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DEDICATION.

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

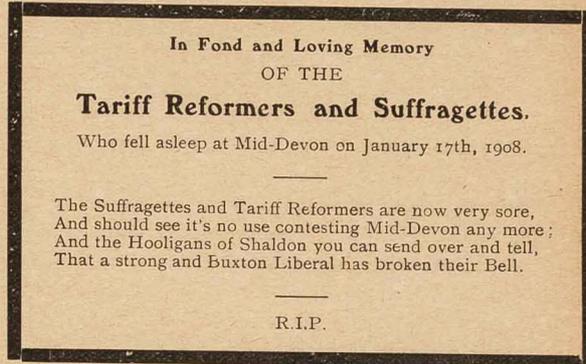
THE OUTLOOK.

Few events have been more startling in the Woman Suffrage campaign than the defeat of the Liberal in Mid-Devon. Mr. Chas. Buxton, the Liberal candidate, had personally many points to recommend him to the electors, and his party were confident of his retaining the seat by a substantial margin. Yet not only was the large previous majority of 1,289 votes completely wiped out, but an adverse majority of 559 was built up. This is the more remarkable in that the seat has never before, even at the high tide of Conservative success, been held by any but a Liberal. Those who had gauged the probable result of the election beforehand from the ordinary party stand-points were quite unprepared for this sweeping victory, and there is not the least doubt that the women who had fought the election with more than their usual energy have the right to claim it as due to their exertions.

Ignoring Women.

It is, perhaps, natural that Conservative politicians and the Conservative Press should ignore the part played by the women, and should announce the result as a victory for tariff reform. It is rather more surprising to find

that the Liberal Press, in spite of its professed advocacy of Woman Suffrage, and its detestation of tariff reform, should prefer to take the same view, and that Mr. Buxton himself, if reported correctly, should be similarly minded. It was otherwise in the constituency during the election, as is suggested by the amusing mourning card reproduced below, which the Liberals got out in over-confidence before the result was declared.



It was otherwise, too, in Newton Abbot after the declaration of the poll, when Liberal rowdies wreaked their vengeance upon Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Martel as the principal agents in their defeat.

The Wirepullers Know.

But whatever the view expressed in public, there is not the least doubt that those in the inside ring of politics on both sides are cognisant of the real facts. Being kept well informed of the details of the election by their agents, it will not have escaped their notice that in the essentially Liberal districts where the tariff reformers were refused a hearing, the women time after time found an attentive and even sympathetic audience. However much the Liberal papers may delude the public, Liberal statesmen know that the Women's Social and Political Union, in its by-election policy, possesses a weapon which can do them serious injury, not merely by losing them a vote in the House of Commons, but by injuring their prestige in the country, the inevitable result of the defeat of their nominees at the poll. It may be true that for the present they prefer to harden their hearts against this form of pressure, but such obstinacy cannot avail them in the long run.

Following Up the Victory.

At present the women are busy following up their victory in other parts of the country. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Massy, and others, are holding enthusiastic meetings in South Herefordshire, and the value of their propagandist work is attested by the correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who, on January 27, wrote:—

On my way from Ledbury to Ross I passed through many picturesque villages. One could not help admiring the energy with which the ladies who are working to secure votes for women are covering the district. On the railings in the small villages I saw

chalked up announcements of meetings which had been held or were to be held. It may safely be said that, whatever may be the result of the election, the representatives of the Women's National Social and Political Union will have carried the question of votes for women into hamlets which neither of the two great parties has reached.

In Worcestershire the Union is represented by Miss Keevil, the Misses Dugdale, and a number of other women who have already made considerable impression on the electors. Miss Sidley has also inaugurated a campaign in Leeds.

Revolt of Liberal Women.

It is also interesting to notice the steady and growing revolt among Liberal women, who are beginning to see that if they are prepared to take a firm line they can compel the Government to accede to their reasonable demands. The Women's Liberal Federation held a crowded meeting in the Queen's Hall, London, on January 24, attended and addressed solely by women. And several of the speakers took up a more vigorous line than has been previously the case. Thus Miss Florence Balgarnie is reported to have said:—

We have been hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Liberal Party too long. We must look out for ourselves.

If these words are in due course followed by deeds, the Liberal Government will find they have more than one enemy to face if they persist in their refusal to enfranchise women during the present Parliament.

Protests at Meetings.

Meanwhile, the Women's Social and Political Union has been pursuing various means of bringing the question before the public. In addition to holding several hundred meetings in the by-elections and all over the country in support of their cause, the members have continued in their protests at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers, where they have been present, in spite of the most elaborate precautions to keep them out. Mr. Asquith, Mr. Haldane, Mr. Birrell, Mr. Winston Churchill, and others have been treated in this way at various places.

The Downing Street Raid.

Another protest which led to the arrest and imprisonment of five women took the form of an attempt to appeal direct to the Cabinet Council in Downing-street. Though the police prevented, as was anticipated, the actual entrance of the women into the Council chamber, one of the women succeeded in making her way into the house, and others, by chaining themselves to the railings, were able to make speeches before being removed. The majority of the public clearly understand that these protests are rendered necessary by the refusal of the Government to be influenced by the orderly agitation which women have been conducting for many years, and by the refusal of the Press to report any proceedings except those which the women have now adopted. The ridicule which in the early days was poured upon the Suffragettes now finds its mark in the Cabinet Ministers, who have gone to every Council meeting since January 17, guarded by a numerous posse of police.

Treatment of the Prisoners.

The women who have acted deliberately with the view of calling attention to the condition of outlawry of their sex, accepted imprisonment without question when given the choice by the magistrate, nor are they likely to make

complaint of the treatment which they receive. But the public, who sometimes imagine that the penalty which these women are content to face is a light one, may like to know that they have none of the easy discipline which is meted out to political prisoners, but are treated exactly as pickpockets or other criminals, and that the Home Office has taken advantage of the fact that Parliament is not sitting to revert to its original method of forbidding the suffrage prisoners the right to see their friends or to receive books or newspapers, and will not mitigate in any way the rigours of prison life, solitary confinement, and prison fare, to which they are subject.

Features of this Number.

The messages of encouragement to women which we publish this month include one from Viscountess Harberton, who, it will be remembered, led the deputation to the House of Commons at the opening of Parliament last year, one from Mr. Lawrence Housman, the well-known writer and artist, one from Mrs. Sennett, who, in spite of her busy life, has for some time devoted time and means to the cause, and one from Mr. Alexander Webster, the man who suffered for his plucky defence of the women at Mr. Asquith's meeting in Aberdeen. Mlle. Claire de Pratz contributes an interesting article comparing the political methods of French women and English women. Mr. Pethick Lawrence writes on "What Votes for Women Means to Men." Miss Sylvia Pankhurst provides a further interesting chapter of her history of the suffrage movement. The accounts of the happenings of the month are also of special interest—the description of the campaign by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the most recent work in the by-elections, and the activities of the local W.S.P.U.'s in different parts of the country. It is impossible to give more than a few quotations from the many interesting paragraphs that have appeared in the Press, but one or two extracts will be found on p. 76.

To New Readers.

In the form in which it appears in this number VOTES FOR WOMEN is issued as a *monthly* newspaper, and contains articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy is charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publications) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly VOTES FOR WOMEN is *not* published a special four-page sheet is issued containing all the principal news of the movement—an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be known as the *Votes for Women Supplement*,* and will be sold for ½d. (by post 1d.).

In the course of the year there will be twelve monthly numbers of the paper, and forty weekly supplements. Subscribers will be able to obtain the paper either through their newsagents, or through local W.S.P.U.'s, or by post direct from the offices of the paper, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The subscription for the year for all the issues and supplements is 7s. 4d., inclusive of postage; for the twelve monthly issues only, 4s.

* The Supplements to the present February number will accordingly be issued on February 6, February 13, February 20, and the March number will be ready on February 27.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

May I be allowed to say that I began with a hearty prejudice against your methods. But in spite of the mendacity and hypocritical concealments of the Press, as soon as your point was made clear to me, I perceived the justification of your action. It is not sufficiently understood that your breaking-up of Ministers' public meetings has only followed the persistent refusal of members of the Government to answer one single question presented peaceably at the ordinary time when questions are invited; and if Ministers prefer to have their meetings disturbed rather than give an answer to that question they are martyrs to their own dishonesty.

So much for your methods. To your cause I have long been a convert. As surely as just legislation for the working man had to wait till Labour itself was enfranchised, so surely will just legislation for women be delayed until the power of the vote is given them. And not just legislation for women only, but for the whole body politic, for we men have but one half of the knowledge, and sometimes less than one-half of the will requisite for right dealing with the community as a whole; and wherever in our laws, or our lack of laws, cruelty and stupidity are most apparent, we are paying the penalty for not receiving into equal counsel with ourselves those who alone can make our insight and vision complete. The only power which can lift our social legislation from its present basis of hard commercialism, accentuated by trade competition and class antagonism, and place it upon a more truly domestic and humane footing, is that which women, when enfranchised, can exercise.

There is no great question before the community which the voices of the women cannot help us to solve; there is no great blot upon our legislation in the past which is not in part a result of that want which you have raised into a public cry.

Lawrence Housman.

The awakened women who are seeking their due share in an adjusted political and economic life are not so much in need of incitement as the men who profess sympathy, yet withhold help.

I therefore ask you to allow me to reproduce the illuminative and inspiring words of Mazzini, addressed to the "sons and daughters of the people" fifty years ago:—"Love and respect woman. Seek in her not merely a comfort, but a force, an inspiration, the redoubling of your intellectual and moral faculties.

"Cancel from your minds every idea of superiority over woman. You have none whatever.

"Long prejudice, an inferior education, and a perennial legal inequality and injustice have created that *apparent* intellectual inferiority which has been converted into an argument for continued oppression.

"In the sight of God there is neither man nor woman. There is only the human being. Like two distinct branches springing from the same trunk, man and woman are varieties springing from the common basis—Humanity. There is no inequality between them, but even as is often the case among men, diversity of tendency and of special vocation. Are two notes of the same musical chord unequal or of different nature? Man and woman are the two notes without which the human chord is impossible.

"Consider woman, therefore, as the partner and companion, not merely of your joys and sorrows, but of your thoughts, your aspirations, your studies, and your en-

deavours after social amelioration. Consider her your equal in your civil and political life. Be ye the two human wings that lift the soul towards the ideal we are destined to attain."

May the Spirit of Ascension possess the wings in sublime strength!

Alexr. Webster.

When Carlyle was made Lord Rector of Edinburgh University his message to the students was, "We bid you hope."

When Miss Ellen Terry was recently asked for a message to beginners, she wrote, "Work, work, work." In trying to uphold our cause, I am inclined to link these messages together, and emphasise the latter.

Dear women, "Work, work, work." Do not let the burden fall on the few, for none but themselves can ever know it is costing them.

Show you can be comrades in a cause—be loyal—stand always by the leaders, remembering their responsibilities, and that they cannot stand the strain for ever. I should say keep "Votes for Women" written on your brains, "Always encourage another Suffragist; she is doing her best; we should be glad to have her." "Never turn your back on an idea which might help the cause, but straight way act on it—act *at once*. Never listen to the nonsense which has been written and discussed as to methods injuring the cause." A great living surgeon has written, "Whatever may be said of methods, always judge of the results." Judge, then, of the results of our past two years. Follow the leaders, and "Work, work, work!"

Maud Arncliffe Sennett.

I rejoice to think that at last the majority of women have come to realise the enormous debt of gratitude we owe to that very small band of women who, in the spring of 1906, made the first effectual move towards liberating Englishwomen from the position of serfdom to which men's laws have hitherto relegated us. I do not know whether the intelligence that perceived the line of conduct which ought to be adopted, or the physical courage that shrank from no pain, danger, or fatigue in carrying out the plans, is the more admirable. But I am confident that nowhere in the annals of history has anything nobler been undertaken. It had the true heroism of a leap into the unknown.

It now lies with all of us, the women of Britain, to follow where these have shown the way, until at last we gain our point. We may not all be able to speak. We may not all be even able to fight. But our moral support we can and ought to give. Silencing criticism, and refusing our friendship, even to "boycotting," to any of those unmanly, unsexed men, who, calling themselves "stewards," have degraded themselves by laying a hand upon any woman who has merely raised her voice at some meeting, to demand the charter of liberty that those very men themselves know is one of their own most valued possessions, viz., enfranchisement. In many ways in private life women might thus bring home to men how the cowardice of their conduct has disgusted all women. And they may be assured that action of this sort will be a powerful lever in helping on the good work.

Florence W. Harberton.

FRENCH WOMEN AND ENGLISH WOMEN.

By Mlle. CLAIRE DE PRATZ.

The author of this article is well known in France as "The Chief Inspectress of Public Charities." She is a descendant of Mme. Sevigné and niece of a former French Premier. There are only four chief inspectresses for the whole of France, and, in addition to this work, Mlle. de Pratz will shortly publish a novel she has written entitled, "Eve Norris."

Mlle. de Pratz, after completing her education in France, came to England and took a course at Queen's College, London. She is at present at work on a French play, which is based on her book, and is to be produced in one of the large Parisian theatres.

She takes a keen interest in the suffrage agitation both in her own country and in England, and has specially contributed the present article to VOTES FOR WOMEN, to show her sympathy with the work that is being done here.

When little French girls are taught history at school, they learn that when the English wanted reforms they went to work in a silent way, getting their rights by degrees, and making their revolution bit by bit. The French, on the contrary, waited, and possessed their souls long in patience, until one day, when things got a bit too strong, they rose in a furious mass, and made the French Revolution, winning all their liberties at once, instead of gaining them one by one like the English. Now, it is very interesting to note that the political methods of the men of England are precisely the contrary of those employed by the modern political Englishwomen, while in France the Frenchwomen have also adopted the reverse methods of their own men.

And there is a very good reason for this. There is a large body of French Féministes who are striving for their rights by uniting in groups, making up leagues, and so forth, and all are most useful in a way, but there is nothing so really efficacious taking place in France to-day as the quiet, concentrated and unanimous effort of all Frenchwomen for their individual enfranchisement. Each woman in France to-day—in her capacity of wife, mother, sister, or friend—is working silently to one end. Each is convincing her own husband or the men around her, and it is astounding to note how in a very few years (since women began to be educated by the French Republic), *féministe* ideas have gained among all the men of France. Of course, to begin with, France is a woman's country. The Frenchman is devoted to the cult of *Woman*. He adores *la femme*, and he is more than nine-tenths convinced that she is the better half of humanity. In his home life, as in his business—be that what it may—he consults his wife upon every detail, and the Frenchman's most intimate counsellor and friend is always his wife, mother, or sister.

Frenchwomen have, therefore, chosen the right means of gaining their ends in their own country. To be *féministe* they must first be *feminine*.

Heart and Soul with the Suffragettes.

What do they think of the methods of the English suffragette? Well, they are heart and soul with her—believe that from one who knows. And they think, too—so far as they can judge (and they rightly believe in the practical common-sense of women all over the world)—that if the Englishwomen think that making rows is going to do the business, then the Englishwoman has chosen the right method for her own country. She must, therefore, make as many public meetings, demonstrations, and rows as she possibly can, since at home she cannot convince the Englishman that the woman's point of view is necessary. For the Englishman who dispenses with his wife's opinion in the management of his own affairs thinks that he can do without it in the management

of the State, whereas the Frenchman, who recognises the value of the feminine point of view in his private interests, is already three parts gained towards realising her importance in the field of politics. For years Englishwomen have asked for their rights courteously and politely, and no one has listened to them, so that now they are acting quite rationally by clamouring for those rights in a loud voice that will be heard all over the country. They are only following the methods of the Frenchmen during the Revolution. And no great Revolution has ever been made by quiet and soft-spoken people.

But the Frenchwoman—who is the idol of France, LA FEMME!—will win her rights rather by Evolution than by Revolution. Her methods would not succeed with the Englishman. That has become evident to us over here, from the manner in which so-called educated men and gentlemen have treated even the most reasonable and refined woman speakers at public meetings in England. Those Frenchmen who read the accounts of some of those political meetings in England, where women were hooted down with the vulgar epithets that hitherto had only been heard outside Whitechapel public-houses, were heartily disgusted with the attitude of Englishmen towards their own women, and in France English suffragettes have consequently gained an enormous amount of sympathy all round because of the coarse persecution they have suffered in their own country. Unfortunately, the sympathies of the men of France will not aid the English Suffragette very much. But the sympathy of the women of France will be helpful. And the Frenchwomen say to the Englishwomen: "Go on in your own way, and we will go on in ours, and in the end we shall win the battle together."

Votes for Women in the Eternal City.

A very interesting—and one would be inclined to think rather unique—gathering, for the Eternal City, took place in Rome during the first week of the New Year.

At the invitation of the two resident lady doctors, Dr. Bensusan and Dr. Taylor, a meeting was held in their house to discuss the need of granting the franchise to women, and the methods employed by the N.W.S.P.U. towards gaining it.

The former subject was dealt with very successfully by Miss Naubet, who represented the London Society for Women's Suffrage. She reviewed the movement from its origin, and showed some aspects of the injustice done to women in denying them the vote.

Miss Mordan, of the N.W.S.P.U., followed with an eloquent speech, explaining the need for immediate legislation, and justifying the methods of the Union.

Numerous questions followed, and were ably answered, and an animated discussion took place, after which the resolution in favour of the immediate enfranchisement of women was put to the meeting by Dr. Taylor, and carried, with one dissentient.

The gathering was a very representative one, there being besides English women, Italian, German, and Belgian women, Frau Wederkind, a co-worker of Dr. Anita Augspurg, and long time a fighter for German women, was present, and helped considerably in the discussion.

We do not know if this is the first women's suffrage meeting Rome has seen, but we hope and think it will not be the last, as much interest was aroused by the meeting, and fresh hope given to those already convinced, who are bound to live far away from the active movement.

WANTED, a highly respectable young Married Couple, without encumbrance, to live in flat; rent free; man to follow his usual avocation, woman to attend to small family and to wait at table.—Address, "200," care of "Votes for Women," Advertisement Department, 4, Clements Inn, London, W.C.

WHAT "VOTES FOR WOMEN" MEANS TO MEN.

BY F. W. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

I think the majority of men by this time are quite reconciled to the idea of women possessing the vote. "I suppose they'll get it some day before very long," or "I don't see why they shouldn't have it," are remarks that are more currently made now than the hostile or contemptuous references which were usual but a little while back.

There have been many reasons for this change of view. In the first place, the average Englishman very rarely takes the trouble to think until he is obliged to do so; up till recently he had never thought at all seriously on the question of votes for women, but somewhere at the back of his mind he had a vague feeling that it was all nonsense, and nonsense of the kind about which he and all his "womenfolk" would do well to remain in ignorance. Now by a process which he has found not wholly unpleasant he has been compelled to think on this question. He has gone to some friend who supplies him with his political make-up for reasons on which to base his long-established prejudice, only to find his friend's logic somewhat unconvincing; it is true that both of them ended their discussion on the first day by some such remark as "But however specious their claim, we know it is all nonsense;" but, nevertheless, his reasoning faculties, once called into action, have gradually made headway against his instinct.

Interest in the Suffragettes.

Another cause for the alteration in his standpoint has been the growing interest which he has taken in the "Suffragettes," whose doings have not infrequently served to make his daily paper exciting when it would otherwise have been dull. He has learnt by this time that they are something very different in appearance and general characteristics from the type of women whom he had early depicted; and his interest has been not unmixed with admiration for the pluck and "cuteness" which they have shown in their militant campaign. Added to this, he has been heard to remark that if *Votes for Women* is going to make all women like the suffragettes, he is not so sure that it is going to be such a bad thing after all.

And here he has struck across a serious truth, for though he would hardly admit it even to himself, he has realised that a woman, like a man, is all the better when she has got something in her life, other than her daily routine, which can serve to fire her interest and fill her with enthusiasm.

But he is still not wholly convinced; he has got a few reservations at the back of his mind, which make his steps towards what he is beginning to regard as the Inevitable, slow and unwilling. In the first place, he still regards woman as a sentimentalist, who if possessed of any legislative influence will use it puritanically, to the exclusion of his means of enjoyment. Here, again, he has been reassured in considerable measure by the *personnel* of the suffragettes, but some of his misgivings remain, and are likely to remain until women, by the actual exercise of the vote, demonstrate that their influence is given not in restraint of innocent amusement, but in favour of healthier and happier conditions for men and women, and particularly for the children, who are women's special care.

Will Women "Play the Game"?

His second objection is harder to embody in any single concrete thought; but it is, perhaps, expressed by saying that "women do not *play the game*." In this he sums up at once his own failure to understand women's actions, their ignorance of the rules and customs and experiences of the external world, and lastly, the difference in outlook between the man and the woman upon life.

It is certainly true that women outside the industrial ranks are not so well acquainted with the general way in which "things are done" as are men. And this ignorance on their part is, and will be, a loss to the community at large so long as they remain inexperienced. But it is just this present movement for the wider independence of women of which the vote is the necessary expression, that is giving to those women the experience of which they are in need. For, contrary to what some men suppose, they themselves have learned to play the game, not by their inherent wonderful cleverness, but by coming into contact with the forces around them. Thus it will not be long before, in this sense, women are able "to play the game" as well as men.

But the game that women will play when they have gained their experience will not necessarily be the same game that men play, and, in fact, it is all the better that it should be different. Men often say: "We do not want women to learn to enter into public life; it is not always of the highest morality, and we would rather that our women remained as they are." Women's code of morality in business can well afford to differ from that the men have adopted. Women's attitude upon political questions will differ also.

How a Man Learns.

When a young man goes into business he is surrounded by advice from all kinds of people. If he is made of any grit at all, he accepts very little of it, but goes straight on with his work in his own way, and when he has made a success of his life his biographers dilate upon the wonderful independence of his mind, which refused to be bound down by ordinary conventions or rules.

Again in the political world, the newspapers of one party are constantly giving advice to the politicians of another. It is hardly possible to open the pages of a Liberal journal without learning how much better the Conservatives would serve their own ends if they changed their policy. Or, again, in the Conservative papers, what a mistake the Liberals are making in acting as they do. I wonder what men would think of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman or Mr. Balfour if they changed their policy or tactics in deference to such criticism. The fact is that men regard all such advice as *part of the game*, and the man wins (as he would do in any other game of bluff) who, having chosen the course which recommends itself most to his judgment, sticks to it until he comes out successful.

In just the same way women, using all the judgment and experience gained in the struggle, will learn to play the game—their own game—and not that of the men.

Finally, men used to dread the entrance of women into "their world," and the competition of women on equal terms with themselves. But while the better of them have always realised that this desire to handicap women in their competition was wholly unworthy of their manhood, and in complete variance with their theories of man's protection of the weaker sex, the more intelligent are also beginning to realise that whatever they have to fear from women's competition on equal terms, they have far more to fear while women are forced to offer their services at rates which undercut those which men are demanding.

The opposition of men to votes for women is far less to-day than it was a few months back. In a little while it will be almost gone. And when the thing is done, as it must be in a little while, men will be not slow to find, as they have in other countries, the advantages which they gain for themselves by Votes for Women.

Joan of Arc.

"Yes! my voices were of God!" she suddenly cried as the last moment came; "they have never deceived me!" Soon the flames reached her, the girl's head sank on her breast, there was one cry of "Jesus!" "We are lost," an English soldier muttered as the crowd broke up; "we have burned a saint."—Green's "Short History of the English People."

"My voices were of God"—lull'd was thy pain,
And thou, a child beneath the forest trees,
Didst hear once more the sweet bells on the breeze,
And in ecstatic dreams didst live again.
The crackling death-brands seem'd but the rain
Falling in spring time on the tender leaves;
Foul ribald words—birds twitt'ring on the eaves,
And fire—God's sunshine sleeping on the plain.
Heroic Maid! Thy voice, through all the years,
Rebukes with strange sweet power our unbelief,
Our apathetic lives, our faithless fears,
And broodings chill, that add to human grief.
If faith and love like thine our hearts could fire,
We, too, should hear the "voices" that inspire.

ANNIE WILLIAMS.

Greetings from the Prisoners.

We have struck another blow for freedom. As usual, we were told on January 17, to "Move on!" I said, "That is just what we women mean to do. We will 'Move on.' Ever forward."

Edith New.

We are carrying on this struggle that will never end except in victory. Who will follow? The sharper the conflict, the shorter it will be. Let our friends never forget this, nor that every sacrifice brings us near to the triumph of justice and freedom.

Flora Drummond.
Elizabeth McArthur.
Frances Thompson.
Olive Smith.

SELF DENIAL WEEK.

February 15 to February 22.

Before the next monthly number of VOTES FOR WOMEN is published, "Self-Denial Week" will have come and gone.

For directly upon the conclusion of the Women's Parliament, which ends on Thursday, February 13, begins this week set aside for strenuous effort on the part of each and all of us for the extension of our movement, and especially for the raising of a great campaign fund.

Already I have received a large number of letters, which augur well for the success of this week of united endeavour, some bringing me valuable suggestions for raising funds, some telling of projects already set on foot, all full of the spirit of enthusiasm and co-operation.

I have set my mind on a large aggregate sum, and I hope that my expectations will be fulfilled—a full war chest means so much to this movement just now. The question as to whether we win votes for women this year may turn on the extent and the success of our militant organisation during the next six months; and our organisation cannot maintain its efficiency, and cannot press home the advantage gained by the courage and genius of our soldiers, if it is hampered by lack of funds.

There are many ways in which everyone, however pressed by home cares or business cares, can help.

1. A special collecting card will be sent out to every member on our membership roll. This card can be hung upon a nail on the walls at home, and every member of the family and every visitor can be asked to give some contribution, or it can be taken from house to house, and be made an excellent pretext for canvassing work. Many converts might be made during this week by house-to-house canvass, and their names added to our membership roll.

2. Special meetings can be held in cottages or drawing-rooms or public halls, and collections taken for the National Campaign Fund.

3. One or two of our local unions are getting police permission for taking street collections. Each local union is ordering its own collecting boxes, and taking the entire responsibility and management of the scheme.

4. Another of our local unions is applying to the manager of the local theatre and music-hall to be granted the opportunity of send-

ing a suffragette to give a ten minutes' speech on votes for women during the interval between the acts, collecting boxes to be afterwards held at the doors by the members of the union.

5. One of our members will arrange a concert in her drawing-room, and charge for admission. Another will organise a whist drive, and send all proceeds to headquarters. Another one will invite herself out to every meal during that week, and will take her collecting card with her everywhere, and give the cost of a week's housekeeping and the proceeds of a week's begging all to the fund! Another member writes, saying that she is going to make marmalade, and exhibit it for sale in her window, with an announcement that the proceeds will go to the National W.S.P.U. Fund.

6. Another suggests that working women should set aside one day's pay, and that women who are well off should spare one week's income.

7. Another, trained in Dresden as a violin teacher, is willing to give lessons, and put the proceeds to the funds.

8. Another suggests that women should let their friends know that they would like to have a subscription for the Union instead of a personal present when their birthday comes round.

9. One more suggestion is that trinkets, jewellery, and valuables should be sent to headquarters to be sold.

Space prevents more here; but a great many other suggestions will be found scattered through the columns of this paper, particularly in the section devoted to the reports from local Unions. The aggregate amount raised during Self-Denial Week will be kept a secret until March 19, when it will be announced at the great demonstration in the Royal Albert Hall.

The spirit which is in this movement is the spirit of self-giving. We know that we have in our midst those who are ready, and have proved themselves ready, to pour out their energy, their life, if they may win thereby this great reform. And we must all be ready to pour out our substance and our money, for this is the least we can do. We thus take our share in the great fight, and we shall thus win our share in the great victory. One and all, let us put forth our utmost endeavour to turn Self-Denial Week to the fullest possible account.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,—All members of the N.W.S.P.U. who have read the account of the women's attempt to lay before the Cabinet to-day women's claim to political rights thrill with admiration at the dauntless courage of some members of the Union. Many say: "If I were only free, I would be one," and in many cases this is true. Many dare not go to prison, for it would entail loss of work, which would mean loss of subsistence, not only for themselves, but for others—their children, their fathers, or their mothers, who may be dependent upon them for their very food, clothing, and housing. But I would suggest that those who are thus situated can help by giving money, say, whenever they read of the imprisonment of one or more members of our Union they send a donation to the Propaganda Fund.

I think it would be a pleasure to those in prison to know that not only were they bringing pressure to bear on a Government who is so despicable as to admit the justice of our cause and yet refuses to do anything to further that cause, but also they would know that indirectly they were helping financially. I would further suggest that all contributions so sent should be marked "Prisoners' Fund," so that our friends in prison on their release might know how much they had earned.

78A, Streatham Hill, S.W.

NELLIE E. SMITH.

PRINTERS

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THE BY-ELECTIONS.

Herefordshire (Ross).

Liberal F. Whitely Thompson.
Unionist Captain Percy A. Clive.

Figures at the General Election were: Lt.-Col. Alan C. Gardiner (Lib.), 4,497; Capt. Percy A. Clive (Cons.), 4,185. Liberal majority, 312.

By the time VOTES FOR WOMEN is in the hands of its readers, almost the last shot will have been fired in the campaign. We are arranging an extensive programme for the last few days, covering final meetings in every part of the constituency. Our work has attracted very considerable attention, as is attested by the extract from the *Morning Post* on page 61.

We had two splendid meetings in Hereford on Saturday, January 25. The women's meeting was capital, for no less than five hundred women were present, and as Saturday is a busy day for the housewife, this was very encouraging. At night the Drill Hall was packed, and people were waiting at the doors long before they were opened. The Mayor and Chief Constable were present, and I noticed a great many clergymen among the audience. It was a bright and enthusiastic meeting, and the points of our arguments gained tremendous applause; and when question time arrived a man's voice shouted, "We are convinced." Again and again they cheered when I said Ross would follow Mid-Devon, Worcester would follow Ross, and so on. Many Liberals were there, and the collections for the day amounted to about £12. What a change in the last few months. The change in the attitude of the Liberal women is striking, and everything shows that the tide is now going strong for us. EMMELINE PANKHURST.

Report of the Ross Centre.

We have had a very busy week in this part of the constituency, having held 13 meetings. Wednesday I went to Hereford for the market day, and Mrs. Massy and I had two most successful meetings, and a large crowd followed to the station to send me off with cheers. On Friday I had quite a novel experience in Whitechurch, at the night meeting, which was to be held outside the Crown Hotel. This village has no street lamps, and I took my stand on a lorry with a candle lantern. Just as I commenced to speak I was struck with a stone, and someone beat on a tin tea-tray. I stopped speaking, and told them if they did not want to hear I did not want to speak, I was rather tired, and should rest until the trap came to take me to the station. I remained sitting on the edge of the lorry about ten minutes, although asked by one or two to proceed with my speech. I was determined not to speak unless the noisy individuals asked me, and after a little consultation among them the noisy ones came up to the lorry and asked me to go on. I said I only wanted to speak to those who wished to hear my side, and as they did not I would just sit there and wait until my trap came up. At this they became anxious to hear me, and promised to listen if I would begin. I spoke 45 minutes, and, true to their promise, not a sound was made or a missile thrown. I kept them one hour and a quarter, and when I went into the hotel for a glass of hot milk before driving to the station, a policeman came in to say the men wished to apologise for their rudeness, and had they known I was only asking for votes like men, they would not have interfered, but if I would come again they would bring every one to hear me, and would assure me of a quiet hearing. Ultimately, I drove off with cheers and requests to "come again."

We are educating with our agitating, and a little more "pestering" in the right quarter may win Votes for Women.

NELLIE A. MARTEL.

Worcester (City).

Liberal Harold Elverston.
Conservative E. A. Goulding.
W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms, 28, Broad-street.

At the last Election the Conservative was returned by a majority of 129.

Jan. 30.—G.W.R. Fitting Depôt, 1 p.m.
Williamson Tinsmiths' Works, 1 p.m.
Diglis Pickling Works, 7.30.
Jan. 31.—G.W.R. Shed Depôt, 1 p.m.
Evans' Vinegar Works, 1 p.m.
Co-operative Hall, Women's Meeting (Mrs. Pankhurst), 3 p.m.
Sheep Market (Mrs. Pankhurst), 7.30.
Debate in the Victoria Institute, 7.30.

Feb. 1.—Sheep Market, 7.30.
Feb. 3.—Dent's Glove Works, 1.30.
Webb's Horsehair Works, 1.30.
Baylis's Printing Works, 7.30.
Sheep Market, 7.30.
Feb. 4.—Heenes and Froude's Iron Works, 1.30.
Lea and Perrin's Sauce Factory, 1.30.
Sheep Market, 7.30.
Feb. 5.—Bourne and Grove's Saw Mills, 1.30.
McNaught's Carriage Works, 1.30.
Star Hotel Reception (Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence), at 3.
Edgar Street, 7.30.
Sheep Market, 7.30.
Feb. 6.—S. John's Railway Employees, 1.30.
Schett and Co., Seed Merchants, 1.30.
Carpenter's Brewery, 1.30.
Diglis Townsend's Flour Mills, 1.30.
Pitchcroft, 7.30.
Sheep Market, 7.30.
Feb. 7.—Expected date for polling.

Every Day.—Women's Meeting, at 3 p.m., in the Committee Rooms.
Public Meeting, at 7.30, in the Committee Rooms.

Work in Worcester is now in full swing. We have got fine committee rooms at 28, Broad-street, which are the centre of an interested crowd all day. And we have arranged an extensive programme of meetings, including dinner-hour meetings outside various works in the constituency, meetings for women in the afternoon, in the committee rooms and public meetings in the evening.

There is as yet no active campaigning on behalf of the candidates, as the writ has not yet been issued; but as soon as that is to hand, the election will begin in earnest.

Miss Una Dugdale and Miss Joan Dugdale have helped us all last week, and we have now the assistance of Miss Joachim, Miss Gibbs, and the Misses Brackenbury, and as soon as the Herefordshire by-election is over we are looking forward to the coming of Mrs. Pankhurst and several of her workers from there.

We find that VOTES FOR WOMEN is already beginning to excite a great deal of interest in the town, and we mean to invoke that interest to good purpose before polling day comes round.

GLADICE KEEVIL.

South Leeds.

Liberal Mr. William Middlebrook.
Conservative Mr. Reginald Neville, K.C.
Labour Mr. J. Pointer (Pattern Maker).

The figures at the General Election were: Sir J. L. Walton (L.), 6,200; Albert Fox (Lab.), 4,030; Sir H. F. Lucy (U.), 2,126.

Jan. 30.—Larchfield Mill, Don sthorpe-street, 12.30.
Fowler's Steam Plough Works, Leathley-road, 12.30.
Briggate, 7.30.
Jan. 31.—Potter Dale Mill, Dewsbury-road, 12.30.
Low-road Mill, Low-road, 12.30.
Penyhill, 7.30.
Feb. 1.—Hunstet Moor, 3 p.m.
Cross Flats Park, 3 p.m.
Briggate, 7.30.
Feb. 2.—Hunstet Moor, 3 p.m.
Feb. 3.—Hunstet Flax Mill, Balm Beck, 12.30.
Chemical Works, Jack-lane, 12.30.
Carpet Mill, Clarence-road, 12.30.
Penyhill, 7.30.
Feb. 4.—New Pottery and Glass Works, Jack-lane, 12.30.
Brick Kilns, Hillidge-road, 12.30.
St. Helen's Felted Woollen Cloth Factory, Grape-street, 12.30.
Briggate, 7.30.
Feb. 5.—Steam Engine Factory, Water-lane, 12.30.
Cloth Mill, South Accommodation-street, 12.30.
Flint Mill, Jack-lane, 12.30.
Penyhill, 7.30.

We have lost no time in getting to work at Leeds. On Saturday, January 25, Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Baines held the first big meeting, and Miss Pankhurst and I held another on Sunday. It is expected that with the beginning of February we shall have a number of helpers, some of whom will come on to us from Herefordshire.

MARGUERITE SIDLEY.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

February, 1908.

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

BODKIN TACTICS.

By the time this paper reaches the hands of our readers it will be known whether the twenty men who form the Liberal Cabinet have decided to acknowledge or to resist the claims of women to enfranchisement.

If the King's Speech contains a promise to introduce a Bill to give VOTES FOR WOMEN during the present Session our readers will understand that these men have chosen the wiser course of acting before compulsion is brought to bear upon them.

If the King's Speech is barren of any such promise, they will recognise that they intend to go blindly on in the belief that they are strong enough to withstand the women's demand.

Whichever course the members of the Cabinet adopt, the agitation will proceed with redoubled energy, in the one case to support them in their determination; in the other, to bring to bear upon them every available means of attack.

The women taking part in this movement know how vulnerable these men are, who, temporarily placed in a position of authority, are apt to imagine themselves above the common herd of men and women.

The women know how much their weapons (which Mr. Haldane calls bodkins) have troubled those at whom they have been directed. They know that they have injured them not merely politically, but personally.

They know that the defeat of a Liberal candidate at a by-election is a far greater loss to a party than can be measured by the loss of a single vote in the House of Commons.

They know how serious is the wound inflicted on the personal vanity of a Cabinet Minister when his best prepared utterances at a meeting are lost in the interest taken in a Suffragette interrupter, or when some fellow club man chaffs him about his continuous police escort and his elaborate precautions to exclude the women who cannot be excluded.

They understand the isolation in which these men are placed when the support of the country is removed from them, and when their prestige is gone.

For the power of these men does not rest on the fact that their intellectual or moral stature towers head and shoulders above their fellows but, upon the consent and approval of the public.

There is no doctrine of the divine right of Cabinet Ministers to which they can turn for succour. They are merely the superstructure supported by the will of those whom they govern.

The work of the women is directed towards the removal of the corner stones by which this superstructure is held up.

Up to the present enough of them remain in position to leave the building erect, and those who do not understand the signs of the times are apt to suppose that nothing effective has been accomplished.

But those who are wise know better. They see the coming catastrophe, and they wonder whether the Liberal Government will see it also before it is too late.

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

During January, we have made many successful protests at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers. Every conceivable precaution is taken to prevent the entrance of militant suffragists, but these precautions prove to be unavailing.

Lord Crewe, who is said to be one of the strongest opponents of Woman Suffrage in the Cabinet, was effectively heckled at Watford.

On January 15, Mr. Asquith spoke at Lancaster, and the one "Suffragette" present competed most successfully with him for the attention of the audience. So densely crowded was the hall, that the stewards were unable to eject her. Another source of embarrassment to Mr. Asquith was the fact that cheers from the woman suffrage meeting outside and at times the voice of the speaker herself, could be heard by his own audience and himself.

Immediately after Mr. Haldane had publicly advised Suffragists to be patient, two of his meetings were visited by members of the Union, who made such pointed interjections on Woman Suffrage that he must have felt greatly discomfited. It is interesting to note that in the course of one of his speeches Mr. Haldane, on being interrupted by a woman, said that the strong arm of the law must be invoked to deal with suffragettes, and in the next breath very inconsistently proceeded to state, *à propos* of political agitation conducted by men, that "you cannot coerce a democracy." It is the business of this Union to prove to Mr. Haldane that these words of his are true, not only as regards men, but as regards women too.

Mr. Birrell at Reading.

Mr. Birrell's visit to Reading was made the occasion of a vigorous protest. At the close of the meeting he remarked that notwithstanding what had happened he was still in favour of Woman Suffrage, and this is interesting, as showing that our Ministerial opponents begin to realise that we are not to be moved from our course by threats, and that for them to say they will cease to believe in Woman Suffrage makes matters worse for them instead of better. A big indignation meeting was held outside the hall by the ejected women. So much interest was excited in the town as the result of our protest that the success of the women's meeting which we shall hold there in the Public Hall on the evening of February 6, is assured.

On the same evening Mr. Winston Churchill reappeared in his constituency after a long absence, and though he is not a member of the Cabinet, we felt that a protest on our part was called for. It elicited from him a half jocular reference to our by-election policy, and its effect on the political situation in North-West Manchester.

On January 24, Mr. Asquith spoke at Norwich, and at this meeting, perhaps the most successful of all our protests was made.

The Union was represented at the opening of the rifle range on January 27. Mr. Haldane having said that he hoped the patriotism of the boys would develop with their physical training, a woman Suffragist stood up and exclaimed: "They are patriotic because they have the franchise." The interrupter was promptly removed, and Mr. Haldane said he trusted there would be no more interruptions, which were both irrelevant and tedious. A second Suffragist then made a remark, and as she was hustled out of the hall a flash-light photograph was taken of the scene. In proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Haldane, Mr. Rufus Isaacs said that evidently Suffragists, like Cabinet Ministers, had no rest.

The Mid-Devon triumph came almost as a surprise to ourselves, although those actually working in the consti-

tuency well knew that they were turning votes at every meeting. Lifelong Radicals and men who usually hold aloof from party politics voted "for the women" against the Government. The Tariff Reformers wish to claim credit for the victory, while official Liberals prefer to allege Protection rather than Woman Suffrage to be the cause of their defeat. Nevertheless, it has proved impossible entirely to conceal the fact of our influence from the public eye. Mr. Charles Buxton's very denial that we affected the result, and the violent attack upon Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Martel by some of the Newton Abbot Liberals are significant to those who can read between the lines.

Our Policy Effective.

It is evident that the by-election work of the Union is to play a large part in bringing about the surrender of the Cabinet. At each by-election we are able to appeal with increased effect to the electors. Our militant action is firing the imagination and arousing the interest of the men voters, and they are now ready to range themselves on the side of the women as against the Government. The Mid-Devon success must be followed by others.

We have already had a very successful campaign in Herefordshire, where the polling takes place on January 31. Mrs. Pankhurst has had a most enthusiastic reception, and we are confident of defeating the Government nominee and losing the Liberal party another vote in the House of Commons.

Polling will take place during February at Worcester and South Leeds, and elections at Cheltenham, Reading, and North-West Manchester are probable. The Union will take an active part in all these contests.

At Worcester we hold each day in the committee room an afternoon meeting for women, and a general meeting in the evening. In addition there are numerous other open-air meetings.

Our first meeting was held in South Leeds on Saturday, January 26, and the earnestness and sympathy shown by the audience made us feel hopeful of a great victory on election day.

The Women's Parliament on the 11th, 12th, and 13th of this month and the by-election campaigns will not prevent us from doing educational work in various parts of the country during February, and several public meetings are already arranged. On and after February 3, the National Committee will be at home every Monday from 4 to 6 in the Small Portman Rooms, Baker-street, W. (Dorset-street entrance), and there will be a similar gathering every Thursday evening from 8 to 10 at 4, Clements Inn.

Our Nottingham friends intend to organise a strong local movement. The way has been prepared by the work of Miss Lamb and Miss Gye, who spent several weeks in the town; the exciting meeting which we held recently in the Mechanics' Hall, and the protest at Mr. Asquith's meeting have also helped.

That our by-election campaigns, beside affecting the poll, produce permanent results was proved by the success of the reception and demonstration in the Assembly Rooms, Hull, on January 15. The speakers had a most friendly reception, and a sum of about £60 was given and promised. A local Union has been formed, and the local members intend to be represented at the Women's Parliament in Caxton Hall, and to raise a large sum of money for the national campaign fund in Self Denial Week.

The Birmingham members have been busy throughout January with preparations for the Town Hall meeting held on the 31st.

In Lancashire Miss Annie Kenney, and in Yorkshire Miss Adela Pankhurst, have, with the assistance of local workers, been conducting special campaigns amongst women, and the result has been very encouraging. Proposals to curtail their employment and the example of the militant Suffragists have stirred the North of England women to a new and greater interest in the vote, and they flock to our meetings in a way they have never done before. The Lancashire Committee meets early in February in Preston, and will discuss many plans for strengthening the movement in the North.

During the past few weeks work has been done and meetings addressed at Ilkeston, Reigate, Bury, Manchester, East Ham, Maidstone, Brighton, St. Albans, Reading, Norwich, Brixton, Clapham, and Chelsea. At the Chelsea meeting, held in the Town Hall, not only were many offers of help made, but about £180 was raised.

On January 23, there was an important meeting in the Horticultural Hall.

At Hull, Brixton, and North St. Pancras our representatives have addressed Liberal audiences on the subject of the methods of the W.S.P.U.

We have been active in Scotland. New offices have been opened at 141, Bath-street, Glasgow. Miss Helen Fraser and Miss Mary Phillips have held a series of meetings in East Fife, Mr. Asquith's constituency. Mr. James Murray, M.P., arranged that I should speak at the annual social gathering of the Women's Liberal Association at Turiff. On the following day there was a large meeting in Aberdeen, attended by the leading Liberal women and by others representing all parties. Nearly all those present voted in favour of Woman Suffrage, and the explanation of the new tactics was received with great favour. A few days later Mrs. Pethick Lawrence went to Scotland, where she addressed several meetings in Aberdeen and Glasgow.

Downing Street Protest.

The protest at 10, Downing-street, on the occasion of that Cabinet meeting on which the King's Speech was drafted, proved highly effective. Mrs. Drummond nearly succeeded in entering the Cabinet Room itself. The use of chains and padlocks to prevent the speedy removal of the demonstrators by the police excited the greatest interest. Very severe treatment was meted out to those arrested, for they have been sentenced to three weeks' imprisonment, under the same conditions as those imposed upon ordinary criminals. Our friends will leave Holloway Prison on Thursday, February 6, at eight o'clock in the morning, and will attend and speak at a breakfast at Eustace Miles' Restaurant, Charing Cross, at 9.15. Several members of the Union will welcome them at the prison gates. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN are invited to attend the breakfast, tickets for which, price 2s., may be obtained at 4, Clements Inn.

The released prisoners will speak on Monday afternoon, February 10, in the small Portman Rooms, Baker-street (Dorset-street entrance).

To ensure the success of the Women's Parliament is now the chief business of the Union. The place of meeting is the Caxton Hall, Westminster. The Women's Parliament will assemble at 3 o'clock on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, February 11, 12, and 13. In the evening of each day there will be a public meeting for women. Admission to the Parliament is 2s. 6d. and 6d. The tickets are on sale at 4, Clements Inn.

It is impossible to over-estimate the importance of this Women's Parliament. The newspapers are clamouring for information as to what we intend to do if the Government do not undertake to introduce a Women's Enfranchisement Bill. There is keen interest in our agitation, and if

the attitude of the Government makes it necessary for us to take militant action we shall have much public support.

The courage and determination shown hitherto by the members of the Union are bringing the people to our side. We must now be more ready than ever to prove that we are in earnest.

As to the Government, they are undoubtedly affected by our agitation, and the loss of support which our opposition means to them at by-elections, and the contempt and ridicule which they suffer in consequence of their ineffectual attempts to escape our protests, are certainly making them doubt the expediency of withholding the franchise from women.

The question now is, which side has the stronger will, the greater power of endurance, the women or the Government. Surely the women, because they have right on their side. The one thing needful is for every woman who wants the vote to feel her personal responsibility, and to realise that it is her duty to help to create a political crisis which shall force the Government to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

At the Women's Parliament women will have this opportunity of striking an effective blow for the political freedom of their sex. It may be many years before political conditions are so favourable to success as they are at present. We have the ear of the public, no more absorbing issue is to the fore, and it is essential that we should strike while the iron is hot and demand this Session the enfranchisement of women.

TO THE "SUFFRAGETTES."

DEAR SISTERS,—

You who are facing hardship and danger, and risking your lives for the cause of justice to women and the elevation of the race, please let me offer you my humble tribute of respect and sympathy.

I recognise you as belonging to the noble army of reformers and martyrs who, not excepting the Prince of Peace Himself, have in all ages been treated as pestilent disturbers of the peace.

Yours is the spirit of that gentlest and most determined of anti-slavery advocates, William Lloyd Garrison, who said:—"I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard." He was dragged through the streets of Boston, Massachusetts, with a rope round his neck, and barely escaped being done to death. But he lived to see the triumph of the cause for which he had suffered. May you be similarly rewarded!

Though fighting so strenuously against evil, he was a non-resistant. In your struggle, too, all the violence and ferocity are on the side of oppression. Recent accounts of the treatment some of you have received have made my heart burn with indignation; but I rejoiced to note, as even the report in an adverse paper showed, that though hustled, ill-used, and arrested, you remained reasonable, good-tempered, and cheerful, that while *fortiter in re*, you were *suaviter in modo*.

In the hostile paper above alluded to, I was surprised and pleased lately to see the remark that if women really desire the franchise they ought to have it, but the writer concluded by expressing doubts as to their caring for it. You have proved that we are in earnest. You have forced the subject into the light of common-sense, and made more glaring the anomaly of one-half of our race monopolising the regulation of matters which equally, or even more, concern the other half, classing women with criminals, imbeciles, and irresponsible children. You are rendering more obvious the contrast between the professed chivalry and the intrinsic barbarism of men. The gentleman slams the door in the lady's face, and refuses to listen to her, and if she persist in trying to make her voice heard, he sets his minions upon her, and has her dragged off to prison.

I am old and infirm, but even were I young and strong, not being cast in your heroic mould, I could not join your ranks. But I can admire your devotion and self-sacrifice, and at least contribute a little towards the needful sinews of war.

In conclusion, let me add that I am not only a woman, but an Irishwoman, and while desiring justice for my sex, I desire also justice for my country, suffering analogously from the arbitrary misrule of her dominant partner.

Yours for the right,
DUBLIN. DEBORAH WEBB.

WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS.

AMERICA.

The first Suffrage open-air meeting has been held in New York. And oh, the sensation of the headlines which announced the occasion! NEW YORK—BEWARE! FEMALE REVOLUTIONISTS! "FIRST GUN FIRED!" And then, after all, a crop of very favourable and flattering reports. Here is one:—

The first gun in the warfare of the American suffragettes for the possession of the ballot was fired yesterday afternoon in front of the Metropolitan Life Building, Madison-square, by Mrs. B. Borrmann Wells, of England, while a score of cameras were levelled upon her from the tops of covered wagons that were conveniently scattered about the neighbourhood. The weather was bitterly cold, and the few clubwomen who had ventured out to see the fun, and found at three o'clock, the hour set for the meeting, not a suffragette in sight, predicted that they would not come, having been frightened out probably by the combined fear of inclement weather and public odium. But such prophets knew little of the mettle of the suffragettes, for before many minutes Mrs. Wells was seen standing on a trestle in front of the Metropolitan. Immediately the curious ones hastened thither. Reporters and photographers converged toward the same spot from all points of the compass, and in a few minutes a crowd had collected.

Two mounted policemen hovered upon the outskirts of the crowd, but the people gathered, not to make disorder, but to listen. And if those who threatened beforehand to break up the meeting were present at all, they kept entirely in the background, and altogether escaped notice.

New York had its sensation, and pronounced the first open-air Suffrage meeting "an unqualified success."

"Several people gave in their names as converts," writes Mrs. Borrmann Wells, in a letter to headquarters, and adds: "For the first time in my life I have deserved the name of 'Suffragette,'—and—I am proud of it.

"Before the meeting I had opposition right and left, the ladies were shocked beyond measure, it was not ladylike, not the American key, &c., &c., *ad nauseam*; but, since the meeting and the merciful reports, I have every reason to believe that this kind of agitation will be continued, and eventually become as energetic and effective as ours at home.

"Next Tuesday the second meeting is to take place—banners, buttons, and literature are in readiness, and I trust it will be a great success. I trust that from now the Americans fall into rank. Their action must, I feel sure, have its effect on the English movement, for the women will feel that thrill of fighting for one common cause side by side. It is that thought which has animated me, and it is of intense gratification that although I cannot fight with you in England I can still further the cause of the women."

Mrs. Borrmann Wells is right. A new sense of union and fellowship is growing amongst women all over the world, which is a great inspiration to those who are working to-day for the emancipation of their sex.

RUSSIA.

"Look in my eyes; see how they are full of light, how joyful they are. Well, then, let us smile and embrace. Forgive your Tola! She loved you very much, very much. Then she began to love all humanity, and now she has given herself to mankind."

These are the words written by a Russian girl who has lately been executed for taking part in the Russian Revolution—written in a letter to her mother a few hours before the death sentence was carried out.

In Russia to-day the Revolution depends, as in all times and in all countries great movements have depended in their early difficult stages, on the courage and devotion of women. When the reward comes and movements are successful, then, ah! then, women are told to go home and cook the dinner.

When the Church called for martyrs, then there was no sex exclusion—women as well as men could be exposed to torture, shame, and death—but when the Church wants prelates and dignitaries, then women must remember that seclusion becomes them better than publicity.

So it is with the modern Labour party in this country, which, in the first difficult days, was founded on the labour and sacrifice of its Caroline Martyrs, who in their self-devotion went, for its sake, to their early grave; but now that it is a Parliamentary party, and has grown strong and important, throws aside the

claim of women to equal political status. Will it be so in Russia? It is likely that history will repeat itself—and the Russian Revolution, if ever it becomes triumphant, will keep the yoke of political and social servitude upon the shoulders of the Russian women. E. P. L.

HORTICULTURAL HALL MEETING.

The first of the great London meetings which are to mark the New Year was held on Thursday, January 23, in the Horticultural Hall. In spite of a dense fog a large number of women came to listen to the speeches, and over £150 was raised in collection and promises.

Members learnt with regret that Mrs. Martel, who had been advertised to speak, would be unable to be present owing to her important engagements in Ross, Herefordshire. But Mrs. Pankhurst was on the platform, none the worse, except for a slight limp, from the severe handling she had received in Newton Abbot.

The chair was taken by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, who recounted the great and rapid advance which the movement had made in the last few months; already the members of the Cabinet had found it necessary to step down from their high pedestal of disdain, and to begin to argue with the women; in a little while longer they would find that not argument, but action, and that along the lines which the women were demanding, would be required.

Mrs. Montague, from Devonshire, then moved and Viscountess Harberton seconded a vote of sympathy and congratulation with the prisoners now serving three weeks in Holloway for the cause. The vote was carried unanimously. (It may be mentioned here that they are not allowed to see friends, or to have papers, but are in the second division. They are expected to be released on the morning of February 6, when a breakfast will be given to them at the Eustace Miles' Restaurant. Tickets are 2s. each.)

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence moved the second resolution formulating the demand of the women that an Enfranchisement Bill should be included in the promises of the King's Speech.

She spoke of the pressing need of women to obtain the vote without delay; she showed up the sinister character of the attempt to curtail by law the labour of women, pointing to the fact that it was not the low-grade, poorly-paid labour of women that was being attacked, but the highly-paid work in the textile industry.

Mrs. Pankhurst, who was greeted with great applause, told of her experiences in Mid-Devon, and prophesied that the same enthusiasm which had been aroused there in favour of the Votes for Women campaign, and which had defeated the Liberal candidate, would be aroused in Herefordshire, in Worcester, in South Leeds, and in North-West Manchester. She called upon all women to take their part, by demonstration, by protest, by by-election work, and by contributing to the war chest of the Union.

In response to her appeal various women rose in different parts of the hall and gave promises of financial assistance, a total sum of £150 being forthcoming from the meeting.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence, speaking as a man to women, said it was usual for men to think they could give advice to women, and he was not going to be an exception. But his advice was that they should not be led away by men's advice, but should play their own game in their own way. The Liberal papers were always advising the Conservatives what they ought to do, and the Conservatives were always advising the Liberals; but such advice was never taken, it was only intended to catch a few wobblers. In just the same way men's criticism of women's doings would only catch those women who were half-hearted, and the real respect of thinking men would be gained by those who were uninfluenced by it.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

MISS FOLKARD,

Artistic Dress and Mantle Maker,

3, HILL'S PLACE, OXFORD CIRCUS, W.

Ladies' Materials made up in January and September.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. V.—*The Married Woman's Property Act.*

In the whole history of the Women's Movement there is perhaps no greater achievement on record than that of the passing of the series of Acts for the benefit of married women, which culminated in the Married Woman's Property Act of 1882.

Now let us review briefly the most outstanding features in the agitation which led up to the enactment of this great reform.

In 1855 Mrs. Norton printed and circulated amongst her friends a letter on the wrongs of married women, entitled, "A Letter to the Queen." In the same year Lord Lyndhurst pledged himself to do something to remove those wrongs. About the same time, too, Miss Barbara Leigh Smith (Mrs. Bodichon) published a pamphlet on the law of England, as it affects women, which she brought to the notice of Lord Brougham, and also submitted to the Law Amendment Society (afterwards incorporated with the Social Science Association). The Law Amendment Society took the matter up, and referred the consideration of the law of property as it affects women to the Personal Laws Committee. Having carefully inquired into the state of the English law, and also that of other European countries, and the United States, the committee submitted a report, and recommended that the Common Law rules making marriage a gift of all the woman's personal property to the husband should be repealed, and that she should be entitled to make contracts to hold her own property and earnings, and to will or dispose of them as she pleased, as if she had been unmarried. On these lines a Bill was drafted by the Society.

Meanwhile, largely through the efforts of Mrs. Bodichon, Mrs. Mary Howitt, Mrs. Bridell Fox, Miss Bessie Parkes (Madame Bellec), and Mrs. Jameson, a committee was formed in London, with Mrs. Howitt as secretary, and the first agitation for the Married Woman's Property Act was begun. On March 14, 1856, Lord Brougham presented to the House of Commons a petition in support of this reform, signed by upwards of 3,000 women. In presenting a similar petition, Sir Thomas Erskine Perry gave notice that he would move for a Parliamentary Committee to consider the subject. A petition from Liverpool, with 5,914 signatures, was presented by Mr. Ewart, and 70 other petitions were presented during the Session.

On May 20, Lord Lyndhurst raised the question of married women's property in the House of Lords, and on June 10, Sir Erskine Perry moved in the House of Commons:—"That the rules of Common Law, which give all the personal property and earnings of a woman on marriage, and all subsequently acquired property and earnings to the husband are unjust in principle and injurious in operation." The Attorney-General (Sir A. E. Cockburn) asked that the resolution, in which he cordially concurred, should not be pressed, as after consultation with the Lord Chancellor (Lord Cranworth), he hoped that during the following session the Government would be able to introduce a measure dealing with this question. He hoped that his hon. and learned friend would be satisfied with this assurance. This pledge was, however, never carried into effect. On May 15, 1857, Sir Erskine Perry, whilst expressing regret that the Ministry had not dealt with the question, asked leave to bring in a Married Women's Property Bill. The Attorney-General did not oppose the introduction of the Bill, but he appears to have receded considerably from his position of the previous year.

On July 15, the second reading of the Bill was carried by a majority of 55, the ayes being 120 and the noes 65. The Bill was "committed" for the following Wednesday, but did not come on, and was ultimately dropped. The explanation given by Sir Erskine Perry was that a Divorce Bill, which was before the House of Lords, had, in a measure, "taken the wind out of our sails," because it contained clauses which dealt with some of the more exaggerated evils under which the wives of bad husbands suffered. In Committee on this Divorce Bill, in the House of Lords, Lord St. Leonards moved the insertion of a clause to enable a wife who had been deserted for one year by her husband to apply to any Justice of the Peace for an order protecting her property and earnings. The Lord Chancellor

(Lord Cranworth), who, with the Attorney-General, was supposed to have approved the principle of Sir Erskine Perry's resolution in 1856, objected to the clause on the ground that it would not be well to take away the marital rights of the husband until a divorce had been obtained, also that repeated applications for a reversal of the order would swallow up in costs the whole of the wife's earnings. The clause was subsequently amended to provide that a wife who had been deserted by her husband for the space of one year might apply to a Justice of the Peace for an order to protect her property and lawful earning for six months, at the end of which time she must apply for a renewal of the order. This was carried by a majority of 8, 52 having voted in its favour and 44 against it.

In Committee on the Divorce Bill, in the House of Commons on August 7, 1857, Sir Erskine Perry moved that from the phrase "protection of a wife's earnings when deserted by her husband," the words "when deserted by her husband" should be omitted; the object of this was to secure a wife's earnings to her even whilst living with her husband. The Attorney-General, forgetting his promises of 1856, and even in spite of his later utterance on May 14, 1857, less than three months before this, in which he stated that he would consent "that the exclusive earnings of the wife during coverture should become her separate property," opposed this motion on the ground that it would open the door to endless confusion.

He also objected to the clause which had been sent down from the House of Lords, and framed a new one, which was adopted on August 2, and became part of the Divorce Law of 1857. This clause provided that a wife, deserted by her husband, might obtain from a Police Magistrate, or from the Justices in Petty Sessions, an order to protect her earnings and property, acquired after the beginning of the desertion, against her husband and his creditors, and restored her to her status as an unmarried woman with regard to her rights of property and contract, and of suing and being sued. In any civil proceeding she could deal with the property acquired during the desertion as she pleased during her life, and dispose of it by will, whilst, if she died without making a will, the property would go to her heirs and not to her husband.

She did not, however, recover any right to any property which had passed from her to her husband before the desertion and the order, such as it was, was always liable to be set aside on the application of her husband. Even this small concession was reluctantly granted by the Legislature, and was, as it were, wrung from them in order to silence the larger demands of more earnest and far-seeing reformers.

For many years nothing further was done to improve the English law, but in 1861 the Scottish Conjugal Rights Act was passed. This enabled a deserted wife to obtain protection for property earned or acquired by her after the desertion, and gave her the right, whilst living with her husband, to claim some provision for herself out of property coming to her during the marriage, by inheritance, gift, or otherwise, provided the husband's creditors had not attached it, or the husband himself reduced it into possession.

In 1867 Mrs. Josephine Butler, Miss Jessie Boucherett, Mrs. Gloyne, and Miss Wolstenholme (Mrs. Elmy) prepared a memorial, which was signed by many distinguished men and women, and presented to the council of the Social Science Association. The memorial pointed out the injustice of the law of England and Ireland with regard to the property, earnings, and maintenance of married women, and asked the council to take steps to bring the question before Parliament and the country, in order to secure an amendment in the law. The committee of the jurisprudence department of the society inquired into the question in response to the memorial, with the result that the council recommended the immediate introduction into Parliament of a Bill for the amendment of the law relating to the property of married women.

A Bill of this kind was therefore drafted, and introduced into the House of Commons on April 21, 1868, by Mr. Shaw Lefevre, the names of Mr. Russell Gurney and John Stuart Mill also appearing on the back of the Bill.

A Preliminary Committee was immediately formed, and in

April, 1868, the Married Women's Property Committee was constituted, with Miss Wolstenholme as secretary and Miss Becker as treasurer of the executive. Two committees were also formed in Ireland and one in Birmingham. Twenty-nine petitions, with 33,000 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons, and the question of Married Women's Property was further discussed by the Social Science Association at their conference in Birmingham in October, 1868.

The Bill came on for second reading on June 10, 1868, and was supported by John Stuart Mill, Mr. Lowe (Lord Sherbrooke), and Mr. Jacob Bright. In the division which followed the numbers were equal, 123 members voting on each side, whereupon the Speaker followed the usual precedent and gave his casting vote in support of the Bill. It should be noted here that the Opposition had grown considerably since Sir Erskine Perry's Bill, which, in 1857, was carried by a majority of 55, ayes being 120 and noes 65. The Bill was next referred to a Select Committee, which, having taken important evidence, made a report to the House on July 7, and expressed the unanimous opinion that a change in the law should be made with regard both to the property and earnings of married women.

Following the Session of 1868 came a General Election, and the return of a Liberal Government, with Mr. Gladstone as Prime Minister.

In 1869 Mr. Russell Gurney introduced the Married Women's Property Bill. It passed the second reading on April 14, without a division.

The Bill was again referred to a Select Committee, which cut down the significant preamble and added an amendment restricting the power of a married woman to dispose of her real estate during her lifetime except with her husband's consent. The Committee reported the amended Bill to the House on May 13. Mr. Raikes then put down notice of opposition, and succeeded in delaying the third reading of the Bill until July 21, when it was carried by 131 votes to 33. Lord Penzance presented the Bill in the House of Lords, where the second reading was carried without a division, but the Session was already drawing to a close, and the Bill was dropped without proceeding further.

During the Session 113 petitions, with 42,674 signatures, were presented to the House of Commons, and 70 petitions, with 30,000 signatures, to the House of Lords. Since the formation of the committee in 1868, 35,000 pamphlets had up to this time been circulated. These included reprints from the speeches made on the question in Parliament, and papers by Frances Power Cobbe, Harriet Martineau, W. J. Fox, M.P. (Publicola), and others.

In 1870 Mr. Russell Gurney again brought in his Bill, and a rival measure was introduced by Mr. Raikes. The object of this was to preserve the rule of Common Law, vesting a wife's property in her husband, but to mitigate a few of its worst abuses by instituting a system of interference with the right of both husband and wife to dispose of their property, which could only have succeeded in supplying cases for the law courts. It was feared that Mr. Raikes' Bill might be carried through the co-operation of those who felt that some change was necessary, and yet were not prepared to give married women absolute justice with those who desired the law to remain unchanged, yet would accept the measure of Mr. Raikes' as being practically inoperative.

A vigorous propaganda was therefore carried on in support of Mr. Russell Gurney's Bill, and in opposition to that of Mr. Raikes', and during the Session 250 petitions, with 46,199 signatures, were presented with this object.

Both Bills came on for second reading on May 18. Mr. Raikes' Bill was rejected by 208 votes to 46, whilst Mr. Russell Gurney's was agreed to without a division. It passed successfully through Committee, and third reading on May 24, and 31.

On June 21, Lord Cairns moved the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords. It met with great opposition from the legal Peers, of whom Lord Romilly and Lord Cairns himself were the only supporters. Though the Bill was read a second time without a division, it was severely mutilated in Committee, the only part left intact being the two formal clauses, which gave the short title to the Bill.

When the text of the Bill, as amended by the Select Committee of the House of Lords, became known the Married Women's Property Committee petitioned the House of Lords,

pointing out its various grave defects. They were successful in securing several minor improvements, and in getting struck out the clause which made the separate estate of the wife liable for debts contracted for household necessities when acting as her husband's agent.

The Bill passed through Committee in the House of Lords, on July 18, and was read a third time on July 22. On August 3 the Lords' amendments were agreed to in the House of Commons under protest, and on the motion of the Attorney-General for Ireland, the Act was made also to apply to Ireland. It received the Royal Assent on August 9, 1870, and at once came into operation.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to the End of February (as far as at present arranged).

Jan. 30 (Thurs.)	Maidstone, Corn Exchange	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock	..
	Helensburgh, N.B., Victoria Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss G. Paterson, Mrs. Hunter, Miss Helen Fraser	4 p.m.
	Hull, Oddfellows' Hall	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	London, 4, Clements Inn	"At Home"	7.30 p.m.
	Manchester, W.S.P.U. Offices	Miss A. Kenney	8 p.m.
Jan. 31 (Fri.)	Birmingham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney, Miss Una Dugdale	8 p.m.
	Brighouse, Pearson's Café	Miss A. Kenney, Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Feb. 1 (Sat.)	Glasgow, "At Home," 141, Bath-street	Miss H. Fraser, Mrs. Hunter, Miss G. Paterson	4-6 p.m.
	Rochdale Offices	Miss A. Kenney, Miss A. Pankhurst	4 p.m.
	Rochdale Public Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
	Ramsbottom, I.L.P.	Miss A. Kenney	4.30 p.m.
Feb. 2 (Sun.)	Wishaw, P.S.A.	Miss Helen Fraser	..
Feb. 3 (Mon.)	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4 p.m.
	Bowes Park	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street	Miss H. Fraser	..
	Bury, Cottage Meeting	Miss A. Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Feb. 4 (Tues.)	Chiswick Town Hall	Miss Macaulay	7 p.m.
	East Finchley, 66, Durham-street	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
Feb. 5 (Wed.)	Wood Green, Unity Hall, "At Home"	Mrs. Rowe	7 p.m.
	Bowes Park, public "At Home"	Miss Isabel Seymour	8 p.m.
	Hammersmith, 2, The Broadway	Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	London, Breakfast, Eustace Miles' Restaurant	To welcome the released prisoners	9.15 a.m.
Feb. 6 (Thurs.)	Strand, Adelphi-terrace, Drawing-room Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
	Reading, Public Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	London, "At Home," 4, Clements Inn	..	8 p.m.
Feb. 7 (Fri.)	S. Kensington	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	5 p.m.
Feb. 8 (Sat.)	Glasgow, At Home, 141, Bath-street	Miss H. Fraser	4 p.m.
Feb. 10 (Mon.)	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4 p.m.
	Lewisham, Debate	Miss Macaulay	..
	Glasgow, 141, Bath-street	Miss H. Fraser	8 p.m.
Feb. 11 (Tues.)	London, Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall	Chairman: Mrs. Pankhurst	3 p.m. and 8 p.m.
Feb. 12 (Wed.)	London, Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall
Feb. 15 (Thurs.)	Newmills	Miss H. Fraser	..
Feb. 16 (Fri.)	Darrel, P.S.A.	Miss H. Fraser	..
Feb. 17 (Mon.)	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6 p.m.
	Walthamstow, Trinity Literary and Debating Society, Motherwell, Town Hall	Miss Isabel Seymour	..
		Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Helen Fraser	8 p.m.
Feb. 18 (Tues.)	Rochdale Offices	Miss Ida Payne	3 p.m.
	Bournemouth, The Westbourne Literary and Debating Society	Miss E. Sharp	8 p.m.
Feb. 19 (Wed.)	Dunbarton	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Fraser	..
Feb. 20 (Thurs.)	Glasgow, Athenæum Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Fraser	..
	London, 4, Clements Inn, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Kilmarnock	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Fraser	..
	Peckham, School Room, Asylum road	Miss H. Lightman	8.30 p.m.
Feb. 21 (Fri.)	Bowes Park, Public Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Fraser	8 p.m.
Feb. 22 (Sat.)	Hamilton
Feb. 23 (Sun.)	Glasgow, "At Home," 141, Bath Street	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss H. Fraser	..
Feb. 24 (Mon.)	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6 p.m.
Feb. 25 (Tues.)	Norwood	Dr. Jones	..
Feb. 26 (Wed.)	Forest Gate, Earham-road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Feb. 27 (Thur.)	London, 4, Clements Inn	"At Home"	8 p.m.
Important Future Events.			
Mar. 3	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 10	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Dr. Garrett Anderson	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 19	Royal Albert Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, and others	8 p.m.
Mar. 24	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 31	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss Eliz. Robins	8.30 p.m.
April 7	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss C. Pankhurst	..
June 21	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3 p.m.

For Programme of Election Meetings, see page 67.

FEELING IN LANCASHIRE AND YORKSHIRE.

The meetings of the last three weeks in Lancashire and Yorkshire towns have been notable for the keen enthusiasm of the women.

Our meetings, besides being a great success, have covered the expenses by taking up collections. The meetings in the Colne Valley were magnificent. From what I have seen of the enthusiasm of the women, I am sure of this, that if they were as free as the men, we should have, not hundreds, but thousands of women ready to suffer imprisonment for Political Liberty.

I have often thought, where would the Chartists who were demanding Political Liberty have been if the women of those days had placed obstacles in the way of men taking their part in the struggle. Yet how keenly the women must have suffered when the men were imprisoned, not for weeks, but for years, for asking the right to vote. But the women stood by the men and suffered with the men for the same Liberty which we women are asking to be granted us to-day.

Think of all the strikes. Who is it, many, many times, who stands out the longest against injustice and wrong? Last year, when the cotton factory workers asked for an increase of 5 per cent., we were told in our papers that the women of Lancashire showed greater enthusiasm and determination than the men. They said the women turned up in greater numbers, and were roused up at the knowledge of injustice being practised on them. It is said the women cheered every point that was made in the favour of the workers, while the men looked sullen and dogged about it all.

Men sometimes say women don't want the vote, that women are not interested in politics, or that women need educating. How strange all these arguments seem after visiting Colne Valley and Rossendale Valley. For I found there the men's political meetings almost packed with women, women who have had only two short years of direct political education, while the men have had forty.

One trembles sometimes as one realises the great responsibility we have taken on our shoulders to free the women. But we shall do it. Our souls are aflame with this woman's cause, our hearts are full with the hopes of the future, our faith is in ourselves and our movement. We love the land we live in, we love its people, and we want to preserve and protect the race. With this faith, courage, and love we women will live in deeds, not words. By our works we shall be judged.

ANNIE KENNEY.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

During the last fortnight in January we have had Miss Christabel Pankhurst in Aberdeen, where she had two very successful meetings. The one held in the Music Hall was specially noteworthy. The chairwoman was Mrs. Milne, of Woodside, and the resolution was moved by Mrs. Black, President of the Aberdeen Women's Liberal Association, and seconded by Mrs. Glegg, Women's Unionist Association, Lady Ramsay moving the vote of thanks. An excellent report of the meeting and verbatim report of Miss Pankhurst's speech appeared in the *Free Press*.

On Saturday, January 25, at our weekly "At Home," we had Mrs. Pethick Lawrence as speaker, and had an enthusiastic and brilliant speech, and a very successful and crowded meeting.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence spoke in Aberdeen on Sunday, January 19, and in Glasgow on Wednesday, January 22, when Mrs. John Hunter's drawing-room meeting was held in the afternoon, and the Rutherglen meeting in the evening.

On Thursday, January 30, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Eunice Murray, and I speak at Helensburgh, with Mrs. Hunter in the chair.

On Thursday evening I spoke at the Dumbarton Union's meeting, and spent two days this week in Motherwell, organising our future meeting there.

I wish all our West of Scotland members to note our week's campaign in February, beginning 17th, when we have meetings in Athenaeum Hall, Glasgow (February 19), Motherwell (17th), Hamilton, Kilmarnock, Hillhead, Edinburgh, and to aid us with the sale of tickets, literature selling, &c.

We wish again to say how pleased we are to see members and friends at our weekly "At Homes," and to have the names of those who can help us by giving voluntary work.

HELEN FRASER.

LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Brixton and Streatham W.S.P.U.—On the evening of Wednesday, January 22, a meeting for women was held at Raleigh Hall, Brixton. The Chairman (Mrs. Freke), in opening the meeting, alluded to the absence of Miss McArthur and Mrs. Drummond, who were to have been present, but who were aiding the cause by suffering imprisonment instead. After referring to the Women's Parliament, to be held at Caxton Hall on February 11th, 12th, and 13th, she called on Mrs. Tanner to address the audience and move the resolution—"That this meeting demands the franchise for women on the same terms as it is, or may be, granted to men."

Before moving the resolution, Mrs. Tanner drew attention to the severity of the sentence passed on Miss McArthur (convicted of a first offence), Mrs. Drummond, and the other three Suffragettes. She characterised our tactics as "absurdly mild" in comparison with the violence men used to gain the vote; showed how little 50 years of constitutional methods had achieved; even our opponents no longer say that women are unfitted to enter politics, but that politics are unfit for women. After referring to the inconsistency of the opposition as particularly exemplified in the recent gathering at the rooms of the Brixton Liberal Association, the speaker put the resolution before the meeting, and spoke at some length on the need of abolishing sex control.

Miss Lambert seconded the resolution, emphasising the benefits that had resulted in other countries. Miss Lightman spoke in support of the resolution, pointing out the justice of the demand; women should not suffer for the accident of birth; Government, acting as a father, should realise that woman, during the last 40 years, had proved her fitness for the franchise. At the close of the meeting the resolution was carried unanimously. A further recommendation—"that the resolution be placed before the Cabinet with a request that it be incorporated in the King's Speech," was carried without dissent.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—The last few weeks of hard work by members, and the valuable assistance given by Mrs. Monck-Mason, Miss Stratton, and Miss Lilian Sheppard resulted in a splendid meeting, on Wednesday, in the Town Hall. Mrs. Eates presided. Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Evelyn Sharp addressed the meeting. The resolution was put and carried unanimously "that this meeting expresses its sympathy with, and admiration for, the brave women now undergoing imprisonment for publicly protesting against the tyranny of taxation without representation, and demands that the Liberal Government shall this session put Liberal principles into practice and enfranchise the qualified women of the country."

The audience, touched by the eloquence of the speeches, and convinced of the justice of the demand, responded liberally.

After paying our expenses, and keeping £2 in hand, we are both proud and glad to be able to give to the N.W.S.P.U. the nice little sum of £178, in money and promise cards.

Thanks are due to Kensington for the valuable advice given to me on how to organise a meeting, advice which I followed in every detail.

F. E. HAIG, Hon. Sec.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Nine members and friends have volunteered to take part in collecting at the various busy railway stations in Hammersmith and Shepherd's Bush during the week of self-denial in February. It will need 15 to take charge of all the collecting boxes throughout the week if no one is to be on duty for more than three hours. We ask for more names to be given in speedily, as they must be sent in, with the application for permission to collect, to Scotland Yard, and we are in special need of those who can take morning or afternoon duty.

I think an American Sewing-Bee might be productive of good results in some neighbourhoods for the making of things that are definitely wanted, and that would be ordered from the Bee instead of being bought in shops.

FRANCIS E. ROWE.

Kensington W.S.P.U.—On Tuesday, January 21, a meeting for women only was held in the Studio, 2, Campden Hill-square, by kind permission of the Misses Brackenbury, about 200 women were present. Miss Evelyn Sharp took the chair, and the first speaker was Miss Macaulay, who dealt with "Cabinet Ministers' Meetings." She was followed by Mrs. Eates, who described the "By-Election Policy," and gave her experiences at Hull. The principal speech was made by Mrs.

Pankhurst, who was received with great enthusiasm. She gave a most stirring account of the Mid-Devon Election, and appealed to those present for money and personal services for the pending by-elections. At the conclusion of her speech Miss May Sinclair rose and promised to give £10 towards this work. Another lady quickly followed her example, and yet another announced that she would give £1 if four others would promise the same amount. This appeal was speedily responded to, and in all about £30 was promised. As a result of this meeting three members of the Kensington Union offered themselves for by-election work, and started for Herefordshire on Monday.

Earl's Court Stall.

The Kensington W.S.P.U. have undertaken to manage the "Votes for Women" stall at the Dress Exhibition at Earl's Court. The exhibition is open for a fortnight from January 25 to February 8, from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. As the visitors to the exhibition are chiefly women, the stall affords us a splendid opportunity of getting into touch with them.

Plans for Self-Denial Week.

(1) A special envelope for contributions is being prepared, and is to be left at the house of every sympathiser of the movement in Kensington, together with an appeal for funds early in self-denial week. Later in the week these envelopes will be called for, and it is hoped they will contain substantial donations to the funds.

(2) We have applied to the Commissioner of Police for permission to have collecting boxes at the four railway stations in our district. If this permission is granted, we intend to have an "Artists' Station," at which the Misses Brackenbury, Miss Janet Stratton, and Miss Florence White will collect; a "Novelists' Station," at which Miss Violet Hunt, Miss May Sinclair, and Miss Evelyn Sharp will collect; and a "High School Station," at which Miss Conolan, Miss Bidwell, and two others will collect.

(3) We hope to have two or three drawing-room meetings in the week, and to make special collections.

(4) One of our members will try to arrange a concert to help the funds.

(5) Some members will have Marmalade "Bees," and hope to find a ready sale for "Votes for Women" marmalade.

(6) Some jewellery has been offered us for sale to help the funds.

(7) We shall endeavour to obtain permission to speak at the local theatres during the intervals.

LOUISA EATES.

Manchester W.S.P.U.—On January 8 the members of the Manchester W.S.P.U. held a meeting at 5, Victoria-street, Mrs. Duncan in the chair. The speakers were Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Williamson, and Mr. Brooks. Miss Kenney expressed her belief in the speedy enfranchisement of women, and spoke of the coming Women's Parliament in London in February. Mrs. Robinson proposed a resolution demanding the mention of Woman's Suffrage in the King's Speech, and Miss Withrington seconded it. This closed a most enthusiastic meeting.

On January 21, the Free Trade League had a mass meeting in the Free Trade Hall. On Mr. Churchill rising to second the resolution proposed by Mr. Elliot, some of our workers from Preston, Huddersfield, Leeds, and Manchester succeeded in interrupting the first part of the meeting.

On January 30, Miss Annie Kenney will give an address at 116, Portland-street, on the coming Parliament for Women.

F. ANNIE COLLIER.

Preston W.S.P.U.—Our members have taken up the scheme for self-denial week with enthusiasm, and some of them propose that in order to win sympathisers and gain funds, members should hold "At Homes" in each or any of their homes. At these friendly gatherings tea should be provided, and music and other entertainment arranged for, and a charge of 6d. per head made, which should go to the funds of the W.S.P.U. Mrs. Horn, 74, Wolseley road, Preston, has consented to act as special secretary for the various schemes for raising funds during Self-Denial week.

Miss Idon Payne, the leading actress of the Playgoers' Theatre Company, who is an ardent Suffragist, will visit Preston on February 17, and has consented to give an address on the "Dramatic Revival of To-Day" at our offices on that date.

Permission has been given by Miss Elizabeth Robins and Mr. Granville Barker for one act from Miss Robins' play "Votes for Women," to be given by some of our members and friends towards the end of March.

E. RIGBY.

Yorkshire Report.

On Monday, 20th, a very successful "At Home" was held at the house of Mrs. Lloyd, 8, Claremont-place, Sheffield. The next will be on Tuesday, February 4, at 4 p.m.

In the evening of the same day the Huddersfield W.S.P.U. organised a social evening, which was well attended. I spoke to the I.L.P. women of Golcar on Tuesday night, and I hope that we shall have at least one representative from there at the Women's Parliament. I met the Leeds members on Wednesday, at a meeting where Mrs. Bellingham, of 32, Longroyd-grove, Leeds, was appointed secretary in place of Miss Rhys Davids. The Leeds members intend to work in the by-election, and will meet Miss Sidley at an "At Home" on Wednesday evening, 29th, to discuss plans.

On Friday evening Miss Annie Kenney and I spoke at an "At Home" in Bradford. There were a great many strangers present, and we made several new members. We have four delegates for the Women's Parliament from Bradford.

Next week there will be meetings in Hebden Bridge, Elland, Leeds, and Brighouse.

ADELA PANKHURST.

Mrs. Wilmshurst and Mrs. Edwin Sykes, of Huddersfield, held drawing room meetings on January 13 and 24, at which Miss Kilburn, of Meltham, read a paper on "Women's Suffrage." It was listened to with interest, and various opinions were freely expressed by ladies to whom the subject was new. A collection was taken in aid of the funds of the N.W.S.P.U.

LIBERAL WOMEN AT QUEEN'S HALL.

DEAR SIR,—As no Liberal paper appears to have reported what actually happened at the meeting of the Women's Liberal Federation at Queen's Hall on January 24, I think if you can find space in your paper, many readers and members of the N.W.S.P.U. will be interested to know what actually happened.

The hall was full, and the audience listened with scant applause to the chairwoman (Mrs. Eva McLaren) and the first speakers, who still trusted in the good intentions of the Liberal Government. No enthusiasm was aroused until Miss Florence Balgarnie said the Government *must* enfranchise women, and that women ought no longer to be patient. Then the applause was loud and long; so long, indeed, that Miss Balgarnie and several others on the platform looked round to see if some unexpected, but very popular person had just arrived. But no, it was the sentiment that that huge meeting of Liberal women was applauding. Only once again was so much enthusiasm shown—and that time was when Mrs. Booth, of Lancashire, while speaking of the disabilities under which women at present live, referred to "my dear Miss Pankhurst"; then once again the applause was loud and long; handkerchiefs were waved, and shouts of "Bravo!" were to be heard.

It was indeed a triumph for our dear Miss Pankhurst and those other leaders of the W.S.P.U. who have suffered contumely, ridicule, and abuse, but whom we have learnt to trust, honour, and love.

NELLIE E. SMITH.

EMPLOYMENT OF WOMEN.

DEAR EDITORS,—On receiving the workshop return of employment form for 1907, from the Home Office I find the following statement:—

"Voluntary Particulars.

"For the purpose of inquiry into the subject of the industrial employment of women before and after childbirth, the Secretary of State is desirous of obtaining particulars of the number of married women employed, and he will be glad if occupiers will furnish statistics indicated below:—

"Of the — females over 18 employed in the works — are unmarried, — are married with husbands living, and — are widows."

I shall certainly not volunteer such particulars, but state instead, "When women are directly represented, so that they can give expression to their opinions and wishes regarding curtailment of employment, &c., I will give voluntary particulars, but consider it beside my duty to do so now."

Hoping every suffragette employing labour will do likewise.

Yours fraternally,

GERTRUDE BALLAM.

CAN Suffragist recommend BED-SITTING ROOM, near Law Courts, to Woman Suffragist. Sundays to Tuesday.—Terms to Hill Side, Lubbock-road, Chislehurst.

PRESS EXTRACTS.

The "Nottingham Guardian," on January 10, published the following important editorial comment on Mr. Haldane's recent speech:—

We trust that Mr. Haldane's declaration in favour of women's suffrage means that the present Government is about to take the matter in hand, and concede the franchise to women. It is time that this were done, and there is no reason why the present Government should not do it. Some people, we know, think that most women will vote on the Conservative side, and there are others who think that the opposite of this will be the case. The probability is that women are divided in politics, in much the same way as men, and that the admission of women to the franchise will make little difference to the balance of parties. But, however this may be, the matter ought not to be judged in a party spirit. The claim of women to the franchise is altogether superior to any mere party interest, and the welfare of the nation demands that the claims of women should be conceded.

Prophecy Fulfilled.

The Newton Abbot special correspondent to the "Manchester Guardian," in commenting upon the causes of the "surprising Unionist victory," significantly remarked:—

Mrs. Pankhurst, as I stated the other day, had anticipated a considerable reduction in Mr. Buxton's majority, partly owing to Labour abstentions and partly to abstentions due to sympathy with the cause of women's suffrage. She put her prophecy in more emphatic terms than I cared at the time to reproduce—for in elections one has to be constantly damping down the prophetic fires, lest the prophet should afterwards be made to look foolish—but, bold as her prediction was, the event has outdone it. She counted merely on abstentions, whereas there have been actual marchings over to the enemy. Possibly a good many voters promised to abstain, and on polling-day found the excitement so infectious that they felt bound to vote for somebody, so made the worst of it by voting on the other side. I think there can be no doubt that the Suffragists did influence voters. Their activity, the interest shown in their meetings, the success of their persuasive methods in enlisting popular sympathy, the large number of working women who acted with them as volunteers—these were features of the election which, although strangely ignored by most of the newspapers, must have struck most visitors to the constituency.

Climbing Down.

The "North Wales Chronicle" of January 18, in a leading article entitled "Hesitation Before Capitulation," remarked:— "Tis dogged as does it." Evidently the resistance of the Government to the enfranchisement of women is breaking down under the dogged persistency of the handful of women who, in season and out of season, in spite of buffetings, chuckings-out, scoldings, and even imprisonment, raise their shrill battle-cry of "Votes for Women" wherever a Minister is found addressing his fellow-countrymen. Banged, barred, and bolted doors do not keep them out of ticket meetings. They pervade the by-elections with their supplications to the electors to vote against the Government. They threaten more desperate attacks on the serenity of Parliament during this leap year, when ladies are by use and custom entitled to make the first advances. Weakened as the Government is on this, as on other questions, it is not surprising that it is wavering in resistance.

Sounding the Liberal M.P.'s.

The "Western Morning News," in its issue of January 22, contains the following paragraph:—

The shrewd calculation of the Suffragettes that Radicals may be terrorised into granting them the franchise has already been justified. I do not mean that votes for women will figure in the King's Speech, but prominent Liberals are beginning to sound their followers as to what they would say to a Franchise Bill. Radical organisers are frightened at the vigorous propaganda which the ladies have conducted, and they know that they suffer greatly in prestige through sending to prison the demonstrators. A graceful retreat would be effected with alacrity if the Government could see their way out.

There have also been a number of cartoons in papers all over the country, which limit of space forbids us to reproduce here.

Progressive Glasgow.

The Glasgow Corporation has decided by a majority of nearly four to one to petition Parliament in favour of votes for women. The suggestion was submitted to the Council by the Glasgow District of the Independent Labour Party. Two ladies moved that the communication lie on the table. Mr. Robert Graham moved that the Corporation petition Parliament as desired. Several members rose to second the amendment, which, on a division, was carried by 41 votes to 11.—"Manchester Guardian."

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

December 30 to January 27.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Already acknowledged		4,153	4	5 1/2			
Miss B. E. Hunt		0	2	0	Miss M. R. Margesson	1	0
Mrs. Pollock		1	0	0	Miss Frances C. Oakley-Walker	5	0
Miss Benett		0	2	6	Mrs. Alice M. Shillington	2	0
Miss Grimme		0	1	0	Miss S. Shillington, M.A.	2	0
Miss Annie W. Lance		0	5	0	Miss Deborah Webb	2	0
Miss C. H. Howse		0	5	0	Miss Agnes Kelly	0	5
Miss Leila M. Rendel		1	1	0	Mrs. J. Cohen	50	0
Mrs. Cora Hodges		0	8	0	Mrs. Alice S. May	1	1
E. Bell, Esq.		5	0	0	Miss Harriet K. Kerr	1	1
Mrs. R. A. Billinghurst		5	0	0	Miss Annie Williams	0	2
Miss A. E. Billinghurst		1	0	0	Miss Blanche A. Smith	1	0
Miss Johanne Nielson		1	0	0	Mrs. Lightman	0	10
Miss Bertha Ryland		1	0	0	Miss Lucy Williams	0	5
Miss Kate Mitchell		1	0	0	Miss F. E. Milner	0	5
Mrs. Edith Rigby		0	5	0	Mrs. Stevens	0	5
Mrs. Lamb		0	5	0	Miss R. M. Billinghurst	0	11
Mrs. G. Woods		0	5	0	Miss H. E. Sheppard	5	0
Anonymous		0	12	8	Miss Foley	0	10
Mrs. Kathleen S. Tanner		0	5	0	Miss Derling Curtis	0	5
Miss Strickland		0	1	0	Mrs. M. A. Torloff	1	0
Miss New		2	0	0	Miss Alice Heams	2	0
Mrs. Winifd Stark		1	0	0	Miss Douglas	1	0
Mrs. Mary Blathway		1	0	0	Miss V. M. Alcock	0	5
Miss Jopling Rowe		0	5	0	Miss Katherine S. Martin	3	1
Mrs. Bedford Fenwick		10	0	0	Basil Tozer, Esq.	0	10
Miss Kennedy		0	10	0	Anonymous	10	0
Anonymous Hospitality		1	10	0	Colonel Linley Blathway, donation	1	1
Mrs. Cohen		0	5	0	Mrs. Blathway	1	1
Mrs. Winifd Mitchell		2	10	0	Kensington meeting	19	0
Miss Eliz. MacRae		2	2	0	Kensington for speakers' expenses	0	6
Charles J. S. Harper, Esq.		0	5	0	Miss Edith Colley	1	0
Mrs. Marianne Masters		0	10	0	Miss Ellen M. Lloyd	1	0
Miss Mary Foster		0	10	0	Miss E. Naylor	5	0
Frau Marie Streiff		0	10	0	Mrs. Wilmhurst's drawing-room meeting	0	5
Huddersfield W.S.P.U.		8	10	0			
Hampstead Local W.S.P.U.		20	0	0			
Miss Shuttleworth Boden		1	1	0			
Sir Alfred Turner		0	2	6			
Mrs. Morton		0	5	0			
Mrs. Annie Darley		200	0	0			
Mr. and Mrs. F. W. Pethick Lawrence (instalment of promise)		0	8	9			
Guarantee weekly		1	0	0			
Mrs. H. Scurfield		0	10	0			
Miss Marion Berry		1	0	0			
Hammersmith Local Union Dr. and Mrs. Ramsbottom		2	0	0			
Miss Agnes Champ		0	17	0			
Miss M. G. Turner		0	2	0			
Anonymous		2	2	0			
Miss Alice Gomme		0	1	8			
Miss Ellen M. Robin		1	3	6			
Meltham profit		2	0	0			
Mrs. May Williams		0	5	0			
Viscountess Harberton		0	5	3			
Miss B. Anderson		1	0	0			
Manchester Zion Association		0	2	0			
Miss C. Archer		1	0	0			
Mrs. and Miss Page		1	0	0			
Miss Aeta Lamb		5	5	0			
Miss Jessie C. Methven		0	10	6			
The Misses Ellen and M. Townley		0	2	0			
Reading Parliament		2	10	0			
Miss Julia M. Wiltshire		2	10	0			
Mrs. Frances E. Rowe		0	5	0			
Mrs. G. M. Smith		20	0	0			
Mrs. S. A. Turle		0	4	0			
Miss M. Postlethwaite		2	2	0			
Anonymous		1	0	0			
Mrs. Sherriff		0	2	0			
Sympathisers from Howe		1	0	0			
Spaithes, Ledbury		1	0	0			
Miss Massey		0	5	0			
Miss Louisa Corben		1	1	0			
Mrs. Gregory Nicholson		1	0	0			
Miss Edith Middleton		0	5	0			
Mrs. Lloyd Thomas		1	0	0			
Mrs. F. G. Oldham		1	0	0			
Sympathisers from Howe		1	0	0			
Alderman Boycott		0	5	0			
Miss E. W. Davison		0	10	0			
Miss Florence Chiveriel		0	10	0			
Miss C. F. E. Spurgeon		1	0	0			
Mrs. Montague		0	5	0			
Mrs. E. Slater		0	5	0			
W. Frith Bryson, Esq.		1	1	0			
Miss Mary Maud		0	10	6			
Miss H. R. Kerr		3	3	0			
Kensington Local W.S.P.U.		0	10	6			
W. Cordwet, Esq.		0	8	11			
Guarantee weekly		1	1	0			
Mrs. Burgess		0	2	6			
Mrs. Whiteford		0	10	0			
Mrs. Parsons		0	10	0			
Miss Beaton		1	0	0			
Mrs. G. C. Carter		1	0	0			
Miss Marquardt		0	10	0			
Miss Juliette Heale		0	10	0			
Mrs. E. P. Lawrell		0	10	0			
Miss A. Potter		0	10	0			
Miss E. G. Gambrell		0	1	8			
Mrs. E. B. S. Wilkinson		0	5	0			
Miss Esther Bayley		1	0	0			
Miss Beryl Reeves		1	0	0			
Miss Elsie Grant		1	0	0			
From a Friend		0	3	0			
"Chudleigh"		0	3	0			
Miss Blinkiron		4	4	0			
Mrs. B. Brewster		0	10	0			
Mrs. Marianne Masters		0	10	0			

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