

VOTES FOR WOMEN

AN OCCASIONAL LIST

JUNE 2026

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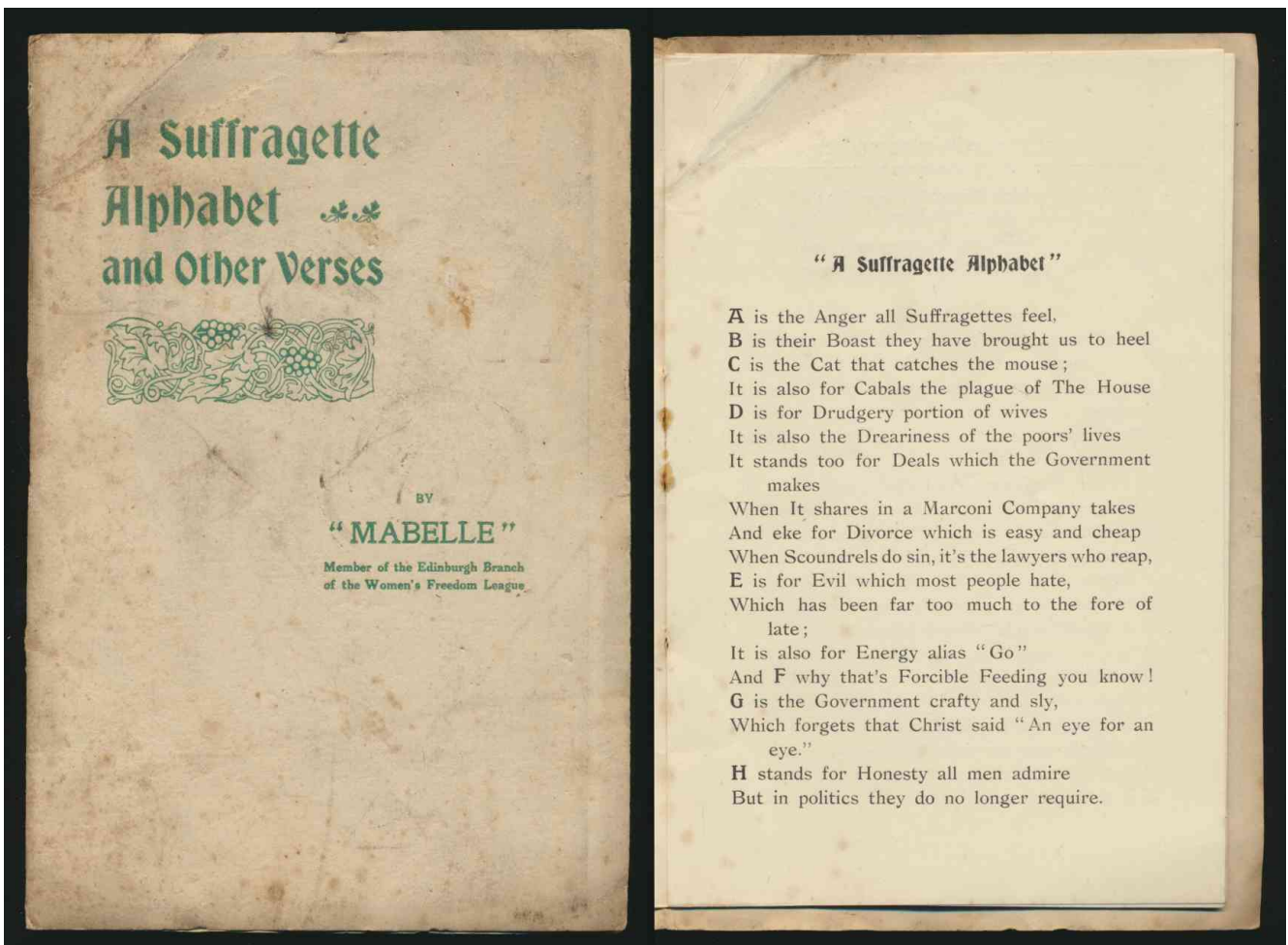
UNRECORDED SUFFRAGETTE ALPHABET: 'AND F WHY THAT'S FORCIBLE FEEDING YOU KNOW!'

I [ABC]. SUFFRAGETTE ALPHABET And Other Verses. By "Mabelle" [Edinburgh? Women's Freedom League., c. 1913]. **£ 2,250**

FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 15, [1] blank; some light marking in places, and rust marks in gutter due to staple; stapled as issued in the original wraps printed in green, staple rusted and just holding, also with a contemporary silk tie, lightly dust-soiled, but not detracting from this being a highly desirable ABC.

Excessively rare, apparently unrecorded, *Suffragette Alphabet*, by "Mabelle", a member of the Edinburgh Branch of the Women's Freedom League, though all the verses are dated "Dumfries, 1913", presumably her home town.

'A is the Anger all Suffragettes feel,
B is their Boast they have brought us to heel
C is the Cat that catches the mouse;
D is for Drudgery portion of wives
It is also the Dreariness of the poors' lives' ("A Suffragette Alphabet", p. 5)



**A Suffragette
Alphabet
and Other Verses**



BY
"MABELLE"
Member of the Edinburgh Branch
of the Women's Freedom League

"A Suffragette Alphabet"

A is the Anger all Suffragettes feel,
B is their Boast they have brought us to heel
C is the Cat that catches the mouse;
It is also for Cabals the plague of The House
D is for Drudgery portion of wives
It is also the Dreariness of the poors' lives
It stands too for Deals which the Government
makes
When It shares in a Marconi Company takes
And eke for Divorce which is easy and cheap
When Scoundrels do sin, it's the lawyers who reap,
E is for Evil which most people hate,
Which has been far too much to the fore of
late;
It is also for Energy alias "Go"
And F why that's Forcible Feeding you know!
G is the Government crafty and sly,
Which forgets that Christ said "An eye for an
eye."
H stands for Honesty all men admire
But in politics they do no longer require.

The other verses all refer to the women's suffrage campaign and include two "The Hunger Strike I"; "Hunger Strike II"; "New Version of Old Mother Hubbard"; "When the Cat's Away"; "An up-to-date Tea Party"; "No Votes for Women"; and "Votes for Women". The first of the Hunger Strike verses 'Embodying an original idea for the obtaining of the vote', is worth quoting here, a reminder of the stark circumstances in which the Suffragettes fought for the vote:

'Twas on a summer's day
All in the month of May
That the women stayed away,
From their kitchens.

When the men came down they found
That confusion reigned around
Breakfast was not even laid
"Out on Strike" were Mistress, Maid.

Sad was then I ween their plight
It was sadder still at night
When they came from town at e'en
There was no Dinner to be seen.

'Tis no use, the women said,
When they raged and stormed and swore,
All your fury is no "No Good"
Give us Votes, we'll give you Food.

How they did capitulate
I shall now to you relate
You may have your Votes, they said
But Oh! Give us! Give us Bread!!' (pp. 8-9)

"Votes for Women"

I.

"Votes for Women" "Votes for Women"
Yes, that is our Battle-cry
For the Vote we bravely struggle
For the Vote we gladly die

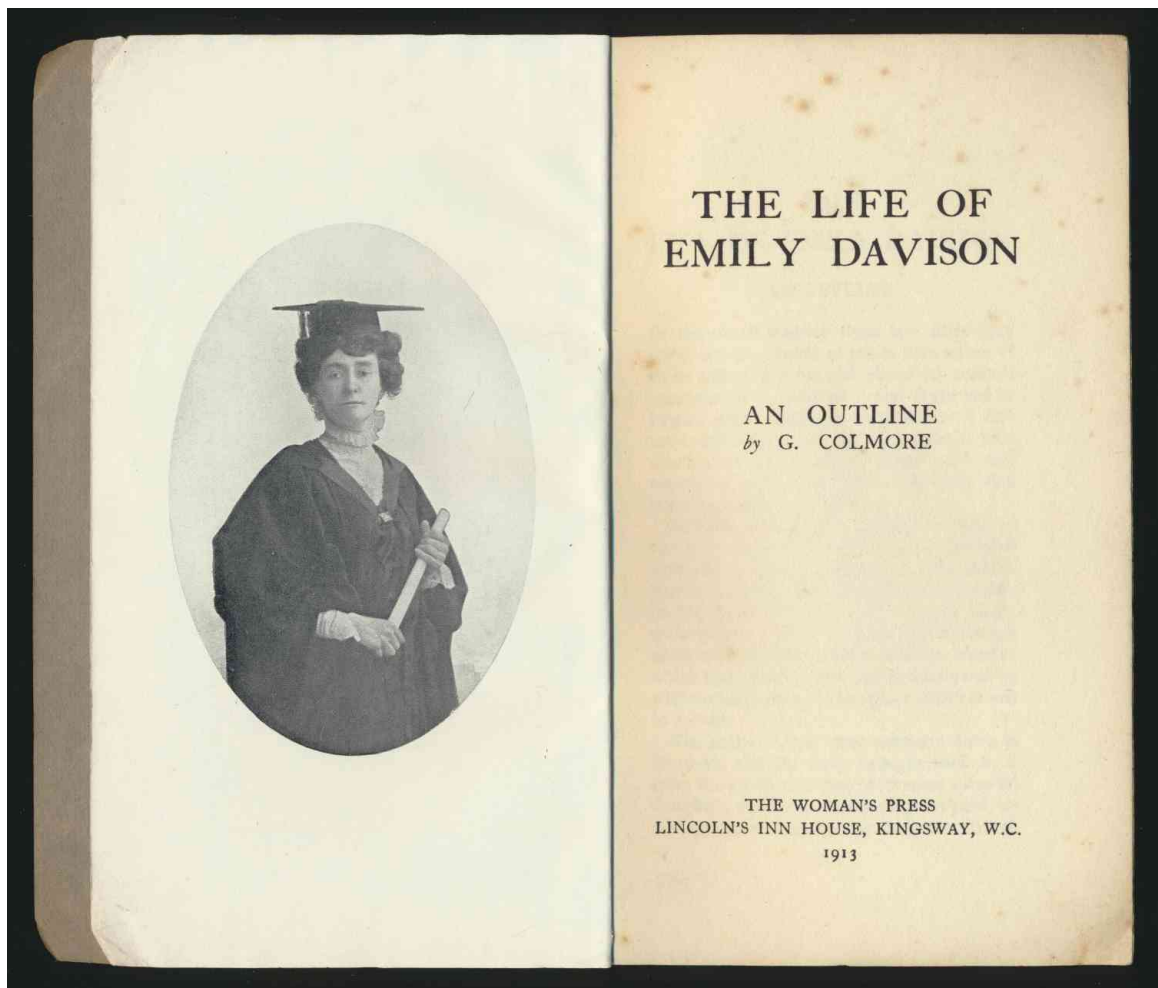
II.

We are Women, "only women"
Only Mothers of the Race;
"Yes," say men, "you're 'only women,'
You must take a lowly place."

III.

"Be content to be our Plaything,
Cook our Food, and bear our Brat;
We admit, though 'only women,'
You are good enough for that!"

No copy in the National Library of Scotland, British Library or OCLC, and unrecorded as far as we are aware.



'THE LIFE SO OFTEN RISKED HAD BEEN GIVEN; THE TIME HAS COME'

2 **BAILLIE-WEAVER, Gertrude.** THE LIFE OF EMILY DAVISON. An Outline. By G. Colmore. The Woman's Press, Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C. 1913. **£ 450**

FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 61, [2] advertisements [for the Women's Social and Political Union], [1] imprint; with photographic frontispiece portrait of Davison; lightly foxed in places; in the original printed wraps, titled in green, some surface wear and rubbing to extremities, but a very good copy nonetheless.

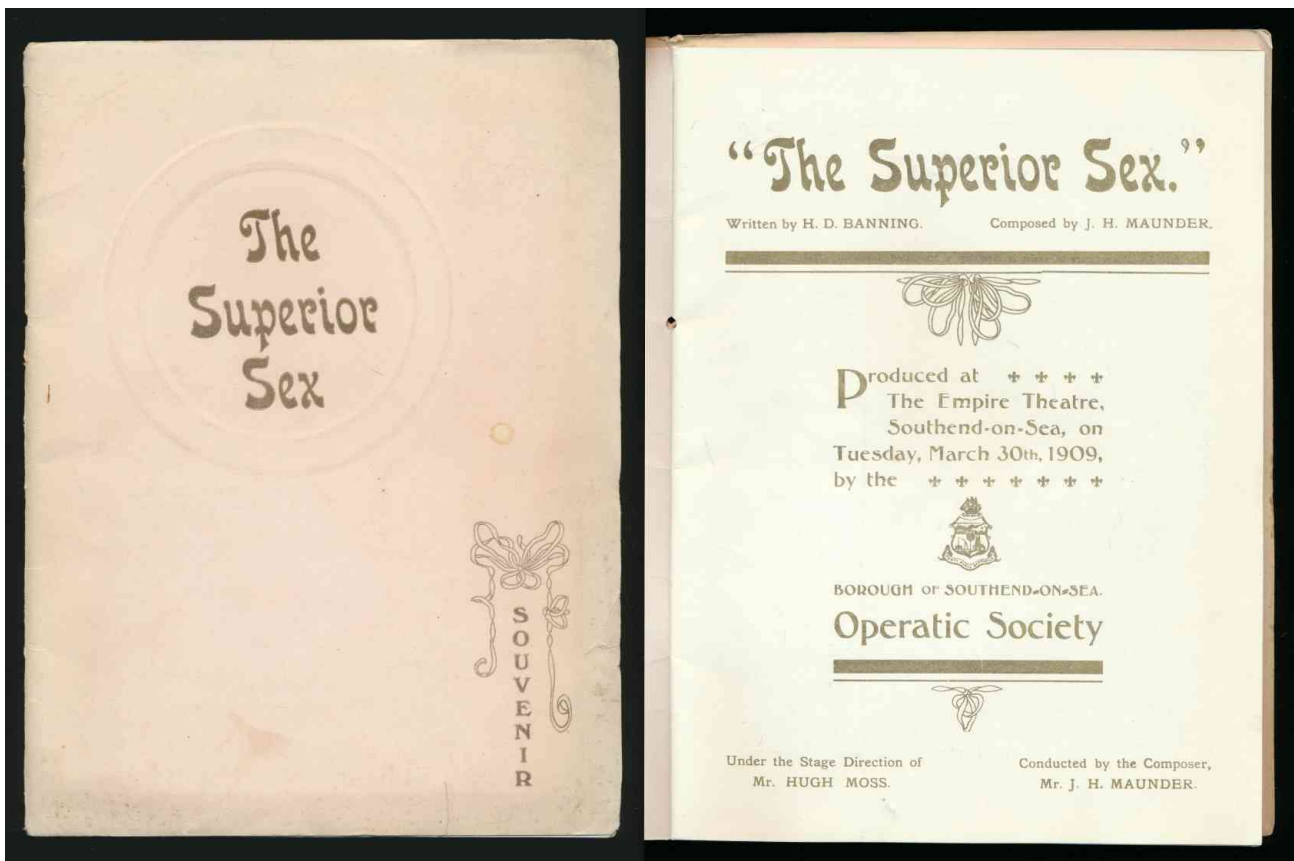
Rare first book edition of Gertrude Baillie-Weaver's obituary of Emily Wilding Davison, republished in the aftermath of Davison's death after being hit by King George V's horse Anmer at the 1913 Derby when she walked onto the track during the race.

'With a rush the horses come in a great swinging sweep round the curve of Tattenham Corner. There is a woman on the course, there, in amongst the horses, and a flag waves, the colours of it purple, white, and green. A hand grasps at the bridle; the King's horse swerves and falls; the King's jockey is hurled to the ground; cries and confusion everywhere; one only heeds them not. For her there are no more sounds, of icy, rushing water, of comrades' cries, of prison voices. (p. 58).

Emily Wilding Davison (1872-1913), is perhaps the most iconic of the Suffragette's who fought for votes for women in Britain in the early twentieth century. A member of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) and a militant fighter for her cause, she was arrested on nine occasions, went on hunger strike seven times and was force-fed on forty-nine occasions, before her horrific death in 1913.

Gertrude Baillie-Weaver, née Renton (1855-1926) was a suffragette, Theosophist, Freemason and writer who published under the name 'Gertrude Colmore'. She supported women's suffrage by writing short stories for 'Votes for Women' and 'The Suffragette' newspapers. She was an early member of the Women's Freedom League and her husband spoke for the Men's League for Women's Suffrage. In 1911, as the campaign for women's suffrage became increasingly militant, she published *Suffragette Sally*, a fictional account that included references to real people. Baillie-Weaver wrote a long obituary following Davison's death in 1913, which went on to be republished as the present work. Her other work included co-founding the National Council for Animals' Welfare and writing in support of animal welfare and human rights.

OCLC records three copies in the UK, at the British Library, LSE and the National Library of Wales, and three more in North America, at Duke, Windsor (Leddy Library) and The Huntington.



UNRECORDED COMIC OPERA ON FEMALE EMANCIPATION

3 **BANNING, Henry Druce text and MAUNDER, John Henry composer.** THE SUPERIOR SEX. Produced at The Empire Theatre, Southend-on-Sea, on Tuesday, March 30th, 1909, by the Borough of Southend-on-Sea Operatic Society. [Southend-on-Sea]: Programme designed by Charles Stewart and Reginald Sharland; Printed by Ellis; Blocks by "Southend Graphic," 1909. £ 950

4to, [18.5 x 24.5 cm], pp. [24, printed in gold and black and including several half-tone text illustrations; also two leaves of thick green paper with 4 tipped in post cards sized portraits and scenes from the production; original decorated pink wrappers lettered in gilt; a few discreet repairs but otherwise in fine condition.

A delightful souvenir programme produced for the opening night of the topical comic opera *The Superior Sex*.

The story is set in the year 2005 and unfolds over three acts, beginning with the capture of a British regiment—the '125th Indefensibles'—by a formidable host of Amazons, whose queen, the stately Berenice, rules over a realm where women are considered superior to men. Forgotten by the War Office, the gallant soldiers swear allegiance to their new leader, the Amazonian ruler.

The second act opens on Berenice's tropical island, where the men of the regiment are compelled to perform domestic duties of the kind traditionally assigned to women. In the end, however, this topsy-turvy world cannot be allowed to become normalised. The tables are turned and, by means of a ruse devised by the rebellious 'Indefensibles', the men reassert their supremacy, while the Amazons acknowledge themselves vanquished.

The authors very clearly aimed at producing something akin to the Savoy Operas by Gilbert and Sullivan, with dialogue interspersed with funny songs. Therefore, for the souvenir programme several of these have been printed for the audience to follow. The sixth number, the March and Entry of the Amazons, includes the lines 'True master of might, / True guide of the spheres, / Unconquered in fight, / Untarnished in years, / Is woman, the queen of creation, / The keel of the Cosmos she steers. / She is lord of the land, / She is queen of the sea, / In the palm of her hand / Are the Whale and the Flea; / Imperial Urger of Aether, / Controller of chaos is she. / Unfailing in force / Prolific in plan, / The gulfs of resource / To successfully span; / In kingly control she continues / The master of masculine man.'

The ninth number, 'Why She's such a Huge Success', is given by Daphne, the commander-in-chief of the Amazons, with the following two stanzas: 'Tis our country's pride and boast / That the women rule the roast, / And that man is but a puppet poor and puling; / Mediocre mild and meek, / Wishy-washy, waxen, weak, / So he stays at home while women do the ruling. / And the gentle husband sits / In the ingle nook and knits / Pretty things, and feeds the dicky bird with groundsel, / While his lady will arrange coups on the Stock Exchange, / And direct improvements on the County Council. / Then, of course, it's evident Women form our Parliament /

"The Superior Sex."

Composed by
J. H. MAUNDER.

Written by
H. D. BANNING.

Cast.

Miss Nanco Farling	35	Berenice (Queen of the Amazons)
Maude Gordon	35	Aurora (Lord Chief Justice of Amazonia)
Gertrude Gardner	35	Iris (Chancellor of Amazonia)
Mrs. Gerald Wray	35	Daphne (Commander-in-Chief of Amazonia)
Miss Ethel Jones	35	Mrs. Mendum (Matron to the Fifth Lieutenant)
Mr. A. H. Phillips	35	Colonel Faldes (Commanding the 10th Infantry)
Reginald Shurland	35	Marmaduke Fitzpolkinghome
F. J. Cook	35	Private Joe Mulligan
H. Wilkins	35	Bill Blagg
Arthur Wheeler	35	Jack Robinson
Macfarlane	35	Jim Smith
C. Lumb	35	Bob Jones
Fred J. Klein	35	Harry Brown
Fred Whisstock	35	Algernon (An Entrance of Youth in Amazonia)

Soldiers.

Mr. R. Aids
B. Beldham
F. Broom
P. Broom
L. Fines
E. Hells
A. Hells
B. Hamilton
H. Lake
A. Lake
E. Lamb
M. Macfarlane
R. MacGillo
A. Piper
S. Pissau
A. Rothera
L. Swenden
F. Swollen
F. Wadden
A. Wheeler

Amazons.

Mrs. Bunter
Deena
Flora
Frederick
Miss K. Aids
R. Clark
F. Blanning
B. Haines
A. Hayes
L. Jarvis
B. Jarvis
E. Manning
F. Manning
M. Moore
L. Moulton
B. Panson
B. Panson
E. Panger
E. Pave
Chris Rousky

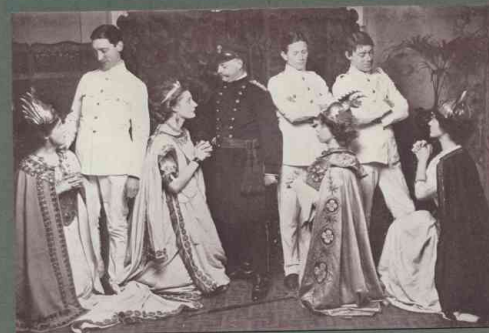
Oh, the wondrous legislation of the bonnet; / In debate our female house / All speak at once, and this allows / Us to soon discuss a law and vote upon it. / Man in ignorance sublime / Speaks one only at a time, / Which is very dull and only serves to bore us; / Think what hours you'd save if each / Dull, obstructing, prosy speech, / Were delivered in one simultaneous chorus.'

Act III.— An Open Air School of Domesticity in Amazonia.

PROGRAMME

- 17 RECITATIVE (Mulligan)
"I've Got to Learn to be a General Cook."
- SONG
"I Once Supposed a Woman's Lot."
- 18 CHORUS OF MEN
"Lullaby, etc."
- 19 QUARTETTE AND CHORUS
"O I've Scrubbed and Cooked and Knitted."
- 20 SONG (Fitz)
"When Nature did the World Supply."
- 21 SEXTETT
"Sweet Domesticity."
- 22 FINALE
"O Day of Tears."

Period—2005, A.D.



The run lasted, we believe, about a week at the Empire Theatre, Southend-on-Sea and, in February the following year, the London Operatic and Dramatic Society gave two performances at the Cripplegate Theatre, and again in November, with the only other production being to raise funds for the East Sussex (Territorial) Regiment in 1915, before it sank without a trace.

The author of the text, Henry Druce Banning (1876–1958), was throughout his working life a publisher's reader for T. Unwin Fisher; however, he also dabbled in writing poems and librettos and, in 1905, won first prize, from among 300 entrants, in a competition held by Messrs Chappell & Son for a comic opera libretto. We do not know how he came to know John Henry Maunder (1858–1920), an English composer and organist best known for his popular Passion cantata *Olivet to Calvary*, although possibly through Chappell. The vocal score for their joint venture in comic opera was published by A. Abbott & Co.

Maybe the groundswell of opinion against making light of women's suffrage was beginning to pall even by 1909, and certainly in the war years directly before limited suffrage was enacted in 1918.

Not in OCLC, and unrecorded as far as we are aware.

'DANGEROUS AND INSIDIOUS'

4 **GRONNO, Arthur Charles.** THE ATTEMPT TO CAPTURE THE NATIONAL UNION OF TEACHERS by Woman-Suffragists. The National League for Opposing Woman Suffrage, Caxton House, Tothill Street, Westminster, S. W. [1912]. £ 185

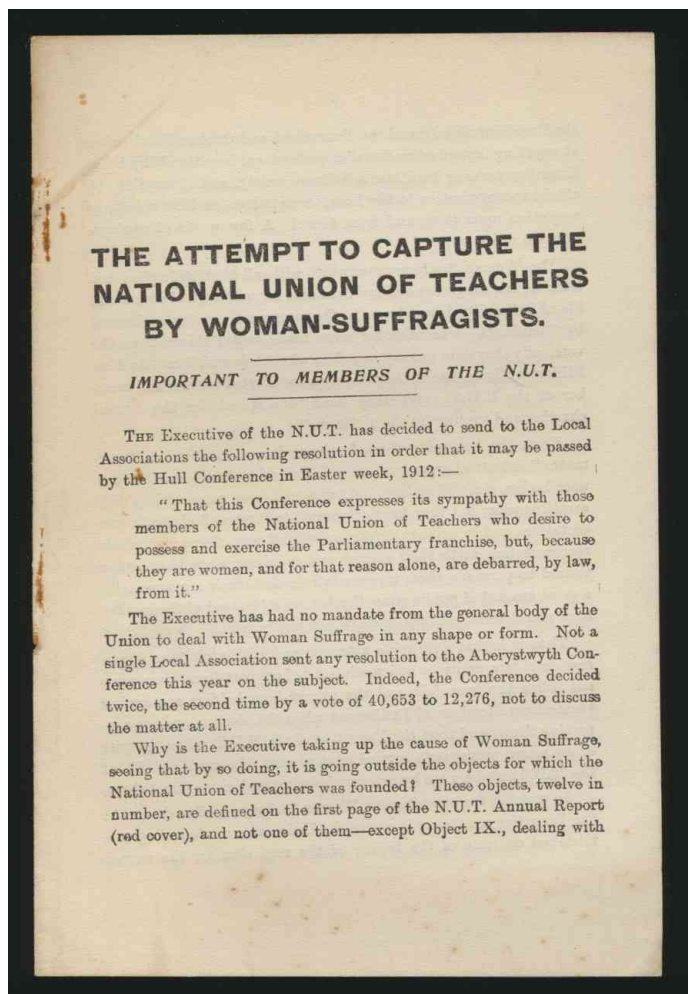
FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 8; *lightly dust-soiled, once stapled (now neatly stitched), with minor evidence of rust spots.*

Scarce pamphlet by a leading anti-suffragist protesting against a decision taken by the National Union of Teachers at their 1912 Hull conference to send a message of support for women's suffrage to their local associations, while making clear that as an organisation it had no mandate to deal with 'Woman Suffrage in any shape or form'. Gronno was outraged at this evidence of even mild support and expounds at length his reasons.

'The Woman Suffrage movement, with all that it implies and leads to, is a dangerous and insidious one, for, although the rank and file of the Suffragists do not know it, the movement is being engineered by "feminists," who wish for more fundamental things than the vote, only they dare not say in public what they wish for' (p. 2).

Arthur Gronno was a schoolteacher who became headmaster of a boys school in Manchester and twice held the post of President of the Manchester Teachers Association, in retirement he became a noted Egyptologist and portrait painter!

OCLC records two copies in North America, at Waterloo and Mount Holyoke College.



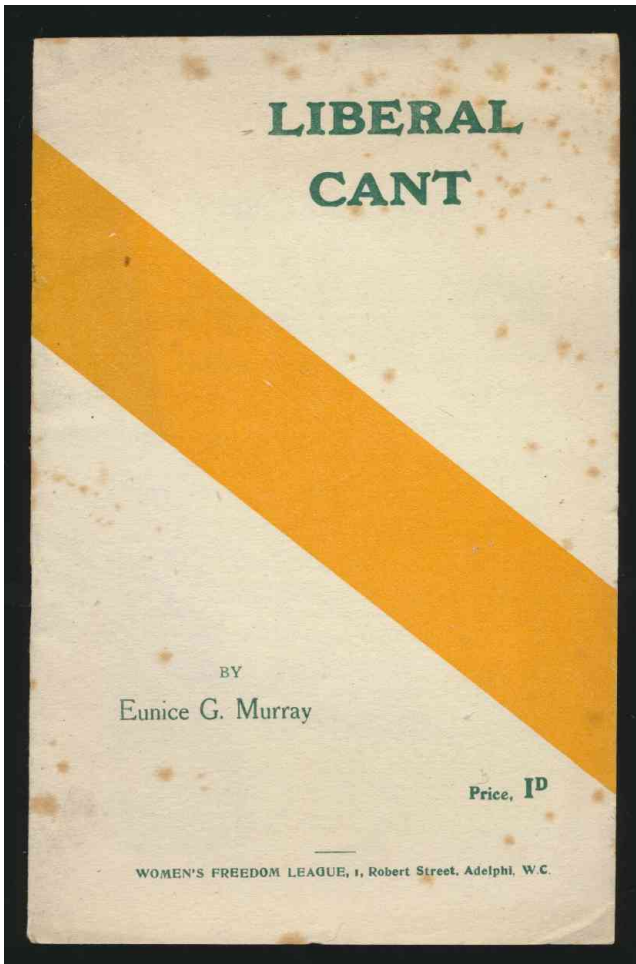
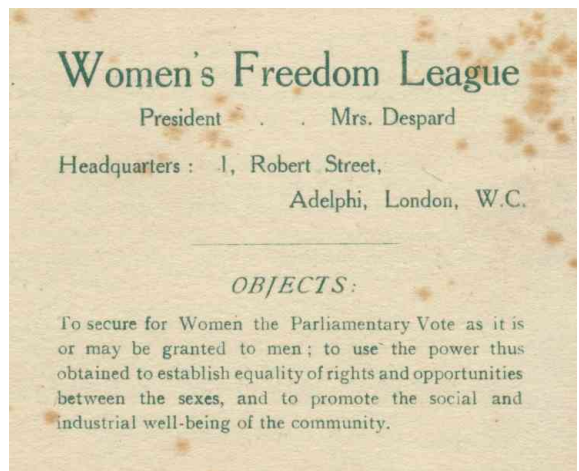
LIBERALISM TURNING 'A DEAF EAR TO THE WRONGS OF WOMEN'

5 **MURRAY, Eunice.** LIBERAL CANT. Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C. [c. 1913]. £ 385

FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 8; *lightly foxed; stapled as issued in the original printed wraps, some spotting, but a good copy nonetheless.*

Rare first edition of Eunice Murray's pamphlet written in support of women's suffrage, attacking the hypocrisy of the Liberal Government.

'When women enter the industrial market, they find their path beset by sex privileges; in the higher professions they are refused admittance. To sex, not talent, the reward is given. In all trades they are overworked and underpaid, they are taxed for what they do not receive. What relief does Liberalism grant? It turns a deaf ear to the wrongs of women... Liberals in general may be concerned about the abolition of some class privileges, but I do not notice one word raised from them in protest against sex privileges. Again they are indignant at one law for rich and another for poor. We are indignant at one judgement given to men and another to women' (pp. 1-2).



Eunice Guthrie Murray MBE (1878-1960) was a Scottish suffrage campaigner, author and historian. She was a leading figure in the Women's Freedom League in Scotland, and was the only Scottish woman in the first UK general election open to women in 1918. In 1908, she joined the Women's Freedom League, and was soon appointed its secretary for the whole of Scotland outside the major cities. She became its leading figure in Glasgow, and was president of its Scottish Council in 1913. She was reportedly a strong public speaker, and also wrote numerous pamphlets in support of the vote for the Women's Freedom League. She opposed the undemocratic nature of the Women's Social and Political Union and so did not become involved with it. However she was arrested in November 1913 for addressing a crowd outside Downing Street after she had attended the International Woman Suffrage Alliance conference in Budapest. Murray did not blame the suffragettes for being militant as she decided that the government was the instigator of their behaviour.

OCLC records one copy, at the LSE.

'IT IS FOR THE COMMON GOOD OF ALL'

6 **NATIONAL UNION OF WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE SOCIETIES... President - Mrs Henry Fawcett, LL.D.** 14 REASONS FOR SUPPORTING WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE. National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster, London, S.W. [c. 1912]. £ 250

Single sheet, 14 x 21.6cm, slight foxing, but still a good example.

Rare flyer produced at the behest of the NUWSS, setting out '14 Reasons for Supporting Women's Suffrage', such as:

1. - Because it is the foundation of all political liberty that those who obey the Law should be able to have a voice in choosing those who make the Law...

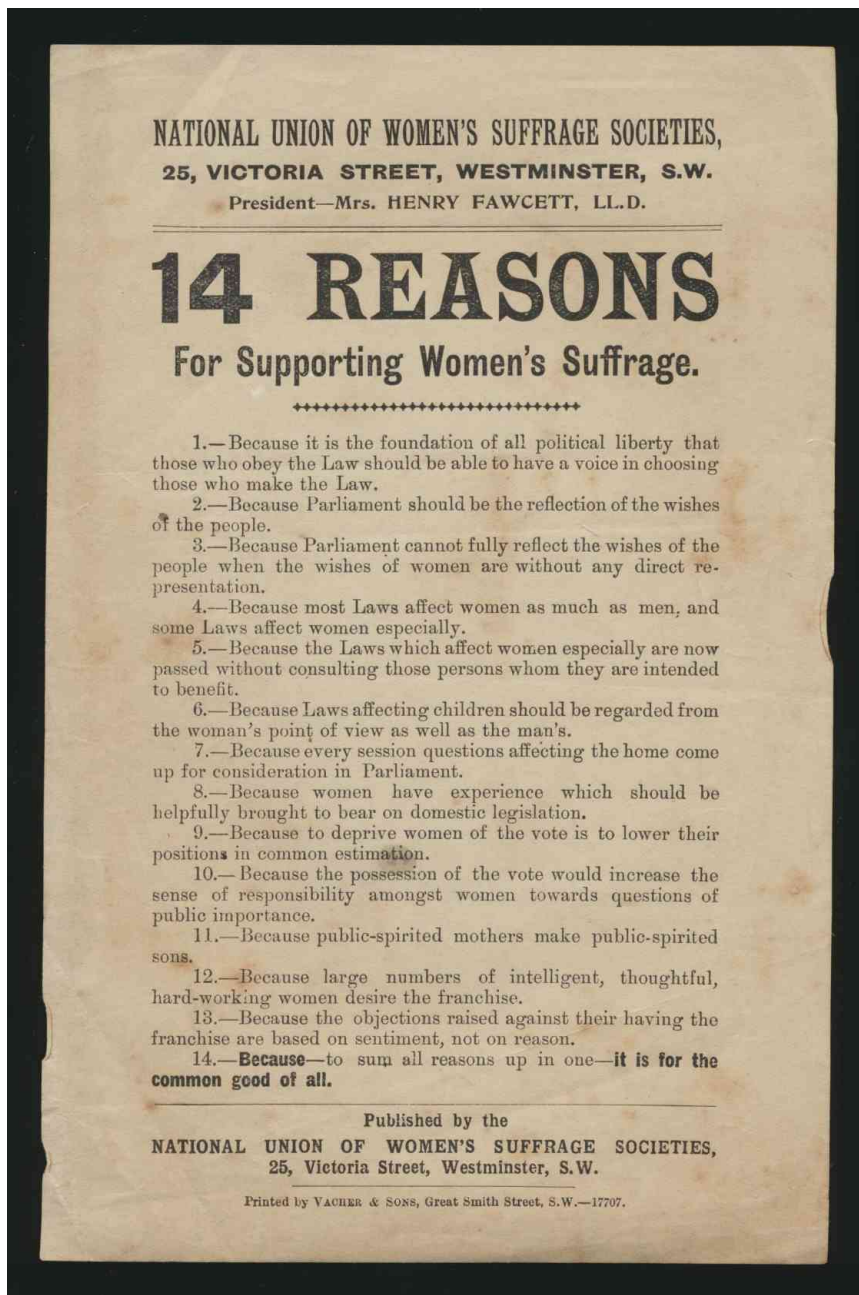
4. - Because most Laws affect women as much as men, and some Laws affect women especially...

9. - Because to deprive women of the vote is to lower their positions in common estimation...

12. - Because large numbers of intelligent, thoughtful, hard-working women desire the franchise'

Before concluding:

'14. - Because - to sum all reasons up in one - it is for the common good of all.'



Dame Millicent Garrett Fawcett (1847-1929), also widely known as Mrs Henry Fawcett, leader of the women's suffrage movement, became president of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1897. She also campaigned for the Married Women's Property Act and was involved in many other women's issues.

RAISING FUNDS FOR THE CAUSE

7 THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION. FUND FOR £20,000. [c. 1909]. £ 350

ORIGINAL BROADSIDE. [38 x 25.3 cm], with evidence of having been folded, light chipping to edges (minor loss to one corner), and some spotting and browning, but still a very good example.

Rare survival of this large broadside, issued by the NWSPU, setting out an impassioned plea to raise £20,000 for the cause.

'No political agitation can be carried to a successful issue without money. Money is required for holding meetings, for travelling, for printing, for organisation, for electioneering and above all for keeping the issue constantly before the electorate and before the women of the country who, by reason of sex only, are shut out from the electorate... The Women's Social and Political Union has evoked in women's hearts up and down the country boundless enthusiasm, but if that enthusiasm is to take shape in a political force, which shall compel the Government to grant the reasonable demand for freedom, the Union must have money. It is asking for the sum of £20,000 during the present year'.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

We demand the Vote on the same terms as it is or may be given to Men.

The National Women's Social and Political Union,

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

Telegraphic Address—"WOSPOLU, LONDON."
Telephone—5550 HOLBORN.
Hon. Auditor—A. G. SAYERS, Esq.
Bankers: MESSRS. BARCLAY & CO.,
19, Fleet Street, E.C.

Committee—
Founder and Hon. Sec.—MRS. PANKHURST. Hon. Treas.—MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
Joint Hon. Sec.—MRS. TUKE. Organising Sec.—MISS CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.
MRS. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY, MISS MARY GAWTHORPE, MISS ANNIE KENNEY,
MRS. MARTEL, MISS MARY NEAL, MISS ELIZABETH ROBINS.

FUND FOR £20,000.

No political agitation can be carried to a successful issue without money. Money is required for holding meetings, for travelling, for printing, for organisation, for electioneering and above all for keeping the issue constantly before the electorate and before the women of the country who, by reason of sex only, are shut out from the electorate.

The big reform agitations in history cost several hundred thousand pounds and that in the days when the electorate was a few thousand; to-day it numbers several millions. It has been computed that if it were thought desirable to send by post one circular apiece to every one of the electors in the United Kingdom, the postage alone would cost over £30,000.

The Women's Social and Political Union has evoked in women's hearts up and down the country boundless enthusiasm, but if that enthusiasm is to take shape in a political force, which shall compel the Government to grant the reasonable demand for freedom, the Union must have money. It is asking for a sum of £20,000 during the present year.

How the amount may be raised.

The women's movement is not a class movement, and of those who support it, some are well-to-do and can afford to give large sums for the extension of the work, others, while they feel just as keenly the necessity for the agitation, can only give smaller sums. The support of both is absolutely necessary in order that the work may be carried to a successful issue.

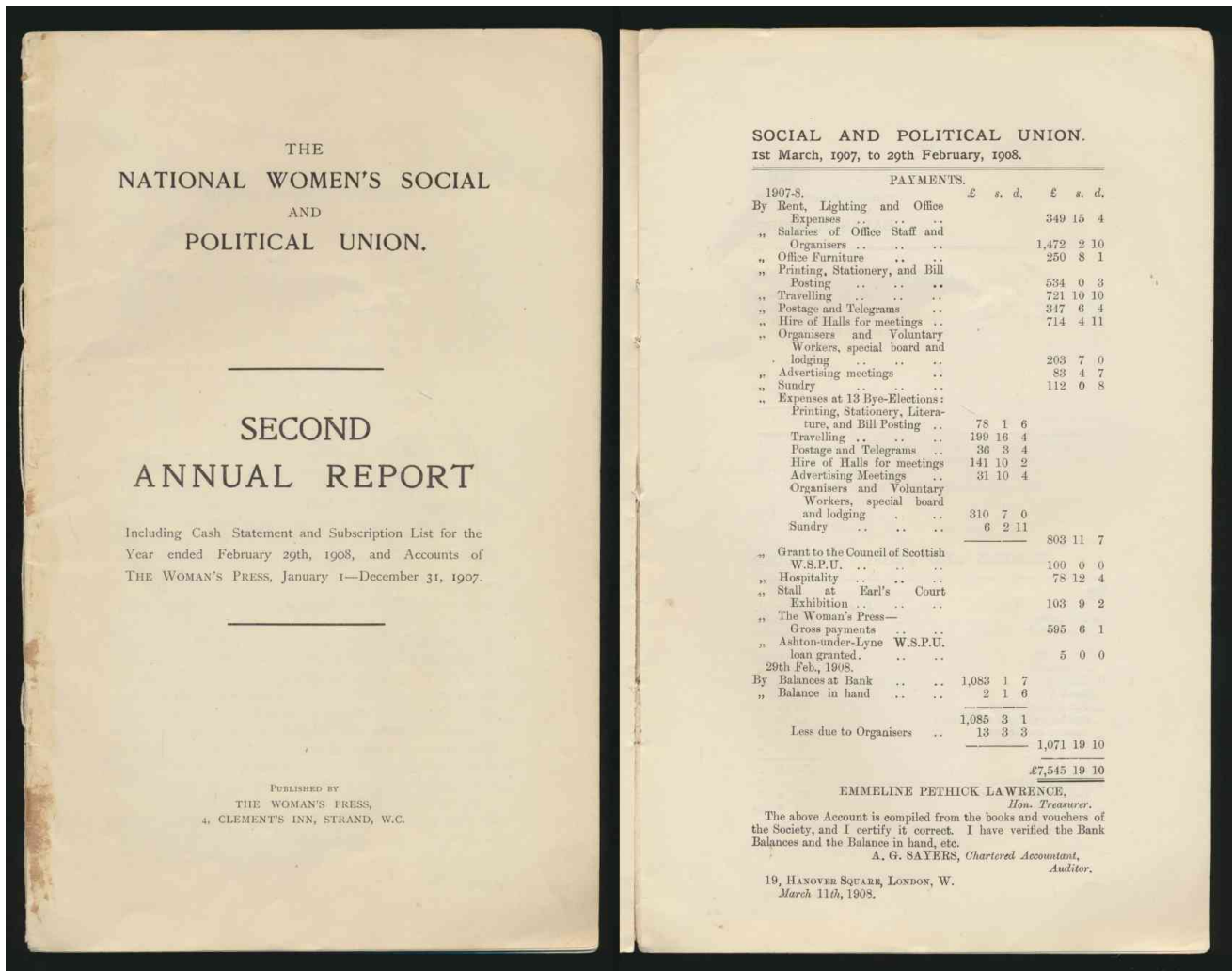
It is accordingly proposed to divide the £20,000 required into two parts. £10,000 it is hoped to raise in £1 subscriptions. Of these a number have been received by the Treasurer and further promises are now invited. The amount may either be given or collected, and either paid in one sum or in instalments quarterly or half yearly. The promise is to give or collect £1 each year for the funds of the Women's Social and Political Union until the stigma which rests on women is removed. All those willing to help in this way are requested to fill in one of the cards which accompany this sheet, and send it by post to the Treasurer.

The remaining £10,000 is reserved for sums of a larger amount. Towards this the following sums have already been received or promised, and subscriptions and promises towards the remainder are now invited.

£	£ s.	£ s.
Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	Dr. Elizabeth Wilks	Mrs. Garnet
(doubling the amount raised	Miss Ada Wright	Mrs. S. E. Turquand
at Exeter Hall, May 30) ... 645	A Lady's Jewels, Sale of	Mrs. Hertha Ayrton
Mrs. Joseph Fels	Miss Isabella Ford
Miss Clara Mordan	Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Budgett	Miss E. K. Le Lacheur
Henry Pethick, Esq.	Mrs. Ann Richardson
Mrs. Rowley	Mrs. Bernard Shaw	Miss Florence Wright
Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett	Miss Scriven	Various other sums to July 26
Walter Coates, Esq.	Lady Weetman Pearson	1454 10
Mrs. Ashworth Hallett	
Miss Jessie Stephenson	Miss Pauline Hull	
Miss Thornhill	Mrs. Pegge	
Mrs. Blanche Smith (sale of	Miss Haig	
pictures)	Mrs. C. Bastian	
45	Mrs. Badley	
	Miss Bevan	
	Total
		£3,185 0

A great and sacred cause which concerns the whole of humanity has emerged once more in the political life of to-day. Let all men and women who own allegiance to the great principles of justice, equity and freedom, come forward now, with generous gifts of money, time and service, and put themselves behind this agitation. Let them take their share in winning a victory with which is bound up all the finer issues of civilization.

At the foot a list of names are given for the £3185 which had already been raised, including 'Mr. and Mrs Pethick Lawrence (doubling the amount raised at Exeter Hall, May 30)... £645'; 'Mrs Blanche Smith (sale of pictures)... £45'; and 'Mrs Bernard Shaw... £25'. With a concluding paragraph: 'A great and sacred cause which concerns the whole of humanity has emerged once more in the political life of to-day. Let all men and women who own allegiance to the great principles of justice, equity and freedom, come forward now, with generous gifts of money, time and service, and put themselves behind this agitation. Let them take their share in winning a victory with which is bound up all the finer issue of civilization'.



THE
NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL
AND
POLITICAL UNION.

SECOND
ANNUAL REPORT

Including Cash Statement and Subscription List for the
Year ended February 29th, 1908, and Accounts of
THE WOMAN'S PRESS, January 1—December 31, 1907.

PUBLISHED BY
THE WOMAN'S PRESS,
4, CLEMENT'S INN, STRAND, W.C.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION.
1st March, 1907, to 29th February, 1908.

PAYMENTS.		£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
1907.S.					
By	Rent, Lighting and Office Expenses			349	15 4
"	Salaries of Office Staff and Organisers			1,472	2 10
"	Office Furniture			250	8 1
"	Printing, Stationery, and Bill Posting			534	0 3
"	Travelling			721	10 10
"	Postage and Telegrams			347	6 4
"	Hire of Halls for meetings			714	4 11
"	Organisers and Voluntary Workers, special board and lodging			293	7 0
"	Advertising meetings			83	4 7
"	Sundry			112	0 8
"	Expenses at 13 Bye-Elections:				
	Printing, Stationery, Literature, and Bill Posting	78	1 6		
	Travelling	199	16 4		
	Postage and Telegrams	36	3 4		
	Hire of Halls for meetings	141	10 2		
	Advertising Meetings	31	10 4		
	Organisers and Voluntary Workers, special board and lodging	310	7 0		
	Sundry	6	2 11		
				803	11 7
"	Grant to the Council of Scottish W.S.P.U.			100	0 0
"	Hospitality			78	12 4
"	Stall at Earl's Court Exhibition			103	9 2
"	The Woman's Press—				
	Gross payments			595	6 1
"	Ashton-under-Lyne W.S.P.U. loan granted.			5	0 0
By	29th Feb, 1908.				
	Balances at Bank	1,083	1 7		
"	Balance in hand			2	1 6
		1,085	3 1		
	Less due to Organisers	13	3 3		
				1,071	19 10
				£7,545	19 10

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE,
Hon. Treasurer.
The above Account is compiled from the books and vouchers of the Society, and I certify it correct. I have verified the Bank Balances and the Balance in hand, etc.
A. G. SAYERS, *Chartered Accountant, Auditor.*
19, HANOVER SQUARE, LONDON, W.
March 11th, 1908.

FASCINATING INSIGHT IN THE GROWTH OF THE UNION

8 THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION. SECOND ANNUAL REPORT Including Cash Statement and Subscription List for the Year ended February 29th, 1908, and Accounts of THE WOMAN'S PRESS, January 1 - December 31, 1907. Published by The Woman's Press, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. [1908]. **£ 1,250**

FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 31, [1] blank; in the original brown wraps printed in black, originally stapled, but staples removed due to rusting and now neatly stitched, inner hinge repaired and strengthened, but still a very good copy nonetheless.

Rare first edition of the *Second Annual Report* of the NWSPU, giving a fascinating insight in to the growth of the organisation.

'In presenting the Second Annual Report the Committee are pleased to be able to chronicle the extraordinary strides which have been made in the past twelve months. The question of Votes for Women has been brought into the very front rank of political issues, and the National Women's Social and Political Union is now recognised by opponents as a formidable champion of the woman's cause. Above everything the Committee have pleasure in noticing the large and rapidly growing sympathy and support which is being accorded by women of every class all over the country' (p. 3)

Details are provided the year's growth, 'Synopsis of the work done', 'By-Elections', 'Meetings', 'Demonstrations' (noting the four occasions during the year the union had taken part in militant action), 'Protests at Public Meetings', 'Literature', 'Votes for Women Newspaper', 'Premises and Staff', 'The Women's Enfranchisement Bill', 'Self-Denial Week', 'Prospect for the Future', 'The Albert Hall Demonstration', 'Hyde Park on June 21st', and 'Militant Action' ('It will be for the Government to decide whether or not they will force the women of the country to take stronger militant action than they have already done'). Next cash statements are given for NWSPU and The Women's Press.

The work concludes with a 'List of Subscribers' (pp. 16-31) and their contributions, a who's who of the leading protagonists in the Votes for Women movement, such as Emily Wilding Davison (11s.); Miss Annie Kenney (£2 6d.); Mr. & Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (£645); and Christabel Pankhurst (£5) to name but a few.

There were eight Annual Reports in all, beginning in 1907, and ceasing in 1914.

OCLC records one copy of this Second Annual Report, at the NYPL; the British Library holds a copy of the seventh Report (1913), and the Huntington the First (1907), with three copies of a complete run (1907-13), at the LSE in the UK, and Duke and Columbia in North America.

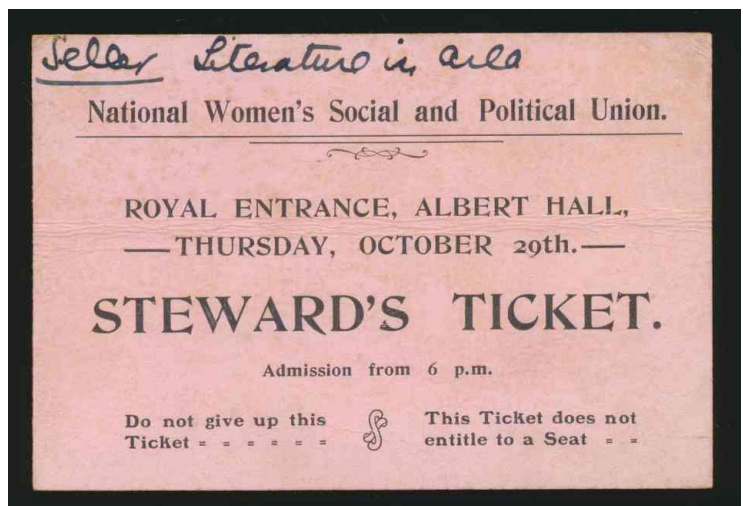
RARE ORIGINAL TICKET

9 NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION. STEWARD'S TICKET. Royal Entrance, Albert Hall, Thursday, October 28th. Steward's Ticket. Admission from 6 p.m. Do not give up this Ticket. This Ticket does not entitle to a Seat. [London, 1908]. **£ 450**

Printed on pink card [76 x 114 mm]; old fold and signs of mounting on blank verso 'inscribed in ink Seller Literature in Aisle'.

The event was held to demonstrate against the imprisonment of Emmeline Pankhurst, Christabel Pankhurst and Flora Drummond who had been arrested for inciting a 'rush' on Parliament whilst speaking at Trafalgar Square on the 11th October 1908.

This was a well organized event and *Votes for Women* gave full details of how the duties assigned to the Steward's in the week prior to the meeting: 'The organisation for the stewarding of the Albert Hall is now complete. In charge of the whole arrangements will be the Superintendent of stewards, who will either be Mrs. Drummond or Miss Jessie Kenney. Under her there will be seven Divisional Superintendents, who will have charge of the different parts of the hall. One will take charge of the arena, another of the stalls, another of the boxes, another of the orchestra, another of the balcony, another of the upper orchestra, and a seventh of the organ gallery. Under these officers will be 42 distributing stewards, who will give out the literature, tickets, colours, collecting boxes, &c., to each of the stewards in the hall. Further than this will be departmental superintendents, who will overlook the whole of the literature distribution, the collection, and other matters.'

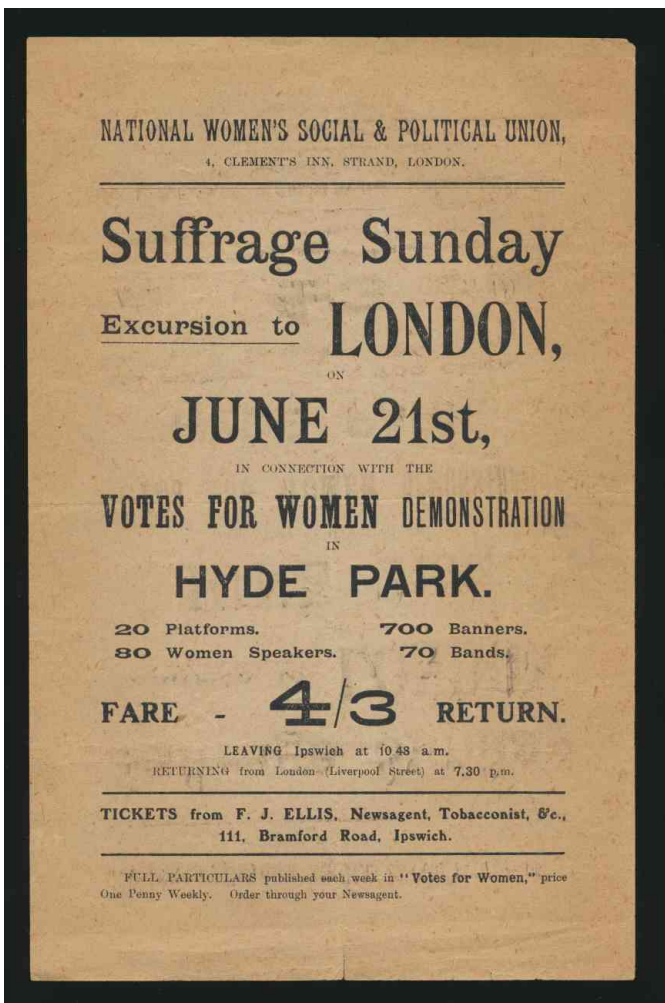


'To secure the complete success of this demonstration is what the London members have to work for from now until the 29th day of this month. Every seat in that immense building has to be filled, and every one of us have to do our due share in filling it. On that day we hope to gain hundreds of new members and great financial help, which we want for the extension of the campaign. Everyone should make a point of coming in uniform, and should wear the white dress, decorated with the colours. No headgear; except a scarf of purple, white, and green. Let no one consider this a small matter. It is a matter of love and loyalty and of pride in our Union. As several of the permanent seat-holders of the hall have kindly sent us some of their seats for use, we are able to inform friends that these can now be obtained. As they are some of the best seats in the stalls, they should be written for at once, price 5s. each. The meeting is one primarily for women, but as a great number of applications have been received from men, it has been arranged that some of the 5s. seats will be available for them. The prices of the other parts in the hall are 2s. 6d. for the arena, 1s. for the balcony and orchestra, and 6d. for the gallery and upper orchestra. There are also boxes to be disposed of at various prices.'

The meeting 'as a whole, is for women only' although men were able to buy 5s seats in the stalls. On the whole the meeting raised £23,000 with 'A sum of £109 was collected in the Hall, and literature, including copies of *Votes for Women*, and the new pamphlet by Christabel Pankhurst ("The Militant Methods of the N.W.S.P.U.") realised £50.'

WOMEN'S SUNDAY

10 NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, London. SUFFRAGE SUNDAY. Excursion to London on June 21st, in connection with the Votes for Women Demonstration in Hyde Park. 20 Platforms. 700 Banners. 80 Women Speakers, 70 Bands... [Ipswich] [1908]. **£ 300**



Single sheet broadside (22 x 14.5cm), printed on recto only, lightly toned due to paper stock, with contemporary pencil inscription on verso [see below].

A lovely survival advertising tickets for an excursion to attend the women's suffragette march and rally, held at Hyde Park on June 21st 1908. The Union campaigned for women from across the country to travel to London. The price of a return fare from Ipswich is advertised here, available from F.J. Ellis, Newsagent, Tobacconist, &c., for 4/3 return, leaving Ipswich at 10.48am, returning from London (Liverpool Street) at 7.30pm.

Suffrage Sunday, or 'Women's Sunday' as it became to be known, was organised by Emmeline Pankhurst's National Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU) to persuade the Liberal government to support votes for women, and it is thought to have been the largest demonstration to be held until then in the country. Up to 500,000 women and men from all over the country attended the event, and 30,000 women marched to Hyde Park in seven processions and carried 700 banners, including one that read, "Not chivalry but justice".

Curiously, on the verso of the present flyer there is a pencil note: 'I cannot obtain ticket, have been to 3 places but agents assure me they will be on sale at 60 stations in connection with this excursion tomorrow, Sunday'. We are confident this alludes to meal tickets for the excursion, as we seen a similar flyer for the same excursion (from Bradford) which includes a small printed envelope with details of the luncheon and tea to be served on the outward and return journeys.

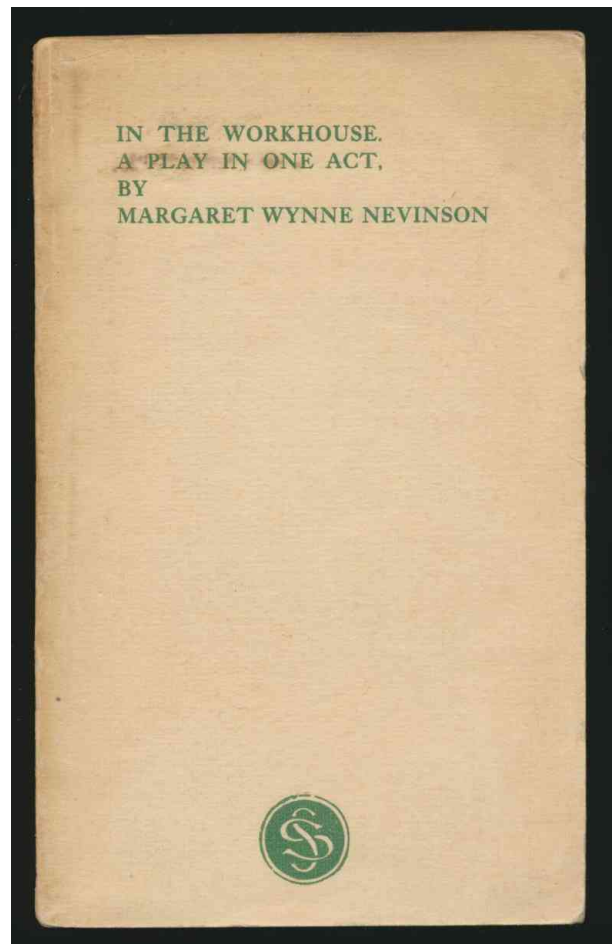
BY A LEADING MEMBER OF THE
WRITER'S SUFFRAGE LEAGUE

11 **NEVINSON, Margaret Wynne.** IN THE WORKHOUSE. A Play in one act... [London] The International Suffrage Shop, 15 Adam Street, Strand, W.C. 1911. **£ 350**

FIRST EDITION. 8vo, pp. 70; printed on rectos only; some occasional light signs of use, stamp of the 'Marx Memorial Library' in places; in the original printed publisher's wraps, rather rubbed and dust-soiled with some chipping to extremities, nevertheless, still a good copy.

Uncommon first edition of this play dramatised by Margaret Wynne Nevinson at the request of Edith Craig from a sketch, 'Detained on Marital Authority' based on a true story telling of how a man used the law to keep his wife in the workhouse against her will.

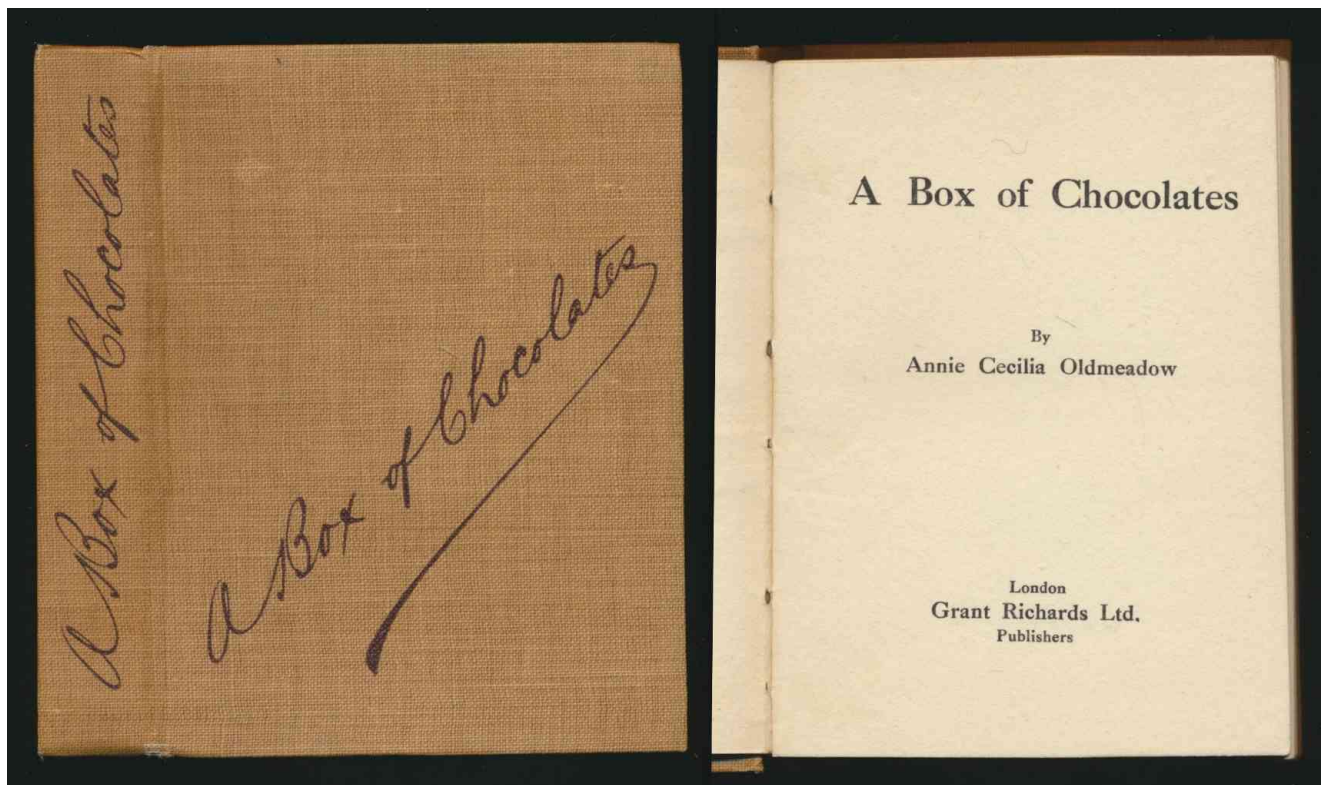
'In the Workhouse was one of the most controversial plays produced by Edy Craig's Pioneer Players as part of a triple bill with Chris St John's *The First Actress* and Cicely Hamilton's *Jack and Jill and a Friend* (King's Hall, 1911). It is an expose of the iniquities of the Coverture Act, which decreed that a married woman had no separate legal existence from her husband and therefore meant that if her husband entered - or left - the workhouse, she and her children were obliged to go with him' (Croft, p. 194).



It was first performed by the Pioneer Players in 1911. Two years later the law that allowed a pauper husband to detain his wife in the workhouse was repealed. Nevinson was a leading member of the Writers' Suffrage League.

Nevinson wrote several works, including *A History of the Suffrage Movement: 1908-1912* (1912), *Ancient Suffragettes* (1913) and *The Spoilt Child and the Law* (1913). She also contributed articles to the Women's Freedom League journal, *The Vote*. The paper covers bear the shop's rather elegant logo.

See *Votes for Women and other plays*, edited by Susan Croft, 2009, pp. 194-208; OCLC records six copies in North America, at Colarado, Harvard, Darmouth College, NYPL, Tulsa and the Newberry Library.



SUFFRAGETTES 'SHOULD NEVER THROW BOMBS AT CABINET MINISTERS'

12 **OLDMEADOW, Annie Cecilia.** A BOX OF CHOCOLATES... London, Grant Richards Ltd., Publishers. [1913]. **£ 2,000**

FIRST EDITION. Square 16mo, ff [5], 59; printed on recto side only excepting imprint on the verso of the title; original fawn coloured cloth, printed in chocolate brown, the binding appearing to mimic a small box of chocolates.

An unusual and timely work, dedicated 'To the Militant Suffragists', written to persuade the more radical women in the suffrage movement not to throw bombs, something it clearly failed to do.

The story revolves around Catherine Hanley, who has been stirred to support the 'Great Cause' to both make and throw a bomb at some politicians. 'Destiny' had chosen her, and although she was not a member of any of the suffragette movements, she still felt impelled to act. 'She had only one wish; that she might see and feel and know she was about to die. She wanted to realise the acuteness of living; to gulp the cold reality for the last time; to be done with feeling that she must endure, that she would be here to-morrow.'

Catherine has been engaged for several weeks to Vincent Farrell, who has taken her, at Catherine's pleading, to Auguste's, a top restaurant where important politicians were wont to dine. She has brought with her a white chocolate box in which is obviously concealed a bomb. Vincent, being an inquisitive type, wonders why she has not actually opened the box when they were at the theatre and suspects something is afoot. He also worries that Catherine has been indoctrinated, but she replies, 'The "wretched women," as you call them, have told me to do nothing! I've no connection with any Suffragist society, and you know it.' Still, he does wonder, for 'He had discovered by a mere chance, that she had been taking a course in chemistry. For a girl of Catherine's mind, a mind interesting and deep, but neither curious nor scientific, the study of chemistry suggested weird things. And yet, he asked himself cynically, what harm could a girl like Catherine do by chemistry? She would only learn enough to mix wrong acids and asphyxiate the dogs. Still one never knew!'

In an effort to get Vincent out of the restaurant, she asks him to phone a friend for her - he, by now, is suspicious and tries to grab the box of chocolates from her, but she is too quick for him. Catherine now confesses that it is a bomb, and Vincent, slightly confused - partly after having a good meal - is undecided what to do, not wanting to make a fuss amongst his peers at the restaurant by causing a scene.

To the
Militant
Suffragists

A Box of Chocolates 32

"Vincent, I have a most important message. Do you entirely refuse to send it for me?"

He nodded.

"Then listen, Vincent, and remember I am not mad. What I do, I do in cold blood. Perhaps I have something here that will alter the life of the whole world. Something that means to women the first call to revolution and bloodshed. Do not move. IT IS A BOMB! Do not call out or spring at me, or I must throw it. Dear Vincent, how I love you! I want *you* to escape. It is deadly."

Just then an old friend, Captain Goddard, whom the couple had not recognised when arriving at Auguste's, comes over to say hello. He has to use a crutch and had been badly injured when someone threw a bomb at the Viceroy whilst in India, missing the intended target but instead killing several innocent bystanders and horribly disfiguring the captain. This he relates to the couple and also mentions that his own fiancée, Lady Maud Heron, has married another. 'That's all off, of course... My dear chap, what did you expect? A handsome girl like that.'

Catherine sees that her own bombing attempt will likely result in a similar outcome with the intended victims escaping harm. The story ends with Catherine realising the error she has made 'Then Catherine came to herself, and lay her hand on the shabby little white box, said brusquely: "Vincent, take me home by the river. I'm going to throw it in!"'

The story is rather of the pulp-fiction variety, however it does show the young woman of 1913 as an independent thinker, strong and resourceful but also ultimately confused and wrong, luckily Vincent and Captain Goddard were there to save the day although it does throw up several questions about both the relationships between young men and women of 1913.

The author Annie Cecilia Oldmeadow was, at the time of writing *A Box of Chocolates*, the wife of Ernest James Oldmeadow, an English journalist, novelist, and Catholic convert. Raised by Wesleyan parents, he briefly pursued ministry work in Nova Scotia before converting to Catholicism in 1897. He edited the London Musical Times and later became editor of the Catholic weekly *The Tablet*, where for thirteen years he vigorously defended the Church against Anglican criticism. Beyond journalism, Oldmeadow founded a wine business, wrote numerous Edwardian novels and several musical studies, and was made a Knight Commander of St Gregory alongside Hilaire Belloc and G. K. Chesterton. Annie was also the daughter of a Wesleyan minister and would doubtless have converted to Catholicism at the time of her marriage in 1898. She appears to have conceived the idea behind the story before the attempt on the Viceroy at Delhi in 1912.

The *Morning Post*, in reviewing the work, wrote: 'Mrs Oldmeadow is to be congratulated on the delightful little story which she has written under the title of *A Box of Chocolates*, and Mr Grant Richards upon the elegant appearance that it makes. It is dedicated to the Militant Suffragists, and might well be bought in large numbers and presented to those rather too active ladies. Copies might be kept in Holloway Prison. Mrs Oldmeadow tells her story well and is particularly effective in the way in which she contrives to convey the struggle that takes place in the mind of her heroine.'

The New Statesman, in one of its earliest issues, succinctly précis'd the work as: 'A short story, the moral of which is that militant suffragettes should never throw bombs at Cabinet Ministers, because, if they do, they may not throw straight enough for practical purposes.'

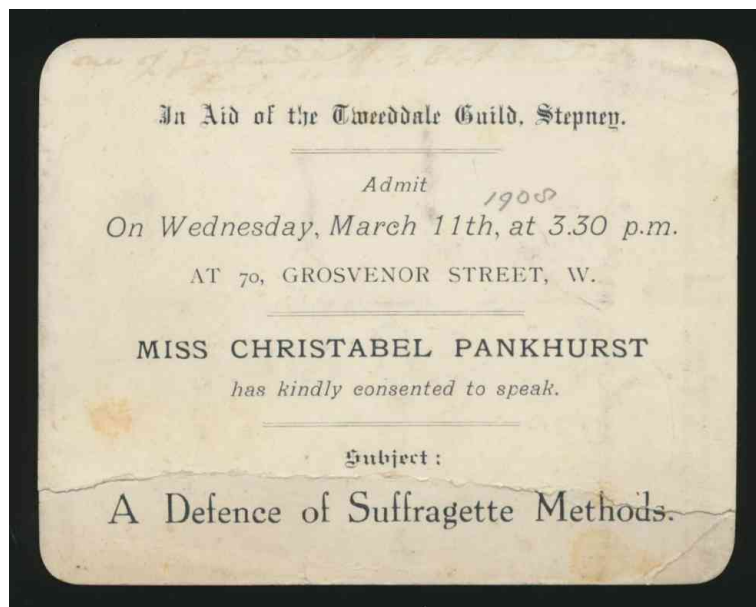
A Box of Chocolates 57

gravely at her, waiting for her to speak.

“Vincent,” she said softly, “they tell us to sacrifice the individual to the Cause, but for no Cause could I murder a soul. To-night I have seen a soul! Suppose it had rebelled? Suppose I drove a soul into black blasphemous rebellion at the thought of God and man’s injustice—drove it into wild desperate sins. Would not the stain of those sins and their eternal course of misery track me through the ages? No! I can’t risk it!”

As far as we can tell, no mention was made in any suffrage journal, and the work, although occasionally reviewed, was possibly too near to reality to be popular. The bombing and arson campaign had begun in the middle of 1912 and, by early 1913, had escalated, with bombing becoming a serious issue from April 1913, just as our book was being printed. Ultimately, the death of Emily Davison in June 1913, and the serious injury and later death caused by various bombs, dampened any interest in Oldmeadow’s book. Annie produced a few other publications later in life, but nothing so sensational or topical.

OCLC records five copies in the UK, at the British Library, Oxford, Cambridge and the National Library of Wales, and Scotland, and one further copy at Trinity College, Dublin.



THE ADVENT OF THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN

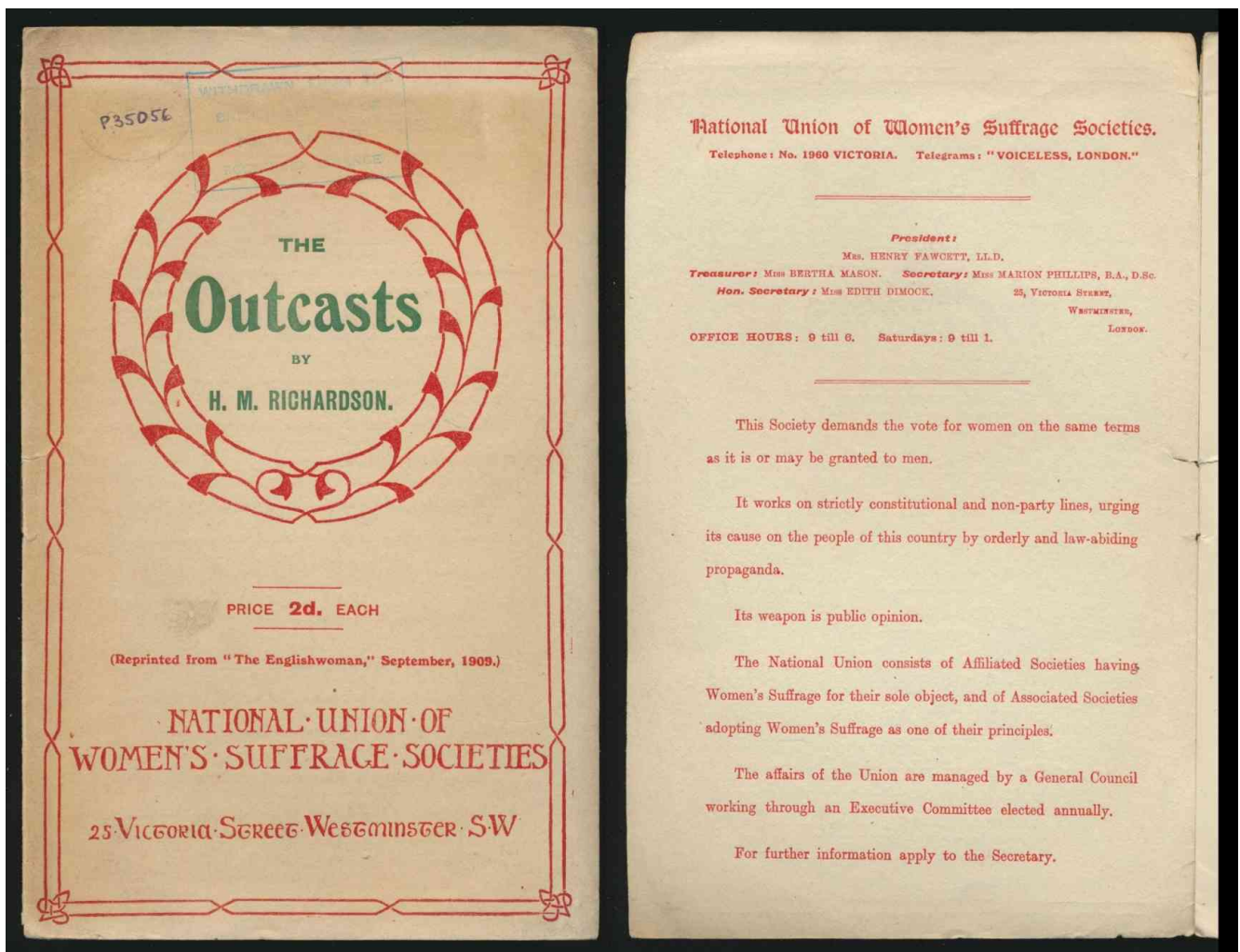
13 [PANKHURST, Christabel]. ORIGINAL TICKET FOR A TALK GIVEN ON THE SUBJECT OF 'A DEFENCE OF SUFFRAGETTE METHODS' [London] On Wednesday, March 11th, at 3.30 p.m. [1908]. £ 285

ORIGINAL TICKET. [11.3 x 8.7cm], printed on recto only, rounded corners, '1908' added in pencil, lightly marked and torn at foot and reattached, with ink inscription at head just about visible 'one of Gertrude H's.... [??]'

Rare survival of this original ticket for a talk given by Christabel Pankhurst in 'defence of Suffragette Methods' at 70 Grosvenor Street, 'In Aid of the Tweeddale Guild, Stepney.

Christabel Pankhurst (1880-1958), as the chief strategist for the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), defended militant methods by arguing that they were a necessary, logical, and inevitable response to political disenfranchisement and government violence. With the motto "Deeds not Words", she argued that decades of peaceful campaigning had failed, and that "militant" actions were needed to force the government into giving women the vote.

Just eight days later Pankhurst and her mother Emmeline gave speeches at the Royal Albert Hall on the 19th March 1908. On October 11th in the same year, along with "The General" Flora Drummond they were arrested for inciting a "rush" on Parliament when speaking to a mass meeting from the plinth of Nelson's Column in Trafalgar Square.



REDUCE PROSTITUTION AND ENHANCE WOMEN'S ECONOMIC STATUS

14 RICHARDSON, Henry Marriott. THE OUTCASTS... National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies. 25 Victoria Street, Westminster, SW. Printed by Vacher & Sons, Parliamentary and General Printers, Westminster House, Great Smith Street, S.W. [1909]. £ 285

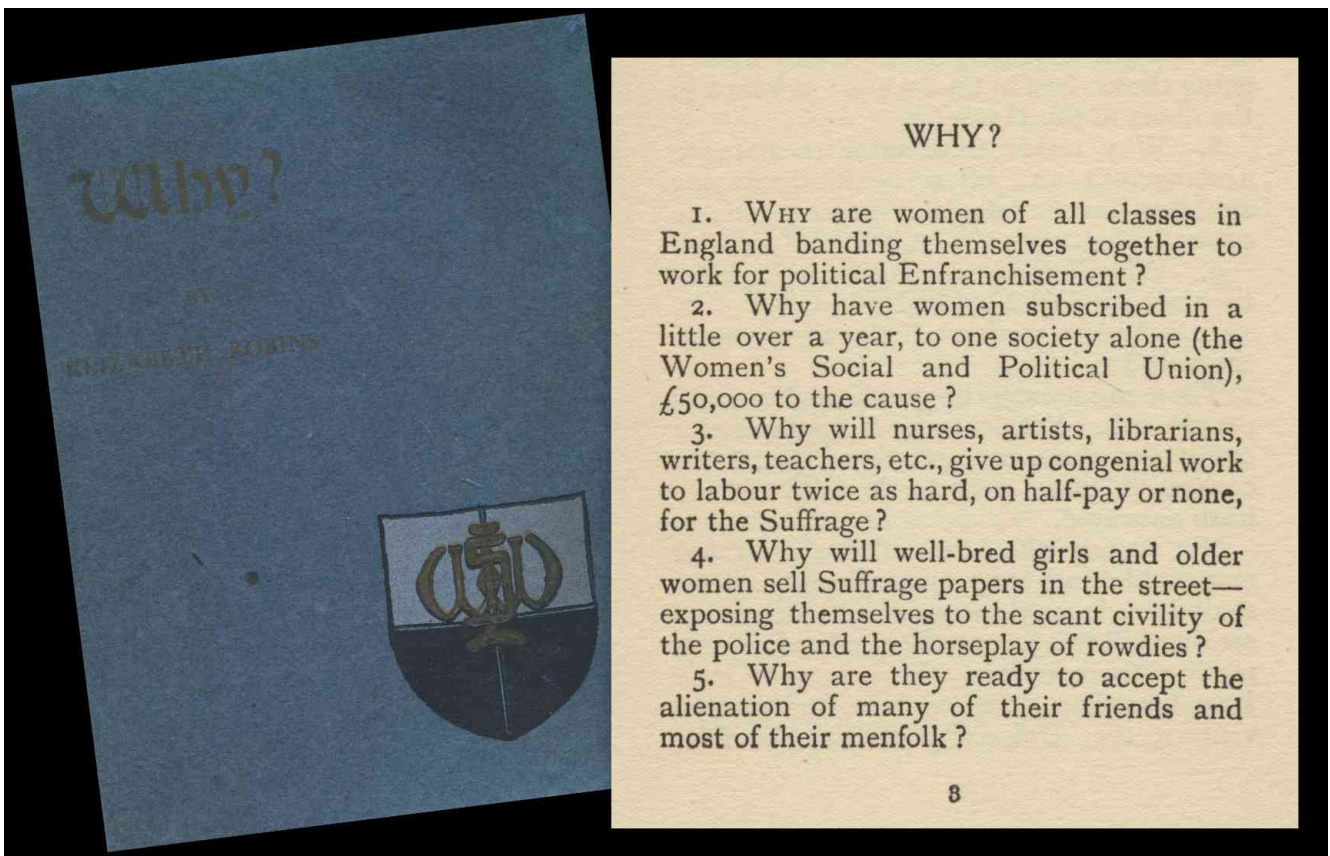
FIRST SEPARATE EDITION. 8vo, pp. 8; stapled as issued in the original publisher's printed wrapper, with de-accession stamp to upper wrapper, evidently once a duplicate copy held by the LSE.

First separate edition of *The Outcasts*, 'Reprinted from "The Englishwoman," September, 1909', in which the author argues that an enhancement of women's economic status would reduce prostitution - evidently a good angle for the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in their ongoing quest for women to be granted the vote.

'Women seldom learn from their own personal experience, how wide and destructive are the ramifications of this trade; and, unfortunately, those whose eyes have been opened by such experience are not inclined to speak. There must, therefore, be a wider and more general knowledge on sexual matters; there must be an end put to the manifold obstacles placed in the way of young people and children gaining a sound knowledge of the fundamental facts of life and the evils that spring from malversion. Mainly, there must be such a readjustment of economic conditions as will enable women to live without bartering their bodies. But none of these suggestions will be carried out - nay, they will not even be widely mooted - until woman, as a sex, is awake to the evil, and has won her way to a place from which she can enforce recognition of her claim to be considered the arbiter of her own fate. Until such time as that the sons of men will take advantage of the laws of man's civilisation to debase one woman in the interest of another; and the daughters of men will retaliate by infesting society with the bacilli of degeneration' (p. 8).

The author Henry Marriot Richardson (1876-1933) was born in Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent, becoming a journalist and later one of the founders and General Secretary of the National Union of Journalists. He first worked on the *Staffordshire Sentinel* before advancing to sub-editor and later assistant editor of the *Birmingham Daily Gazette*, and then by turns working for the *Daily Dispatch*. At the time he wrote *The Outcast*, Richardson was working as literary editor and dramatic critic of the *Manchester Evening Chronicle* at the time *The Outcast* was published, and later also as the leader writer of the *Sunday Chronicle*. His other published works included two thrillers: *The Temple Murder* (1925) and *The Rocks of Justice* (1926), and also a number of plays, including *Gentlemen of the Press*, *The Awakening Woman*, *Snow White* and *Courage* all of which had a social basis to them

OCLC records two copies, both in the UK, at the LSE and Edinburgh.



MAKING THE CASE FOR THE POLITICAL ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN

15 **ROBINS, Elizabeth.** *WHY?* Published by The Women Writer's Suffrage League, 55 Berners Street, London. 1910. **£ 385**

FIRST EDITION. 12mo, pp. 75, [1]; apart from a few minor marks, a clean copy throughout; in recent blue boards, with the original front cover lettered in gilt with the shield of the 'Women Writer's Suffrage League' printed below, pasted to upper board.

Scarce first edition of *Why?*, in which the American-born actress, playwright, novelist, and active campaigner for women's suffrage, Elizabeth Robins makes the case for the political enfranchisement of women.

1. Why are women of all classes in England banding themselves together to work for political enfranchisement?
2. Why have women subscribed in a little over a year, to one society alone (the Women's Social and Political Union), £50,000 to the cause?
3. Why will nurses, artists, librarians, writers, teachers, etc., give up congenial work to labour twice as hard, on half-pay or none, for the Suffrage?
4. Why will well-bred girls and older women sell Suffrage papers in the street - exposing themselves to the scant civility of the police and the horseplay of rowdies?
5. Why are they ready to accept the alienation of many of their friends and most of their menfolk?...
6. Why instead of petitioning of justice are the women now demanding it?
7. Why instead of helping to elect another "Member" to go to Parliament and support the Suffrage, are women going themselves in their thousands 'to knock at the doors of the House'?
8. Why rather than agree to abandon a dangerous and often health-destroying agitation have hundreds of women gone to prison?
9. Why if these are good tactics were they not employed before?
10. And why after all do women want the vote?

These are among the questions I am told people ask. Yet, though I speak under correction, these are questions that I am convinced many persons do not wish to have answered' (pp. 3-4).

Elizabeth Robins (1862-1952)... 'was an American actress who emigrated after her actor husband committed suicide by jumping into Boston's Charles River wearing full theatrical armour, and was nothing if not hardboiled. When George Bernard Shaw made a pass at her, she pulled a gun on him. When Max Beerbohm lunched with her, he could not resist "peeping under the table to see if she really wore a skirt". He found her "fearfully Ibsenish"; she had found fame and feminism playing the first British Hedda Gabler in 1891, and had been vilified for having "glorified an unwomanly woman" (<https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2003/mar/19/theatre.artsfeatures1>).

OCLC records copies in North America, at Regina, Penn State, Florida, UC Irvine, Harvard, Virginia, Wisconsin-Madison and the Boston Public library.

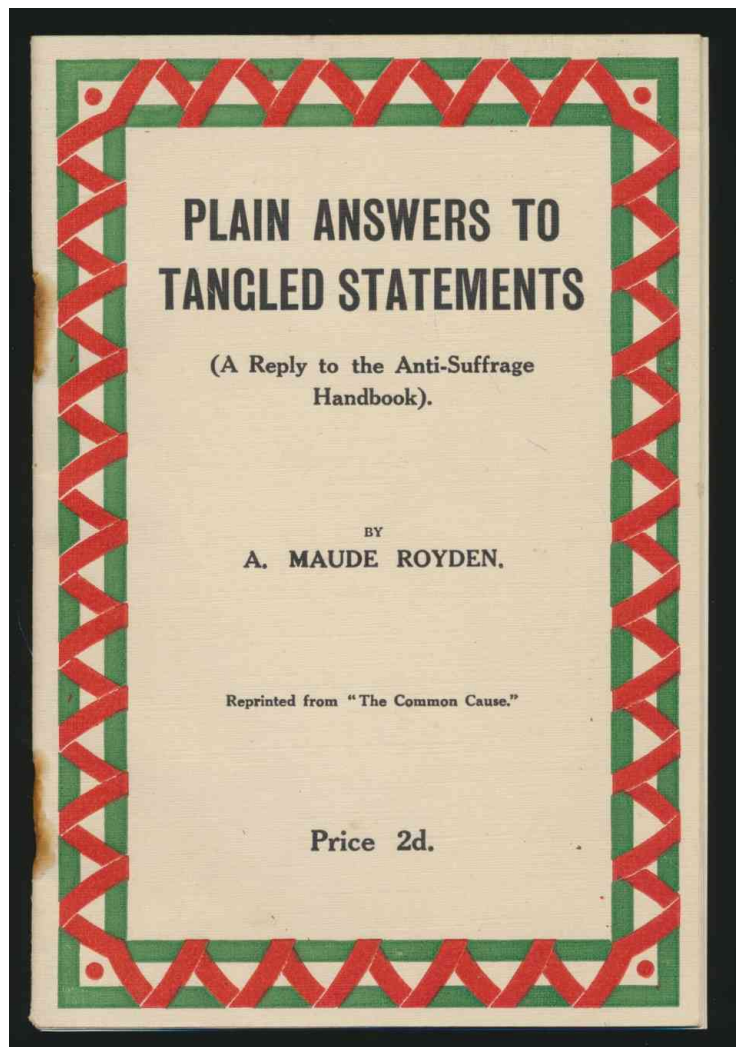
'DESIGNED PURELY TO BAFFLE
SUFFRAGE SPEAKERS'

16 **ROYDEN, Agnes Maude.** PLAIN ANSWERS TO TANGLED STATEMENTS (A Reply to the Anti-Suffrage Handbook) [London] Published by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, 14, Great Smith Street, Westminster. July, 1912. £ 450

FIRST SEPARATE EDITION. 8vo, pp. 28; expert repair in gutter of pp. 14/15 where staples removed; in the original wraps printed red and green, neatly stitched, minor rust marks at hinge, but still a very good copy.

First separate edition (originally published as articles in the *Common Cause*) of this scarce work in support of women's suffrage by the suffragist Agnes Maude Royden (1876-1956).

'The Anti-Suffrage League has published - or, rather, has printed - a little book to enable their workers to put misleading questions at Suffrage meetings, and write misleading letters to the Press. I know this sounds a very harsh thing to say of anyone, and I should not say it merely from a perusal of the book, grossly misleading as it seems to me to be. I say it because, by the question put to some (not all) of those who try to buy the Handbook, it is evident that the last thing that is desired is that Suffragists should get hold of it. If it were intended to convert, or if it were perfectly straightforward, there could be nothing more desirable, from the point of view of the Anti-Suffragists, than that it should be widely circulated and read, especially among Suffragists. But, as I shall show, it is not calculated to convert anyone. It is designed purely to baffle Suffrage speakers *for the moment*, and convey the impression that there is "something wrong"' (p. 5)



Royden was elected to the executive committee of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies in 1909, and from 1912 to 1914 edited the *Common Cause*, the organ of the union. She broke, however, with the NUWSS over its support for the war effort.

OCLC records three copies in the UK, at the British Library, LSE and Oxford, and three more in North America, at Harvard, Northwestern and Waterloo.

DESIGNED BY A FUTURE MILITANT SUFFRAGETTE

17 **RYLAND, Berta, Artist.** ORIGINAL CHRISTMAS CARD, designed by Bertha Ryland for the WSPU. [N.p., London?] [1909]. £ 550

Original postcard [14 x 8.7cm], printed in purple and green, initialed 'BR' and '09', verso blank; a fine example.



Rare survival of an original Christmas card produced for the WSPU for Christmas 1909, by a future militant suffragette.

'At the end of 1909 [Berta Ryland] produced for the WSPU a delightful Christmas card - 'A Merry Christmas and Votes for Women in 1910'. The card bears the initials 'BR' and has as its central figure a girl drummer, dressed in the regalia of the WSPU's own band. Perhaps it is worth mentioning that in the autumn of 1909 Birmingham had hit the headlines when five WSPU members were sentenced to hard labour in Winston Green prison after dramatically interrupting a meeting held by prime minister Asquith in a local hall; the most note worthy of these suffragettes was Mary Leigh, the WSPU's drum major. This association just might have been the inspiration behind Bertha Ryland's choice of image, one which is still be reproduced today (Crawford, p. 200).

Bertha Ryland (1882-1977) 'born in King's Norton, Birmingham, daughter of William H. Ryland, a surveyor, and his wife Alice (nee Wilmot). The family were Unitarians; by 1901 Bertha's older brother Arthur had become a Unitarian minister. Like other Birmingham Unitarian families the Rylands had been early supporters of the women's suffrage movement; Alice Ryland had been a member of the executive committee of the Birmingham Women's Suffrage Society in the mid-1870's. However by 1908 both Alice and Bertha transferred their allegiance to the Women's Social and Political Union and by the end of the year Bertha was working closely with Gladice Keevil, the young WSPU activist who had been sent from the headquarters to organise the Birmingham campaign' (*ibid*). Ryland went on to be imprisoned on several occasions for her involvement in militant

action, being part of window-smashing campaigns, and attacking a painting at Birmingham Art Gallery with a meat cleaver. She went on hunger strike while in prison and was forcibly fed, for which she suffered permanent kidney damage as a result of her treatment.

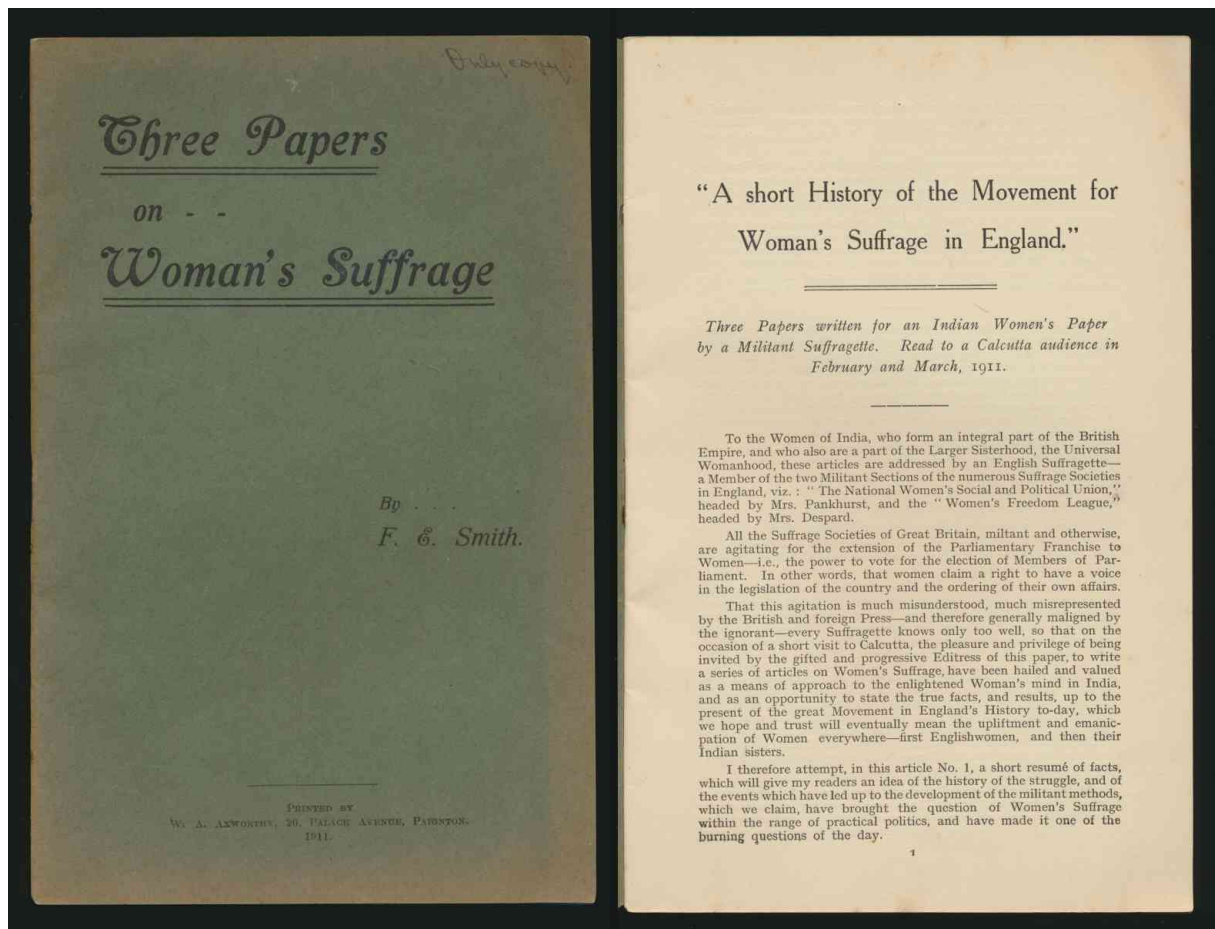
See Elizabeth Crawford, *Art and Suffrage. A Biographical Dictionary of Suffrage Artists*, 2018. pp. 200-202.

SUFFRAGE PAPERS READ IN INDIA

18 **SMITH, Florence Evelyn.** THREE PAPERS ON WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. W. A. Axworth, 26, Palace Avenue, Paignton 1911. £ 650

8vo, pp. 23, [4]; stapled as issued in the original green wrappers, printed in black, old stains on back wrapper otherwise fine; upper cover inscribed in one corner 'Only Copy'.

The three papers contain 'A short History of the Movement for Women's Suffrage in England' an 'Introductory' in which an explanation is given for 'those of you who don't understand it' and thirdly 'The Ideals of Woman's Suffrage.'



Each of the papers was read to an audience in Calcutta on the 18th February, 6th March and 13th March 1911 at 11/1 Kyd Street in Calcutta, Florence notes that she is really only passing through the city, presumably either travelling from or returning to Britain.

When Florence Smith read her papers women's suffrage in India was hardly even a topic in 1911, although rumblings of discontent must have been apparent, it would appear that generally this did not affect things in India under the Raj. Indeed in the second essay she begins by answering questions presented by a woman at her first lecture 'I am sorry she is not here tonight. I understand she has gone to Mussoord to re-open her School for the year. I believe the lady well known in India, of high intellectual attainment... Her objections and statements, I have no doubt, found an echo in several minds here. They form some of the staple arguments of our friends the Anti-Suffragettes... She said - among other things - 1. That our agitation for the vote is was absolutely unnecessary in these days; that the world had progressed wonderfully... that instead of worrying for the vote, women ought to be extremely thankful and grateful to MEN for the many privileges they now enjoy.' There followed on several more objections which Florence then in turn answers.

On the whole Florence does not appear to have had much traction from her listeners, and by the third of her lectures she becomes less conciliatory and now defiant in the face of seeming intransigence: 'We mean business; deeds, not words. We are a great Army, perhaps the greatest the world has ever seen, and our battle the most unique. We are out for great realities and great responsibilities. We must prove the value of our woman-soul to ourselves and to the world. Into every detail of our lives must run the Spirit of Freedom. We may be limited by circumstances, lack of opportunity, environment, but in our souls we may, and must, be free. For we are alive, and we claim our right to live! In the smallest and most insignificant of our lives, shall spring up the joy of our conscious individuality well as our universal solidarity. We are ourselves, yet part of a Great Whole —a world sisterhood and brotherhood. We may not all do great things in deputations, processions, imprisonment, and outward organization, or militancy, but we can be one with the women who do. Then we can uncompromisingly and with a proud dignity raise the woman standard, and refuse to be crushed any more, or allow other women to be crushed.'

Of the author we know very little, but we believe that her name was Florence Evelyn Smith. She was suddenly thrown into the limelight on the evening of 10th February 1914 when, leaving 2 Campden Hill Square, where Mrs Pankhurst had addressed a large crowd from a window, Florence was attacked by several men and detectives who believed her to be Mrs Pankhurst. This resulted in Florence being held overnight in a police cell, and also left her badly battered and bruised. It may have been a deliberate subterfuge, which allowed for a double-page article in *The Suffragette*, with Keir Hardie raising the attack on a defenceless woman in parliament - well, almost, as Mrs Pankhurst's bodyguard had small Indian clubs both to defend and attack anyone coming too close.

In the introduction to the articles Florence states she is a 'Member of the two Militant Sections of the numerous Suffrage Societies in England, viz: "The National Women's Social and Political Union," headed by Mrs Pankhurst, and the "Woman's Freedom League," headed by Mrs Despard.' We know that Florence lived in Paignton before her journey to Calcutta, and had returned to England by the end of 1911, also to Paignton, where she was raising funds for the WSPU. By July 1912 she had begun the Paignton Theosophical Society, of which she was secretary. We also know that she published a pamphlet called *Theosophical Militancy* in 1914 - no copy is known - and that in 1915 she gave the opening speech at 'The "Emily Davison" Lodge' in High Holborn under the title 'The Life and Work of Emily Davison (Considered Astrologically)'. In 1916 Florence was giving a lecture on 'The Future of Sex in the New Age', after which time we lose sight of her. One might ask where Mr Smith was in all this, and it seems he wasn't anywhere; in fact, we can find no trace of him.

Not in OCLC, apparently unrecorded.

THE ANTHEM OF THE MOVEMENT

19 **SMYTH, Dame Ethel.** THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN. Dedicated to the Women's Social and Political Union. The Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C. [1911]. £ 300

8vo, pp. 2; lightly dust-soiled; disbound, as issued.

Rare survival of an original songsheet of the composer Dame Ethel Smyth's 'March of the Women', printed by the Woman's press and sold for a penny, presumably to Suffragettes for use on their demonstrations.

'In 1910 Smyth joined the Women's Social and Political Union, a suffrage organisation, giving up music for two years to devote herself to the cause. Her "The March of the Women" (1911) became the anthem of the women's suffrage movement. When the WSPU's leader, Emmeline Pankhurst, called on members to break a window in the house of any politician who opposed votes for women, Smyth was one of the 109 members who responded to Pankhurst's call. She served two months in Holloway Prison for the act. When her proponent-friend Thomas Beecham went to visit her there, he found suffragettes marching in the quadrangle and singing, as Smyth leaned out a window conducting the song with a toothbrush.'

On the verso are advertisements for further works by Ethel Smyth, including 'Songs of Sunrise. A Choral Group'.

WITH AN EARLY "SUFFRAGETTES" SKETCH

20 **[SUFFRAGE]. STANNINGLEY BAPTIST CHURCH AND SUNDAY SCHOOL. SOUVENIR AND PROGRAMME OF THE 'CHRISTMAS CAFE',** Monday, December 28th, 1908. J. Greenwood Gaunt, Printer, 55 Brunswick Road, Pudsey, and 18 Briggate, Leeds. [1908]. £ 285

Wood engraving on crepe paper, [38.5 x 37 cm], border of flowers printed in pink, green and gilt; evidence of having been folded and a few minor marks, otherwise an excellent example.

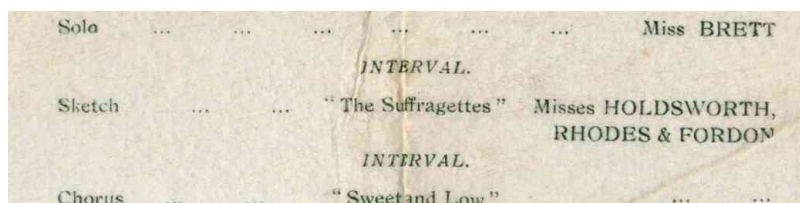
An ephemeral item sold to raise funds for the Stanningley Baptist Church and Sunday School - who appeared to be always in want of funds - particularly appealing for the inclusion of a comic farce entitled 'The Suffragettes'. The 'Christmas Cafe' was something of an annual ritual that varied from year to year, with the younger women of the congregation attending to the organisation of an entertainment during an evening held in the Chapel Hall. The youth side of the church had been increased by the pastor, the Rev. Ernest Higson, from 100 to 150 members, and he had also actively encouraged 'A Young People's Society for Christian Endeavour.'

The evening was divided into three parts after an opening ceremony performed by Mrs. Arthur Harrison, apparently the wife of a local dye worker, and chaired by Miss Kipling. The first part began with songs and choruses, solos, and recitations, including such perennials as 'Swanee River' or popular comic songs such as 'Things that a Man Can't Do.' After an interval, there was a 'Sketch' performed by Misses Holdsworth, Rhodes,



and Fordon, named 'The Suffragettes.' One imagines this was a comic farce of three suffragettes, very probably occasioned by the so-called Suffragette Riots that happened nearby Leeds when Asquith was speaking at the Colosseum there in early October. As a result of this confrontation, Jennie Baines, the suffragette organiser, became the first member of the WSPU (Women's Social and Political Union) to be tried by jury. Certainly, a topical subject for the three young women to play on. As the Christmas Cafe was an all-woman event, there was probably a certain sympathy with the subject that evening too. The entertainment continued after another interval with similar fare to the first half of the evening's programme.

This form of printed souvenir began to gain popularity in the late 1880s when 'blank' crepe paper napkins were imported from Japan. Each had decorative printed and shaped borders that could then be subjected to overprinting in the United Kingdom—sometimes creating a rather odd juxtaposition of styles. The pre-decoratively printed crepe sheet was probably supplied by Burgess William & Co. lace paper makers who flourished in the Edwardian period, making decorative cards, valentines, etc., The local Pudsey printer J. Greenwood Gaunt then overprinting the text of the programme.



'ANGEL OF FREEDOM'

21 [SUFFRAGETTE CHINA]. ORIGINAL CUP, SAUCER & SIDE PLATE, made by Williamson's of Longton for the WSPU in 1909. £ 3,000

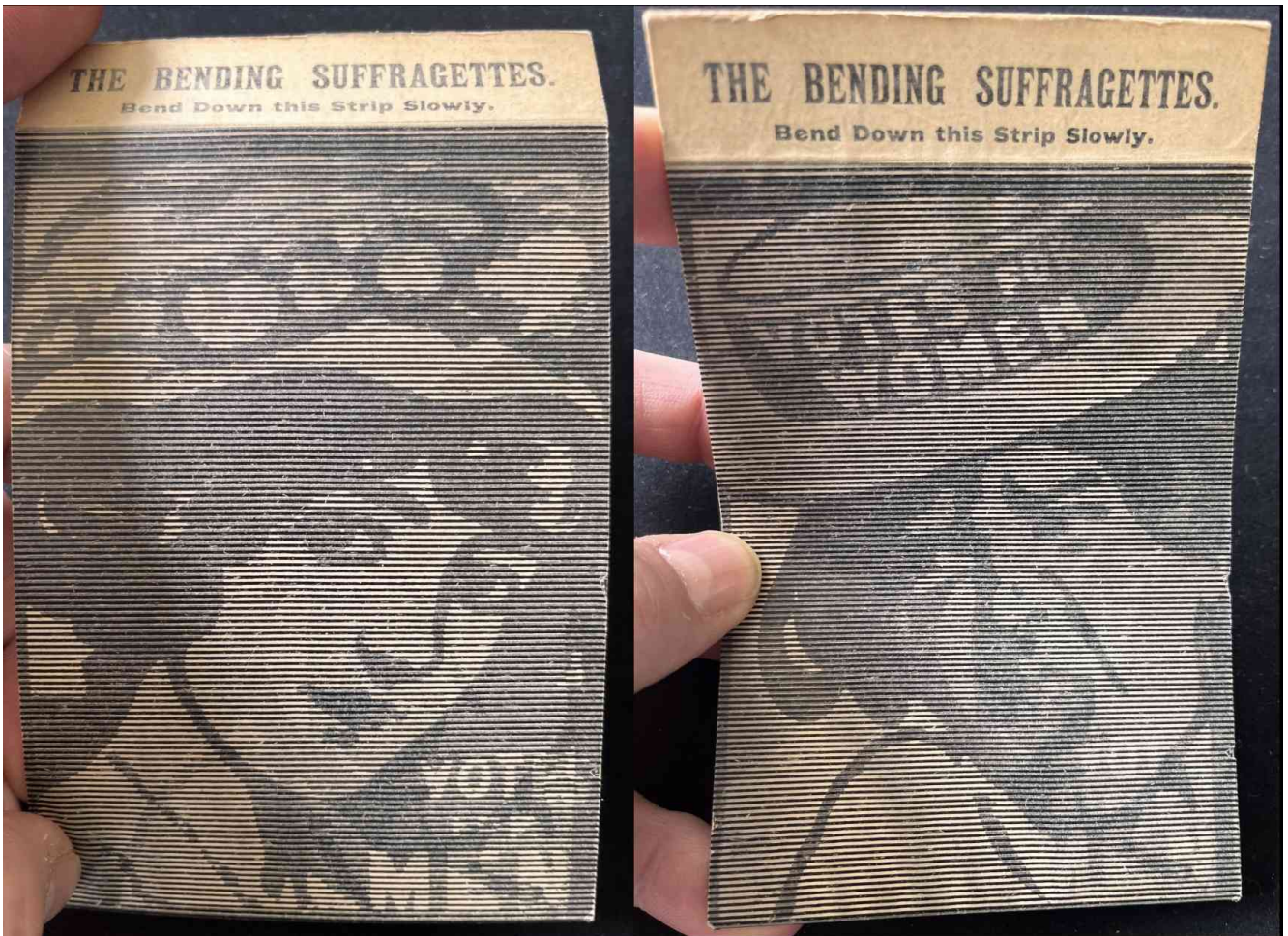
Cup, saucer and side plate; white china has strikingly clean, straight lines and is rimmed in dark green with a green handle to the cup, each piece carries the motif, designed by Sylvia Pankhurst, of the 'angel of freedom' blowing her trumpet and flying the banner of 'Freedom, in the background are the initials 'WSPU' set against dark prison bars, surrounded by the thistle, shamrock and rose, and dangling chains; the cup has one minor hairline crack, otherwise all pieces are in fine condition.

Rare survival of an original Suffragette cup, saucer and side plate complete with the 'Angel of Freedom' designed by Sylvia Pankhurst. Initially for use in the refreshment room of the Prince's Skating Rink Exhibition and then sold in aid of funds.

The Women's Exhibition of 1909, all but forgotten today, was a tipping point in women's struggle for equal rights. The event was open to both sexes and cleverly calculated to show men that suffragettes were not the dangerous 'shrieking sisterhood' they were painted but were in fact the wives, mothers and sisters they knew, women safely interested in the same female pursuits they always had been, women dedicated to creating beautiful things not destroying them.

'The winged angel logo was repeated on almost all promotional material. It was especially striking on the elegant white tea service, specially commissioned from a pottery in Staffordshire, used in the traditional tea and refreshment room during the exhibition and for sale after the event. Commemorative china was a relatively new idea and this early understanding of branding as a way of advertising was a key element of the exhibition's success making the WSPU one of the first campaign groups to understand the significance of logos' (<http://annesebba.com/journalism/the-womens-exhibition-of-1909/>).





THE ONLY KNOWN EXAMPLE

22 **[SUFFRAGETTE MOVEMENT]. THE BENDING SUFFRAGETTES.** Bend Down this Strip Slowly. [Patent Duo Card, 19, Bride Lane, E.C.] [n.d., c. 1910]. **£ 750**

Original postcard [14 x 8.7cm], unused; lightly dust-soiled, and minor crease at head (as to be expected), but in remarkable original condition otherwise.

Very rare survival - the only known example as far as we are aware - of this metamorphic Suffragette postcard. When bending the card the image of a harridan woman wearing a VOTES FOR WOMEN boater turns into a demure woman, and the slogan VOTES FOR MEN appears.

THE SACRIFICE DEMANDED: "STRANGE TO SAY,
I HAD NO FEAR" (EMILY WILDING DAVISON)

23 **[SUFFRAGETTES]. BRAILSFORD, Henry Noel.** FORCIBLE FEEDING. A Letter to a Liberal Member of Parliament. Printed and Published by St. Clements Press, Newspaper Buildings, Kingsway, London, W.C. [1909]. **£ 450**

FIRST EDITION. 4to, pp. 4; paper lightly toned; disbound, as issued.

Rare first edition of Henry Noel Brailsford's harrowing 'Letter to a Liberal Member of Parliament' on 'Forcible Feeding' of Suffragettes during their hunger strike, started by Miss Wallace Dunlop when imprisoned for petitioning.

'It needs little imagination to conceive the horror of a treatment which degrades and insults while it inflicts pain. It is an attempt to break the will and seer the spirit. If you still doubt, let me quote from another account which will make it sufficiently clear what desperate anger the treatment excites in women in respect of themselves. Miss E[mily]. W. Davison, B.A., after undergoing the treatment once, barricaded her cell. To force her to open it, icy-cold water from a hose was played on her in a direct stream for about a quarter-of-an-hour: "Then they determined to burst open the door. It was clear to me that if the door fell, it would kill me on the spot. The thought in my mind was that the moment for the sacrifice which are all agreed will probably be demanded was at hand, and strange to say, I had no fear. Those outside, however, had also realised the danger.

32, WELL WALK,
HAMPSTEAD, N.W.,
December 1st, 1909.

FORCIBLE FEEDING.

A LETTER TO A LIBERAL MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT.

DEAR L—,

You and I have never before differed on any vital issue. If we differ now, it must be, I think, because you do not know all the facts about the prison treatment meted out to suffragists. I propose to answer your defence of forcible feeding point by point.

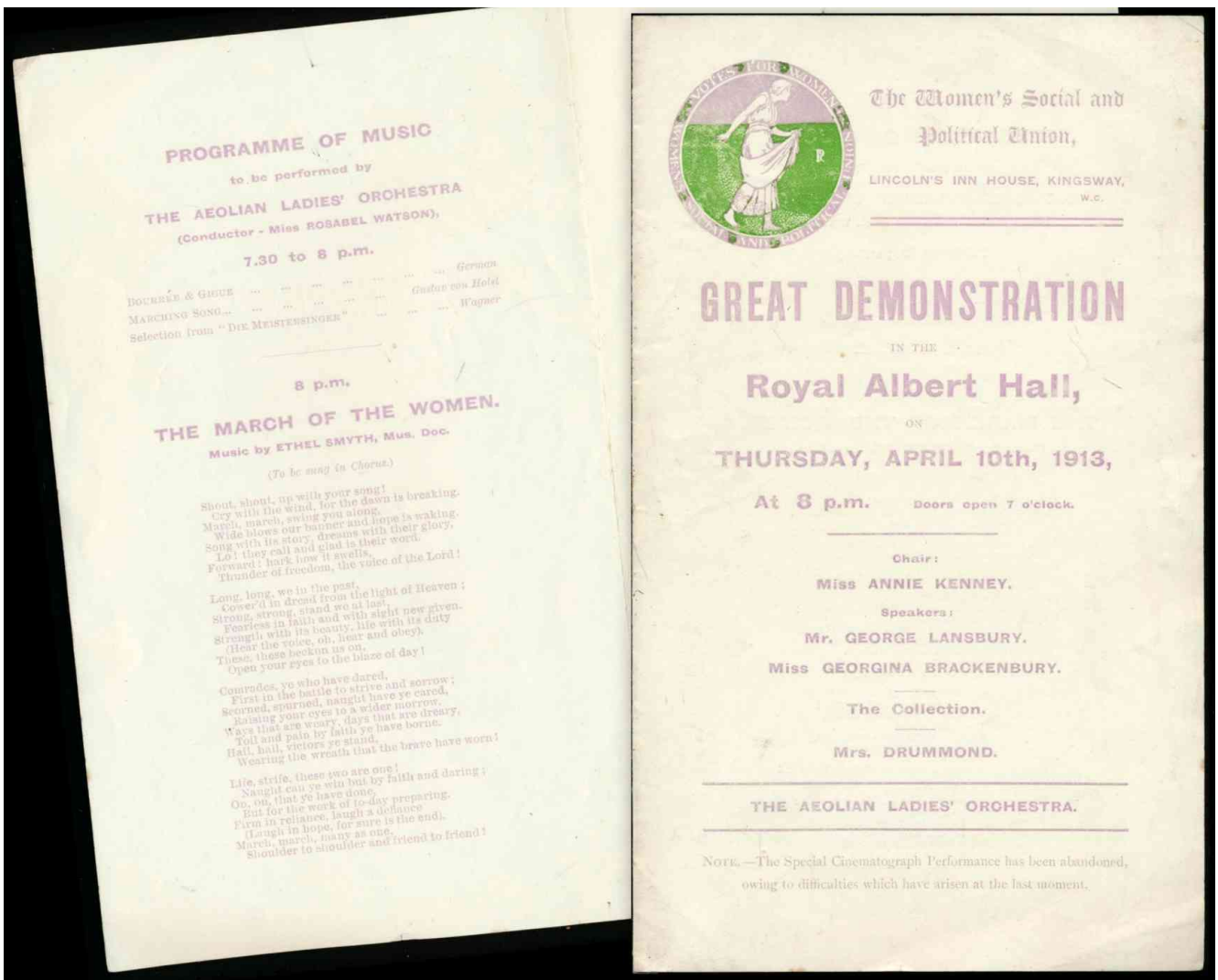
You call the resort to the hunger-strike "silly and incomprehensible." Do you know how it began? Miss Wallace Dunlop, mindful of the Seven Bishops and the hundreds of her comrades imprisoned, like them, for daring to petition, printed on the wall of the lobby that clause from the Declaration of Rights which established once for all the legality of petitioning. Her punishment was a month's imprisonment in the second division. It classed her with criminals, and subjected her to all the physical indignities of the common jail. She adopted the method of protest which Russian "politicals" use in a like case. She refused food. The Home Secretary might at that time have solved the difficulty by transferring her to the first division—a concession which now would come too late. He preferred to release her. No offence could have been more clearly political. I hear it said by the Peter Bells of your party that a stone-thrower is a stone-thrower, and she is nothing more. But they were equally unwilling to concede the respect due to political offenders, to one who used no violence. The fundamental mistake of these four years has been the determination to treat women who were gallantly fighting for an idea as though they were petty criminals to be dealt with in a police court like Saturday-night roisterers. Can you wonder that spirited women resent this treatment? They know that Dr. Jameson, whose militant action for Votes for Men in the Transvaal cost many good lives, was sent to the first division. That also is the treatment invariably given to Irish "cattle-drivers." They even saw at Bradford the other day a man guilty of seducing a child of fifteen years sent to that First Division for which they are deemed unfit. Do you still find their protest incomprehensible?

The hunger-strike was now generally adopted, and during three months it invariably ended in the same way. The prisoner was released after a period of starvation varying from two-and-a-half days to six days and seven hours. Then came what you call the "terrible outrages at Birmingham." Why "terrible"? No one was hurt, save two of the suffragists, who were struck by Liberal stones and drenched with the fire hose, and one policeman, who was slightly cut in the hand, but was never off duty. You have, I suppose, been reading that leading article in which a Liberal Daily Paper spoke of a deliberate attempt to assassinate the Prime Minister. That was false. The prosecution made no such charge. The charges were merely of "disorderly conduct," including breaking

They called out: 'If you don't move off that plank, you will be seriously hurt.' The door gave. I watched it, fascinated. As it lurched, however, hands seized it. The gap widened. A male warder rushed in and seized me, saying as he did so 'You ought to be whipped for this.'"" (p. 2)

Henry Noel Brailsford (1873-1958) was a journalist and writer, considered one of the most prolific left-wing journalists of the first half of the twentieth century. A founding member of the Men's League for Women's Suffrage in 1907, he resigned from his job at *The Daily News* in 1909 when it supported the force-feeding of suffragettes on hunger strike.

OCLC records three copies worldwide, at Cambridge, Toronto, and the Aletta Institute for Women's History in the Netherlands.



THE LAST SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION IN THE ALBERT HALL

24 [SUFFRAGETTES] THE NATIONAL WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION. GREAT DEMONSTRATION IN THE ROYAL ALBERT HALL, on Thursday, April 10th, 1913, at 8pm... [London] Geo. Barber, 23, Furnival Street, Holborn, E.C. [1913]. £ 650

FIRST EDITION. Single folded 8vo sheet, printed in purple, on all sides, W.S.P.U. logo in upper left corner of first page printed in purple & green; faint pencil marking to final page.

An attractive production, with the W.S.P.U. logo, including the programme of music to be performed by the Aeolian Ladies' Orchestra (with the denouement of 'The Women's Marseillaise' preceded by 'The March of the Women' by Ethel Smyth), and an advertisement for The Suffragette newspaper. The demonstration at the Royal Albert Hall, one of nearly 30 to take place there between 1908 and 1913, took place amidst growing militancy in the W.S.P.U. movement with bombings, arson and acid attacks on property increasingly prevalent. In March, the 'Cat and Mouse' Act was passed allowing suffragettes on hunger strike to be released and re-arrested when well enough to return to prison. On the evening of this demonstration Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the W.S.P.U., was on hunger strike in prison, arrested and convicted for her role in attacking property, including the house of the Chancellor, Lloyd George. The demonstration raised almost £15,000 for the W.S.P.U. but was the last to be held at the Royal Albert Hall (until the partial enfranchisement of women was granted in 1918) after the Trustees banned further demonstrations due to the increasing violence of the suffrage movement.

Not in the British Library or Copac; OCLC records a single copy at Indiana University.

HUGE DEMONSTRATION IN HYDE PARK

25 [SUFFRAGETTES]. WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION. OFFICIAL PROGRAMME OF GREAT SUFFRAGETTE DEMONSTRATION In Hyde Park, Sunday, July 14th, 1912. [London]. Published by E. Marks & Son, 35, Rosoman Street, Clerkenwell. [1912]. £ 750

PLAN OF PLATFORMS.

MARBLE ARCH.

1 Esquires.	3 W.S.P.U. Nancy Lightman.	5 W.S.P.U. Miss Taylor.	7 W.P.U.
21 Church League for Women Suffrage.	2 W.S.P.U. G. Brackenbury.	4 Kair Hardie, M.P. I.L.P.	6 Women Writers.

POLICE. BAND. POLICE.

BAND. POLICE. BAND. POLICE.

BUGLERS.

BAND. POLICE.

20 Irish League.	19 W.S.P.U. Sylvia Washburn. Dr. Fairfield.	9 Mrs. Drummond. W.S.P.U.	8 International.
18 Cymric Suff. Soc.	16 Actresses' League. Decima Moore.	14 Freedom League. Mrs. Despard.	10 Tax Resistance.
17 Men's League.	15 W.S.P.U. Mrs. Leigh.	13 New Con. Soc.	12 W.S.P.U. Mrs. Drailford.


HYDE PARK CORNER.

GROSVENOR GATE.

Authorised by the Women's Social and Political Union.

OFFICIAL PROGRAMME OF GREAT SUFFRAGETTE DEMONSTRATION

In HYDE PARK,
SUNDAY, JULY 14TH, 1912.



Mrs. PANKHURST, Founder and Hon. Sec. of the W.S.P.U.

IN HONOUR OF THE LEADER'S BIRTHDAY.

Published by E. MARKS & SON, 55, Rosoman Street, Clerkenwell.

See "VOTES FOR WOMEN" Issued Weekly. Price 1d.

ORIGINAL PROGRAMME. [17 x 32 cm], pp. 6, folded twice, printed in green and purple, front page with photographic head & shoulders photographic portrait of Emmeline Pankhurst, slightly spotted, otherwise a very good example, and a rare survival.

'Authorised by the Women's Social and Political Union', this is the official programme for the huge suffrage demonstration in Hyde Park which took place on July 14, 1912, the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille and the birthday of Emmeline Pankhurst, founder of the W.S.P.U. The event was organised by the W.S.P.U. together with 12 other societies listed on the first page, including the New Constitutional Society of Women Suffrage, Cymric Suffrage Society, Men's League for Women Suffrage and Men's Federation, &c. Two pages list and give details of the speakers at the 20 platforms, a plan of which is printed on the back panel. The final page includes the musical score and printed lyrics for the song 'The March of the Women', composed by Dr Ethel Smyth.

Not recorded on Copac or OCLC, although copies are located in the Churchill archives and Royal Berkshire archives.

THE MARCH OF THE WOMEN.

By Permission of the Composer,
Dr ETHEL SMYTH



1. Shout, shout,
up with your song! Cry with the wind, for the dawn is break-ing,
March, march, swing you a - long, Wide blows our ban - ner and
hope is wak - ing. Song with its sto - ry, dreams with their glo - ry,
Lol they call and glad is their word, Loud and
loud-er it swells, Thun-der of free - dom, the voice of the Lord!

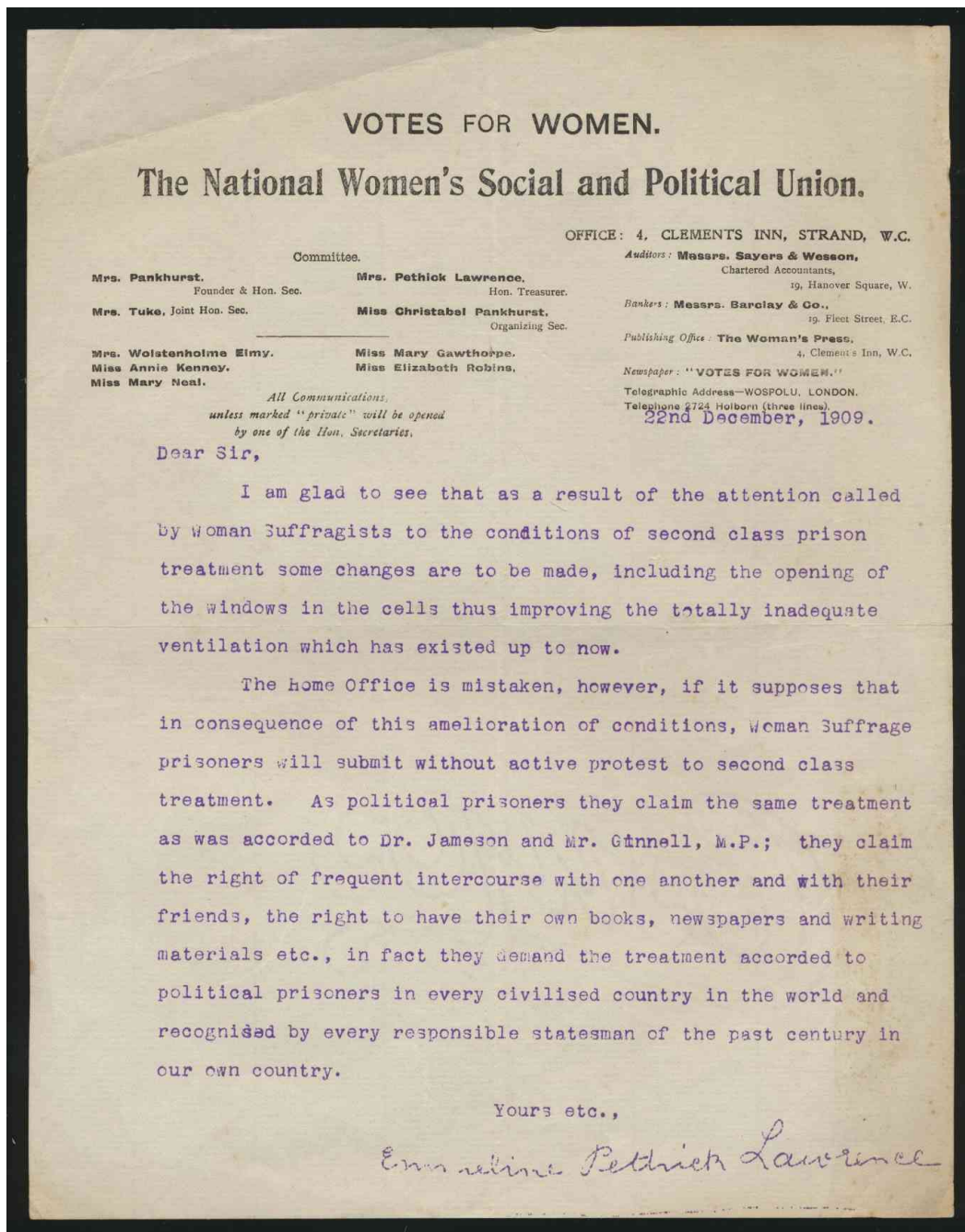
Long, long, we in the past,
Cover'd in blood from the light of Heaven,
Strong, strong, stand we at last,
Fearless in faith and with sight new given,
Strength with its beauty, life with its duty,
(Hear the voice, oh, hear and obey)
These, these hearken us on,
Open your eyes to the blaze of day!

Comrades, ye who have dared,
First in the battle to strive and sorrow,
Scorned, spurned, naught have ye cared,
Raising your eyes to a wider morrow,
Ways that are weary, days that are dreary,
Toll and pain by faith ye have borne,
Hail, hail, victors ye stand, feern!
Wearing the wreath that the brave have

Life, strife, these two are one!
Naught can ye win but by faith and daring.
On, on that ye have done,
But for the work of to-day preparing.
Firm in reliance, laugh a defiance,
(Laugh in hope, for sure is the end).
March, march, many as one,
Shoulder to shoulder and friend to friend!

Music to be had of Messrs. BREITKOPF, 54, Great Marlborough Street, W.

REPRODUCTION FORBIDDEN.



THE TREATMENT OF WOMAN SUFFRAGIST PRISONERS ADDRESSED

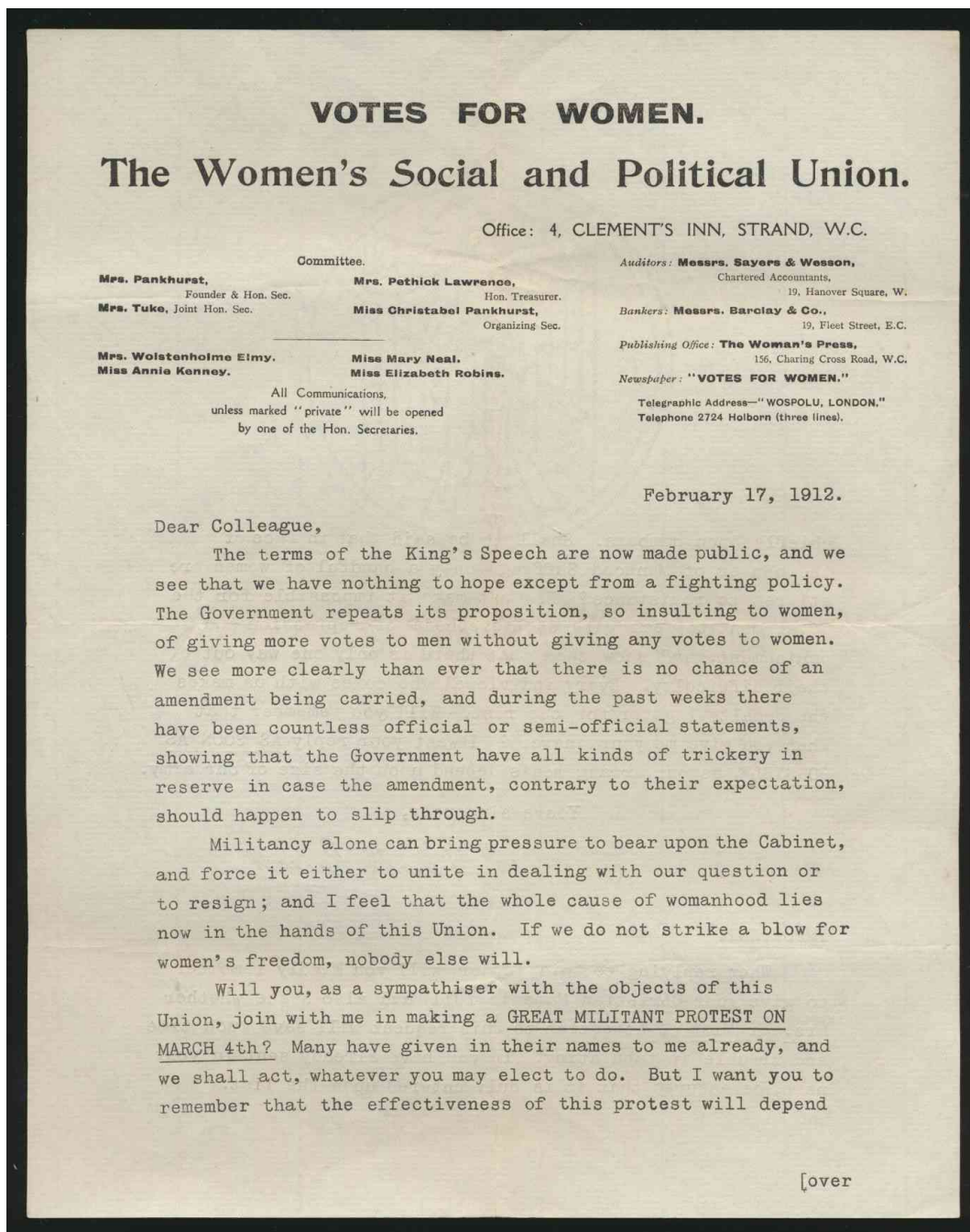
26 **VOTES FOR WOMEN. The National Women's Social and Political Union.** ORIGINAL PRINTED TYPED LETTER BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE, issued from the headquarters of the WSPU, reporting an improvement of conditions for Suffragist prisoners, but no let up in active protest. London, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. [1909]. **£ 350**

Original Printed letter, [26 x 20.3 cm], printed on one side only, with facsimile signature 'Emmeline Pethick Lawrence' at foot, evidence of folding and a few marks, otherwise in very good original condition.

Rare survival of this printed letter by the Emmeline Pethick Lawrence issued from the headquarters of the WSPU in Clement's Inn, reporting on some improvement 'to the conditions of second class prison treatment... including the opening of the windows in the cells and improving the totally inadequate ventilation which has existed up to now'.

She goes further, however, in noting that the Home Office is mistaken 'if it supposes that in consequence of this amelioration of conditions, Woman Suffrage prisoners will submit without active protest to second class treatment... they claim the right of frequent intercourse with one another and with their friends, the right to have their own books, newspapers and writing materials', before concluding 'in fact they demand the treatment accorded to political prisoners in every civilised country in the world and recognised by every responsible statesman of the past century in our own country'.

Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, Baroness Pethick-Lawrence (1867-1954) was a women's rights activist, suffragist and pacifist. She was a leading member and treasurer of the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), organised WSPU's first Week of Self-Denial and founded and edited the newspaper *Votes for Women*. She was eventually ousted from the WSPU in 1913 for her opposition to more militant action and founded the United Suffragists. She was one of the first members of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) and led a campaign against the naval blockade on Germany during World War I.



CALL TO ARMS OF THE WSPU 'ARMY'

27 VOTES FOR WOMEN. The Women's Social and Political Union. ORIGINAL PRINTED TYPED LETTER BY EMMELINE PANKHURST, issued from the headquarters of the WSPU, a call to arms for members following the King's Speech. London, 4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C. [1912]. **£ 450**

Original Printed letter, 26 x 20.5cm, with facsimile signature 'E. Pankhurst' on verso, evidence of folding, otherwise in very good original condition.

Rare survival of this printed letter by Emmeline Pankhurst issued from the headquarters of the WSPU in Clement's Inn, a call to arms following the King's Speech which had just been made public - 'we see that we have nothing to hope except from a fighting policy'.

'The Government repeats its proposition, so insulting to women, of giving more votes to men without giving any votes to women. We see more clearly than ever that there is no chance of an amendment being carried, and during the past weeks there have been countless official or semi-official statements, showing that the Government have all kinds of trickery in reserve in case the amendment, contrary to their expectation, should happen to slip through'.

their difficulty. Every individual who comes with us makes the penalty lighter for the rest. Will you remember that when you give me your answer? I want your reply AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, as our arrangements depend upon the size of our army.

Yours sincerely,

(Mrs.) *E. Pankhurst*

The design of the present letter was that it be distributed amongst members and supporters, and arrange - at short notice - a 'great militant protest on March 4th': 'The date for this protest was set for the evening of 4 March, 1912. The authorities knew of the plan as the Metropolitan Police had a special branch dedicated to watching and infiltrating the suffragettes and their plans. To catch this special branch unawares Emmeline Pankhurst wrote to some of the members asking that they attend on the evening of 1 March to smash windows. This protest therefore occurred over two evenings and over 270 women were arrested as a result. This large number of arrests was an intentional part of the mission — the aim was to over-fill Holloway. Instructions had been issued to glass breakers telling them to smash and stand still until arrested. They all packed bags with the expectation that they would attend the police station, be bailed by the WSPU and, at most, serve seven days' imprisonment. Sentences actually ranged from 14 days to six months, with Emmeline Pankhurst receiving a sentence of nine months' (see <https://historiamag.com/the-window-smashing-suffragettes-of-1912/>).

Pankhurst concludes her letter: 'Every individual who comes with us makes the penalty lighter for the rest. Will you remember that when you give me your answer? I want your reply AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, as our arrangements depend upon the size of our army'.

EMBROIDERED BY A SUFFRAGETTE WHILE IN HOLLOWAY

28 **WILCOX, Cissie.** ORIGINAL LINEN HANDKERCHIEF, stitched with the words 'Worked in Holloway for Dear Mrs Nelson Dec 1911 Cissie Wilcox', and also additionally to each corner (see below). [N.p., but Holloway Prison, London] [December, 1911]. **£ 3,750**

Linen handkerchief [29.5 x 30 cm] with turned edge; embroidered in green and purple at corners and top edge.

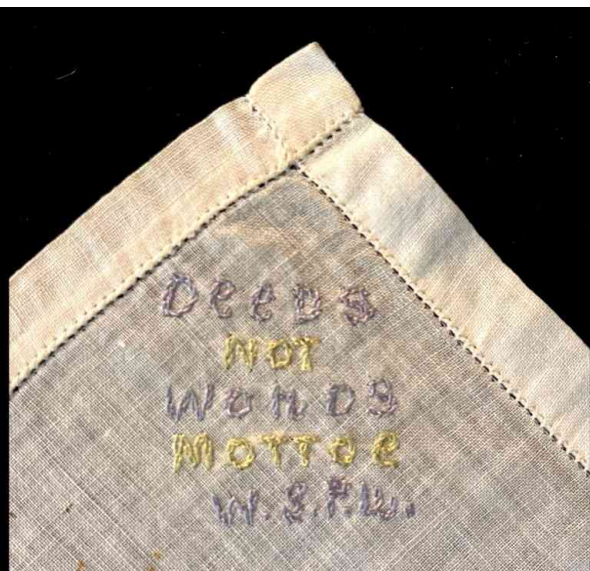
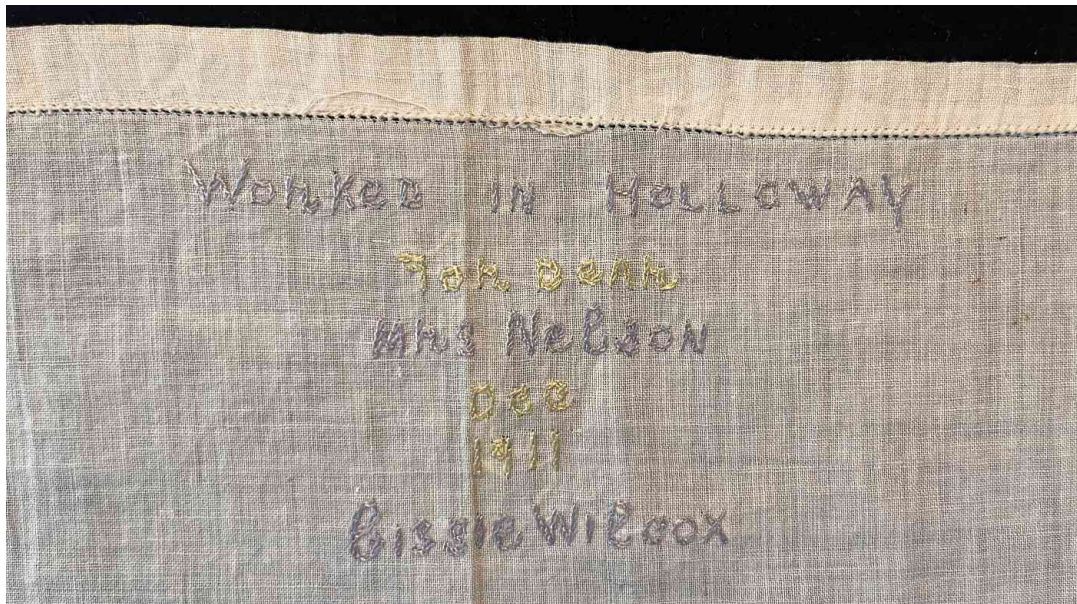
The handkerchief, embroidered by Cissie Wilcox whilst being held in Holloway Prison, records in the corners her three imprisonments for 'Newcastle Hunger Strike 3 Days 1910' - 'Holloway One Month Nov 1910' - 'Holloway Two Months Nov 1911'. In the fourth corner she has embroidered 'Deeds not Words Motto W.S.P.U.' Worked in purple with yellow-green thread on white linen, representing the colours symbolising the Suffragette movement - purple stood for loyalty and dignity, white for purity and green for hope - there are a number of minor errors: the F is reversed in 'For Dear Mrs Nelson' and the abbreviation 'W.S.P.U.' reads 'W.S.P.W.' This is hardly surprising, for Cissie would have worked the handkerchief in near darkness in her cell at Holloway in the midwinter of 1911.

Her first imprisonment was for throwing two copies of *Votes for Women* into the motor car of the cabinet minister Herbert Samuel as he travelled through the High Street in Wallsend to attend a meeting on 4 January 1910. She was charged with 'missile throwing and assault', shouting 'There! Why can't we women have our Rights!' At her trial on the 12th, in her defence she said that she had no intention of doing any harm, as she thought it was a good opportunity for Mr Samuel to learn the truth. She had no previous convictions and was therefore ordered to pay the court costs, which she refused, and so was sent to prison for three days as punishment. Clearly incensed by this injustice, she became an even more enthusiastic Suffragette, and it was reported in March 1910 that she was selling 100 copies of *Votes for Women* every week. By October 1910 she was an organiser of meetings at Blyth and Tynemouth prior to a pageant and bazaar being held by the Newcastle branch of the WSPU. The following month she was part of the suffragette demonstration in London on 18 November 1910, in which 300 women marched to the Houses of Parliament as part of their campaign to secure voting rights for women. This became notorious for the violence meted out to protesters, some of it sexual, by the Metropolitan Police and male bystanders, and is justifiably remembered as 'Black Friday'. Cissie was among the 159 protesters arrested that day, of whom 117 were discharged by direction of the Home Secretary. Cissie was, however, one of the 52 brought before Bow Street Magistrates' Court.



It has been difficult to trace the life of Cissie Wilcox, although her efforts for women's suffrage are fairly well documented. Cissie Wilcox's original name was Mary Ellen Wilcock, the daughter of George Wilcock, a wire-drawer, and Margaret, a mantle maker. At some time shortly after 1900 the family changed the spelling of their name from Wilcock to Wilcox. In suffragette circles Mary was known as 'Cissie', but in court records she is given the names Ellen Wilcock and Cecilia Wilcox, and in the latter years of her life she settled on the name Mary Wilcox, although at the time of her death her name had almost reverted to its original spelling, being registered as Mary Ellen Willcock!

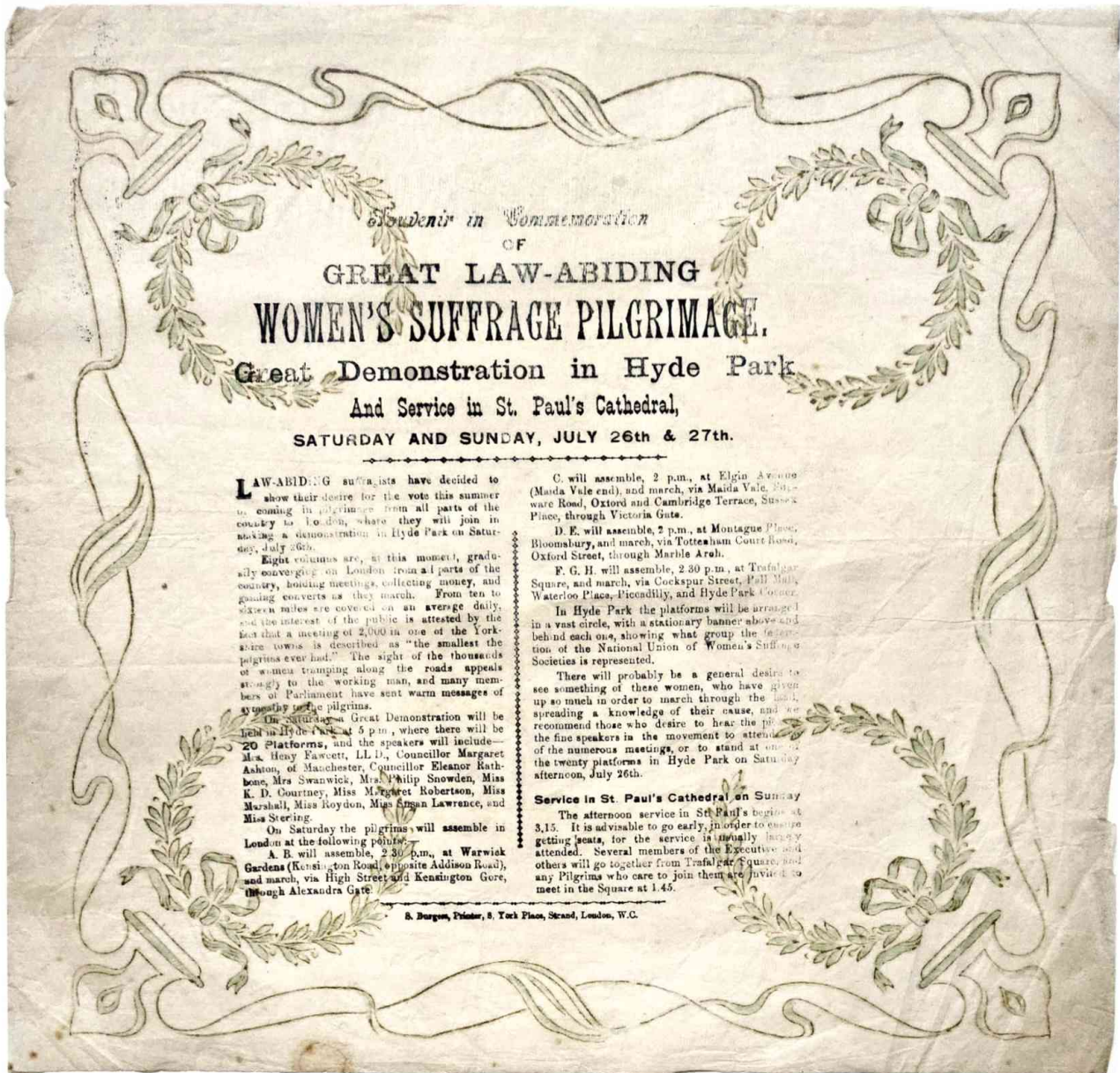
She was certainly working class. Cissie was born on 14 May 1884 at Penketh, near Warrington in Lancashire. At 16 she was working as a domestic servant to a shoe-shop keeper in Warrington. Later, on her mother's death in 1905, Cissie appears to have moved, together with her father and several of her four surviving siblings, all women, to Gateshead, south of Newcastle; or rather she lodged with a labourer's family at 16 Mafeking Street, opposite the tiny house at 9 Mafeking Street where the rest of the family lived. We have no idea how she supported herself from 1910 to 1914, when she became part of the militant suffragette campaign. There is good reason to think that she was a trainee nurse, as we know that Cissie later took up nursing after WWI. Her slightly older sister Eva was at this time employed as a nurse at the City Hospital for Infectious Diseases in Newcastle. Like all good Suffragettes, Cissie boycotted the Census of 1911; two unfilled lines present in the census return of her father's address probably bear deliberate witness to this 'violation of the law'. From 1914 until her death in 1979, Cissie's life is something of a closed book. We know that by the late 1930s she and her sister Eva, who had become a nursing matron, had both retired to Horsham in Sussex. At some point later in her life Cissie moved back to Durham, where she died in 1979.



This leaves open who the handkerchief was actually for. We have not been able to identify 'Mrs Nelson'. There is a 'Mrs Nelson' who gave a shilling as her contribution the Votes for Women £250,000 Fund in July 1911, but as far as we can tell no one of this name was imprisoned and Mrs Nelson may have supported Cissie Wilcox in some other way, now unknown.

Provenance: Originally part of the Lesley Mees Suffrage Collection.

For the full context see: Jones, Denise (2020) *Embroidering and the Body Under Threat: Suffragette Embroidered Cloths Worked in Holloway Prison, 1911-1912*. PhD thesis, University of the Creative Arts. which cites and illustrates a similar handkerchief for 1912 and another small embroidered panel.



HANDY GUIDE

29 [WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE PILGRIMAGE] 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. S. Burgess, Printer, 8 York Place, Strand, London, W.C. [1913]. £ 950

Crepe paper with decorative vaguely 'Art Nouveau' style in green and brown [38 x 37cm (15 x 14.5 inches)], enclosing printed text, a few very minor creases but otherwise in unusually good clean state of preservation.

Rare survival of this napkin souvenir programme, issued to commemorate the 1913 'Pilgrimage' from all parts of the country in support of non-violent means of achieving the vote.

The Great Pilgrimage of 1913 was a non-violent march organised by the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (NUWSS) to campaign for women's voting rights in Britain. Women marched to London from across England and Wales, culminating in a Hyde Park rally attended by around 50,000 people. Proposed by Katherine Harley in April 1913, the march followed six routes converging on London by 26 July. Marchers began setting off from the more distant places of Carlisle and Newcastle in June, carrying banners emphasising their law-abiding and non-militant approach, distinguishing themselves from the more militant suffragettes of the WSPU. Women from all social backgrounds took part, including Lady Rochdale and politician Helen Fraser. The march was carefully organised, with detailed itineraries, accommodation, and transport arrangements. Public meetings were held along the routes, though as was to be expected, some marchers faced hostility and violence along the routes chosen. At the Hyde Park rally some 78 speakers addressed the crowd, and attendees present unanimously passed the motion 'That this meeting demands a Government measure for the enfranchisement of women'.

'By and large, the press reviewed the Pilgrimage kindly. *The Times* had never been a friend of women's suffrage and tended to downplay the numbers in Hyde Park and the credibility of those involved, but other papers were more positive. It could not be denied that it had been a financial triumph: pilgrims collected in excess of £8,000 from audiences along their way. They enlisted hundreds of new supporters too and, in a perfect inversion of precedent, a member of the WSPU complained that suffragette activities were being under-reported, so obsessed were journalists with the suffragists. There were also some less tangible results. The pilgrims had proved that it was militancy that was unpopular, not women's suffrage. More people knew the difference now.' [Robinson]

The program, which is in a remarkable state of preservation given its fragile nature, gives an account of the arrangements of the meeting, including details of where each of the 'pilgrims' arriving from various parts of the country were to assemble, a list of speakers, and other information incidental to the two day event. We have not been able to establish where the text originated, but it was likely supplied by the NUWSS to the printers.

'Though many pilgrims went home on Sunday morning, a good number stayed for the special service at St Paul's Cathedral that afternoon, at which Canon Simpson preached on 'the depression of Elijah'. His sermon was disappointingly dull, ill-advised, and mumbled, and an anticlimactic end to the last few weeks.' [Robinson]

This form of printed souvenir began to gain popularity in the late 1880's when 'blank' crepe paper napkins were imported from Japan, each had a decorative printed and shaped borders that could then be subjected to overprinting in the United Kingdom - sometimes creating rather odd juxtaposition of styles. This example was produced by Sarah Burgess on who more excellent information by Elizabeth Crawford can be found at <https://womanandhersphere.com/2019/09/12/ephemera-mrs-sarah-burgess-printer/>

See Jane Robinson, *Hearts and minds: the untold story of the Great Pilgrimage and how women won the vote*, Transworld Publ., 2018, for the fullest account of this important event.

ORIGINAL SUFFRAGETTE NEWSPAPER PLACARD

30 **[WOMEN'S SOCIAL AND POLITICAL UNION]**. ASQUITH AT BAY, advertisement for *The Suffragette*, no. 47, 5 September 1913. [London]. Printed by The Utopia Press, 44a Worship St., E.C., published by The Women's Press Ltd., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C., [1913]. £ 2,500

76 x 50.5cm., lithograph, printed in the WSPU colours of green and purple, dust-staining, some offsetting, tears and small pin holes at folds.

Rare survival of an original WSPU newspaper placard, with the lead 'ASQUITH AT BAY', cleverly combining two current events.

Asquith, as Liberal Prime Minister, seems to have had an irrational stance and strongly opposed women's suffrage from the 1880s onward, rejecting arguments about political rights and insisting there was little public demand among women for the vote. His resistance made him a major target of suffragette protests by the WSPU, including public harassment and attacks on property. Militancy only seems to have strengthened his opposition. Although many in the Liberal party supported reform, Asquith repeatedly blocked or delayed legislation, partly because he feared women voters would favour the Conservatives. Attempts to link women's suffrage with wider electoral reform failed, especially after parliamentary setbacks in 1913 by conflating the Reform Bill with the enfranchisement of women, which collapsed its passage through parliament.

Asquith found himself cornered and thought to prop up his government by suggesting the Labour leader Ramsay MacDonald join his cabinet. From 1909 the Labour Party had become for all practical purposes part of a tacit progressive coalition with the Liberal Party, together embracing most of anti-Conservative Britain. However, this had the consequence of splitting the Labour Party and MacDonald's position had become weakened. *The Suffragette* saw this as two weak men trying to stay in power - Asquith defending his position and MacDonald, who had supported women's suffrage, as untrustworthy.

The poster also has a secondary meaning, as Asquith, while on a golfing holiday at Lossiemouth in the north-east of Scotland, was attacked whilst putting on the seventeenth green. 'As he came up to hole out, two ladies who were seated on the edge of the green rose to their feet and rapidly approached the Prime Minister. Before he realised what was happening he was seized by the women, each of whom caught hold of one of his

THE SUFFRAGETTE

No. 47.
Sept. 5, 1913.
1d. Weekly.



Edited by
**CHRISTABEL
PANKHURST.**

ASQUITH AT BAY

Printed by the UTOPIA PRESS (7.11 & 48 Hours), 44a, Worship St. E.C., and Published by THE WOMAN'S PRESS, Ltd., Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

arms, at the same time reminding him that justice to women was the one thing which would secure him any peace of mind.' [Votes for Women] This was despite plain clothes detectives carrying out a reconnaissance in search of any trouble. Altogether, it was not a great holiday, as Asquith was also pursued even whilst attending church, all rounded off with a strike by the caddies at the golf course.

The placard includes the emblem of St Joan of Arc within a shield, designed for the WSPU by Hilda Mary Dallas (1878–1958). Trained at the Slade School of Art, Hilda and her sister Irene were both ardent supporters of the WSPU. Irene spent time in prison for her activism and carried the chief banner in the 18 June 1910 suffrage procession.

When the Pethick Lawrence's left the WSPU in October 1912, they took with them their newspaper *Votes for Women*. In response, the Pankhurst's launched *The Suffragette* as its replacement. Around 1910, Hilda had designed a poster for *Votes for Women* depicting a conventionally dressed young woman in the suffragette colours. After the split, however, her new advertising logo for the Pankhurst's reflected their increasingly militant spirit: Joan of Arc is shown as an armoured warrior, wearing the tabard of Justice and carrying a WSPU pennant.

This striking image was also used on correspondence notecards and reproduced as jewellery. The Dallas sisters were closely associated with the Pankhurst's, dining with Christabel and other leading suffragettes in Paris on Christmas Day 1912.

