

15

VOTES FOR WOMEN

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NATIONAL UNION
OF
Women's Suffrage Societies

Summer School. 1913.

THE OXFORD SUMMER SCHOOL will be held in St. Hugh's College, Norham Gardens, Oxford, from August 11th to August 25th. There will be two sessions, the first from August 11th to August 18th, and the second from August 18th to August 25th. The terms, including board, lodging, and lectures, are 35/- a week. It is desirable that visitors should attend a whole session, and no visitor will be taken for less than one session, except by paying the full fee of 35/-. Anyone who does not wish to join the school, but desires to attend some of the lectures may do so. The fee for a single lecture will be 1/6 and for a course of 5 lectures 5/-. All payments must be made in advance or on arrival.

Those desirous of attending the school are requested to fill in the accompanying form and send it before July 1st., to Miss Dunnell, Chesterton, Banbury. The lecture list, and other information will be sent in due course.

Fees are payable to Mrs. Haverfield, Headington Hill, Oxford.

It will be of the greatest assistance to have applications as early as possible, as the accommodation is limited.

Souvenir in Commemoration
OF
**GREAT LAW-ABIDING
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PILGRIMAGE.**

**Great Demonstration in Hyde Park
And Service in St. Paul's Cathedral,
SATURDAY AND SUNDAY, JULY 26th & 27th.**

LAW-ABIDING suffragists have decided to show their desire for the vote this summer by coming in pilgrimage from all parts of the country to London, where they will join in making a demonstration in Hyde Park on Saturday, July 26th.

Eight columns are, at this moment, gradually converging on London from all parts of the country, holding meetings, collecting money, and gaining converts as they march. From ten to sixteen miles are covered on an average daily, and the interest of the public is attested by the fact that a meeting of 2,000 in one of the Yorkshire towns is described as "the smallest the pilgrims ever had." The sight of the thousands of women tramping along the roads appeals strongly to the working man, and many members of Parliament have sent warm messages of sympathy to the pilgrims.

On Saturday a Great Demonstration will be held in Hyde Park at 5 p.m., where there will be **20 Platforms**, and the speakers will include—Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., Councillor Margaret Ashton, of Manchester, Councillor Eleanor Rathbone, Mrs. Swanwick, Mrs. Philip Snowden, Miss K. D. Courtney, Miss Margaret Robertson, Miss Marshall, Miss Roydon, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Miss Sterling.

On Saturday the pilgrims will assemble in London at the following points:—

A. B. will assemble, 2.30 p.m., at Warwick Gardens (Kensington Road, opposite Addison Road), and march, via High Street and Kensington Gore, through Alexandra Gate.

C. will assemble, 2 p.m., at Elgin Avenue (Maida Vale end), and march, via Maida Vale, Edgware Road, Oxford and Cambridge Terrace, Sussex Place, through Victoria Gate.

D. E. will assemble, 2 p.m., at Montague Place, Bloomsbury, and march, via Tottenham Court Road, Oxford Street, through Marble Arch.

F. G. H. will assemble, 2.30 p.m., at Trafalgar Square, and march, via Cockspur Street, Pall Mall, Waterloo Place, Piccadilly, and Hyde Park Corner.

In Hyde Park the platforms will be arranged in a vast circle, with a stationary banner above and behind each one, showing what group the federation of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies is represented.

There will probably be a general desire to see something of these women, who have given up so much in order to march through the land, spreading a knowledge of their cause, and we recommend those who desire to hear the pick of the fine speakers in the movement to attend one of the numerous meetings, or to stand at one of the twenty platforms in Hyde Park on Saturday afternoon, July 26th.

Service in St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday

The afternoon service in St. Paul's begins at 3.15. It is advisable to go early, in order to ensure getting seats, for the service is usually largely attended. Several members of the Executive and others will go together from Trafalgar Square, and any pilgrims who care to join them are invited to meet in the Square at 1.45.

S. Burgess, Printer, 8, York Place, Strand, London, W.C.

19

AN
INDIGNATION MEETING

OF
WOMEN CITIZENS AND TAXPAYERS

TO
**PROTEST against their indiscriminate EXCLUSION
from Mr. Asquith's Budget Meeting and from
the Rights of Citizenship**

WILL BE HELD AT

THE MIDLAND INSTITUTE (LARGE THEATRE)

ON

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 17th.

DOORS OPEN AT 7 p.m.

CHAIR WILL BE TAKEN AT 7.30.

SPEAKERS:

MRS. PHILIP SNOWDEN

MISS GORE-BOOTH

(Women's Trade and Labour Council).

Supported by: Mrs. C. W. DIXON (Burgess and Taxpayer); Mrs. TYNDAL, and other Liberal Workers (excluded from Mr. Asquith's Meeting); LADY SMITH (Women's Liberal Unionist Association), Dr. MARY STURGE (Medical Woman, whose deputation Mr. Asquith refused to receive), MISS CLARKE (Head Mistress, whose deputation Mr. Asquith refused to receive), Miss HIGGINSON (Poor Law Guardian), MISS RICHMOND (Matron of Women's Hospital), University Women, whose deputation Mr. Asquith refused to receive, Temperance Workers, Clerks, Civil Servants, Factory Workers, Women Workers of all sorts.

ADMISSION FREE.

ALL WOMEN CORDIALLY INVITED.

COLLECTION.

Percival Jones, Limited, Printers, 148-149, Great Charles Street, Birmingham.



THE LANCASHIRE DELEGATES

On the Women's Franchise Deputation to the Prime
Minister are workers in

**Mills, Iron Foundries, Linotype Works,
Potteries, and at the Pit brow.**

There are **Chain Makers, Weavers, Card and
Blowing Room Workers, Piecers, Winders** of
every kind, **Gassers, Doublers, Reelers, Shirt
Makers, Tailoresses, Clay Pipe Finishers,
and Cigar Makers.**

The working people of Lancashire are tired of

DISFRANCHISED TRADE UNIONS

**They want justice for the mass of women
workers who produce so large a share of
the wealth of the country.**

We know there must be **SWEATING and INDUSTRIAL
OPPRESSION, UNTIL THE WORKERS HAVE
POLITICAL POWER.**

VOTES FOR THE WOMEN WORKERS

VACHER & SONS, Printers, Westminster.

LANCASHIRE and CHESHIRE
**WORKING WOMEN'S
 FRANCHISE
 DEMONSTRATION**

TO BE HELD IN

HYDE PARK,
 SUNDAY, MAY 20.

CHAIR TO BE TAKEN AT 3.30 P.M. BY

SARAH DICKINSON,
 Sec. Machine and Electric Workers' Union, Joint Sec. Trades Council,

SPEAKERS:

SARAH REDDISH,

Formerly Organiser Women's Trade Union
 League; Mem. Education Com., Bolton,

SELINA COOPER,

P.L.G. (Labour), Nelson,

SARAH HEGINBOTHAM,

Weavers' Union, Hyde,

ESTHER ROPER,

Joint Secretary Lancashire and Cheshire
 Textile Workers' Representation Committee,

EVA CORE BOOTH,

Joint Secretary Women's Trades and
 Labour Council.

DORA MONTEFIORE,

SUPPORTED BY DELEGATES FROM

*Manchester, Salford, Bolton, Blackburn, Burnley,
 Brierfield, Nelson, Accrington, Clitheroe, Hyde,
 Haslingden, Oldham, Colne, Stoke, Cradley Heath,
 Wigan, working in the following trades:—Power-
 loom Weavers, Winders, Gassers, Doublers, Reelers,
 Shirtmakers, Electric and Machine Workers,
 Women in Iron Foundries, Cigar Makers, Clay Pipe
 Finishers, Bookbinding and Printing Trades, Pit
 Brow Women, Chain Makers.*

POLITICAL POWER FOR WOMEN WORKERS.

18, Buckingham Street, Strand.

Twentieth Century Press, Ltd. (T.U. & 48 hours), 37a, Clerkenwell Green, London, E.C.

BEDFORD OFFICE,
MONTAGUE STREET,
RUSSELL SQUARE, W.C.

July 26 1914

Dear Mrs Geldart

I am much obliged to
you for your letter, and hope
that I may be hereafter of some
slight use to the cause of
women's suffrage.

Truly yours

A. E. Brothcro

National Union of
Women's Suffrage Societies.



SIXTH
Annual Report

OF THE

OXFORD SOCIETY

FOR

Women's Suffrage.

(Founded 1904.)



Oxford:

PRINTED BY JAMES PARKER & CO.

1910.

25

NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.

OXFORD BRANCH.

TOWN HALL, MARCH 9th, 1912.

The order of this Meeting can be preserved by ABSOLUTE QUIET on the part of the MAIN BODY of the AUDIENCE.

If anyone interrupts, do not turn round:—

TAKE NO NOTICE.

National Union of Women's Suffrage
Societies.

NON MILITANT. NON PARTY.
OXFORD BRANCH.

**OPEN-AIR
MEETINGS**

1912

WILL BE HELD ON

TUESDAY EVENINGS

In Oxford, as follows (weather permitting),

- May 14. **JERICHO**
(End of Walton Crescent).
- May 21. **BOTLEY**
(Near Mission Hall).
- May 28. **St. EBBE'S**
(Outside the Albion).
- June 4. **GRANDPONT**
(Near the Church).
- June 11. **COWLEY ROAD**
(Tram Terminus).
- June 18. **SUMMERTOWN**
(Tram Terminus).

The Meetings will begin at 7.30.

National Union of Women's Suffrage
Societies.

NON MILITANT. NON PARTY.
OXFORD BRANCH.

**OPEN-AIR
MEETINGS**

1912

WILL BE HELD ON

TUESDAY EVENINGS

In Oxford, as follows (weather permitting),

- June 18. **SUMMERTOWN**
- June 25. **BOTLEY**
(Near Mission Hall).
- July 2. **NEW MARSTON** X
- July 9. **HEADINGTON**
(Windmill Road).
- July 16. **OLD MARSTON.** X

The Meetings will begin at 7.30.

National Union of Women's Suffrage
 NON-PARTY. Societies. LAW-ABIDING.
 OXFORD BRANCH.

A PUBLIC MEETING
 In support of
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE
 will be held on

Wednesday, Oct. 29, 1913,

in the

TOWN HALL, at 8.15 p.m.

Chairman :

PROFESSOR GELDART.

Speakers :

Mrs. FAWCETT, LL.D.

(President of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies).

Miss Susan Lawrence, L.C.C.

ADMISSION FREE.

A limited number of Tickets (1/- each) for Reserved Seats, may be obtained at the Office (35, Holywell), and at the doors.

[Office hours, 10.30 - 1 p.m. daily.]

NATIONAL UNION OF SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES.
Oxford Women's Suffrage Society.

MISS ABADAM

WILL SPEAK TO

A MEETING FOR WOMEN ONLY

ON

The Vote as a Moral Lever,

IN THE

Assembly Room, Oxford,

ON

THURSDAY, APRIL 21.

~~~~~  
THE CHAIR WILL BE TAKEN AT 3 P.M. BY

**DR. DOROTHY MAUDE,**

SUPPORTED BY

Mrs. Caird, Miss Dodd, Mrs. Green,  
Councillor Mrs. Hughes, Hon. Mrs. Matheson,  
Miss Thackeray, and other ladies.

©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: Deneke Papers; boxes 3 and 4

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Printed by James Parker & Co., Crown Yard, Oxford.

©Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford: Deneke Papers; boxes 3 and 4

# TAXES AND VOTES

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## SHOULD WOMEN HAVE VOTES BECAUSE THEY PAY TAXES?

### NO. BECAUSE

#### 1. It would be bad for the State.

Why? Because

Every man, woman and child in the country pays taxes either directly or indirectly through the tea, coffee, cocoa, sugar, tobacco, sweets and drinks which they consume.

Therefore, if people are entitled to votes because they pay taxes, *all* men and *all* women (to say nothing of the children) should have votes.

*That* means adult suffrage at once; and *that* means governing the country by a

### MAJORITY OF WOMEN

who outnumber men by 1,300,000.

Therefore it is bad for the *State* that Taxation and Representation should *always* go together.

#### 2. It is NOT UNJUST to tax women without giving them votes.

Why? Because

- (a) Women *already* get *full value* for the taxes they pay. How?

Consider what happens to the taxes. They are used to keep up the army, navy and other public services of the country.



UTUMN."—The summer is now nearly past, and we are reminded of the pleasures of the season. This is all of it when a cup of Pure Tea is served. The man's Pure Tea is of refined flavor, delicious to the tongue, and "Always safe."

32

**Public Notices.**

**ERNEST BOULTON,—Deceased.**

Act of Parliament, 22nd and 23rd Chapter 35, intituled "An Act to amend the Law of Property and the Rights of Trustees."

HEREBY GIVEN that all and other persons having any interest in the Estate of ERNEST BOULTON, late of Tew Park, Enstone, Oxford, Widow, deceased (who died on the 1st day of June, 1911, and whose name is entered in the Principal Registry of the High Court of Justice of His Majesty's High Court of Justice at the 30th day of August, 1911, in the name of ERNEST BOULTON and ERNEST TAGU BOULTON, the Executors) are hereby required to send in writing their Claims or objections to the undersigned at 36, Lincoln's Inn Fields, London, on or before the 1st day of October, 1911, after which date the said will proceed to distribute the said Estate amongst the persons named in the said will, and they will not be liable for the said Deceased or any part thereof to any person or persons claiming or demanding they shall not then

day of September, 1911.  
**ERNEST TAGU BOULTON,**  
 & PROCTER,  
 Lincoln's Inn Fields,  
 London, W.C.,  
 Solicitors for the said Executors.

**Notices by Auction**

**ERNEST TAGU BOULTON, Auctioneer.**

**SALE OF LAND IN RADNORSHIRE.**  
 Craven Arms," on the Central Wales Railway.  
**LAND SHEEP FROM THE RADNORSHIRE HILLS.**  
 ANNUAL SALE will be held on the 13th day of SEPTEMBER NEXT, SEPTEMBER 13,

**ERNEST TAGU BOULTON, Auctioneer.**  
**SALE OF LAND IN RADNORSHIRE.**  
 Craven Arms," on the Central Wales Railway.  
**LAND SHEEP FROM THE RADNORSHIRE HILLS.**  
 ANNUAL SALE will be held on the 13th day of SEPTEMBER NEXT, SEPTEMBER 13,

**MILK!**—Wanted, Dairies of 6 or 12 months' contract.—Apply to the Dairy Company, Ltd., 4, West End Square, London, S.W.



Boys of the Abingdon Church Schools desporting themselves at the Borough Ground, which is one of the best along the Thames.—(Photo, Warland Andrew, Abingdon.)

**A "FAIR" SUFFRAGETTE.**



"Votes for Women" at the Fair.—(O.J.I. photo.)

At Cormiskey Park, Chicago, on Monday afternoon, Frank Gotch, the American wrestling champion of the world, easily defeated Hackenschmidt for the world's champion. Gotch gained the first fall in 14min. 18sec., and the second in 5min. 32 1-5 sec.

On Monday morning a serious fire occurred at Glasgow Cross, involving a building in the Trongate known as the Glasgow Cross, where in bygone days the city authorities were housed. Several warehouses also were damaged running into many thousands of pounds. The outbreak occurred in a petrol tank spreading fiercely on the arrival of the fire. Three firemen were injured and removed to hospital in an ambulance.

**DENTAL NOTICE**

**THE AMERICAN DENTAL OPERATOR.**  
 Marlborough Chambers, 8 & 9, Cannon Street, beg to give notice to their patients and others that a report has been circulated that their business has been sold, and their Chief Operator, Mr. L. E. LYNN, has retired. Such report is without foundation, the business being still in the personal control of Mr. Lynn, and he can still be assured of his courteous attention.

**L. E. LYNN,**  
 Dental Surgeon,  
 Marlborough Chambers.

**"WELL, I NEVER!"**  
 This little exclamation is eloquent of gladness and satisfaction which is the result of using  
**STEVENS' COBBLES**  
 when they reckon up the bill. They find they can do so much more for their money. So good, and yet so cheap, that they are a real saving in expenditure. So good, and yet so cheap, that they are a real saving in expenditure. Price List now ready. Call or write for it.  
**STEVENS & CO.,**  
 6, Cornmarket, and 10, North Parade, OXFORD.

Printed by the "Oxford Times" Press, Limited, at Red Lion-square, Oxford, published at 7, New-road, Oxford, 6th, 1911.

# VOTERS SIGN THE PETITION

**Birken-  
head and  
District  
Women's  
Suffrage  
Society.**

**Secretary,  
Miss Amy  
Wyse.**

To the Right Honourable **THE COMMONS**  
of Great Britain and Ireland in Parlia-  
ment assembled.

**The Humble Petition** of the undersigned  
Parliamentary Electors of

**SHEWETH,**

**THAT** we the undersigned urgently beg  
that your Honourable House will without  
delay pass into law a measure for the en-  
franchisement of Women by granting to  
them the Parliamentary Vote on the same  
terms as it is or may be granted to men.

**AND** your petitioners will ever pray, &c.

**Petition  
may be  
signed at  
Committee  
Rooms,  
82 Oxton  
Road,  
266 Laird  
St., and at  
Birken-  
head News  
Office,  
Chester  
Street.**

| NAME | ADDRESS | VOTING<br>No. |
|------|---------|---------------|
|      |         |               |

**FOR  
WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE  
NON-PARTY      NON-MILITANT**





A sale of work was held in the Parish Room, Cowley St. John, on Thursday, in aid of the various parish funds. The photographs show the various stalls.—(O.J.I. photo).

### WOMEN VOTERS IN OXFORD.



Election day unfortunately turned out very wet, but in spite of the rain many women voters attended at the polling-booths to register their votes for the first time. The photographs show: Nos. 1 and 2, the Mayor and Colonel Waller leaving the polling-booth in Leckford-road. No. 3, women voters at the Leckford-road polling station.—(O.J.I. photos).

**264773**

# **VOTES FOR WOMEN**

**Procession from**

**Kensington to Hyde Park.**

**Assembles 1 p.m., Starts 1-30 p.m.**

**Sunday, June 21st**

16

**You MUST have this Ticket to remind you that next Sunday, June 21st, is Suffrage Sunday, and that you must join the Procession to Hyde Park, to be present at the great Demonstration at 3-30 p.m., to shout**  
**VOTES FOR WOMEN,**  
**at 5 o'clock.**

Created by the Women's Social and Political Union ce. 1917 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Sargeant Bros.  
The rules have been updated for clarity.

# SUFFRAGETTO

## An original and interesting Game of Skill for Two Players

Suffragetto is a contest of occupation between two opposing factions, The Suffragettes and The Police.

The goal of the Suffragettes is to break past Police lines and enter the House of Commons. At the same time, The Suffragettes must also prevent the Police from entering Albert Hall, an oft-used meeting space of the Women's Social and Political Union.

It is the Police's duty to break up a meeting of the Suffragettes, currently being held in Albert Hall, all the while, preventing the Suffragettes from entering the House of Commons.

The game is won by whoever first succeeds in introducing six members into the building guarded by its opponents.

## Direction and Mode of Play

### Set Up

The game is for two players, each of whom has 21 pieces—5 large pieces and 16 small pieces, representing the Suffragettes and the Police. A coin toss determines the first player.

The *Suffragettes* are colored green, and the large pieces are distinguished as *Leaders of the Suffragette Party*.

The *Police Force* is colored dark blue, and the large pieces are *Inspectors of Police*.

The Suffragettes are placed on the squares marked 'S' near 'Albert Hall.' The leaders of the party are positioned as follows: One leader is placed in the middle of the front row, and the other four Leaders are placed at the ends of the front and second rows.

The Police Force is placed upon the squares marked 'P' near the House of Commons. One Inspector is placed in the middle of the front row, and the remaining four Inspectors at the ends of the front and second rows.

### Moving & Hopping

Each player alternatively moves or hops one of his or her own pieces. Moving is for exploring, and hopping is used to arrest or disable an opponent. Hopping may occur laterally (e.g. across the sides of the squares) or diagonally, e.g., over the corners of the squares.

A piece may move any direction into an adjoining, unoccupied square. Pieces may freely move over any part of the board except:

- A. No piece can be moved (except when arrested or disabled) onto the spaces marked Prison, Prison Yard, Hospital, or Hospital Grounds.
- B. A Suffragette cannot move onto the spaces marked Albert Hall.
- C. A Policeman cannot move onto the spaces marked House of Commons.

A piece hops by jumping over one or more pieces into the unoccupied square or unoccupied squares on the other side of the hopped over piece(s). Multiple jumps can be completed at a time, provided that each jump is a legal action (as listed above). If the square behind a piece is occupied, the hop cannot be completed.

A piece may hop over any piece, including ones from its own party, but may not hop over any square into which it is unable to move as per the rules above. Note: hopping over your own piece does not disable it.

Any piece having effected an entrance into the House of Commons or Albert Hall may move about freely on the squares representing the building, but must not move or hop away from those squares.

### Arresting & Disabling

Police may arrest Suffragettes and Suffragettes may disable Police through jiu jitsu. *Disable* is a term used in jiu jitsu when an opponent is neutralized.

Any piece standing on one of the squares in The Arena (squares marked pink) is liable to be arrested or disabled. No piece can be arrested or disabled on yellow squares outside the Arena, but may move or hop freely on these squares.

A piece can only arrest or disable its opponents when it is hopping, not when simply moving.

A Suffragette disables the Police, by hopping over him in an oblique direction. A *Leader of the Suffragette Party* can disable any member of the Police Force by hopping over him in any direction.

A Policeman arrests a Suffragette by hopping over her in an oblique direction. An *Inspector of Police* arrests any Suffragette member by hopping over her in any direction.

A single piece may arrest or disable multiple pieces during one series of jumps.

Suffragettes who are arrested are moved to the Prison.

Police who are disabled are moved to the Hospital.

### Exchanges

If at any point, the Prison and the Hospital each contain 12 or more inmates, either player may insist on an exchange of 6 or less pieces. The pieces exchanged must be of equal value, viz., A Leader is exchanged for an Inspector, and the rank and file of the Suffragette party for the rank and file of the Police.

The exchanged pieces may start moving from the squares marked 'Prison Yard' and 'Hospital Grounds' respectively.

No exchange can be made while any piece remains on the Prison Yard or the Hospital Grounds.

If one player does not agree to an exchange, the exchange does not occur.



HOSPITAL

HOSPITAL GROUNDS

HOSPITAL

THE  
ARENA

HOUSE  
OF  
COMMONS

THE  
ARENA

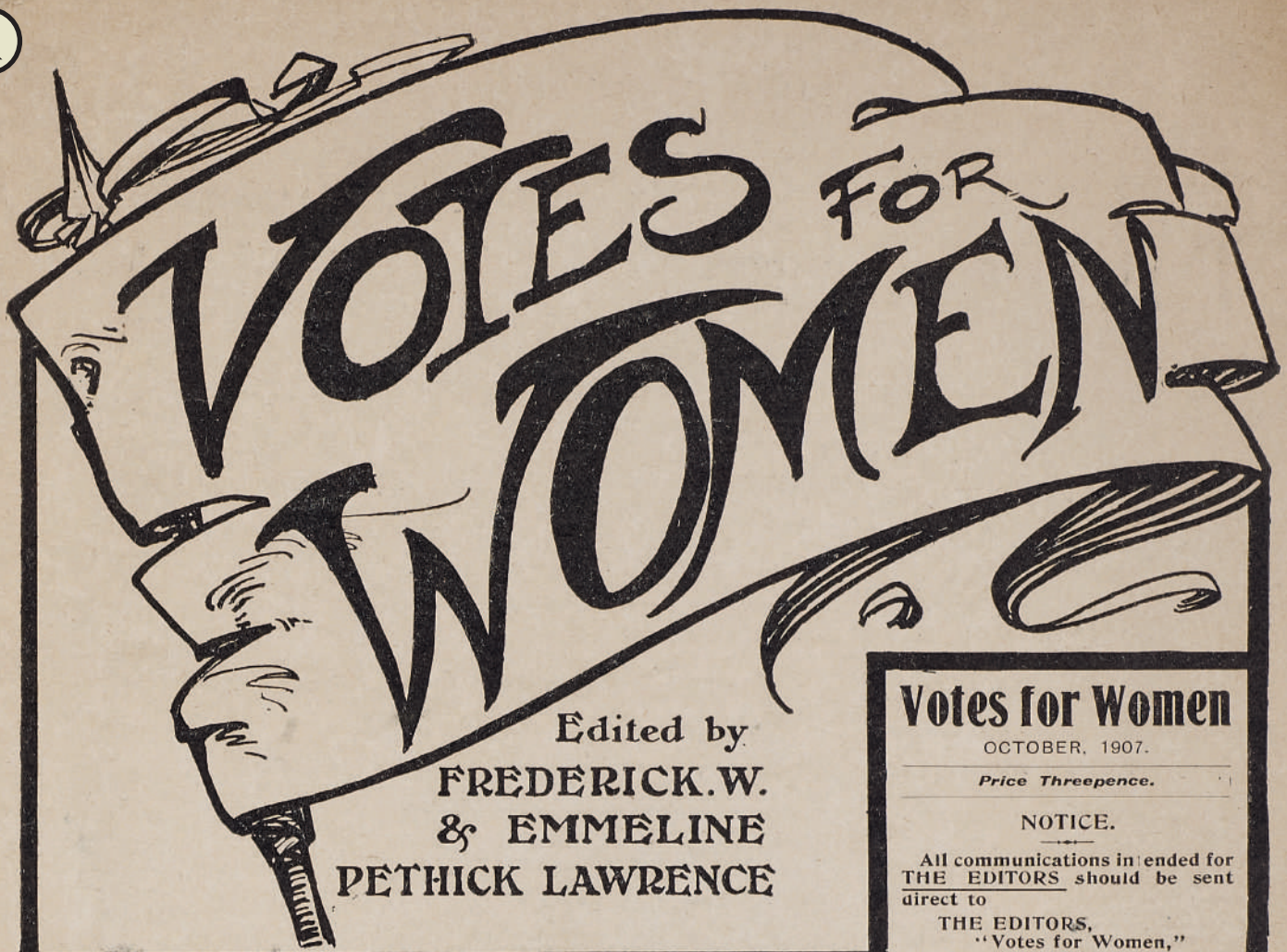
ALBERT  
HALL

THE  
ARENA

PRISON

PRISON YARD

PRISON



### Votes for Women

OCTOBER, 1907.

Price Threepence.

#### NOTICE.

All communications intended for THE EDITORS should be sent direct to

THE EDITORS,  
"Votes for Women,"  
4, Clement's Inn,  
Strand, W. C.,

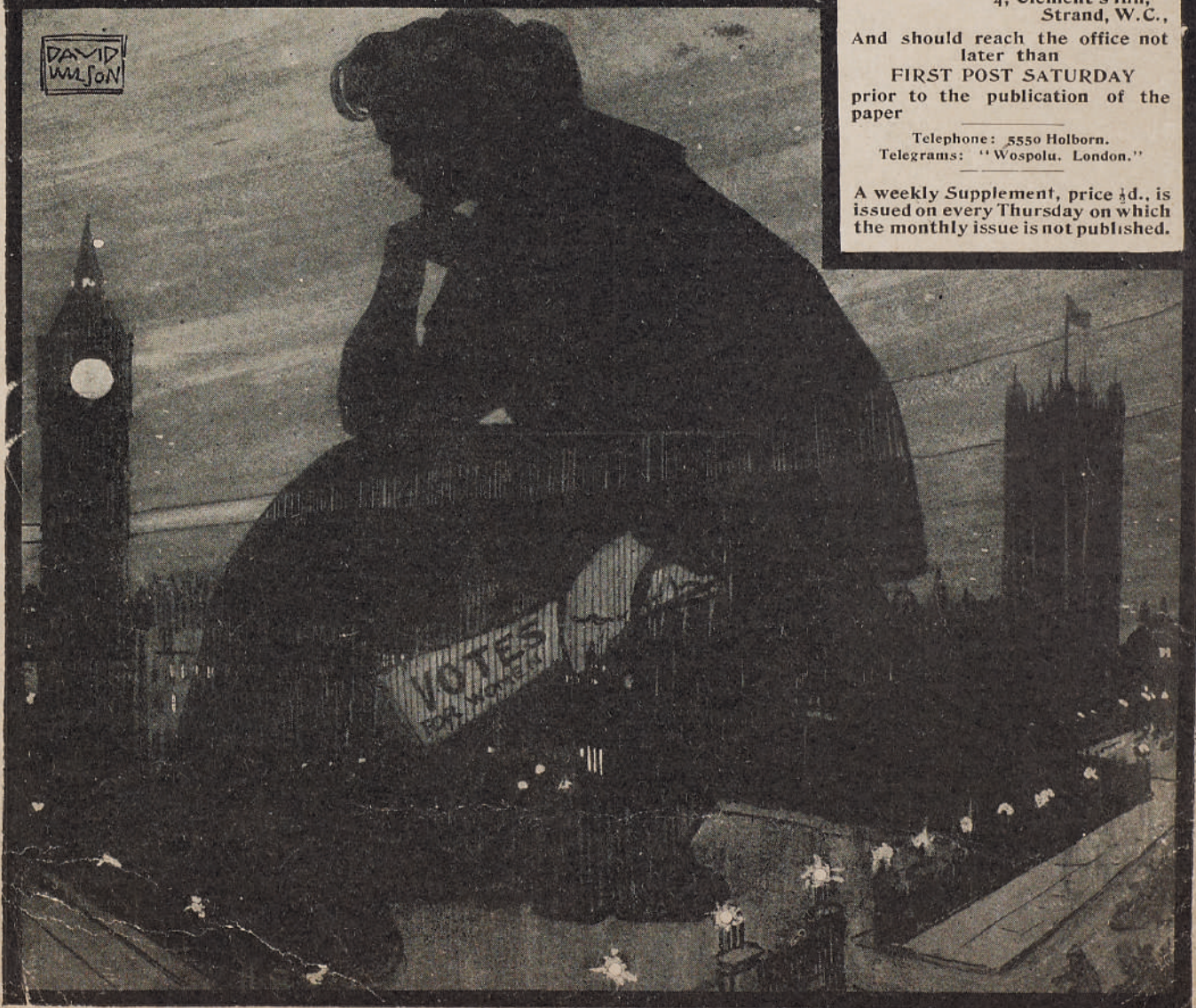
And should reach the office not later than

FIRST POST SATURDAY  
prior to the publication of the paper

Telephone: 5550 Holborn.  
Telegrams: "Wospolu. London."

A weekly Supplement, price ½d., is issued on every Thursday on which the monthly issue is not published.

DAVID WILSON



# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

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

Office: 4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, W.C.

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."

Telephone 5550 Holborn.

### Committee:

**Mrs. PANKHURST,**

Founder and Hon. Sec.

**Mrs. TUKE,**

Joint Hon. Sec.

**Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.**

**Miss ANNIE KENNEY.**

**Miss MARY NEAL.**

**Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE,**

Hon. Treasurer.

**Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,**

Organising Sec.

**Miss MARY E. GAWTHORPE.**

**Mrs. N. A. MARTEL.**

**Miss ELIZABETH ROBINS.**

**Hon. Auditor: A. G. SAYERS,** Chartered Accountant, 19, Hanover Square, W.

**Bankers: Messrs. BARCLAY, BEVAN & Co.,** 19, Fleet Street, E.C.

### LOCAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNIONS.

**Aberdeen**—Miss Phillips, 61, Albury Road, Aberdeen.  
**Ashton-under-Lyne**—Mrs. Rawle, 6, Springfield Street, Hooley Hill, near Ashton-under-Lyne.  
**Battersea**—Miss Fitz-Herbert, 9, Cambridge Mansions.  
**Beckenham**—Miss R. Hazlewood, 35, King's Hall Road.  
**Birmingham**—Mrs. Burman, Hartopp Cottage, Four Oaks, Birmingham.  
**Blackburn**—Mrs. Witard, 52, Lynwood Road, Blackburn.  
**Bolton**—Mrs. Waller, 139, Crescent Road, Bolton.  
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**Bowes Park**—Mrs. Rollings, 25, Trinity Road, Wood Green.  
**Bradford**—Mrs. Craven, 34, Norwood Avenue, Shipley, Bradford.  
**Brighouse**—Mrs. Tordoff, 6, Old Lane, Brighouse.  
**Brighton**—Mrs. McKeown, 209, Preston Drive, Brighton.  
**Brixton and Streatham**—Miss McArthur, 19, Loughboro' Road, Brixton.  
**Canning Town**—Mrs. Wilcox, 20, Bethel Avenue, Canning Town.  
**Cardiff**—Miss Jackson, 14, Pembroke Terrace, Cardiff.  
**Chelsea**—Miss C. Hamilton, 28, Gleebe Place, Chelsea.  
**Cheltenham**—Mrs. Earengay, B.A., 3, Wellington Square, Cheltenham.  
**Clapham**—Miss M. Smith, 57, Penney Road, Balham.  
**Croydon**—Miss D. Arter, "Melrose," 38, Blenheim Park Road, South Croydon.  
**Cumnock**—Mrs. John Reid, Loudoun Arms' Hotel, Manclaine, Ayrshire.  
**Darlington**—Mrs. Denham, 12, Victoria Embankment, Darlington.  
**Dewsbury and Batley**—Miss Turner, 73, Talbot Street, Batley.  
**Dumbarton**—Mrs. Annie R. Craig, The Knoll, Drumchapel, Dumbartonshire.  
**Dundee**—Miss Wilkie, 101, Rosebery Street, Lochee, Dundee.  
**Dunfermline**—Miss Munro, The Manse, Kingseathill, Dunfermline.  
**Edinburgh**—Mrs. Grant, Toaphall, Ferry Road, Edinburgh.  
**Elland**—Miss Holland, 1, Turnpike Street, Elland Lane, Elland.  
**Fulham**—Miss I. Gardiner, 44, Brookville Road, Fulham.  
**Glasgow**—Miss E. L. Hopegood, 100, George Street, Glasgow.  
 Southern Branch: Mrs. Addison, 126, Prospect Hill Road, Langside, Glasgow.  
 Western Branch: Miss Wilson, 308, Dumbarton Road, Partick, Glasgow.  
**Hackney**—Miss R. Scriven, 121, Homeleigh Road, Stamford Hill, N.  
**Halifax**—Mrs. Willson, 111, Watkinson Road, Ovenden, Halifax.  
**Hammersmith**—Mrs. F. Rowe, 15, Hammersmith Terrace, W.  
**Hampstead**—Miss Hicks, 7, Ornan Mansions, Hampstead.

**Harrow Road**—Mrs. Cullen, 1, Halstow Road, Kensal Green, N.  
**Hebden Bridge**—Miss Louie Cobbe, 32, Industrial Street, Hebden Bridge.  
**Huddersfield**—Mrs. Key, Regent Place, Bradford Road, Huddersfield.  
**Jarrow**—Miss Jardin, 23, Kent Street, Jarrow.  
**Keighley**—Miss Minnie Glyde, 6, Brontë Street, Keighley.  
**Kensington**—Mrs. Eates, 7, Wrentham Avenue, Willesden, N.W.  
**Kilmarnock**—Miss M. Hamilton, Croft Head, Kilmarnock, Ayrshire.  
**Leeds**—Miss Rhys Davids, 40, Cliff Road, Hyde Park, Leeds.  
**Leicester**—Mrs. Hawkins, 18, Mantle Road, Leicester.  
**Leith**—Miss Cairns, 265, Bennington Road, Leith.  
**Letchworth**—Mrs. Sainy, 3, Norton Way, Letchworth.  
**Lewisham**—Mrs. Bouvier, 32, Mount Pleasant Road, Lewisham.  
**Limehouse**—Mrs. Bennett, 218, Rhodeswell Road, Limehouse, E.  
**Liverpool**—Mrs. Hillier, 7, Southdale Road, Wavertree, Liverpool.  
**London City**—Miss J. Kenney, 87, Clement's Inn, W.C.  
**Long Eaton**—Miss Bullock, Adsett Cottage, College Street, Long Eaton.  
**Manchester**—Miss Alice Milne, 116, Portland Street, Manchester.  
**Marsden**—Miss A. Pitcher, The Grange, Marsden, near Huddersfield.  
**Middlesbrough**—Miss N. E. Jacob, 2, Holgate Terrace, Borough Road, East, Middlesbrough.  
**Nine Elms**—Miss Mansell, 2, Currie Street, Nine Elms Lane, S.W.  
**Northern Heights**—Miss L. M. Thompson, 43, Rosebery Gardens, Crouch End, N.  
**Oldham**—Miss Ogden, 275, Waterloo Street, Oldham.  
**Preston**—Mrs. Rigby, 28, Winckley Square, Preston.  
**Rochdale**—Mrs. Whitworth, 196, Manchester Road, Rochdale.  
**Sheffield**—Mrs. Whitworth, 70, Wath Road, Sheffield.  
**South Bank, Middlesbrough**—Mrs. Smith, 33, Pearl Street, South Bank, Middlesbrough.  
**Stepney**—Mrs. K. Gregory, 15, Barnes Street, Stepney, E.  
**St. Pancras**—Miss Kozier, 91, Bartholomew Road, Camden Road, N.W.  
**Tondu**—Mrs. Doyle, 22, Coronation Street, Tondu, Mid. Glamorgan.  
**Tottenham**—Mrs. Self, 27, Varry Road, Stamford Hill, N.  
**Wallington**—Mrs. Martin, Delse, Park Road, Wallington.  
**Walthamstow**—Miss L. Hart, 25, Somerset Road, Walthamstow.  
**West Hartlepool**—Mrs. Norman, 3, Queen's Terrace, Seaton Carew, West Hartlepool.  
**Wolverhampton**—Mrs. Sproson, Kelmscott, Wolverhampton.

### 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 candidate of any political party in Parliamentary elections until Women have obtained the Parliamentary Vote.

## CONTENTS.

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | PAGE. |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Dedication .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 1     |
| The Outlook :—An Early Dissolution; The Fourth Milestone; Why this Paper is Wanted; Monthly and Weekly Issues; How it can be Obtained; The Portrait of the Founder; Mrs. Pankhurst's Life; Our Cover Cartoon; Special Features .. .. . | 1, 2  |
| Letter from Mary E. Gawthorpe .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 2     |
| To the Women of Germany. By Annie Kenney.. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                        | 3, 4  |
| Programme for October .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 4     |
| What the Vote Means :—The Value of Human Life; The Unspoken Ideals of Women. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence                                                                                                                              | 5     |
| Leading Article :—The Battle Cry .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                               | 6     |
| The National Movement. By Christabel Pankhurst .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                 | 7     |
| The History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst.. .. .                                                                                                                                                                       | 8     |
| Women Municipal Councillors .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 9     |
| The Conference of German Women. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                   | 10    |
| The Movement in London and the Provinces :—Brixton; Deptford; Harrow-road; Kensington; Walthamstow; Suffragette Scouts; At Home at Hove; Yorkshire Meetings .. .. .                                                                    | 11    |
| Scottish Notes .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 12    |
| Contributions to the £20,000 Fund .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                              | 12    |
| Balance-sheet for September .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 12    |
| Members' Pledge Cards .. .. .                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 12    |

## 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.

EVENTS move fast. But two years ago the question of woman's enfranchisement was regarded by the politicians as of no importance. To-day "Votes for Women" is essentially practical politics. Not only are women of all shades of political inclination vigorously expressing their demand, but up and down the country the electors are being forced to take sides upon the issue. And even the members of the House of Commons, slow as they are to respond to public opinion, are beginning to see that this reform cannot be much longer delayed. It now only needs one strong blow to force the Government of the day to act.

## An Early Dissolution.

It is the generally accepted opinion in well-informed political circles that the session of 1908 will be the last session of the present Parliament, and that before proceeding further the Government will seek the renewed confidence of the country by means of a dissolution and General Election. It would be a standing disgrace if this were to take place before women had been enfranchised. It is, therefore, essential that during the session of 1908 a measure shall be carried through Parliament which shall enable women to take their share in the coming General Election, and to vote for the representa-

tives who are entrusted with the making of the laws which women as well as men are called upon to obey. It is at this stage in the agitation that this paper *Votes for Women* comes into existence.

## The Fourth Milestone.

Since the Women's Social and Political Union was originally founded by Mrs. Pankhurst in 1903 each annual milestone after the first has been marked by a fresh development in the movement. It was in October, 1905, that there occurred the historic imprisonment of Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney as the result of their attempt to insist upon an answer by Sir Edward Grey to their question at his meeting. It was in October, 1906, that the present permanent offices of the Union in 4, Clements Inn were opened, wherein so many women have met together to agitate for their enfranchisement. It is now in October, 1907, that the first number of this paper, *Votes for Women*, is published to reinforce the agitation which is going on all over the country, and to be the mouthpiece of the advance guard who, throwing aside all other party ties, are determined to press forward their claim to victory.

## Why this Paper is Wanted.

The demand which *Votes for Women* has to meet is twofold. In the first place, there is the growing desire for knowledge on the part of the outside public to learn what it is that women are really striving for and how far the agitation is progressing. The magnitude of this demand may be gauged by the fact that already during 1907 the W.S.P.U. has effected a sale, exclusive of leaflets, of 80,000 books, pamphlets, and other publications. In the second place, it has to supply to all those women who are at work within the ranks a bulletin of the doings of the Union which shall keep them in touch with all the ramifications of the movement and enable them to devote their work in the most profitable manner to the furtherance of the agitation.

## Monthly and Weekly Issues.

It is proposed to meet this twofold demand in a somewhat novel manner. In the form in which it appears in this number *Votes for Women* will be issued as a *monthly* newspaper, and will contain articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy will be charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publications) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly *Votes for Women* is *not* published a special four-page sheet will be issued containing all the principal news of the movement—an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be



known as the *Votes for Women Supplement*,\* and will be sold for ½d. (by post 1d.).

#### How It Can Be Obtained.

In the course of the year there will be twelve monthly numbers of the paper, and forty weekly supplements. Subscribers will be able to obtain the paper either through their newsagents, or through local W.S.P.U.S., or by post direct from the offices of the paper, 4, Clement's-inn, W.C. If they adopt the last course they should fill up the form which will be found accompanying this number of the paper. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s. A free sample of the first weekly supplement will be sent to any address on receipt of a post-card by the Publisher, *Votes for Women*, 4, Clement's-inn, W.C.

#### The Portrait of the Founder.

To every reader of this number of *Votes for Women* is presented a special plate, containing a portrait of Mrs. Pankhurst, the founder of the Women's Social and Political Union. We feel assured that our readers, to whom she is personally known, will find themselves in agreement with the criticism of her friends that the portrait is an exceedingly good likeness, and that short of a representation of her splendid animation and fire while commanding an audience, which no photograph can ever reproduce, it does convey to those who see it the quiet, strong, womanly characteristics which will make her name honoured all over the world.

#### Mrs. Pankhurst's Life.

In tracing the story of her life, it is interesting to notice that she was born on the anniversary of the destruction of the Bastille, and that her grandfather was one of those who took part in the famous vote-agitation of Peterloo, and narrowly escaped with his life. For nearly thirty years she has been engaged in working for women's emancipation, commencing by assisting her husband, the famous Dr. Pankhurst, in winning the Married Women's Property Act, which he drafted, and by being placed on the executive of the Women's Suffrage Society. She has served on the School Board for Manchester, and on the board of guardians, and she acted for some time as registrar of births and deaths in that town. For several years she gave her political adhesion to the Independent Labour Party, but now that the claims of women have become entirely predominant she has definitely abandoned all other party allegiance, and stands pledged to work for "Votes for Women," and for that alone. Since she founded the Women's Social and Political Union in 1903, the story of the growth and progress of that body has been the story of her own life, and not one brief note, but a series of chapters, will be necessary to tell that tale. In succeeding numbers of this paper it is hoped to develop this history in a form which will be of interest to the

\* The Supplements to the present October number will accordingly be issued on October 10, October 17, and October 24, while the November number will be ready October 31.

general public, as well as to those on the inside of the great movement.

#### Our Cover Cartoon.

In presenting this first issue of *Votes for Women* to the public, we should like to draw special attention to the pages of the cover. The cartoon which appears on the outside was originally published in the *Daily Chronicle* in April last, and attracted attention for the strength, beauty, and subtlety of its design; it is by the courteous permission of the proprietors of that paper that it is reproduced here. The flag on which the words "Votes for Women" are inscribed typifies the fight which women have to wage before their victory will be won. On page ii. will be found a directory of the movement, and also the terms of the constitution; on page iv. a list of all the publications which can be obtained through the literature department. An attempt has been made on page iii. to express in succinct form the various ways in which those who are interested in women's progress, but have not as yet associated themselves in any direct way with the movement, can come into line with the workers.

#### Special Features.

Of the special events of the month that is gone by none are more interesting than the German Conference of Women, which took place at the latter end of September, in Frankfurt, to which Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney went as delegates of the Women's Social and Political Union. The account which we publish on page 8 of the present issue gives a picture of the women's movement as it exists in Germany to-day, and the various problems with which it has to deal. Annie Kenney's speech on that occasion is given on page 3. Other special features of the present issue are the article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, on page 5, "What the Vote means"; the first chapter of the history of the Suffrage Movement—the story of Peterloo told by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst; the account of the first women to fight as candidates in the municipal elections, and the manifesto which is being drawn out by the Leicester candidate. We would also draw attention to the forthcoming "At Home," to be given by the members of the committee of the N.W.S.P.U. in the Portman Rooms, on October 12, and the demonstration in the Queen's Hall, arranged for November 11.

#### LETTER FROM MISS GAWTHORPE.

To the Editors "*Votes for Women*."

I am delighted to hear we are to have a paper of our own from which the general public will be able to learn the immense amount of work which is being put into this campaign, and the great effect which it has already produced.

I feel I am getting stronger every day, and look forward to the time, now not so far distant, when I shall be able to stand shoulder to shoulder with the other members of the committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union in winning from the Government the enfranchisement of my sex.

Yours, &c.,

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

## TO THE WOMEN OF GERMANY.

*Speech by Annie Kenney, delivered at the Women's Conference at Frankfurt.*

THIS is a wonderful day for me; a day I shall never forget; one of those days which will stand out in my life among great events in the campaign for Women's Enfranchisement. The Women's Movement is an international one. Women of every land are to-day crying out for justice, which is liberty and equality. No nationality, no political creed, no class distinction, no difference of any sort divides us as women. We are true to womanhood first of all. We are asking that women shall be recognised as human beings with the same love of freedom, the same yearning and aspiration for development and progress with which men are endowed; the same desire for honourable service in helping to build the great temple of good. We ask that no sex disability shall bind down one half of the human race to be subject to the other half.

I am an Englishwoman and a member of the new and active movement which is called the Women's Social and Political Union. This union was formed four years ago by Mrs. Pankhurst, of Manchester, and her daughter, Miss Christabel Pankhurst. It came into prominence not quite two years ago with the first imprisonment of Miss Christabel Pankhurst and myself.

I had always been a Suffragist from the age of 14 years. I was one of a large family; my home was in the North of England in the centre of the great cotton industry, which is one of the staple trades of England. In those large factories a few years ago a child of ten was allowed to go and work in the midst of dangerous machinery. I was one of those who went at ten years of age as a little half-timer. One week we worked six hours a day, and the other week four hours a day. The rest of the day had to be filled in at school. When I was 13 I went as full-timer. We had to work ten hours a day, rising at 5.30 in the morning and working till 5.30 in the evening, except for a break of 1½ hours for meals.

### The Hardness of Women's Lives.

I grew up in the midst of women and girls in the works, and I saw the hard life of these women and children about me. I noticed the great difference made in the treatment between men and women in the factory—difference in conditions, difference in wages, difference in status; but I realised this difference not in the factory alone, but in the home. I saw men and women, boys and girls, all working hard during the day in the same hot, stifling factories; then when work was over, I noticed that it was the mothers who hurried home; who fetched the children who had been put out to nurse; who prepared the tea for the husband; who did the cleaning, baking, washing, sewing, nursing. I noticed that when the husband came home his day's work was over; he took his tea, then went out to join his friends in the club or the public-house, or on the cricket or football field. And I used to ask myself why this was so. Why was the mother the drudge of the family, not the father's companion and equal?

Then I saw the life of the children, and I found exactly the same thing happening there on a smaller scale. The girls must work as hard as the boys in the factory; they must do just the same task and serve just the same number of hours; but when the day's work was over, the boys must have their tea first and get out of the way for the work of the home to be done by the girls. The boys, although doing just the same work, received more wages than the girls; they naturally had more spending

money, which means that they were in a position to join evening classes of every description for self-development, or to join recreation clubs for physical development, but the girls, whose place was in the home, must wash up the dishes, see to the baby, clean up the house, prepare for the morrow.

Do you wonder that my heart was full of revolt as a child against this state of things! I saw the mothers of Lancashire working in the factories a few days before the baby was born. I saw these women, whose lives were a tale of suffering and sacrifice, working all the time while they were bearing and rearing a large family, and then after a life of hard work and worry, and after the great strain of bringing life after life into the world, I have seen them sink into their grave worn out and broken-spirited. I am myself the child of a working woman, and I saw these things happen in my own mother's life. It was natural that I should ponder over all these things, and that I should begin to ask myself "How can I help the women of Great Britain to obtain a greater measure of happiness and freedom in their life?"

### The Need for the Vote.

It was then that I happened to meet the Founder of the Women's Social and Political Union, Mrs. Pankhurst, and it was she who showed me more clearly than I had ever seen before that the only way to help the women was to get the vote by which women could help themselves.

In the latter part of the year 1905, the nation was stirred by expectation of an approaching general election, and our Union resolved that its members, instead of working in the interest of any election candidate, should go to public meetings and to put a question to every candidate who was likely to sit in the Cabinet of the next Liberal Government. The question was "Whether if so, he would do his best to make Women's Enfranchisement a Government question?" The question was put in this form, because the history of the Women's Suffrage Movement for 40 years has proved that nothing less than a Government pledge would make our claim secure. The pledges of private members in the House of Commons have proved to be absolutely unreliable.

The first meeting to which we went for this purpose was held in Manchester on October 12, 1905. Sir Edward Grey was the principal speaker. We wrote him a letter first asking him to receive a deputation of women. The letter was not acknowledged. Two delegates were sent, therefore, to his public meeting. Miss Pankhurst and I volunteered to go. I knew from my past experiences in the factory when asking for more wages or better conditions, that we had to be firm and persistent in order to win, and that we had to show that we were prepared to fight for our right. I thought it all out before I went. I knew that I should lose my friends; that I should lose my position on the district Trade Union Committee to which my workmates had elected me; I knew that I should lose all my past life, but I knew also that the day had arrived when I was to come out and fight for the weak, as I had promised my mother to do when she lay on her bed of death. So I vowed that I would never be afraid; I would work and give myself to the great women's movement until I saw women free citizens; until I saw a better country for the mothers of the race.

The night came when we had to go and begin the active campaign which all the world knows about to-day. Before we went in, to save misunderstanding for what we were asking, we made a banner and put on in big letters "Votes for Women."

The Free Trade Hall in Manchester was crowded. We waited for Sir Edward Grey to end his speech. No mention of women had been made even. Two or three men in the Hall asked questions, which were immediately answered by the speaker. Then I got up and said, "Will you, if elected, do your best to make Women's Suffrage a Government question?" There was no answer. I tried to put the question again. Some Liberal men from behind got hold of me and pulled me down on my chair. I rose again to ask for an answer, then the banner was unfurled to let the people see what we were asking for.

Six men came and one of them put his hat over my face. Miss Pankhurst got up and began to ask for an answer to the question. Men from behind dragged her down. There was a great hubbub. The chief constable of Manchester came, and said if we would sit down and write the question out he would give us his word that it would be answered. I wrote it, signed it, and sent it up with the statement that I was representing 96,000 women cotton workers of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and it was for their sake I wanted the question answered. I saw the speaker receive it, read it, pass it on to the chairman; I saw the chairman read it and put it on one side. The meeting proceeded.

Then I rose again to protest with Miss Pankhurst. Half a dozen Liberals got hold of Miss Pankhurst and succeeded in dragging her down the body of the Hall, past the platform. Then they threw her down the steps into the street. Then I got up on my seat and refused to move until my question had been answered. Then they sent for more men; they dragged me out, and as I was passing the platform, I said:—"Sir Edward Grey, if I live to get out of this Hall, I shall hold a protest meeting against you."

As soon as they had thrown me down the steps and I found myself in the street, I started an open-air meeting of protest against the treatment we had received at the hands of a proposed Cabinet Minister. The police seized me, and I saw Miss Pankhurst being taken away between two policemen. Naturally, we were followed by hundreds of men and women. We looked at each other, and the thought that was passing in our minds was, "This is only the beginning."

The whole country rang with the news of the two women who were taken up for disturbing a public meeting, and causing a commotion in the street. Not one word of the brutal treatment of the officials of the Liberals. Not a word of the refusal of a responsible man to answer a political question at a political meeting. No two women had dared ever before to stand up in free England and ask for liberty and freedom for women.

The proceedings of the Court were disgraceful. The Magistrate allowed the police to make statements about what happened inside the Hall, statements that were not true, but when we were being examined he refused to listen to a word from us about what happened in the Hall. He said we were guilty, and we were sent to prison in the lowest division of all which is for the lowest criminals. So began the active movement of women determined to fight for freedom.

Oh! you women of Germany, may your fight be easier than ours has been the last two years! Oh! how our hearts have ached and our souls grown sad seeing the great force of prejudice and custom in so deadly an array against us. But through all the clouds we have always seen the great light of truth leading us on to victory. The women's banner in every land must have banner

bearers, and they must be true to the cause, and true to each other. Women of Germany! I stand before you as one ready to face all for the freedom of women. I stand before you having promised to give my whole life to this movement until women are free. Therefore, I say to the German women: "Come out of your home, your workshop; come and stand by your leaders who are working and fighting for your freedom here in this great country."

## PROGRAMME OF FORTHCOMING EVENTS.

For the Month of October (as far as at present arranged).

|         |                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                            |                                             |
|---------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| Oct. 1  | Aberdeen<br>Lewisham, "At Home"                                                                                                       | Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Pankhurst<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs.<br>Pethick Lawrence                                                   | 4.30.                                       |
| Oct. 2  | Dundee<br>Putney, Weimar-road<br>Paddington, Norman Hall                                                                              | Mrs. Tanner, Dr. Jones<br>Miss Nellie Kenney, Mrs. Drummond                                                                                | 7.30.<br>7.30.                              |
|         | Lewisham<br>Dunfermline                                                                                                               | Mrs. Baldoock<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs.<br>Pethick Lawrence                                                                            |                                             |
| Oct. 3  | London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home"                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                            | 8-10                                        |
|         | Brixton<br>Glasgow, St. Andrew's Hall                                                                                                 | Miss Nellie Kenney<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs.<br>Pethick Lawrence                                                                       |                                             |
| Oct. 4  | Barnes Pond<br>Brighton<br>Edinburgh                                                                                                  | Mrs. Baldoock<br>Mrs. Martel<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst, Mrs.<br>Pethick Lawrence                                                             | 7.30.<br>7.30.                              |
| Oct. 5  | Bradford<br>London, Hyde Park<br>London, Victoria Park<br>Blackheath, Whitfield's Mount<br>Queensbury                                 | Miss A. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Pankhurst and others<br>Mrs. Baldoock<br>Mrs. Naylor<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                        | 7.30.<br>3 p.m.<br>3.30.<br>3 p.m.<br>3.30. |
| Oct. 6  | London, "At Home," 4, Clements-inn                                                                                                    | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs.<br>Pankhurst                                                                                                   | 4-6.                                        |
|         | London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting                                                                                              | Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                                              | 8 p.m.                                      |
|         | Shoreditch, Debate<br>Highgate, Open-air Meeting<br>Manchester<br>Leeds Debate                                                        | Miss Macaulay<br>Miss Nellie Kenney<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                           | 8 p.m.                                      |
| Oct. 8  | Halifax<br>Kensington, Drawing-room Meeting                                                                                           | Mrs. Martel<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst                                                                                                        | 7.30.<br>8.15                               |
| Oct. 9  | Putney, Weimar-road<br>Leeds Professional Women's Meeting<br>Walthamstow                                                              | Open-air Meeting.—Dr. Jones and others<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                                                | 8 p.m.<br>7.30.                             |
| Oct. 10 | Sidcup Congregational Church, Station-road<br>Brixton<br>Idle (near Bradford) Debate                                                  | Mrs. Martel<br>Mrs. Pethick Lawrence<br>Miss Nellie Kenney<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                            | 8 p.m.<br>7.30.<br>7.30.                    |
| Oct. 11 | Barnes Pond<br>Brighouse                                                                                                              | Open-air Meeting<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                                                                      | 7.30.<br>7.30.                              |
| Oct. 12 | London, Portman Rooms                                                                                                                 | "At Home." Admission by ticket only                                                                                                        | 8 p.m.                                      |
| Oct. 13 | London, Hyde Park<br>London, Victoria Park<br>Greenwich Ethical Society                                                               | Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Baldoock<br>Mrs. Pankhurst                                                                                    | 3.<br>3.30.                                 |
| Oct. 14 | London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home"                                                                                                    | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence                                                                                                                      | 4-6.                                        |
|         | London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting                                                                                              | Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                                              | 8 p.m.                                      |
|         | Highgate<br>Brighouse                                                                                                                 | Open-air Meeting<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                                                                      | 8 p.m.<br>7.30.                             |
| Oct. 15 | Chelmsford Discussion Society<br>Chelsea, Drawing-room Meeting, 4, Trafalgar Studios                                                  | Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Pethick Lawrence                                                                                              | 7.30.                                       |
| Oct. 16 | Ipswich                                                                                                                               | Mrs. Martel                                                                                                                                |                                             |
| Oct. 17 | Birmingham, "At Home," Grand Hotel<br>London, 4, Clements-inn "At Home"                                                               | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs.<br>Pankhurst                                                                                                   | 3-6.<br>8-10.                               |
| Oct. 18 | Barnes Pond<br>London, Hyde Park<br>London, Victoria Park<br>Sowerby Bridge                                                           | Open-air Meeting<br>Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Baldoock<br>Miss A. Pankhurst                                                             | 7.30.<br>3.<br>3.30.<br>3.                  |
| Oct. 21 | London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home"                                                                                                    | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence                                                                                                                      | 4-6.                                        |
|         | London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting                                                                                              | Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                                              | 8 p.m.                                      |
| Oct. 22 | Liverpool                                                                                                                             | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence                                                                                                                      |                                             |
| Oct. 23 | Radlett Congregational Church<br>Putney, Weimar-road<br>Paddington, corner of Elgin-avenue and Watterton-road                         | Miss Macaulay<br>Open-air Meeting<br>Open-air Meeting                                                                                      | 7.30.<br>7.30.                              |
| Oct. 24 | Kensington<br>London, 4, Clements-inn                                                                                                 | Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                              |                                             |
| Oct. 25 | Suffragette Scouts meet Sloane-square                                                                                                 | Meeting, Redhill                                                                                                                           | 8-10.                                       |
| Oct. 27 | London, Hyde Park<br>London, Victoria Park                                                                                            | Miss C. H. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                      | 3 p.m.<br>3.30.                             |
| Oct. 28 | London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home"                                                                                                    | Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs.<br>Pankhurst                                                                                                   | 4-6.                                        |
|         | London, 4, Clements-inn, Evening Meeting                                                                                              | Mrs. Baldoock                                                                                                                              | 8 p.m.                                      |
| Oct. 29 | Reigate<br>Brighton                                                                                                                   | Mrs. Martel<br>Mrs. Martel                                                                                                                 |                                             |
| Oct. 30 | Leeds, Theosophical Hall<br>Keighley, Temperance Hall<br>Putney, Weimar-road<br>Paddington, corner of Elgin-avenue and Watterton-road | Mrs. Pankhurst<br>Mrs. Martel<br>Open-air Meeting<br>Open-air Meeting                                                                      | 7.30.<br>7.30.<br>7.30.<br>7.30.            |
| Oct. 31 | Brighouse, Bowes Park                                                                                                                 | Mrs. Martel                                                                                                                                |                                             |
| Nov. 1  | QUEEN'S HALL MEETING, LONDON.                                                                                                         | Chairman:—Mrs. Pankhurst.<br>Speakers:—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, Mrs. Martel, Miss C. H. Pankhurst | 8 p.m.                                      |

Tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d., can be obtained from Mrs. San'ers, 4, Clements-inn Strand, W.C.

## WHAT THE VOTE MEANS.

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TO this great Votes for Women Movement, there are many women who are still indifferent, and some who are directly hostile. Why? Because they do not understand what the vote means. They do not see that this is a question that touches them vitally at any point of their daily life. Their life is easy and comfortable. Their hearts are full of the love of husband, friends, and children. Their case is put by one woman who said to me, "I have no sympathy with what you are doing. I don't want a vote. I have my home, my garden, these beautiful trees that I love to look at. I have my little son. I care for love, for beauty and happiness. I don't want to be mixed up with political strife."

\* \* \* \* \*

In a beautiful wood one day last spring a woman was gathering primroses. I can see her now, kneeling upon the blossom-starred ground, her hands full, her face upturned to the sunlight falling through the budding branches of the trees—the joy of a child's heart imparting a new softness to the prematurely worn and care-lined face. "How far away is all thought of political strife," she said to me; "how strange and unreal all our fight seems now, and here in this beautiful world one could give it all up so easily, and just be a child of the earth." "But," she added thoughtfully, "when you come to think of it, our Woman's Movement means just this—that every woman shall have the chance of picking primroses in a wood."

Yes, this is what it means: that beauty, love, and happiness are not the dower of the protected and privileged few only, but the inheritance of all the children born into this world, and it is the duty of the womanhood of the nation, the great potential motherhood of the country, to secure to every child of woman born this great birthright.

Oh, you women of Britain! If only you could understand, if only you could see what the vote really means! You happy mothers in your sweet and charming homes; you think (I know you do, many of you) that the women's vote would tend to draw women away from all that you believe is best and most sacred in life. But we know and see that the woman's vote could help to bring into the life of the nation something of your ideal, and put into the possession of many the chance of the sweetness and beauty that is in your own life.

You think that we who are striving for the vote want to be like men—want to do the work of men and play the man's part in life. But that is not so. On the contrary, we know that women and men are essentially different, have a different outlook upon the world, have different ideals and different conceptions of life. We do not want to be like men. We value too well our own womanhood. We do not want to do men's work. We want to do our own.

If men and women could be alike, if their point of view could be the same and their thoughts and work the same, there would not then be the need that there is now for women to be represented in the political and social development of the nation. It is because they are so essentially different in outlook and thought and life and service that a nation whose Government represents only the outlook and ideals of the male population suffers the same loss as a household that has a father but no mother at its head.

I have said that men and women are essentially different in their point of view. Now, I want to point

out just how this essential difference comes in, where questions of national development and growth are concerned. To men belong all sorts of different spheres. To men we owe mechanical and commercial development, trade enterprises, markets, ships, railways; all very important things essential to the prosperity and development of a nation.

What is to women the first consideration in all these questions? Human life. Behind the machinery, behind the markets, behind everything they see human beings. Do you understand why this is so? It is women who pay the price of human life. Those who pay the price know the worth of a thing. For every human being born into this world some woman has paid with her labour and her sorrow, sometimes with her life. To a woman the body of every little child is the hope of the future, the pledge of human evolution. The bodies and souls of the children are the greatest considerations in a nation's life, the happiness and well-being of the children its first care—the health and happiness and development of human beings are inseparable from a nation's greatness.

Now, we know that in matters of machinery and invention, in matters of markets and trade extension and development, in matters of science and discovery, our country has made enormous progress in the hands of men; but we see on all sides the wreckage of human life—stunted men, crushed and heartbroken women, and starving little children.

The woman's business, the woman's work has simply not been seen to. Because the women have not been there to do it. Women have been shut out of the national life. It is just as though all the mothers of all the homes in the country had been shipped off to some other land, and the men had been obliged to go to work and attend to their home and to the children as well as they could. You know what an unhappy and unsatisfactory state of things that would be.

### The Unspoken Ideals of Women.

Deep down in the hearts of women there are thoughts that men do not think; there are ideals that men do not dream of. Women have never learned to express them. Their ideals have no counterpart in national life, and no place in the world as men have made it. Men do not know the deep things of the soul in women. The veil has never yet been drawn from the inner temple of the woman's being. Men do not guess at the treasures upon the altar there. The outside world is a man's world to-day. The woman only really lives within her own soul.

Every man's opinion is of value to the world. He is a voter or a potential voter; that is to say, a creator of his social environment.

But woman's opinion simply does not count. She is a passive being through whom man works out his conceptions of life. Self-expression is denied her. Her opinions are stupid and worthless, her ideals ridiculous and unpractical—so men have told her. So she even herself believes. She hides them, therefore, in her heart. And the world wends on its mannish way, wondering at times why it goes round and does not go forward.

Now we are asking and working for the vote, because we know that the vote will help the woman's soul to find expression. Because manhood and womanhood are both essential to the human world, they are both essential to human development and human progress, which must come upon political and social lines.

YOU CAN OBTAIN  
**"VOTES  
 FOR  
 WOMEN"**

From all Newsagents and Stationers, or from Local  
 W.S.P.U. Secretaries, or by post from  
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*Further Copies of the portrait of Mrs. Pankhurst, which is being  
 presented with this number, can be obtained separately, price 1d. each,  
 or by post 1/2d. Address: The Publisher, "VOTES FOR WOMEN," 4,  
 Clement's Inn, W.C.*

**A PUBLIC MEETING**  
 WILL BE HELD IN THE  
**QUEEN'S HALL,**  
 ON  
**Monday, Nov. 11th, at 8 p.m.**  
 TO DEMAND THE  
**Enfranchisement of Women**

*Chairman: Mrs. PANKHURST.*

*Speakers:*

**Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.**  
**Miss ANNIE KENNEY.**  
**Miss MARY E. GAWTHORPE.**  
**Mrs. MARTEL.**  
**Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.**

**TICKETS FOR**

Numbered Sofa Stalls 2/6 and 1/-; Numbered Grand  
 Circle, 2/6 and 1/-; Numbered Orchestra Seats 1/-;  
 Reserved but Un-numbered, Orchestra, Area and Gallery 6d.

*Can be obtained from the Hon. Sec. National Women's Social and  
 Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.*

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

October, 1907.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

## THE BATTLE CRY.

**T**O women far and wide the trumpet call goes forth,  
 Come fight with us in our battle for freedom.

This is no ordinary petty conflict, the issue of which  
 can be decided by a few strenuous workers indifferently  
 and languidly supported.

This is a battle in which all must take part; they must  
 come ready for active endeavour and for strenuous  
 service; they must be prepared not to flinch in the hour of  
 difficulty or under temporary reverse, for the battle is not  
 to the weak or to the downhearted, or to the indifferent,  
 but to those who resolutely set before themselves the  
 determination of victory.

Come and join us, whatever your age, whatever your  
 class, whatever your political inclination.

Do not leave any of your womanliness behind when  
 you come into this movement. It is womanliness that we  
 look for in those that fight in our ranks.

Do not leave any of your mother's heart behind when  
 you come into this movement. It is for your motherhood  
 that the women in our ranks are fighting.

Do not leave your daughterhood, or sisterhood, or wife-  
 hood behind you when you come into this movement.  
 This is no anti-man crusade; the women who take part  
 in it are fighting for their fathers, and husbands, and  
 brothers, as well as for themselves, because it will be a  
 good thing for men and women alike when their com-  
 bined point of view is recognised in the counsels of the  
 State.

But if you have any class feeling you must leave that  
 behind when you come into this movement. For the  
 women who are in our ranks know no barriers of class  
 distinction.

If you are tied to any men's political party you must  
 break that tie before you come into this movement. If  
 you feel that to do so would be dishonourable you must  
 stay outside our ranks. For in this movement women are  
 pledged to independence of all political parties till the vote  
 is won.

If you have any pettiness or personal ambition you  
 must leave that behind before you come into this move-  
 ment. There must be no conspiracies, no double dealing  
 in our ranks. Everyone must fill her part. The founders  
 and leaders of the movement must lead, the non-com-  
 missioned officers must carry out their instructions, the  
 rank and file must loyally share the burden of the fight.  
 For there is no compulsion to come into our ranks, but  
 those who come must come as soldiers ready to march  
 onwards in battle array.

The flag that flies above our heads is no common  
 emblem. To us the banner "Votes for Women" is a  
 sacred trust. For it is no trumpety prize, or advantage,  
 or dominion, for which we are contending. We fight for  
 nothing less than the emancipation of one-half of the  
 whole human race, and with this great aim in front, and  
 with our trusted banner above our heads, we go forward  
 with assurance to victory.

## THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

WITH the close of September and the commencement of October starts our great winter campaign for the Vote. The first week will be spent by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself in Scotland in carrying out the programme arranged by the Scottish contingent of the W.S.P.U. On October 1 we address a big meeting in Aberdeen, on October 2 we speak in Dundee, in Dunfermline on October 3, in Glasgow on October 4. On the Saturday there is to be the great joint procession through the streets of Edinburgh arranged in common by all the Suffrage Societies of Scotland, by several of the women's Liberal organisations, and by the men's league for woman's suffrage. In the evening there is to be a big indoor meeting, arrangements being made to accommodate several thousand people.

### Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Meanwhile Annie Kenney is returning to the Rossendale Valley, where she is undertaking a campaign throughout the whole of Mr. Harcourt's constituency to rouse the people to the justice of the woman's cause, and to induce him to withdraw his opposition to their enfranchisement. Already during the last few days in September the ground has been prepared. As a result of her visit a little while back there are committees of women working in Bacup and Rawtenstall, and she expects during each of the next ten days to address meetings in the dinner hour and in the afternoon and evening. Miss Keeval has kindly volunteered to go with her to help her in the work.

Mrs. Martel is going to Halifax, where she will address a big public gathering on October 8, and during the following days she will devote herself to the other Yorkshire towns.

Miss Adela Pankhurst, who together with Mrs. Martel has been making excellent headway in Leeds—the constituency of another opponent, Mr. Herbert Gladstone—will also be in Yorkshire in the first half of October addressing meetings in Bradford, Elland, Marsden, and Halifax.

Miss Mary E. Gawthorpe, though progressing steadily after her operation, will not be in a position for some little time yet to come into active work. But when she returns it will be with renewed vigour, and a determination to fight through to the end.

### London.

Mrs. Drummond has been carrying on some very interesting work in London. In conjunction with Mrs. Baldock and an army of highly efficient voluntary speakers and workers, she has conducted a big open-air campaign, in which many new members have been made and literature disseminated. On Saturday afternoons she has conducted a party of suffragette bicycle scouts. All these meetings will be continued through October.

The fine weather has brought a much larger number of visitors to Earl's Court. And the "Votes for Women" stall in the Exhibition has been more widely patronised than ever. The weekly takings from literature and collections now amount to close upon £4, which is the highest on record since the stall was opened. With the closing of the Exhibition on October 19, Mrs. Leigh proposes to make a fresh departure by organising a band of women who will sell "Votes for Women" literature in the streets where women congregate to shop.

October 12, the anniversary of the first imprisonment

of Annie Kenney and myself, is to be celebrated by an "At Home," which the members of the Committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union are giving to the friends of the movement in the Portman Rooms, Baker-street, W., at 8 p.m. As it is their wish to invite to this gathering all those members and friends who would like to be present, anyone desiring to have a card of admission is invited to write to me or to the Hon. Secretary at 4, Clements Inn.

### A Campaign in Industrial Centres.

On October 17 Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence are giving an "At Home" at the Grand Hotel, Birmingham. Mrs. Baines will shortly be going to that town to arouse among the women there fresh interest in the suffrage, and it is hoped that following on the "At Home" there will be a very large number of people in the Town Hall at the big meeting on November 20.

Miss Nell Kenney is going to Bristol to work up a big meeting which is to be held there on November 8—the same day on which the Prime Minister is to visit the town.

During the third week of October Mrs. Pethick Lawrence is undertaking a campaign in Lancashire, commencing with a meeting in Liverpool on October 22, and following with meetings in Preston on the 23rd and Manchester the 24th, while Friday the 25th is fixed for a grand demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, which is being organised by the combined suffrage societies.

In London the Sunday meetings in Hyde Park and Victoria Park, which have been so successful all through the summer, will be continued so long as the fine weather lasts, and on week days there will be drawing-room meetings and public meetings every day of the month. It is interesting to notice that the churches are coming forward to open their doors to the movement. On October 10 Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been invited to speak in the Congregational Church at Sidcup, and on October 22 Miss Macaulay is addressing an audience in the Radlett Church belonging to the same denomination.

The Monday afternoon "At Homes" in Clements Inn continue to attract from a hundred to a hundred and fifty women every week, and in addition we are opening the offices every Thursday evening for an "At Home," where we can meet those to whom the later hour is found to be preferable. New faces, as well as those of our old friends, are always welcome.

### Preparations for November.

Active preparations are being made in advance for the month of November. I have already referred to the meeting in Birmingham on November 20, and that in Bristol on November 8. In addition, our energetic workers in Leicester are busy preparing for a great demonstration on November 14 in the Free Trade Hall, Leicester, which will be addressed by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself. And finally there is the public meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, on Monday, November 11, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney, Mrs. Martel, and myself will be among the speakers, and when we hope to welcome back to our active ranks our comrade Mary E. Gawthorpe. As it is expected that the hall will be packed on that occasion, applications for tickets, 2s. 6d., 1s., or 6d., should be made to Mrs. Sanders, 4, Clements Inn, or to the box office, Queen's Hall, without delay.

## THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT,

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. *Chapter I.—The Battle of Peterloo.*

IN a history of the suffrage movement it is not necessary to go back further than the agitation which preceded the Reform Act of 1832. Before that time women possessed and exercised, as is well known, the same voting rights as men. These were, however, almost entirely confined to the rich and influential classes, and as women are seldom property-owners, only a very small percentage of them could in those days be qualified to vote.

During the latter half of the 18th century the need for political reform began to be felt, and the movement towards it grew steadily until the war with Napoleon withdrew all attention from home affairs. After the close of the war increased taxation began to press heavily on the poorer people, trade depression followed, and a poor harvest in 1816 increased the evil. The price of wheat went up to 106s. a quarter, wages went down, and large bodies of unemployed roamed about from place to place looking for work.

In the midst of all this poverty the people, seeing the misgovernment of the country, pinned their faith on political reform, and cried out for the power to remedy these evils for themselves. Men and women in large and ever-increasing numbers began to agitate for universal suffrage and vote by ballot. Clubs for these purposes were formed all over the country, especially in the North of England. The movement culminated at a mass meeting in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester.

### Summoning the Meeting.

The three previous years had been a period of great poverty and distress in the manufacturing districts of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and here, too, the spirit of discontent and desire for reform was most pronounced. It was at first decided to call the meeting for July 23, and advertisements were published to this effect, setting forth also that the objects of the meeting were to consider the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining radical reform in the "Commons House of Parliament," and also "to consider the propriety of the unrepresented inhabitants of Manchester electing a person to represent them in Parliament, and the adopting of Major Cartwright's Bill." It was, however, decided by the magistrates and other persons in authority in Manchester that this meeting would be illegal, and bills were posted up to this effect. The meeting was therefore abandoned, and a requisition was addressed to the Boroughreeve, requiring that he should convene a meeting for discussing the grievances of the people and obtaining Parliamentary reform. This the Boroughreeve refused to do. It was thereupon decided to call a meeting for Monday, August 19, and for this purpose an advertisement, signed by more than 700 persons, was published as follows:—

A requisition having been presented to the Boroughreeve and Constables of Manchester, signed by 700 inhabitant householders in a few hours, requesting them to call a public meeting "to consider the propriety of adopting the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform in the Commons House of Parliament," and they having declined to call such meeting, therefore the undersigned requisitionists give notice that a public meeting will be held on the area near St. Peter's Church, on Monday, the 16th inst.

This meeting was attended by between 80,000 and 100,000 persons—men, women, and children—who were gathered together there from Oldham, Rochdale, Middleton, Stockport, and all the surrounding towns.

We hear that the people came marching "in beautiful order," with banners waving and flags flying to separate the different townships.

We are told, too, how the inhabitants of Lees, of Moseley, of Royton, and Saddleworth, 5,000 or 6,000 of them, met on Oldham green at 8 o'clock in the morning, and how both young and old marched thence to St. Peter's Fields, a distance of between seven and eight miles. There were 1,000 women and girls in this company, most of them dressed in white, and many of the women carried babies in their arms.

The various banners and flags were inscribed with the name of the town or village from which they came, and with such mottoes as "Liberty or Death" and "Equal Representation." These banners were of all colours—red, yellow, white, or black—and many of them were surmounted by the cap of liberty. *They were mostly borne by women.* The Failsworth banner, we are told, was carried by 20 girls.

Many of the companies were headed by bands, and a bugle was sounded as a signal to march on, or to call a halt. When those who came from that direction arrived at New Cross in Manchester they met four men on horseback whom they believed to be magistrates. The people stopped and called to each other that those who carried sticks to aid them in walking should throw them away, as it was feared "that something was hatching."

On St. Peter's Fields a hustings had been formed by a number of carts. Here the people assembled and planted the long staves of the banners in the ground around the carts. About 100 yards from the hustings on the edge of St. Peter's Fields was the house of a Mr. Buxton. This house had been taken by the magistrates of the city, in order that they might be at hand to observe the assembled multitude on that day. A double line of about 300 police was formed between Mr. Buxton's house, where the magistrates were, and the hustings, so as to keep a clear passage way from one to the other. This line, however, did not quite reach either the hustings or to Mr. Buxton's house, but left a space of about four or five yards between at either end.

### Attacked by the Yeomanry.

The people had begun to arrive on the ground soon after ten, and at midday vast crowds had assembled. At one o'clock Messrs. Henry Hunt, Richard Carlisle, Moorhouse, Johnson, and Knight drove up in an open carriage with a number of ladies, one of whom sat upon the box-seat, dressed in white, and holding a banner. Large numbers of people followed them, and a great cheer greeted their arrival. Hunt was elected as chairman. He had been speaking about five minutes when between 60 and 70 of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry were seen coming up to the ground at a quick trot. They formed in line before Mr. Buxton's house, and then, almost without pausing, galloped forward into the midst of the assembled multitude. They were followed almost immediately by a troop of the 15th Hussars, and some of the Cheshire Yeomanry.

Hunt called to the people to stand firm, and said "There is a pretty sight for you! Give them a cheer." The soldiers came on cutting to right and left with their sabres, striking at the peoples' heads, and riding them down under their horses' hoofs, whilst men, women, and children ran shrieking from the field. We are told by

the police that, to protect the speakers from arrest, men linked arms in rows 12 deep around the hustings. If this was so, however, their resistance was unavailing, for the flags and banners were seized, the speakers were knocked off the hustings, Hunt, Moorhouse, Johnson, and Knight were arrested, and the meeting put to flight within eight minutes of the cavalry forming up before Mr. Buxton's house.

Before this, however, two regiments of infantry had been drawn up across the fields, blocking up the two main outlets by which the crowd could disperse. The people, in endeavouring to escape from the pursuing soldiery, hid behind trees, under shrubs and bushes, and many of them climbed the wall 10 ft. 3 in. in height, which surrounded the Quaker's Meeting House, situated on the outskirts of the fields far away from the hustings.

It is said that 14 persons were killed, and 600 or 700 seriously injured.

Hunt and the others who had been arrested were tried for sedition, and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. An inquest was held at Oldham on one of the persons killed on St. Peter's Fields, and there were various attempts to make this the subject of a criminal action. These were, however, unsuccessful.

Subsequently Redford, a journeyman hatter, of Middleton, brought an action for assault against three persons: Hugh Hornby Birley, captain of the Manchester Yeomanry, Mr. Richard Withington, another officer of the Yeomanry, Edward Meagher, a trumpeter in the corps, and Alexander Oliver, one of the privates. This was tried at Lancaster from April 4 to April 9, 1822, before Mr. Justice Holroyd and a special jury. This action was lost chiefly on the ground that the meeting, though not in itself illegal, was, as Mr. Hulston, the chairman of the committee of magistrates, said in his evidence at the trial, "part of a great scheme carrying on throughout the country."

The evidence at this trial is exceedingly interesting. From it one gathers that the magistrates were alarmed at the size of the meeting, and therefore issued a warrant for the arrest of the speakers. The police refused to execute it without the assistance of the military, and, therefore, the Rev. Mr. Ethelstone, one of the magistrates, read the Riot Act from a window in Mr. Buxton's house, which was situated on the edge of the field 100 yards from the hustings. This was only heard by one person, the Rev. Mr. Hay, vicar of Rochdale, who was in the room at the time.

The words of the defending counsel, Mr. Serjeant Hullock, are worthy of remembrance, and are instructive to suffragists at the present day. He said, "If deliberation had been their object could they not have settled their petition in a private room, and then sent it to the House of Commons, where it would have been read, and laid on the table, and never heard of again?"

After the Battle of Peterloo, as the massacre on St. Peter's Field was afterwards called, six repressive measures were enacted by Parliament, in order to put down the reform agitation.

The people were, however, determined to secure: extension of the franchise, and in 1832 the Reform Act was passed.

This Act, which so materially improved the position of the men of the middle and working-classes, did less than nothing for the women who had fought side by side with them in obtaining it. It took away, by the use of the phrase "male persons," even the small electoral power which they had before possessed, and for the first time in English history shut women out entirely from all part or lot in the government of the country.

(To be continued.)

## WOMEN MUNICIPAL COUNCILLORS.

WOMEN in various parts of the country are losing no time in taking advantage of the Act qualifying them to stand as candidates for Local Councils, and in the November Municipal Elections it is expected that several women will offer themselves for Councillors. Though it is too early yet to be able to give definite figures, the following will be interesting to readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

In the Wycliffe Ward of Leicester the local Women's Social and Political Union are putting forward Miss Carryer to contest the seat with the sitting Councillor, Mr. Lovell. They are issuing the following election address:—

### MUNICIPAL ELECTION, 1907.

#### Women Electors of Wycliffe Ward, Leicester.

For the first time since you obtained the municipal franchise you have the opportunity of using your votes to return a woman to the Town Council.

It is most important, in the interest of women of all classes, that you should vote for Miss Carryer, the candidate of the Women's Social and Political Union.

Matters deeply affecting women are decided by the Town Council. Women members on the Town Council would work to get for women some of the following reforms in local administration.

#### HOUSING.

Bye-laws to compel all builders of cottage houses to supply better sanitary conveniences, a bath in every house, hot and cold water supply.

Municipal houses wherever the private owners fail to meet the needs of the community.

Municipal lodging-houses for women and municipal houses for poor widows with families.

Equal opportunities of elementary, secondary, and technical teaching for boys and girls.

#### EDUCATION.

Equal pay for women teachers. At present women teachers who do exactly the same work as the men teachers, receive much less pay. An educated woman often gets less money than an unskilled man labourer.

Better schools and cleaner. Every school should have in addition to a large central hall, a sufficient number of airy and well-lighted class-rooms. A dining-room for children who cannot return home to the mid-day meal should be attached to every school, and advantage should be taken of the Act for the feeding of school children.

Proper provision of playgrounds both in and out of school hours.

#### THE STREETS.

To prevent disease the streets should be kept clean and free from infectious matter.

A better supply of free sanitary conveniences for women is urgently needed.

Control by women of police administration is needed to prevent the danger of tyranny and injustice to poor and unfortunate women.

#### SANITARY INSPECTION.

More women inspectors are urgently needed, and they need to be better paid for the very important work they do.

#### MIDWIVES' REGISTRATION ACT.

The work of midwifery is now controlled by the Corporation, who appoint inspectors. These inspectors should be qualified women. It is work which affects women, and cannot be properly done by men.

#### MUNICIPAL EMPLOYEES.

Women are need on the Council to secure that the many women who are employed as clerks, caretakers, cleaners, &c., shall be paid a living wage. Much has been done to make the municipality a model employer of men, but little or nothing has been done for women.

#### PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE FOR WOMEN.

Women Councillors could work to make the Council petition Parliament to give those women who as householders vote for the Council the Parliamentary vote, which, although they are qualified, is still denied them.

Women of Leicester! vote for the woman candidate, and take your right share in the government of your town.

#### Activity at Huddersfield.

At a recent meeting of the Huddersfield Women's Suffrage Society, the hon. secretary (Mrs. Helen Studdard) was requested to write to the secretaries of the political party organisations at Huddersfield, stating that the association did not desire to remove any of the present municipal representatives, but trusted that, when vacancies arose, the respective parties would give some opportunity for candidatures of women, and support such candidates.



## The German Conference.

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

DOES it not seem sometimes as though heaven itself stoops to lay at one's feet the gift of an absolutely perfect day. From dawn till dusk, from rise of sun till the moon rides high, the hours are like beautiful jewels strung upon a chain of gold.

Two such days fell to the lot of Annie Kenney and myself as we loitered on our way to Frankfurt. The Rhine, older than Wotan and Walhalla, gave us something of his own eternal youth as we were borne southward upon his breast. Then where the tributary Maine flows into the great river we had to bid him farewell, and a few hours' journey brought us to Frankfurt, the old free city, the historic home of German culture, the birth and dwelling place of Germany's greatest poet, Goëthe.

Annie Kenney and I went there as the invited guests of the German Union for Women's Suffrage to take part in their Conference—held from 25th to 30th of September. We were welcomed by Fräulein Anita Augspurg, doctor of jurisprudence, the president of the union, and by the vice-president, Fräulein Lida Gustava Heyman.

The German suffrage movement is young. It was only founded in 1902. It took root first in North Germany, and is now only beginning to spread to the south. Its founders have an immense task to accomplish. They have to break up new ground throughout the vast territory of the German Empire, with its varying nationalities and varying local laws and traditions. They have disabilities and difficulties quite unknown to English women. In Prussia there is a law which forbids women even to attend a political meeting. And the police have only to order the women to leave a public assembly and they have to obey. Obedience to male authority is so ingrained into the nature of every child that even the strongest and most intellectual women can hardly throw off an instinctive subservience to men. Open-air meetings are illegal, and the local prejudice against any assertion of women's right to freedom is immense.

In South Germany so-called universal suffrage has been obtained; but, as usual, the adjective "universal" in this connection does not apply to women, any more than the noun "persons" applies to women in our English suffrage laws. Every man, no matter how ignorant, how irresponsible, is a citizen and a voter, every woman, no matter how intellectual, or gifted, or great-hearted, is politically of no account whatever; and the women of Germany dare not even go to their masters, the men in the street, to plead their cause with them.

There are times when the forces opposed to us in the battle which we in our own country are now fighting seem overwhelmingly strong; but when one realises the infinitely harder conditions under which our women comrades in Germany have to enter into the conflict, we have to wonder and admire the resolution and the courage with which they have grasped the banner of women's freedom.

### The Leader of the German Movement.

Dr. Anita Augspurg is a leader of whom not only the German women, but all women in the world, may well be proud. One feels that she has taken up the "white woman's burden" with the fullest knowledge of its weight, and with the steadfast purpose never again to lay it down till victory crowns her efforts, or until death takes it from her shoulders. Intellectual and moral power and authority, resolution, endurance, courage, and sweetness are stamped upon her personality. Hers is the type of mind that conceives this great question of women's emancipation from the broadest national and international point of view.

By her side stands her friend, Fräulein Lida Gustava Heyman, and many other gifted women, with the light of battle in their eyes. There is splendid stuff in the German woman movement. "You are *Suffragettes*," we told them, "we shall always think of you as *Suffragettes*, not *Suffragists*." That pleased them greatly. "It is the greatest compliment you could have given us," they said, "we feel very proud that you should say that."

On September 25 the union was formally welcomed by the

City Council of Frankfurt, and other prominent associations in the town. During two days the Conference was occupied with its own special business. They have just the same difficulties as we have at home. There are the Social Democrats, whose feeling of class bitterness drives them to resent the union of women of all classes on the ground of their common womanhood, which is penalised by common political outlawry. Although the demand of the German Union is for *real* universal suffrage (the word universal to be extended to include women), they are violently opposed and bitterly taunted with being a middle-class movement, and the cry "Votes for Ladies" is hurled at them by men and women who are possessed by the spirit of class hatred, and resent the idea of anything like sex unity.

Men who profess to be the best friends of the movement urge the same old arguments and objections which we have to meet so constantly. They say that women are the worst enemies, that women are indifferent to their own freedom. We know all the stock-in-trade objections of these gentlemen—"Women must go and convert their own sex"—and all that sort of thing. Then, again, men urge them to concentrate on getting other reforms first, in securing better education for women, better economic conditions, higher moral standards—after which the vote will follow as a matter of course. It is both interesting and diverting to hear the same stale old objections and arguments which have stood the opposition in good stead for thirty years in our own country, being enunciated in exactly the same form by the belated wiseacres of Germany.

### The Great Public Meeting.

On Thursday night a public meeting was held in the great hall of the Junghofstrasse, which holds about 2,000 people. It was crowded with men and women, every seat filled, and many people standing. Dr. Anita Augspurg took the chair, and made a powerful speech and appeal. She spoke of the imminent danger of the repressive laws of Prussia against women being introduced into South Germany, and urged all men and women who loved liberty and desired progress to awake to the necessity of strenuous resistance. Erudition, legal and political knowledge, deep earnestness, and sincerity marked her speech throughout, in which calm self-control only served to emphasise the passion which one felt lay underneath. Dr. Gertrude Woker, of Berne, Switzerland, gave a very beautiful address on the general aspect of the question.

Then Dr. Anita Augspurg introduced Annie Kenney, telling the audience something of the story of her life, and how she had three times suffered imprisonment for the cause. The speech which Miss Kenney gave is reproduced on pp. 3, 4 of this paper. Though it was delivered in English, it was followed by the whole of the vast audience with wrapt attention, and there was no need for translation. When she had finished, the audience broke into prolonged cheering, which continued till Dr. Augspurg had to grasp the big bell and ring for order, to give the announcement of the next speaker. Before introducing me to the meeting, Dr. Augspurg told the story of the 1,000 police, on horse and on foot, called out to protect 600 members of Parliament from a hundred such women as Annie Kenney and myself. The meeting shouted with laughter.

My speech was given in German. I told the story of the development of our Women's Social and Political Union, and gave facts and figures illustrating our growth and progress. Again and again I had to wait and let the laughter die down before I could go on. The audience was greatly tickled over the story of the Press misrepresentation, and the way our purpose had been served by it; how the newspapers had played their part in our game to perfection, giving us the most wonderful free advertisement that ever had been accorded to any undertaking.

After the meeting several women began to discuss whether the time had not come for German women to follow our example. They could do it very easily, of course. They have only to hold an open-air meeting anywhere, and refuse to move at the command of the police. Whether or not the time or the conditions of the German movement are ripe for such a move as this, only they can judge.

The thing that touched us more than all during our visit was the constant expression of the feeling of the German women, that we are fighting their battle as well as our own, and that they have to look to us. Not till our victory is won will their victory come in sight.

## THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

*Notes of Meetings and Announcements and other Contributions for this page should be posted to The Editor, "Votes for Women," 4, Clements Inn, W.C., so as to arrive not later than Saturday morning in each week to be in time for insertion in the following number.*

### Brixton.

Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nell Kenney spoke at an open-air meeting in this district on September 26 to a large and attentive audience, and after questions had been dealt with a gentleman in the crowd handed 10s. to the speaker for the funds.

### Deptford.

A very large open-air meeting has been held in the Market-place; the enthusiasm ran high, and questions to the point were asked and answered very ably by Miss Nell Kenney. Mrs. Drummond also spoke, and got a good hearing.

### Harrow Road.

All through the summer there have been splendid outdoor meetings, with average attendances of 300 or 400, and good literature sales and collections. In August, during the absence of the officers, they were conducted with marked success by Mrs. Dale and Mrs. Clayton. At a recent meeting in September Mrs. Baldock, Miss Lamb, and Miss Keevil were the speakers, and a splendid reception they had from the crowd.

Our autumn campaign starts October 2 with a meeting in the Norman Hall, Harrow-road, Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nellie Kenney are to speak, while I act as "chairman."

We have November 6 and December 4 booked for meetings, and we are hoping to have a monster demonstration about the middle of November in the district.

On Monday, November 4, we hope to hold a "Rummage Sale," in order to raise funds for our work. Parcels of clothing are most urgently needed for the sale, and should be sent carriage paid to Mrs. L. C. Cullen, c/o Mr. Norman, 252, Harrow-road, Paddington, W.

Also we appeal to friends to come along and help us on the day of the sale. Will all those who can do so please communicate with me as soon as possible? L. C. CULLEN.

### Kensington.

The Kensington W.S.P.U. has been busy planning its autumn work. It hopes to carry on an active campaign in Kensington during the coming months by a series of drawing-room meetings, the first of which is to take place on October 8 at 41, Gwendyr-road, by kind invitation of Mrs. Rogers, and at which Miss Christabel Pankhurst will speak.

Two large meetings have been planned, one in Kensington Town Hall on October 24 and one in the Queen's Gate Hall on December 10, fuller particulars of which will be announced later. L. M. EATES, Hon. Sec.

### Walthamstow.

An open-air meeting was held recently at the station, which was well attended, the speakers being Mrs. Drummond and Miss Nell Kenney, with Miss Lightman in the chair. The speeches were listened to with great attention. Literature was sold and a collection taken.

### Open Air Speaking in London.

IN accordance with the policy of the education of the people in Women's Suffrage, street-corner meetings have been in full swing in all parts of London. Putney, Highgate, Barnes, Paddington, Blackheath, and Lewisham are only some of the places that have been touched.

I have helped at the Putney, Barnes, and Highgate ones, each of which have been held weekly during the summer months.

It only needs a suffragette to stand on a chair in the roadway to at once attract a large audience, and that more than mere curiosity animates the people is shown by the fact that they stand eagerly listening for one and a-half to two hours, and as point after point is made by the speakers, "Hear, hear" comes from the audience, with occasionally a dissen-

tient note, and during question time knotty points are brought up for elucidation.

Last Wednesday at Putney a crowd had already gathered before we arrived, and I heard one or two disappointed voices say, "Are they not coming to-night?" and through the evening the crowd of about 500 people listened with great attention, and the element of rowdyism which has occasionally been present there was conspicuous by its absence.

H. G. JONES.

### Suffragette Scouts.

THE Saturday bicycle meetings of the Suffragette scouts are proving a great success. Each week a party of 10 to 15 women meet at two o'clock, at the Court Theatre, Sloane-square, and cycle to one of the outer suburbs of the metropolis, where a meeting in favour of votes for women is held in the open.

On September 7 the run was to Harrow, and a most successful gathering was the result. Miss Home and Miss House were the speakers. On September 14 the destination was Redhill, Mrs. Baldock and Miss Nellie Kenney conducting the meeting. The dates so far fixed in October are October 5, to Woolwich-square, and October 19, to Wimbledon.

### Miss Adela Pankhurst in Yorkshire.

MEETINGS have been held during the last week of September in Bradford and in Halifax.

On Monday night, September 23, the Co-operative Guild in West Bowling, Bradford, listened to an address on "Votes for Women." Several new members were made, and much interest expressed by those present. The Bradford literature stall is kept going in the market on Saturday evenings.

The open-air meetings held by the W. S. and P. U. in Halifax were the largest known there for any purpose. On Wednesday evening the Co-operative women heard a lecture on "Women's Work," where the need for the vote was pointed out.

On Friday evening the headmistresses of the Halifax Elementary Schools met to discuss the question of Women's Suffrage. The Halifax papers have given a good account of the speeches.

### AT HOME IN HOVE.

A VERY successful "At Home" was given in the Hove Town Hall on Saturday afternoon by one of our most enthusiastic Brighton members, Miss Bertha Webb, to about 160 of her personal friends, amongst them the usual sprinkling of men. Quite half the number present were at the commencement either opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary vote to women, or confessed themselves ignorant on the subject, and at best only mildly interested, but at the close of the "At Home" quite a large proportion of those who had attended spoke of their awakened interest, and of their determination to put themselves into communication with 4, Clements Inn.

In the course of her most able and convincing address Miss Pankhurst emphasised the necessity for the sheltered woman to awake to the inglorious nature of her position before the law, where she is placed in the same category as infants, lunatics, and criminals, and also to her selfishness in refusing to recognise that, whilst she is happily circumstanced, with everything to make life easy and pleasant for her, numberless women are merely existing, engaged in an hourly struggle with misery and starvation.

At the close of the speech a few questions were asked and answered by Miss Pankhurst, chiefly relating to the bye-election policy. Two gentlemen present, obviously strong Liberals, resented this policy, and one was heard to remark that it was undoubtedly injuring the Government.

A vote of thanks to Miss Webb for her kindness in making such a successful meeting possible, and to Miss Pankhurst for her speech, was proposed by Mrs. McKeown, and seconded by Mrs. Martindale, who both spoke shortly.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

THE procession and the meetings before, are what we are all talking of and working for in Scotland. The 5th promises to be an historic day in suffrage annals here. We are going to have representatives of almost every county, as well as from our cities, and we will have in the procession most of the women who have distinguished themselves in progressive movements in Scotland. We sent to Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman a request, signed by a great many distinguished Scotswomen, many of them Liberal, asking him to receive a deputation of his countrywomen on the 5th.

The following reply was received, dated September 27:—  
Belmont Castle, Meigle, Scotland.

DEAR MADAM,

I must apologise for having failed to observe that in the memorial you sent to me some time ago, signed by several influential members of Women's Societies in Scotland, you requested me to receive a deputation next week in Edinburgh. There has been some correspondence regarding the possibility of my attending a meeting of your friends, and I laid aside your letter as being concerned with the same matter.

I regret that the same reasons which obliged me to decline coming to your meeting equally compel me to ask you to excuse me from receiving a deputation. I have as much on hand on the 5th as I can undertake.

Besides, I do not see that any good would arise from a deputation, as I am well aware of your desires, and I have frequently expressed my own views on the subject.

Believe me,

Very truly yours,

H. CAMPBELL-BANNERMAN.

In reply, Mrs. Pearce pointed out that he had overlooked the fact that the deputation was not for the purpose of hearing pious opinions of goodwill or his own personal views, but to have a pronouncement as to the Government's intentions of dealing with this Liberal measure—which, from his own letter, we gather they have no intention of doing.

Any woman who is foolish enough to believe in the sincerity of his support or of his party's does not deserve a vote, and runs very little chance of getting it.

Miss Grace Paterson, Miss Burnett, Miss Olive Robertson, and others are all busy helping in Glasgow to raise numbers for the procession, and the Men's League meeting on the 4th in St. Andrew's Hall promises to be very successful. I was in Kilmarnock last Monday evening, and had a good meeting. On Wednesday I went to Dunfermline to help Miss Munro with a meeting at Lochgelly—a very successful one. The branch there has run open-air meetings every night for three weeks, and hopes to have a very successful meeting on October 2, and a large number for Edinburgh.

At Dundee on Thursday evening we had a splendid meeting, Mrs. MacLeod Easson in the chair, and Miss Husband also speaking. Dundee is now a thoroughly sympathetic town, and the feeling of the huge crowds we get is delightful.

I had a co-operative meeting in Springburn, Glasgow, on Friday evening to induce more women to "process," and all the week I have been sending out railway tickets, notices, &c., for the procession.

Aberdeen begins the meetings on Tuesday, and we feel sure this week's work in Scotland will do much.

We have had many notices already in the Press about our procession—paragraphs grave and gay—and by the time next Saturday is over we hope to have a much more sympathetic Press and public all over Scotland. Mrs. Bell and the Edinburgh Committee are very busy. Miss Milne Chapman is our marshal next Saturday, and our rallying place is the Parade Ground at that old Palace of Holyrood, whose name will be ever linked with that of Mary Stuart. Our procession will be past historic palace and castle, along the most beautiful street in the world, finishing with a meeting in a hall of the churches.

History, romance, and religion, the memories of old battles, of daring sallies, of "lost ladies of old years," of John Knox, and the reformers of old days will be with us, and now through this town these women, who see that they also must follow truth, will take their place upon the stage of history, and will come out to show that they fight to lay foundations of equality, upon which we may build the Golden Age of Freedom. And who shall say that they are not so great as the greatest of the figures that have moved upon that stage?

HELEN FRASER.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND

During the Month of September.

| £ s. d.                                   |            | £ s. d.                       |            |
|-------------------------------------------|------------|-------------------------------|------------|
| Up to August 31 ..                        | 2,524 18 0 | Miss Alberta Russell ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Lightman ..                          | 0 5 0      | Miss Amy White ..             | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Catherine Manson ..                  | 1 0 0      | Mrs. Ellen Sutch ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Tottenham Branch W.S.P.U. ..              | 0 5 0      | Miss Louise Edwards ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Jessie E. Carter ..                  | 0 5 0      | Miss J. G. Riddoch ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Pegge ..                             | 9 0 0      | Miss G. Alger Coombs ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Miss G. Keevil ..                         | 1 0 0      | Miss Caroline Coombs ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Martin White ..                      | 10 0 0     | Miss Louisa Hart ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Miss G. D. Bevan ..                       | 1 0 0      | Mrs. Marianne Masters ..      | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Emily Grenfell Hill ..               | 1 0 0      | Miss Mabel Bayne ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Rochdale Branch W.S.P.U. ..               | 0 16 6     | Miss E. B. New ..             | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Cox ..                               | 1 0 0      | Miss Nellie E. Smith ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Beatrice Sanders ..                  | 3 0 0      | Mrs. A. S. Forenew ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Stratford Dugdale ..                 | 0 10 0     | Miss Margaret Smith ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Singer ..                            | 3 3 0      | Mrs. Mary Clarke ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Liverpool Branch W.S.P.U. ..              | 0 8 0      | Mrs. Elizabeth Smith ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Esther Wood ..                       | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Tucker ..                | 0 1 0      |
| Miss O. Waller ..                         | 1 10 0     | Mrs. A. M. Montagu ..         | 0 5 0      |
| Northorn Heights Branch W.S.P.U. ..       | 0 10 0     | Miss Chapman ..               | 0 1 0      |
| Miss J. S. Dugdale ..                     | 0 2 6      | Miss Margaret Cameron ..      | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. and Miss A. Kenney ..                | 0 1 0      | Mrs. S. Leigh ..              | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. E. Harris ..                         | 0 1 0      | Miss S. Jessie Stephenson ..  | 0 1 0      |
| Guarantee Fund (weekly) ..                | 0 11 3     | Mrs. E. Dugdale ..            | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. F. W. Jones ..                       | 0 5 0      | Miss M. Jackson ..            | 0 1 0      |
| Miss C. A. Jones ..                       | 0 5 0      | Miss F. E. Bonwick ..         | 0 1 0      |
| John Parnall, Esq. ..                     | 1 1 0      | Miss A. M. Pease ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Florence Haig ..                     | 1 0 0      | Miss Magie Chandler ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Frances Milner ..                    | 0 1 0      | Miss Jane E. Brown ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Alice Cobbett ..                     | 0 1 0      | Mrs. Marion Drake ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Miss A. Wentworth ..                      | 0 2 6      | Mrs. E. E. Dunkley ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Stephens ..                          | 0 0 6      | Mrs. Kathleen Tannar ..       | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Mary Inray ..                        | 0 5 0      | Miss Gladice Keevil ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Baker ..                             | 1 1 0      | Miss Una Stratford Dugdale .. | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Margaret Chandler ..                 | 0 5 0      | Miss Edith English ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Louisa Dulle ..                      | 0 10 0     | Mrs. Marjorie Clifton ..      | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Maund ..                             | 1 0 0      | Miss Mary Forster ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Miss A. Hamilton ..                       | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Susan Bennett ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Augusta Forrer ..                    | 1 0 0      | Miss Eta Adelaide Lamb ..     | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Maria Ledsam ..                      | 5 0 0      | Miss Gertrude Bennett ..      | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Hartley ..                           | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Amy B. Norman ..         | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. C. E. Stansfield ..                  | 1 0 0      | Miss Caroline A. Phillips ..  | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Rose O'Neill ..                      | 0 5 0      | Miss Constance E. Andrews ..  | 0 2 0      |
| Guarantee Fund (weekly) ..                | 2 0 6      | Mrs. Lilla Pratt ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Una Dugdale ..                       | 1 0 0      | Mrs. Grasham ..               | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Dugdale ..                           | 1 0 0      | Miss L. M. Bull ..            | 0 1 0      |
| Miss J. S. Dugdale ..                     | 1 0 0      | Mrs. Annis Newton ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Miss D. S. Dugdale ..                     | 1 0 0      | Miss Rosa Newton ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Helen Smith ..                       | 1 0 0      | Miss Norah Newton ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Pauline Hull ..                      | 10 0 0     | Miss Ethel Newton ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Collecting Card, per Miss Janet Manson .. | 0 2 10     | Miss Charlotte Swinden ..     | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. H. Wilkinson Lawley ..               | 0 6 6      | Miss Margaret B. Dobson ..    | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Towne ..                             | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Mary Butler ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Miss C. Mackenzie ..                      | 5 0 0      | Mrs. Marshall ..              | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Stevens ..                           | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Louisa Annie Williams .. | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Constance E. Andrews ..              | 0 2 0      | Mrs. M. A. Taylor ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. A. Mx. Montague ..                   | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Lily Roberts ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Guarantee Fund (weekly) ..                | 1 4 11     | Mrs. Emily Goodison ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Miss Evelyn Morrison ..                   | 0 2 6      | Mrs. M. E. Grew ..            | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Emily Nourse ..                      | 0 2 6      | Mrs. L. Glyde ..              | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Russell Scott ..                     | 1 0 0      | Mrs. E. Bottomley ..          | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Lucy Williams ..                     | 0 5 0      | Mrs. Annie W. Batchelor ..    | 0 1 0      |
| Chelsea W.S.P.U. ..                       | 1 0 0      | Miss J. E. Campbell ..        | 0 1 0      |
| Mrs. Marion Drake ..                      | 0 5 0      | Miss Eva Lishman ..           | 0 1 0      |
| Anton ..                                  | 0 10 0     | Miss Florence M. Lishman ..   | 0 1 0      |
| Collections, &c. ..                       | 14 0 3     | Miss Marion Gibson ..         | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Rowe ..                  | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Denton-Funnell ..        | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Lightman ..              | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Eleana Evans ..          | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Marie E. Naylor ..       | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Emily Nourse ..          | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Frances Handcock ..      | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Ella Gritton ..          | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss J. Richardson ..         | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Kate Griffiths ..        | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Sarah A. Stacey ..       | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Edith Stacey ..          | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. L. Lee ..                | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. M. Chandler ..           | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. L. Copleston Turner ..   | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Eveline Chuter ..        | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Elaine East ..           | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Miss Gertrude Morris ..       | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Mrs. Graham ..                | 0 1 0      |
|                                           |            | Total ..                      | £2,621 6 9 |

BALANCE-SHEET FOR SEPTEMBER.

| £ s. d.              |           | £ s. d.                     |           |
|----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| Balance Sept. 1 ..   | 345 2 4   | Expenditure during month .. | 325 2 4   |
| Receipts as above .. | 96 8 9    | Balance Sept. 30 ..         | 117 8 9   |
|                      | £442 11 1 |                             | £442 11 1 |

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 no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give 1s. a year to cover postage. Subscriptions of larger amounts are urgently needed for the support of the movement.



# HOW WOMEN CAN HELP.

**BY BECOMING MEMBERS.** Women are invited to join the National Women's Social and Political Union, and so place themselves in line with the many thousand other women who are working for the political recognition of the sex. The address and officers of the National W.S.P.U. and the condition qualifying for membership will be found set out upon page ii. of the cover. In addition to joining the N.W.S.P.U., women living in places where there are local Unions will be welcomed by the local Secretary as members of the local Union, and can so take part in local work.

**BY SUBSCRIBING TO THE FUNDS.** The National Women's Social and Political Union has already spent over £6,000 in fighting the battle of women for the vote. It has used this money to hold several thousand meetings up and down the country, to take a prominent part in twelve by-elections, and to leave no stone unturned to bring the question before every section of the community. Altogether £20,000 is being raised to carry on the campaign, and contributions towards this sum are urgently needed.

**BY CIRCULATING LITERATURE.** The National W.S.P.U. has a flourishing literature department, particulars of which will be found on the next page. Much valuable work can be done by buying our books, pamphlets, or leaflets, studying them and passing them on to other women.

**BY GETTING UP MEETINGS.** Women are requested to get up drawing-room meetings and public meetings at which the need for the vote can be discussed. The National Women's Social and Political Union will be glad to send speakers to meetings when requested.

**BY GIVING TIME AND SERVICES.** Women are wanted for speaking and lecturing, for secretarial work in the office, for canvassing, for organising meetings at by-elections and elsewhere, and for many other things. The Hon. Sec. of the National Women's Social and Political Union will be glad to know of any women able and willing to help in any of these ways.

**BY MISSIONARY WORK.** Women can use their influence with the men and women of their acquaintance, asking them to write to their Member of Parliament on this question. They can obtain from the W.S.P.U. offices forms for signature of women in favour of the franchise and ask their friends to fill them up. They can induce other women to become members, to subscribe, and help in various ways.

**BY GETTING INTO CLOSER TOUCH WITH THE MOVEMENT.** There may be women who are not prepared to do any of these things and yet would like to know more of what is being done. They are invited to get into correspondence with the Hon. Secretary, to come to some of the Women's Social and Political Meetings, in particular to come to one of the "At Homes" held every Monday from 4 to 6 and every Thursday from 8 to 10, at 4, Clement's Inn, where they will have the opportunity of meeting the leaders of the movement and learning more about it.

# PAMPHLETS FOR WOMEN

PUBLISHED BY THE

National Women's Social and Political Union, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

- ANNIE KENNEY—CHARACTER SKETCH AND PRISON FACES.** Price 1d.  
An account of some of the women seen in prison and the thoughts which they aroused.
- A CALL TO WOMEN.** Price 1d.  
A collection of articles specially addressed to women by Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
- FACTS BEHIND THE PRESS.** Price 1d.  
Some facts illustrating how the women's movement is misrepresented in the newspapers. By Mrs. T. M. BUDGETT.
- ONE AND ONE ARE TWO.** Price 1d.
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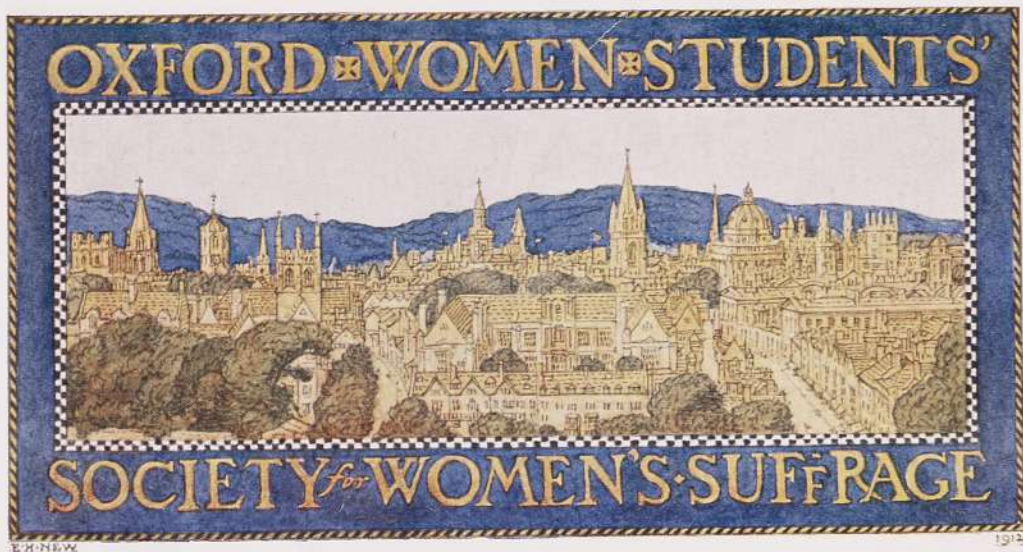
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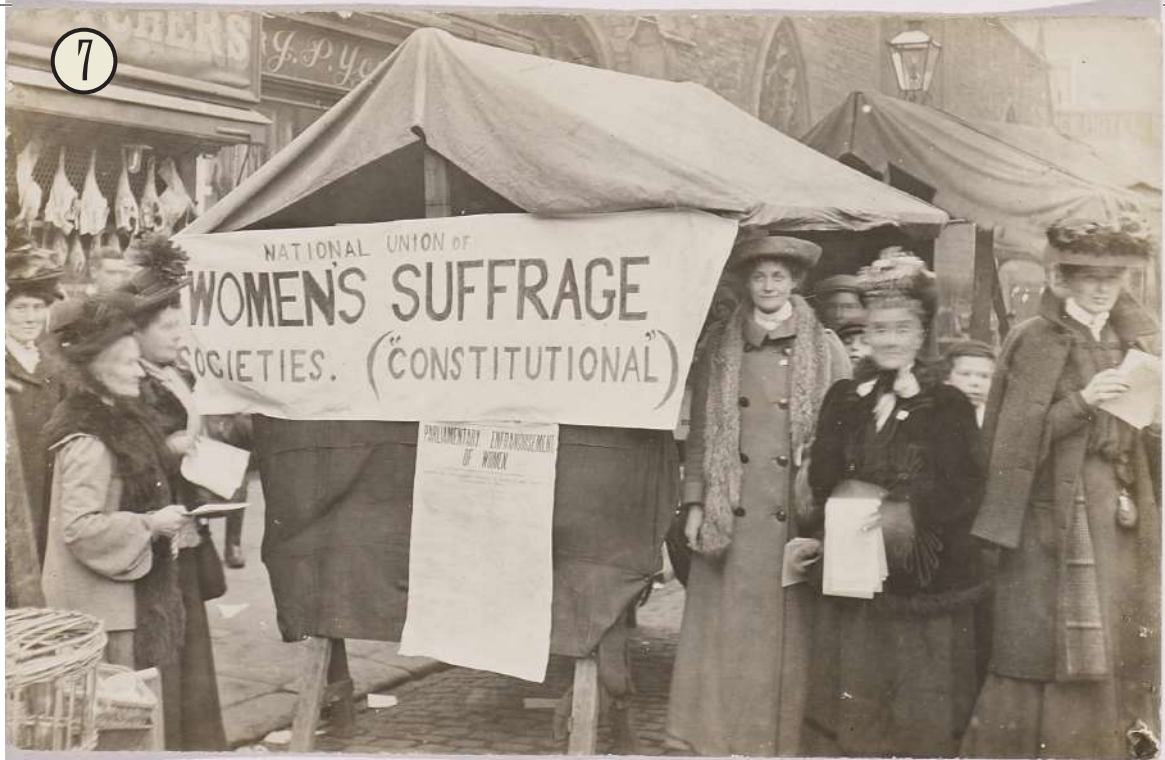
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37

