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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.

We have great pleasure in presenting to our readers the first number of the weekly series of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The new venture will involve a large additional expenditure of time and work on the part of ourselves and the staff at Clements Inn, but we are confident that this will be fully justified by the added interest of our readers, and that they will continue to support the paper both by subscribing to it regularly themselves, and by losing no opportunity of introducing it to the notice of their friends and acquaintances.

Growth of the Paper.

Since our decision was announced last month we have had ample evidence of the necessity for the change from monthly to weekly issues. The number of copies printed of the April issue were soon exhausted, and a second

edition was called for in order to cope with the demand. Meanwhile, in spite of the holiday season, the Supplements were filled to overflowing, and valuable material was crowded out, owing to lack of space. Every day the movement grows, the doings of the women play a larger and larger part in the current of the national political life, and with this increase comes a wider general interest on the part of the general public, and a desire for first-hand and reliable information, which we alone are in a position to supply.

How to Obtain "Votes for Women."

We would call the special attention of our readers to the fact that with the more frequent publication we have been able to make arrangements for the more prompt supply of the paper. VOTES FOR WOMEN is now obtainable at all Messrs. W. H. Smith and Sons' bookstalls, and of all newsagents, and it should be found possible to procure the paper first thing Thursday morning in London, and in other parts of the country some time during the same day. The paper is also on sale at all meetings of the Women's Social and Political Union, but regular readers who wish to obtain the paper promptly are recommended to obtain it either by prepaid subscription (15s. 2d. a year, 3s. 10d. a quarter, post free) from the office, 4, Clements Inn, or from their nearest newsagent or bookstall. The publisher will be glad to be informed of any difficulty which may be experienced in obtaining prompt and regular delivery. The postage on the present issue is 1d., but on succeeding numbers 3/4d., as it will then be recognised by the Post Office as a newspaper.

Political Changes.

Since our last issue events of great political importance have taken place. Early in April Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, owing to the severity of his illness, which has since, unhappily, terminated in his death, found himself obliged to abandon the Premiership and the leadership of the Liberal Party. His retirement placed in the highest position Mr. Asquith, a man representing in many ways a different point of view from the ex-Premier, and in particular a declared and inveterate opponent of women. A reconstruction of the Cabinet took place in consequence. Mr. Lloyd George went to Mr. Asquith's old place as Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Winston Churchill and Mr. Runciman entered the Cabinet for the first time as President of the Board of Trade and as President of the Board of Education, and by constitutional law thereby vacated their seats in the House of Commons. At the same time Mr. John Morley and Sir Henry Fowler and Mr. E. Robertson were given peerages, and several other minor appointments were made.

The By-Elections.

Including Kincardineshire, there were thus involved seven by-elections, which have since been increased to eight by the death of Mr. Kenyon-Slaney, member for Newport (Shropshire). Of these, three have been already fought to a finish. The Liberals allowed the Kincardineshire campaign to be protracted for a full month. The Women's Social and Political Union, following its usual election policy, sent a strong detachment of its members,

under Miss Mary Gawthorpe, to oppose the Government nominee, with the result that in this small constituency, with a total of only 6,000 voters, the Liberal majority was reduced by close on 700 votes. Liberals have suffered such severe defeats recently that they regarded this reduction as being in the nature of a Liberal triumph, and point with satisfaction to the fact that their majority is not quite down to the level of 1900. But a little reflection will show how hollow is their triumph, for in 1900 the total membership of the Liberal Party in the House of Commons was only some 200 members, and a return to the state of affairs in 1900 would mean a Liberal *débâcle*, which would destroy the prospects of the Liberal Party for some time to come.

Dewsbury.

Another constituency in which the women played a prominent part was Dewsbury, where Mr. Runciman sought re-election after his appointment to the position of President of the Board of Education. The campaign was in the hands of Mrs. Baines, Miss Barrett, Miss Sidley, Miss Nell Kenney, Miss Nancy Lightman, Miss Parker, and several of the Yorkshire members, and in addition Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Martel spoke at several large meetings in the constituency. A very great deal of enthusiasm was aroused in the town, and the reduction in the Liberal majority from 3,800 to 1,500 marked a successful close to an important campaign. As in the case of Kincardineshire, the Liberal papers hailed the result as a great victory for the Liberal Government, which, in view of the fact that, with identically the same candidates, a loss of over 2,000 votes was effected, is a remarkable misuse of words.

North-West Manchester.

But the most important of all the by-elections was that held in North-West Manchester, and on this the heaviest guns of the National Women's Social and Political Union were turned. Mr. Winston Churchill was in the early stages confident of success, and attempted to gain the support of the electors by numerous promises. He even tried to conciliate the women by replying to a question as to what he intended to do to help the women to get the Parliamentary vote as follows:—

I will try my best as and when occasion offers, because I do think sincerely that the women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women. It is no longer a movement of a few extravagant and excitable people, but a movement which is gradually spreading to all classes of women, and, that being so, it assumes the same character as franchise movements have previously assumed.

This is an admission of the national character of the present movement which members of the Government have hitherto consistently denied. Miss Pankhurst, however, pointed out the hollowness of his promise, and stated that nothing short of a definite Government pledge would deter women from continuing their campaign.

The Importance of the Women's Opposition.

The strength of the Suffragette attack was acknowledged in many ways. During the campaign it was well shown by the efforts of the Liberals to counteract their work. The St. Paul's Ward Liberal Association

got out a special circular appealing to Liberals to assist in a special demonstration to save Mr. Churchill from defeat at the hands of opposing forces, and in the category of the three most important they placed the Suffragettes. A special handbill was also produced by some Liberal women, who, while professing their interest in Votes for Women, urged the electors to vote for Churchill. Most of the prominent Liberal women, however, refused, under the circumstances, to work for him. The final result was a magnificent victory for the women's campaign, and full particulars will be found in another part of the paper.

Current By-Elections.

Of the by-elections at present in progress the one in Dundee, where Mr. Churchill is seeking refuge, is, of course, the most important. Mrs. Pankhurst is there taking charge, and she is assisted by Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Mrs. Martel, and a large number of other workers, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst will take part in the later stages of the campaign. The other Scottish by-elections will also receive considerable attention, and in Wolverhampton work is already proceeding apace under Miss Annie Kenney and Mrs. Drummond.

General Activities.

In spite of the Easter holidays, the work of the by-elections did not exhaust the whole energies of the National Women's Social and Political Union. A large and enthusiastic meeting at Plymouth and another at Nottingham, to mention only two of those that were held immediately before Easter, were both addressed by Miss Christabel Pankhurst and other speakers. All through the past month the propagandist campaign has been going on steadily in all parts of the country, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Glasgow, Bristol, Exeter, Lancaster, Bedford, Teignmouth, being some of the towns worked up by the organisers and visited with great success by the speakers of the Union. In and about London incidents in the campaign have been large meetings and demonstrations in Chiswick, Kensington, Peckham, &c. Last Monday the Portman Rooms were filled by five or six hundred women who came to the weekly "At Home," and applauded enthusiastically Miss Pankhurst's description of the Manchester contest.

The Boat Race.

A great sensation was caused at the University Boat Race by the "Votes for Women" launch, which paraded the course both before and after the contest. Starting like any other spectators' craft from the Rutland Wharf, it soon revealed its true character by unfurling four large banners, two of which bore the familiar legend, "Votes for Women," and the other two the announcement of the Hyde Park Demonstration on June 21. These were borne by eight women, Mrs. Drummond, a familiar figure among them, all wearing "Votes for Women" sashes. The pennant at the bow was replaced by another Women's banner, so only the women's colours were sported by the women's launch. The effect made by its appearance was

instantaneous. Cheers followed it the whole length of the course, handkerchiefs were waved from windows along the banks; it set the note of conversation in every house party and on every boat, and in every group of spectators. The Oxford and Cambridge race was rowed, literally, this year to the tune of "Votes for Women."

The Cup Tie.

An all-night sitting took place in the offices of the Union on the eve of the Final of the Cup Tie. A dozen or two of the workers met at 4, Clements Inn, and worked until 3 a.m., folding circulars and handbills advertising the Hyde Park meeting on Sunday, June 21. They then left in a blinding blizzard of snow and wind, and drove in brakes to the Northern railway termini, where they stood until 10 a.m., many of them unsheltered from the storm, and distributed their circulars to the crowds arriving in excursion trains from the North and Midlands. Many of them then returned to the office, and, reinforced by others, worked again at folding the bills, which were again distributed to the crowds of spectators at the Crystal Palace.

The Kite.

Here, again, the woman's note was struck by the "Votes for Women" kite which floated overhead all the afternoon. And so it was said that the Cup Tie was played this year, as the University Boat Race was rowed, to the sound of "Votes for Women." A final touch was added to the work by returning to the railway stations, and presenting to each returning excursionist a bill exhorting him to bring his wife, mother, sisters, daughters, to the demonstration. These were inserted in envelopes bearing the colours of the rival teams, and at Paddington, where friends of the winning team predominated, so much friendly curiosity was aroused by the sight of the women with their suffrage buttons that many impromptu meetings were held in different parts of the station, at which the speakers explained the meaning of the movement to the men who crowded round. The utmost interest was shown by the excursionists. A special account of some of the scenes is given by Mrs. Baldock on page 123.

Future Events.

The coming weeks promise to be exceptionally full of interesting events. Apart from the by-elections referred to above, several large meetings have been arranged. Among provincial demonstrations of importance in the immediate future will be one at Nottingham on May 7, and there will be many others in and about London. On May 6, for instance, Miss C. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, and Miss Naylor are to speak in the New Cross Hall, Lewisham, at 8 p.m. Other meetings of interest will be those in the Battersea Town Hall on May 8, at 8 p.m., at Bowes Park on May 12, at Walthamstow on May 13, at Muswell Hill on May 19, at Stratford on May 20, at Camberwell on May 22, and so on. "At Homes" and drawing-room meetings are also to be held in large numbers. The programme for the next fortnight, as far as at present arranged, will be found on page 135.

The St. James's Theatre.

Of the more distant events, the principal is the meeting in the St. James Theatre, kindly lent to us on Tuesday afternoon, May 26, by Mr. Geo. Alexander. About half of the tickets for this meeting are already sold, and as those that remain are disappearing fast, those who wish

to be present are advised to apply at once. The meeting is for women only. The speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst (chair), Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and others. The prices of the tickets are as follows:—Private boxes (holding eight), £3 3s.; orchestra stalls, 5s.; dress circle, 4s.; upper circle, 3s.; all numbered and reserved. Unreserved: Pit, 2s.; gallery, 1s. These are now on sale, and may be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, at 4, Clements Inn.

Hyde Park, Sunday, June 21.

As the date of the great Hyde Park Demonstration on Sunday, June 21, grows nearer, it becomes more and more evident that the one difficulty will be to accommodate the enormous number of persons who will wish to be present in Hyde Park. Arrangements on the most extensive scale are being made, and, provided the day is fine, there is not the least doubt that all demonstrations of a similar character on previous occasions will be out-distanced. A special article is published on this subject on page 125, and every week between now and the date of the demonstration special items of news of interest to our readers will be given relating to the subject.

At Homes at the Queen's Hall.

Another development of special interest is the change which is to take place later in the year in the place of meeting of the weekly Monday afternoon "At Homes" of the National Women's Social and Political Union. The Portman Rooms, holding 700 or 800 people, are already beginning to be found to be too small to accommodate the large numbers of people who desire to be present, and arrangements have been made to transfer them to the large Queen's Hall. The first date on which the "At Home" will be held in Queen's Hall will be June 22nd, the day following the great demonstration in Hyde Park. On June 29th they will be held for the last time this season in the large Portman Rooms. In July they will be permanently transferred to the large Queen's Hall, and will be held there for the rest of the year, with the exception of the weeks in the summer holidays, with regard to which announcements will be made later. When it is remembered that only three months back these "At Homes" were held in the offices of the Union, at 4, Clements Inn, which are not capable of accommodating as many as 150 people, this startling fact is alone evidence of the progress that the votes for women movement is making, and the public notice it is drawing to itself.

Features of this Issue.

The principal features of the present issue are the article by Mr. Lawrence Housman, entitled "The Monopoly and the Time Limit," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's article upon "The Hidden Wealth of the Country," and a storyette illustrating the leeway which would have to be made up by the woman of a hundred years ago before she could find herself abreast of the current thought of to-day. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst contributes a further chapter of her "History of the Suffragette Movement," and Mr. James Cousins a third of his delightful sonnets. But we think that our readers will find few parts of the paper more interesting than the accounts of the various by-elections which have taken place, and which are going on in various parts of the country. We have added a large number of comments of the Press, because we think that their expressions of opinion will be considered of special value.

MONOPOLY AND THE TIME-LIMIT.

BY LAWRENCE HOUSMAN.

"The strongest Government of modern times" has put its strength to the test in an attack on what is perhaps the most formidable vested interest of the present day—an interest whose pride of place in our great commercial community is sufficiently indicated by the name it commonly bears of "the trade." Supported by something like two-thirds of the public Press, "the trade" is up in arms against legislation which seeks to impose a time-limit on the monopoly-value it has hitherto enjoyed, and advocates of the Bill are grievously astonished to find that Women Suffragists, keenly interested as they are in social reform, have not immediately rallied to the Government's support.

The position is interesting and suggestive, the fight is fierce, and the issue is still doubtful. And it is well that it should be so. It is well that the Government and the country should have before their eyes an object-lesson of the enormous difficulties which may be set in the way of a measure, believed by many to be just and right, when the long-standing privileges of a vast interest are threatened, when a strong body of monopolists sees cause to fear that its monopoly is about to be taken from it.

The Pharisee and the Publican.

Yes, undoubtedly a good object-lesson, and one which temperance reformers will do well to apply where a still older vested interest, and a still vaster monopoly are concerned. For the present Government is refusing, by its inaction with regard to Women's Suffrage, to set any time-limit whatever to a monopoly which the majority of its supporters has declared to be an anachronism, and for which no single Minister has dared, in the House of Commons, to say a good word. The position of the Government, therefore, is far worse morally than that of "the trade," for the latter can with some show of honesty defend that which it claims as an established right; but the Government is defending a claim which stands in direct contradiction to its professed principles; and yet, blandly ignoring its own moral bankruptcy, sets itself up like the Pharisee in the Temple to condemn the publican.

Under such circumstances has it the right credentials to rally to its side those to whom it denies a far greater, more effective, and more fundamental reform? More effective and more fundamental, I mean, in the cause of temperance itself. For whatever men may be—and in this matter we are, I fear, a very mixed lot—women are by nature, and still more by hard and bitter experience, the temperance party of this country. Their own record shows it; of the two sexes they are infinitely the more temperate, and if their natures did not incline them, their circumstances and their interests would compel them, for to them and their children most of all the misery of drink comes home. Give women, therefore, the certainty that for the future their voices will have legislative weight, and you will enlist at once stronger forces for a really effective reform of the drink traffic than all the existing temperance societies put together. That is the aid which the Government deliberately refuses to secure. And is it not ludicrous, while it thus ignores so direct a means to its end, to say that opposition to its vain waste of strength is opposition to the cause of temperance? When some obstinate mule is trying to enter a field through the thickest part of a thorny hedge you are not depriving it of its wished-for pasture by forcibly directing its attention to the gate which stands open hard by. Yet that is actually how the matter now stands; for, even supposing that the Government carries its Bill through the House

of Commons, there its effective power comes suddenly to an end. It cannot, while its own moral position is so essentially false, appeal to the country against the revising judgment of the House of Lords with prospect of success; it can win no victory for Liberal principles while it stands before the world with a multifarious creed.

Liberals or Liberalism?

Those, therefore, who before all other things would place temperance reform, may be well assured that the triumph of their cause will not be delayed by the defeat of the present Government so long as it obstinately refuses to act on those principles which have given Liberalism strength in the past. Justice to women would solve the temperance question far more swiftly and radically than any Licensing Bill which the craft of man can devise. Give to women the right to a living wage from their husbands for the maintenance of themselves and their children, give them no more than the right which you give to the mother of an illegitimate child to claim so many shillings weekly for its maintenance, and without extinguishing a single licence you will have reduced the drink-bill of this country by half. But you will not be able to pass such a law as this until women have the vote. Can it be said, then, that those who are working toward such a measure of reform are working against temperance? Is it not rather true that women have come to perceive that in their own enfranchisement lie the swiftest means to the many moral reforms which male legislation has so grievously delayed; and are they not right to demonstrate by the most effective means possible that power which, independently of party ties, they already hold, and which, so soon as they possess the vote will be available in redoubled force for the prosecution of social reform.

If men are of more value than measures, so, too, are women. Give to women their right place in the electorate, and the measures will follow fast enough. That, at all events, is the contention of those who put Women's Suffrage even before temperance reform. Faced by that demand, the Government stands like a strong ass, bowed between two burdens—the burden of what it wants to do, and the burden of what it wants to leave undone. Under the ill-adjusted weight of that progressive and reactionary programme it can make no real advance, and it is folly to say that the blame for its lack of progress rests on any shoulders but its own.

Sonnets on Suffrage.

III.—TO CERTAIN LEGISLATORS WHO SPEAK SCORNFULLY OF SUFFRAGETTE METHODS.

You, from whose lips the words of cold disdain
Have stung with bitterness, but not dismayed,
Those hearts which, for their birthright, would invade
The hollow sanctities of your domain!
Have you forgot what men have done to gain
Your freedom? Think of many a bloody blade
Struck home in silence, many a barricade
That stemmed the tide of proud Oppression's reign.
Now Freedom's dawn for Womankind has come;
And if their souls, that long in silence yearned,
Break into flame, and shame your feeble spark,
Keep you your scorn: remember—and be dumb—
Not yet man's fullest lesson have they learned:
Pillage, and fire, and murder in the dark!

JAMES H. WILLIAMS.

THE NATION'S WEALTH.

WHERE WOMEN WOULD FIND GOLD.

By EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

When women get the vote will they vote Liberal, will they vote Conservative, or will they vote Socialist? This is a question very seriously asked, and much discussed. Each party is afraid of giving women the vote, because each party fears that the support of women will go to its political opponents.

This is where they are wrong. The extension of the vote to women, who represent half the human race, while men represent the other half, will mean the introduction into politics of a new point of view, which will tend to the modification of all parties, and the support of women will go towards this new point of view, and all parties will to some extent absorb it, and adapt themselves to it. The women's vote will bring a new element into politics.

Very slowly men are beginning to realise that women's existence, like their own, has a *raison d'être* apart and distinct altogether from Nature's law of sex utility, which is common to all. Women realise it themselves every day more clearly. Women have their special service to render to humanity, their own particular quota to bring, in the working out of the human problem; and it is a very important one.

It is the development of the "undeveloped resources of wealth in human life." Human life is the paramount interest of women. It is their business. They know what it costs, for they pay the price for it. They know what it is worth, and how much can be made of it.

When women get "the right to work"—I mean when they are given the power to help in moulding and shaping and developing the circumstances of the outside world, according to their conception and desire, according to their ambition and their dream, they will do for the undeveloped resources of human wealth what men have done to develop the material resources and products of the earth.

Buried Treasure.

Men have not waited to find the treasures of the earth upon its surface. They have not been content to make use of those metals only which they found ready to their hand. They have gone forth into the wildest and most desolate parts of the earth to find gold; they have sunk shafts thousands of feet deep to get coal, they have blasted the solid rock in search of iron. They have sought to wrest riches from the earth at the cost of utmost peril, and unstinting expenditure. Yet to develop the wealth of the human life going to waste in our civilisation they have hardly yet given a thought. That has never yet appealed to their imagination, or called forth the energy of their constructive genius.

They have been content with the most haphazard ways of discovering the potential riches in humanity, availing themselves only of that treasure which lies on the surface and offers itself without much search or difficulty. Women must lead the way in making discoveries in the world of human life. Men are not in their own natural element here. This is essentially the sphere of women. Men and women will act and react upon each other, we shall help to suggest and initiate, and shall co-operate in carrying out the development of wealth both in its material and its human side. We have much to reveal to each other, and there is much to teach and much to learn on either side when artificial barriers are swept away, and artificial silences are broken. But it is undoubtedly true that the development and evolution of

the human and social world is waiting until the political freedom of women is accomplished.

Professors of sociology are beginning to discover that the only hope of social regeneration and advancement lies in the children of the country. Women could have told them this a long time ago, but women were not expected to think, much less to speak, and still less did they themselves expect to be listened to. The discoveries of women made in the nursery have never yet been taken account of.

Women have had the care of children generation after generation since the dawn of human life. They give of their substance and their life to that which is utterly and absolutely dependent upon them; they watch the tiny spark of consciousness flutter into flame; the cord that binds together the woman and the child is never cut. Yet men presume to legislate for the children of the country, even to the point of deciding under what conditions children shall enter into the world, without consulting the women of the country, or seeking the aid of their long-acquired knowledge and wisdom.

Reductio ad Absurdum.

The education of the children, the girls, and the boys, is entirely in the hands of men. No wonder that the Education Bill presents an impasse. Women realise perfectly well that it is not an Education Bill at all; that the welfare of the children does not enter into the question; that it is devoid of common sense, and of any practical knowledge of children and their needs. It is a Theological Disputes Bill. It deals with the theories and notions of men, not with the needs and requirements of little children. It is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the position which men have arrogated to themselves.

While men, on the one hand, are wasting time in endless discussions, not upon an Education of Children Bill, but upon the theories built up in the studies of Catholic, Anglican, or Nonconformist divines, and are reaching stage after stage of indecision, finally concluding to "give it up," and while countless other visionaries and theorists are debating as to whether Socialism is going to regenerate the human race, the women of the country want to get at the children, and begin putting an end to the colossal waste of human life.

The children of the country are the wealth hidden in the earth. The machinery for mining and working it is there. The name and address of every child in the country, roughly speaking, is upon the school registers. Every child of reasonable age is in the hands of responsible agents of national Government. It is no visionary dream, but a thing of immediate practical attainment, to ensure that every child in the country shall have a chance of complete physical, mental, and moral development.

Anyone who, like myself, has for years been a school manager knows that every school is a mine in which human treasure is buried. There is in every class-room enough potential vitality and enthusiasm, and mental eagerness and capacity, enough potential character and talent and joyousness to make, if it could be properly developed, a very large corner of the world glad and good with human riches.

Over and over again the teachers have pointed out to me individual cases of exceptional ability, and putting our heads together we have been able to secure to boys and girls a chance of developing their special gifts; and beginning a successful and happy career. One instance must suffice as an illustration. A very thin and haggard

little girl was pointed out to me once by her school teacher, who said: "Her mind is wearing through her body. A good meal every day for a whole year would give the child a chance." Between us, we made it our business to see this prescription carried out. That was not all. Seaside holidays and other things played their part, and to-day this girl, born and brought up in one of the most disgraceful of London slums, is spreading joy and health and happiness wherever she goes. From one end of the country to the other she is helping to spread the revival of old English Morris dancing, and she herself is a living embodiment of vitality and delight—a giver and a receiver of the best gifts of life.

For every one child enabled by exceptionally fortunate circumstances to escape a choked and sodden existence, and win the open door into a life that is worth the name, there are hundreds and thousands left behind, their gifts of intelligence, character, temperament, talent left undeveloped, trodden under the heedless feet of the trampling millions. "The right of entry"—that would be one clause of the Women's Education Bill. But it would not be the right of entry of which we already hear so much, but the children's right of entry into a life not altogether devoid of health, hope, and happiness.

As things are to-day in the rigid system which men call

education, it is only a few even of the highly gifted children who by exceptional chances come to the top, and have any chance of adding their wealth to the life of the nation. They are like the gold dust which is found without search upon the surface of the earth. The great bulk of the gold is hidden underground. Just as men search and mine and blast for mineral wealth, risk vast financial outlay in great enterprises, so must the human treasure be sought for, so must risks be taken, experiments made, endless trouble be expended to get the utmost out of the material at our command. Every particle of gold must be found and refined, and not only the gold, but the iron and the copper and the tin and the coal, and all the hidden wealth which at present lies wasted. We must never rest so long as a sickly, stupid, depraved, or unhappy child is in our midst. We will leave the theologians, the theorists, and philosophers to take care of the rest of the world, while we women attend to the children. Give us the vote, because that sets us free to get to our business. "Come and find me," the same irresistible call which men hear and obey, when they rush for the suspected but hidden gold, when they start to discover new countries, and to wrest new dominions from the unknown, is the call that rings in the ears of women to-day. For us, the cry comes from the potential soul of the newly-born child.

THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST.

VIII.—The Question in 1883.

On Friday, July 5, 1883, on the order for going into Committee on Supply when the question "That Mr. Speaker do now leave the chair," was proposed, Mr. Hugh Mason moved:—

To leave out from the word "that" to the end of the question, in order to add the words, "In the opinion of this House, the Parliamentary franchise should be extended to women who possess the qualifications that entitle men to vote, and who in all matters of local government have the right of voting."

The debate on this resolution, and the subsequent division, were followed with the greatest attention and anxiety by the Suffragists of the day. They believed rightly that from it they would learn whether or no Parliament was disposed to include votes for women in the coming Reform Bill. To-day its interest lies in what it can tell us of the earlier movement, that can show us why, in spite of the work of so many earnest women, it failed to achieve success.

Doubtful Advocacy.

Women Suffragists in those days put much more trust in Members of Parliament, and were very much more guided by their advice and opinion than is the case at the present time. This may have been well enough in the days when John Stuart Mill, with his great faith in the cause of women's enfranchisement, launched it upon its Parliamentary career. But later on, when men who were willing to take charge of a Bill or a resolution for a session or two, so long as it did not interfere with their own political prospects, took up the "leadership," their influence seems to have been generally in the direction of holding the women back, and of sowing dissension in their ranks by departing from the original broad and simple ideal of equal voting qualifications for men and women.

The speeches in this debate of 1883 were, of course, largely made up of general arguments for and against the extension of the franchise to women, but their practical political aspect is that which chiefly interests us.

In moving his resolution, Mr. Hugh Mason said:—

The words of my motion are intended to cover only women

ratepayers who are spinsters and widows. I have not the slightest sympathy with those who advocate the conferring of the vote upon married women or women who are not ratepayers, and I, for one, would wash my hands of this question now and for ever sooner than I would be a party in any degree whatever to conferring a vote upon any class of women except the two I have named. . . . Now, we are always told, when a reform is sought, that there is no demand for it on the part of those who will be benefited by it. Now, that cannot be said in regard to the women on this subject, for many years they have been very well organised. . . . And we are also told, I will not say whether there is any truth in it or not, that the Parliament of England never yields anything to reason or argument, but that it yields only to fears and threats and intimidation. Now, we have never seen the women resorting to threats or intimidation, but their organisation has been conducted in the most constitutional and the most ladylike manner.

Baron de Worms, who seconded the motion, expressed himself as "delighted to hear from the hon. gentleman who proposed the motion that he did not intend to include married women within its scope," he would, "simply grant it to widows and spinsters."

Mr. E. Leatham said:—

My hon. friend who moved the resolution stated that this question was making progress now. I have watched this question for many years in this House, and I cannot congratulate my hon. friend on the fact that it grows stronger in appearance as it grows older. When my hon. friend the Member for Manchester (Mr. Jacob Bright) had charge of this question, and the hon. gentleman who succeeded him—I do not know whether I ought to say in their championship or chaperonship—it assumed the robust proportions of a Bill. When, however, my hon. friend took charge of it, it sank at once into the dimensions of a Tuesday's motion—a motion that was always coming on and did not. (Cries of "No, no.") I thought it was in the time of my hon. friend, but, at all events, it has now shrunk to the very lowest form which a motion can take to be a motion at all—that of a Friday's motion on going into Committee of Supply. I think last year my hon. friend took care to put it down with another motion before it, in order, I suppose, to save the House the trouble of expressing an opinion on it at all. I cannot recall any question during the time in which I have had the honour of a seat in this House which has taken so feeble a hold upon its sponsors. They are perpetually changing. They are biennials; they flourish for a couple of years, and then they disappear.

In expressly dissociating themselves from any desire to confer the franchise upon married women, even in cases where they possessed a voting qualification, Mr. Mason and others who supported the resolution, so far from disarming criticism, appear only to have attracted the attention of their opponents to this point in particular. Mr. Leatham continued:—

My hon. friend has stated very strongly his opinion in reference to giving the franchise to married women, but I very much doubt whether my hon. friend agrees in this view with the view which is taken by many of his supporters. I received this morning a letter from a gifted lady signed Ursula M. Bright, in which the lady eloquently advocates the franchise for married women, and she states, further, that the Bill which was formally brought in was carefully worded, so as not to exclude married women. When I read the motion of my hon. friend I could not help thinking that that, too, was worded carefully, so as not to exclude married women, and I doubt exceedingly whether that motion if embodied in a Bill would not give the franchise to many married women. . . . He is of opinion that even political women when they marry ought to give up politics. . . . and this namby-pamby, wishy-washy, milk and water advocacy of women's rights he calls the removal of the sex-disabilities of women.

Mr. Inderwick followed in the same strain. He said:—

I must express my opinion that if the political franchise ought to be granted to women we ought not to grant it to them grudgingly, or with a sparing hand, but with the same free, and open hand that we should grant it to men. . . . My hon. friends have brought before the House what I consider to be a fancy franchise. It may suit some of them to say that it is all that they desire, but we know perfectly well that it is not what their clients desire—it is not what is desired by the women who are associated with this movement. We know perfectly well . . . that the foundation of this proposal is not a limited franchise of this kind, but a general franchise of women who have property, and pay rates and taxes, from one end of the country to the other.

Mr. Henry Fowler spoke in support of Mr. Mason's resolution, but believed that "to introduce a question of political difference in the home would be a step of very grave public danger and disadvantage," and said that he for one should "strenuously oppose it." Thus the speakers in support of the motion went on to show themselves hardly less narrow-minded than those who spoke against it, and Jacob Bright alone seemed to have any genuine faith and belief in the cause which they were supposed to be advocating. The opponents, of course, took advantage of their weakness, and even Mr. Raikes, who had done all he could to prevent the passing of the Married Women's Property Acts, now cited it as a reason why qualified women should be allowed to vote if the privilege should be extended to the unmarried.

Direct Opposition.

The Attorney-General said that he wished to give a most earnest vote against the motion. It was useless, he said, for its supporters to say that their object was to give a vote to unmarried women only. Mr. Mason no doubt meant what he said, but—

Let this resolution pass into a Bill, and let the Property Qualification Act, 1882, remain unrepealed, and every holder of a freehold in the country became a voter.

Then he went on to ask why the opinion of men was valuable in politics. It was so because they were able "one and all to bring to bear something of a peculiar and particular knowledge." Those in the legal profession had views upon law, commercial men upon trade and commerce, and military men had experience of armies and of war. "To any one of these subjects," he continued, "can woman contribute any experience?" He was answered by cries of "No," and went on: "She can tell us no doubt of her great experience of domestic life, but unhappily for us that is not a subject with which we have to deal here." He was told that the supporters of the motion had a majority in the House, and that there was

to be a great victory for them. If so it would be a fleeting one. "Let this once be found to be a serious question, and there would be deserters on one side and recruits on the other." He was certain that they had "forces still in reserve." So it proved, for when the House divided there appeared:—

For Mr. Mason's resolution 114
Against 130

Majority against 16

Mr. Gladstone and John Bright voted against the resolution.

SUFFRAGETTES AND THE CUP FINAL.

Several of our members, including myself, arrived at the offices on Friday evening between 10 and 11 o'clock, to fold and put into envelopes bills announcing our excursion to Hyde Park on June 21st. We sat working until the early morning, when our brake arrived at 3 a.m., decorated with banners "Votes for Women" and the date of Hyde Park meeting.

Eleven of us (the number of a football team) entered the brake, all armed with bills. We drove through the very cold morning air to King's Cross and St. Pancras Station, and learned that the excursion trains were late. "Where are you going?" said the officials of the railway. "To meet my friends," I said, as we all walked on to the platform. And they were friends, for some of them had come from Manchester, and had helped to defeat the Government, to help us in our cause.

"Train's late," said the porter, "and the Suffragettes show the railway company an example by being early," he said. Then a policeman came along, and wanted to turn us off the platform. We told him that other people were waiting there, and why could not we, and he whispered, "Take off your sashes, and you can stop." Of course, we did not, so we went outside the station, where all sorts of men and women were eagerly waiting for customers to buy the coloured rosettes of the different teams. So poor they looked, and in the biting cold they shivered in their thin garments. Some of them stood close to me, and I heard one of the men say to the other, "It is these women who will get all the show this morning. It is a pity they cannot look after their homes; I wonder what their places are like."

A poor woman in black, who was selling, stood by, and she turned on him furiously, and said, "Shut up, and you mind your own business. These women are the friends of us poor women; you don't know what you are talking about. Have you got four children and a place to look after when you gets home. Well, I have when I gets home. Good luck to 'em, I say, and next time you opens your mawth, know what you're a saying of." The man said, "Ant it just like 'em? Whenever I talks politics to a women she allays flares up, and gets out o' temper." "Dry up," said the woman, "politics is right."

Eagerly the men and women took our bills, and many said, "What have you done with Churchill?" "Kept him from getting his goal," I said, and this seemed to please them very much.

"By gum! these women are everywhere; I have just left them behind in Manchester, and here they are again."

"These plucky women deserve a vote for getting up so early on a morning like this," said a policeman. "I've coom from Halifax; have you been to prison? Shame! Serve 'um reet if you knock all of 'um out!"

"Give us a packet of bills, and I will give 'um out in Derby," said a man, for I believe in your case, and mean to 'elp you."

We stayed on. Some went to Euston, and as the brake-loads of men passed by, cheer after cheer was raised for Votes for Women. It was quite true what the man had said. We had all the show. Only once did I hear "The Coop" mentioned. They wanted to hear about Votes for Women. Hundreds promised to come and bring their wives and sweethearts on June 21.

MINNIE BALDOCK.

THE SLEEPING BEAUTY IN THE WOOD RETOLD.

You are all familiar with the story of the Princess up to the time, after the wicked Fairy had spoken, when the good Fairy changed the sentence of death into one of sleep for a hundred years. Well, at the end of ninety-nine years the good Fairy said to herself: "Times have changed since the Princess went to sleep. When she awakes with all the old ideas of ninety-nine years ago, she will find herself out of tune with the times, and I fear she will be a very useless, unhappy sort of person if I cannot prepare her a little for what is before her." So she devised a plan (for you will remember that she was the cleverest and most powerful of all the fairies) whereby she could talk to the Princess in her dreams.

First the Fairy asked her what she was going to do when she awoke. The Princess smiled: "I shall comb out my golden locks, put on my fairest robe, and look as beautiful as I can, so that the brave Prince shall find he has won a prize worthy of his courage and perseverance." The Fairy responded, rather bluntly: "Is that all you are going to do—look pretty? Can you do nothing? Child, do you remember that you were so clumsy that you could not even handle a spinning-wheel in the time before you fell asleep?" The Princess was a little troubled. "But what can I do?" she asked. "The Prince will wake me and carry me away to his own castle before I have time to do anything but dress for the journey." Then the Fairy told her that times were changed since the old days. "Nowadays," said she, "princes have other things to think of but pleasure. I know for a fact that your Prince will be so engaged with affairs of State that the hunting party which was to end with his adventure of finding you will not take place until twelve months later than my malicious sister supposed. Therefore, you will wake up of yourself, and you must make your way out through the forest alone, for you will see the world and learn so much that, instead of being to the Prince only like a gaudy-plumaged, foolish parrot in a gilded cage, you will be a great queen, and able to help him in governing his vast dominions, so that he will not have so much work to do as he has now, and be able to do it better." "Very nice for the Prince," said the Princess, "but I am not sure that I want to work at all. And how am I ever to find my way through that terrible forest—I, with my pretty frock and thin shoes and long, floating hair? It would be hard enough for him. It will be ten thousand times worse for me." "You must bind up your hair in a knot," said the Fairy, "and lay aside your dainty frock and shoes. I will give you the sandals of truth and the robe of courage, and so dressed you shall win your way through the thickest forest that ever was heard of since time began." The Princess dreamed a grimace. "I shall look a sight!" she said. "And I don't want to be wise and clever and great at all. The Prince can be all that, and it is much nicer for me to be just pretty." The Fairy sighed, but she was patient, for she was the greatest of the fairies.

Why the Princess Set Out.

"Child," said she, "you do not yet know all. Think not that you are the only captive maiden who is waiting to be set free. Throughout the length and breadth of the world there are imprisoned girls and imprisoned women of all ages (captured when they are little children, they grow up, and grow old, and die, never having breathed the air of freedom), and for them no Prince is coming to open their prison gates and set them free. They are waiting for you, and, if you do not first free yourself, you will never be allowed to see them, and never be able to help them." Much more the Fairy told her of the sufferings of those other captives in all the darkest places of the earth, so that the Princess's heart was touched, and when she awoke at the end of the year she determined to venture forth bravely alone to save the other women—for she had now forgotten about the Prince.

Clad as the Fairy had told her, she climbed out of the window of her turret room, and began the perilous descent by the aid of jutting masonry and the ivy growth of more than a hundred years into the dark and fearsome forest below. But no sooner had she stepped out of her window than a most terrible clamour of voices assaulted her ears from all sides, and all around her, peeping over the battlements, from behind

the trees, from among the ivy, through the castle windows, she saw mocking, sneering, cruel faces. They were men's faces and voices, but, alas! there were women's, too, and to the Princess these seemed more cruel, taunting, and venomous than the others. Said the voices: "Did you ever see such an exhibition as this girl is making of herself? Girl, indeed! Why, she is as old as Methuselah! She is old enough to know better, at any rate. Unwomanly creature! Unsexed monster! A nice object she is—the Prince will never look at her!" And so forth, until the Princess was all pale and trembling, and had much ado to keep her footing. She was almost on the point of turning round and trying to climb back into her turret, when suddenly through the din she heard the voice of the Fairy encouraging her; so she persevered, and at length reached the ground in safety. Then she plunged bravely into the forest, but she could hardly make her way at all, and it was rendered a thousand times more difficult to her by the terrible faces and voices that still kept her company all the time, inventing a thousand fresh taunts and gibes with which to torment her.

The Pitfalls in the Forest.

It would take long—very long—to tell all the terrible experiences of the brave Princess on her journey through what seemed to be the endless and impenetrable forest. There were thorn bushes that the Fairy (for the Fairy never really left her, though the Princess could not often see her) told her were called policemen, which caught her and held her fast, so that she only got away all torn and bleeding; and there were pitfalls that the Fairy said had been dug by men called lawyers, into which the Princess stumbled, and only got out of all lame and halting; also precipitous rocks, that the Fairy called Parliamentary Procedure, that she could not climb over. But just when she was almost in despair the Fairy came always to her aid, released her from the thorns, helped her out of the pits, and showed her how to get past the great precipices without climbing all the way over them. But worst of all was when she came to a stream called Politics, very deep and strong, rushing between great, black, jagged rocks, and so fearfully dirty and malodorous that the Princess could hardly bear to approach it. So she sat down on the ground, some little distance from the brink of the stream, and declared that this was too much for her, and that she could not defile herself by dipping so much as the tip of her foot in that dreadful river, even if she had to lie down and die out there in the forest. Then the Fairy showed her once more a vision of captive women. But this time they were lovely maidens in silks and gems and gold chains (always chains) singing and laughing madly, draining jewelled goblets of wine, and dancing in their chains to please the men who were their captors, until at last, even to the youngest and fairest, they grew old and weary and ugly, so that their masters would see them no more, but drove them forth with a lash and cruel words, and they had to creep away and die miserably in filthy gutters and kennels, worse off than any of the women the Fairy had told her about before. Then, at that sight, the Princess called up all her courage for the last time, and plunged into the dark and sinister waters. Louder and more insistent grew the mocking voices in her ears as she breasted the strong current. Ah, brave little Princess, no one but the Fairy (not even the Prince) will ever know what her sufferings were as she crossed that dark river! But right gallantly she struck out, the Fairy always helping her at the right moment, and at last, at last, she found herself on the other side, safe and sound, with all the horrors she had passed through vanished and become as a dream.

In a beautiful and smiling land she found a joyous people waiting to welcome and acclaim her, from the Prince himself down to the humblest peasant, and all her life afterwards she lived happy and blessed, for Prince and people alike loved and honoured her; and although she wore more beautiful gowns and shoes than ever, and her hair floated and rippled round her like a field of ripe corn, she was never lazy or stupid or proud any more, but went her way through the world by the Prince's side, everywhere setting free the captives and bringing hope to the despairing.

TROTTY TADPOLE.

TO HYDE PARK!

THE GREAT VOTES FOR WOMEN DEMONSTRATION ON SUNDAY, JUNE 21.

Sunday, June 21, the longest day of the year, has been fixed for the great demonstration in Hyde Park, which will for ever after be remembered in the history of this country. On that day men and women from all parts of England will come together to express their determination that women shall immediately be granted the Parliamentary Vote.

Forty years ago a great demonstration of men took place to demand the franchise; 70,000 men came to Hyde Park, the park railings were pulled down, and the vote was won.

A Quarter of a Million People.

The demonstration on Sunday, June 21, will be of a peaceful and orderly character. Every precaution is being taken to ensure success, and the organisers who have seen the enthusiasm that prevails everywhere about Votes for Women are convinced that not 70,000 but 250,000—a quarter of a million persons—will take part. It will, therefore, be the largest demonstration of men or women that has ever been held anywhere in favour of any political reform.

Preparations on a gigantic scale have already been made. A large part of Hyde Park, covering a quarter of a mile square, has been set aside for the demonstration.

Twenty Platforms.

Into this great space 20 platforms will be brought, and at each platform a woman speaker will preside.

Eighty Women Speakers.

Each chairman will be supported by a number of other women speakers, and in all 80 women will address the vast audience. At 3.30 the bugle will sound, and at each platform the chairman will rise and the meeting will begin. Speaking will continue for one hour and a-half, and at a few minutes before 5 o'clock the chairman will make the final announcements, and then at 5 o'clock the resolution will be put simultaneously from every platform. After that there will be one great shout from every throat, "VOTES FOR WOMEN!" and the meeting will disperse.

How London Will Come to the Park.

In previous demonstrations one great procession has been formed which has brought thousands of demonstrators into the Park. The scale on which the present demonstration is being organised renders any attempt to bring all the women who intend to take part in it in a single procession out of the question, and, therefore, not one, but seven processions have been arranged for. The times and starting points of these processions are as follows:—

- A. Euston-road (Euston Station), 1 p.m.
- B. Trafalgar-square, 1.30 p.m.
- C. Victoria Embankment, 1.30 p.m.
- D. Chelsea Embankment, 1.30 p.m.
- E. Kensington High-street, 1.30 p.m.
- F. Eastbourne-terrace, Paddington, 2 p.m.
- G. Park-road, Baker-street, 1.30 p.m.

Every one of these processions will enter the Park at a separate gate, and proceed to one or other of the twenty platforms.

How England Will Come to the Park.

The demonstration will not be confined to Londoners. All the morning, into every terminus, special trains will be pouring, bringing their contingent of men and women from different parts of the country. Arrangements are already completed with many of the railway companies to provide special trains at excursion fares from all the principal centres in the country, and it is expected that over 30 special trains will be run into the metropolis.

Among the towns from which special trains will be run are the following:—

Bath	Loughborough
Bedford	Luton
Birmingham	Malvern
Blackburn	Manchester
Bolton	Newport Abbot
Bedford	Newport
Brighton	Norhampton
Bristol	Norwich
Bury	Nottingham
Bury St. Edmunds	Oldham
Burton	Paignton
Cardiff	Peterborough
Chelmsford	Plymouth
Cheltenham	Portsmouth
Coventry	Preston
Crewe	Reading
Derby	Redhill
Doncaster	Reigate
Exeter	Rochdale
Gloucester	Rugby
Halifax	Sheffield
Hastings	Southampton
Hereford	Southport
Huddersfield	Stockport
Hull	Stafford
Ipswich	Teignmouth
Kettering	Torquay
Lancaster	Weston-super-Mare
Leamington	Wigan
Leeds	Wolverhampton
Leicester	Worcester
Liverpool	York.

Special trains will be run from other towns provided sufficient women are ensured to justify the guarantee. Those interested should communicate with the Hyde Park Secretary, N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C., stating how many tickets they could undertake to dispose of. In the event of the numbers being insufficient to justify a special train service, the railway companies will usually make reduced terms for parties of ten and upwards. The demonstrators would in that case proceed to London by the ordinary trains.

Women of London! You must be in Hyde Park on that day, the story of which you will hand down to your children as the most memorable in your life.

Women of England! Wherever you live, you must come up to take part in this great demonstration. Members of the Government, when called upon to grant votes to women, have said that proof is lacking that women demand the vote, and have told women to hold demonstrations like those organised in the past by men. The Women's Demonstration in Hyde Park, on Sunday, June 21, will give the final answer to this argument, and will prove that there is a national demand for women's enfranchisement.

Women have sacrificed much to make this great demonstration possible. Already 230 women have gone to prison to show their enthusiasm in this cause. Women have deprived themselves to put together a campaign fund of £15,000 to fight this fight for you. The inheritance is yours—come and take it!

(This article is the first of a series which will be published in VOTES FOR WOMEN relating to the Hyde Park demonstration. Next week (May 7) will be given a list of the women who are presiding at the twenty platforms, together with a portrait and short biographical notice of each. The issue of the following week (May 14) will contain an account of the seven processions which will converge on the Park from different parts of London, and a map will be shown in order to make the description clear. On May 21 will be published an account of the arrangements which have been made with the various railway companies for special trains to bring up men and women to the demonstration from various parts of England, together with the times and special excursion fares and agents from whom tickets may be obtained. A map will also be published showing how the different towns will be served by the different railway companies. Other articles will follow, particulars of which will be announced later.)

A MEETING OF WOMEN

WILL BE HELD IN THE

ST. JAMES' THEATRE,

ST. JAMES', S.W.

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

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

ON THE

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF WOMEN.**Chairman—Mrs. PANKHURST.****SPEAKERS:****Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE, Miss CHRISTABEL PANKHURST,
Miss MARY GAWTHORPE.**

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

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

April 30, 1908. 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

Articles and news contributed for insertion in "Votes for Women" should be sent to the Editors at the earliest possible date, and in no case later than first post Monday morning prior to the publication of the paper. The Editors cannot hold themselves in any way responsible for the return of unused manuscripts, though they will endeavour as far as possible to return them when requested where stamps for postage are enclosed.

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NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

Three months ago Mr. Winston Churchill declared in jest that the Suffragettes were preventing his inclusion in the Cabinet by deterring him from fighting for his seat in North-West Manchester.

To-day the truth that lay behind that jest has come home to him in full measure.

He has fought the seat with every artifice in his power, and he has been defeated.

And we know, and Manchester knows, that the women turned the scale against him.

To the Irish Mr. Churchill gave a drastic pledge which won for him official Irish support. To the other malcontents he made various promises in order to buy off their opposition. He even gained over to his side a number of Unionist voters who placed Free Trade in the forefront of the election.

But the women's influence was against him, and secured his defeat.

A crushing blow has been delivered against the Government in the person of Mr. Churchill because it continues to refuse to do justice to women.

In North-West Manchester, as in other constituencies, the women succeeded because they were a new factor introduced into the situation.

Previous to the entrance of the Suffragettes into election warfare the voters were divided into camps along certain definite party issues; the women have superimposed a new issue. And not only have they, in consequence, carried over into opposition a fair proportion of men who had previously supported the Liberal candidate, they have also induced many to whom the ordinary party cries were indifferent to give a vote on this occasion "for the women."

What we have done in North-West Manchester we are prepared to do in every constituency where the Government send a candidate to the poll.

We shall fight each by-election with increasing confidence, and with an increasing measure of success as the sympathy of the country grows in our favour.

So long as the Government refuse to do that which they know to be right they will be met by our strenuous and effective opposition. And the day is coming—is well nigh here—when they will be forced to yield.

They can then choose:—either at the twelfth hour they can withdraw their opposition to our claim, admit that women have won their right to enfranchisement, and act honestly by us, and carry our Bill into law; or preferring to fall into the hands of men rather than into the hands of women they can go out to meet their fate at a General Election.

If in their obstinacy they choose the latter course the women's influence will turn the scale against them then throughout the country as a whole, just as it has turned it in North-West Manchester to-day against Mr. Winston Churchill.

POLITICAL NOTES.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST, LL.B.

The defeat of Mr. Winston Churchill in North-West Manchester is a triumph for the Women's Social and Political Union, for without our opposition Mr. Churchill would certainly have been re-elected. The W.S.P.U. has long awaited this opportunity of working against the Government. There was little doubt that the Manchester people would stand by us in our fight against the Government, and they have done so.

It was against Mr. Churchill in North-West Manchester that the first election campaign was fought, but at that time we were able to do no more than make a protest which should advertise our grievance, and this we did by issuing a manifesto, and by attending each meeting held by Mr. Churchill in order to ask whether the Government would grant votes to women. Since then strong public support has been gained, and in these days election meetings are not interrupted. We determined to meet Mr. Churchill with argument, and to beat him by argument. Save at election times we hold ourselves free to make protests at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, but at election times we adopt other tactics.

The Reason of our Success.

The effect of our work in Manchester was threefold. To begin with, we won the support of the electors for our cause. We made them want to help us, and made them feel proud of the idea that if Manchester men backed the women up in their demand for the vote, the effect would be to help the movement very greatly. Further, we disillusioned many ardent Liberals. We destroyed the enthusiasm which there was at the outset of the campaign for Mr. Churchill, and the Party for which he stood. And, in the third place, we gave the men who actually have the vote some very useful lessons as to how to bring pressure to bear on the Government, and we showed them the necessity of using the vote as a spur to the party in power. There were many people who doubted whether we could enlist the sympathy of the voters with our cause to such an extent as to induce them to lay aside the other questions which were before them, in order to help the women, but I think we have now convinced the average political wirepuller that the man voter is not so selfish a being as he has always been supposed to be. Politicians have believed that unless you appeal to the self-interest of the voter you appeal to him in vain. We are discovering that this is not so.

Support of Our Tactics.

Our militant policy has led men voters to desire to help us. They think that we are better fighters than the Government. During the Manchester election we used often to tell them that if we were as faint-hearted in dealing with the Government as the Government is in dealing with the House of Lords, we should not deserve to have the support of the electors in our campaign. Far from having set the people against us, our tactics have proved the one and only means of winning their support.

What pleased the voters more than anything was the fact that we did not beg or plead for their support,

but called upon them to give it, and that we told them that if they did not support us we were ready to go forward with the fight by ourselves unhelped by them. Our message to them was: "It is your privilege to help us; we believe that you have enough sense of justice to desire to do so, but if you will not stand by us, then we will win without you."

The Help of Women in Politics.

There is a growing desire on the part of the working man for the help of women in politics. He is beginning to think that without that help he has not made very much headway. He has grown tired of continual disappointments. Two years ago working men endowed the present Government with supreme power. They hoped that they had at last found a Party who were really going to do something. Now they think that this Government is not more satisfactory than others, and they feel that, perhaps, the women may find a way of getting some good out of the respective political parties; therefore they are more and more ready to admit us as comrades in the political battle. Further, we find that they are coming to understand that the industrial weakness of women is a menace to every wage-earner. They agree with us that such difficulties as unemployment and underpayment of men and women depend very much upon the political helplessness of women.

The Exclusion of Barmaids.

The Government's proposal to exclude barmaids from their industry excited interest, and it was generally recognised in Manchester that this thing ought not to be done unless women, through their votes, have expressed their consent.

Working people are indignant at the knowledge that women are working 12 hours a day for a weekly wage of something like 7s. They want that sort of thing to be stopped, and if we can show them—as we did show them—that the possession of the Parliamentary vote by women is the only way to stop it, then working men are prepared to back the women up in their fight.

Free Trade.

Many of the voters to whom we spoke argued at first that there were other considerations besides Woman Suffrage which ought to weigh heavily with them. There was the question of Free Trade. We pointed out to them that the greatest danger to Free Trade was that the women and men of the country might become so discontented with the attitude of the Government in other respects that they would be prepared to sacrifice Free Trade itself in order to get those reforms which the Liberal Government at the present time refuses to grant. We warned them that women would band themselves together, would become ever stronger and more determined, and at the General Election would be able to overthrow the Liberal Party completely unless true and staunch Liberals were prepared now to vote against their party as a protest against the treatment which is being meted out to women.

The Licensing Bill.

The Licensing Bill was another difficulty to be considered, for there was a strong feeling for temperance reform, but we argued that temperance reform must go deeper than does the Licensing Bill. Mr. Churchill himself admitted, in the course of the contest, that women would do much for temperance reform. We reminded Liberal electors that the Licensing Bill itself, and all the measures on the Liberal programme, are in danger unless the rank and file of the Liberal party compel the Government to carry out Liberal principles. Therefore, to the really true, ardent Liberal we appealed with great effect. The high hope with which the Liberal Party began this campaign was very soon damped by our indictment of the Government. This was not a victory for what the Liberals would call reaction, and if Mr. Churchill had had only the Conservative Party against him he would certainly have won the day. But we were there to show that a victory for official Liberalism was not necessarily a victory for the principles of Liberalism.

Attitude of Liberal Women.

The really active Liberal women stood almost entirely aloof from this contest. Miss Margaret Ashton, a prominent Liberal, publicly stated that no more would she work for the Liberal Party till the Liberal Party gave women the vote. The "Manchester Guardian," in a leading article, discussed the inaction of Liberal women, and while admitting the desirability of enfranchising women, urged the women of the party to support Mr. Churchill.

The number of sectional votes having one paramount interest to defend was a complication which had to be dealt with. There is a very strong Jewish vote in the constituency. The Jews at the General Election voted as one man for Mr. Churchill, because he promised them the repeal of the Aliens Act and the reduction of the naturalisation fee; but since the General Election nothing has been done by the Government to satisfy their claims. The Jewish voters, therefore again approached Mr. Churchill when he came forward for re-election, with the result that he made further promises, saying that he spoke with the concurrence of Mr. Asquith. He assured them that his influence would now be very great. But we did not fail to show that to trust a second time to vague declarations of sympathy which did not commit the Government as a whole was bad tactics, that what was required was the exertion of pressure on the Government. Besides, even if the men could advance their own interests by voting Liberal, they ought to vote against the Government, because a high naturalisation fee involves far less injustice than does the law which excludes women from citizenship by an insurmountable barrier. Thus many Jewish votes were detached from Mr. Churchill.

Ireland.

The Irish vote was another important factor. Mr. Churchill expressed the opinion that at the next General Election the Liberal party should claim a free hand in dealing with Home Rule, and again he claimed to speak with the concurrence of Mr. Asquith. Thereupon a Nationalist manifesto appeared bidding the Irish voters support Mr. Churchill. We argued that that was a great mistake, because, in the first place, Mr. Churchill's pledge was of a most unsubstantial character. Though saying he spoke with the concurrence of Mr. Asquith, he had given no guarantee that Mr. Asquith really regarded himself as bound, or that the Government as a whole was bound. We reminded them that it was as the result of Parnell's opposition to the Government in 1885 that the Home Rule Bill was introduced, and we called on them to stand with

us against the Government that they might serve our cause and their own.

The result of calling the men voters to our aid and of vigorously preaching political revolt was that we turned the scale against the Government. The Press, the friends of the successful candidate and of the defeated Minister all admit our power.

Mr. Churchill has turned now to Dundee. We are there also, determined to do our best again to defeat the Government.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND.

March 30 to April 27.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged	9,502 10 2	March 30 to April 27.	£ s. d.
Mrs. Alice B. Gemme	10 0 0	Mrs. D. R. Sharpe	2 0 0
Mrs. Gertrude M. Hovenden	3 0 0	Mrs. Juson Kerr	0 10 0
Miss Beatrice E. Bear	5 0 0	Mrs. Mary Kennedy	0 10 0
Dr. Caroline Sturge	10 10 0	Mrs. Bernheim	1 0 0
Anon.	3 3 0	Miss Pauline Hull (by-election)	5 0 0
Lecture fee, Bradford (per Miss A. Pankhurst)	0 10 0	Miss Emily Reid	2 0 0
Miss A. Pankhurst	1 0 0	Miss S. D. Marris	0 5 0
Mrs. Campbell	1 0 0	Miss M. Sugden	0 10 0
Miss Wilkinson	0 5 0	Miss Gladice G. Keevil	2 0 0
Miss Bessie A. Kerry	0 2 6	Miss S. Daykin (by-election)	0 4 0
Mrs. Brey	0 5 0	Miss Janet McLeod	0 1 0
Mrs. Sharito	0 5 0	Mrs. M. A. R. Tucker	0 10 0
Rev. J. Strachan	0 8 0	Lecture fee—Horbury (to Miss E. Morgan)	1 16 0
Miss Henrietta Frith	0 8 0	Miss Roberts	0 5 0
Mr. and Mrs. Budgett	100 0 0	Miss Daisy D. Solomon	1 1 0
Miss Nellie E. Smith	2 0 0	Anon.	0 10 0
Mrs. John Brindley	1 0 0	Mrs. Constance Ferguson	0 8 0
Miss P. Lawrence	5 0 0	Mrs. A. W. Mills	1 1 0
Mrs. Arnot E. Robinson	1 2 6	Lady Home	1 0 0
Miss Lund	5 0 0	Mrs. J. W. Barratt	0 2 6
Miss Gertrude M. Bradley	0 12 6	Anon.	0 2 6
Anon.	0 2 6	Mrs. Branch	4 15 0
Miss M. Lawrence	1 0 0	Mrs. Arthur Markham	10 0 0
Miss E. A. Thompson	0 1 0	Miss von Donop	0 1 6
Miss F. Fox (prout on whist)	0 2 7	Mrs. Mary S. Bertram	0 1 6
Kensington W.S.P.U.	15 15 0	Miss Nelly Crocker	2 0 0
Heckmondwike (Lecture fee to Miss Gawthorpe)	1 0 0	Anon.	1 1 0
F. C. Edwards, Esq.	0 10 0	Miss Mabel Morgan	0 5 0
Mrs. M. A. Hall	0 10 0	Mrs. Gladys M. Hazel	0 1 0
Miss Alice Napier	1 1 0	Miss C. Napier	5 0 0
Miss Waller	1 1 0	Miss Elizabeth L. Blackstone	0 10 6
Miss Rose Lichtman	0 8 8	Mrs. E. Slater	0 5 0
Miss Helen Browne	1 1 0	A Woman in Ross, Herefordshire	0 2 6
Manchester W.S.P.U.	1 11 0	Miss Olive J. Dunlop	0 6 0
Miss M. Gray	3 3 0	Mrs. Marian Miller	0 10 0
Lieut. Woods	0 10 0	Miss A. Clark	0 10 0
Mrs. Kathleen S. Tanner	0 5 0	Mrs. Mary Elizabeth Carlin	0 2 6
Miss Susan Cunningham	1 0 0	Miss Cora Hodges	2 0 5
Miss E. M. Whitot-Buxton	1 0 0	Mrs. Alice E. Winterne	1 1 0
Miss H. M. A. Bent	5 0 0	Mrs. Stuart Black	1 0 0
Miss C. Pankhurst	2 10 0	Mrs. Jessie C. Pollock	5 0 0
Miss Fanny Collier	1 3 7	Mrs. Eleanora Maund	5 0 0
Mrs. M. Elizabeth Edwards	1 0 0	Mrs. Percy Friend	0 5 0
Miss L. Garrett Anderson	1 0 0	Mrs. Hanby Holmes	0 2 0
Mrs. D. J. Fraser	0 5 1	Miss Richardson	0 2 6
Cardiff W.S.P.U.	0 11 0	Mrs. Seviens	0 5 0
Miss E. Hughes	0 1 0	Miss M. A. Smith	0 5 0
Per Miss New	0 2 10	Mrs. Wilson	0 2 6
Lieut.-Col. Woods	0 5 0	Mrs. Norman Wells	0 5 0
Edinburgh Nat. Soc. for Women's Suffrage	5 0 0	Miss C. A. L. Marsh	1 0 0
Mrs. E. S. Brown	1 1 0	Mrs. Mona Caird	10 0 0
Mrs. Roche (by-election)	1 0 0	Miss A. Blyth	1 15 0
Miss H. Courtes Jones	1 1 0	Miss Cynthia Massey	1 0 0
Miss Lilian Courtes Jones	1 1 0	Misses Cecelia and Eva Mackenzie	25 0 0
Sheffield W.S.P.U.	14 1 3	Dr. C. M. Murrell	5 0 0
Mrs. M. R. Page	0 4 6	Mrs. Penrose	0 2 6
Proceeds of concert (per Mrs. A. Lamb)	15 6 0	Dr. Alice V. Johnson	1 1 0
Dewsbury Junior Conservative Association (lecture fee to Miss R. Barrett)	1 1 0	A. G. Savers, Esq.	20 0 0
Mrs. H. F. Smallman	1 0 0	Miss Nellie E. Smith	2 0 0
Mrs. Hutson Dawson	1 0 0	Self Denial card per Miss Barrett	0 8 0
Anne Colby	10 0 0	Weekly guarantee	2 11 3
Miss Edith E. Lord	0 5 0	Membership postage fees	4 15 3
Mrs. I. Brown	0 2 6	Miss May Foxall	1 0 0
F. Stanland, Esq.	0 5 0	Colonel Massey	0 2 6
Lieut.-Col. Woods	5 0 0	E. S. S.	0 1 0
Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Priestman	1 0 0	Mrs. A. E. Barfield	0 5 0
Mrs. Armstrong	1 1 0	Mrs. Priestman	5 0 0
Mrs. R. Laye	1 0 0	Mrs. H. Rowe	0 1 0
		Mrs. Elinor F. Richards	2 10 0
		Mrs. D. A. Thomas	10 0 0
		Miss G. Ballam	0 2 6
		Mrs. M. Sofia Bevan	6 3 0
		Collections, &c.	367 2 10
		Total	£10,685 5 11

MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

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

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

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

THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN.

Women in the Irish Universities.

The draft charters of the two Universities proposed to be established in Ireland were issued on April 24.

In their essential features the two charters are similar. One of the most interesting of the articles is that which provides in each case that "women shall be eligible equally with men to be members of the University or of any authority of the University, and to hold any office or enjoy any advantages of the University."

The nominees of the Crown on the Senate of each University must always include at least one woman. Miss Mary T. Hayden, M.A., is a member of the first Senate of the new Dublin University. The lady member of the Belfast University has not yet been named.

A Welsh Portia.

Miss Rees, a native of Carmarthenshire, acted at Cardiff Assizes recently as counsel for her father, the defendant in an intricate case having reference to certain coal workings.

Miss Rees, who sat behind her father, and coached him in his questions to witnesses, is aged 20, and hopes some day to be called to the Bar.

Mr. Abel Thomas, K.C., M.P., the counsel for the plaintiff, paid a tribute to the capabilities of the defendant's daughter, and observed that it would pay every father to appear in person if he could have a daughter alongside him conversant with the law.

Medical Research Work.

Miss Arabella Kenealy, L.R.C.P., has gained the prize of £50 offered by the Leigh Browne Endowment for the best essay on "The Failure of Vivisection as a means of promoting the healing art in man, with suggested lines for future medical research work without employing experimentation on animals."

A Lady Candidate.

Miss Pickton, the niece of the late Sir Joshua Titch, is appealing to the electors of the Holland Ward, Kensington, for election to a vacancy on the Borough Council.

Miss Pickton is appealing on non-party lines, and has already been promised the support of many influential persons of all shades of political opinion in the borough.

The election is to take place early in May.

Congress of Italian Women.

The first annual Congress of Italian Women was opened in Rome last week. The work of the Congress is divided into six sections, which will deal respectively with education, the moral and legal condition of women, women's position in literature and art, hygiene, emigration, and charitable institutions.

Last Saturday "Votes for Women" in both municipal and Parliamentary elections was the dominant note. During the course of the debate, which was exceedingly lively, a telegram was received from Signor Luiji Luzzatti, pledging himself to champion the cause of Woman's Suffrage before the Italian Parliament. When mention was made of the English Suffragists, the Congress broke into deafening applause. One of the speakers (Deputy Mirabelli) urged the Italian women to follow the example of their English sisters, and stir up a national agitation for the right to vote.

In the afternoon the delegates were received by the Queen Dowager Margherita at a monster garden party at her palace. Her Majesty expressed her personal sympathy with the movement, and said she cherished the hope that Italy would be among the first great modern nations to enfranchise women.

The Congress is held by the National Council of Italian Women, which was formed in 1900, and is affiliated to the International Council of Women.

Mohammedan Women's Appeal for Freedom.

The Mohammedan women in the East are starting an agitation for their rights. They have sent a spirited address to the Mussulman Deputies in the Duma, calling on them to demand all rights for Mussulman women, and laws which will safeguard them from the oppression and martyrdom which is the lot of Mohammedan women. In this address they point out

that, according to the Chariat, women have the right to many privileges which are denied them by their husbands. They are agitating for the restoration of those rights.

One lady (Princess Nazli Hatim Rifky), a granddaughter of Mehemet Ali, has dared to do what few, if any, middle-class women in the East have dared to attempt—she has discarded her veil and receives men in her salon.

Berlin's Progressive Women.

A Clinic, entirely conducted by women doctors, has recently been established in Berlin.

This new departure is due in a great measure to the persistent efforts of Fraulein Franciska and Henriette Tiburtius, the former a doctor of medicine and the latter a doctor of dentistry. This Clinic will take the form of a private hospital, where any Berlin woman doctor can bring her patients and treat them, and, if necessary, perform operations on them.

The resident house doctor is Fraulein Hacker, and there are 18 beds at the disposal of the ladies.

A Women's Suffrage Play.

Mrs. James Ward, of Cambridge, has written a "people's play" called "Man and Woman," which was produced on Thursday last by a company of amateurs at a "people's hall" in Shepherd's Bush, London. The drama is frankly intended to promote the cause of women's suffrage among working men and women, and Mrs. Ward's idea is in some measure, perhaps, to imitate the old folk-plays, in which the moral was presumably of more importance than the acting and staging, the drama being the jam to make the pill go down. With these limitations (says the *Manchester Guardian*), the play is, on the whole, clever and not unskillfully written. The scene takes place in the cottage of a working woman named Mrs. Fairly during an election, and what drama there is—and it is sometimes quite lively and amusing—comes from the attempts of a woman canvasser and one of the candidates to gain Fairly's vote through the influence of his wife and from the conversion of this working man and woman to the cause of women's votes by a pretty and persuasive Suffragist named Nurse Smith. Really the play consists of a number of character-studies, which, like the figures in an old "morality," represent various classes and creeds and, in this case, their attitude towards the emancipation of women. The woman canvasser, in her admiration of the "charming little home" and "the darling little baby," knocks over the clothes-horse, makes the baby howl, and generally annoys the poor woman, who is trying to work. The candidate, after behaving in the same manner, goes out in a towering rage when he discovers, after half-an-hour's talk, that the husband is not entitled to a vote. But the grimmest thing in the play is a conversation between Mrs. Fairly and another woman, who has a brutal and drunken husband. The play expresses the sufferings of womanhood among the very poor and their feelings of revolt against the forces of evil that encompass them.

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THE BY-ELECTIONS.

NORTH-WEST MANCHESTER.

W. Joynson-Hicks (Con.)	5,417
Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (Lib.)	4,988
Mr. Dan Irving (Soc.)	276

Majority 429

The figures at the last election were:—Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill (L.), 5,639; W. Joynson Hicks (C.) 4,398.

The great victory won by the women in North-West Manchester was the result of an extensive and vigorous campaign, carried on by the National Women's Social and Political Union throughout the whole of the contest.

The special features of the work were the three great meetings in the Queen's Theatre on April 12, April 19, and April 23, and three in the Cheetham Hill Public Hall. Of the first of these the "Manchester Guardian" said:—

The workers of the Women's Social and Political Union could not be other than gratified by the interest taken in their first indoor meeting associated with the by-election. The Cheetham Public Hall was overwhelmingly full, and the would-be listeners were so numerous that the crowd outside in the street was much bigger than that inside the hall.

And in another part of the paper:—

Enough could be seen and heard to ascertain that in some respects the Union campaign is as serious a matter as the Tariff Reform, anti-Licensing Bill programme of Mr. Joynson-Hicks.

Every one of the meetings was similarly overcrowded, and the enthusiasm of the people of Manchester on our behalf was remarkable.

About 40 women took part altogether on behalf of the Union, and an average of 12 meetings a day was kept up during the election. These included meetings in the Coal Exchange, meetings for the market women, dinner hour meetings, meetings after work hours, and a continuous and energetic campaign in every available spot.

Our campaign had the indirect effect of causing Liberal women to hold aloof from the contest. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's letter to Liberal women was widely circulated among members of the Women's Liberal Federation. The president of the South Westmorland W.L.A. wrote to the Press to urge women Liberals to support the Government. Her appeal was reinforced by the *Manchester Guardian* in the leading article of April 20, given below. Nevertheless, the efforts of the Liberal agent and others to secure help from Liberal women were almost fruitless. Lady Dorothy Howard was apparently the only woman speaker they could secure, for the women's manifesto in support of Mr. Churchill which they engineered was signed by almost exclusively the wives of members of the local Liberal party, ladies whom, though they claim to be Suffragists, have never been identified with the Suffrage movement. This manifesto attracted no public attention whatever. Mr. Churchill's utterance on Women's Suffrage, which appears below, is a proof that the opposition of the Union has made an impression on his mind.

As the political aspect of the campaign is dealt with fully by Miss Christabel Pankhurst in her notes, there is no need to refer to it here. Below are a few of the many interesting extracts from the comments and criticisms of the Press, principally of the result and the later stages of the campaign.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT BY MR. JOYNSON-HICKS.

After the declaration of the result Mr. Joynson-Hicks drove to the Cheetham Conservative Club, and addressed the members. He thanked the workers who had supported him, and the Irish Catholics and Jews who had voted for him, and, as reported in the *Manchester Guardian*, wound up with these words:—

I shall go to the House of Commons to speak and to vote in favour of those great principles which animate the Conservative and Unionist party throughout the division. (Cheers.) Perhaps I ought to say a word as to one other vote I shall give. I acknowledge the assistance I have received from those ladies who are sometimes laughed at, but who, I think, will now be feared

by Mr. Churchill, the Suffragists. (Laughter and cheers.) They have worked well for the cause they have at heart, and I congratulate them on having taken some part in the victory. (Cheers.)

Comments of the Press.

"The Manchester Guardian," April 25.

Against Mr. Churchill have been arrayed not merely the regular and legitimate forces of the political party to which he is opposed, but those of a dozen outside organisations as well. Each of these has had its own little army, its own committee-rooms, its own special methods of appeal—some of them such as the local opposition would, it is to be hoped, have scrupled to use. Nor is it with his natural enemies alone that he has had to contend. A pledged supporter of women's suffrage, he has been persistently assailed by several women's organisations.

Minor surprises of the poll were the details of the votes for the respective candidates, more particularly the singularly poor show made by the Socialist, whose intervention in the contest, it is inferred, must have served no other purpose than that of diverting attention from the main issue, and thus of aiding Mr. Joynson-Hicks in his efforts to obscure the great and vital interests involved in the fiscal controversy. A similar responsibility, it must be owned, is generally placed to the credit of the women Suffragists who have been working with such zeal against the Liberal candidate.

"The Daily News," April 25.

The restrictions on the clubs lost many votes; the antagonism of the women, many more.

We hope that the Liberal party, friendly as every democratic party must be to the principle of woman's suffrage, will undertake to inscribe it on its programme at the next election. So large an issue cannot be left a private member's question. By a bold constructive policy we may succeed in appealing to the imagination of the country. To trim our programme, to take in sail, to waver before such opponents as the brewers and the Lords, would be to alienate our friends without placating our enemies. If difficulties and defeats are before us, let us at least resolve to make a gallant fight for principles, in whose ultimate success we cannot feel a doubt.

"The Morning Leader," April 25.

Against Liberalism, fighting solely in the strength of the principles in which it has won its victories in the past, and will win others in the future, were ranged, besides the regular army of Conservatism, the Primrose League, and the Liberal Unionist Association, every variety of those mercenary irregulars whom the money of the "interests," fearful for their gains, has been called into being. There were the Coal Consumers' Defence League, indignant at the prospect of miners working only eight hours a day in the pits; there were two Licensed Victuallers' Associations, furious at the bare suggestion that their right to make huge profits from the ruin of the working man should be in any degree limited. There were the sectarian committees and federations, determined that the public which pay for their schools should never have the free use of them. There were women Suffragists equally regardless of logic and legality in their desperate eagerness to defeat the candidate who favoured the extension of votes to women. And behind all, finding the money for almost all, and profiting solely by the efforts of all, there were the anonymous subscribers of the "Tariff Reform" League.

"The Daily Mirror," April 24.

There is little doubt that the tide has turned strongly against Liberalism and its exuberant representative since the General Election, and the prospects of Mr. Joynson-Hicks supplanting Mr. Winston Churchill grow hourly more rosy.

The latter's supporters have enormously under-rated the influence of the hostile feminine organisations, the Suffragette "Wasp" and the "Barmaids."

"The Daily Telegraph," April 24.

Quite apart from the various denominations of Suffragists, who have been at least as ceaseless in their activity here as in other by-elections of late, barmaids, as a class, have intervened for the first time in English politics, with the view of resisting the injury which the Licensing Bill would inflict upon them.

"The Daily Chronicle," April 25.

Amongst his (Mr. Churchill's) bitterest foes were the women Suffragists, who conducted an active and spirited campaign against him.

"The Standard," April 25.

(From the Special Correspondent.)

The women Suffragists cannot be said to have worked for Mr. Joynson-Hicks. They fought against Mr. Churchill; they fought with great courage, determination, and, above all, skill, and I am convinced that they, too, influenced many waverers to oppose Mr. Churchill.

Previous Extracts.

"The Manchester Guardian," April 16.

In addition to giving a detailed programme of our meetings the "Manchester Guardian," on April 16, published the following appreciative notice of our work in Manchester:—

Industry, enthusiasm, and conviction mark the election campaign of the Women's Social and Political Union. As to their industry, yesterday's programme, coming after an equally full one the previous day, speaks eloquently.

What the Union speakers are preaching at their meetings amounts to this: That the Government has departed from healthy Liberalism in denying people taxed the right of representation; that a medicine is necessary to restore the Government to full health again; that the best medicine to administer, unpleasant though it be to take, is a defeat or two at the by-elections; and that this nasty remedy is only for the Government's own good—to show them the error of their ways and bring them up to what they know to be, for Liberals, a right line of action.

"The Standard," April 17.

Among the notices which appeared early in the struggle was one in the "Standard" from its special correspondent, who wrote in the issue of April 17:—

I must refer to the work that is being done in this contest by the Women's Social and Political Union. No body of workers is better organised than they are, none show quite the same keenness, and few give proof of equal knowledge of the electioneering art. Only the veterans of the Tariff Reform League are superior to these clever and well-informed women in the matter of street oratory. Few men with years of experience on political platforms are able to answer awkward questions and make capital of interruptions with the same unflinching readiness and skill. These suffragists have got past the first stages of their agitation. They are no longer mobbed or insulted, and no longer laughed at or treated with contempt. Wherever they go in the streets of Manchester, whether by day or night, they command an audience, compel attention, and excite interest. I have watched big crowds of working men and women stand for an hour listening quietly and with evident approval to a slim girl, who did not pander to the prejudices of her hearers, but told hard truths as she knew them.

"Manchester Guardian," April 20.

The suffrage agitation is absorbing the whole interest of a large and energetic section of the women who are interested in politics. The more extreme of these are actively and even violently opposed to the present Government and to every representative of it; the less extreme are more discriminating, but they still place the question of suffrage above every other and above all others put together. Now this is not and cannot be the position of the Women's Liberal Associations, yet many of the most energetic members and leaders of these associations are included in the second of the two classes we have named. They are thus disabled from acting as Liberals, and their position as leaders of Liberal associations becomes anomalous and hardly tenable. On the other hand, the Women's Liberal Associations are deprived in large measure of their natural leadership, and tend to become as sheep without a shepherd. The practical results of this state of things are visible at the present election in Manchester. The Women's Social and Political Union are vehemently attacking Mr. Churchill; the North of England Women's Suffrage Society are, to say the least, not defending him. What are the Women's Liberal

Associations doing? Evidently some reorganisation, or at least some separation of functions, is demanded, unless indeed the Women's Franchise question can be quickly settled and every woman be set free once more to take her part in politics irrespective of that special issue, of which, unhappily, there seems to be no very immediate prospect. Meanwhile it behoves those women who regard the suffrage as implied in the very conception of Liberalism, and who have faith in their party to organise and to work as keenly as the others are working.

WINSTON CHURCHILL ON VOTES FOR WOMEN.

When asked at a public meeting held in Manchester on April 15, what he intended to do to help women to get the Parliamentary suffrage, Mr. Winston Churchill made the following significant statement:—"I will try my best as and when occasion offers, because I do think sincerely that the women have always had a logical case, and they have now got behind them a great popular demand among women. It is no longer a movement of a few extravagant and excitable people, but a movement which is gradually spreading to all classes of women, and, that being so, it assumes the same character as franchise movements have previously assumed. I find another argument in favour of the enfranchisement of women in the opposition we are encountering on this temperance question. I believe the influence of women in the temperance question would be highly beneficial. When I see the great forces of prejudice and monopoly with which we are confronted, I am ready to say that the women must come into the fighting line, and do their share in fighting for the cause of progress."

Miss Christabel Pankhurst at once replied to Mr. Churchill through the *Manchester Press* with the following:—"Except that we regard it as a sign that our campaign against the Government is having its effect, we attach no value to Mr. Churchill's assertion that he will use his influence with the Government in the interests of women's suffrage. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman is in favour of 'votes for women,' yet he as Prime Minister could not induce his colleagues to take action, and where his influence failed Mr. Churchill's is not likely to succeed. We wish to make it clear to Mr. Winston Churchill that we shall not be satisfied by anything less than a definite undertaking from Mr. Asquith and the Government as a whole that the Women's Enfranchisement Bill now before the House of Commons is to be carried into law without delay. Unless this official Government pledge is made to us, we shall continue our opposition to the candidature of Mr. Churchill and other Government candidates."

"The Globe," April 16.

The suffragettes have certainly scored a big point at North-West Manchester. The Radical candidate, contrary to the policy of his party, has declared himself as in favour of votes for women. There are various points arising out of this political confession: the first is that the suffragettes should not take as "golden" all that falls from a Radical candidate's lips, especially at election times.

"The Daily Express," April 16.

This afternoon, in a moment of candour, he (Mr. Churchill) explained that he has taken up the women's suffrage cause because he sees, or professes to see, that it is becoming a national question. Two years ago women were ejected from his meetings. To-day, when he sees himself in danger, he declares that he will try to force the Cabinet to give women votes.

The Liberals feel that they do not know what they are in for next.

The Suffragists, however, are not to be caught so easily, and every vote they can influence will go against the oracle of "versatility."

DEWSBURY.

Walter Runciman (Lib.)	5,594
W. B. Boyd-Carpenter (Con.)	4,078
Ben Turner (Lab.)	2,446

Majority 1,516

The figures at the last election were:—Walter Runciman (L.), 6,764; W. B. Boyd-Carpenter (C.), 2,954; Mr. Ben Turner (Lab.), 2,629.

Members of the Women's Social and Political Union have cause to be highly satisfied with the result of the Dewsbury election, where we succeeded in reducing the Liberal majority by over 2,000 votes.

The campaign was in the hands of Mrs. Baines, Miss Bar-

rett, Miss Sidley, Miss Nell Kenney, Miss Nancy Lightman, Miss Parker, and several Yorkshire members. Miss Christabel Pankhurst and Mrs. Martel paid some flying visits to the constituency. Two open-air meetings in the Town Hall and the Industrial Hall were crowded with sympathetic audiences, and a very large number of open-air meetings have been held. The earnest and friendly demeanour of the audiences was very remarkable, and had the campaign been longer, and had we been able to concentrate upon the constituency, a Government defeat would have been likely, in spite of the great majority against us, and in spite of the personal popularity of Mr. Runciman. Everybody in Dewsbury seems to be in favour of Votes for Women, even if they do not yet understand the necessity of opposing the Government in order to force the hand of the Liberal leaders.

KINCARDINESHIRE.

Captain Murray (Lib.)	3,661
Mr. Sydney J. Gammell (Con.)	1,963
Majority	1,698

The figures at the last election were as follows: John W. Crombie (L.), 3,877; S. J. Gammell (C.), 1,524.

Though the Liberal candidate has retained the seat it is with a majority reduced by close on 700, coming down from 2,353 to 1,698, a figure only slightly in excess of the majority in 1900, when Liberalism was at a very low ebb in the country. This reduction is the more remarkable in view of the numerical smallness of the constituency, and is to be attributed largely to the influence of the suffragette campaign.

It seemed almost miraculous in this prolonged campaign that the active interest in the cause should be so well kept up. Yet during the last and final week it seemed as though we were just beginning again, so keen has been the enthusiasm at the crowded final hall meetings in all the principal centres. Perhaps the motor tours have been responsible for much of this.

The large bell with which our advent in the quiet secluded villages was announced, has been quite a favourite, and more than one newspaper paragraph has been devoted to the "Suffragette bell." In this way practically the whole of this inaccessible (so far as train and postal service goes) county has been revisited. One day the Banchory centre was scoured by Miss Fraser and Miss Macaulay; another day the district between Torry and Stonehaven by Mrs. Bryant, Mrs. Kerwood, and Miss Phillips; Miss Keegan and Miss Crocker looked after the Laurencekirk district; Miss A. Fraser, Miss Dugdale, and Miss Walker the Stonehaven area; whilst in the Johnshaven fishing centre I was able to help Miss Lamb and Miss Gye to give the final word of exhortation.

The most significant events of the week outside our own special circle have been, first, the splendid reply to the "Banchory attack on the Suffragists" by "Luke Round" of the "Evening Gazette" (extracts from which are given on page 134), and second, the fact that almost every Liberal chairman during the last week's meetings has devoted a prominent part of his speech solely to us. One gentleman has been so much impressed with our work that in the Stonehaven Town Hall he said the suffragette reminded him of the poet who wrote:—

Oh, the sadness of her sadness when she's sad!
And the gladness of her gladness when she's glad!
But the sadness of her sadness, and the gladness of her gladness,
Is like nothing to her madness—when she's mad.

where "madness" typifies asking the Government of to-day to be Liberal in deed as well as in name.

But whatever this madness may be which distinguishes the suffragette, it was nothing to the rudeness which distinguished the average Liberal after the verdict of North-West Manchester had got well into the air.

The news came to us as we were holding our final open-air demonstration in Torry. Although we were not surprised that N.W. Manchester had decided *not* to support this Government, there seemed to be some doubt about the authen-

ticity of the figures, so a great crowd followed us as we marched across the river to Aberdeen to verify the news.

As we went along further news confirmed the figures, and by the time we got to the offices of the "Free Press"—a paper which has been truly Liberal in its reports, giving us absolutely fair-play—the crowd was dense. A chair was brought into the street, and by the courtesy of the police short speeches were made by Miss Fraser and myself, and again outside the "Journal" offices by request of the second crowd which gathered. Cheers were given for the Cause and for Mrs. Pankhurst. Since then party Liberals have been very, very angry. They called on their women to stand outside the polling booths along with the suffragette; and to show that even Liberal party ladies are also becoming infected with the suffragette spirit, I may mention that instead of the "Votes for Women" banner and the leaflet "Keep the Liberal out" of the suffragette, the Liberal ladies carried posters showing a little ragged badly shod girlie, who is saying, "Vote for the Licensing Bill and more boots." As the Licensing Bill does not apply to Scotland, and by no means has been an issue in this election, this move is very suggestive of the way in which the appeal of "women against women" is sought by Liberal wire-pullers.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

"The Aberdeen Journal," April 11.

The women suffragists are proving a thorn in the flesh of the Liberals. At every other meeting held under Liberal auspices complaint is made regarding the women's tactics. Captain Murray has pledged himself to women suffrage, while Mr. Gammell is opposed to it. In these circumstances, Liberal speakers, male and female, profess to be unable to understand why the women suffragists should be opposing Captain Murray's candidature. They say that the suffragists must be mad. But if they are mad, there is method in their madness. The present Government is opposed to woman suffrage. Necessarily, therefore, the woman suffragists are opposed to the Government. That being so, it is clearly their business to oppose Ministerial candidates. They desire to weaken the Government as much as possible, and how could they attain this object better than by endeavouring to reduce the Government's majority? When the matter is looked at in this light, it will be seen that the tactics of the suffragists in opposing Captain Murray, so far from being foolish, are a proof of wisdom. At Torry on Saturday night several of the suffragists were holding forth at two street-corner meetings. Everybody who heard them must admit that they are clever speakers, and that in this respect, and in answering hecklers, they can, as the saying goes, knock poor Captain Murray into a cocked hat. They require no prompting, and never need to take any of the questions addressed to them to avizandum, as the Liberal candidate is often obliged to do. Whatever impression they have been making elsewhere, it can scarcely be said that their efforts at Torry have been altogether in vain. A good many of the electors have not yet thought it necessary to regard them quite seriously, but, on the other hand, one who attends their meetings will have little difficulty in discovering that in the battle they are fighting they have a considerable amount of sympathy.

"Aberdeen Evening Express," April 11.

The suffragist crusade is a power to be reckoned with. "Votes for Women!" will be a long and a loud cry throughout the campaign, and whether we are in sympathy with that cry or not, we cannot but admire the zeal and the enthusiasm with which the leaders of the movement are carrying on their work.

"The Aberdeen Evening Gazette," April 21.

The lady suffragists have made the by-election contest in Torry a decidedly more interesting event than what it would have been had they not been present. They have fairly established themselves favourites with the "natives," and their meetings throughout have been attended with great success.

"The Aberdeen Free Press," April 24.

"Votes for women" has received due attention in Banchory, not only in the burgh, but also in the surrounding dis-

tricts. One result of the agitation is the largely increased interest which has been shown by women in the suffragist movement, as well as in politics generally. Formerly women did attend political meetings, but in very small numbers compared with the large attendances which have recently filled the gallery of the large Town Hall, and shared the seats in the main body of the hall along with the men.

DUNDEE.

Liberal	Rt. Hon. Winston Churchill.
Conservative	Sir George W. Baxter.
Labour	Mr. G. H. Stuart.
Prohibition (Doubtful)	Councillor Edwin Scrymgeour.

The constituency returns two members. At the General Election the figures were as follows:—E. Robertson (L.), 9,276; A. Wilkie (Lab.), 6,833; H. Robson (L.), 6,122; E. H. Shackleton (C.), 3,865; A. D. Smith (C.), 3,183.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms.

221, Overgate, Dundee.

The decision of Mr. Winston Churchill, defeated at North-West Manchester, to accept nomination for Dundee where the previous Liberal majority was over 5,000, renders this election the most important of those that will be contested in the immediate future. In spite of the huge odds we shall do our very best to prevent him from securing the seat.

Mrs. Pankhurst, anticipating the probable selection by Mr. Churchill of the constituency, has already come to Dundee to take charge of the campaign; and Mr. Churchill, who has fallen once before the suffragettes, led by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, will find himself this time opposed by her mother. Mrs. Martel, I understand, is also on her way, and many other workers are expected shortly to arrive. The campaign is likely to be short and vigorous.

Although at the time of writing we have not yet fixed upon our Committee room, Miss Helen Fraser and I have held two most successful introductory meetings. On Saturday, the day of polling in Kincardine, with the North-West Manchester result to cheer us on our way, we descended upon Dundee. In the afternoon, with the aid of the ever helpful chalk and some Kincardine literature to be going on with, we had a large crowd at the High School Gate, and a meeting satisfactory in every way was the result. We were also recommended to meet the hundreds of men who would shortly be leaving an important football match, Dundee v. Woolwich Arsenal. We decided to accept the advice. A huge crowd of men listened to our short speeches, and although at first a few thought the proceedings were going to be funny they soon fell into line with the rest and paid every attention, even asking questions.

We feel that this exceptional opportunity of coming into first-hand contact with the working men was well worth the trouble, and that we already have introduced the cause to Dundee.

I have just learnt that Miss Christabel Pankhurst will come up to Dundee on Friday to take part in the later stages of the campaign.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

MONTROSE BURGHS.

Liberal	Mr. Robert Vernon Harcourt.
Conservative	Mr. A. H. Briggs Constable.
Labour	Mr. Joseph Burgess.

The figures at the General Election were as follows:—Rt. Hon. John Morley (L.), 4,416; Lt.-Col. Alex. Sprot (C.), 1,922.

Miss Fraser and Miss Dugdale held a splendid meeting here last week as an introduction to the campaign. The Town Hall was crowded, and now not only do the people of Montrose want more, but the other burghs—four in number—are expectantly awaiting us. The Arbroath correspondent of the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* plaintively cries that we "haven't yet been to Arbroath." It is good to be waited for.

So far as present arrangements go, Miss Crocker, Miss Dugdale, and Miss Phillips will work chiefly in Montrose; Miss Lamb and Miss Gye in Forfar; Miss Macaulay in Brechin; Miss Keegan in Arbroath; Bervie has yet to be provided for. A thorough canvass will be aimed at in each of these centres in addition to the general meetings, for which there will be an interchange amongst the speakers. Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Fraser, and I will help from Dundee wherever needed.

Mr. R. Harcourt, who already has so recently had experi-

ence of the Women's Social and Political Union at the Hastings by-election, will have some of our most effective election workers ranged against him. Besides standing for the "irrefutable case," they have the added advantage of having just come through another Scottish by-election, and this will stand them in good stead.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

STIRLING BURGHS.

No arrangements have as yet been made in this constituency, as the funeral of the ex-Prime Minister only took place on Monday.

At the General Election in 1906 Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman was returned unopposed. In 1900 the figures were: Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman (L.), 2,715; Col. O. T. Duke (C.), 2,085.

WOLVERHAMPTON (EAST).

Liberal	Alderman George R. Thorne.
Cons.	Mr. L. S. Amery.

The figures at the General Election were as follows: Rt. Hon. Sir Henry Fowler (Lib.), 5,610; Mr. L. S. Amery (Cons.), 2,745.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms.

20, Broad-street, Wolverhampton.

We have taken the Central Hall for women's meetings from Wednesday, April 29, until Monday, May 4, afternoons, three o'clock.

The Central Hall has also been taken for Thursday evening, April 30, at 7.30 for public meeting.

On Friday, May 1, St. Peter's Institute has been taken for a public meeting, 7.30. Dinner-hour meetings will be held at—

Mander's Varnish Works.
Dudley's Tyre Works.
Patent Axle Box Works.
Evell Cowell's Factory.
The Steel Trap Makers.
The Locksmith's Industries.
Chubb's Lock Works.

The miners will be visited in the Short Heath Ward. Evening meetings will be held in every available spot, but the Market Square appears to be the place for evening meetings.

Mrs. Drummond, Miss Keevil, and myself, and Mrs. Barlett, Miss Bloomfield, Miss Higgins, Miss Swainston are at present on the spot, and we are expecting a few others.

The whole town is alive to-night, cheering the men who won the Cup at the Crystal Palace. As I watched them from the window, I hoped that next week they will be cheering the victory for the women. The victory in Manchester is a good omen. At the General Election Manchester started the way, then others followed; may it be the same in the bye-elections.

The "Midland Evening News" had half a column interview on Monday with Mrs. Drummond.

Everyone we have met has been most sympathetic; the police have been very obliging, and ready to help in every way.

We have been met with "You did grand work in Manchester; do the same here." "What a victory you won in Manchester!"

ANNIE KENNEY.

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HALLAM, Littledean House, Newnham, Gloucestershire.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PRESS.

"CAMBRIAN NEWS," APRIL 11.

If women are not enfranchised until millions of them are interested in the movement, there will be widespread trouble, but if they were enfranchised now, there would scarcely be any noticeable difference in elections. Women have municipal votes, but they do not revolutionise anything. Women rate-payers are remarkably like men rate-payers, and, as citizens, it is difficult to tell the action of one from the action of the other. When women are enfranchised, all sorts of legal inequities and injustices will be removed. They ought never to have existed, but the unenfranchised are not always taken into account by legislators. Women must fight for enfranchisement, and they should never forget that they themselves are their own worst foes.

"THE EAST BUCKS GAZETTE."

To say nothing of the uncivilised brutality of putting educated women into gaol, and feeding them upon the bread of affliction and the water of affliction, and otherwise treating them as criminals, no greater mistake could possibly have been made. To make a martyr of a man is to bolster up the very cause for which he is suffering, and which it is designed to suppress; but to make a martyr of a woman is to arouse the sympathetic indignation of a vast number of men as well as women, and the martyr business will never put down any agitation for the rights of citizenship. Martyrdom is the pioneer pathway of freedom, and posterity will walk along that path in perfect security, because they inherit the blessings for which those pioneers fought and suffered. Posterity erects the monument and graves the inscription on the tomb, and that is read by thousands of the succeeding generations with pulsating sympathy and high resolve.

You put more fight into a man by letting him read the story of heroic deeds than can ever be suppressed with fines and imprisonment. When a man becomes imbued with the spirit of heroic men, he becomes inspired with a nobler conception of life, and with a higher resolve. You can cut him up into little pieces, but you cannot cut it out; you can burn him upon the martyr's pyre, but you can never burn it out; you can drown him in the rising tides, but you can never wash it out. You cannot blow out a fire with a pair of bellows, and you cannot drown a fish by putting it into a water-butt.

Their Methods.

My sympathies are with the Suffragettes. Never mind about their methods. Before we begin to criticise them on that account we should be prepared to show them a better and more effectual way. What methods would you adopt? It is useless to talk about legitimate means. They have been tried; they have failed. These women have been agitating for the past 40 years to secure the recognition they deem to be their right, and, to use Hodge's idiomatic English, "They ain't got no forrader."

They have tried every legitimate means, and they have been ridiculed by the Press. They have been pilloried before the public; they have been treated with every contumely that men could suggest, and they have been caricatured in the common music-halls and by cartoons in the newspapers. They have been anathematised as the "Shrieking Sisterhood"; they have been held up to ridicule as the "New Woman"; and they have been ostracised on account of their opinions. But they have never had a fair hearing; they have never been received with decent courtesy and consideration, and their propositions have never met with fair and honest argument.

That is the indictment, and unless they adopt some such tactics as they are adopting now, they will never receive any attention, and they will never rise with the tide of civilisation and of progress. And now that they are asserting themselves, and making themselves felt in the State, the law steps in and claps them into gaol. That is the only solid argument with which they have ever been met, and that is the argument of the Ducking Stool and the Middle Ages.

"THE ABERDEEN EVENING GAZETTE," April 21.

Extracted from "Here and There" by Luke Round.

That the busy campaign of the suffragists has been telling or has, at least, caused concern in the Liberal camp is evidenced by the fact that now the Liberals are calling to their aid women Liberals. By way of antidote to the reasoning and appeals of the suffragists, the women Liberals emphasise the merits of Captain Murray—a beau ideal candidate in their view, and worthy, therefore, of the choicest superlatives—and they plead strenuously in favour of Liberals of all shades uniting in favour of the Liberal programme and putting sectional crochets aside. The phrase "sinking minor differences" is a familiar one—all parties, upon occasion, use it—but the difficulty in this case is that the suffragists decline to rank their cause as "a minor difference." They contend that to them the suffrage is everything, and that until it is conceded they must wage war relentlessly.

The Charge of Selfishness.

If the suffragist movement is inimical to the realisation of the Liberal programme, it is not the suffragists, but the Liberals, who are to blame. It is easy enough to plead that it is selfish on the part of the suffragists to set their cause against the Liberal programme. But, in what other way, looking to the lessons of experience, can the suffragist movement be effectually pressed? And whilst certain reforms may thus be temporarily retarded—but only through the Liberals being false to their promises—what of those other reforms and of the whole quickening of reforms which would be achieved if the suffrage were granted? It is true that in the past—very largely through the pressure which women even in their maimed political state have exerted—reforms have been carried in the line of recognising women's legitimate rights. That is a reason, surely, for extending, and not for continuing to restrict, these rights.

"The Sweet By and By."

At present women Liberals are expected to do the fetching and carrying for the party—in elections their help is held to be invaluable—but when it comes to pleading for the suffrage—well, that is a different matter, and they will be lucky if they are not snubbed, as the women Liberals of Aberdeen were at Mr. Asquith's meeting. They are either told that women are not qualified to interfere in politics—School Board, Town and County Council and Church elections marking the limit of their capacity—or that they must have faith that in some sweet by and by (if they are tractable and good and go on sweetly chirping the official shibboleths) the Liberals, when everything else has been got out of the way, and there are no more reforms to be attended to, may take the question of the vote into sincere and even deeply serious consideration.

"HEREFORD TIMES," April 11.

We raise our hats to the brave and virtuous champions of their sex, who, as greatly injured as outraged by the Grey-Asquith methods of silence or taunts, have thought it right to enter upon a more active and uncompromising course. We earnestly hope that the Hyde Park meeting next June of 300,000 women, seized with the courage of their convictions, will clear and broaden Mr. Asquith's Liberal outlook, and make him thoroughly understand that in falling into the place of our beloved ex-Prime Minister he must not exclude from his operative trust and sympathy more than one-half of the adult population of Great Britain.

LOCAL NOTES.

Chiswick, W.S.P.U.—On Wednesday, April 8, through the kindness of Mrs. Watson, a drawing-room meeting of the Chiswick branch of the Women's Social and Political Union was held at Grove Mount, Grove Park. The two lady speakers, Miss Seymour and Miss Gladys Keevil, who should have addressed the meeting, being absent at by-elections, their place was taken by Mrs. Baldock, recently released from Holloway, who gave a stirring picture of some of the more urgently needed reforms, and pointed out how the enfranchisement of women would enable them to give definite help in remedying the evils of which she spoke, instancing, in support of her arguments, some of the beneficial measures which had been passed in New Zealand, in which it was recognised that women had been largely instrumental. Women in the past had worked for their enfranchisement in a quiet and ladylike manner. They had held drawing-room meetings and interviewed Cabinet Ministers, but nothing had ever been heard about votes for women. Past experience had shown that if you wanted anything from the Government you could only get it by making yourself a nuisance. When men had burned down bishops' palaces and town halls, and pulled down Hyde Park railings, and suffered imprisonment they had got the vote for which they were fighting.

Mr. Weaver, who was the second speaker, pointed out the injustice of the denial of the vote to women, in view of the fact that they paid the same taxes, were called upon to obey the same laws, and were punished for disobeying the laws in exactly the same manner as men. Briefly reviewing some of the popular objections, it appeared that they were absolutely baseless and illogical, having no foundation in justice or common sense. But there was a raging, tearing propaganda work going on in this country, which was going to secure the vote. The movement was growing, and adherents were being gained daily. Dealing with the "force" objection, although he had no desire to see women soldiers or sailors, yet the fact remained that women were growing bigger and bigger every year, and he was not at all certain that they would not be able to qualify for both army and navy. As to the statement that the place of woman was the home, could it be asserted that a visit once in four years to register a vote would prevent a woman from occupying that sphere, and if men were so anxious that women should not be sullied by contact with politics, why did they entreat them to take part in canvassing, the dirtiest part of political work.

After the speeches, questions were invited. As, however, none of any intelligence were forthcoming, the meeting was brought to a close with a vote of thanks to the speakers. Just after the meeting the company were started by a bang. It was found that a missile of some sort had been sent right through the plate-glass of the window. The next morning's search discovered two tiny bombs on the window-sill, one of which had exploded, the other still being intact.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—On Sunday, April 26, our union held the first open-air meeting of the season on Blackheath. In spite of a bitterly cold wind 200 to 300 people assembled round the now familiar Votes for Women Banner, attracted by the ringing of Mrs. Billinghurst's bell. Mrs. Baldock at the finish of her address announced the Hyde Park demonstration, and our New Cross Hall meeting on May 6. Members of our union distributed handbills. Next Sunday Miss Nancy Lightman will speak on Blackheath.

L. A. BOUVIER.

Leicester W.S.P.U.—We held our first annual meeting on April 16, when the balance-sheet was placed before the members and approved. The financial secretary reported a successful year's work, with a balance in hand of 11s., and the organising secretary mentioned that we had held 30 members' meetings during the year. A big demonstration in the new Trade Hall, at which the Rev. Gertrude Von Petzold, M.A., and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., addressed a very large audience. We have also held 15 open-air meetings, several of which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst addressed whilst staying in Leicester, and a most enthusiastic reception was given her at every meeting. One also addressed by Mrs. Martel drew a very large crowd of men and women. We also held several "At Homes" at members' houses, and a social and dance at the Granby Coffee House to raise funds for the campaign. Altogether we feel we have done something towards rousing Leicester to demand for women the right to the vote.

We have decided to start our open-air meetings again the first week in May, and hope we shall be able to have some of our national organisers to help us. New members are coming along now, and we feel we shall be able to do good work during the year before us.

I might mention we also ran a woman municipal candidate for honours, but were unsuccessful, and also took part in a series of meetings in opposition to Mr. Runciman's meeting held here during the Liberal Federation Conference.

ALICE HAWKINS.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to May 14 (as far as at present arranged).

April	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Thur. 30	New Cross	Mrs. Baldock	8 p.m.
May			
Fri. 1	Hendon, Council Offices	Mrs. Baldock	8 p.m.
Mon. 4	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	4-6
Tues. 5	Ilkley, Town Hall	Miss A. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Wed. 6	Lewisham, New Cross Hall	Mrs. Baldock, Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	Bradford, Mechanics' Institute	Miss A. Pankhurst, Miss Newton, Miss Hortland, and Rev. Rhonda Williams	8 p.m.
	Ennismore Gardens, W., Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	9 p.m.
Thur. 7	Nottingham, Mechanics' Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	8 p.m.
Fri. 8	Battersea, Town Hall	Miss Anne Kenney	8 p.m.
Mon. 11	London, Portman Rooms, "At Home"	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Tues. 12	Bowes Park, N.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
	Strawberry Hill, Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3.30 p.m.
Wed. 13	Walthamstow, Conway Hall	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Naylor	8 p.m.
	95, Grosvenor-road, W., Drawing-room Meeting	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3 p.m.
Thur. 14	15, Oakley-street, N.W.	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3.30 p.m.
	Richmond	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	London, Portman Rooms	"At Home"	8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

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

For Special Election Meetings see page 133.

Women's Sphere.

Speaking to the Scottish Girls' Friendly Society in Glasgow, Bishop Campbell said that he supposed all his hearers, mostly young women, were looking forward to a time when they would not only have votes, but would also sit in the House of Commons—perhaps in the House of Lords. His intention, however, was not to look forward, but to look back for a little to the Middle Ages. In those days the women were in a wonderful position of equality; they had not then to chain themselves to railings in order to get their rights. Women shared the duties of life quite easily and quite naturally with men. There was no question then of keeping women out of anything. Though life in the fifteenth century was not all rose-coloured, yet there was a very substantial share of beauty in it. Women were (if he might be allowed the phrase) freemen of the Fishmongers', Weavers', and other guilds. Great ladies occupied the posts of high councillors, and so forth—and yet those were by many called the "Dark Ages," in which people were supposed to know nothing. A woman could not help others until she first learnt to take care of her own life.

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HOW WOMEN CAN HELP.

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

BY SUBSCRIBING TO THE FUNDS. The National Women's Social and Political Union has already spent over £10,000 in fighting the battle of women for the vote. It has used this money to hold several thousand meetings up and down the country, to take a prominent part in twelve by-elections, and to leave no stone unturned to bring the question before every section of the community. Altogether £20,000 is being raised to carry on the campaign, and contributions towards this sum are urgently needed.

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

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

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

BY MISSIONARY WORK. Women can use their influence with the men and women of their acquaintance, asking them to write to their Member of Parliament on this question. They can induce other women to become members, to subscribe, and help in various ways.

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