satisfied."

"We're entirely satisfied with the result the women have won." This was the triumphant exclamation made by Mrs. Pankhurst last night when interviewed at the Albany Hotel, immediately after the declaration of the poll. . . . The Socialists were naturally elated over their victory. They attributed it to the trade union attitude in regard to Tariff Reform, to the Suffragettes, to the Tory split, etc. —*Sheffield Daily Independent.*

"All Against the Government."

The Radicals are not at all pleased with the Suffragettes.

Mrs. Pankhurst and her militant band of followers were hard at work yesterday "keeping the Liberal out." . . . Inspector Slack and his men had as stiff a day's work as anybody. There were two separate polling booths at Gleadless Road Schools, and every voter had to be questioned and cross-questioned by the police as to where he lived, what time militant Suffragettes were pushing "literature" under his nose. It was a bewildering time, especially after six o'clock, but the least perturbed of the lot were the Suffragettes. . . . Among the many favours worn were to be seen pretty little brooches. These proved to be the tokens of the women's suffrage societies. They were not given away, but the women had gone in their hundreds, and their children also, to purchase them, either at a penny apiece, or even at a shilling. The women are now paying for their politics.

As the Lord Mayor and the Town Clerk, in their tour of the polling stations, entered the Carbrook Council School, the fair Suffragette outside persuasively offered them a written invitation to "Vote against the Liberal." With well-concealed distress they resisted the temptation, and passed on.

In the matter of personal adornment, perhaps the Suffragettes take the lead. There is the green, purple, and white of the Pankhurst school. Miss Marsh, handling a lumpy parcel of literature like an expert, conveyed to us the information that green is for hope, purple denotes the "Royal cause," and white for purity.

—*Sheffield Daily Telegraph.*

The Suffragettes were strongly in evidence yesterday in all parts of the Stratford-on-Avon Division.

—*Daily Mirror.*

The "Suffragettes" made a brave show and were in evidence at each polling station urging electors to oust the Liberal.

—*Morning Post.*

Mr. Birrell at Bristol.

There was much amusement and wicked satisfaction at the weekly "At Home" of the local branch of the Suffragette organisation at the Victoria Rooms yesterday afternoon, for Miss Elsie Howey, amidst laughter, told how, with another lady, she got into the organ at the Colston Hall on Saturday to interrupt Mr. Birrell. . . . It was about ten minutes before the stewards found them. "They ran all about," said Miss Howey, "but it never entered their heads that women would climb ladders. When the stewards came up we immediately went down with them, because it would not have been very secure to try a scuffle where we were." Miss Howey's parting shot to the stewards was: "You don't very often dust up there."

—*Bristol Times.*

"The House and the Public."

The Ladies' Gallery is to be opened to the relatives of members only. Let us hope that these regulations will be effectual. But in any case it is better to run the risk of an occasional disturbance rather than to allow the creators of recent scenes to close the People's House to the people.

—*Daily Chronicle.*

After all, the real element of trouble is the Suffragist women; and against these the regulations which will restrict admission to the Ladies' Gallery to relatives of members ought to be sufficient. Still, the militant Suffragettes are a resourceful race, and they may regard the new rules as a challenge to their ingenuity.

—*Morning Post.*

It certainly cannot be said that the Government have made a good start this week with their proposed legislation. If, for instance, the reception of the Houses of Parliament Bill be taken as a criterion of their prospective success their chance of surviving the present session is almost infinitesimal.

—*Local Government Journal.*

"The Royal Academy."

The Hanging Committee are a committee of humorists. Next the Premier is placed "The Haunted Path," showing a lady suspiciously like a Suffragette lying in wait for somebody.

—*Evening News.*

"To-day's Dinner-table Topic."

Women's Suffrage manages to keep itself to the front as a "burning question."

—*Daily Mirror.*

Mr. Punch on the Colours.

"The outside of her garments were of lawn,
The lining purple silk . . . her wide sleeves green."

—*Marlowe's "Hero and Leander."*

Hero must have been one of the earliest members of the Women's Social and Political Union.

—*Punch.*

An American View.

In England they have the majority of the public and of the law-makers already converted, and the only obstacle is a blind and pig-headed Cabinet, which refuses to let the Suffrage Bill come to a vote. Under these circumstances the English Suffragettes have set out to make the lives of the Cabinet Ministers a burden in every way that they can devise, and are visiting them with as many plagues as were successively sent upon Pharaoh so long as he continued to harden his heart. Our part is to wish more power to them and increasing tribulation to Mr. Asquith. But in the delight with which we read of their wonderful campaign we should keep in mind the difference of American conditions, and select from their tactics those that fit our circumstances, rejecting those that do not.

—*Boston Journal.*

"Women's Magazines."

Among the most alive and most brilliant of the women's journals is VOTES FOR WOMEN, which is packed with brains from cover to cover. The romance and heroism of the suffragette movement is expounded in fearless articles, in interviews, in an astonishing correspondence column, and in editorials by Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Pankhurst, the Napoleon of suffragism, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. . . . We who sleep 'soft o' nights have need to honour them who for conscience sake take rank with the convicts of Holloway.

—*Liverpool Courier.*

"Mrs. Asquith's Silence."

There was much amusement at the Ragged School Union's festival yesterday when the President, the Marquis of Northampton, told the audience that Mrs. Asquith, who had just presented the prizes, had been directed by someone who belonged to her, and who had a great deal of influence over her, never to speak in public. She had asked him to express her pleasure at being present, and intended to give a full account of that splendid meeting to the Prime Minister.

—*Standard.*

Sweated Labour.

A magistrate ought to possess a heart, but in some cases he would be all the happier without one. Mr. Morace Smith had a woman before him yesterday who represented a kind of suffering that disarms a judge and seems to render law futile. The poor creature had tried to drown herself from Lambeth Bridge. Rescued and arrested, she explained that she was unable to live on the money she earned. Investigation showed the reason to be a good one. Though a most respectable and hard-working woman, all she could earn for making Government clothing was a halfpenny an hour. Let those blame her for attempting suicide who have tried the experiment of living on such wages and earning them by prolonged, monotonous toil. We will not trespass on the economic side of the question. It is too difficult to discuss within narrow limits. Moreover, it is complicated here by the fact that the woman was stated to be a slow worker. Economics apart, however, the knowledge that the Government is responsible for such death-in-life employment ought to make every honest citizen ashamed. In so saying we are not, of course, referring to the present Government, whose responsibility is no greater in such matters than other Governments. But while we sympathise with the magistrate who undertook to find some assistance for the wretched woman, we sympathise with the nation. It is disgusting to feel that even Government employment is not free from such iniquity and disgrace.

—*Evening Standard.*

If any beneficial legislation is to be passed involving the withdrawal of women from productive industry, then it must not be passed by man's vote alone. It can only safely be admitted if it has behind it the co-operation of women.

Canon Scott Holland at St. Paul's Cathedral.

THE INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE CONGRESS.

(By a Correspondent.)

For a whole week—morning, afternoon, and sometimes evening too—women from twenty-three nations have sat in conference to promote the international furtherance of Women's Suffrage. The revision of the constitution of the International Women's Suffrage Alliance has been accomplished, and has occupied most of the week.

It was decided to define the object of the Alliance as follows:—"To secure enfranchisement for the women of all nations, and to unite the friends of Woman Suffrage throughout the world in organised co-operation and fraternal helpfulness."

The most important debate took place over the new clause in the constitution which will make it possible for other Suffrage associations in a country to join the Alliance besides the one originally affiliated; although, in spite of the efforts of the British delegation to have it otherwise, this freedom is limited by a proviso making it necessary for such new societies first to form a federative committee in their own country with the original society.

An obstacle to free discussion is the unwritten law of the Alliance that the internal organisation of the Suffrage movement in any country is not fit subject for debate, and although it is obvious that the time of the Congress might be wasted interminably over contentious matter, at the same time this ruling may occasionally militate against the consideration of much that is vital to the Suffrage movement. A motion was ruled out of order that would, if debated, have led to a discussion of the militant action taken by the W.S.P.U., and no one could dispute the justice of the chair's decision, since it would have involved contentious matter. Still, few elements in the modern Suffrage campaign have aroused more interest in other countries than this particular phase of it in England, and since the foreign delegates had all arrived in England with a very real desire to learn more about it, if not for the very purpose of studying it at first hand, to be obliged to rule its discussion out of order suggests a limitation to the usefulness of an international conference.

The Militant Movement.

The very warm debate which took place over a proposed resolution to congratulate Great Britain on the progress recently made by the movement here, and on the fact that Woman Suffrage is now a "question of practical politics" in this country, "as shown by the interest evinced by electors in the subject, petitions to Parliament being signed by voters in the various divisions where elections have taken place" is thus referred to by the *Manchester Guardian*:—

Mrs. Billington Greig (fraternal delegate of the Women's Freedom League) made a suggestion that if the bye-election work of the affiliated society (National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies), as shown in the words quoted, were to be recognised, could not that of non-affiliated societies, in this case of militant societies, be also included in the resolution? The Chairman replied that only an affiliated delegate could make a motion to that effect, but when Mme. Mirovitch offered to do so, Mrs. Catt (President) admitted the justice of Great Britain's contention that only an English delegate had the right to amend a resolution dealing with this country, and the English delegation refused to do so. Russia then moved, and Germany seconded, the inclusion of a clause—"This Congress records with pride the fact that 381 women in England have gone to prison for the cause and thus aroused in the whole world a deeper interest in the woman's movement"—a proposal that met with very great applause. The Chairman, however, ruled that this involved the introduction of contentious matter into the debate, which was against the constitution of the Alliance, but in using her right to rule the motion out of order added that anyone might appeal against the ruling of the chair, "though I may as well tell you," she added, with the illuminating smile which has saved many an awkward situation in the course of the week, "that I have no intention of resigning if you do!" Nobody did so, but both Mlle. Dangotte

(Belgium) and Dr. Anita Augspurg (Germany) made moving speeches in acknowledgment of the services done to the cause in their respective countries by militant action in England. "This is not an interference with the internal affairs of another country," declared Dr. Augspurg, "for it has become an international matter, and the bravery of English militant Suffragists has done more for the movement in Germany than all the Suffrage work that has been done there by us."

Although Mme. Mirovitch's motion was dropped, the debate evidently made a deep impression on everyone present.

A Busy Day.

In some respects (says the *Manchester Guardian*) Friday was more productive of incident and diversity of interest than any other session of the Congress this week. A welcome to Suffragist prisoners—whose release would seem to have been purposely arranged for this Suffrage week—the announcement of the arrival of a future queen in one of the countries in the International Alliance, an eloquent debate on the position of the Suffrage movement in England, and a most interesting meeting at St. James's Hall in the evening—all these events made of the day considerably more than a series of business and public meetings. If Mrs. Chapman Catt were not an exceptional chairman she might have found it difficult on more than one occasion to keep her audience not only well in hand, but in admirable temper. Since, however, one of the earlier incidents in the day was her unanimous re-election as president of the International Alliance, perhaps she felt that her authority over twenty-one nations had been pleasantly renewed by their vote of confidence in her.

Although most of the international delegates had been present at the Albert Hall meeting of the Women's Social and Political Union on Thursday evening, the greater number of them were out early on Friday morning, and formed part of the crowd that assembled at the gates of Holloway Gaol to welcome the release of the women Suffragists. Afterwards, in two large brackets decorated with purple, white, and green bunting, the foreign representatives joined in the procession to the Criterion Restaurant, where a good many of them, including Dr. Anita Augspurg, president of the German delegation, and Madame Mirovitch, president of the Russian delegation, remained, and were present at the breakfast given to the released prisoners.

On one point they all seemed agreed—that the Congress is a tremendous inspiration to those nations where the Suffrage movement is small and lacking in vitality. In Denmark and Holland, for instance, there was very little agitation for the vote before these countries came into contact with the Alliance, and the same could be said more recently of Belgium, Bohemia, and Italy.

Opportunities for conversation apart from the business of the Conference were afforded by the various social functions, and it was most interesting to hear, from the foreign delegates, news of the progress of the movement in other lands.

A SUFFRAGETTE IN PRISON.

I know, in every leafy place,
The little sunbeams leap and dance;
One thrust up through my window bars
A golden lance.

All day I dream of meadows broad,
Of streams that sing me lullabies,
And cloud rims, gleaming like a sword,
In sunset skies.

And when my lamp is burning low,
And shadows flicker in my cell,
Sweet knowledge comes unto my soul
That all is well.

"A PIECE OF NEW CLOTH."

Father Adderley's books do not need any introduction to progressive thinkers, and his latest work, *A Piece of New Cloth*,* will find an even wider circle of readers. In this book, which treats of the great difficulty felt by those who work actively in the Church at the present day in reconciling modern scientific criticism with conventional Christianity, Father Adderley introduces a pair of Suffragettes. In describing their attitude he defines the true meaning of the women's movement. He says: "With them the movement was much more than a cry for mere votes; it was a determination not to rest until woman took her place in the nation, to be able to live and work for its true welfare."

* "A Piece of New Cloth," by James Adderley, published by Messrs. Hunter and Longhurst, price 2s. net.

THE CAMPAIGN THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY.

LONDON AND HOME COUNTIES.

Office: 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Our special advertising of the Albert Hall meeting reculted, I am glad to say, in a tremendous success. The audience was one of the most enthusiastic we have ever had, and there was an added interest in the presence of the international delegates in the boxes set apart for them. Many of our London workers were among those who received the Holloway brooches and addresses. A report of the meeting will be found on pp. 633-4.

We have already embarked on a special scheme of advertising the great Exhibition at Prince's Skating Rink, and all the possible occasions where people are gathered together in great numbers between now and the Exhibition are being seized as opportunities for bringing it to the notice of Londoners and visitors. This (Friday) afternoon women are wanted to distribute bills outside the Albert Hall, where Mr. Balfour is addressing a Primrose League meeting at three o'clock. Sandwich women are wanted, and women are wanted also to give away an Exhibition circular and a leaflet printed in the colours entitled "What Conservative Prime Ministers have said about Votes for Women," giving extracts favourable to the suffrage from the utterances of Disraeli, Lord Salisbury, and Mr. Balfour, as well as to sell Exhibition tickets. To-morrow (Saturday) a procession will take place for the same purpose. Particulars of time and starting place will be found on p. 625.

Every day during the time of the Exhibition—May 13 to 26—we shall continue this special advertising, and workers will be wanted every day at Clements Inn at 10.30 and at 2.30.

The At Homes.—Next Monday the special speaker at the Scala Theatre will be Mr. Kettle, M.P., who was a witness of the demonstration in the House of Commons on Tuesday, April 27, when several members of the W.S.P.U. chained themselves and a banner to the statues in St. Stephen's Hall. Some interesting particulars about him will be found on page 631. During the Exhibition the At Homes will be abandoned (see "Announcements," page 631), but will be resumed immediately afterwards.

During next week, too (11th, 12th, and 13th), the Women's Liberal Federation will be holding a conference, and outside the meetings VOTES FOR WOMEN will be sold and Exhibition bills distributed to the delegates attending. It is expected that several will be present at the Monday afternoon At Home, in response to a special invitation which has been sent to them, in order that they may hear the militant methods explained and the reasons why we fight the Government.

"Votes for Women."—As an example and encouragement to other sellers, I should like to tell them that one of our workers, Miss Frierer, who has only Saturday afternoon free, devotes her one precious half-holiday to selling the paper. She takes sixty copies and does not return until they are all sold. Sellers are wanted to-day for the Primrose League meeting; to-morrow (Saturday) for the procession forming up in Kingsway at 10.30 a.m.; at the Actresses' Franchise League meeting at the Criterion this afternoon; during the sittings of the Women's Liberal Federation Conference; and throughout the time the Exhibition is open. Let no one think there are enough paper sellers; work can always be found for those who will give their services in this way.

Open-Air Meetings.—Now that the summer is coming on we are holding open-air meetings in the parks and other open spaces, and eight of these were held last Sunday. At the Hampstead meeting 140 copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN were sold; there were at least 800 people present, and more could have been sold with a larger body of helpers. All the speakers at these meetings announced the deputation which is to go on June 29th to the Prime Minister to seek an interview once more on the question of the political enfranchisement of women.

Flora Drummond.

WEST OF ENGLAND.

Shop and Committee Rooms.—37, Queen's Road (opposite Art Gallery) Clifton. Open from 10 a.m. to 7 p.m.

At Homes.—Bristol: Victoria Rooms, every Monday, 3.30 to 5.30 p.m.
Bath: Beau Nash Rooms, every Saturday, 3.30 p.m.
Plymouth: Royal Hotel, every Friday, 3.30 (beginning May 7).
Torquay: Swiss Café, 2nd and 4th Thursdays.

The great event, the visit of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Lady Constance Lytton, has given us enormous impetus in the work here. We gave our visitors a welcome worthy even of them. We had a flag hoisted over the shop by Miss Alice Walters on their arrival, and the members were there wearing the colours of the Union to give them hearty cheers. No meeting in Bristol has ever been more enthusiastic than the one we held that night. Over the platform was a beautiful banner, unfurled for the first time in honour of the ex-prisoners and of our visitors. It is of purple,

with a green silk border, and in white letters it reads, "Bristol W.S.P.U. The will to do, the soul to dare." This banner was presented by Miss Williams, one of our Bristol members, and the poles are her own work. It will be seen again at the Exhibition at Prince's Skating Rink, hanging behind the Bristol Stall. The financial result of the meeting will be announced next week, but I can already say that we took £7 in collection and £54 18s. in promise cards, one veteran sending a cheque for £20 in honour of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, with gratitude and admiration of her noble work. The letter was signed "A Lover of Justice." We took advantage of Mrs. Lawrence's visit to have a good members' meeting, and as a result we have decided to work Bristol in four constituencies, as if in a bye-election. A leader is chosen, and a shop taken in each centre as a Committee Room. Special efforts were also settled upon for increasing the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN; and a strong appeal was made for volunteers for the deputation on June 29.

Mr. Birrell's visit gave us an opportunity to enter a protest against the Government's attitude towards women's enfranchisement. An account of this will be found on page 635.

Bath.—The weekly At Homes are being held regularly, and the stall in the Market Place continues to be a great source of attraction.

Cardiff.—I shall be in this neighbourhood from Wednesday, and I hope before long we shall make it as grand a centre as that which we have in Bristol.

Penzance.—We hope to be here again in June and to hold a meeting during the first week for Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Lady Constance Lytton, and myself. Local members are working hard, and are selling fifty copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN every week.

Glastonbury.—Special activities are being devised for the County Show. The Miss Strangways are paying for a shop, and we shall be there from May 19 to 21. Workers are wanted, and if any London speaker can help us will she write to Mrs. Baldock, 37, Queen's Road, Clifton. She will be in charge of the shop at Glastonbury. I should like everyone to know that Miss Mary Allen, one of our ex-prisoners, is giving all her time as a voluntary organiser. We are hopeful for the future, and workers are rallying round us splendidly. I shall have the financial report ready for next week; this week I am sending to the Treasurer Bath ticket money, £4 4s.

Annie Kenney.

LANCASHIRE.

Headquarters.—Manchester, 164, Oxford Road.

Local Offices.—Preston, 41, Glover's Court.
Rochdale, 84, Yorkshire Street.

At Homes.—Manchester: Memorial Hall, Albert Square, Tuesdays, 3-5
Onward Buildings, Deansgate, Fridays, 8-10.

Liverpool: Engineers' Rooms, 48, Mount Pleasant, Tuesdays, 8-10.

Preston: Glover's Court, Wednesdays, 7.30 p.m.

Rochdale: 84, Yorkshire Street, Saturdays, 7.30 p.m.

Southport: Assembly Rooms, Cambridge Hall, Saturdays, 3-5 p.m.

Important Event.

Tuesday, May 11.—Memorial Hall, 3 p.m., Miss Evelyn Sharp's visit.

With to-day another historic week passes by. Handshakings with "Internationals," a great Albert Hall meeting, "Welcomes" to prisoners in London, the same in Manchester, not to speak of bye-election arrangements, surely provide diversity of experiences even for Suffragettes. Manchester ex-prisoners eligible for the memento badges presented at the Albert Hall meeting include Mrs. Chatterton, Miss Mabel Capper, Mrs. Duncan, Miss Florence Clarkson, Mrs. Johnson, and Mrs. Robinson; and in this connection the South must not forget that Manchester claims Mrs. Pankhurst and the three sisters Christabel, Sylvia, and Adela, and also Annie Kenney! And now to the "roll" have been added the names of our four prisoners released on Friday and welcomed by us in Manchester. Our procession—the first of its kind attempted—rallied at the London Road Station, and was a great success. First came Miss Lillian Williamson, B.A., acting as colour-bearer, then the first band, and then four carriages containing the ex-prisoners. Members on foot followed, then the second band, the VOTES FOR WOMEN waggone bringing up the rear. At a splendidly successful reception in the Memorial Hall in the evening we showed that we were a "social" as well as a "political" union. We are grateful, indeed, to all the artists who so kindly gave their services. We had very short speeches from our prisoners and a splendid little address from Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy, who also unveiled the portrait bust of myself which Mrs. Jessie Russell has done for the Exhibition. The prisoners spoke again on Tuesday afternoon at the Memorial Hall, and have also taken part in the Sheffield bye-election.

On Friday, the 7th inst., Mrs. Lamartine Yates is our

At Home guest at the Onward Buildings, and on the 11th we hope to have Miss Evelyn Sharp at the Memorial Hall at 3. As there is sure to be a large demand for seats, they will be reserved for members and friends at 1s. each. There will be a silver collection. Members will greatly assist in making these At Homes a household word amongst their friends.

Liverpool.—Miss Mary Gawthorpe at last Tuesday's At Home gave us some brilliant comments on the political situation in general and the Brawling Bill in particular. Three Liverpool ex-prisoners, Mrs. Morrissey, Mrs. Roberts, and Mrs. Cowley, received in person at the Albert Hall on Thursday from the hands of our Treasurer the little silver Holloway brooch—instimably valued badge of honour—and an illuminated address signed by the founder of our Union. Amongst the nineteen released on Friday were our comrades from this city, Mrs. Morris, Mrs. Hilton, Miss Burton, and Miss Broughton. Together with Miss Pankhurst, I visited on Friday also a woman who still remains a prisoner—Miss Patricia Woodlock. She spoke calmly and bravely of her long sentence, and was greatly encouraged by the progress I was able to report to her from Liverpool. Her sacrifice is especially great, because she is now the only Suffragette in Holloway, and as such has to exercise alone, without even the sight of a friendly face to cheer her. May many others, inspired by her dauntless spirit, be encouraged to enter into the fellowship of those who have "done all that may become a man"—or woman—to gain freedom!

Next Tuesday we hope to have Miss Dora Marden, who has also been in prison since we last listened to her, and we feel sure of a large attendance.—**MARY PHILLIPS.**

Exhibition.—Redemption of all promises is urgently asked for—now! Will everyone who has not yet sent in the promised goods or cash send as follows immediately:—

Manchester: Miss A. Hyde, 7, Addison Terrace, Victoria Park.
Liverpool: Miss Stephenson, "Ashbourne," Queen's Drive.
Southport: Miss Miller, 15, Part Street.
Preston: Mrs. Rigby, 28, Winkley Square.

Sympathisers and friends not included in these districts are asked to send in their gifts to the Central Office, 164, Oxford Road, Manchester, addressed to me. Saturday, May 8, is the very last day for receiving goods, and in next week's issue I hope to give the London addresses of the Secretaries to the Lancashire Stalls, so that belated goods may find their proper destination even then. But be in time, please! The Secretaries want more promises of help for the Exhibition period. We want as much Lancashire help as possible. Who will spend their Whitsuntide holiday in this way? We shall be sorry if the Lancashire Stalls do not realise the £100 each we have set our minds upon; and if this is to be done we must have more help of every kind. Liverpool especially needs assistance.

FINANCIAL REPORT: Prisoners' Welcome Fund.—We were fortunate in having Mr. Tolson's promise to pay for a band early in the week. In addition to the £1 19s. acknowledged last week, I have to acknowledge for the same purpose 5s. from M. J. H., 1s. Anon. Ordinary receipts are: £1 18s. 6d. Members' Guarantee Fund (per Mrs. Ratcliffe), At Home, April 30, 7s.; per Miss Lee (Morecombe), At Home collection, £1 10s.; evening meeting collection, £4 2s. 5d.; total, £8 3s. 11d.

Mary E. Gawthorpe.

MIDLANDS.

At Homes.—Birmingham: Tuesdays, 3.30, Midland Hotel; 7.20, Priory Rooms, Old Square.

Wolverhampton: Wednesdays, 8 p.m., St. Peter's Institute.

Important Event.—May 7, Birmingham Town Hall, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence

At the time of writing work is going on apace for the meeting in the Town Hall on the 7th, at which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will be the speaker. Workers are giving out handbills in the streets and parading with the purple, white, and green poster. Dinner hour meetings are being held, and much interest is taken in the speeches. Mrs. Bessie Smith is giving valuable help with these in finding out the best factories and their hour of leaving work, etc. Tickets are now selling fast, so I hope all members have seen that their friends are well supplied. Dr. Helena Jones spoke at our meeting in the Priory Rooms last Tuesday and received a very warm reception. Many offers of help were given.

Wolverhampton.—I went over for the usual meeting on Wednesday night. The members are very anxious to begin open-air meetings, feeling that by this means will get in touch with a larger circle of sympathisers. On Monday, the 10th, Mrs. Percy Jones is giving two special At Homes to exhibit the Wolverhampton work for the Exhibition. Mrs. Jones will preside, and Miss Keevil will make a short speech.

Exhibition Stalls.—This coming week will be an extra busy one, as the contributions for the two stalls are being sent to the office, and they are already coming in fast. Mrs. Kerwood will be glad of offers of help at the stalls in London.

I am sending the Treasurer £1 for collections taken in Birmingham and 13s. from Wolverhampton.

S. Ada Flatman.

YORKSHIRE.

Headquarters.—Bradford: 68, Manningham Lane.

The opening of the shop has been the event of the week. It has attracted a great deal of attention, and eager crowds gaze at the literature and colours displayed in the windows. We are still in need of more chairs and subscriptions towards the cost of curtains, and we are very grateful to Mrs. Goodison for the gift of another chair and a table.

Exhibition.—Arrangements have now been made for sending goods for the Yorkshire stall. All goods not of a perishable nature should reach 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford, not later than May 8. Perishable goods should not be sent before May 11. The name and address of sender should be enclosed with all contributions. All goods should be priced by the sender. I would remind friends that the Yorkshire stall is to be supplied with:—

Yorkshire parkin, cakes, sweets, pickles, jams, needlework, views of Yorkshire, books, metal and basket work, fens, mats, rugs, etc.

Let your contribution be as large as possible. Members are requested to remember the jumble sales in Leeds and Bradford. Articles for the Leeds sale are to be sent to Mrs. Reynolds, Black-boy Yard, Kirkgate, Leeds, and for the Bradford sale to 68, Manningham Lane, Bradford. Will Bradford members please make a special effort to attend the workers' meeting at the shop on Monday next (10th), at 8 p.m.?

C. A. L. Marsh.

NEWCASTLE.

Headquarters.—38, Rye Hill.

At Homes.—Crosby's Café, Northumberland Street, Wednesdays, 3—5 and 8—10.

During my absence in London and at Stratford bye-election the work has been ably carried on by the members of the Newcastle W.S.P.U., and the warmest thanks are due to them. The At Homes on Wednesday were conducted by Hon. Mrs. Parsons and the Misses Balls, Brown, and Robinson. The meetings were well attended, and the speeches excellent. Appeals were again made for help in Exhibition work; and at the next At Home, when we are going to show as many of our dolls as possible, Miss Conolan will speak for us. A special appeal is made for all Exhibition work to be sent in at the very latest on Saturday, May 8. Help in selling off goods at Prince's Skating Rink, London, is also needed, so will those who can go to London for all or part of the time please let us know at once? Please put prices on goods sent in, as this will immensely help in placing the things. The financial report is held over until next week.

Edith New.

SCOTLAND.

Glasgow.

Office: 141, Bath Street.

At Homes.—141, Bath Street, Friday, 8 p.m.

141, Bath Street, Saturday, 3 p.m.

The Exhibition is occupying nearly all our time and attention, and even our At Home last Friday gave place to a working party. We are only sorry we have not time for more of them.

I am glad to be able to report that Mrs. Hector has kindly undertaken to superintend the packing and sending of contributions to her stall. We hope that these will all be in by Friday, May 7, at latest. Mrs. Henderson, Mrs. White, the Misses McPhee, Miss Fisher, and Miss Ure have offered their services as sellers during part of the time, but we are very anxious to have more volunteers. The distance from Glasgow makes it difficult for many people. Will not some of the Glasgow friends now living in London help us? We have been very glad to welcome some as contributors, and hope that the Scottish friends settled in the South will also make a point of visiting the stall. Further promises have been received to the value of £1 10s., Mrs. Staig; of £1 10s., Miss Helen Wallace; of £1 10s., Mrs. David Barclay; of £1 15s., Mrs. Agnew; of £1, Mrs. Kedie; of 10s., Mrs. Frank Charteris; of £2 5s., Miss Soga; of £1 1s., Miss Barnett, and a number more, of which the value is not mentioned. Donations in money: Miss McLean, £1; Miss Helen McLean, 10s.; Miss Marshall, 18s. 6d.

This Friday the At Home will be as usual, but there will be no At Home on Saturday, May 8, as an expedition up the Clyde is being planned. Anyone who would like to join this can have particulars by applying at the office.

The street sale of VOTES FOR WOMEN, organised by Miss Underwood, continues to be most successful, but we should be very glad to have more volunteers. Some of our regular workers will be out of Glasgow most of the summer, so that we want others to fill their places and also extend the sale into outlying districts. We wish, if possible, to arrange for a sale one day a week in

Paisley, and should be glad if any members who can spare a few hours would give in their names at the office.

G. M. Conolan.

Edinburgh.

Shop: 100, Hanover Street (removing shortly to 8, Melville Place).

At Homes.—Society of Arts Hall, 117, George Street, Thursdays, 3.30 p.m. Marshal Street Hall, Thursdays, 8 p.m.

Important Event.—Synod Hall, Thursday, May 27, 8 p.m., Mrs. Pankhurst.

Our first At Homes after the Easter recess were very encouraging. Much interest was expressed in what was going on in London, and also in the coming campaign in Edinburgh. We hope that all our friends will keep in mind our speedy removal to 8, Melville Place. An office desk for the new premises is badly needed. Miss Harper is kindly offering to lend us a small table, which will be very acceptable.

Then, all who can are asked to help advertise Mrs. Pankhurst's coming meeting in the Synod Hall by getting shops to display posters, giving away handbills, selling tickets, etc. It was the valuable help given so readily in February which made our last meeting such a success, but we hope to beat the record on May 27. All information can be obtained at 100, Hanover Street.

Full particulars of our great autumn demonstration will appear in next week's issue.

Our increasing field of work means a greater need of funds and more personal service. Will all those who are able to help in any way communicate with me at 100, Hanover Street?

Mrs. Ord, our district secretary for Morningside, is, with the help of Miss Kemp, arranging an At Home for Wednesday, May 19, at 3.30 p.m. in the Merchiston Rooms. I shall be glad to hear from any lady who sees her way to getting up a drawing-room meeting for us.

Florence E. M. Macaulay.

Aberdeen.

Office: 41½, Union Street.

At Homes.—Y.M.C.A. Hall, every Wednesday, 8 p.m.

The report is held over till next week.

WOMEN AND ECONOMICS.

At a meeting at Grosvenor House on Tuesday in support of the appeal for the new women's department of King's College, London (which has just started a degree course in home science and economics), the Earl of Lytton said that the greatest and most difficult problem of the present day was the higher education of girls and their ultimate destiny in life. In the early stages the girl followed much the same course as the boy, but when the end of her school training came her future destiny was to a large extent taken out of her hands. There was all the difference in the world between the ambition of the mother for her son and for her daughter. In the old days every big house had its bakehouse, brew-house, laundry, and dairy, all these departments being under the direct supervision and control of the mistress of the house. While other forms of education had progressed with every year, that particular branch of study had been left behind, overshadowed by the movement for the higher education of women, and that other and wider agitation for the enfranchisement of women. Those who were against the demands for the political enfranchisement probably felt that the main duty of woman was in the management of her home and family; if they favoured the franchise movement probably they argued that just as the duties of citizenship did not impair the duties of a man as father and head of the household, so there was no reason why those duties should render a woman less fit to carry out the duties of home and motherhood. The subject they were discussing was the last subject they could afford to neglect as a scientific pursuit. Once it came to be considered in a University spirit every mother would feel that it was one with which she must make herself acquainted, and would see that her daughters were well trained.

The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton said that one of the most common criticisms was that when women came out of their ordinary sphere they were apt to neglect their own duties. There was a certain amount of justice in that criticism, but in the early days, when the woman's cause had to be fought, it was really necessary to prove that women could compete with men. She thought that battle was completely won. Whatever anti-Suffragists might say, women did not wish to throw aside the old claims; on the contrary, they wanted to do them a great deal better. She hoped they would use their influence with the local authorities to get them to grant scholarships for the course.

A Woman Acting-Governor.

It appears to be the practice in Oregon, during the Governor's absence, for his secretary to attend to such official business as the issue of documents, and, in matters requiring the Governor's signature, to sign his name. When, therefore, Governor George E. Chamberlain goes to Washington to be sworn in as United States senator, the Acting-Governor of Oregon, during his absence, will be a woman, Mrs. C. B. Chelton, his secretary.

WAS SHAKESPEARE A SUFFRAGIST?

A discussion took place on Monday evening at King's College under the auspices of the London Shakespeare League on the question, "What Shakespeare Thought of Women." Dr. Furnival, President of the League, was in the chair, and among the audience were several of the delegates to the International Conference. Mrs. C. C. Stopes said the idea of debating the question arose out of a speech made by the Poet Laureate at a Shakespeare dinner. Shakespeare's women were no weak, nimity-piminy creatures, his heroines were brave, courageous women. Miss Mais said Shakespeare's women were universal, and belonged to all ages, and we had women to-day in whose hearts throbbed the same life-blood which made his heroines do things which no doubt led men to say that they were unwomanly, and that their proper place was at home. Strength, recognition of duty, determination, efficiency, promptitude of action, were the qualities which Shakespeare found in women. Miss Spurgeon said whether if Shakespeare had lived to-day he would have been in favour of "Votes for Women" was a question on which she had formed a firm opinion, for Shakespeare had endowed his female characters with all the qualities which fitted people to take their share in the life of the community and the State. Professor Gollancz said Shakespeare was constantly developing his enthusiasm for womanhood as he understood better and better the glory of womanhood; but it was a question whether he exactly portrayed woman as woman understood her, and whether he did not portray her as par excellence the helper of man.

THE WRITERS' SUFFRAGE LEAGUE.

The Women Writers' Suffrage League held a delightful At Home last Tuesday at the Waldorf Hotel. The hostesses for the occasion were Mme. Sarah Grand, Mrs. Herbert Cohen, and Miss Beatrice Harraden, and their invitation was responded to by the literary members of the International Suffrage Congress. Miss Elizabeth Robins, the President of the League, was in the chair, and the speakers included Mrs. Philip Snowden, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. Pett Ridge, Mr. Henry Nevinson, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Miss Cicely Hamilton.

—said a lady the other day

I have been using Fels-Naptha soap the Fels-Naptha way for five years. I have recommended it to scores of my friends.

Some of them use it the Fels-Naptha way, and they have kept to it ever since.

But the others have been stubborn. They would go on in their own way with boiling water, and of course they have given Fels-Naptha up, because that isn't the Fels-Naptha way.

You see the point! If you will only be persuaded to use Fels-Naptha soap the Fels-Naptha way, you will keep to it. But if you use it your own way, with boiling water, please don't blame the soap.

Try it Fels-Naptha way next washing day. Money back if you wish. There!

Fels-Naptha

The soap with a Way of its own.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—We held two capital open-air meetings on Wednesday and Saturday. Contributions in kind are coming in well for the Exhibition.

Brixton W.S.P.U.—Another very successful meeting was held in Brockwell Park on Sunday afternoon. In the absence of Miss Ogston I held the meeting.

Camberwell and Peckham W.S.P.U.—We had a capital address from Miss Hannah Lightman on Wednesday, April 28. Our attendance is increasing so rapidly that we shall have to think of larger accommodation.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—All those who have not yet sent their gifts to the Art Stall should send them at once to Mrs. Monck-Mason, 93, Oakley Street, Chelsea, with the prices marked.

Forest Gate W.S.P.U.—Will friends please note that all contributions to Exhibition should be sent to Miss Hewitt, 40, Claremont Road, Forest Gate, at once? They will be on view at that address on Saturday, from 4 to 6.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—The last working party will be held at 8, Edith Road, on Friday, May 7, 3 to 6, and all work must be received then, priced by the workers.

Hendon W.S.P.U.—We have had a good response to our request for goods for our Rummage Sale, and we take this opportunity of thanking the various donors.

Hornsey W.S.P.U.—On Saturday evening our open-air campaign began. Miss Jackson took the chair. The crowd was large and attentive, and we sold out our stock of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Ilford W.S.P.U.—We held our fourth public meeting at Loxford Hall on Monday, April 26, at which Miss Ogston addressed a good audience on the Suffrage question.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—Kensington members mustered in force at Holloway Gates last Friday to welcome Mrs. Bates and the other prisoners on their release.

interesting account of the East Edinburgh bye-election. An energetic canvass is being made, under the direction of Miss Boyd, in order to advertise the Exhibition. Contributors to either of the Kensington stalls who have not already sent in their goods are asked to do so without delay.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We had a large audience on Blackheath last Sunday afternoon. Miss Barrett, who gave a clear and forcible speech, also answered many questions, and kept the audience in capital order.

Marylebone W.S.P.U.—Two drawing-room meetings have been arranged, at which we shall advertise the Exhibition, and two others are to be held by members of the Union for the conversion of their friends.

Nottingham W.S.P.U.—On Monday, April 26, a large and enthusiastic audience listened to Miss Helen Watt's account of Holloway. The meeting was a great success, and will leave a profit of about £2 10s.

Putney and Fulham W.S.P.U.—As the profits of our first whist-drive were very satisfactory (£3 4s.), we have been able to arrange for the display of fifty exhibition posters in Putney, Fulham, and part of Wandsworth for four weeks.

Wimbledon W.S.P.U.—On Sunday afternoon meetings were resumed on the Common, and Miss Brackenbury addressed a large crowd on the accented pitch near Wimbledon Green (chairman, Dr. F. A. Bather, F.R.S.).

Meeting at Hitchin.—We held a meeting at Hitchin on Monday last, and a large crowd listened with the closest attention to our speakers.

Mrs. Roy Rothwell and other members of the W.S.P.U. have been holding a series of meetings in East Fife, the constituency of Mr. Asquith.

WE REFUND CASH FOR GOODS NOT APPROVED—

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Spiers & Pond's STORES QUEEN VICTORIA ST. LONDON, E.C.

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By EDITH AYRTON ZANGWILL. Author of "The First Mrs. Mollivar," &c. SECOND IMPRESSION. MORNING POST.—"A story full of surprises and full of interest.

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BALM OLA.

An emollient face cream for improving and softening the skin after the ravages of Holloway and the bye-elections.

MRS. A. VINCE, Laundress.

Ladies requiring a good Hand Laundry should give me a trial. All feminine labour; no destructive machinery; good drying ground. Work collected and delivered anywhere.

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Board Residence. Situated on Beach. Large Veranda overlooking sea. Homely, liberal table.

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Requires Bedroom, partly furnished, chiefly for storing things. Write, stating rent, which must be very moderate, "H."

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