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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 past month has been crowded with events in the women's movement. Every form of activity which has been undertaken has grown considerably since the February number of VOTES FOR WOMEN went to press. There is so much to record that it has been found necessary to increase the present issue to 20 pages in order to find space for anything like adequate treatment.

The Women's Parliament.

By far the most important event of the month was the Women's Parliament, held in the Caxton Hall, Feb_ ruary 11, 12, and 13, resulting in the arrest of 62 women who were determined to lay their case before the Prime Minister at the House of Commons. The second occasion on which the women started to carry out their mission they were led by Mrs. Pankhurst herself, and the deputation were particularly careful to avoid doing anything con-

trary to the instructions of the police, except that they refused to abandon their intention of going to the House of Commons.

Not a Police Row.

In spite of this mode of action on their part, the Government endeavoured to play once more their game of branding the women as police offenders, refusing to admit the political nature of their breach of the law; but this trick of the Government is beginning now to be understood by the people of the country. On page 92 of this issue we give an extract from "Vanity Fair," in which the position is made abundantly clear in the editorial notes of that paper.

Treatment in Prison.

People up and down the country are also beginning to thoroughly understand the nature of the imprisonment to which the women are subjected, though they themselves have not protested against it. In the early days of the movement it was thought that the women were sent to a kind of comfortable retirement where they had almost everything they wanted and could see their friends and have books, newspapers, &c. This was, in fact, the kind of treatment which men political prisoners have always received. But the desire of the Government to treat them as street rowdies obliged them to put women into a very different position. And various articles which have appeared in the Press have made it clear that life in prison for the women is an exceedingly hard one, solitary confinement for 23 hours out of the 24, and the most rigorous discipline being enforced. Now that these two cardinal facts are beginning to be understood, the Liberal Government-and the Home Secretary in particular-are learning that their action is not approved of by men and women of the country. On February 24 the "Daily Mail," in its leading article contained the following :-

On Friday, too, another awkward question will be raised in a Bill which is to be privately brought forward on behalf of the women Suffragists. If there are some Ministerialists and Labour members who are hostile to women's suffrage, there are thousands of Liberals in the country who do not approve of the way in which the Suffragists have been treated. This treatment has contributed, with the other events of the last few weeks . . . to weaken the prestige of the Government. The present is plainly not a time at which the Ministry' can afford to estrange electors by the thousand or to provoke new and formidable enmities.

And similar remarks are beginning to be made in the Press in other places. It is surely a curious irony that the name of the man who in his own time stood all over the world for the enlargement of liberty should be associated in the person of his son with the incarceration of women seeking only political justice.

Self=Denial Week.

The unjust imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst has given an enormous impetus to the movement everywhere. The Self-Denia! Week organised by the National Women's Social

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J. H. Cousins, Mabel Dearmer, Mr. Pett Ridge, Father suffrage agitation a further stage. Adderley, Rev. John Hunter, Mr. Israel Zangwill, Mr. John Galsworthy, Mr. Moreton Hall, Mr. E.V. Lucas, Rev. R. J. Campbell, and others. A friendly Member of Parliament also denied himself during the week by smoking no cigarsthe cause. The Self-Denial Week forms the subject of a special article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on page 95, but March 10.

Additional Staff.

Consequent upon the great amount of the additional interest which is being taken in Women's Suffrage and in the N.W.S.P.U. in particular, it has been found necessary again to increase the office staff, which now numbers over 15 persons, in addition to 15 outside organisers. In fact, since the end of the year, on an average, an additional member has been added either to the indoor or outdoor staff of the Union each week.

The N.W.S.P.U. at Home.

Another interesting indication of the growing interest which is taken in the movement has been the success of the "At Homes" held every Monday afternoon by the N.W.S.P.U. Originally the offices of the Union were open to accommodate the friends who cared to come and hear the news of the progress of the movement week by week; but at the beginning of last month it was found that wanted to be present, as the large rooms of the offices were not capable of seating more than 150 people. Recourse about 400; but so rapidly was the interest taken up, tha after two weeks it was found necessary to make a further move to the large Portman Rooms, and on the last two occasions between 500 and 600 people have been present.

Features of the Paper.

The messages of encouragement to women appearing in this issue on page 79, are from Elizabeth Robins, the celebrated dramatist, who is a member of the committee of the authoress, whose clever book "Woman-a Few Shrieks," has been so widely read; from May Sinclair, the authoress, who was one of the special collectors in Kensington during Self-Denial Week; and from Mrs. Macdonald, well known April number will be ready on April 1.

and Political Union has been an unparalleled success, and to all members of the Union as a keen and active supporter accounts of the various ways which women have adopted of our movement. Among other special features is an in order to raise money for the cause have been given in all interesting and amusing article by Mona Caird, on an the daily papers. Many people who have taken a special imaginary argument with Pooh Bah. Mrs. Pethick Lawinterest in this week have been celebrated authors who have rence writes on the tactics of the Union. The Women's sent books, with autograph inscriptions, for sale :- Beatrice Parliament is described as fully as space permits ; and Miss Harraden, May Sinclair, Violet Hunt, Evelyn Sharp, Mr. Sylvia Pankhurst carries the account of the history of the

MARCH, 1908.

By=Election.

A page is devoted to the account of the by-elections which a great deprivation to him-as a mark of his sympathy with have taken place during February. Analysing these, it will be noticed that the Liberal poll has been reduced by an aggregate number of 2,000 votes. Ever since the Midthe full amount which has been raised in this week will not Devon election the action of the women has attracted attenbe disclosed until the great meeting in Albert Hall on tion at these elections, and however much Liberals may refuse to acknowledge the importance of the part women play, there is beginning to be an uncomfortable feeling at the bottom of their minds that all is not well with them. and that their failure is due in large measure to their opposition to the women's cause.

Press Extracts.

On pages 92 and 93 will be found a number of quotations from the Press which have appeared at various times during February. Space alone prevents us from including a special number of important extracts, which are now so numerous that it is almost impossible to pick up any paper of the day, whether daily, weekly, or monthly, in which important references to the subject are not made.

To New Readers.

In the form in which it appears in this number VOTES FOR WOMEN is issued as a monthly newspaper, and contains articles and other material likely to be of special interest to the general public. A uniform price of 3d. a copy is charged, or (as it cannot be registered at the Post Office as a newspaper, which only recognises weekly publiaccommodation could not be provided for the people who cations) it will be sent post free to any address within the postal union for 4d. a copy. In each of those weeks in which the monthly VOTES FOR WOMEN is not published a was therefore had to the small Portman Rooms, which seat special four-page sheet is issued containing all the principal news of the movement-an account of the happenings of the week gone by, and a programme of prospective arrangements for the week to come. This weekly bulletin will be known as the Votes for Women Supplement,* and will be sold for $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (by post 1d.).

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

MARCH, 1008.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

My DEAR EDITORS,-I have been here just six days, and I grasp at the first opportunity of keeping my promise. I think I cannot do better than make my message the saying of another-one of the most considerate English women I have known. She had done little public. travelling herself, and being generous in her appreciation of others, I was surprised to hear her make light of some much-vaunted long journey that another woman, known to us both, had accomplished in safety. The reason, my friend said, that any of us were afraid, even in remote or barbarous places, was that we underestimated women's strength and overestimated men's. "A woman who keeps her wits about her can give a very good account of herself, even at the worst." The lady in question was, to be sure, an uncommonly fine specimen herself, and may have overlooked the fact that we are not all possessed of even such vigour as Nature intended to bestow. But I have come to share her view, and I commend it to my fellow-women : that, granting man's superior advantages, very inconvenient a creature to tackle, that the enterprise grounds. We weaken ourselves by imagining ourselves weak. We are strong-I had almost said invincibleas soon as we have cast out fear.

Men are beginning to disown sex-kinship with the Liberal Government. The point is, will the Liberal Government stand being laughed at as serenely and goodhumoredly as you did? Do they consider national ridicule 'a good advertisement "? Are they as certain of the justice of their opposition as you are of the justice of your cause?

I have been asked to send a "message" to the National Women's Social and Political Union. I do not know how far a "message" from an unpractical and uninstructed outsider will have any value. I can only say a woman in straits can (if she has disciplined her nerves that it is impossible to be a woman and not admire to the and does not underestimate her powers) make herself so utmost the devotion, the courage, and the endurance of the women who are fighting and working for the Suffrage will lose most of its allure. I think my friend's doctrine to-day. And I am glad and honoured to have this opporholds just as true with respect to contention on higher tunity of recording my whole-hearted sympathy with them and with their aims.

Elizabeth Robins.

There are two things that must win respect for any cause: courage and endurance. Those who denounced your first efforts as hysterical are learning the difference between hysteria and enthusiasm. The continuance of such zeal is the most unexpected development in your campaign. It is assuming the aspect of a national revolution, which draws together and harmonises every form of human temperament. So vast and passionate is the desire for freedom, that, impelled by it, the individual can rise above the limitations of her egoism, and sink her prejudices in her aspirations.

Nothing to me is more significant than the way in which the usual restraining circumstances of age, position, education, which differentiate the house-woman so inexorably, have melted and proved of no essential consequence in the mustering and conducting of your forces, and even more significant is the way in which the far greater divisions of race and country are being swept aside by the wave of the woman movement. It is sweeping through Europe.

Best of all, you are fighting with good humour ; cheerfulness and hope are the most spirited of leaders. For too long the cause of woman has been hampered by despair and bitterness. You have come with flying banners and thundering drums and gallant bearing ; you have trained your daughters to take part in the struggle, and they bring the freshness and the spirit of their youth ; the daring of youth, also, that can hurl itself with a light heart at any obstacle, because it has never known defeat.

The pluck ! The enormous pluck ! That is the quality that first appealed to me when you invaded the pompous precincts of the "House," and faced what seemed impossible odds. You looked ridiculous then; only a few people understood the gigantic heroism which was needed for such action.

and courage?

In this struggle for existence, where men and women meet either for companionship or marriage, surely equality in courage, in knowledge, and in intelligent sympathy is necessary for success and happiness.

Now, you are still very fiercely reviled, still you are facing actual danger, but it is your opponents who are beginning to look comic. The henpecked husband is one of the most firmly-established butts of the English

Constance Smedley.

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May Sinclair.

Some fairly intelligent people seem to think the demand for the enfranchisement of woman is a war of the sexes. Her demand is responsibility which will fit her for her work in the world. Her training, her education, should not be handicapped. She should be encouraged to reach the most ambitious pinnacle. No one can deny the boy needs an expert mother if his feet are to be placed on the step of the ladder which ascends to success. The irresponsible youth, with no enthusiasm, no ambition, no real knowledge of self-preservation, one meets everywhere. For the sake of the betterment of the race women should have political freedom. The power which the vote will give them will enable them to stand alone. Selfreliant responsible citizens, and to those under their care, they are bound to transmit this subtle mental stimulus. What more valuable asset can we have than independence

We cannot afford to ignore our duty to those working for the enfranchisement of women. Its consequences are too far-reaching. Every woman who has to earn her living must get a sufficient wage; not one which will wreck her constitution in the struggle. It is not economy. To ignore such waste is culpable. The nation's security depends on this ill-paid, underfed, being's progeny. If any woman will sacrifice her time and money to help this cause she will get back huge interest for it. A compaign carried on by women actuated by the highest motives, striving to make the world happier for all, is elevating, and worth associating oneself with. Leave your own happy little world for an hour or two a day, you women who can afford it, and come and help.

Mary D. Macdonald.

^{*} The Supplements to the present March number will accordingly be issued on March 5, March 12, March 19, March 26, and the

MARCH, 1908.

THE TACTICS ON THE SUFFRAGETTES.

What They Are and What They Mean.

"If this had been a men's movement," said a policeconstable outside Rochester-row Police-court to one of our members, "if this had been a men's movement, there would have been murder before now."

Judged by past and present events, in the light of human experience, this is a perfectly correct summing up of the position. When men are held down under laws which they have not made and which they have no power to change, then invariably there is revolt, and with men salary is paid by women taxpayers. To women, as well revolt means violence and bloodshed. Revolt means as to men, he comes on the public platform to give an 'murder.''

Once the labourer was in the same position that women are to-day. He was without political or economic rights ; he had to depend on the protection and the chivalry of his overlord. But by a long series of revolts, involving destruction of property and of life, reaching the great climax in the French Revolution, serfdom of man to man was abolished, and the principle of the political equality of men was proclaimed and established.

But ever and again despotism tightens its relaxed grasp upon the lives of men. How do men act then? We have not far to look for the answer. Constitutional rights are taken away in Portugal; a Dictator is set over the people. Those who protest are thrown into prison. It becomes a choice between political subjection or violence and outrage. "Anything rather than political slavery," says the champion of the people's rights. So the King and his innocent son are murdered. And what is the result? The Dictator is forced to leave the country. Political prisoners are set free; a Constitution is granted. At the cost of blood a victory for freedom is won.

That is the men's way of conducting a militant agitation. It is not the way of women.

The Way of Women.

Hitherto no alternative between slavish acceptance of tyranny and wrong and resistance by violence has seemed possible. It has been left to women to discover another alternative. The women's campaign is the first militant agitation carried on by any people wholly deprived of political rights, without violence, without injury to life or limb or property.

And yet no power was ever stronger than that which we have to fight. We have to deal with political tyranny backed by all "the powers that be." We are face to face with the strongest Government of modern times, and the strongest prejudice in human nature, aided by the press, themselves to railings in Downing-street. What good the law, the police, and, as a last resource, the entire can that do?' military strength of the country.

Now, political tyranny rests, and has always rested, on strength is in all negative things, in darkness, in conceal-

The task which after more than forty years of futile agitation rapidly declining into slavish acceptance of doing something cruel. The effect is the same. We use women's subjection, we had to accomplish was to break no violence because we can win freedom for women withdown the conspiracy of silence on the part of politicians out it; because we have discovered an alternative. and pressmen, to expose the mean and unworthy subterfuges of Parliamentarians, to rouse the women of the tion continuously and persistently in the public mind.

Women, having no representative in the House of Commons, can only appeal to members of the Government. Cabinet Ministers will not meet them or give ear to their grievances. A Cabinet Minister is a public servant; his account of his stewardship. Every political question he touches affects women as intimately and closely as it affects men. Voters can interpolate questions. Why not voteless women, who have no right of free speech through the ballot-box? We go to a Cabinet Minister's meeting to ask a question on the one subject which most deeply affects us, and underlies every other political reform.

This is the first method of drawing public attention to the political tyranny which exists towards women. It has succeeded beyond expectation because the enemy has played into our hands. To speak plainly, it is the imported stewards who make the uproar, not the women.

The Government representatives put themselves entirely in the wrong from the outset, when they allowed Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Miss Annie Kenney to be thrown out of a political meeting for asking a perfectly proper question, at the right time and in the correct manner, and let them be imprisoned as disorderly persons. There is nothing more insistent than the never answered question; nothing that so readily becomes the all-important question of the hour. It is not two women, but all the country, that to-day are demanding an answer

from the Government. The outcry against the "Demonstrations" is that they are silly, and bring ridicule on the cause. Ridicule is a searchlight, and as such is part of our armoury. It is feared only by the powers of darkness.

It is not only upon the suffragettes that ridicule falls. It falls upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer escaping from his back door, upon the Cabinet Ministers, meeting behind doors strongly guarded by police, upon the men who bring a police force 1,500 strong, on horse and foot, to protect them from unarmed women.

It tells the whole world that women are not prepared to submit tamely and without protest to political tyranny. the ignorance, indifference, and apathy of the people. Its It has just the same effect, neither more nor less, than if ment, in sloth, in silence, in oblivion. Therefore, the the announcement of a mental and moral revolt against we were men, and used the weapon of "murder." It is weapons of those who fight against political tyranny are oppression. It arrests attention and arouses thought light, exposure, action, truth, and perpetual remem- and quickens perceptions of a wrong hitherto ignored or slothfully accepted.

To women's wit, to women's self-control and commonsense, to women's larger humanity, is due the discovery country to action, to open the eyes of the general public that there is another way than that of "murder" of runto the injustice done in their name, and to keep our agita- ning a militant campaign against political and legal tyranny. This discovery is the great contribution of To this end our tactics have been directed; our two women to political life.

AN ARGUMENT WITH POOH BAH. By MONA CAIRD

To discuss the subject of women's emancipation with the ordinary opponent who echoes traditional sentiment, of one sex only?' produces the baffling sense of being transported into a world of comic opera, where it becomes one's fantastic fate to try to reason with the "Mikado" or "Pooh Bah" or the "Pirates of Penzance." Sometimes it is even more bewildering, and one finds oneself stumbling in that men's influence could never be disastrous.) helpless conflict with the dialectical ingenuity of the mad hatter or the mock turtle.

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hatter) nothing comic is to be discerned ; they are, so to of home. speak, on their native heath. They live solemnly in a comic opera kingdom, ruled by comic statesmen on Irony, losing courage. strictly representative principles, whose main feature is that they are not the least representative.

The comic statesmen, at loggerheads on all other points, agree enthusiastically about this. Representation, the basis of men's liberties, and-rightly interpreted -the basis of woman's subordination! A most excellent institution, to be defended at all costs.

Statesmen, law-givers, plenipotentiaries, all the high magnificences and serenities of this grotesque realm, break into a lively dance, joined by a troupe of pillars-ofthe-State, and a picturesque stage crowd representing the great heart of the British public. And all loudly express their sentiments in an exhilarating chorus.

And we all know what those sentiments are. The general crowd relies for its staple argument on the exortation to "go 'ome and mind the biby.'

The Pooh Bahs (a numerous class with a stuffy bourgeois soul) meet the case more loftily. But the thought is the same.

"The woman's sphere is the home." "Is, then, the man's sphere the polling-booth? " heretics are impelled to inquire.

But Pooh Bah does not see the inference. Seeing inferences is not his strong point. He merely hangs on to the "sphere" without budging.

" Must the owner of a vote pass his entire existence in the precincts of the ballot-box? " inquires the innovator, still hopeful.

Pooh Bah, without relaxing his hold on the "sphere," says, no, of course not, but men are men and women are women, a statement which derives its shattering force from the fact that nobody dreams of disputing it.

Basking in the effulgence of its axiomatic certainty, Pooh Bah remains solidly unaware that if his argument regarding the "sphere" has any validity at all, it implies that a voter ought to make voting the vocation of a lifetime; and so, if really applied, it would summarily disfranchise the entire human race.

The comic statesmen solemnly point out that women are ruled by impulse.

'Whereas the gentlemen who express their convictions by means of crackers and malodorous chemicals at public meetings are actuated by the lofty attitude of Reason.

'But of what avail is irony with the reigning gods? "

"It is their decree that a small property qualification shall give a man the right to a voice in his country's destinies, be he moved by reason, or impulse, or prejudice, or anything under heaven-including the aid of supporting friends in case of circumstances over which he has no control ; whereas a woman must scale the dizziest heights of human achievement before her claims to full human rights can be even considered."

"Why this stern intellectual and moral test in the case

The comic statesman explains :----

"There might arise some grave national crisis wherein women's influence (other than of the secret and irresponsible kind) would be disastrous." (The implication is

"Moreover," adds Pooh Bah, conclusively, "there must be a head in every household. A wife with a vote Yet to the majority (as to "Pooh Bah" and the mad would mean wrangling and strife in the sacred precincts

"My wife and I are one, and I am the one," quotes

"A wife might actually vote contrary to the convictions of her husband," cries Pooh Bah, aghast.

Irony gives it up after this, and Satire helplessly folds her hands

If a man not only desires but does not hesitate to announce that he desires to be placed in a position of unfair advantage over his wife in the "sacred precincts," what is there left for Irony and Satire to do? The very bread is taken out of their mouths.

Peace maintained between a handcuffed and a free person; affectionate accord as the result of disabling one of them, and providing the other with Maxims, a few small bombs.

Caricature herself is reduced to beggary !

Yet these same men and women, who defend their creed by puerilities such as these, are not really devoid of intelligence or a sense of justice ; that is the perplexing thing. On other subjects they may show themselves quite as human as human beings usually are, and of average sanity. In fact, some are of remarkable intellectual power.

What sudden calamity, then, has fallen upon them at the mere mention of the word woman! It is like the danger-word that converts some sweetly reasonable inmate of a madhouse to idiocy or fury.

Here, in fact, we find the clue to the problem : it is insanity that reveals itself in these infantile absurdities so familiar to us all ; the hereditary insanity which afflicts mankind as a result of thousands upon thousands of years of dominance and subjection in the relations of men and women, with all the cruelty and madness which that implies. What it does imply can only be faintly realised after a study of human records from the earliest ages and those of savages to-day. The story is hideous and heartbreaking enough to make pessimists of the most devout believers in human nature; and it turns a tragic light upon the real nature of the observer, which has eaten its way into the very bone and nerves and fibre of the human organism.

It is not the expression of some minds and hearts that we listen to in these monotonous puerilities; the real minds and hearts of the speakers have no part in them at all. We are hearing only the phonographic utterances of a far past, the mechanical records of centuries of suggestion.'

To release the race-women at least as much as menfrom the power of this "dead hand," this tremendous hypnotic force thousands of years old, is the task which a handful of pioneers have taken upon their brave shoulders, not counting the cost; and they only know how heavy that cost is !

May the gods of Beneficence and Justice bring their cause to a speedy triumph, and the suffering world another gigantic step forward in the path of progress.

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By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

distinct methods of militant agitation are :-

J. Asking questions at the political meetings of Cabinet Ministers.

2. " Demonstrating " in Downing-street and Parliament-square.

The Never Answered Question.

To us ridicule is welcome. It is death to the pretender, or the tyrant, seeking concealment.

But, how silly," people say, " of the women to chain

Doing something silly is the women's alternative for

MARCH, 1908.

WOMEN'S PARLIAMENT AND THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

women in Holloway :--

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WORK, WORK, WORK.

I am overjoyed to hear of the efforts that women are making to strengthen this movement in every way. My message to them is to be of good courage and to work, work, work for the success of the great Albert Hall demonstration on March 19. They must not be anxious about me. Though I have been obliged to go into hospital for a few days, I hope soon to be better and to go back to the ordinary cells, where I can see our comrades every day in the exercise yard. Whatever happens, I they were the trustees of the honour of their sex. shall stay in Holloway till my six weeks are up.

EMMELINE PANKHURST.

IN THE INTEREST OF THE COUNTRY.

Mr. Gladstone said, when asked in the House of Commons to put our women in the first division, that it was for the interests of the country that we should be punished women are prepared to suffer imprisonment to win for our sex political liberty.

ANNIE KENNEY.

"NOT DUE TO THE WOMEN."

I go to prison to help to free those who are bound by unjust laws and tyranny. I love freedom so dearly that I want all women to have it, and I will fight for it until they get it. When I get into my cell I shall be given a Bible, and I shall read there of the man who, being to fight the battle. mortally wounded by a woman, said to his servant (a man), "Kill me! Run me through with thy sword, that it cannot be said that I was killed by a woman."

Is this not like the Liberal Government, which prefers to say that the people voted against free food than they voted because they supported the women?

MINNIE BALDOCK.

A great blow was struck for woman's enfranchisement last month in connection with the Women's Parliament in the Caxton Hall.

On Tuesday, February 11, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence presided, supported by Miss Annie Kenney, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, and others.

Mrs. Pankhurst sent a message from Leeds, in which she said that she would make the most of all that was said and all that was done in London that day. It might have a very big effect upon the result of the election in Leeds.

In moving a resolution protesting "against the unconstitutional action of the Government in refusing the Parliamentary vote to the women taxpayers of the country, and demanding the immediate enactment of a measure granting the Parlia-mentary franchise to duly qualified women," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, addressing the women as "representatives of a voteless sex," said they had been called unconstitutional, but it was the Government which was breaking the fundamental law of the British Constitution that taxation and representation should go together.

It was impossible to use constitutional methods unless and until they should be included in the Constitution. The Government were acting illegally, and were unjustified in the opposi- copies of the resolution with them, proceeded down Victoria-

The following messages have been received from the tion which they were making to the women's demands. Their demand was strictly legal and strictly reasonable. They meant to put forward their demands not in words only, but in actions.

A Miraculous Movement.

Their movement had been a miracle, as was shown by the fact that 200 women had been prepared to stand the test of imprisonment as a proof of their earnestness in the cause. The forces of destiny had declared that the womanhood of this country should be a free and a responsible womanhood.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst remarked that when they commenced by throwing down the glove to the strongest Government of modern times many thought they were audacious, but now they were all Suffragists together. (Applause.) Together

Miss Pankhurst proceeded to show that the defeat of the Government in the recent by-elections was due to the work of the women, and not to the influence of Tariff Reform.

The Enfranchisement Bill.

Referring to the Bill for conferring the franchise on women (to be introduced this Session), Miss Pankhurst said: "It is private member's Bill, and it will never become law if the Government are against it. We have got to bring pressure severely. It is for the interests of our country that we to bear on the Government between now and February 28, and we have got to make the Government wish they had given in before.

Miss Annie Kenney said that many of the Lancashire detachments were of the working-class, and before coming to London they had to bake the bread, to do the washing, and prepare for their husbands and families during the time they would be away in London. Every one was prepared to go to prison for her political enfranchisement.

She urged the women of social standing present to fight for the cause themselves, and go to prison if necessary, and not let the working-women do all the fighting. They wanted rich women and the middle-class women to go out and help

Nothing to Stand in the Way.

Women had got to make up their minds, once and for all, that nothing should stand in their way and the way of their great movement, whether it be father, mother, sister, brother, or husband.

Miss Naylor moved that the resolution be at once conveyed to the Prime Minister.

The president said that this would not necessarily mean that they would be arrested, but all who went must be prepared for arrest.

Miss Haig appealed to all the women in the hall to help to swell the appeal to the Prime Minister. They might do wonders if they were all to work together.

Delegates from all parts of the country then addressed the neeting, and the resolution was unanimously carried.

While the meeting was going on in the Caxton Hall, a clever ruse was being adopted for bringing a number of women up to the immediate entrance to the House of Comnons. A pantechnicon van had been arranged to drive up the road shortly after four o'clock.

As the vehicle drew near to the entrance to St. Stephen's, the driver guided his horses well to the side of the road. On reaching the gate, the horses were pulled up, and in an instant the doors at the back of the van flew open, and some 20 to 30 women rushed out, and attempted to storm the entrance.

The police, however, were on the alert, and, although the leader of the troop got through the outer portal, the further progress of the women was prevented.

A little later the contingent from Caxton Hall, bringing

street towards the House of Commons. But they were refused mation of the world through the treatment meted out to voteadmittance by the police, acting under Government orders. less women demanding their civil liberties by a reactionary The women insisted upon their right to enter the House, and, Government." This was carried unanimously, the audience on being again refused, attempted to make their way in, in spite of the opposition of the police, and were taken into custody.

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A similar scene was witnessed in the evening, and altogether 50 women were arrested. They were as follows :-

> Miss Marie Naylor, Chelsea. Miss Florence Haig, Chelsea. Miss Mayo, Chelsea. Miss Mayo, Cheisea. Miss Mary Phillips, Glasgow, Miss Mary Mill, London. Mrs. Robinson, Manchester, Miss A. Wilkinson, Bury. Miss Joachim, Chelsea. Mrs. Duncan, Cheshire Miss Alice Hamilton, London Miss Jessie Mackay, Leeds. Mrs. Titterington, Leeds. Miss Wentworth, London Miss Wentworth, London. Miss Amelia Kern, London. Mrs. Rigby, Preston. Miss L. Saltonstall, Halifax. Mrs. Brook, Huddersfield. Mrs. Older, Huddersfield Miss Dorothy Young, London Miss Marie Howey, Malvern. Miss Elsa Gye, London. Miss Mary Lane, London Miss Margt. Graham, London Mrs. Bouvier, Lewisham. Mrs. Aldham, Cricklewood. Miss Elsie Howey, Malvern. Miss G. Brackenbury, Kensington Miss Laycock, Bradford. Mrs. Glyde, Bradford. Howes, Bournemout Miss Ida Cunard, Birmingham Mrs. Taylor, Liverpool. Mrs. Wood, Birmingham. Miss Laura Hemming, Birmingham. Mrs. Marie Edwards, Birmingham Miss Adeline Redfern, Stoke-on-Trent. Mrs. Alderman, Preston, Mrs. Towler, Preston. Mrs. Hesmondhalgh, Preston. Mrs. Aldis, Birmingha Miss Marie Brackenbury, Kensington. Miss Maloney, London. Miss Titterington, Leeds. Mrs. Cullen, Paddington Mrs. Batchelor, Bradford Miss Kuper, London. Miss Emily Cowley, Liverpool. Mrs. Whitworth, Rochdale Miss Charlotte Griffiths, Rochdale

Mrs. Mary Jones, Lond They were all taken to Cannon-row police-station, where they were kept till 10.30 p.m., and then released on bail, Mr.

Pethick Lawrence being prepared to go surety. Next day they were all tried at the Rochester-row Policecourt; Mr. Muskett, prosecuting for the Crown, said that the powers of the authorities were not exhausted, that if the disturbances continued they would be obliged to prosecute under a statute of Charles II., forbidding a procession of more than ten persons to the House of Commons, the penalty for which was \pounds 100 or three months' imprisonment. Such a course would carry the case from the police-court to a higher court, and in the present instance he asked that the cases should be dealt with summarily under the Police Acts.

The prisoners took up an extremely dignified attitude in court, not disputing the evidence except in order to show the political character of their action. In 47 out of the 50 cases . they were bound over in two sureties of £20 to keep the peace for twelve months, and in default to go to prison for six weeks in the second division.

Mrs. Kuper was discharged on the ground that the evidence against her was inconclusive, Mrs. Rigby and Miss Titterington as "old offenders" were fined $\pounds 5$ or sent to prison for a month

In all cases except two (whose relatives were very ill) the women chose prison, and were sent off to Holloway.

Wednesday's Parliament.

When that afternoon Mrs. Pethick Lawrence announced to the Parliament of Women that 50 of their number who had the day before gone out from the meeting to carry a resolution to did not expect to return in time to meet you this evening, but the Prime Minister, had been arrested and sent to prison for six weeks, there were hisses and cries of " Shame."

arrested were :--

Mrs. Pankhurst said : "When I left the hall this afternoon I the adjournment of the House of Commons has given me the opportunity to explain to you what I was not permitted to tell Mrs. Lawrence then moved a resolution deploring " the lower- Mr. Herbert Gladstone and others this afternoon. My experiirg of the British standards of justice and equity in the esti- ence in the country, and especially in South Leeds, has taught

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Mrs. Lawrence then went on to say that that Women's Parliament would go down to posterity as one of the most important Parliaments that had ever been held in history.

Miss Christabel Pankhurst referred to the speech made by Mr. Muskett when prosecuting the Suffragettes in the policecourt that morning, in which he had threatened that an Act of Charles II. would be put into operation against them. "This takes us back to stirring times, ladies," she said. " At last it is realised that the women are fighting for freedom as their fathers did. If they want twelve women, aye, and more than twelve, if a hundred are wanted to be tried under that Act, and to be sent to prison for three months, they can be found."

Thursday's Session.

When Mrs. Pankhurst appeared on the platform on Thursday afternoon, she received a most enthusiastic reception, and the audience listened eagerly to her account of the by-election campaign in South Leeds, and especially to the story of the torchlight procession, and the wonderful meeting of 100,000 people on Hunslet Moor. Mrs. Pankhurst told how police assistance in organising the procession had been refused, and how Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Massy, and Miss Barrett, who walked in front, had been obliged to clear their own way through the thronging crowds; and yet of how there had been no disorder, only sympathy and enthusiasm, all along the route with the vast crowds that parted to let the procession pass through, joining on to it behind. She spoke of the earnestness of the women, and of how some had kept calling out in broad Yorkshire, ' Shall us have the vote? " and others answering, " We shall." "I have come back to London," continued Mrs. Pankhurst, " feeling as I have never felt before, that we are near the end of the struggle. I feel that the time has come when I must act. If you carry the resolution which I am about to put to you, I volunteer from the chair to be one of those to carry it to Parliament this afternoon.

The resolution, which called for the immediate enfranchisement of women, was then read. Miss Annie Kenney, in seconding it, said that she was prepared to follow Mrs. Pankhurst, as she had always done since first she met her. The resolution was then carried, and Mrs. Pankhurst and her following left to carry it to the Prime Minister.

An Extraordinary Scene.

Outside the hall an extraordinary scene took place. Mrs. Pankhurst's trap was stopped, and she was told she must walk; this she agreed to do. The police told her that the women must not walk in a block, they accordingly adopted single file. They then said that they must not go in a continuous file, but in twos and threes; this they also agreed to. But the police refused to allow them to proceed, and on their insisting upon going to the House of Commons took them into custody. The names of the

> Mrs. Pankhurst. Miss Annie Kenney Miss Gladice Keevil. Mrs. Baldock. Mrs. Kerwood, Birmingham. Mrs. Sidley, London. Miss Frith, London Miss Annie Parker, Chelsea, Miss M. Keegan, London, Miss H. Allen, London.

When the Parliament reassembled at eight o'clock, the names of those who had been arrested were known.

The hall was crowded, and the audience seething with mingled indignation and enthusiasm, which burst out in a thunder of applause as Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Kenney, and the other prisoners who had been let out on bail entered.

Mrs. Pankhurst's Speech.

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ence, have no means of knowing, and has made me feel that I to obtain special privileges. would make one final attempt to see them, and to urge them to reconsider their position before some terrible disaster has occurred.

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"The urgent need that they should do so has been especially borne in upon me by the remarkable demonstration of last night. The Press has never magnified our agitation, but the Leeds Mercury, the Yorkshire Post, and other papers, have to-day pointed out the great public importance of this demonstration. Thousands and thousands of men and women followed our procession through the streets, and attended our meeting on Hunslet Moor, and among them all there was hardly a sneer or a jeer, not even from among the Liberals themselves, but what impressed me the most, and made me almost afraid, was the stern determination of the crowd to restrain any demonstration against us. We had to beg and plead with the people to save the university students, who were hostile to us, their anger, or serious consequences would have resulted. From time to time we saw signs that the restraint that we have up to now been able to exercise over the crowd might be broken through, and that the men and women might take to methods of agitation which were employed by men when they fought for the franchise.

" It was for these reasons that I thought that, as a woman of experience in many movements, I might be able to persuade those in power, for the sake of the country, to do this tardy act of justice

Mrs. Pankhurst then went on to describe the manner of her arrest, and to explain how very anxious she had been to comply with every order or request made by the authorities which was consistent with her arriving at the House of Commons. "If charged with obstruction," she continued, " no doubt we shall be found guilty, whether we are charged with breaking police regulations or under an obsolete Act of Charles II., but we shall continue the agitation. We shall never rest or falter till the long weary struggle for enfranchisement is won."

On Friday morning the prisoners came up for trial. The authorities charging them with "obstructing the police " tried once more to make the public believe that the whole thing was in the nature of a street row. But Mrs. Pankhurst, in her remarks after sentence had been passed, showed the perversion that this pretence implied.

The sentence was the same as on the previous occasion : six weeks' imprisonment in default of being bound over for twelve months. Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baldock, as previous offenders, received £5 fine or a month's imprisonment. The prisoners one and all chose to go to prison rather than to pledge their conduct in a way which would have prohibited them from continuing the agitation.

PRISON ARRANGEMENTS.

All the women sent to Holloway in connection with the attempt to reach the House of Commons are in the second division.

They wear prison dress, eat prison food, are in their cells in solitary confinement for 23 hours out of 24, have no access to one another, are not allowed papers or letters or visits from their friends.

Half an hour each day they have for exercise, half an hour for chapel. During the day they are set to work to make mail bags or to darn. After 5 p.m. they may, if they like, read one of the books in the prison library.

They are not entitled to any visits from their friends or any letters during the first four weeks of their sentence. At the end of that time they will be entitled to write one letter to anyone they like, and in reply one letter may be sent to them. Care should be taken to put the same number on the reply as the prisoner puts upon her letter which she writes.

The normal arrangement for the visit is that the prisoner may be visited on one occasion by not more than three persons, the visitors seeing the prisoner through the bars of her prison and in the presence of the wardress. It is desirable to inform the governor beforehand of the day and time when it is proposed to visit any of the prisoners, as it must be subject to his arrangements.

In addition to these normal rights, it is possible for the Home Office, Whitehall, to grant special permits to visit prisoners on other occasions, and to relax the regulations affecting the character of the visit by allowing access to the prisoner in a

me things which Cabinet Ministers, who have not that experi- separate room. Members of Parliament in particular are able

THE PRISONERS' RELEASE.

Assuming that the Government do not interfere in any way to shorten the sentences of the women, the following are the dates on which the women will be released :---

Wednesday, March 11, Mrs. Rigby and Mrs. Titterington. Friday, March 13, Annie Kenney and Mrs. Baldock.

As far as can be at present ascertained, the other sentences are subject to an automatic reduction, and the release of the prisoners is expected as follows :-

Wednesday, March 18, the other women arrested on February 11. Friday, March 20, Mrs. Pankhurst and the other wome arrested on February 13.

Arrangements for Welcome.

It is proposed to give a breakfast on March 13 in honour of the four prisoners sentenced to a month. Special welcomes will also be arranged in the local centres from which the prisoners have come. Annie Kenney will also undertake a tour throughout the country during the second half of March.

A band and a procession will be arranged to conduct the prisoners released on March 18 from Holloway, to a public breakfast, where speeches will be made by the prisoners and others

It is expected that a specially large turn-out of women will wait to greet Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow prisoners on March 20, and arrangements are being made for friends who desire to be conveyed in carriages from Holloway. It is hoped an impressive procession will be the result. A public breakfast will also be given, and later on a reception in the largest available rooms in London. Following upon this Mrs. Pankhurst will address audiences in different parts of the country. Amongst other places, it is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst will speak in Leeds, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Manchester, Northampton, and Nottingham.

It has not been found possible to make any of these arrangements quite definite in time for announcement in this paper, but particulars will be given later in the VOTES FOR WOMEN SUPPLEMENT.

To the Suffragettes.

Who sets her shoulder to the Cross of Christ, Lo! she shall wear sharp scorn upon her brow ! And she whose hand is put to Freedom's plough, May not with sleek Expediency make tryst : Wherefore to thee be honour !-- unenticed By shallow tongues that bid thee meekly bow And beg-for what their pleasure may allow-With soft obsequious voice and honour priced. O fateful heralds, charged with Time's decree, Whose feet with doom have compassed Error's wall ; Whose lips have blown the Trump of Destiny Till ancient thrones have shaken toward their fall; Shout ! for the Lord hath given unto thee The new great age that brings new hope to all ! JAMES H. COUSINS.



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VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE BY-ELECTIONS.

When VOTES FOR WOMEN for February went to press the three by-elections of South Herefordshire, Worcester, and which was among the very largest ever known in Leeds. The South Leeds were all in progress. All these three have been decided in a way which showed the enormous importance of the women's influence. In Herefordshire the Liberal majority of 300 was turned into a Conservative majority of over 1,000. The women were exceedingly well received in all the centres from which they worked, and although the national Press did not give them credit for having much effect on the election, it was otherwise in the locality, as will be seen from the following extract from the Hereford Times, a Liberal paper :-

The great bulk of the official Suffragettes are women who combine a spotless character with liberal and democratic convictions. We, who have been life-long advocates of women's suffrage, may think that the policy of opposing the reforming party now in power as reminder to the Government is not the right way to obtain the desired results. But we should be the last to contend that the invasion of a number of able and eloquent speakers into a constituency would not largely influence public opinion. This is exactly what occurred in Mid-Devon. These zealous and capable women are sowing handfuls of hardy Liberal seed in ground over which Primrose dames have only lightly and gracefully tripped ! The richer harvests will come along after the hour of the approaching election

And after the poll the same paper, in its issue of February 8, definitely acknowledged the effect of the women's work in securing the Conservative majority. Another extract from a leading article by the same paper will be found on page 92 of this issue.

Worcester.

In Worcester the previous Conservative majority of 129 was converted into a majority of 1,292. The intense interest aroused by the women was shown by the great reception held by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in the large room of the Star Hotel, at which almost everyone of importance in Worcester was present.

South Leeds

In South Leeds there has been considerable Press testimony that the interest in the women's cause was the principal factor in the election.

The special correspondent of the Daily News wrote, on February 11:-

The greater part of the day has been spent by Mr. Middlebrook in making personal friends among the engineers, who form a vast majority of the electorate, and-what is equally important in a constituency where the Suffragists are working with tremendous vigour and no mean success-friends with the engineers' wives. No good purpose could be served by shutting one's eyes to the part which women's suffrage is playing upon this occasion. In the opinion of South Leeds, at any rate, the female suffrage question has entered the region of immediate practical politics. At Worcester, Hereford, and Mid-Devon the cause fell flat, but one has only to watch the women here, shawled and voluble, on their way to such mass meetings as those held yesterday on Hunslet Moor, when 10,000 people gathered round three platforms to listen quietly to the young orators, who have become famous, in order to be convinced what the subject stands for among the industrial democracy.

On the eve of the poll the special correspondent of the Daily Mail sent the following message to his paper :-

Whichever of the three men candidates is declared to-morrow night to have received the greatest number of votes, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Gawthorpe, will be able to declare the result a triumph for the women. For it is a Suffragette election. The ladies have dominated it entirely, provided its chief interest, and attracted the most attent

Mr. Neville's candidature is deficient in organisation and grip, Mr. Fox's lacks spirit and go, and Mr. Middlebrook's lacks appeal. But the Suffragette campaign has been lacking in none of these essentials of effective electioneering. It has been distinguished by energy, enthusiasm, oratorical ability, organising genius, and every quality which goes to the winning of an election. There is not a voter in the constituency to whom the arguments in favour of votes for women have not been fully and effectively expounded.

There is a certain vagueness in the minds of all except declared partisans as to the grounds upon which each of the three candidates claim the votes of the electors. There is none as to the reasons upon which the Suffragettes base their claim to votes for women. They have worked harder and more persistently, talked oftener and more directly and persuasively than the others, and they have obtained the largest and most attentive and interested audiences

the Daily Mail :--

At last the demonstration, headed by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Martell, reached Hunslet Moor, and the vast crowd which gathered is estimated at about 100,000 people. The leaders addressed the gathering, but owing to darkness and the general bustle not much could be heard. Still, the huge success of the demonstration is

in Yorkshire :the Liberal side.

We are promised yet another by-election, this time in Hastings, where the sitting member, Mr. Harvey Du Cros, has decided to retire. There is not going to be any delay in this case. The writ was moved through in the House of Commons on Monday, February 24, and it is expected that the election will take place on March 3, thus leaving only a week for work. But the women are already in the field. Miss Pankhurst visited Hastings on February 25, and Miss Martel is taking charge of the election. The figures in 1906 were as follows: H. Du Cros (Con.), 4,348; F. Freeman Thomas (Lib.), 3,935.

The "Daily Chronicle" of February 15, had an amusing article under the title "Losing an Election," in which the writer gave sarcastic advice to the Liberal party on the best methods to be adopted in order to lose an election. The portion about the Suffragettes is reproduced below.

A fourth plan is at once newer and more dashing. It is at least equally successful. Leave it to the women-to the suffragist 'ladies," to the guileless Amazons who, after being carried out of meetings in the provinces, come up to town, full of enthusiasm, to batter at the doors of Cabinet Ministers, and joyfully entreat to be sent to prison-as first-class misdemeanants and "martyrs. By whatever name they call themselves, these daughters of sweet reasonableness can be trusted to make hay of all things political which are not their chosen things; and their name it is Womanwoman on the warpath-woman as the new big child, who can't wait a moment for the moon or the rainbow, but must have it just now, while she screams. Plainly, this stampede can do a great deal of execution of a sort. It cares not a copper for any party, or principle, or prejudice, but its own. "We Women is at once the badge of it, and its battle-cry, and its promise for

the future. Wherefore, if you desire to lose an election, the suffragist is one of the means you should employ-even court-for the purpose. She is the new class, the new revolutionary. She intends that, Liberal or Tory, she shall dictate terms. Whether she can make a success of this for herself remains to be seen. While she plays chauffeur, and means to have a long spin, the Conservative man is there, with his hand on the speed-gear. He knows the trick ; he is a very old hand. The stormy suffragist is very young ; as a politician she is a babe a span long. But she can help lose a seat for you, and is very ready to oblige that way.

Making allowance for the bias of the paper in which the article appears, this is testimony to the effectiveness of the women's part in elections which is well worth having.

just no

The women's campaign ended with a demonstration, great mass meeting on Hunslet Moor, coming at the close of the great procession through the streets on the Wednesday night, February 12, was referred to as follows by

Everything else paled before the last effort of the Suffragettes. It was picturesque, exhilarating, triumphant. Mrs. Pankhurst and her followers had hit upon the idea of having a torchlight procession to Hunslet Moor, and the electors, both of South Leeds and the other divisions of the city, joined in whole-heartedly. The demonstration has, in fact, not been equalled in Leeds since Mafeking night. Once a group of students, who marched across the road apparently with the intention of breaking up the ranks, were overwhelmed, for the Suffragettes are far more popular than the students in South Leeds

The final result, representing a reduction of the Liberal vote by over 900, was exceedingly encouraging, and drew forth the following remark from the Leeds Mercury, the Liberal paper

We may remind Conservative journals that Mr. Neville owed a good many votes to the activity of the Suffragettes, who did not succeed in defeating the Liberal candidate, but who, by all accounts, created an unexpectedly favourable impression in the constituency, made many proselytes, and possibly kept away a few voters from

Hastings By-Election.

A Liberal Testimony.

The Suffragist.

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

COURSE OF LECTURES

PORTMAN ROOMS, BAKER STREET, W., On TUESDAYS, at 8.30.

MARCH 3rd.	"What the Woman Movement Means." By Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
MARCH 10th.	A Lecture By Dr. GARRETT ANDERSON.
MARCH 24th.	"The Importance of the Vote" By Mrs. PANKHURST.
MARCH 31st.	A Lecture By Miss ELIZABETH ROBINS.
	"Women and Practical Politics." By Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

Numbered Seats, 5s. and 2s. 6d. each (£1 1s. and 10s. 6d. the Course); Unnumbered Seats, 1s. each; from The Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

March, 1908.

4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

THE LESSON OF HISTORY.

Right for ever on the scaffold, Wrong for ever on the throne; Yet that scaffold sways the future. And behind the dim unknown Standeth God within the shadow Keeping watch above His own.

-James Russell Lowell.

All down through the history of the world there has been one treatment meted out to those who would give new life and new light to their fellow men and fellow women.

Not honour, not reverence, not gratitude; but ridicule, persecution, suffering, shame, imprisonment, and death.

This was the reward of the prophets of olden time, of the great Master and Founder of our Faith, of the heroes of modern history. And this reward is still waiting for all who dare to come into conflict with tradition, and prejudice, and tyranny,

But if history teaches this lesson, it teaches also another with equal certainty that there comes a day when the judgment of the hour is set aside, the verdict is reversed, and the sentence is annulled.

But often, far too often, that reversal comes too late; it comes when the brave spirit which faced with unflinching courage the angry passions of men has passed away for ever It may then be too late. from the scene.

Though to-day the whole of Christendom professes allegiance to the name of Christ, the only cry which pierced the air in that hour in Jerusalem was "Crucify him, crucify him."

In France it wa no till after 24 years that the trial of it shall be NOW."

Joan of Arc was re-examined, and when the verdict of ultimate acquittal was pronounced there was no quick ear to hear and no living eye to smile. The cruel sentence had done its work, the fire at the stake had taken away one whose fearless being this poor world could so ill afford to spare.

Once more, John Brown was executed in America before the tide of popular feeling had risen to reverse the sentence of the Court, and to place his name upon the everlasting roll of honour of the human race.

Here to-day it is not too late. Cruel as are prison bars, they are not shut for ever; there is still opportunity to make good the wrong that has been wrought.

It is no personal gratification or honour or reverence for which our leader or her followers ask; they seek that their work may be accomplished and the women of the country freed.

Mrs. Pankhurst tells us that this brooks no further delay. She gives warning that the agitation has nearly reached the limits of her power of control; that if justice be yet further delayed she cannot tell what may be the result.

But to-day, to-day while there is yet time, she calls upon the women of the country to come forward and with her to win the victory.

And in response to her appeal there is a determination in the hearts of the people, which cries with one voice "Yes,

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

When the history of this campaign comes to be written, We are all eager for the moment of the prisoners' reone of its chief events will be held to have been the lease. Arrangements for their welcome are being made, Women's Parliament, which met in the Caxton Hall some and a statement on the matter appears on page 84. days ago. On the first day the meeting adopted a resolu-Commons_by a deputation, and this was done, with the result that 50 women were arrested by the police, and to undertake not to repeat this action.

The solicitor for the prosecution, Mr. Muskett, hoping, no doubt, that fear of a yet heavier penalty would deter others from following the example of the 50 prisoners, threatened that in future an Act of Charles II. dealing with presentation of petitions to Parliament would be was at once decided to take up the challenge by sending work has been particularly valuable. a deputation of 13 women to the House of Commons. In

a few hours, more than the number of women required volunteered to run the risk of three months' imprisonment, and when, on the third day of Parliament, Mrs. Pankhurst declared her intention of leading the deputation to the House, she was accompanied by Miss Annie Kenney and 11 others, equally determined to claim political rights her companions followed on foot.

How the Procession Started.

a curious crowd. There was something intensely moving gone many vards before the police fell upon them, ordered the leader out of the trap, and broke the ranks of those on foot. Those who stayed behind at Caxton Hall then factor in every election. An article in the "Daily lost sight of them, for they were surrounded by the crowd.

obeyed the directions of the police in every particular, of the important forces which are arrayed against the except that they persisted in walking (singly on being told to walk singly) in the direction of the House of Commons. This purely political and technical offence referred to our share in securing the defeat of the Governwas made the basis of a charge against them of obstructing the police. Having threatened to avail themselves of the fact that politicians are no longer blind to the inof the provisions of an Act of Charles II., the authorities, when it came to the point, feared to institute proceedings in the High Court, because the consequence would have been to show unmistakably the political was addressed by Mrs. Martel, Mrs. Drummond, and character of the women's action. Happily, in spite of myself. the unsatisfactory police-court procedure, the world now begins to understand that our prisoners are not mere disturbers of the peace, but are serious and publicspirited women, who are seeking a constitutional right. This point is brought out very well in an extract, which is given on page 92, from the paper "Bon Accord."

The meeting at which Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Kenney and others spoke on the evening of their arrest was wonderful in its enthusiasm. Since then numberless expressions of sympathy and support have reached us. Thursday, March 10, and will be delivered by Dr. L.

In the meantime, protest meetings are being held in tion condemning the unconstitutional action of the Lancashire, Yorkshire, and elsewhere, and further meet-Government in witholding the franchise from women tax- ings to be addressed by the prisoners on their release will payers. On the motion of Miss Naylor, it was resolved be arranged. It is hoped that Mrs. Pankhurst will speak that this resolution should be conveyed to the House of in Leeds, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Manchester, Nottingham, and Northampton before Easter.

Our treasurer's appeal for the observance for a week were, on the following day, sentenced to six weeks' im- of self-denial has been eagerly responded to by supporters prisonment in the second division, because they refused of the Union. The way in which our members, in order to gain money for the cause, carried out tasks which they would not dream of undertaking for private ends has been a revelation to the public of the devotion which the Votes for Women movement has inspired.

In addition to a large number of meetings which have been held during the month all over England and Scotbrought into operation against suffragist offenders. It land, which have been highly successful, our by-election

Following on our great victory at Mid-Devon came in rapid succession by-elections at South Hereford, Worcester, and South Leeds. The Government nominee was defeated at Hereford, and according to the statement in the "Hereford Times," the local Liberal journal, much sympathy was won, and many votes turned against for their sex. Mrs. Pankhurst got into a pony-trap, and the Government by the work of the Union. At Worcester also we were entirely successful in our attempt to defeat the Government. In South Leeds the situation was complicated by a split in the Labour ranks and other circum-Watching them, in the street, were many policemen and stances. Our workers put forward great efforts, and were successful, according to the testimony of the Press, in the sight of these women, one in a little humble cart, the in making this a Women's Suffrage election. On the others walking two and two behind. They were so small eve of the poll there was a torchlight procession and an in strength and so few in number, and yet they had a enormous demonstration on Hunslet Moor. The great purpose strong to overcome the resistance of the Imperial assembly showed every sign of strong support of our Government, supported as it is by every material resource. demand. Those whose memory goes back to the reform As the little procession moved away, a bystander said, agitations of the last century declare that this great 'That lot won't get far "; and so it was, for they had not gathering equalled, if it did not exceed, in size the mass meetings held to demand the vote for men.

Our by-election work is now recognised as an important Chronicle," containing sarcastic advice to Liberals on What cannot be too often repeated is that our friends how to lose a by-election, counted the Suffragists as one Government. The President of the National Liberal Federation, addressing the annual meeting at Leicester, ment in recent elections. There are many other evidences fluence we exert. The next election contest is to be in Hastings, Mr. Harvey Du Cros having resigned his seat. The first meeting was held on Tuesday evening, and

Our militant campaign is making every woman think about woman's suffrage, and there is a great desire for information on the question. To meet this demand we have arranged a series of lectures to be held in the Portman Rooms, Baker-street. The first lecture will be delivered by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence on Tuesday, March 3, at 8.30 p.m., her subject being "What the Woman Movement Means." The second lecture is arranged for

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The By-Elections.

Lectures in the Portman Rooms.

already expired, she will keep to that date, taking for her subject "The Importance of the Vote." Miss Elizabeth lecture will be delivered on April 7 by myself on the subject of "Women and Practical Politics." At these lectures each speaker will go more thoroughly and deeply into her subject than it is possible to do at, for example, the Monday "At Home," where time has to be devoted to making announcements and commenting on passing events. Admission to these lectures is 5s., 2s. 6d. and 1s. ; tickets may be obtained from the ticket secretary, 4, Clements Inn.

The Albert Hall Meeting, March 19.

There is every sign that the great women's demonstration in the Albert Hall, to be held on Thursday, March 29, at 8 o'clock, will be attended by a vast audience. Our members are undertaking the business of ticket-selling with enthusiasm. One member has bought outright \pounds_{II} worth of tickets, and will come back for more as soon as these are sold. As the paper goes to press she tells me she has only a few tickets left. Another member has undertaken to sell $\pounds 6$ worth of tickets, and a third has already disposed of three boxes. All this is most encouraging, but it must be remembered that the Albert Hall is the largest in the country, and that to fill it with an audience of women only is no small undertaking. Therefore, we have prepared several schemes for advertising the meeting and disposing of tickets. In a few days' time a number of women wearing "Votes for Women" scarves, will take up their stand in busy thoroughfares for the purpose of distributing handbills and selling tickets. I should be glad to have the names of further volunteers for this work. As the time for the meeting draws nearer, parties of women will write in chalk announcements on the pavements, and the meeting will be advertised in divers other ways.

The Women's Enfranchisement Bill.

February 28 will see the second reading debate upon the Women's Enfranchisement Bill, introduced by Mr. Stanger, M.P. for Kensington. This Bill is along the lines which we have always advocated ; that is to say, it simply removes the sex disability, and would gives votes to women on the same terms as they are at the present time possessed by men. The future progress of the Bill depends principally upon two things. In the first place, it is uncertain whether the Speaker will allow the closure. In the second place, it is uncertain to what committee the Bill will, if it is read a second time, be relegated.

As regards the Speaker, several Members of Parliament predict that on this occasion he will grant the closure, basing their opinion on the fact that the question has already been twice discussed during the present Parliament, and that Mr. Dickinson's first Bill of last year was on the same lines as the present one.

The House sits from 12 to 5 on Fridays, so that there will be ample time for a very full debate on the Bill. It cannot reasonably be argued that a period of 5 hours is inadequate for the discussion of a reform which has been before the country for the past half-century, and to which 420 Members of this Parliament are pledged. If the Speaker refuses the closure which may be moved on the stroke of 5 o'clock, the Bill will be talked out, and will be dead for the Session, unless the Government grants another day for the adjourned debate. If, on the other hand, the closure is accepted, then presumably the second reading will be carried, as a large majority of the House are pledged to vote for it. The question then turns upon

Garrett Anderson. Mrs. Pankhurst has promised to give what will be done with the Bill afterwards. According the third lecture on March 24, and as the term of her im- to the present rules of procedure, the Bill will pass prisonment, according to the latest accounts, will have into one of the standing committees, and the discussion of it will go on during the next two months quite irrespective of the legislation which is being discussed in the Robins will be the speaker on March 31, and the final House as a whole. But it is open to any Member of Parliament to move that instead of being sent to one of the standing committees it shall be sent to the committee of the whole House. If this motion is carried, no further discussion would take place on the Bill unless special time. of the whole House were provided for it.

The Government Responsible.

The Government, if it will, can easily insist that the Bill be sent to a standing committee, and thus enable it to proceed through the committee stage without difficulty. If the Government use their influence to have the Bill sent to a committee of the whole House, then the Bill can only proceed if the Government are instrumental in affordingtime for its further discussion. It will be seen, therefore, that the Government have it in their power either to facilitate or to hinder the progress of the Bill, and the Women's Social and Political Union will hold the Govern-ment responsible for whatever happens.

Our immediate plan of campaign is well adapted tocompel the Government seriously to face the Women's. Suffrage question. The Albert Hall meeting on March 19, other important demonstrations in London and the country, the mass meeting in Hyde Park on June 21 will be evidence of the strength of women's demand for the vote. The opposition at by-elections and the militant action which our members are more than ever ready to take, will prove to be a most serious difficulty to the Government, if they decide to continue their opposition. For their own sake they would be wise to accept theopportunity afforded by Mr. Stanger's Bill to retrieve themistake they made when, at the outset of their career, they refused to grant political enfranchisement to their . countrywomen.

NOT A POLICE DISTURBANCE.

In order to make clear the real nature of the action of the W.S.P.U. leaders on Thursday, February 13, the following letter was sent to the Press :-

DEAR SIR,-The report of the proceedings in the Police-court yesterday, when Mrs. Pankhurst and her fellow-prisoners were tried, does not make clear the facts of the case. The prisoners were charged with obstructing the police. But this obstruction was of a purely technical character. The evidence showed that not only did the women use no violence of any kind, but that they followed in every respect the instructions given to them by the police, except that they refused to abandon their intention of proceeding to the House of Commons. There was no disturbance and no disorder, and the crowd was not of their making. The offence, if any, was a political one, namely, the insistence of a deputation of 13 women to go topresent a petition to the Prime Minister.

The attempt of the Government, acting through the Crown Prosecutor, to pour contempt on the movement by pretending that our agitation is in the nature of a street row, will not succeed. Our object is political, and it can only be met in a political way. The Govern_ ment, having failed to take the initiative in bringing in a Suffrage Bill, must now give every assistance to the Bill of Mr. Stanger, the second reading debate of which is fixed for February 28.

We look to the Government to secure, not only the second reading. of this Bill, but also that it will be sent to a Standing Committee, and we require an assurance that "facilities" shall be given to it on itsreturn to the whole House on the Report stage. In this way, and inthis way alone, can our militant campaign be stayed.

February 15, 1908.

Yours, &c.,

CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

MARCH, 1908.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Che Rational Women's Social & Political Union,

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND, W.C.

A GREAT WOMAN'S MEETING

WILL BE HELD IN

The Albert Hall

ON

THURSDAY, MARCH 19th, at 8 p.m.,

TO DEMAND

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Speakers:

Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, Miss ANNIE KENNEY, Mrs. MARTEL, Mrs. BAINES, and others.

Tickets and all information from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, W.C.

Prices:

Boxes, £3 3s., £2 2s., and £1 1s.; Stalls, 5s.; Arena, 2s. 6d.; Lower Orchestra, Balcony, Organ Gallery, 1s.; Gallery, Upper Orchestra, 6d.

OTHER ANNOUNCEMENTS.

Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, of the Union, 4, Clements Inn. LL.B. Tickets, 5/-, 2/6, and 1/- each lecture, can be Clements Inn, W.C.

A Course of Lectures will be given on Tuesdays, March | The N.W.S.P.U. holds an AT HOME every Monday 3rd, 10th, 24th, 31st, and April 7th, in the Portman Rooms, Afternoon, 4-6, in the Portman Rooms (Baker Street, W., on Woman Suffrage. The Speakers will be Mrs. W.). Visitors are specially invited. An Evening At Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Pankhurst, Home is also held every Thursday, at 8 p.m., in the Offices A Monster Demonstration will be held in Hyde Park on. obtained from the Ticket Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, June 21st, at 3 p.m., when all the Leaders of the Movement will address the audience.



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THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. VI.-The Married Woman's Property Acts.

The Married Woman's Property Act of 1870 provided that a married woman's earnings made during her mar- Sunderland Ward of the Borough of Sunderland was reriage should be her own property to dispose of as she pleased, also that any personal property, or any sum not exceeding £,200, that might come to a wife during her marriage, either through the death of an intestate relative or by deed or will, should become her own private property, but any gifts or bequests of more than $\pounds 200$ value should go to her husband as before the Act came into force. In the case of real estate, the Act provided that a married woman might receive the rents and profits that might come to her as the heiress or coheiress of an intestate. A woman about to marry might deposit her earnings or personal property in a Savings Bank, which could only take £200, or invest it in her intended name as a married woman, in certain specified investments, considered by the Lords to be suitable. If, however, these things were done without the disallowed the women's votes and the councillor was unconsent of her husband he could have them set aside, and seated. could claim the money as though it had been his own.

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The Act placed a wife possessed of separate property under the same Poor Law liabilities to maintain her husband as a husband to maintain his wife, she was also liable like a widow to maintain her children, but not to the exclusion of her husband's liability.

A wife was empowered to sue in respect of her private property, but she might not be sued. She had no power to contract, so that any contract into which she entered as a principle imposed no liability on anyone. Any action brought against a wife because of a wrong committed by her must be brought against the husband and wife jointly, and they must sue jointly in the case of any injury done to the wife. Any damages awarded became the property of the husband.

A wife could not make a will, except in regard to her specially protected property, unless with her husband's consent. This consent he might revoke at any moment, even after her death.

The Act did not apply to women married before it became law.

On December 29, 1870, a Married Woman's Property Act was passed by the Legislature of Victoria (Australia). Among other things it secured to married women the right to own and dispose of their real estate.

An Important Decision.

In 1871, the year after the passing of the first English Married Woman's Property Act, a very interesting and important case occurred. It will be remembered that until the Municipal Corporation Act of 1835, with its limiting phrase "male persons," came into force women had possessed and exercised the right to vote in all local affairs, and that even after the passing of that Act con- married women. It was difficult to convince the public, tinued to do so in non-corporate districts.

Thirty-four years after, when the Municipal Franchise pointed out, and the municipal vote was extended to women under the provisions of the new Act.

As at that time the very fact of marrying meant the giving up of a woman's property to her husband, except in the few cases in which some special settlement had voting qualification. After the passing of the Act of to qualify.

In the municipal elections of 1871 a candidate for the turned by a majority of one vote only. All doubtful votes were therefore inquired into, and objection was taken to the fact that two women had voted. One of these was a married woman living apart from her husband, and paying rates and taxes in her own name. The other had been placed upon the register as a spinster, but had been married nine days before the election took place.

MARCH, 1908.

In January, 1872, the case was heard before Sir A. Cockburn. It was argued on behalf of the women that 'coverture'' being no longer a bar to the holding of property should no longer be a bar to the exercise of a vote. On the other side it was contended that a married woman was not a person in the eye of the law, and was not therefore " sui juris." Sir A. Cockburn decided that this latter view of the law was correct, and he therefore

Dr. Pankhurst's Bill.

In 1873, Dr. Pankhurst drafted on behalf of the Married Woman's Property Committee a Bill to amend the Act of 1870. This Bill was introduced by Mr. Hinde Palmer in 1873. On February 14, the second reading was supported among others by Lord Coleridge, the Attorney-General, and carried by a majority of 21, the ayes being 124 and the noes 103.

On February 21, there was a " count out " before the Bill was reached. On March 4, a few minutes before the Bill was to have come on, the House decided that no opposed business should be taken after 12.30. The Bill was therefore again postponed, and time after time similar obstacles were raised up to prevent its being discussed. These during the one session amounted to: Six counts out; progress reported three times; postponements owing to 12'o'clock Rule, 15; other postponements, six. Finally the Bill passed through Committee too late to be proceeded with further.

At the general election of 1874, Mr. Hinde Palmer and 84 others favourable to the Bill were defeated. In the following session no Bill was introduced on behalf of the Married Woman's Property Committee.

During the same session (1874) Mr. Anderson, M.P. for Glasgow, succeeded in getting passed into law the Scotch Conjugal Rights Amendment Act. This extended to the local Sheriff Courts the power hitherto confined to the Court of Session in Edinburgh of granting protection orders to deserted wives. This was a great advantage for poor women.

Now followed a period of depression and discouragement among those who were striving to obtain justice for and some even of those who had before worked for the cause, that the Acts of 1870, and 1874, had not satisfac-Bill, 1869, was under consideration, this anomaly was torily settled the question. The agitation was suspended for nearly a year, and was then renewed more vigorously than ever, owing largely to the efforts of Mrs. Jacob Bright, who had become the treasurer, and of the secretary, Mrs. Wolstenholme Elmy. In 1876, no place could be obtained for the Bill, but in 1877, Lord Coleridge been made, a married woman could not possibly acquire a introduced a Married Woman's Property Act Amendment Bill, which was substantially the same as that drafted by 1870, however, a number of married women were able Dr. Pankhurst and introduced by Mr. Hinde Palmer in 1873. This Bill came up for second reading in the MARCH, 1908.

Chancellor (Lord Cairns)-who, on June 21, 1870, had moved the second reading of Mr. Russell Gurney's Billand negatived without a division.

Meanwhile an attempt was being made in the House of Commons to improve the position of Scotch married women. A large petition from Edinburgh had been presented during the previous session, praying that the Act of 1870, should be extended to Scotland, and in 1877, Mr. Anderson introduced the Married Woman's Property Act (Scotland) Bill. On April 18, the second reading was opposed by the Lord Advocate (the Right Hon. W. Watson) on the ground that it went further than the English law. He admitted, however, that some change ought to be made, and on behalf of the Government agreed that the second reading should be assented to on condition that amendments to be proposed on behalf of the Government should be accepted, but that the Bill should go at least as far as the English Act of 1870. These amendments were found to amount to a rejection of the whole measure, except the clauses which secured to a married woman all wages and earnings acquired by her after the commencement of the Act, and which limited the liability of the husband for his wife's pre-nuptial debts to the amount of her property received by him through the marriage. The Lord Advocate, however, expressed his willingness to deal with the whole question comprehensively at a later period. The Bill in its mutilated form passed through the House of Commons, was carried through the House of Lords by the Earl of Rosebery, and came into operation on January

1, 1878. Futile Attempts at Legislation.

In 1878, the English Bill was again introduced into the House of Commons. Mr. Hibbert secured a place for second reading on July 24, but the Government took that day, and also one for a resolution on July 18, 1879. Meanwhile Mr. Anderson had reintroduced the Scotch measure in 1878, and had obtained a place for second reading on May 31, but the sudden death of Mr. Wykeham Martin led to the adjournment of the House on that day, and the notice of opposition by the Lord Advocate afterwards destroyed all chance of the Bill's proceeding further during that session. It was again introduced on December 6, 1878, and the second reading was fixed for March 5,1879. when it was passed without a division. Immediately afterwards Mr. Roger Montgomerie, M.P. for North Ayrshire, put down notice of opposition, and the Bill was effectively blocked for the rest of the session.

Mr. Anderson then appealed to the Government, reminding them of the pledge made by them in 1877, to bring the Scotch law in regard to married woman's property at least to the level of that obtaining in England. Thereupon the Lord Advocate informed Mr. Anderson that the Government had given instructions for the preparation of a Married Woman's Property Bill. On Friday, February 6, 1880, Mr. Anderson reintroduced his Bill, and the second reading was set down for June 2, but by that time a general election had intervened. The English measure measure, which applied to England and Ireland, to was equally unfortunate, for it was to have come on for the House of Lords on February 14. It was read second reading on the same day.

During the election the question of married woman's pledged to support the reform.

Mr. Hibbert, who had had charge of the Bill for three sessions, Mr. Osborne Morgan, and Sir Charles Dilke, who had backed the Bill, had now all taken office under the Government. With three ardent supporters in the Government one might have expected to find married woman's property in the King's Speech, but it was not of Parliament for some time, was re-elected, and took on June 8, without a division.

VOTES FOR WOMEN

House of Lords on June 21. It was opposed by the Lord charge of the Married Woman's Property Acts Consolidation Bill. On June 9, 1880, he moved the second reading of the Bill, which was agreed to without a division, Sir H. James, the Attorney-General, having assented to it on behalf of the Government.

Immediately afterwards the Scotch Bill was also moved. and agreed to without a division. Both Bills were, however, blocked by Sir George Campbell, who at once put down notice of opposition to them. Owing to the rule not to discuss opposed business after 12 o'clock their progress was barred for the session. In this same session the Married Woman's Policies of Assurance (Scotland) Act of 1880 was passed. This provides that married women may effect policies of assurance for their senarate use, free of the jus mariti and right of administration of their husbands and assignable without their consent, and that an assurance may be effected by a husband for his wife, and if it has been effected as a provision for her he is a trustee for her, and it is safe from his creditors.

On January 7, 1881, a deputation of members of Parliament waited upon the Lord Chancellor in support of the Married Woman's Property Acts Consolidation Bill, when he expressed himself as favourable to the proposed reform. On January 2, the Bill again passed the second read-

ing, and was referred to a Select Committee. The amended Bill was reported to the House on March 10, but Mr. Bridport at once put down notice of opposition, and succeeded in blocking the measure for the entire ses-

The Scotch Bill passed the second reading by 230 to 33 votes on January 13, and was sent to a Select Committee. One of the witnesses examined before this Committee was Lord Fraser, a Judge in the Court of Session. He said :

For my own part, I do not see the necessity for this legislation. I think that the protection that has been thrown around women under the Conjugal Rights Act is sufficient. If the husband deserts her, she can get protection; if she succeeds to property, then she can apply to the Court and have the whole of it, if it be small, or a sufficient quantity of it, set aside as a provision for her ; and why she should be allowed to have money in her pocket to deal with as she thinks fit I cannot understand.

The Select Committee redrafted the Bill, and reported it as amended to the House on March 29. It came up for consideration on April 25, and on a division being challenged there were 69 votes for the Bill and 19 against. It was read a third time on April 29, introduced by the Lord Chancellor into the House of Lords on May 5, and read a second time on May 27. The Bill went into Committee on June 16, and was reported on June 23. At both these stages amendments highly advantageous to married women were introduced. On June 23, and 24, the Bill was read a third time, and passed, and amendments having been accepted by the Commons, it received the Royal Assent on July 18, 1881. In 1882, the Lord Chancellor introduced the latter

a second time without division on March 7, passed through Committee on March 28, was reported on May property was laid before the majority of the Parliamen- 9, and read a third time on May 22. During the three ary candidates, and 300 of the members returned were months that the Bill was before the Lords no opposition was offered to its essential principle. The only hostile amendments moved were trivial in character, and negatived without a division. The only amendments introduced into the Bill were designed with the object of giving a fuller practical effect to its workings. The Bill now became a Government measure, and was

introduced into the Commons by the Right Hon. G. there. Mr. Hinde Palmer, however, who had been out Osborne Morgan on June 2. It was read a second time

A Deputation of M.P.'s.

MARCH, 1908.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"VANITY FAIR," FEBRUARY 19.

The Suffragettes are still troubling, and there is no respite for weary Ministers. The ladies are carrying by-election after by-election for the Conservatives, and they are fully justified in protesting that the attempt of the Liberals to treat a political offence as a police offence is disgraceful. Miss Christabel Pankhurst declares quite bravely in The Times that "the attempt of the Government to pour contempt on the movement by pretending that our agitations are in the nature of street row will not succeed." We are very glad to hear it; if the ladies continue they will undoubtedly win, and they have already the support of more Progressives than the Government dreams of. Some of us believe that the influence of women. not only in voting, but also as Members of Parliament, would do a good deal to humanise our disgracefully savage penal laws. Some of us, too, have learned a good deal of humanity from our intercourse with women, and believe that the more efficient we can render their influence the better it will be for the State as for the individual. Therefore, we cheer on Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Pankhurst and the rest whenever we get the opportunity

A Mendacious Home Secretary.

It is simply mendacious of the Home Secretary to say of the imprisoned 'Suffragettes that "they can come out of prison whenever they like," or that Mrs. Pankhurst " elected " to go to prison. As "Evelyn Sharp " points out in The Times, Mrs. Pankhurst can only regain her liberty by allowing herself to be bound over to keep the peace for twelve months. Would any male leader of a political movement consent to accept freedom at the price of a year's inaction?

THE "HEREFORD TIMES," FEB. 22.

Despite the first sounds of the Indian Frontier War, there is in our view no event of the week so momentous and grievous as the fresh revelation or example of our treatment of political prisoners in England. It is unjust, brutal, undiscriminating. We hold this conviction wholly apart from our habitual support of the enfranchisement of women; and, in fact, our resentment at the gross abominations of the present system applies equally to the treatment of both sexes. Yet the legal cruelties revealed in the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her sixty sister suffragists bring the shameful truth into vivid prominence. Whether the demand for women's suffrage be, as we believe, just and close at hand, or not, the main features of our imprisonment of political offenders in the second and third divisions are utterly barbarous. It is no part of our intention to recall the horrors of the Star Chamber, or to narrate afresh the familiar atrocities of the prison system of a few years ago. But we must emphatically direct attention to Mrs. Pankhurst's account in another column of her treatment in Holloway Gaol. We have ventured to extract the narrative from the "Daily Telegraph," whom we would cordially thank for their service to humanity. It is necessary to bear in mind that Mrs. Pankhurst and the noble women who act with her are classed and treated with drunkards, brawlers, and the vilest characters-the latter, very frequently, being the product of some other infamous written or unwritten law. What is the offence of these women, these political agitators? As Miss Christabel Pankhurst points out in our correspondence columns, the charge of obstructing the police was of a purely technical character. Mrs. Pankhurst and her friends used no violence of any kind. Nor did they attempt to address an audience, or collect one, or walk in a body. They were merely using the thoroughfare to go from one place to another.

The police (excellent men, who are only obeying their instruc. tions, and who have learned to respect these zealous, eloquent, and modest examples of womanhood) apprehended without resistance Mrs. Pankhurst and the rest, because they persisted in walking on a public highway in the direction of the fardistant House of Commons. Whether their ultimate destination was known or guessed does not in the least affect the propriety and peacefulness of their conduct. If a possible breach of the peace has to be either frustrated or punished, it is totally indefensible in 1908 that an Act of Charles II., or any other Act, should consign these (at the most) political Protestants to the same degradation as the lowest and most abandoned of our tellow-creatures. It has been ignorantly said that any of

these noble women could free themselves in a moment by simply entering into certain recognisances for a year. But is it possible that these complacent critics do not understand that this binding sacrifice of one year's freedom of political action or agitation (call it which you please) is unthinkable and impossible to every honourable patriot and mildest reformer? Was that the spirit of John Hampden in regard to the collection of Ship-Money ?---an injustice not one whit more flagrant and pernicious than the denial of an equal vote to women. Doubtless many of these persecutors of women may have heard of John Hampden though we doubt very much if they grasp the real significance of that great man's attitude. But, be that as it may, we protest both against the disfranchisement of women in the mass, and against the brutal treatment of Mrs. Pankhurst and the other women now undergoing martyrdom in Holloway Gaol, with its dirty baths and boots and many actual gross inhumanities. Every elector will do his duty if he writes to the member of Parliament for his borough or division expressing his indignation, and every member of Parliament will do his duty if he stretches the rules of the House to the utmost, and constantly brings before the Government the abominable system of persecution which is being enforced under their very eyes. Then, if the Government do not quickly introduce some amending Act, let the mayors and rural authorities throughout the country-and failing them private citizens-call public meetings in every town and village to protest and petition against these latter-day violations of our liberty and common humanity.

"BON ACCORD," FEBRUARY 20.

The Suffragists are not only making history; they are teaching it. Mrs. Pankhurst was not charged under an out-of-date Act of Charles II., as the prosecutor, Mr. Muskett, senselessly threatened might be done when the first batch of ladies was tried last week, and the ignominious retreat from this cowardly threat is the most conclusive proof that the authorities were afraid of the consequences. The Suffragists would have welcomed such a prosecution, and, indeed, were disappointed when the charge was merely obstruction of the police under the Prevention of Crimes' Act. Why did the ladies not have a touch of Charles II. justice? Because it was discovered that a dangerous mistake had been made by Mr. Muskett. The law which this lawyer would have "resurrected" was one of a series of despotic measures that were ultimately the cause of James II. losing his crown. When the Commons won the victory at last, they passed new laws, one of which ensured " the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." Then it was the King alone who was regarded as a menace to the privileges of the people, but the Acts securing for Parliament what the monarch had endeavoured to secure for himself were left unrepealed. So the statute of Charles II. was not annulled

The ladies who are at the head of the present movement evidently know their history well, and are determined to show that their methods to secure constitutional reform are not without precedent. During the hundred and forty years of unexampled Parliamentary corruption that followed the breaking of regal power in this country, there upgrew a form of despotism even worse than that suffered by the people under the Stuarts. The Suffragists regard the present glorified Parliamentary machine as the lineal successor of the iniquitous Governments of the first three Georges. No doubt this view stronger than the actual circumstances warrant, but they look upon all the English judges as pocket editions of Lord Braxfield. That notorious lawyer laid down certain most orthodox dicta in the trial of Thomas Muir, of Hunter's Hill, for sedition. In a remarkable summing up he said, "The British Constitution is the best that ever was since the creation of the and it is not possible to make it better." "Mr. Muir h world. ' Mr. Muir had gone about telling the folk that a reform was absolutely necessary for preserving their liberty, which, if it had not been for him, they would never have known was in danger. Mr. Muir might have known that no attention could be paid to such a rabble as he What right had they to representation? '

To-day Britain execrates the memory of the judge who sen-enced Muir to fourteen years' transportation for advocating Universal Suffrage and Short Parliaments. A future generation will similarly condemn the Liberal Government which tolerated the imprisonment of Mrs. Pankhurst and her sister Suffragists for demanding a reform which is now admitted to have right, justice, and popular sympathy on its side.

MARCH, 1908.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

THE CAMBRIAN NEWS.

The Cambrian News, in its issue of February 21, takes up the tatesmanlike warning uttered by Mrs. Pankhurst on the night of her arrest, and drives the point home. It says :

At a meeting held shortly before the apprehension of a large batch of women demonstrators, Mrs. Pankhurst said the present appeal was the last one to the Prime Minister to stop the struggle before the omen's movement got so big and powerful that they would not be able to control their forces. Men do not yet believe that the movement for enfranchisement is likely to assume dangerous dimen or that women will ever resort to acts such as men would be likely to resort to if pushed to extremes. The disposition of the shallower male opponents of the women's movement is to look at it with con tempt, and to treat it with ridicule. Whether that attitude is justifiable is questionable, for women can be even more dangerous than men when roused to action, as events in France have made clear more than once within living memory. The imprisonment of women from different parts of the country is having a distinct educating influence upon women all over the country, and once the movement begins to grow rapidly and to manifest itself in ways adverse to the public peace it will soon pass, not only beyond the power of women to control it, but beyond the power of the police, and there will be nothing for it but military force.

And it concludes as follows :-- "There are fifty women in prison. The numbers will increase, and sooner or later Parliament will have to do justice to women who are more than half the population of the country. There are still some male idiots who believe that to be a male is the only necessary qualification for justice! "

THE LONDON PRESS ON MR. ASQUITH'S REPLY.

On Friday, January 31, the morning after Mr. Asquith had given an answer in the negative to the Suffragist deputation, all the London influential Conservative dailies had a leading article on the subject. Of these The Times alone was unsympathetic. After condemning the methods adopted by the vomen to press their demands, it concluded by saying :-

The ladies must try to imitate the patience exercised in similar cases by mere man. For our own part we cannot affect to hope that their patience will be rewarded in the end.

This has, surely, the charm of novelty. "Be patient and you will see you do not get what you want " is unusual advice, but it is certainly sound common-sense.

The Standard article, though equally severe on our methods. showed signs of an intention ultimately to support our claim. It contained the following :-

Speaking for ourselves, we have long been disposed to give calm and dispassionate consideration to any reasonable arguments in favour of conferring the responsibility, as well as the advantages, such as they are, of a vote for Parliament on a sex which, in spite of the very heavy domestic burdens imposed on it, yet includes many who are unquestionably capable of exercising the right of franchise, and whose energetic co-operation in the business of politics would be, and is, welcomed.

The article in the Morning Post was distinctly friendly to our cause, and its criticism of our militant form of agitation far less condemnatory than is usually the case. In one place it states that :-

"It is clear that the Government has recognised the 'Suffragettes' as no ordinary foe."

It proceeds to give the meaning of Mr. Asquith's answer in plain words, and then remarks : "That, with a little reading between the lines, is the gist of Mr. Asquith's pronouncement yesterday. Formally it was addressed to a body of Suffragists—a deputation from societies which have taken no part in the more notorious exhibitions of recent years, and discountenance personal contact with the police. Its real, if indirect, aim is obviously the 'Suffragettes

Then, before concluding with a little advice to the militant Suffragists, which we are content not to take too seriously, it gave expression to this significant opinion :-

The modern franchise is based on no discoverable principle, and therefore affords no reason for excluding women. There is, on the other hand, good reason for including them, not on any narrowly political grounds or because there is the slightest chance of their mproving the government of the country, but simply as a symbol of the opportunities and the widened horizon which should now be Rooms on February 17.

spend their days in offices.

The Daily Telegraph leading article was along the same lines, but in another part of the paper of the same date (January 31) there was a most illuminating account of the progress of the woman's movement, and in particular of our organisation. Here are a few extracts :--

each contingent has in hand.

Of course, all this sort of thing cannot be done without money, and a good deal of it too. Anyone who has seen these Suffragists at work in by-election after by-election might be tempted to inquire where all the requisite money comes from. In the case of the Victoria-street and Buckingham-street institutions-those with which Mrs. Fawcett and Mrs. Despard are respectively connected their scale of expenditure does not attract so much attention, because somehow it does not give the impression of being either large or continuous. No one who has seen the by-election work of Mrs. Pankhurst's organisation would suggest for a moment that its expenditure is either large or lavish. On the contrary, these ladies seem to have the knack of making a little money go a long way. But when one sees a group of ladies from Clements Inn at every by-election, no matter in what part of the country it may be, no matter whether in Jarrow or in Mid-Devon, the idea of continuous expenditure readily suggests itself. And yet, after all, no secrecy whatever is observed in regard to the financial administration of the Union. On the contrary, a balance-sheet is published half-yearly, and the auditor has more than once paid the ladies the highest com pliments for the care, lucidity, and accuracy with which their accounts are kept. The last published accounts of the Union, covering the six months to August 31 of last year, show a total expenditure of about £2,600, whereof the largest items were £680 in respect of salaries of office staff and organisers and £467 in name of expenses at seven by-elections. As the Union possesses a staff of 15 organisers, it is evident that the scale of salaries paid by the Union is anything but extravagant. At the present moment the Union is making a special appeal for

a sum of £20,000, which would form a sort of war chest for the prosecution of their crusade. Though the appeal was only launched in the end of May last year a sum of over £4,680 has already been subscribed. And the subscribers, it should be noted, are nearly all women. This figure itself shows the amount of enthusiasm which lies behind the movement; but it will be seen, at the same time, that on the scale shown by the last published accounts it does not quite represent a year's expenditure. The ladies, however, have limited faith in the ultimate triumph of their cause.

The Daily Telegraph also devoted three columns to the movement on Tuesday, February 18, giving a full description of the life of prisoners in the second division in Holloway, and referring at length to the weekly "At Home" in the Portman

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women's as well as men's. To ask for equal treatment for the two sexes is not to commit the absurdity of forgetting their differences, or of supposing that ultimately they can cease to have their special functions in the community. Rather is it to recognise that natural differences are strong enough not to need reinforcement by artificial distinctions. There is peculiarly little sense in a distinction which, excluding women as such from direct political action, must rest upon the view that it is less important for those who spend their days in the education of the next generation to have broad views and interests than it is for their husbands who

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Suffragist War Chest-£20,000 Wanted.

So far as any outsider can judge from appearances, the association which seems to transact most work at headquarters is the Social and Political Union at Clements Inn. The suite of chambers there extends to no fewer than 13 rooms, and a staff of something like half a score of young women is constantly engaged in the work of the office. A large black board fixed to the wall just by the entrance door conveys some notion of the ramifications of the work, for on it are chalked the list of meetings that have been arranged all over the Kingdom, and the names of the speakers allotted to each. At a glance one can thus see the disposition of the suffragist army from day to day, and the kind of work

Into three main categories does the work of the Social and Political Union fall. The first, or educational, consists in a permanent crusade designed to create and foster a public opinion all over the country in favour of "Votes for Women," the second, or electioneering, deals with the campaign which is set on foot against the official Radical candidate at every by-election, and the third concerns itself with the more militant or aggressive aspects of the work-such as annoying Cabinet Ministers wheresoever may be found, scandalising magistrates by protests in open Court against man-made laws, passive resistance to the tax gatherer and rate collector, and similar suffragist amenities.

The Sinews of War.

SELF-DENIAL WEEK-RESULT.

"Result? I thought the result was to be a secret until March 19!

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Yes. The result as determined in total cash receipts will be kept a secret until it is disclosed on the platform of the Royal Albert Hall on the night of our great meeting. But there is an infinitely greater result which is no secret, a result which is evident to all who are at the heart of this great movement. In our members who have risen so magnificently to the occasion there is a new consciousness of self-mastery and power, a new zeal and burning enthusiasm, a new spirit of glad surrender to the call of national duty and human service.

And there is something more. There is a new sweetness in life because of all the warmth, all the generosity and kindness of response that have come from the outside world. Eagerness to help to fall in with every suggestion, to respond to every appeal, has been our continual experience throughout the week. From the lady who lets her West-End residence and sends the year's rent to us, "in order to be free when called upon for national duty by going to prison," to the working woman that cuts off her tea allowance; from the mother who sends, with the consent of her daughters, the beautiful lace she had meant to hand down to them, to the distinguished novelist who holds a "Votes for Women" collecting box in the street there has been but one feeling expressed, and that is the joy of the service

What does it mean? What is behind all this devotion and energy, this readiness to face ridicule and to front the jeering mob, this willingness to give and to surrender? What is at the back of it? A woman-fifty women, sitting in the gloom and solitude of the narrow prison cell. Fifty women who have laid down six weeks of life and have accepted in exchange a living death. And amongst them our leader. There she sits, shut away from the sun and the stars, separated from all human fellowship, clad in the reproach of prison clothes, subject to the humiliation of prison discipline-that great spirit who has won our deepest reverence and love.

What is any sacrifice that we can make compared with the sacrifice made by these women? It is they who set the standard. It is their spirit that speaks and inspires, though their voice has been silenced. How can we do enough? There is only one feeling in all our hearts-we must set self aside, we must give all we can, do all we can. There is but one question that we ask of ourselves. It is : "What more can I do? "

Self-Denial Week is over, but there are six weeks of ordeal waiting for us. How can we turn these weeks to the best and ignorant prejudice on the part of a few men. account?

Some of our members want to keep the six weeks as a time of continual self-denial and special service to the cause. If they will write to me, I will suggest some new ways in which they can show that they are moved by the same spirit that prompts our comrades in prison to pay down so great a price for human progress.

The more strenuously we live and work for our cause during the next six weeks, the greater joy we shall be preparing for the prisoners on the day of their release. For the greater will be the harvest of their sowing.

During these weeks we will obey Mrs. Pankhurst's behest to "work, work, work." We will prepare to put all thought of self away, and keep our "Lent" in fellowship with those who are in prison. Then we will joyfully keep the feast together on the day when our last prisoner is released.

Concert in Aid of the Funds.

In order to help the funds of the W.S.P.U. Miss Una Dugdale is making arrangements for a concert to take place on March 10. Mrs. Hughes, of 92, Lancaster-gate, has kindly lent her house for the occasion, and several well-known artistes have promised their services. Among the latter are : Miss Vera Margolies, but recently returned from touring with Madame Albani; Miss Grainger Kerr, Miss Boswall Reid, Madame Inez Evers, and Monsieur Désiré Dajauw. Miss Beatrice Harraden will read a chapter from her famous novel, "Ships that Pass in the Night." Tickets, which may be obtained from Miss Una Dugdale, 13, Stanhope-place, Marble Arch, are 5s. and 3s. each, the prices including tea. The sum raised by Miss Dugdale's concert will be announced at the Albert Hall meeting on March 19.

OUR LETTER BOX.

MARCH, 1908

To the Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR SIR,-To show my appreciation of the sacrifice Mrs. Pankhurst and the other noble women have made on behalf of the "Enfranchisement of Women," I registered a vow at the time of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest that I would make myself responsible for the sale of at least $f_{.6}$ worth of tickets for the demonstration at Albert Hall on March 19. Already I have £3. in hand for tickets sold.

I much regret that I have only my evenings to devote to this work, otherwise I would double the f.6.

Yours, &c., ALBERTA W. RUSSELL.

26, Franconia-road, Clapham Common, S.W.

DEAR SIR,-I see a distinct likeness between Mr. Muskett and Lewis Carroll's "Humpty Dumpty."

Listen to what he says. "When I use a word," Humpty Dumpty said in rather a scornful voice, "it means just what I choose it to mean. neither more nor less." Mr. Muskett calls a purely political offence "disorderly conduct and obstruction. There is no question "which is the Master" in Mr. Muskett v. the Suffragists' case. Yours &c.,

LOUISE JOPLING ROWE. 7, Pembroke-gardens, Kensington. February 17.

COMRADES !- Permit me to convey my sincere congratulations and appreciation of your very excellent paper. VOTES FOR WOMEN, a copy of which has just reached me. I have heard periodically, through your fellow-worker, Mrs. N. A. Martel, of the great progress the N.W.S.P.U. is making. This publication more than confirms her glowing reports, and we can see that its mission is not alone to help the special cause for which it saw the light, but to educate the future mothers of the rising generation.

Your champion of the cause, Mr. Keir Hardie, received a warm message from your Australian sisters at "The Trades Hall" welcome but a few days ago, and in response thereto he spoke in eloquent language of the splendid and unselfish efforts put forth by the members of the N.W.S.P.U., and he prophesied that the movement would be crowned with success in record time. We think so too.

It seems almost incredible that such rough treatment should be meted out to your comrades; but it is good to know that this for Mrs. Pankhurst and our brave comrades. Six weeks of has only occurred in isolated cases, and is the outcome of blind

With every conscious thought for that success which is already assured.

Ever your Comrade, for truth and liberty,

FREDERICK ALLMAN. Royal Chambers,

Hunter-street, Sydney, December 21, 1907.

A Schoolboy's Self-Denial.

I had been asking a happy wife and mother to help the cause of those less happy than herself, and I had been describing the hardships brave women undergo in fighting for that cause. She opened her purse, while her son, a little lad of barely 13, who had been reading at the other end of the room, came and stood before me, his hands in his pockets. The mother handed me some coins, and as I took them the boy's hand was on mine: Will this penny help the Suffragettes? " The boy's other hand came out of a second pocket, this time with a shilling. "Here, give them that." "But can you spare it? Take the penny back anyhow." "Oh, no. Let the Suffragettes have the thirteen I have ninepence a week, you know. bence.

So that boy gave on his own initiative his income for a week and a half. How many of us have done as much

J. A. DESIREE.

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MARCH, 1908.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A SYMPATHETIC TRIBUTE.

At a meeting held at 45, Royal York-crescent, Clifton, Bristol, on February 24, the following resolution was put forward :-

That this meeting of the Bristol and West of England Society for Women's Suffrage, which having always worked on constitutional lines, at the same time deplore the treatment which has been meted out in prison to members of the Social and Political Union, who should have been treated as political prisoners; and that this resolution should be sent to the Prime Minister, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and to the Rt. Hon. Herbert Gladstone.

Moved by GERALDINE HODGSON (Chairman). Seconded by Mrs. CURTIS.

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried.

FOREIGN NOTES.

The French Suffragists have now their own monthly paper, La Suffragiste, under the editorship of Dr. Madeline Pelletier, a well known writer. With the February number commences a monthly column of English news, "L'Agitation Suffragiste en Angleterre," contributed by Miss Lina Oswald, who devotes the greater part of her article to chronicling the activity of the N.W.S.P.U.

A Frankfurt woman's paper, the "Mode von Heute," published in its number of January 15, an article by Fraulein Anna Schröder, of Hamburg, on some of the meetings of the N.W.S.P.U. which she attended when in England. The descriptions of the October "At Home" and the Queen's Hall meeting, with its splendid collection, are calculated to give our German sisters an idea of the immense amount of propaganda work which is going on here in England, and of which they learn but little through their ordinary newspapers.

YORKSHIRE REPORT.

Protest Meetings.

... Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.

Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Wilson

Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.

2.-Bradford..... Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines.

.Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines.

25.-Sheffield Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe

In Lancashire and Yorkshire we have been very busy utilising the

nterest taken in our self-denia! projects to advertise the series of

protest meetings," which commenced on Saturday with one at

Halifax. Whilst working up the series in the towns and cities cited

above, Mrs. Massey, Mrs. Baines, Miss Adela Pankhurst, Miss Brooks,

and I have worn our Self-Denial sashes everywhere, with the result that

our work has been kept before the public, and additional interest has

been aroused in the meetings. Hull is having a jumble sale; Leeds

has been doing a "roaring trade" in toffee and peppermint creams

whilst the piano-organ tour initiated by Mrs. Baines, and carried on

during the last few days by the help of voluntary workers,

has been productive of both sympathetic and practical interest

Another Leeds member has just given a most successful musical

evening. Most of the Leeds members, too, have boxes for

the reception of the small change that some do not care to sub-

scribe to the collecting card. I have found members in other

local unions all busy in their own ways raising funds for the

will have been held. Those for Sheffield and Bradford have been in

the hands of Adela Pankhurst. Mrs. Baines has looked after Preston,

Bury, and Rochdale, whilst I am helping in the organisation of the

Leeds, Manchester, Hull, and Liverpool meetings. We hope to bom-

bard the local M.P.'s and Cabinet Ministers every morning with the

19 write personally to their members that they be in their places support the Second Reading of Mr. Stanger's Bill. To-day we have

war-chest. By the time this is in print more of the protest meetings

3.-Lancaster Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baine

. Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines.

... Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baines,

.Miss Gawthorpe. Mrs. Baines, Miss Brook

Feb. 26.-Leeds

27.—Chester

28.-Manchester

20.-Preston

T-Rochdale

29.-Hull ..

Mar. I.-Bury.

reached the point when it must either "climb down " or prepare to "tumble down " before very long. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech was a masterly exposition of the necessity for militant action, and she gave also a graphic account of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest, concluding her speech with the eloquent appeal for funds, which drew forth in response a collection of nearly £13, and promises of 28 guineas more. Thursday we held two meetings, one in Hillhead Burgh Hall in the

afternoon, presided over by Miss Burnet, where Lady Ramsay and Mrs-Pethick Lawrence addressed an audience of West End ladies, some of whom were thereby drawn to our ranks. The evening meeting was at Hamilton, and was one of the most successful political meetings held in that town

Oh! Womenkind of England now, Be worthy of your blood ; Let Courage shine upon your brow, In spite of Men and Mud!

" For Britains never shall be slaves!" Now, was this said in joke? The Flag of Freedom only waves O'er half the Island's folk !

Artistic Dress and Mantle Maker. resolutions passed at these meetings, and hope to get many men voters 3, HILL'S PLACE, OXFORD CIRCUS, W. Ladies' Materials made up in January and September.

spoken to a magnificent open-air gathering in Sheffield, the resolution 'That this meeting protests against the action of the Government in refusing votes to duly qualified women, so forcing them into conflict with the law with consequent suffering and imprisonment," was carried with two dissentients only. To-morrow we speak in the Dewsbury Market-place, and on Tuesday in Huddersfield. Then come Leeds, Chester, Manchester, Hull, Preston, Bury, Rochdale, Bradford, and Lancaster so far as present arrangements go. Follow-ing on its protest meeting the Sheffield Union is arranging for a mass women's meeting on March 25, and I trust other local Unions will follow suit, on the lines of the great London women's meetings.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE

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Scottish Notes .- We have had this week a most successful series of meetings in Glasgow and neighbourhood, and have gained many new members. We started at Motherwell on Monday evening, with an audience of over a thousand in the Town Hall. To Miss Seymour, who came in Mrs. Pankhurst's place, we are greatly indebted. Miss Hessie Findlay voluntarily came to our platform to move a vote of thanks to our speakers, thus closing a thoroughly rousing meeting. On Tuesday evening we had a meeting of teachers, convened by special invitation, the chair being taken by Mr. Martin Haddon, of the Glasgow School Board. About 800 men and women teachers attended, the speakers being Dr. Marion Gilchrist, Miss Seymour, and myself. I may mention that Miss Seymour's speaking has won much apprecia-tion, and there is a generally expressed desire that she should come

again. Miss Hamilton, head of the Pupil Teachers' Institute, here moved a vote of thanks in an effective little speech, and at the close of the meeting a number of ladies were enrolled on our membership.

The Athenæum Hall meeting on Wednesday evening was our most important fixture for the week, and fulfilled our best hopes. The meeting was specially remarkable in that it was the first occasion, at least in Glasgow, when a considerable portion of the hall was reserved for booked seats. The audience justified the experiment

Dr. John Hunter made a capital chairman, and his speech was a vigorous indictment of the attitude of the Liberal Government

Lady Ramsay in her speech remarked that the Government had

HELEN FRASER

The Song of the Suffragette.

(To the tune of "There is naeluck about the house."

Come, Men of England! show your pluck, And free your Women too; About a House there is no luck, Unless it's ruled by two!

LOUISE JOPLING ROWE.

MISS FOLKARD.

CONTRIBUTIONS	TO THE £20,000 FUN	ID. Anonymous	Mar Dark
(Exclusive	e of Self-Denial Cards.)	Miss F. Corbett I O	Miss Sarah Holden Miss Norah Gildea
Already acknowledged 4.68	aary 28 to February 24. s. d. 3 19 11 Anonymous, Falmouth 10	Miss Riddell 0 10 0 s. d. Miss Mary Robertson 1 0 0 0 0 Miss Anna Robertson 1 0 0	Mine 137:11: emen
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liss M. Alice Dugdale Irs. E. Letherbrow	0 IO 0 Miss E. Hamilton 0	2 6 MISS Alice Last I I	Miss Judith Bretherton Mrs. Katherine Hughes The Misses Mitton
Geo. Twell, Esq Miss Gordon Miss Gordon, drawing-room	I I O Miss Boodles I	0 0 Mrs. Brownlow I 0	Mrs. Georgina MacRae Mrs. M. Martin White
Miss Helen MacRae	0 5 0 Miss Bryson 1	o o Miss Juliette Heale 2 2 o o Miss Sydney K. Phelps 1 10	
Mrs. and Miss Branch Miss Ethel Cohen	1 0 0 A Lady 0: 0 10 0 Miss Hilda M. Smith 0	to o Miss Violet Taylor I o	Mice Sarah Harris (pricon
Miss May Sinclair	I I 0 Miss Lord 0 I 0 0 Mrs. Rodney 0 2 0 0 Miss O. Myers 0	10 0 Mrs. Hugolin Haweis 2 0 10 0 Miss Fairbairns, M.A 0 10	Mrs. G. W. Smith Miss H. L. Harvey
Miss A. E. Dines	2 2 0 Mrs. Sidley I 0 10 0 Miss Beatrice R. Dall (by-	0 0 Mrs. Crowther 0 10 Mrs. K. Vulliamy 5 0 0 2 2 Miss Eustace Smith 0 10 10	Miss C. Courtauld Miss Kate Cording Miss Byham
Miss Marie Ledsam	I I 0 Helensburgh meeting, half- 0 I2 8 profit	10 0 Mrs. Wright Biddulph 1 0	Miss Alice E. Parsons Mrs. M.C. Hogg
Aberdeen Sympathiser Mrs. Billinghurst	0 10 0 - Lodman, Esq 0	4 o Miss E. W. Allen I I	Miss Clara Pybus
Mrs. James Williams Mr. and Mrs. F.W. Pethick-	5 0 0 week for six weeks 3 Mrs. Ramsbottom	o o Mrs. Edith M. Ison 0 2 Mrs. Galsworthy	
Mrs. Cobden Unwin	5 0 0 Mrs. I. Lowy 20	o o Miss Hargreaves	Mrs. Bertha Brewster
Miss Agnes W. Watson	2 0 0 Miss Blanche Smith 30 I I 0 Mrs. Arnette E. Bear 3. I I 0 Miss Clemence Housman	0 0 Miss D. Walenn 0 5 3 0 Mrs. Ayrton 100 0	Miss Cecilia Mackenzie
Miss Arup Miss Ioachim	0 10 0 Miss K. S. Martin 0 50 0 0 L. M	0 0 MISS Blacklock 0 5	Miss Evelyn Gossling Mrs. Elizabeth Cobb
Miss C. L. Sheppard Mrs. Bonwick	I 0 0 Miss Morton I I 0 0 ''Eilitto'' 100 I 0 0 Mrs. H. G. Candy 0	o o Mrs. Anderson 0 10 5 o Mrs. E. Ashton 0 5	o Anonymous Miss Knight
Miss Florence Hughes	3 0 0 Viscountess Harberton 5	2 6 Dr. Janet Campbell I I 0 0 E. A. Harbord, Esq 2 2	Mrs. Strangways
Mrs. M. Gentle	Miss Mary Blathwayt I Miss Jessie Muntz I3 3 0 0 Miss A. M. Priestman 5	0 0 Mrs. Lightman 0 10	0 Mrs. Mansell
Miss Beatrice Harraden Miss Agnes Guest Miss Nellie Smith	0 10 0 Mrs. W. Gordon 5	0 0 Funa) 0 2	b Collections, &c
Miss N. A. Smith : Prison	0 5 0 Miss Mordan 1	o o Mrs. Morgan 1 0 o o Mrs. Workman 5 0	o Total
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Miss F. Newsam	7 0 0 Mrs. Wilkinson 1 2 0 0 Mrs. E. Brown	0 0 1 0 1 0	
Miss Mary Tregarthen Mrs. Alice Dax Miss Janet McLeod	0 I 0 Mrs. C. Turle	PROGRAMME	OF EVENTS.
Mrs. Goudge Mrs. Lizzie Morris	1 0 0 Miss O. Dorman 0 10 0 0 Miss M. Corbett 0	2 6 2 6	
Mrs. Balgarnie Mrs. Lucy Calway	0 5 0 Mrs. D. E. Shaw 0	$\begin{array}{c} 2 & 6 \\ 4 & 6 \\ 5 & 0 \end{array}$ Up to the End of March (a	s far as at present ar
Miss Kate Willison Miss Lena Wilcocks Miss Janet H. Thomson	1 0 0 Mrs. Sharpe 0 0 5 0 Miss L. Chapman	7 0 10 0 Feb. 27 London, 4, Clements Inn Chester, Protest Meeting Manchester, Memorial Hall	At Home Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines
Miss M. E. Curtis Miss Evelyn C. Haig	I I 0 Mrs. Jameson 0 I 0 0 Miss Walenn I	10 0 Feb. 29 Liverpool, Protest Meeting	Miss A. Pankhurst Miss Gawthorpe
Anonymous, Aberdeen Miss Mathew	0 6 0 Mrs. L. Corbett	0 0 Hammersmith, The Broadway Hull, Beverley-road Baths 2 6 Preston, Protest Meeting	Miss New Miss A. Pankhurst, Mrs. Willson Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines
Norwich Labour Church (lecture fee, Miss C. Pankhurst,	Miss Alice Heale	2 0 Mar. 1 Bury, Hall 0 0 Rochdale, Town Hall Square 0 0 Mar. 2 Thames Ditton, Ardenne	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines Miss Seymour
Dr. Mabel Hardie Miss Helen Macdonald Miss Scott Smith	0 5 0 Mrs. Frances E. Rowe 1	10 0 Bradford	Miss Gawthorpe, Miss A. Pank hurst, Mrs. Baines Mrs. Pethick Lawrence
Miss Margaret Johnston Miss Dorothy Craske Miss Barbara Hunt	0 2 6 Mrs. Alice Cameron 1 0 10 0 Mrs. Mary A Jagger 5	0 0 Lancaster, Protest Meeting	Miss Gawthorpe, Mrs. Baines
Anonymous	0 2 6 Miss R. Barrett (1st week's 0 2 6 salary) 2	Unity Hall Mar. 5 Woolwich, Presbyterian Churc	h Mrs. Drummond
Dr. Bone Miss Lucy Newton Miss Margaret Barry	2 2 0 Do. (is. each prisoner) 3 I 0 0 Miss M. Patterson I	0 0 Hyde Park, Albion-street 0 0 Mar. 6 Theydon Bois, Rigg's Retreat 0 0 Mar. 10 Portman Rooms, Lecture	Dr. Garrett Anderson
Anonymous Miss Florence White Mrs. Nevitt Bennett Miss Florence Haig	1 0 0 Miss Constance Maud 7 1 0 0 Mrs. G. Bales 0	0 0 Petersfield, Town Hall 5 0 Lancaster Gate	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mis Neal, Mrs. Eates Miss Christabel Pankhurst
	20 0 0 Mrs. F. E. Langley 0	I 6 Mar. II Release of Mrs. Rigby and M	rs.
Mrs. Hilda Williams	0 10 0 Miss Gertrude Ansell 2	2 0 Titterington, Holloway Pris	Miss Mary Cawthorne
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