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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.

The Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN are pleased to be able to announce that the great and increasing popularity of the paper has decided them to take the important step of issuing it weekly instead of monthly. The present is, therefore, the last of the monthly numbers; for the next three weeks the VOTES FOR WOMEN Supplements will be published as usual, and on April 30 the first issue will be made of the new series. The paper will be similar in appearance to the monthly numbers of VOTES FOR WOMEN, which have hitherto been published. It will appear every Thursday, and a uniform charge of 3d. a copy will be made.

How to Obtain the Paper.

The paper will be obtainable through newsagents, or at meetings of the W.S.P.U., or by subscribing direct to the

office. As it will be recognised by the Post Office as a newspaper, it will go through the post for a halfpenny, so that the annual subscription will be 15s. 2d., post free. Those of our readers who are already subscribers, and who have paid in advance for copies on the old footing, we propose to credit with that part of their subscription at present unexhausted, and copies of the weekly issue will be sent to them up to this amount. It is hoped that this arrangement will meet with their approval.

Retrospect.

Looking back over the few short months since the paper was first published, the Editors recall its foundation in October, 1907, at the "fourth milestone" of the Women's Social and Political Union, and their declared intention that the paper was started "to reinforce the agitation which is going on all over the country, and to be the mouthpiece of the advance guard, who, throwing aside all other party ties, are determined to press forward their claim to victory." During the six months in which it has existed the circulation of VOTES FOR WOMEN has rapidly risen from the modest 2,000 at which it was originally estimated by its editors, to 5,000 at the present time. And there is every prospect that this figure will very speedily be passed, and even doubled or trebled in the course of a few months.

Developments in the Past.

The pressure upon the space in the columns has necessitated several enlargements. The paper itself has been twice increased from 12 to 16, and from 16 to 20 pages, and even at this it has been found impossible to include anything more than a brief summary of the principal events of the month. The reading matter in the weekly supplements has been increased by a reduction in the size of the type, and by the abandonment of the front-page cartoon, which originally occupied the whole of the first page. But these extensions have been found quite insufficient to meet the demand. A six-page sheet and an eight-page sheet have been supplied on two occasions, and the Editors have now come to the conclusion that nothing less than a weekly issue of the full paper will enable them to give a satisfactory account of the progress of the movement.

What the New Paper Will be Like.

The weekly issue will be, as has been said, similar in outward appearance to the previous monthly numbers, and will retain all their important features. Miss Christabel Pankhurst will contribute weekly an article:

dealing with the political situation; messages of encouragement will be published from well-known men and women to those engaged in the struggle to obtain the vote; special articles will be given from the pens of prominent authors; Miss Sylvia Pankhurst will continue her interesting "History of the Suffrage Movement" in weekly parts; the Editors will contribute each week a leading article, and in the notes of the day will be provided a summary of the events of the past week. But under the new arrangement additional space will be available for first-hand descriptions of all the more important activities of the Union, and the Editors believe that these will prove of exceptional interest to their readers.

The Growth of the N.W.S.P.U.

This development of the paper VOTES FOR WOMEN is the natural outcome of the rapid growth of the organisation to which it is related. In its second annual report, just published, the Committee of the National Women's Social and Political Union is able to tell a wonderful tale of expansion. Comparing the years ending February, 1907, and February, 1908, the expenditure for the second year has been two and a-half times that for the first (£6,500 against £2,500); the number of subscribers has risen from 600 to 2,000; the premises have been doubled, and the staff trebled; meanwhile, the sales of literature have risen from £60 in 1906 to £600 in 1907.

Work Done in Twelve Months.

During the twelve months ending February 29, 1908, the Union held in different parts of the country upwards of 5,000 meetings; it fought with success thirteen by-elections, and took part in four militant demonstrations. Of the public meetings about 400 included audiences of over 1,000 people each. In every one of the by-elections the Liberal poll was reduced, the aggregate reduction reaching a figure of 13,000, or on an average 1,000 votes in each constituency. The demonstrations resulted in the arrest and imprisonment of 130 women, who served an aggregate of 370 weeks or seven years in gaol on behalf of the enfranchisement of women, thus doubling the aggregate imprisonment of the previous year, which amounted to a total of 191 weeks. Members of the Union have also, undeterred by rough treatment, persistently availed themselves of the opportunity of heckling Cabinet Ministers at their meetings, and thus bringing before the public and the Cabinet the urgency of their claim.

Progress During March.

The progress of the Union during the month which has gone by since the publication of the report has been still

more remarkable. The great Albert Hall was packed from floor to ceiling on March 19, by 7,000 women, who came to listen to the story of Votes for Women, and to demonstrate their demand for enfranchisement. An account of that historic gathering will be found in another part of this paper. The Treasurer was able to announce at that meeting the total proceeds of Self Denial Week, including the collections made on the Self Denial cards, and the promises made at Albert Hall. The total reached the respectable sum of £7,000, equal to the whole amount collected during the year for which the report was published. Meanwhile, inside the office the work has so much increased that six additional members of the staff have been appointed, in order to cope with it. The literature department has doubled its output since January 1, and has adopted the title of "The Woman's Press."

Liberal Women.

There are signs that Liberal women are beginning to distrust "patience" as the means for winning the Vote. Speaking at the public meeting at Halifax of the Yorkshire Council of the Women's Liberal Association, Mrs. Gray Heald, the president of the Leeds Women Liberals, after proposing a vote of thanks to the speakers, including two Liberal M.P.'s, said:—

I am beginning to feel it rather difficult—yes, and more than rather difficult—to hold that huge association of fourteen or fifteen hundred women in Leeds together. We have been appealing to our Government for our enfranchisement. We are told, we Liberal women, that if we ask for it from our own Government we shall get it. We have been told by our president that we will have patience. We are trying to have patience, she says. Well, Mrs. Smith represents a body of women who are trying to be patient, but there are other women within our ranks—splendid women—some of the best workers for the cause we have—who are not inclined to be patient very much longer. We are working incessantly for the cause, but unless something is done for us in the near future we cannot go on working as smoothly and efficiently as in the past."

In conclusion, she warned the M.P.'s that if the militant Suffragettes had not molested them so much the women Liberals would not have been so quiet. Miss Margaret Ashton speaking at Lancaster took a similar line.

Features of this Issue.

Among the special features of the present issue are the Open Letter to Liberal Women, by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and the verbatim report of the speech on the Militant Campaign by Miss Christabel Pankhurst. The Messages of Encouragement to women are from those who have recently suffered imprisonment for the cause. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst contributes a further chapter of her History of the Suffrage. A large number of Press extracts are given, many of them having interesting reference to the Peckham election.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

The Chaplain in Holloway enumerated many sins that enslave human beings, but forgot the sin of omission—one of the greatest, perhaps. Self-distrust deters many sympathisers from offering themselves for active service in this woman's great movement. To those I would say, offer yourselves, and trust our experienced leaders to test you and start you. If they are not afraid of your failing them, why should you be? Others hovering on the brink shrink from publicity, criticism, and ridicule. Many a gallant soldier has owned to this recoil in spirit at the first baptism of fire; but once overcome, it is never felt again. Publicity and the other bogies disappear in the healthy sunshine of work and sacrifice, but the sin of omission may haunt you for ever.

Georgina A. Brackenbury.

The thought that if they take an active part in the Woman's Suffrage movement they may find themselves in conflict with their friends, must be a very difficult one for some women to face. But I think that in our own private circles of friends many of us whose aspirations for women have not been the conventional ones, and who have believed that a woman's standard of honour and truthfulness should be as high as should a man's, and that underhand ways of gaining one's ends are degrading, must often have felt ourselves to be greatly isolated when our endeavours to live up to our convictions have brought us into conflict with conventional standards of conduct. What one finds on joining the N.W.S.P.U. is, that one is brought into contact with a great number of people whose ideals are the same as one's own, and that the isolation and the reproach are things of the past.

M. Joachim.

I should like to tell your readers one of the principal lessons that I have learned by going to prison. It is this. The power that is gained by being in earnest, and the moral force that is exerted by those who are enabled to do what they feel to be right, in the face of great suffering and sacrifice. I believe there was not a prisoner in Holloway gaol but felt the better for knowing that innocent women were suffering for the sake of the emancipation of their sex, and I think we gained the respect, if not the sympathy, of the whole staff of officials, from the governor downwards. Now that I have come out, I find my friends are seriously considering the question that was before only a matter for jest and ridicule, and I shall probably never know how far-spread is the influence of the decisive step that I took on February 13, when I decided to follow Mrs. Pankhurst to the House of Commons.

My message to women of all classes and positions in life is, have courage to do what is right, and never fear the consequences. Set principle above expediency, and never rest until you have gained your constitutional right—the Vote!

Edith Kerwood.

A year ago, February, 1907, three of us from our native town of Preston—unprogressive and self-sufficient Preston—decided to go to prison, and thus try to rouse our town to interest in our movement. Now, in March, 1908, we

have a large and crowded suffrage demonstration to welcome four of us, released prisoners.

I am one of the thousands of women who are glad to have taken a part in this movement, and who have found that they have gained more than they gave, as is ever the case in serving a noble cause in true chivalry.

Could other women know how wonderful an experience it has been, the meeting of local with national workers; the comradeship and large-hearted sympathy which women from the North have given to the South, and have received again; which women who have had what is idly called every worldly advantage have given to others with sadly limited chances, and have received again?

The power of working together for the full self-development of womanhood, and thus of motherhood and of humanity—shown in our movement, and never believed of women—is not this prophetic of the greater spiritual strength that shall be to the race when women are no longer in subjection?

Do not these things repay one a thousandfold for the painful publicity and personal suffering? To come out of prison, to return to the world to work, to realise afresh how irresistible this women's revolt is becoming week by week and month by month.

Edith Rigby.

DEAR FELLOW-WORKERS,—With the finger-post of Peckham pointing to "The Only Way," the best thing I can at the moment say to you is, *Go on and win*. Of one thing I am assured, the more one does for the cause, the more one's heart and sympathy are involved, and the more one realises the need of, and the magnitude of, the whole scheme.

To have helped, even in ever so small a way, towards the common cause of womanhood is *not to have lived in vain*. Therefore, let us all, with the concentrated energy of our sex, rally round our beloved leaders, giving them first of all our undivided loyalty, and to the Union unbounded enthusiasm, and the help that lies each in her individual power.

Ida Cunard.

On coming out of Holloway my message to women is, come and do the same thing when next women are wanted.

It is wonderful how each woman who acts influences her own circle. Friends who before may have been but mildly in favour, are converted into active and eager workers for the cause. So it is worth while doing it.

Coming out is so delightful that the stupidity of the time in Holloway is forgotten, to find to your astonishment your family collected to greet you at the prison gates, come from all parts of England and Scotland, to go home to your studio, which has been turned into a beautiful flower garden by kind friends, to get bundles of letters and invitations waiting for you to go off for a change and rest. All this counts, as you will find.

Perhaps the biggest delight of all was to go to the immense "At Home," in the Portman Rooms, and to see how miraculously the movement had grown during the weeks we had been away.

Florence E. Haig.

AN OPEN LETTER TO LIBERAL WOMEN.

Liberal Women.—

Why are you upholding the Liberal Government in its refusal to give justice to the womanhood of the country? Why do you lend them at the by-elections your countenance and support, without first making terms on behalf of your own sex? Why in this great warfare for Women's Emancipation do we, whose banner is Votes for Women, find your lances directed against our breast?

By reason of your Womanhood and also by reason of your Liberalism you should be on our side. Is your failure to live up to the standard of duty and honour due to the failure of your Womanhood or the failure of your Liberalism? Often when I have parleyed with one of you the confession has been made: "I am a Liberal before I am a woman." Then it is your Liberalism that is at fault.

"Trust the people" was the *obiter dicta* of one of your greatest statesmen. Are not women one-half the people? Will the party to which you belong amend this motto and say, "Trust the men, but fear the women?" "Government must rest on the consent of the governed," runs another rede. Women are the governed. Must laws affecting their lives and interests be passed without expression of assent or dissent from them? Can you give me any watchword of the Liberal party which justifies the Government in refusing constitutional rights to women? You cannot. You know that you cannot. Then are you content to let your party call itself by a great name which it denies every day? Do you think a name and only a name is going to survive the tremendous test of office?

Have you no duty to your own party? Have you no responsibility towards it? You helped it to come into power. You helped to arouse in the hearts of a great people the moral enthusiasm, the desire for those principles of justice and equity for which the Liberal party professes to stand. Why not deal faithfully with your party when it is false to its own faith? Why not bring it into line with its own best traditions. You can, if you will. You can if you take a firm stand and decisively say to your leaders: "We call upon you to be true to the essential principle of Liberalism; you cannot command the support or service of Liberal women if you persist in withholding constitutional liberties from one-half of the human race in this country."

Instead of taking this action you are leaving the champions of these great Liberal principles to fight the battle alone. Nay, worse. You are at the by-elections fighting against us and actively supporting the Government in its reactionary and unconstitutional attitude towards women. I know what you will say in answer to that. You will say that Suffragettes are Tories in disguise. That we are animated by a desire to injure the Liberal Government. But you know in your heart that this is not true.

It is no wish of ours to fight the Liberal Party. We fight only for a principle essentially dear and sacred to all whose soul is free born. And we would that the Liberal Government were on our side. It ought to be on our side. Let the Liberal Government give facilities to this Enfranchisement Bill that has secured so great a majority for its second reading; and subject to the consent of the Majority, send it up to the House of Lords. And immediately our opposition to the Liberal party will cease. And we shall appear no longer as an opposition force at by-elections.

Once more I know what you will say. What about temperance reform? What about the Licen-

sing Bill? The Liberal party has endangered its Licensing Bill by first alienating the women of the country. If the Government has not the support of women at this crisis the fault is its own. If it wants the support of women the remedy is in its own hands. If it is really in earnest about the Licensing Bill, let it first settle its quarrel with the women of the country, who are the sober, temperate half of the community. Then, with the women on its side, it will possess the moral force which will enable it to deal with this great question.

By-elections are important, but they are not of the same vital consequence as a General Election. Take, then, the opportunity which by-elections afford of showing the Government that Liberal women will not see fundamental Liberal principles set aside without the most effective possible protest. What do men do when the party to which they belong is in their opinion false to its standards? They vote against their party. Great leaders have even left the party which they have served for years. And we have had recent examples of members of Parliament crossing over to the opposite side of the House upon a matter of principle. Cannot women also put party ties second to moral principles? You cannot vote against your party as men do in similar circumstances. But you can openly protest against its illiberal action and inaction with regard to the just claims of women, and you can urge electors to pass a vote of censure upon a Government obdurate to the appeal of justice, by keeping out its nominee at by-elections.

If this is too high a standard of principle for the more half-hearted amongst you to attain, the least you can do is to refrain from taking any part at all in by-elections till the Government changes its attitude on this question. Even if your duty to your own sex is a secondary consideration, surely as a duty to your party, you will withdraw your support at by-elections. Say to your party, "Women who are not deemed intelligent or worthy enough to exercise a vote, are surely not intelligent or worthy enough to instruct and advise men electors how they should vote; therefore, we refuse to canvass or to work at any election until men and women possess equal citizen rights." If you said that, only as much as that, and acted upon it, you would soon bring your Government into line with you. A mandate couched in some such terms, from the Liberal women, the Government could not afford to ignore. It could not face another General Election deprived of the moral support and the help of the Liberal women. Therefore, it would take care to carry the Women's Enfranchisement Bill before the present Parliament shall come to an end.

If the Government is defeated at a General Election then serious damage will be done to those projects of social and political reform which you have at heart. Defeated it will be unless you can save it. For its moral prestige, which means everything to the Reform party, is being lowered, its appeal to great ideals is rendered hollow and ineffective by its resistance to the claim of elementary justice. It is not we who will defeat it. But it is those ideals, those principles of right and freedom, which it has outraged, that will bring punishment upon it.

Liberal women! Help to build the house of the Liberal party upon the rock of justice! For unless the foundation is sound and sure, it cannot stand against the storm. Be true as Liberals first of all. Be true, also, as women. Deal faithfully with your own party, and loyally with your own sex. Save your party, and save the womanhood of the country. No longer halt between two principles and two opinions. Do not be afraid to choose justice and enforce right.

EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

THE MILITANT CAMPAIGN.

A Verbatim Report of the Speech delivered by Miss Christabel Pankhurst at the Albert Hall, March 19.

Mrs. Pankhurst, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The resolution has reference to the Bill which is now before Parliament for the enfranchisement of women, and it is our intention during the whole of the present session to press for the enactment of that Bill, in order that when the General Election comes—and I think that General Election is not now far distant—women, as well as men, may have the opportunity of recording their opinions at the polling-booth.

Friends, every attempt has been made to make the second reading of that measure a fruitless and ineffective thing; but I think it is in our power to rescue the Bill from the difficult position in which it stands, and to compel the Government to carry it into law. When this Bill was before the House we had from Mr. Herbert Gladstone a long speech of advice. What he said was that men had struggled for centuries, since the days of Cromwell, for their rights, but that the fight—it was going on still—was not completely won. Then he said that experience shows that the predominance of argument alone—and he believed that had been attained in the matter of Woman Suffrage—is not enough to win the political day. "The time comes," says Mr. Gladstone, "when political dynamics are far more important than political argument."

Back up Words by Deeds.

It is upon a recognition of that fact that these new tactics of ours are based. We know that relying solely on argument we wandered for forty years politically in the wilderness. We know that arguments alone are not enough, above all, with a Government like this one, and that political force is necessary. We agree with Mr. Herbert Gladstone that much is to be accomplished by the holding of great meetings like this; that much is to be accomplished by the holding of great meetings like the one that is to be held in Hyde Park on June 21, but we know that there must also be hard and strenuous fighting. To gather at meetings like this is only useful in so far as we can make the Government believe that we, assembled in our thousands, as we are to-night, are prepared to back up words by deeds.

It is because we are recognised to-day as women who are ready to *act* that the movement stands where it stands now. You may not like our methods, some of you, but these methods are a success. You may not like our going to great public meetings, addressed by Members of the Government, to demand the enfranchisement of women. Yet I say the women who do these things are the women who are in earnest. If we on this platform were responsible for guiding the destinies of the nation, if it was upon us that lay the guilt of refusing to our fellow creatures the elementary rights of citizenship, we should be ashamed to protest because some of these wronged people, these disinherited ones, came here to state their grievance and demand their rights. I think the Government, who whine because we do these things, are showing themselves doubly deserving of the contempt of this nation. If they are absolutely bent on defrauding us of our vote, then they must be prepared to play the part of men and face the music.

Rousing the Conscience of the Nation.

The effect of our tactics has been to rouse the conscience of the nation, to stir within women a new sense of self-respect, a new sense of the dignity of their sex, and a new hope for the future, to rouse in men a feeling of truer respect for womanhood than this generation of men has ever known. The effect of our tactics has been to

hold up the Government of this country not only to the contempt of our own people of this country, but to the contempt of the people of the whole civilised world.

We have held our hands from doing violent acts or criminal deeds. We have shown more self-restraint than men have ever done under similar circumstances. We have broken no moral law. All we have done has been to make ourselves of little esteem. We have been prepared to sacrifice our safety of life and limb. We have been prepared to do these things because we believe in our cause. We say this not to boast of it, but to claim that we have the same spirit that the reformers of all ages have had to show before they could win success. We are not ashamed of what we have done, because, when you have a great cause to fight for, the moment of greatest humiliation is the moment when the spirit is proudest. The women we do pity, the women we think unwomanly, the women for whom we have almost contempt, if our hearts could let us have that feeling, are the women who can stand aside, who take no part in this battle—and perhaps even more, the women who know what the right path is and will not tread it, who are selling the liberty of other women in order to win the smiles and favour of the dominant sex. How true it is that people who have a false end in view fail even to achieve that end! And so these women who are bending their heads beneath oppression, these women who are prepared to play the part of vassals, they are not the women who have the respect of other women; and they are not the women who have the respect of men. We are the women whom men respect to-day; we are the women whose position is more dignified than that of any other women in this country, because if you cannot be recognised as a citizen it is best to be in the front, fighting for a citizen's rights.

The Licensing Bill.

We Suffragettes, as you call us, do know the destiny that ought to be that of all in this country. We are proud of all we have been through, and we are proud to think that victory is likely to come soon to us in our crusade. We are fighting the Government to-day in Peckham. We are doing our best to inflict upon them a crushing blow at the poll. The charge has been brought against us that in doing this we are endangering a great measure of social reform, the Licensing Bill. It is not for us to express an opinion upon that measure, though we do say that the evil for which the Government are trying to find a remedy by this Bill has a much deeper root than they imagine. But I want you to understand this, that if any harm comes to this Licensing Bill it will not be our fault. It will be the fault of the Government, who rather than see the women of this country enfranchised, will sacrifice every other measure on their programme. Once too often has the crack of the party whip been sounded on our ears. They are always telling us to wait for the vote, because other matters are important. We are deaf to that argument now. We say, Bills may come, Bills may go, Governments may rise, and Governments may fall, but we are determined to have the franchise. (Cheers.) Now, men and women here this evening, we have got to see this thing through. We mean to have the vote this session. This we know, that if you stand by us we can get it. Disregard the argument that this question must be referred to the electors. There is the great principle that taxation and representation must go together. It has been often enough fought for and won in the past. We don't need to have it thrashed

out again in this the twentieth century. I do not think much of any man who says that taxation and representation must go together and yet refuses to give the vote to women. I call upon the men to say to the Government, "Give the women their rights before you face the tribunal of the nation at the next General Election."

Men and women, we are fighting a national cause; and let us make a vow to-night that if the Government do not carry the Bill before they go to the country, that every one of us, both men and women, men with their votes—women—voteless—shall see to it that upon this issue shall depend the next General Election.

On Sunday last we had a demonstration at Peckham, and there was a good deal of disorder, and danger for some of us, but it had the effect of stirring the conscience of men in that audience. I had a letter from a working man, who said that having come to that meeting opposed to our cause, he now understands what it means; "My vote," he said, "is at your service, when the Election comes." Friends, we must have such men as that by the thousand in this country! We must let the Government know, and know soon, that unless they are prepared to give us the vote, defeat awaits them when next the country has an opportunity of pronouncing upon their record. Now, women, it depends upon us, and upon how we fight how soon we shall win. We appeal against the Government to the electors. They are watching us to see how we acquit ourselves. It is not only by appealing to them, it is by showing them that we are in earnest, have made up our minds to be free, that we shall win the support of men. Let women not only pass this resolution, but be prepared to carry it through fire and water till we succeed.

AN IMPRESSION OF PECKHAM.

DEAR SIR,—On the Saturday previous to the polling day, at the height of the election, I took a walk through the constituency, and there learned something I shall not soon forget.

I had just read in the "Daily Chronicle" that the "Suffragettes" were making no impression on Peckham, hence I was a little surprised that the first sign of an election I saw was VOTES FOR WOMEN badges being worn by some girls.

However, my surprise was destined to grow a deal greater before night time.

I strolled all over the constituency, looked in at each of the many committee-rooms, and read all the many posters and bills.

There seemed to be meetings everywhere—at every possible and impossible place there was the crowd listening—more or less—to a loud-voiced orator, who in the great number of cases appeared very worried. Whether the meeting was for the "Reds" or the "Blues," the crowd appeared pretty well mixed and very little passed unchallenged.

Before long, however, I became aware of a remarkable fact; wherever the meeting was a Suffragette meeting all was quiet—the audience was hushed and attentive, and a large proportion of the listeners were women.

In fact, the most vivid impression left in mind was the great number of women taking an active part in the election.

Wherever the meeting was a large and a quiet one I knew it was a woman's meeting. Irrespective of party, all the others were small and noisy.

Then I went to two indoor meetings, and my enlightenment was complete.

I was utterly astounded at the manner in which the working men and women appreciated the W.S.P.U. position. On all sides I heard such expressions as "Quite right," "Isn't she great?" "I've voted Liberal all my life, but I'll vote against the Liberal this time," "I'll give my vote for the women, but I'll write and let Mr. Gantry know the reason," "I don't want to vote with the publican, but I'll put the women first this time," "What fools Asquith and Co. are; I never thought I would ever vote Tory, but I shall this time;" and many more such like.

Yours, &c.,

F. H. MOSEN.

Sonnets on Suffrage.

II.—CONCERNING FREEDOM.

"Free as the waves"—they sang—"the waves that swell
And break in large free laughter round her coasts,
Is England!"—sang the dedicated hosts
That, for her sake, went forth and bravely fell.
But now a word, like some heart-breaking knell,
Stirs with mute agony their solemn ghosts,
For England—England that of freedom boasts—
For Freedom's champions finds—a prison cell!

Oh! cease thy mocking, England, of the name
Of Her whose face shall never bless thy sight
Till man and woman, sharing equal right,
And linked in equal honour, equal shame,
Move, as of old, twin orbs in God's clear light,
And purge the world with one-unwavering flame.

JAMES H. COUSINS.

THE SENTIMENTS OF SPENSER.

DEAR SIR,—The accompanying stanzas from "The Faerie Queene" may be of interest, as the expression of the opinions of a thoughtful man of the sixteenth century. It will be remembered that "The Faerie Queene Disposed into XII. Bookes Fashioning XII. Morall Vertues" appeared in 1589, but only six of the "Bookes" were ever published. Few persons in these days can claim to have read even those six in their entirety

Yours, &c.,
ARNOLD HARRIS MATHEW
(Author of "Woman Suffrage").

Chelsfield, Kent.

Here have I cause in men just blame to find,
That in their proper praise too partial bee,
And not indifferent to woman kind,
To whom no share in armes and chevalree
They doe impart, ne maken memoree
Of their brave gestes and prowess martiall:
Scarse do they spare to one, or two, or three,
Rowme in their writtes; yet the same writing small
Does all their deedes deface, and dims their glories all.

But by recôrd of antique times I finde
That women wont in warres to beare most sway,
And to all great exploits themselves inclin'd,
Of which they still the girland bore away;
Till envious men, fearing their rules decay,
Can coyne straight lawes to curb their liberty:
Yet, sith they warlike armes have laide away,
They have exceld in artes and pollicy,
That now we foolish men that prayse gin eke t' envy.

A SONNET ON OUR LADY IN PRISON.

Bid Justice find some other garb of shame,
For this has grown too royal; who shall scorn
To wear the liv'ry that a queen has worn?
A queen for ever crowned in Freedom's name,
Whose reign in hearts for liberty aflame
Can never end; nor from her brow be torn
The diadem of wrong for Freedom borne,
The crown of all whom tyrants cannot tame.
Time shall avenge her! when as ages roll
Their dastard names companioned in disgrace
Stink in the nostrils of a nobler race,
For ever gibbeted in history's scroll;
And pilgrim homage paid to deeds sublime,
Shall make a temple of this home of crime.

A. D. A.

MISS FOLKARD,

Artistic Dress and Mantle Maker,

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

Ladies' Materials made up in January and September.

THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Quite recently one or two departures have been made in appointments to women, marking fresh mile-stones in their advance. Of great interest is the appointment of Dr. Mary Louisa Gordon, of Harley-street, London, to be Inspector of Prisons and Assistant-Inspector of State and Certified Inebriate Reformatories. It is the first time the Home Office has given such a position to a woman, and it represents one of the most important reforms in the prison system of recent years. The necessity for women inspectors—in view of the 50,000 women and girls in prison each year—has been the subject of representations from all quarters for many years, notably by Mr. E. H. Pickersgill, M.P., in the last Session of Parliament.

Miss Mary Gordon, the new inspector, is L.R.C.P., L.R.C.S. (Edinburgh), L.F.P.S. (Glasgow), and L.M. She is already a Visitor of State Inebriate Reformatories, and is a recognised authority on the treatment of inebriety.

Law Court Clerks.

Another important innovation was the appearance of two girl-clerks in Mr. Justice Neville's Court. They were engaged by Mr. Ballard, a solicitor, to conduct the business necessary on his behalf, and did so with a capacity and precision that called forth a half-reluctant admiration and some astonishment amongst the people present. Mr. Ballard, who left practically the whole case in the clerks' hands, expressed his opinion that women were more reliable and quicker than men, picking out the necessary papers from the piles of those applying to the case with unerring precision. It was the first time that women had taken part in the actual conduct of a case in the Law Courts, and, judging by the complete success of the experiment, it is not likely to be the last.

The Freedom of Bournemouth.

The Bournemouth Town Council recently resolved to confer the freedom of the borough upon Mr. and Mrs. Merton Russell Coates, of East Cliff Hall, in recognition of their generous gift of East Cliff Hall, with its splendid collection of pictures, curios, bric-à-brac, and sculpture, for use as an art gallery and museum for Bournemouth.

Mrs. Coates will be Bournemouth's first lady freeman, and the honour is unusual enough amongst women at the present time, though only this year it will be remembered the freedom of the City of London was conferred on Florence Nightingale. A notable freewoman of the city of Manchester was Mrs. Rylands, who died in February.

Women as Candidates in Bohemia.

News comes from Bohemia, one of the kingdoms included in the Austrian Empire, that the Socialists and Progressives have decided to make an effort to gain an entry for women into the Landtag, or House of Commons, by putting forward two women as candidates at the forthcoming elections. These candidatures will be in the nature of a test, and will be followed by the women of Europe with keen interest. The electoral law in Bohemia does not expressly exclude women from putting up for Parliament. It merely provides that those who have a vote in the elections can also put up for election. This franchise is based on the municipal franchise which women possess as rate-payers, and which is not exercised directly, but is delegated to male representatives. The Landtag electoral law, however, provides for the personal appearance of the elector at the ballot-box.

The Scottish Graduates' Action.

The Committee of Women Graduates of the Scottish Universities, who raised the lawsuit in the Court of Session in February, 1906, claiming, as members of the General Councils of the Universities, the right to exercise the Parliamentary franchise, held a meeting in Edinburgh on Saturday. There were present representative graduates from the four Scottish Universities—St. Andrews, Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh. The chair was taken by Mrs. Marion Watson, in the unavoidable absence of the convener, Miss Frances H. Simson. The financial statement showed that the circular asking for donations, issued since the decision in November, had met with a generous response. The committee are now in a position to proceed with the appeal to the House of Lords. It was decided that the women graduates should plead their case in person, and there is no doubt that the interest of Great Britain will be con-

centrated on it, for if the point is gained the thin end of the wedge will be introduced both as regards the general enfranchisement of women and the appearance of women solicitors in law courts. A petition for presentation to the House of Commons was forwarded from the meeting to Sir John Batty Tukey, M.P. for the Universities of St. Andrews and Edinburgh, praying for the removal of the electoral disabilities of duly qualified women in those Parliamentary constituencies in which legislation has not yet enfranchised them.

HARDWICKE SOCIETY. DEBATE ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

(From the *Westminster Gazette*.)

The subject for discussion at the annual ladies' night of the Hardwicke Society was "Woman Suffrage." A crowded and distinguished audience assembled last evening in Gray's Inn Hall. The motion before the House stood in the name of Mr. R. A. McCall, K.C. It read: "That the grant of the suffrage to women has been indefinitely postponed by the violent methods of some of its supporters."

A Little History.

Mr. McCall reviewed the history so far as it affected women as far back as 1832, the object being to show that both the Legislature and the country, whenever and wherever they had considered the subject of the female franchise, had come to the conclusion that the vote was not necessary to the welfare of either women or the nation. Thoughtless candidates had given vague and equally thoughtless promises to vote for female suffrage, said the speaker amid laughter, and, having made their promise, gave their vote in Parliament. But, argued Mr. McCall, no responsible statesman had pledged himself to this measure, nor had any Queen's or King's Speech—and such Speeches were vague things—ever yet contained such a promise.

Lady Frances Balfour followed, and at once raised a roar of laughter against the previous speaker for not coming to the point. "As I was neither born nor bred a lawyer, I will endeavour to come to the point at once," she said. "Hear, hear," cried several voices. "And not talk round it," added Lady Frances. Generally, she did not approve of the methods employed, but she admitted that they had brought the movement very much to the front. But while the cause had been advanced, and even the Press improved, she held it a great mistake to break up public meetings. Such proceedings should be put down with a strong hand.

Mr. H. du Parcq and Mr. Ivor Guest spoke in favour of the resolution, and Lord Russell against it, after whom came Miss Pankhurst, who was greeted with hearty applause.

Miss Pankhurst.

For a few minutes Miss Pankhurst turned her attention to the financial success of the movement, and gave figures which showed how the Suffragist movement was progressing. Then she turned to Mr. Guest. That gentleman had spoken of the persuasiveness of the women. Well, she was not disposed to try her persuasive powers upon Mr. Guest; she would sooner give him marching orders at the poll.

Incidentally Miss Pankhurst mentioned that they were determined to have one of the greatest demonstrations ever seen on Midsummer Day, after which she proceeded upon a vigorous defence of her Union's movement and an equally scathing attack upon its opponents. They had had a lady offer £1,000 a year to aid them—what lady on the other side would offer a similar sum against them? "You who don't like our methods," said Miss Pankhurst, turning on friends and opponents alike, "what are they to do with you? You don't pay the price of them, and I am here to tell you that you cannot sit in judgment on us—we have to sit in judgment on you."

Other arguments followed, and Judge Rentoul added his voice in favour—[this is a mistake: he spoke strongly against the motion and in favour of the tactics]—of the motion by reason of the precedents of Bradlaugh, Parnell, and General Booth.

166 For: 191 Against.

Then came the opener's reply and the vote, which resulted in 166 for and 191 against.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

The
National Women's Social & Political Union,
4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

A MEETING OF WOMEN

WILL BE HELD IN THE

ST. JAMES' THEATRE,
ST. JAMES', S.W.

(By kind permission of Mr. GEO. ALEXANDER.)

On **TUESDAY, MAY 26th, at 3 o'clock.**

ON THE

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.Chairman—**Mrs. PANKHURST.**

SPEAKERS:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,
Miss MARY GAWTHORPE.

TICKETS (Women only) and all information from the Ticket Secretary,
National Women's Social & Political Union, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.
PRICES—Private Boxes (holding eight), £3 3s.; Orchestra Stalls,
5s.; Dress Circle, 4s.; Upper Circle, 3s.; all numbered and
reserved. Unreserved—Pit, 2s.; Gallery, 1s.

ALL MEN AND WOMEN

ANXIOUS TO LEARN ABOUT

**THE TACTICS
OF
The W. S. P. U.**

SHOULD COME TO THE LECTURE ON

"Women and Practical Politics,"By Miss **CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,**

IN THE

Portman Rooms, Tuesday, April 7,**At 8.30 p.m.**Tickets, 5/-, 2/6, and 1/-, from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U.,
4, Clements Inn, W.C.**VOTES FOR WOMEN.**

April, 1908.

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE LESSON OF PECKHAM.

A severe blow has been dealt at the Government in Peckham, where the Liberal nominee, supported officially and fathered by a member of the Government, was defeated by an unprecedented majority.

It only requires a few such defeats to force the Cabinet to give way.

A by-election of such a kind means far more than the loss of a seat to the Ministry; it means that their prestige is impaired, that they cannot lay claim to a possession of the confidence of the country, and that they are deprived of any mandate to continue their work.

The Liberal party has felt the shock, but characteristically it has refused to give credit to the women who were so largely instrumental in its defeat; it has preferred to trace it solely to the other forces which were at work in the constituency.

In Mid-Devon Liberals and the Liberal Press acclaimed

the result as a victory for Tariff Reform; to-day in Peckham it is called a victory for the Liquor Trade.

They prefer now, as then, to declare that the people are opposed to Liberal measures than to credit them with an adherence to the fundamentally Liberal principles of democracy on which the women base their claim.

It does not matter to us what statements they choose to put forward; we know what our influence in the election was, and we know that every day as their strength grows less we grow more powerful.

And we know that the time is not very far distant when we shall be able to compel the Government either to yield to our demand or to await its fate at the ballot-box in a General Election.

When that time comes the subterfuges by which they have deceived their followers will not avail them to ward off the hostility which they are arousing in women of every political conviction, or to enable them to pose as the champions of those Liberal principles which they have so flagrantly violated.

POLITICAL NOTES.BY **CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.**

The second reading of the Women's Enfranchisement Bill was carried on February 28, by 271 votes to 92, but Government support is necessary if the measure is to become law, and as the Cabinet is so much opposed to the principle of the Bill, strong pressure must be exerted if this support is to be obtained. Our friends in the House of Commons have increased the difficulty of the position by weakly consenting to refer the Bill, not to one of the standing Committees, but to a Committee of the whole House. Their unfortunate compromise with the opponents of the measure, and their inaction since the second reading was carried, show how unwise we should be if in our election policy we were to look to pledges of private members rather than to the programme of the Government. It is quite evident that we ourselves must bring the necessary pressure to bear upon the Government.

The by-election policy of this Union is a powerful means to that end. During March we opposed the Government in the by-elections which took place at Hastings and at Peckham, and in both cases the Liberal nominee was defeated.

The Peckham contest was especially important, as on all hands it was admitted that a Liberal defeat there would mean a serious loss of prestige to the Government. To counteract our influence, the Liberal Party made every effort to secure the services of women speakers and canvassers, while on the eve of the poll the "Star" newspaper appealed to the women of the constituency to use their influence on behalf of the Government nominee, and asserted that if they would come to the help of the temperance candidate, he would win. That a party organ should address the final word before the poll to women rather than to men is a very significant admission of the important part which we played in the Peckham election.

The Union's Influence at Peckham.

There is no lack of evidence as to our influence upon the result. Before the poll the "Daily News" admitted that the Liberals were hard hit by our campaign; the "Daily Chronicle" devoted considerable space to condemning our anti-Government policy; adherents of the Government wrote to us personally and to the Press, urging us to stay our hand in order that the Liberal nominee might secure election. After the result was known, the successful candidate asserted that Woman Suffrage had been an important feature in the election. In a correspondence in the "Daily News" on the result and its causes chief attention is devoted to the action of the "Suffragettes." A letter which appeared in "The Nation" contains a statement that "there is no man in the National Liberal Club to-day who does not know that Mid-Devon was lost to the Liberals because of the adverse action of the militant Suffragists, . . . and there is not a Liberal Member to-day who does not dread the prospect of a General Election, with the absolute certainty that he will have to fight not only the usual enemy, but also a very determined body, which at the present time has no political creed other than that expressed in the three words 'Votes for Women.'" The "Hereford Times," a Liberal paper which circulates in a district lately the scene of an election contest, expressed the opinion—based upon close knowledge of our work—that our campaign affected the Peckham result. Dr. Robert

Esler, Divisional Surgeon, Peckham, publicly stated that in his opinion—

An influence as weighty as any other was exercised by the political ladies, who took everyone by surprise by the restraint and good sense of their utterances, and by their impressive and dignified presence. To withhold the tribute which is their due, in enumerating the causes which resulted in success would, in my opinion, be very unfair.

A most significant sign that we are recognised as a menace to the Government has been the fierce attack made upon us by those supporters of the Government who charge us with being in alliance with the brewers. Adherents of the Government made urgent appeals to us that we should, in the interest of the Licensing Bill, lend our support to the Government, or, at least, adopt a neutral attitude for the time being. To this our reply was, that nothing save the enactment of a Women's Enfranchisement Bill would induce us to abandon our opposition to the Liberal candidate. We hold it to be the duty of the Government, and we believe it to be within their power, to carry Woman Suffrage in addition to the Licensing Bill. If the leaders of the Liberal party are determined to sacrifice the various measures on their programme to their prejudices in the matter of Women's Enfranchisement, they themselves are alone to blame. Advocates of the Licensing and other bills which the Government have introduced will do wisely, instead of remonstrating with us, to compel their leaders to comply with our demand for enfranchisement. We, who are demanding what is admittedly our right, are determined not to yield an inch in the present conflict with the Government, and, in the interests of their own cause, the sooner this is recognised by the earnest members of the Liberal rank and file the better.

Votes for Women First.

Since the very beginning of the movement, Women Suffragists have been called upon to waive their claim to the vote for the sake of some other reform. When the present Government came into office, first Free Trade then the Education Bill was made by the Liberal Party the excuse for delay in facing the question of Women's Suffrage. Later, it was argued that the House of Lords campaign had a first claim upon the energies of women. Now we are expected to let the Licensing Bill take precedence of our own measure. Were we to agree to this course, another Bill would then be forthcoming which we should be assured was of greater importance and more urgency than the one of conferring political rights upon our sex. The Women's Social and Political Union have from the first refused to subordinate the women's cause to any other, and we call upon self-respecting women to recognise not only that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill is a measure of far deeper importance than the Licensing Bill, but that it is entirely owing to the unsatisfactory attitude of the Government that the agitation in favour of one measure seems likely to involve injury to the other.

Finding us determined not to abandon, even temporarily, our election policy for the sake of the Licensing Bill, partisans of the Government have vehemently attacked us as being the foes of Temperance and the allies of the Brewers. Quite unfounded charges of drunkenness and disorder have been made against the people of Peckham, and it has been suggested by those whose imagination has been disordered by party prejudice, that the members of this Union were in a measure responsible for it. In point of fact, the sobriety and the courtesy displayed

towards all political sections by the people of Peckham during the election were quite remarkable. In this connection, Dr. Robert Esler, whose words were quoted above, has made the following statement:—

During the ten days of intense tension in canvassing and speaking, there was literally no insobriety of any kind in the community, the charges at the police-station fell much below the usual low average, being less than one per diem, and there was not a single assault case. The universal toleration which prevailed on both sides was remarkable. In my opinion a high moral tone was imparted at the beginning by the presence on the Rye of the ladies who took part in the proceedings. Their dignified demeanour and cultured oratory made a profound impression, and I think this should not be overlooked when considering the result.

The contest at Peckham has greatly increased our hope of early success. It is true that in Mid-Devon and elsewhere our by-election work has been attended by remarkable success, but never before has our influence been so clearly seen by both Press and party politicians, and never have we ourselves been more fully convinced of our growing power to affect the result of by-elections.

As to Scotland and Wales we cannot yet speak with certainty, but there is now no doubt in our own mind, and very little in that of anyone else, that we can at the By-elections prevent the return of the Government nominee in any English constituency. The determination of the Union as contrasted with the weakness of the Government, the sacrifices made by women in this cause, are making it possible for us to appeal with ever increasing effect to the electors for support. This being the case, we may look confidently for early victory, for no Government can withstand repeated defeats at the poll. The Peckham result has greatly dismayed the party in power. Signs of this are to be found in the call made by the "Westminster Gazette" for a modification of the Government programme, in the readiness expressed by Mr. Rufus Isaacs to sacrifice some of his views on the Licensing Question rather than allow elections such as Peckham to prevail throughout the country. Ministerial utterances also show uneasiness, and though they speak with assumed confidence of holding office for the next three years, members of the Government well know that continued election reverses will quickly bring about their downfall. The success of our by-election policy is driving them to a point when they must choose between either granting Women's Suffrage or going to the country in the hope of gaining a new lease of power which would enable them to resist our claim to the vote.

Under these circumstances, our future course is plain. We shall at the right time be prepared to repeat the protests which, though they cost us dear, do so much to convince the country of our earnestness. In order to demonstrate women's demand for a vote, and to prepare the way for the speedy concession of our claim, we shall hold in London and all parts of the country a large number of great meetings, which will lead up to the Hyde Park Demonstration on June 21. If, as we expect, this meeting is the largest ever held in connection with any franchise agitation, the Government will then be deprived of every vestige of excuse for further withholding the vote. In the meantime, by the success of the by-election campaigns, we shall have destroyed their power of resistance to our demand. There is the strongest probability that the Government will then decide to abandon their futile resistance to women's demand for political enfranchisement.

THE MONTH'S CAMPAIGN.

In every possible direction, the woman's campaign has moved forward during the past month. The great Albert Hall meeting; the crowded Monday At Homes at the Portman Rooms, with their overflow into the smaller Rooms; the release of all our prisoners, including Mrs.

Pankhurst; successful protests at various Cabinet Ministers' meetings; a battle fought and won against the Government at Peckham; a growing increase in our membership; significant utterances in the Press—these are but a few signs of an onward rush that is leading us rapidly to our goal.

The Albert Hall.

The great Mass Meeting of women in the Albert Hall will always be remembered as an historical occasion in the Suffrage movement. It was, firstly, the largest gathering of women inside a hall which has ever taken place, and, secondly, the great enthusiasm shown was unparalleled. Over 7,000 people were present, both sitting and standing, and a great number were turned from the doors. At the same time, a fund of £7,000 was raised with which to prosecute our campaign in the future. Mrs. Pankhurst's dramatic appearance on the Albert Hall platform, before an audience prepared to see her chair remain empty the whole evening, occasioned an outburst of enthusiasm that can never have been equalled in the annals of the woman's movement, and we seemed to hear in it the death-knell of the Government that had unjustly imprisoned her.

Hyde Park on June 21.

We have been frequently asked to produce numbers to show that there are a great many women who are demanding the vote. Here, at any rate, is a clear and emphatic answer to this question. But we do not intend to stop here; we are organising an enormous outdoor gathering on Sunday, June 21, in Hyde Park, and we intend to have there not 10,000, but over 100,000 women present to claim their enfranchisement. It will be remembered that on the famous occasion in Hyde Park, when the men pulled down the railings, 67,000 men demonstrated. Though Mr. Gladstone said that he did not expect women to show as large numbers as men have shown, we are confident of being able to double this figure. Special arrangements are being made for processions to the park from various parts of London, and also for special trains from all over the country. Nearer the date railway tickets will be issued, which will require to be purchased several days before June 21. Members and friends are requested to keep this in mind.

Portman Room Lectures.

The interesting course of lectures in the Portman Rooms, which has attracted and converted many people who came to hear what Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Garrett Anderson, and Mrs. Pankhurst had to say on different aspects of the question, is now coming to an end. As we go to press, Miss Elizabeth Robins will be delivering her lecture, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will bring the series to a close on April 7, with an address on "Women and Practical Politics." This will be delivered in the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, at 8.30, and tickets are now on sale at 4, Clements Inn, price 5s., 2s. 6d., and 1s. Women who have friends who do not see the value of our tactics should make a point of bringing them to hear this lecture.

Breakfasts to Prisoners.

Three breakfasts were given to released prisoners during March. On March 13, Mrs. Baldock and Miss Annie Kenney were entertained on their release at the Eustace Miles Restaurant; and on March 18, the greater number of those who were arrested in February received a similar honour. The remainder of our prisoners came out with Mrs. Pankhurst in time to appear on the platform at the Albert Hall, and were entertained at breakfast in the Wharnclyffe Rooms on March 20, when 300 people were present. The speeches made on all these occasions were very stirring, and produced a great impression on all who heard them; a special

account is given in another part of the paper. The triumphant progress of the released prisoners through the constituency of Peckham had a marked effect upon the electors, and contributed largely to our victory over the Government that had unjustly imprisoned them.

Protests at Meetings.

Among protests made at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, we may mention one made at the end of Mr. Asquith's speech before the Chamber of Commerce at Manchester, which, though perfectly in order and at the right time, resulted in the ejection of the questioner, and produced an interesting controversy on our militant methods in the "Manchester Guardian"; also others at Motherwell, where Mr. Haldane was repeatedly cross questioned during his speech; at the Caxton Hall, where Mr. John Burns chose to answer pertinent criticisms of his references to working mothers by flinging personalities at the women who made them; and at the Queen's Hall, where Mr. Lloyd George, unable to make a consecutive speech because of the interruptions of the women, tried ineffectually to lead them and his audience off on a side issue by seeking to identify the women's opposition with that of other enemies to the Government who happened also to be present. In all these cases the women were summarily ejected, but it was evident on each occasion that they excited a great deal of sympathy with their cause. At the Queen's Hall, especially, there were shouts of "Why don't you throw out the men?"—the men having interrupted far more than the women, up to that point, without being expelled for it.

The By-Elections.

We have devoted a great deal of time and energy during the month to the by-elections in Hastings and Peckham. In both we were able to exert a remarkable influence. In Peckham the Government were defeated by 2,494, where they had previously held the seat by 2,300—a change of nearly 5,000 votes. Though an attempt has been made in some quarters to attribute this result to the attitude of the electors to the Licensing Bill, we have considerable evidence to prove that our agitation was largely responsible. An important letter, appearing in "The Nation" for March 28, is given in full in another column of this paper. The "Daily News" having opened its columns to discuss the reason for the loss of the seat to the Liberals, announced, on March 30, that the replies from its readers were mostly concerned with the Suffragettes. An extract is also given from a local Liberal paper, calling attention to the importance of our work, and finally Mr. Gooch, the successful candidate, gave us credit in his speech for considerable influence. These acknowledgments are in line with the local expressions of opinion, which we have received during the last six by-elections where the Government has lost heavily, and which occurred before ever the Licensing Bill (to which the Liberals would attribute their present *débâcle*) was introduced.

We are now in the thick of the fight at Kincardineshire, where the Government have a majority of 2,353 on a very small electorate. As the Licensing Bill does not apply to Scotland, the full credit of any decrease in the Liberal majority will belong to us.

Other interesting events of the past month have been the protest meetings held in the North of England, meetings to welcome the prisoners held in Manchester, Preston, Worcester, Hereford, and other places, meetings in St. Leonards and Sheffield, and elsewhere. Miss Pankhurst also took part in a debate at the Hardwicke Debating Society (the famous legal debating society in London), when a motion condemning our tactics was defeated by a majority of 25. Lady Knyvett gave a drawing-room "At Home" at the Portman Rooms, on

March 27, and on Wednesday of the same week Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence were invited to dine at the Patriotic Club, and subsequently spoke to an interested audience on the subject of Votes for Women.

A very successful drawing-room concert was also held by Mrs. Craies, in Kensington, the proceeds of which have been devoted to the funds of the National W.S.P.U. Mr. Laurence Housman gave a reading, Miss Marie Motto, Miss Nettie Carpenter, Miss Polyxena Fletcher, and other instrumentalists gave their services gladly for the cause, thus showing how thoroughly the artistic, as well as the professional, women are on our side.

The Kite.

An incident of last month's campaign was the flying of the "Votes for Women" kite, which carried a large advertisement of the Albert Hall meeting over the House of Commons itself, causing a considerable flutter both at St. Stephen's and in Scotland Yard, where it was evidently thought that an aerial descent upon Parliament was contemplated by the Women's Social and Political Union. The kite also bore its encouraging message over Holloway Gaol during the time that our prisoners took their exercise in the yard.

Future Arrangements.

An interesting future event, leading up to our great Demonstration of Sunday, June 21, in Hyde Park, will be our meeting in the St. James's Theatre, on the afternoon of May 26, by kind permission of Mr. George Alexander. The speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst (chair), Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and others, and tickets, price 5s., 4s., 3s., 2s., and 1s., are now on sale at 4, Clements Inn, and should be speedily applied for. Several of the Halls in and around London are being taken for meetings in May.

Among other fixtures in the near future are important meetings at Bedford Town Hall, at 3 and 8, on Friday, April 3, when Miss Christabel Pankhurst will be the chief speaker; at Teignmouth, on the same day, to be addressed by Miss Annie Kenney; at Lancaster, on the 5th, at the Addison Hall, Kensington, on the 8th, at 8 p.m., when Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Annie Kenney, and other released prisoners will speak; at Plymouth, on the 15th, &c. Mrs. Pankhurst is making a tour of the country. In view of the Kincardineshire by-election, her meeting in Aberdeen, on April 1, is especially important; she also visits Glasgow, April 2, Edinburgh, April 3, Nottingham, April 8.

The Thursday evening "At Home" is now held in the Small Portman Rooms, Dorset-street entrance, at 8 p.m., and all members and friends are invited to come and listen to short speeches made by our different leaders, and to hear the weekly gossip of the campaign. This is a good opportunity for those women to come into touch with our movement who are unable to attend the Monday afternoon "At Homes," which are held weekly in the Large Portman Rooms, Baker-street.

Owing to Easter, there will be no "At Homes" in the Portman Rooms on the following days, namely, Thursday evening, April 16; Monday afternoon, April 20; Thursday, April 23; but the usual "At Homes" will be resumed on Monday, April 27, and on Thursday, April 30.

We appeal especially to all those who are going to spend Easter out of town to take every opportunity of bringing the "Votes for Women" cause to the notice of their friends. If converts are made in every country house, hotel, seaside, or country lodging, in which our members may find themselves at the end of April, much will be done to make our great Women's Demonstration in Hyde Park, on June 21, a phenomenal event in English history.

E. S.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. VII.—*The Married Woman's Property Acts*

In 1882, Mr. Warton and Sir George Campbell, who, during two previous sessions, had prevented the Married Woman's Property Bill from being passed into law, now returned to their old methods of obstruction. But these were no longer successful, for both the opinion of the House and the power of the Government were now on the side of the Bill. It was arranged on this occasion that the Committee stage should be taken at a time when the 12.30 rule, which had given the opponents their opportunity, would not apply.

On going into Committee Sir G. Campbell and Mr. Warton proposed amendments limiting the scope of the Bill, but these were defeated, and upon consideration of the Bill on Tuesday, August 15, Mr. Warton challenged a division. The result of this was for the Bill 79, against 6.

On the motion of Mr. Osborne Morgan a number of verbal amendments were then inserted, and the Bill was read a third time amid cheers. The Commons amendments were agreed to by the Lords on the next day, and on Friday, August 16, the Bill became law.

A Step Forward.

The clause in the Divorce Law of 1857, which restored to deserted wives the rights of unmarried women in regard to property, the Married Woman's Property Act, 1870, and the Married Woman's Property Act, 1882, did much to raise the status of married women in this country.

Before the passing of these Acts a wife was in an absolutely helpless and dependent position, and was legally almost incapable of protecting herself in any way.

Looking back on those days, and upon the burden of unnecessary hardships which has through all resulted from inequalities in the law, remembering also that whatever improvements have been effected have been brought about mainly through the efforts of a few earnest and devoted women, must surely prove to us how essential it is that women should have a voice and vote in politics.

If until well on in the nineteenth century a wife was deserted by her husband, or separated from him by a decree of the Ecclesiastical Court, she was at the mercy of anyone who wished to do her an injury. Only through her husband could she either sue or be sued, and make or enforce contracts. If, therefore, she were subjected to violence, if her property were stolen, or her character defamed, or anyone had broken faith with her, she could obtain no redress.

If a wife was possessed of property it belonged entirely to her husband, and, even though he might be separated from her because of his misconduct, he had not only the right to spend it as he pleased during his lifetime, but to will it, as he sometimes did, away from both her and her children.

A wife had then no legal right to her own earnings, and husbands often went to the factory gates to have their wives' wages paid over to them.

In countless cases of desertion the wife was known to have toiled and pinched and struggled until she had got together a home to live in and a little money to maintain herself and her children. Then time after time the husband would come along, sell up everything, and in a few short weeks or even days would leave her penniless.

The Act of 1882, since which there has been no substantial alteration in the law affecting married women's property, made many more radical and important changes than anything that had preceded it. Yet the Government of that day appear to have attached little importance to it, for in the Queen's Speech, at the opening of the follow-

ing Parliament, in recording the measures that had become law during the session of 1882, no mention was made of the Married Woman's Property Act.

This Act gave to married women the right to hold and acquire and to dispose, by will or otherwise, of both real and personal property. Under it a married woman could bank her money and invest her stocks without consulting her husband, and she might become a trustee or an executrix jointly or with other persons. A married woman could now make contracts, sue and be sued,* and, if engaged in trade, might become a bankrupt. Husbands and wives might not sue each other in respect of personal wrong, but might do so in regard to property. If a husband deserted his wife and took away any of her property she could prosecute him for theft, and he had the right to prosecute her under the same circumstances. Husbands were the first to take advantage of this power, and it was stated by Mr. Inderwick in the House of Commons in 1883, that of the first 15 married persons convicted for stealing from one another 14 were women and only one was a man. The first case of this kind was tried at the Gloucester Assizes, when Mirza Brooks, nailmaker, was charged with stealing £21 10s. and some articles of property belonging to her husband. She was found guilty, and sent to prison for six months.

Omissions and Flaws in the Act.

One of the most unsatisfactory provisions of the Act was that a wife who had lent money to her husband could make no claim for this upon his estate until all other creditors had been satisfied, and this is still the case at the present day.

In regard to intestacy, the Act still left women in a position of disadvantage. If a wife died without leaving a will her husband became possessed of the whole of her personal property, and if a child had been born the husband could draw the whole of the income from her lands during his lifetime. A wife had usually no claim upon her husband's real estate, though in some cases she had a life interest in one-third of the income derived from it. She was only entitled to half his personal property, or if there were children to one-third. This inequality has not yet been abolished, but under the Intestates' Estates Act of 1890 if a man dies without a will his widow (in cases where there are no children) is entitled to £500 in addition to any other interest she may have in his estate.

One of the first women to take advantage of the New Act was a costermonger in the East End of London, whose husband had taken and spent in drink the 2s. which she had placed aside to pay for the replenishing of her barrow. The husband was warned that in future he must not interfere with his wife's money. The Married Woman's Property (Scotland) Act of 1881, did not go quite so far as the English measure, for though it provided that all income derived from a wife's personal estate should henceforth be her own, she could not anticipate her income or deal with the principal of the estate without her husband's consent. If she were living apart from him, however, she could make application to the Sheriff's Court or Court of Session to enable her to do so.

In the case of inheritance, the Scotch Act gave equal

* Though a judgment can be obtained, and execution made on a married woman's separate property, she cannot be imprisoned for default in payment. Though a wife may be sued for contract or Tort, as though she were unmarried, her husband is still liable to be joined with her in an action for Tort. A case in which an action was brought by a husband and wife because of the wife's slander, occurred only last week. The magistrate then said that no doubt when women got votes this would be altered.

rights to the widow and children of a deceased husband and the widower and children of a deceased wife. In both cases the children became entitled to one-third of the estate and the widow or widower to one-third.

Before the passing of this Act a Scotch widow had had a legal right to one-third, or if there were no children to one-half her husband's personal property. She had also a life interest in one-third of his real estate. These rights the Act left untouched. It also left undisturbed the right of a widower to a life interest in the whole of his wife's real estate if a child had been born of the marriage.

The passing of the Married Woman's Property Act, 1882, was received by ardent Suffragists with enthusiasm. This was not only for the sake of its great immediate benefits, but because it was believed that married women if otherwise qualified would now be able to vote in local elections and when the Parliamentary franchise was extended to women for members of Parliament also.

In spite of this belief, however, and of the fact that in the case of Regina v. Harrauld (see last month) Sir A. Cockburn had decided against the women's claim to vote on the ground that a married woman was not a person in the eye of the law, because she had none of the rights which the Act of 1882 afterwards conferred, no attempt has since been made to establish a married woman's right to vote.

Returning to the struggle for the Parliamentary vote itself, we find that in Parliament little progress was being made. Mr. Hugh Mason had again introduced his Resolution to extend the Parliamentary franchise to women who were already qualified to vote in local elections. The Resolution was set down for July 21, but the Committee on Arrears of Rent Bill was continued until after midnight, and the resolution was withdrawn.

Meanwhile, an active agitation was being carried on all over the country, for in view of the expected Representation of the People Act, which was to take in the agricultural labourer, women felt that the time had now come to make an urgent demand for their own enfranchisement.

Mass Meetings in the Eighties.

It was decided to hold demonstrations of women in all the principal towns to demand the vote. The series began with a packed meeting in the Manchester Free Trade Hall, on February 8, 1880, and included in 1855, meetings in the St. James's Hall, London, and the Colston Hall, Bristol; in 1881 the Albert Hall, Nottingham, the Town Hall, Birmingham, and the St. George's Hall, Bradford; in 1882, the Albert Hall, Sheffield, and the St. Andrew's Hall, Glasgow. All these great meetings were entirely composed of women, and in most cases overflow meetings had to be arranged for the eager crowds of women who would otherwise have been turned away at the doors. In 1883, important meetings were held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, and at York, Wakefield, Grimsby, Derby, Grantham, and many other places.

On May 29, 1883, a memorial signed by 107 Liberal M.P.'s was presented to Mr. Gladstone. This memorial stated "That in the opinion of your memorialists no measure for the assimilation of the county and borough franchise will be satisfactory unless it contains provisions for extending the Suffrage without distinction of sex to all persons who possess the statutory qualifications for the Parliamentary franchise."

In 1883, Mr. Mason at last secured a place for his resolution. The Commissioners of the Royal and Parliamentary burghs, and eighteen Scottish and five English Town Councils immediately petitioned the Government in support of it, and petitions in its favour were adopted by the Birmingham Eight Hundred, and by Local Boards in many districts.

On July 5, the night before the resolution was to come on in Parliament, an enthusiastic meeting was held in the St. James's Hall, London, at which a memorial was adopted for presentation to Mr. Gladstone.

MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

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

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

There is no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give 1s. a year to cover postage.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

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

April 1	Wood Green, Unity Hall Bath, Assembly Rooms	"At Home" Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Crocker, Miss Lamb	8 p.m.
	Aberdeen Hammersmith, 2, The Broadway	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Kettering, Market Hill	Miss Sidley	7.30 p.m.
	Lancaster, Trades-Hall	Mrs. Baines	8 p.m.
	Bradford	Miss A. Pankhurst, Rev. Roberts	7.30 p.m.
April 2	Bristol, Victoria Rooms	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss A. Kenney, Miss Lamb, Miss Crocker	8 p.m.
	Dewsbury, Conservative Association	Miss Mary Gawthorpe	7.30 p.m.
	Devonport, Keyham Gates	Miss Nell Kenney	Dinner hour 8 p.m.
	Glasgow, Athenæum	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Fraser	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8-10 p.m.
	Plymouth, Co-operative Guild	Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Skelton, open air	Mrs. Baines	7.30 p.m.
	Bradford, Tong	Miss A. Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
April 3	Bedford, Town Hall, Women only	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Sidley	3 p.m.
	Bedford, Town Hall, Public Meeting	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Sidley	8 p.m.
	Plymouth, Market Place	Miss Nell Kenney	8 p.m.
	Edinburgh	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
	Teignmouth, Assembly Rooms	Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Lancaster, Market Place	Mrs. Baines	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Wakefield Road	Miss A. Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
April 4	Newton Abbot, Alexandra Hall	Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Crocker	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Quarry-street, Heaton	Miss A. Pankhurst	7 p.m.
April 5	Lancaster, Hippodrome	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines, Mrs. Rigby	8 p.m.
April 6	Bradford, St. George's Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
April 7	London, Portman Rooms, Lecture	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8.30 p.m.
	Leeds, Branch Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst	...
April 8	Northampton, Temperance Hall, "At Home"	Mrs. Pankhurst and others	3-5 p.m.
	Northampton, Temperance Hall, Public Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst and others; chair, Mrs. Branch	8 p.m.
	Kensington, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Annie Kenney	8 p.m.
	Chiswick, Grove Park, Drawing Room Meeting	Miss Isabel Seymour	...
April 9	London, Pioneer Club	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8.15 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8-10 p.m.
April 11	Nottingham, Victoria Station Hotel, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6 p.m.
April 13	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
April 15	Plymouth, Guildhall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney, and others	8 p.m.
April 27	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
April 28	London, Women's Liberal Association, 62, King's Road	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.30 p.m.
April 30	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home,"	8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

May 26	London, St. James's Theatre, St. James's, S.W.	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe	3 p.m.
June 21	Hyde Park Demonstration	All the Leaders	3 p.m.

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THE ALBERT HALL MEETING.

WONDERFUL SCENES OF ENTHUSIASM.

The women's great demonstration held in the Royal Albert Hall on Thursday, March 19, is by far the largest indoor meeting that has been held in the history of the women's movement. It is the largest indoor meeting that has ever taken place in support of any extension of the franchise in this country, and it will certainly rank as one of the most wonderful meetings that have ever been held in the Albert Hall. The vast audience was composed almost entirely of women, and at the opening of the meeting Miss Christabel Pankhurst was able to announce that all the standing room in the gallery and every seat, with the exception of those in a few of the private boxes, whose owners had not given permission for them to be occupied, had been sold. Many people who had not already secured tickets were turned away at the doors.

The platform was crowded with ex-prisoners and officials of the N.W.S.P.U., but the chairman's seat was vacant, and in it was placed a card bearing the inscription, "Mrs. Pankhurst's chair."

As the speakers came on to the platform, they were greeted by a thunder of applause. When Miss Christabel Pankhurst, after making a few preliminary announcements, told the audience that, for some reason, "not unconnected with Peckham," the Government had decided to release unexpectedly Mrs. Pankhurst and those who had been imprisoned with her, the enthusiasm was tremendous, and became almost overwhelming when it was known that Mrs. Pankhurst would be able to be present, and to take the chair at the meeting that night. Then, whilst the demonstration was at its height, Mrs. Pankhurst came quietly forward on to the platform, and as soon as order was restored, began to address the assembled women. She was evidently deeply moved by the warmth of her reception, and as she told how the chief wardress had come to her cell at two o'clock that afternoon to tell her that an order had come for her immediate release, one felt that she was very tired, and almost overwhelmed by the sharp contrast between that great brightly lighted hall, with its vast seething throng of human beings, and the stillness and silence of the prison cell.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

She had heard, she said, "for these things filter even into prison," that the Bill had successfully passed through its second reading; but too much must not be thought of that, for if the Bill was ever to come to a third reading, women must do ten times more in the future than they ever had done in the past. They might well be glad to spare no effort in the determination to obtain the Parliamentary vote. They had always needed it, and always wanted it, but not as much as to-day. To-day had sprung up a new kind of politics, which meant interfering with them all in their daily lives. Women needed representation in order to see that this new kind of legislation was not to be a worse tyranny and a greater oppression than any that had gone before. To a woman it was humorous to see how men seemed to think how that they were fitted to deal with questions which ever since the human race had existed had been left to women to manage, and which women understood as no man ever could.

"I for one, friends," she continued, "looking round on the muddles that men have made, looking round on the sweated and decrepit members of my sex, I say men have had the control of these things long enough, and no woman with any spark of womanliness in her will consent to let this state of things go on any longer. We are tired of it. We want to be of use; we want to have this power in order that we may try to make the world a much better place for men and women than it is to-day.

"I am very glad to be here to-night. It makes me very happy to see what a few years ago I thought I never should live to see. They said, 'You will never rouse women.' Well, we have done what they thought and what they hoped to be impossible. We women are roused!"

At this there was loud and prolonged applause, and as it subsided Mrs. Pankhurst concluded, "Perhaps it is difficult to rouse women; they are long-suffering and patient; but now that we are roused, we will never be quiet again." She then moved:—

This meeting of women assembled in the Royal Albert Hall demands that constitutional rights be granted to women, and calls upon the Government to adopt and carry into law the Women's Enfranchisement Bill now before Parliament.

Miss Annie Kenney was called upon to second the resolution. What could have been more dramatic? Annie Kenney, who little more than two years ago had stood up with four other isolated women, scattered about in different places in the Hall, to ask the newly-elected triumphant Liberal Ministry what they were prepared to do to enfranchise the women of this country. That night she was received with gibes and sneers, howled down by an audience of angry men, and violently ejected by a band of infuriated Liberal stewards. To-night she was on the platform, addressing an audience of enthusiastic women, who received her with a round of cheers, and responded readily to all that she had to say.

The Story of Two Years Ago.

She told them how she had been chosen as the delegate of the Manchester Women's Social and Political Union, and had come up to London to attend the great Liberal demonstration in that hall, and to question its Liberal leaders as to their intentions in regard to votes for women. She had written to them before the meeting, telling them that she intended to be present, that she hoped that women's suffrage would be dealt with in the speeches, and included in the Liberal programme. If it were not, she should feel bound to get up and protest against its exclusion. As was well known, the subject of women's enfranchisement was not at that meeting in any way referred to, and she had, therefore, got up, and hanging a votes for women banner over the edge of Mr. John Burns's private box, in which she sat, had asked, "Are you going to give women the vote?"

In describing this incident, Miss Kenney pointed to one of the private boxes, from which a little white banner, similar to that which she had displayed on that other memorable evening, had been displayed. "Then," she said, "the whole hall seemed to rise. There seemed to be thousands against one, but I did not mind, because I knew that our action that night was like summer rain on a drooping flower; it would give new life and new spirit to the women's movement in London." "Is not this meeting one of the many proofs that we women were right?" she asked, and the audience answered, "Yes."

Then Miss Kenney went on to refer to those who had fought for reform in bygone days, and to remind those present that all that had been won by them in the past had been won only with toil and sacrifice. "The strife of those days won for us the liberties we now enjoy; the strife of to-day will win liberty and freedom for the generations that are to come."

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who spoke next, said she felt sure that the heart of that great meeting had been thrilled by the two speeches that had gone before. All present must, she thought, realise something of the power and vitality of this great movement, which to those who worked in it was a miracle. It was not quite two years since Annie Kenney came alone and friendless "to rouse London"—now London was roused. Aye, and the whole country also.

What was it, after all, that British women asked of a British Government, nothing more than that constitutional rights should be given to women who were British-born subjects of the Crown. They were asking that taxation and representation should go together. It was neither a strange nor a new demand, and meant only the restitution of those ancient rights which had been stolen from them in 1832.

Then Mrs. Lawrence spoke of the degradation and horror of life in the slums, and of the trials and hardships of working women, and their urgent need for the protection of the Parliamentary vote. Women were fighting for the right to work, but this question of votes for women, beside being a bread and butter question, was more than that—it was a question of women's honour and self-respect, a question of virtue and social purity.

Then she appealed to all those present to come forward and

do what they could to help forward the women's movement. The women on that platform had been prepared to make any sacrifice they had gone through, not only physical suffering, but many of them in deciding to go to prison had gone against the judgment of their relatives and all their friends. She had thought, she said, that this chair of Mrs. Pankhurst's would have been an empty one, and that they would have placed in it an offering to be collected at that meeting. But surely what they would have done before they would do now ten times more readily, now that they had their brave prisoners again with them.

£7,000 Raised.

The first thing that was to go to make up this offering was a cheque for £2,382 11s. 7d., which was the sum that had been raised in the first instance by members' *Self Denial*. The total of that fund would be completed to-night.

To that sum must be added a promise of a lady, who wished to remain anonymous, of £1,000 a year until women were enfranchised. (Cheers.) A cheque for £250 accompanied the promise. A second thousand would be contributed by the treasurer herself, in conjunction with her husband. Twelve other sums of £100 each were then announced, and from all parts of the hall promise cards came pouring in, and were put into the treasurer's hands. A scene of great enthusiasm prevailed; as fast as the cards reached the platform they were read out by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who handed them over to Mr. Sayers, the auditor of the Union, and the total reached was exhibited on a scoring-board, which could be seen from every part of the hall. Four thousand, five thousand, six thousand went rapidly up amid cheers, and the figures continued to mount, until, including the collection, a sum of £6,750 was shown. To this total should be added £100 from Mrs. Bernard Shaw, announced on the following morning, and a few smaller amounts, bringing the grand total up to close on £7,000.

At the close of the financial announcement, Miss Christabel Pankhurst rose to speak. A great cheer greeted her as she spoke in impassioned words of the determination of women to take their share in the government of the country. Her speech is given verbatim on page 101 of this paper.

The resolution was then put, and carried with one dissentient. Mrs. Martel then briefly referred to the campaign in Peckham, and Mrs. Baines spoke of the work being done by the Union among the working women of Yorkshire.

This closed the greatest meeting that has yet been held in the woman's movement, a meeting that will be handed down as one of the most important in the annals of our country.

BREAKFAST AT THE WHARNCLIFFE ROOMS.

The most successful breakfast ever organised by the N.W.S.P.U. was held on Friday, March 20, to welcome Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners on their release from Holloway. It is true that the Government had sent them out of the prison on the afternoon previously, but that only added to the joyousness of the occasion, for the prisoners had been able to have a much-needed rest before the excitement of their first day of liberty.

The Eustace Miles Restaurant being too small to accommodate the large number of guests, the Wharncliffe Rooms at the Great Central Hotel had been engaged, and a first-rate meal was provided. Three hundred women were present, many of whom had brought flowers, and every speaker, conscious of the sympathetic atmosphere of her listeners, gave of her very best.

The chair was taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who reminded her hearers that he who goeth forth weeping bearing precious seeds shall return with gladness bearing rich and plenteous sheaves. When their comrades had left them, she said, "It was the time of sowing, and though they did not go weeping we felt them as though the ploughshare were going through our own hearts." Now, to-day was the day of rejoicing, and for welcoming back the prisoners with love and admiration, and very great appreciation for all their services; but it was difficult to express how they loved them, and how determined they were to support them and to stand with them, and with them to give up in every way their lives for the great cause.

Mrs. Lawrence then read telegrams of greeting and appreciation from Miss Beatrice Harraden and the Turin Committee

of the Italian Women's Suffrage Society, and announced that she had received a promise of a cheque for £100 from Mrs. George Bernard Shaw. The Italian telegram was as follows:—

The Turin Committee, "Pro Voto Alle Donne," follows with sympathy the struggle begun by the English women for the conquest of their right to vote, and sends the assurance of their approbation and fervent good wishes to the Suffragettes, who show admirable courage and perseverance in the strife to obtain at any cost that which only the "passive resistance" (quietudine) of the Government withholds from them.

When Mrs. Pankhurst, who spoke next, rose, the audience stood up and clapped and cheered and waved their handkerchiefs, and tried as well as they could to express something of that love and appreciation of which Mrs. Lawrence had spoken. That they succeeded was evident, for Mrs. Pankhurst was deeply moved by this affectionate demonstration, and for a few moments was almost too much overcome to speak. Then she said: "If we had done ten thousand times more than we have done, this would have rewarded us. This and the lessons we have learnt in Prison.

"When I was asked on leaving Holloway if I had any complaints to make, I said, 'Not against you, but against the system which you have to administer. That system stands self-condemned.' We women who go to prison for the vote are not given to whining, but I suppose this morning you will like me to say something about the prison treatment. I am rather afraid to do so, because I know the authorities would like to sidetrack the movement on this question. The system is self-condemned, because there was never a drunkard sent to prison who by going there was made sober, never a fallen woman who was raised up, or a thief who in prison became honest.

"I felt as we were sitting at breakfast this morning what a good thing it was to be taking our food here all together. I felt to-day what I tried to feel in the solitude and silence of my cell. I felt there like a human being being turned into a wild beast. No wonder that the people in prison sink gradually lower and lower, no wonder that in the first few days there everyone is ill. If we who had gone there as we had done began to dread coming out—facing the world again, what must those other women feel?"

"Only when we were coming out did the officials begin to speak humanly to us. The prison officials have a special voice—a voice of iron. You get a special voice, too, and you become cowed and humbled. If this were not so people would go mad in prison.

"I have come out of prison more determined than ever that we are going to get the vote, and we are going to get it soon. I say to you now what I have so often said to myself in prison: 'If you would but come along, all of you, the battle would be won!' I daresay there are many rich women here whose lives have been sheltered, and who have known nothing of the bitterness of the struggle. They will know if they go to prison what life means to so many women, they will see into the depths of bitterness and terrible hardship. Therefore, I will speak to you in the words of Isaiah: Rise up ye careless women! Give us not only your money, but your lives. Come and fight with us to win freedom for women, and with the women freedom for the human race."

Mrs. Kerwood, of Birmingham, who spoke next, said that though in going to prison she had been opposed by her family and all her friends, she had never for a moment regretted the step she had taken. Whilst in prison she had received a letter from her schoolboy son, in which he had said:—"I had no idea that you were so keen as all that on Women's Suffrage, but all the same I think it was a jolly noble and plucky thing to do."

Miss Parker, of New Zealand, said that those who had the opportunity and the health necessary ought to go to prison to help other women, and "if it has been the least good to women the five weeks I have spent in Holloway are the sweetest and the most precious of my whole life."

Miss May Keegan, of Canada, announced that she had taken her first and best degree, 1,420 Holloway, and said that one could be happy in prison when one went there for the women's cause.

Miss Helen Allan (Ireland) said that she was prepared to come back again to serve a longer sentence.

Miss Keevil still almost expected to hear the wardress say: "14, will you hold your noise," and "14, will you try to look serious."

At the close of the speeches twelve braves, carrying the prisoners and their friends, started for Peckham, headed by the band. And an effective demonstration was the result. The flowers were presented to the Women's Hospital.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"HEREFORD TIMES," MARCH 28.

The militant suffragists have come to stay. They have taken the place of the dreamers and pioneers of the closet; and Miss Keevil and the other representatives of the National Women's Social and Political Union are sure to have a splendid meeting in Hereford Corn Exchange next Tuesday night. Women have been too long elbowed on one side, more or less politely, and told that they have nothing to do with politics. At last, however, the purest and most domesticated women have come to know that politics have very much to do with them. Some of the best of their sex have been literally driven to proclaim their rights from the platform and in the streets, and we are confident that for the future no deep and organic reforms can be effected without the intelligent co-operation of the women. The once fashionable argument that they do not understand politics is seldom heard to-day. It is clearly monstrous to require of women what we have not required of other classes before enfranchising them. The only personal tests which any statesmen advocates are honesty and general intelligence. If these are present, he assumes that the rest will come in due season. The political knowledge of the great bulk of the people is the result, not the cause, of enfranchisement. Speaking generally, so long as women have no vote so long will they have no political knowledge. Give them votes, and they will acquire knowledge. The phrase, too, has a very convenient elasticity. When applied to 80 per cent. of the present electors, it merely means that the men read the newspapers, take a hasty glance at the articles and the Parliamentary debates, and that their opinions have no deeper foundation than a popular or an unpopular newspaper. This kind of knowledge demands neither ability nor industry, and the truth is that to be able to look after the interests of your own class—a subject on which few people are ignorant—or to choose fit representatives, does not require more than a very limited capacity of political knowledge. Yet the motive for acquiring knowledge, political status, man has, but woman has not.

A CONSERVATIVE CRITICISM.

Mr. G. A. Touche, in addressing the annual meeting of the North Islington Conservative and Unionist Association, referred to the Votes for Women movement as follows:—
The Government had devoted the Recess to a campaign against the House of Lords, so far as the Suffragettes had permitted.

The truth was the Government faked the House of Lords, as they faked the teetotalers, and the Nationalists, and the Roman Catholics, and the Nonconformists, and the Socialists, and the Suffragettes. He drove to the House of Commons after a meeting in Holloway the other night, and saw serried ranks of policemen surrounding it. He thought the German army had landed on our shores to kidnap Mr. Haldane, and take him back to Germany to teach them how to strengthen the Imperial German Army by reducing the number of its fighting units as he had done here, but he was mistaken. It was only an evening call on the Government by some of John Bull's daughters in a pantechinon van. The Government seemed to fear that, if these ladies came within reach, they would get a half-nelson on them and the strangle-hold at the same time, so they had provided a sea of policemen for the protection of their trembling persons.

"VANITY FAIR," MARCH 25.

The female Suffragists are quickly winning to power, as they deserve. They have shown rare courage and persistence, and their reward is at hand. On March 19, Mrs. Pankhurst and five other ladies were released from Holloway Prison. A breakfast was held in their honour at the Great Central Hotel, over which Mrs. Pankhurst presided. When offering her a welcome, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence declared that seven thousand pounds had been collected at the meeting the night before, and a further amount had been promised. As our readers know, we have always been in favour of allowing women to vote, and even of allowing women to sit in Parliament. Mrs. Pankhurst or Miss Fawcett would make an extraordinary Chancellor of the Exchequer, and cut down waste in every public office. Besides, our policy as a nation needs to be humanised, and it can be humanised without being weakened through the influence of such women as these. Lastly, nine out of ten of the women who hold property, and are therefore eligible for the vote, are Conservatives in the best sense, that is, they are reverent of old

institutions without being defenders of the abuses of the institutions.

A fine example of this pure womanly spirit was given by Mrs. Pankhurst at this very breakfast. She said that the warmth of the reception given to her had more than rewarded her for all she had gone through—"this and the lessons that we learned in prison." She then referred at some length to "the civilised torture of solitary confinement and absolute silence," and said that while eating her lonely meal she felt "like a human being in the process of being turned into a wild beast." Now, this is exactly what we have urged again and again; our prisons with their bad food, their solitary confinement, their soul-torturing formalism, turn human beings into wild beasts. We are glad to note that Mrs. Pankhurst is determined to alter all that.

Another interesting point she made was that the very first thing she noticed in the prisons was the voices of the wardresses; they had a special "prison" voice, "a voice of iron," toneless, without emotion. It was only when the prisoners were coming out, she said, that these women's voices became at all human. In spite of the prison voice, however, there were, she declared, some wardresses who were human, and she gave touching instances of kindnesses on their part. Altogether, a memorable meeting and full of hope for the oppressed.

"THE NATIONAL REVIEW," MARCH, 1908.

It is not enough for the Liberal Ministry to have passed by the unemployed as a negligible factor in politics; it has also thought it quite safe to scorn the demand for women's suffrage. In vain the Prime Minister declares his belief in the justice of votes for women; in vain over four hundred members were returned to Parliament pledged to support the enfranchisement of women; in vain the Women's Liberal Federation and Association have in the past canvassed and made speeches for Liberal candidates. The majority in the Cabinet declares that nothing can be done, or rather in most cases Cabinet Ministers decline to say anything at all when questioned. The result of this policy of studied contempt has been that women in earnest for the vote have taken the field with bitter pertinacity, not only against Liberal Ministers, but against all Liberal candidates at by-elections; and those who have taken part in these contests know quite well that the influence of the suffragists has told heavily against the Liberal. Every day the women's suffrage societies grow stronger, more resourceful, more daring; every day Liberal women are alienated from the Liberal Party to become suffragists. At the next General Election a body of support once relied on by Liberals will be gone, and the Ministry will learn the price of ignoring a claim admitted to be just.

THE VOICE FROM ABOVE.

Evening Dress Suffragist Pops the Usual Question.

The officials of the Oldham Chamber of Commerce were greatly perturbed during the week when they discovered that five tickets for the balcony had been given to suffragists.

They immediately took steps to cancel the tickets, and met last night with the comfortable assurance that no untoward incident would disturb the meeting. Safe also in the contemplation that an evening paper rumour to the effect that Mr. Asquith had cancelled the engagement was calculated to put the Pankhurst-Gawthorpe combination off the scent.

But their precautions were not a match for the ingenuity of the suffragist.

Mr. Asquith was duly welcomed. No voice was raised to interrupt his eloquence, but when the last word of the last sentence had been spoken a dainty young lady in evening dress leaned over the front seat of the balcony, and in a sweet, pleasant voice, spoke thus unto her Romeo: "Mr. Asquith, I have not interrupted you, but when are you going to give votes to women?"

The first sound that followed was that of laughter, then there rose a virile chorus of "boos," and while the Chancellor of the Exchequer was smiling at his charming antagonist two muscular firemen swooped down upon her, one of them lifting her, marching up the steps, and carrying her to the door of the hotel.

This achievement was heartily applauded. The lady, it was afterwards learned, had booked quarters at the hotel for the night.—*The Manchester Daily Dispatch*, March 14.

SCOTTISH NOTES.

Scottish W.S.P.U.—Offices, 141, Bath-street, Glasgow.

We have waited in Scotland for over a year for a by-election, and now we have one in Kincardineshire—one that promises, according to the local Press, to be the most exciting election now fought in the county, "owing to the presence of the Suffragists." It is an agricultural and fishing population chiefly, and is very Liberal—traditionally Liberal—but there is excellent material to work on. It is not an exceptionally large constituency, but it has several out-of-the-way places where workers must settle down and work special districts.

The Licensing Bill does not interest them, save very slightly, as it will only refer to England. The Landholders' and Land Values Bill and the price of coal will be the chief points of interest, the price of coal affecting the trawlers' work.

Stonehaven is the county town, and we have established committee rooms there in Barclay-street, and have booked the Town Hall for a demonstration on April 6, and St. Laurence Hall, Laurencekirk for April 7.

Torry, which is part of Aberdeen, has the largest number of voters in the constituency—about 1,900—and the members of the Aberdeen Union will be of great use there. The last by-election was in Aberdeen, so the Press and people know us well. We secured committee rooms in Victoria-road, Torry, in the principal street, and it seems as though we would get on well there. Miss Mary Gawthorpe, who has come up from the headquarters, and myself held our first meeting on Saturday afternoon, an open-air one at Torry, and it promised well.

The general work in Scotland is progressing well, with new members steadily coming in. Our Edinburgh "At Homes" have proved very successful, and it seems to me a woman's strong movement is very much needed in Edinburgh—a movement that will aid in securing for them equality of opportunity.

The University authorities have refused to discuss with the medical women the position of the Medical Women's Schools—a thing which seems almost incredible, and which shows how much an equal standard is needed.

Miss Marshall and Mrs. Murchison spoke at our "At Homes" in the Cafés, and we are hoping to have these continued, and to have many Edinburgh speakers soon.

At Port Glasgow on Tuesday evening I took part in a debate, and had the usual arguments, physical force, &c., to reply to, but won on the vote.

Saturday's "At Home" was as successful as usual, and we had two speakers, Dr. Ava Murchison, who gave a very thoughtful and forceful address which was eagerly discussed, and Miss Mary Phillips, who told our members about her arrest and imprisonment, and gave them her impressions of it all.

Our members are busy working up the Athenæum meeting for Mrs. Pankhurst, and we are hoping for a good meeting in Edinburgh also.

HELEN FRASER.

LOCAL NOTES.

Brighton and Hove W.S.P.U.—A successful "Twopenny Tea" was given on Friday evening, March 27, at the New-road Lecture Hall. Miss Hare gave a good account of the breakfast to the prisoners at the Great Central Hotel, London, and the subsequent drive to Peckham, the most striking feature of which being the warm welcome which the women received from all and sundry on the road, and the earnest listeners they found at Peckham. As there were a number present, ignorant as to our reasons for demanding the vote, the hon. secretary gave them a short history of our movement, showed how unjust the laws were to women, and also how the low wages of the working woman were a grave menace to our civilisation. Miss White was prepared to answer questions, which, however, were not forthcoming. She therefore told the audience that we were not working against the Licensing Bill, but against the Government. That the Government were themselves the worst enemy of the Bill in opposing us, as if we got the vote we should work with the Government.

ISABELLA G. MCKEOWN.

Chiswick W.S.P.U.—The members of our Union are arranging a jumble sale to take place in Chiswick some time in May. All sorts of odds and ends will be exceedingly welcome, and should be addressed, carriage paid, to Mrs. East, 21, Brandenburgh-road, Gunnersbury, W. We are having a drawing-room meeting, on April 8, at Mrs. Watson's house, Grove Park, at which Miss J. Seymour will speak.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—This Union held its first members' annual meeting last Thursday, and was able to report that during the year ended in February, forty-six meetings had been held, five of these being public meetings, eleven drawing-room meetings, fourteen invitation meetings in rooms hired by the Union, and sixteen outdoor meetings, besides committee meetings and a series of eight "At Homes" at houses of members of the committee. Seven of our members have taken part in demonstrations for the vote, three of whom have undergone imprisonment and four have done by-election work.

The receipts for the year from all sources have been £33 5s., of which a balance of £5 5s. remains in hand. This is exclusive of the sum of £16 4s. 7d. raised by railway station collections during the Self-Denial Week and forwarded to the N.W.S.P.U.

FRANCES E. ROWE.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—Our Union will hold an "At Home" on Wednesday, April 1. The committee will meet on the same day to discuss details, re public meeting, in Camberwell, which we propose holding as soon as possible, so as to follow up the advantages gained during the Peckham By-election. We also intend to again begin holding open-air meetings in the locality as soon as the weather is better.

J. A. BOUVIER.

WORK IN THE NORTH.

The Preston "welcome" meeting to prisoners was a great success, and reflected much credit on the local union who were responsible for arrangements. The Assembly Rooms were crowded, and many new members were made. The Preston Men's League for Woman's Suffrage supported, one member taking the chair. The speakers were no more in earnest than the audience, who appreciated every point made, and showed keen sympathy with the moves made by the union on the ground of policy.

A reception and women's meeting attended by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and myself at Sheffield, on Wednesday, March 25, were also further indications of the growing strength of the movement. The reception held in the afternoon in the Cutlers' Hall was exceedingly well attended, in spite of a discouragingly wet day, whilst the evening meeting for women only caused the local Press to rub its eyes, and to observe that undoubtedly the movement was "going strong" in Sheffield. Nearly a thousand women were present, and many recruits were enrolled. The success of this Woman Suffrage day has emboldened the local union to hold another very soon, and they hope to secure Mrs. Pankhurst during her second tour.

By the courtesy and sympathy of the Rev. J. Sutherland I have also addressed a large gathering in the Belgrave Congregational Chapel. At the close of the meeting Mr. Sutherland announced the Leeds "Welcome" meetings to Mrs. Pankhurst, which by the time this is in print will, I hope, have kept up the reputation of the last week's meetings. Miss Rose Hartopp, a well-known Suffragist, will take the chair at the women's meeting, and the Rev. A. T. Lee will take charge in the evening. Mrs. Baines reports much enthusiasm in Lancaster for the Hippodrome meeting, and prophesies a "packed house."

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

Protest Meeting at Reading.

Although prevented from making our protest at the meeting in the Town Hall addressed by Mr. Harcourt and Earl Carrington on the 27th inst., our protest meeting at the Queen's Statue was very successful.

The meeting lasted for quite one and a-half hours, and until the last quarter of an hour, when some rowdies put in an appearance, the audience was excellent.

One influential gentleman gave his name and address, and promised to write the following morning to all the Cabinet Ministers, urging them to adopt Mr. Stanger's Bill, and several others gave their names and addresses as willing to represent us at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, where women were excluded. Women, too, were anxious to join the local union.

NANCY LIGHTMAN.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

February 25 to March 28.

Table of contributions to the £20,000 fund, listing names and amounts in pounds, shillings, and pence.

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Total £9,802 12 2

For Important Announcement to Readers and Subscribers, see page 97.

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