

VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

VOL. IV. (New Series), No. 151.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1911.

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MAGNA CARTA.

(The Story of how Militant Methods Won the Great Charter is told by Mr. Joseph Clayton on page 277.)

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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.

Next week Parliament meets for formal business, and on Monday, February 6, the real business of the Session commences, when the King's Speech will be read. Almost immediately afterwards the ballot of private members will be taken for days on which the second reading of Bills introduced by them can be debated. If the Government are wise they will themselves include Woman Suffrage in the programme which will be outlined in the King's Speech, and, ac-

ording to the political correspondent of the *Standard*, Woman Suffrage is, in fact, one of the questions to be tackled this Session.

The Need for Pressure.

The attitude of the Government on all questions of the day is mainly determined by the amount of pressure which can be brought to bear on them inside and outside Parliament. Therefore no opportunity must be lost between now and then to make politicians realise the urgency of Woman Suffrage. Moreover, whether the Government themselves are prepared to deal with this question or not, it is highly desirable that there shall be a sound Woman Suffrage Bill introduced by a private member to act as a standard to which a Government measure should conform. As there are only some eight valuable days altogether to be obtained by private members, it is important, in order that one of these may be secured, that as large a number of M.P.'s as possible pledged to introduce a Woman Suffrage Bill shall take part in the ballot. Members of the W.S.P.U. are asked, therefore, to concentrate their attention on this point between now and February 6.

The Encroachment of the Executive.

As we go to press a rumour reaches us that the Government are considering a proposal to follow their own bad precedent of last year, and deprive private members of a part or all of the days which are usually allotted to them. If there is any truth in this rumour,

we hope that it will be vigorously resisted by the Opposition leaders and by rank and file members of Parliament on both sides of the House. The Executive have encroached more and more during recent years upon all rights of private members, but this new move would be the most serious blow which the Government has yet struck at the liberty of the House of Commons, and would accord very ill with their professed desire to strengthen the hands of the "people's representatives." Last year, when these tactics were adopted, special urgency was alleged, and as there was some slight ground for this assertion owing to the serious condition of the national finances, no real fight was put up inside Parliament. This year a vigorous fight must be made unless the rights of private members are to be lost for ever.

The Released Prisoners.

A great welcome was given on Saturday evening last to the sixteen prisoners released that morning from Holloway Gaol. The magnificent March specially composed for the W.S.P.U. by Dr. Ethel Smyth was first played and sung amidst great enthusiasm, and then followed the recital by Miss Nellie Sergeant of the wonderful "Dreams in the Desert," written twenty years ago by Olive Schreiner. After a speech of welcome on behalf of the Union by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence the ex-prisoners came forward one by one and told their story of the two months' imprisonment which they had suffered. With the sterling courage with which we are

now familiar in Suffragists, one and all put the brightest side upon the ordeal which they had been through, refusing to dwell upon their hardships and relating instead the lighter incidents which in real life are always to be found side by side with deep and tragic events.

Stuffed in Holloway.

But to those who could read between the lines of their speeches and to those who came into closer contact with the prisoners the strain which they had gone through was fully manifest. Many of them showed signs in their faces of the ordeal of the past two months. Several admitted on being questioned that during the latter part of their sentence they had enjoyed little or no sleep. The most serious complaint which they had to make was of the almost total want of ventilation of the prison cells, in consequence of which after a night spent closely confined in the small circumscribed space the prisoners found themselves stifled and faint. Time and again they made complaint on this score, only to be met by the response that "the Home Secretary considered the ventilation was fully adequate." Mr. Winston Churchill has yet to learn that his mere ipse dixit is not a refutation of facts attested by reliable women. Speaking at the Queen's Hall on Monday last, Miss Christabel Pankhurst said on this matter the Union were absolutely determined that if members of the Union were again sent to prison they would insist upon getting proper ventilation. It was not legally part of the punishment of prisoners, whether political or ordinary criminals, that they should be stifled with bad air, and she gave Mr. Churchill full warning that unless proper steps were taken to remedy this abuse Suffragists would take the law into their own hands and remedy it themselves.

Rights Against the Police.

The rights of the public to resist official tyranny and ill-usage have been strikingly emphasised by the pronouncement of a German judge in a case arising out of the street riots in Berlin. Judge Ungar laid it down that police standing in the street to preserve peace and order were, doubtless, duly executing their legitimate functions, but that legitimacy ceased when (as in the case of Herr Hermann) according to a testimony of witnesses, a peaceable citizen going about his lawful business was hewn down with a sabre. In such a case any body protecting himself against such brutality, even by means of a well-directed revolver shot, would not be acting illegally. If this be good law in this country as well as in Germany, then certainly when women were treated to the brutalities witnessed on November 18 outside the House of Commons, and on November 22 outside Downing Street, they were justified not merely morally but also legally in technical assaults on the police, and the sentences which they received for those assaults were illegally inflicted.

"Masculinism."

On the respective scientific claims of Professor Branly, who is stated to be the "father of wireless telegraphy," and of Madame Curie, the discoverer of radium, we are naturally not competent to express an opinion, and in so far as the election of the former to the French Academy of Sciences on Monday last was due to a genuine desire to honour Professor Branly, who is an old man, by this distinction, and to reserve the same for Madame Curie on a not very distant occasion, we have nothing to say; but there seems little doubt that several of the votes were given to Professor Branly, not on account of his scientific attainments, but with the intention of preventing a woman from taking her rightful place in the Academy. This is a display of *masculinism*, an attempt to introduce a sex difference into scientific achievement, of which we should have hoped all true scientists would have been innocent.

Vida Goldstein.

The announcement which we are able to make in another column that Vida Goldstein, the well-known leader of the woman's movement in Australia, is coming specially to England to address the W.S.P.U. at the Royal Albert Hall on March 25 will be received by our readers with great interest. Miss Vida Goldstein led the women of Victoria finally to victory three years ago. She herself has twice stood as candidate for the Federal Senate, and, though unsuccessful, polled on each occasion over 50,000 votes. Those who are able to be present at the Albert Hall when her speech is delivered are sure of a great treat, as she is recognised as one of the foremost orators of Australia.

Valuable Work in West London.

Congratulations to the Kensington and Chelsea W.S.P.U.'s, whose annual reports have just reached us. Some idea of the work done by Kensington during the year will be appreciated when it is known that they have been responsible for the sale of 26,000 copies of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, for raising and expending £700 locally, including £300 on the Kensington shop; for taking charge of two great and successful election campaigns (in January in North Kensington, and in December, conjointly with Hampstead, in West St. Pancras, where in each case a seat was lost to the Government); and for organising one of the monster processions to Hyde Park on July 23. In addition the members of the Kensington W.S.P.U. have been remarkable for the support in money and services, which they have generously placed at the disposal of headquarters. The Chelsea W.S.P.U. have moved into new premises during the year with a shop frontage which has proved valuable for advertisement. They have held 15 meetings in public halls, 43 in drawing-rooms, and over 200 outdoor meetings. They have raised and expended locally some £240 in addition to the generous contributions sent by members

direct to the national office. At the General Election in January, the Chelsea W.S.P.U. took charge of Chelsea constituency, and succeeded in defeating Mr. Horniman. At the close of the year an amalgamation had taken place between the Chelsea and Battersea Unions.

Propaganda Work.

An audience of nearly 2,000 people attended the opening meeting of the London campaign at the Queen's Hall on Monday last. Mrs. Pankhurst described her experiences in France, and explained to the audience the international character of the Woman's Movement. Mr. Pethick Lawrence spoke of the new inspiration which was filling the hearts of women—the idea of the equal sovereignty of each half of the human race to choose its own life. Miss Christabel Pankhurst dealt with the present political situation, and sketched out the work which lay before the members of the Union in the immediate future. All over the country the propaganda work of the Union is going forward. A new centre is being organised in Peterborough by Miss Grace Roe, and here and in Cheltenham, where Miss Flatman is breaking up new ground, the organisers will be very glad of introductions to friends or members of the Union who are likely to be interested in the movement.

Items of Interest.

Suffragettes were well to the front last Friday when Miss Taylor assembled for the first Cabinet Council of the year. The *VOTES FOR WOMEN* poster "Should Winston Churchill go to Prison?" was prominently displayed.

Colonel Seely, Under Colonial Secretary, speaking at Oldham, said that self-government was very dear to his heart. We wonder how he can consent to be a member of a Government which is opposed to the grant of self-government to women.

We heartily sympathise with the new movement among prison warders for improved conditions of their work, and we notice with interest the suggestion (reminiscent of Mr. Franklin's speech) made by a prison warder to a representative of the *Morning Post*, that if Mr. Churchill would tative of the big reforms for a week he would get his eyes opened to something he never dreamed of. We presume that "warders" include "wardresses" whose conditions certainly need redress.

BRILLIANT AT HOME AT THE LITTLE THEATRE.

The entertainment provided by the Women Writers' Suffrage League at the Little Theatre on Tuesday afternoon was the greatest treat that could possibly be imagined. Lovers of music, dancing and drama found there some of the most fascinating, almost bewildering productions of women's brains. Women not only organised the entertainment, but wrote the play and composed the music.

The guests were received by Lady Meyer and Miss Beatrice Harrison, and the company included some of the most notable people in the world of Art, Literature, and Suffrage. Among the guests were Dr. Garrett Anderson and Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., Lady Penrose, Lady Brassey, Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke, and many others. Miss Gertrude Kingston, the fascinating actress, opened the proceedings in a charming little speech, in which she alluded to the erroneous idea that Suffragists were unable to be frivolous. As a matter of fact, she said, Suffragists could be just as frivolous as any Cabinet Minister! She welcomed the audience, and expressed her pleasure that the Little Theatre had been chosen by the women writers for their Suffrage At Home.

After a speech by Miss Ab Adam came the musical part of the entertainment, the performance of songs with instrumental accompaniment composed by Dr. Ethel Smyth, and beautifully sung, as on many previous occasions, by Miss Edith Clegg. The feature of this special performance was that the little band (violin, viola, violincello, flute, harp, and percussion—i.e., drums, triangles, etc.) was composed entirely of women. Miss Smyth having been told by her agent, in answer to inquiries, that such things as lady flautists and lady percussionists did not exist in London, a proof how much an agency is needed for women orchestral players! It is such a pity Miss Smyth did not make some remarks on this subject, as we understood she intended to do, as it is one on which she feels very strongly, "tone" in music being a matter of nervous intensity, not of muscular strength. The exclusion of women from English orchestras is a piece of incomprehensible injustice, and it is a question whether there is any instrument which cannot be played equally well by women. The ladies who gave their services on Tuesday were Miss Marjorie Hayward (violin), Miss Rebecca Clarke (viola), Miss May Mukle (cello), Miss Gwendolen Mason (harp), Miss Edith Penville (flute), Miss Louise Mukle (percussion). "Chrystilla" the first song, with its long, sad, beautiful melody, is the last word of serene acceptance of death, a remarkable contrast to the anaerobic ode which followed. Poems in honour of the grape are usually somewhat academically treated, but as a not unfriendly critic has observed, it has been left to a woman to sing the praises of wine in the accents of one who knows! The third song by Dr. Smyth was illustrated by the beautiful dancing of Miss Margaret Morris, a novel and most interesting experiment. In conclusion, a small chorus of Suffragists (including some faithful men), and Mrs. Gordon Woodhouse at the piano, performed Miss Smyth's "March of Women," first launched at the reception to the prisoners on January 21. The song has in it all the spirit of the Women's Movement, the tenderness, the hope, the faith, and the cheerful and triumphant thrill of victory. All the music was conducted by the composer, Dr. Ethel Smyth, who materially increased the effect of the March by some terrific whacks upon cymbals which happened to be lying at her feet.

The music was followed by an extremely touching little mid-Victorian play by Miss Bessie Hatton, the Secretary of the Women Writers' Suffrage League, in which the helpless position of the Victorian girl was very forcibly shown. With no choice as to her career, or even in the matter of a husband, the poor child is married to the first apparently eligible suitor. Although personally disliking her suitor, the little heroine's tears do not move her obtuse parents, and she is obliged to marry on what the fathers of the party imagine to be a happy down on what the mothers of the party imagine to be a happy dowry. The heroine was beautifully acted by Miss Dorothy Minto. Miss Cicely Hamilton was the clever blue stocking of the period, with a studio in Paris, Miss Estelle Stead was the mother, Miss Winifred Mayo the maid, Mr. C. Thursby acted the lover, and Mr. Sidney the father.

Altogether the afternoon was a unique one in the history of what talented women are doing for the emancipation of their sisters, and we hope that it will be followed by many others of the same character.

GETTING NEW READERS.

Another 141 new readers! Heartly congratulations to all who have worked so hard to secure this splendid result, with special thanks to "A Kennington Member," to Miss Budman, and to Miss E. Thompson, who have each scored a double figure! It is particularly interesting to notice how the paper is making headway outside our own country. Among the new subscriptions is one from Durban (South Africa), another from Buenos Aires, another from Sutor (Upper Egypt), another from Canada, another from Rhodesia, others from Ceylon, Trinidad, Washington, Hyères, New York, Missouri, Madras, and Agra, while there are several from Paris, Dieppe, Rome, Onglia (Italy), Geneva, Bonn, and Göteborg (Sweden). Altogether we have over 400 subscribers outside the United Kingdom, and I do not think there is a single civilised country to which at least one copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN* does not find its way every week.

At the meeting in the Queen's Hall on Monday last a further 20 promises, and at the meetings in York and Sheffield last week 17 promises were given for additional subscriptions. This is splendid. We have only to keep it up, and the boycott with which the London Press has been trying to defeat our movement will be broken down.

Many interesting letters accompany the orders. The correspondent who sends the subscription for Sutor (500 miles inland from Cairo) has hitherto been posting the paper there herself regularly for some weeks past. She learns that it has been very much appreciated, and has been passed from hand to hand. Another friend is taking nine copies each week and posting them herself to different people in various places, believing that in this way they are most likely to be read. Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence both secured a number of orders while they were in Paris, and many of the women whom they met promised to take the paper regularly. Another friend who has been sending the paper regularly to a head mistress in Paris forwards a letter showing how eagerly the paper is looked for each week, and what good use is made of it, for after she has read it herself it is read by her brother, who is an under-secretary in the Government, and then passed on to others. Another friend who is very active in selling the paper at meetings writes that she has also secured two new readers, to whom she delivers the paper regularly, and hopes to add to their number from time to time.

Friends are reminded to send the name and address of the new subscriber and their own name and address, together with a postal order for 3s. 3d. (or 4s. 4d. if outside the United Kingdom), to the Circulation Manager, 4, Clements Inn, W.C. The order form on the back page may be used if preferred.

F. W. P. L.

Jan. 16 to Jan. 21.

- | | | | |
|-------------------------|----|-----------------------|----|
| Previously acknowledged | 59 | Miss E. M. Pethick | 1 |
| Miss J. B. J. J. | 2 | Miss Curlock | 1 |
| Miss Webb | 3 | Miss Doring | 1 |
| Miss Saxely | 3 | H. R. Princess Sophia | 1 |
| Miss K. Haldigh | 2 | Dulcep Singh | 1 |
| Miss M. Davies Colley | 1 | Miss F. E. Hodgson | 1 |
| Miss B. A. Smith | 1 | Miss B. Weir | 3 |
| Mrs. Merryweather | 1 | Miss Pankhurst | 1 |
| Mrs. Abraham | 1 | Miss Lennox | 1 |
| Miss K. M. Cutting | 1 | Mrs. Murray | 1 |
| Miss S. Bowen | 1 | Miss Towle | 2 |
| Mrs. Morrison | 1 | Miss McFarlane | 1 |
| Miss B. M. Stephenson | 1 | Miss Klemantaski | 1 |
| Miss F. Graham | 1 | Miss Bala | 2 |
| Miss Hayward | 1 | Miss Kennet | 2 |
| Miss E. Thompson | 12 | Miss Annenberg | 1 |
| Miss H. Nicol | 2 | Mrs. Butler | 1 |
| Miss P. White | 2 | Mr. Pethick Lawrence | 2 |
| Mrs. Lovelock | 1 | Miss Orempton | 1 |
| Miss S. R. Ambrose | 1 | Dr. B. Bonasus Batt | 1 |
| Miss N. Lollie | 1 | Mrs. H. W. Bannan | 2 |
| Mrs. B. O. Bentinck | 1 | Miss Carver | 2 |
| Miss Duncanson | 1 | Miss Billingham | 2 |
| Miss Haldigh | 1 | Mr. Nourse | 1 |
| Miss E. M. Gearing | 2 | A Kennington Member | 15 |
| Miss Gilver | 15 | Mrs. Harro Chancellor | 7 |
| Miss Risham | 1 | Miss L. F. Lewis | 3 |
| Miss Pagan | 1 | Mrs. Pankhurst | 7 |
| Miss M. G. Goring | 1 | Mrs. Patricia Craig | 1 |
| Miss Cowlin | 1 | Mrs. Morris | 1 |
| Miss M. Havers | 1 | Mrs. Hippisley | 1 |
| Miss F. M. Wright | 1 | Miss D. Solomon | 1 |
| Mrs. Pethick Lawrence | 4 | Miss Plattman | 1 |
| Mrs. Pankhurst | 1 | Anonymous | 10 |
| Mrs. E. Westworth | 1 | Mrs. Champion | 2 |
| Miss Burns | 1 | | 70 |
| Mrs. E. Burcham | 1 | | |

A WRONG THAT CRIES OUT FOR REDRESS.

A letter recently appeared in the *Daily News* from Canon Newbolt, in which he appealed for funds to fund "homes" for children in violation of the Children's Act. The third song by Dr. Smyth might not contaminate their school companions. Such homes may be a terrible necessity, and we have nothing but sympathy with every scheme originated by men or women whereby this moral evil may be combated. But there is something infinitely deeper underlying any merely palliative measures such as the one suggested by Canon Newbolt. We are not satisfied that girls of tender age should be branded as moral outcasts while the real offenders go scot free.

The men and women of New Zealand are considering at the present time as to whether men convicted of this kind of assault cannot be segregated as moral lunatics, thus depriving them of all opportunity of committing irreparable injury to helpless girls and children.

But in this country the laws will not be altered until women have a voice in legislation. Women must get the Vote, and begin to work out with men of good will the moral regeneration of the country. And while furthering efforts for ameliorating the condition of the wretched children who have suffered so cruelly from the depravity of their protectors, women must be on their guard lest in specious form the principle underlying the vile system of prostitution should be maintained which lets the perpetrator of the evil go untouched and brands while it segregates the victim.

PRINCIPLE BEFORE PARTY.

By James H. Cousins.

(Being the substance of a speech delivered at Dublin before the Irish Women's Franchise League.)

In July, 1907, I attended an At Home of the W.S.P.U. It was held in a small room, and there were not more than 120 persons present. In July of 1910 I attended a similar function. It was not held at Clements Inn: it was in the great Queen's Hall. There were not 120 persons present: there were over 2,000.

I think I could work out a better answer to the sum which these figures present than the customary anti answer, that the militants have "put the Cause back." You could not, even if you tried, put the Cause back. I base this dogmatic statement on my observations of the effect of the presentation of your case for the vote before the sophisticated audiences of cities and the unsophisticated, and therefore unprejudiced, audiences of the country. In the country I have observed an earnest attempt to realise the full meaning of your claim. I have heard horny-handed sons of the soil exchange comments as you presented your case, and I have heard the eager "That's it!" passed from mouth to mouth as they saw to the heart of the matter. The usual termination was the shout, "You'll get what you want!" I am, therefore, convinced, quite apart from any plebiscite or other statistics, that, even though it may not be aware of the fact, the "country" is on your side.

The Practical W.S.P.U.

Being an inquisitive turn of mind I have looked out for the secret, and I have found it. It is this: you preach principles. Now in this respect you have a very unfair advantage over us men. Ever since we achieved our share of political freedom, we have used one or two phrases, that may or may not be principles, as war-cries for our parties. We have cried: "The will of the people must prevail," with the proviso that the will of the people must be in agreement with the will of the Liberal party. We have cried, "United we stand," always assuming that the people will allow the Tory party to stand on them. Now you come along. You not only seize the best of our cries, but you use them without any proviso, and worst of all, you insist on their being carried into practice. Naturally we, your superiors in endowment and experience, have demurred at your attempt to coerce us, and, believing that what is sauce for the gander is not by any means sauce for the goose, we have thrown you into prison. We might as well have tried to put out a fire by stabbing it with a sword. The only reply you have made to our sweet reasonableness has been to organise an immense body of feminine opinion. Now if you had ended at organising a body, there would not be much to complain about. We men know the futility and evanescence of bodies, especially political bodies. Unfortunately for us you have also organised a soul. Soul is the great preservative and energiser of body, and the soul which you have organised has been more than a match for us. There are some souls—not quite spelled the same way—that are destined to be trampled upon, but you cannot trample on the soul of woman.

What Public Life Needed.

At last some of us, the best of us, have come to see that the great tactical blunder on our side has been the illusion that masculine and feminine are separate and distinct. We have come to realise in a distant way that the soul which you have brought into public life is just the very thing which we have needed all these years to make our manhood effective and complete, and we have aspired to, and some of us have attained to, the dignity and honour of a place on your platforms. Now the first effect of that elevation has been, on me at any rate, one of humiliation. The tradition of my sex has been to worry how to put something or other before an audience. We carry this tradition on to your platform, and we are stranded, for the new tradition which you have brought into public life is not how to say a thing, but what to say. With you the "play's the thing," with us heretofore the "thing's the play."

We have covered our deficiencies with oratorical technique. You insist on getting down to bed-rock; you seem to enjoy it, but bed-rock is a most uncomfortable resting-place for a man. On the other hand, I have found, to my bewilderment, side by side with this humiliation, a growing sense of pride, pride that I have had so much wisdom as to acknowledge your superiority, but chiefly pride at my own extraordinary superiority over my male fellows who are not with you! Having grasped your knack of sticking to principles, I have acquired the eye for seeing at a glance through the appalling absurdities of argument and attitude that characterise the thought and speech of those men who are still in the pit from whence I was dug. I have, indeed, to confess that my sense of superiority has blossomed into an almost unmanageable intolerance of my sex. When I stayed away from your Phoenix Park meetings for a while, I became aware of the fact that it was quite clear to a section of your audience that I stayed at home because my wife compelled me. When at last I turned up, to be exhibited as a specimen of the tame husbands of the Irish Women's Franchise League, it was quite evident that that section had settled, in the thing it regards as its mind, that I had come because my wife had compelled me!

That is the typical anti attitude. Go to the right or the left, never mind a glaring contradiction, so long as you can turn it against the woman. It reminds me of Ireland when I enquired for the house of a friend, whom I shall call Smith: "You go straight round the corner, and after a while you'll find the house where Mr. Smith lives, but he's dead, you know."

Principles!

And so there is nothing left for us to do but to settle down to examine principles, and preach and practise them, and the utmost we can do to solace ourselves at the stupidity of our sex is to hope that even a worse fate may befall them than that which they so much dread. At the back of every male anti's head is the fear that when you get the vote, he will be left at home to take care of the baby. It is an insult to the intelligence of the baby. The baby—though it has done nothing to deserve it—should be left at home to take care of him (!) To conclude, you have made the dreadful precedent of an open platform. What your openness to question means, you will perhaps realise if I quote in imagination the following announcements from a local paper: "The Millennium at hand: Mr. John Redmond invites Mr. William O'Brien to question him at the close of a meeting in Cork." "The Day of Judgment announced: Mr. Tim Healy voluntarily gives over the Town Hall, Dundalk, to Mr. Hazleton's supporters."

I am quite sure that prospective Members of Parliament have a bad time before them as a result of the habit which you have given your crowds of feeling free to criticise you at the close of your meetings. You have brought a new spirit into public life. As one who has had a fairly long experience of business life, as well as of educational life, I can testify to the dignity and purity which one lady has infused into the speech and conduct of a crowd of clerks.

It needs but little exercise of imagination in order to apprehend something of the beneficent effect of your coming full entry into responsible public life, and some of us who realise, perhaps a little more acutely than others, the possibilities of human development, will perhaps be forgiven if, in the presence of the "vision splendid," we become almost over-enthusiastic in your holy and triumphant Cause.

THE SUFFRAGETTE?

(A stanza from Walt Whitman's "Song of the Broad Axe.")

Her shape arises!
She, less guarded than ever, yet more guarded than ever.
The gross and soiled she moves among do not make her gross and soiled.
She knows the thoughts as she passes,—nothing is concealed from her;
She is none the less considerate or friendly, therefore . . .
She has no reason to fear and she does not fear.
Oaths, quarrels, hiccuped songs, ribald expressions, are idle to her as she passes,
She is silent,—she is possessed of herself—they do not offend her.
She receives them as the laws of nature receive them—she is strong;
She, too, is a law of nature—there is no law stronger than she is.

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The new Leaflet BLACK FRIDAY:

a Letter to the Home Secretary.

By MRS. SAUL SOLOMON,

which appeared in VOTES FOR WOMEN, January 6, 1911

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We here illustrate a specimen page from the Catalogue of Night-dresses. It will serve to give an idea of the really exceptional value offered.

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- Y 175—Cambric Chemise, trimmed Valenciennes insertion and embroidery, hand sewn, as sketch. 4/8 o/s 5/6
- Y 176—Good Longcloth Chemise, hand-made, trimmed embroidery, insertion & fine tucks. 3/7 o/s 4/2
- Y 177—Fancy Cambric Chemise, pretty design, Valenciennes lace, insertion and embroidery, hand sewn. 3/6 o/s 4/3
- Y 178—French Cambric Chemise, hand-made, pretty trimmed, Valenciennes lace insertion and heading. 4/6 o/s 5/6
- Y 179—Very Pretty Paris Chemise, composed of fine lace, feather-stitching and French knots, hand sewn. 5/11 o/s 6/11
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BOOKS OF THE WEEK.

A CHILDHOOD.

One of the sensations of the Paris literary world during the past year has been the sudden success of a book by an unknown authoress and the romantic story attaching to it. Not that the romance was an emotional one in our usual acceptation of the term. It consisted in the fact that the writer, Marguerite Audoux, was a working woman (a sempstress), who had written in her few spare moments because she felt the need of such expression, and had fortunately found a friend, Charles Philippe, who recognised her talents and encouraged her to go on. Her story, "Marie Claire," won the prize offered by *La Vie Heureuse*, and has since become famous. Her success came not a moment too soon, for ten years of sewing in a Paris attic had left her weak sighted and in poor health. Now she has made a name for herself, and though she still lives in her tiny back room her immediate anxieties are relieved, and she is now at work on another novel and contemplates a play. "Marie Claire" is the story of a waif, a little girl deserted by a drunken father and brought up in a convent-orphanage, then sent to a farm as shepherdess, milkmaid, general servant, passed on like a chattel to another farmer's family, less kind than the first. The story is unrolled like a series of pictures, seen by a child, with an entire absence of comment, self-pity or bitterness, and the charm of the book lies in this simplicity of vision, which amounts to the highest art. Life in the convent contains both sun and shadow. The gentle *Sœur Marie-Aimée* loves and protects the little girl, her playmates are some of them kind, some droll, some tragic, like poor lame Colette, for whom the expected Miracle of the Virgin ends in disaster. She meets with kindness and love even in her life at the farm, but in the lives of the dependent poor an upheaval occurs so easily, and it is so hard to take root. The waif is flung back into the stream of human "drift," finally drawn into the human vortex of Paris to begin the struggle for bread with the sum of one pound odd as capital. The book gives us that rare thing—the life of the poor written by one of themselves from within. Usually it is the educated, the conscious, who depict the life of the uneducated, the unconscious, from without.

Marie Claire enjoyed scant educational advantages, her genius formed itself. Her attitude is that of a child, almost of a wondering animal, towards life. She looks into the faces of her fellow beings and notes simply "kind eyes," "hard eyes," *des yeux durs ou doux*. This is the simple distinction of children and animals; it is in fact what matters most if you are in the power of others. How many such lives there must be in the "masses"! They have no time for writing, even if they had the mental requisites. The marvel is how Mlle. Audoux by her simple means has achieved an artistic atmosphere and style which other writers cultivate. She has the instinct of genius. If this simple story of an uneventful childhood has attained such success, it would be interesting to see what Marguerite Audoux will do with stronger material, the story of her ten years' struggle alone in Paris; on which she is said to be engaged.

A SWEDISH SUFRAGETTE.

Amongst recent suffrage literature one must mention "Pennskaftet," a brilliantly clever Swedish novel, by Ellis Wagner. The heroine is a witty and enthusiastic young journalist, who is always spoken of by her *nom-de-plume*, "Pennskaftet" (The Penholder). One gets vivid glimpses of journalistic life in Stockholm, and incidentally some grave moral questions are touched upon. But the great interest of the book lies in its picturing of the world of the suffragists. The reader is taken to enthusiastic meetings, to headquarters (Clements Inn on a small scale), and to the stately home of the old aristocratic leader of the movement, and shown how proselytes are made, and how Members of Parliament are converted. One of the most amusing chapters describes how the undaunted little "Penholder," in her professional capacity, interviews an eminent member of the Upper House, and ends by winning him over to the cause. "The Penholder" is a delightful creation, and to an English reader, some of her cleverest words and expressions have an unmistakably Christabelian flavour, and the heroine's repartee to "Don't you wish you were a man?" is familiar: "Yes, don't you?" The book, which for all its brightness has a great message to convey, is undoubtedly the most successful Swedish novel of the year. It is published by the Ljus (Light) Publishing Company, Stockholm, 4kr. 50 (5s.), and has run through five editions. The sixth is in preparation.

TWO BOOKS FOR SCOTSWOMEN.

At the bottom of the sternest Caldonian heart there is a deep rooted love of the heather-land, and certainly there is ground for pride both in the rugged mountains and in the beautiful and spacious cities. Edinburgh is loved by all those who have seen her and her castled rock and her green background. Arthur's Seat, Edinburgh of the past with her tragic history,

JIM'S LEG: A MONOLOGUE.

The best thing as ever happened to me was when my Jim lost 'is leg. Afore then 'e was always a-grumbling, and saying as women wasn't of no account, and my eyes—as mother used to say was a lovely brown—was most times a nifty black, for Jim was that free with 'is fists when 'e'd ad a drop too much. And, bless you, to 'ear 'im 'old forth on pollyticks and votes for women! Why, according to 'im, women 'ardly deserved to be let live, and men only let 'em because of cooking dinners, and mending clothes and the like.

"What 'ave you to do?" 'e'd say. "You can jest sit at 'ome and amoose yourself, lookin' after the kiddies and cleanin' up. Why, that's only play, that is. Where's your responsibilities? And 'oo's you to 'ave a vote? Thinkin' yourselves on a level with us men!"

Well, one day as 'e was a-coming out of the Red Lion, and none too steady on 'is feet, 'e was run into by a motor 'bus. 'E would stop in the middle of the street to argue with it, and it 'adn't any time to listen, and it went over 'is leg, and 'e was took to the 'ospital and 'is leg was took off. And there was me, with six children at 'ome, and only my eldest, Ethel Emery—'oo was fourteen—in service.

Well, I got took on in Jim's place; 'ee was bottle washer at a brewery, and of course they said they couldn't give me as much as 'e 'ad, 'cos I was only a woman.

"Not if I does as much work as 'e do?" say I, and they only laughs and says, "Women can't do men's work."

"Can't they," says I. "You'll see." But give me more than twelve shillin' a week they would not, not if I washed them bottles ever so, and a lick and a wipe was never my way.

Well I got Gladys Matilder, as was 13, a little place, and Vilet Muriel 'ad to look after the little 'uns, and we got on some'ow till Jim 'e come out 'o the 'ospital, just able to 'op about on a crutch. And when 'e come 'ome I says to 'im, "Now you've got to take care of the 'ouse and do my work while I does yours. You says there ain't nothing for the mother of a family to do, so let's 'ope you'll find it easy."

"That's all right," says 'e, careless, but when I come 'ome at night 'e 'ad a different tale to tell. The 'ouse looked as if all the monkeys out of the Zoo 'ad bin turned loose in it. 'E'd forgotten to cook any supper, the fire was out, all the children was a-crying, and 'e was sittin' in the middle of the room with his 'ed in s'ands, the very picter of misery.

"'Ope you've enjoyed yer little 'oliday," says I, perky like, and pretending to see nothing.

"'Olliday?" 'e groans, "I'd rather do a month's 'ard. The kids aint stopped 'ollerin', 'ollerin' all day, and the bibb's the wussest of 'em all."

"No wonder, with a pin a sticking into the precious lamb," say I. "Call that dressin' 'im? Every blessed thing's on wrong. Well, you've cleaned up, I s'pose?"

"Clean," says 'e, miserable like, "I've bin cleanin' the 'ole time and it don't seem to get nothing but dirtier every min'it."

"You'll do better soon," says I, "when you've 'ad practice. You'll see 'ow nice it is to set at 'ome and do nothing, as you says. Now let's 'ave supper. Somethin' 'ot and tysty, I 'ope?"

"There aint none," says 'e, "I aint 'ad time to think of it."

"Aint 'ad time?" says I. "You 'ad all day jus' as much time as I 'ave." I couldn't 'elp feelin' pityin' in my 'art, 'e did look that wretched sittin' in a sloppy floor as 'e'd bin tryin' to wash, but I says, "Things is changed. I'm going to clean myself and take the children out. You can set to work and put the bibb to bed and 'ave things tidy when we comes 'ome."

"Go out and leave me?" 'e cries.

"Why not?" says I. "You aint done nothing all day but amoose yourself. I'm going out after my 'ard day's work same as you used to. There's a Sufferagette meetin' as I means to attend, to learn 'ow to stand up for my rights."

"You don't want no learnin'," says 'e. "You might stop and keep me company when I've bin shut up 'ere with the kids all day."

"Company?" says I, "'Ow often 'ave you told me the children was all the company I needed. No, a little peaceful time to think is what you're needin'" says I, and off I goes. Pore Jim! After three days 'e'd got things in such a muddle that I scarcely knew 'ow to put up with it, 'aving found a sancespan lid under the bibb's pillow and my best stockings used as a kettle-'older. Then come washin' day, and I 'eard Jim a

and Edinburgh of the present in her tranquil beauty are described in a finely-illustrated book by Rosaline Masson (A. and O. Black, ls. 6d.). Some of the pictures, in their subdued tones, give an excellent idea of the old picturesque quarters. All who know Edinburgh and all who plan a visit there are advised to read this book on the

"City of grey mist and dreams,
O city of my heart!"

It is perhaps Scotland's history and her long struggle for liberty rather than for self-aggrandisement that makes her sons and daughters love her soil. A curious mixture of light romance and of stern Puritanism make up the memory of the past, and through the practical national life of Scotland to-day there still runs the softer thread of the history of the ill-fated Stuarts. What Scot does not defend the memory of beautiful Queen Mary; what Scot tires of reading the many stories that surround her life? Her sad career has been told once more—by John Prestand—in dramatic form, in strong and simple pentameters. It closes with her abdication, but to the end she speaks like a queen:—

Come let us go to death; we shall be free
At least of our good friends here. We have had
A few good hours and many evil days,
And we will die a Queen.

AEROPLANES, WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND GORE.

If you are feeling very tired and want a thrilling melodrama set in the days when women have the vote, and the air has been conquered, read "The Day after To-morrow," by Cora Minnett (F. W. White, 6s.). There is plot and counterplot, vice and virtue, spiritualism and telepathy—and a thrilling series of events from start to finish. There is even a lady M.P. (unfortunately she is a double murderess), and in the than remote past there has been the assassination of two Cabinet ministers (*adieu*!) But then it's only a story.

A LOST ART.

In these days of scrappy letters and still scrappier telegrams, it is a real refreshment to go back to the days when letter-writing was a fine art, and letters gave a real picture, not only of daily life, but also of the many random thoughts we are almost too busy nowadays to think, let alone write down. We therefore commend to those who would like to feel themselves for a little while back in the time when life was more leisurely, the book, "Women as Letter-Writers," which consists of a collection of letters of famous women, from Margaret Pastou in the fifteenth century to Christine Rossetti of our own day. Many of the letters bring back the atmosphere of quieter days, and sometimes give delightful self-revelations. We cannot resist quoting a terse note from Queen Elizabeth to Dr. Cox Bishop of Ely, who lived in days when unwomanly suffragettes were unknown.

"PARDON PERLATE,—You know what you were before I made you what you are now. If you do not immediately comply with my request, I will unroof you, by G—!"

ELIZABETH.

CELLS AND VOTES.

Those who sometimes look outside their own little circle of events to glance at the centuries that have passed, and to speculate on those that are to come, realise that this movement for women's freedom in the twentieth century is but one phase, and a phase that might have been predicted, of the continuous course of evolution. When one realises that man of the present day has evolved from the almost lifeless primal cell, one can but wonder at the storm of opposition to the tiny step between a voteless woman and a woman voter. Those who are interested in the marvellous story of evolution and the problems of heredity should welcome a new book by Dr. Berry Hart.

In a chapter on woman he admits that their sense of justice is so strong they will risk anything for it. It is strange, however, that the author himself has evidently not investigated the movement closely and dismisses it with a feeble sneer.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- "How to Speak Effectively." By Charles Seymour. London: The Speaker's Library. 3s. net.
- "How to Produce Ideas and How to Acquire Fluency." By Charles Seymour. London: The Speaker's Library. 3s. net.
- "Rillers of the Soil." By J. E. Patterson. London: Wm. Heinemann. 6s. net.
- "Woman At Home." February. Newnes. 4d. net.
- "The Industrial Struggle in Mid-Rhonda." By D. A. Thomas, M.A. Cardiff Western Mail. Id.

JULIUS CÆSAR IN 1910.

(With homologies to Shakespeare.)
Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears!
I come to praise the woman, not to denounce them.
The good they do will e'er live after them,
The evil be interred in Asquith's bones,
And those of Winston too. The noble Winston
Hath said the woman are so very rough!
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously has Winston copied it.
Here, by leave of Winston and the rest
(For Winston is an honourable (?) man,
So are they all, all honourable (?) men),
Come we to speak on Asquith's coming fall.
He's not our friend, nor is he fair or just;
But Winston said he was so brave
(And Winston is an honourable (?) man I)
He hath brought many women into good;
Did this in Asquith seem so very brave?
When comes a woman, Asquith runs away!
But courage should be made of sterner stuff.
Yet Winston said he was so brave
And Winston is an honourable (?) man I

A. F. L.

* "Mary Queen of Scots." Chasco and Windas. Price 5s. net.
† "Women as Letter-Writers." By Ada M. Incepen. Hutchinson.
Price 5s. net.
‡ "Process of Evolution and Heredity." By Dr. Berry Hart. Holtman, 6s.

mutterin' about 'is clean collar, which indeed 'e wanted badly.

"'Oo's goin' to do the washin'?" 'e asks as 'e sees me going out as usual.
"Why, you are, of course," says I. "'Oo else?"
"Me?" says 'e. "Me do the washin', with only one leg?"

"Bless the man," says I. "You don't wash with your legs, you wash with your 'ands. And then there's the manglin', and next day the starchin' and ironin', and I 'ope you'll like the job. I'm sendin' Vilet Muriel round to 'elp 'er aunt a bit as 'as 'ad the collect cruel, so you must look after the little 'uns extr'y speshul. Good bye."

"Well, 'ave you finished the wash? says I that evening.

"The wash 'as finished me," says 'e, a-gaspin', and indeed 'e looked like it. "'Ow you ever gets done," says 'e, "I don't know. Them things 'ave bin bilin' and bilin', and don't get no cleaner."

"You should have seen the way 'e'd washed 'em! All biled up, on my saucepans, and no rinsin' nor nothin' and as to 'is manglin'—well, mangled they was indeed. The pore children 'adn't a pinny 'ole among 'em, and my lace curtains jus' fell to pieces when you touched 'em like a spider's web. But the ruinin' of them clothes and things was the makin' of Jim. 'E began to see for the first time in 'is life what a woman's work meant, and by the time 'e could go back to 'is bottle washin', 'e was a changed man. 'Andy 'e could never be, and sometimes I wished 'e'd lost an arm instead of a leg—'e'd 'ave missed it less.

But one night 'e 'opped along of me to a Sufferagette meeting and comin' out 'e says, says 'e, "Esther," says 'e, "I'm a goin' to be a Sufferagette myself. As soon as I gets my noo leg I'll join. One as to be an 'ole man to be up to them women. And you did ought to 'ave a vote, Esther," says 'e. "Bottle washin' 's play to byby mindin' and 'ome work what ain't never over. And if I ever gives you a black eye agin, well—"

"I'll give you one back with your own noo leg," says I smilin' friendly-like. But lor, there aint 'is bin no need to. And we're all Sufferagettes and the children too, bless their 'arts down to the noo bibb as is an 'owling 'er precious 'ed off, as tho' to say, "I won't be 'appy till I gets it."

L. S. Phibbs.

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VOTES FOR WOMEN

4, CLEMENTS INN, STRAND.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 27, 1911.

A WORLD-WIDE RENAISSANCE.

Every platform utterance, every newspaper article that deals with present day politics yields tribute to the triumph of the principle of democracy in modern government. "The will of the people" has become a stock phrase with political orators. Gone are the old demarcations and distinctions which once drew the line between the ruling classes and the ruled. Gone are the political prerogatives of the aristocracy. Working men, because the most numerous, have become the most powerful of all the people as a voting class. Gone are the privileges of the scholarly. Education is no longer confused with intelligence. The man who cannot read or write is free at the ballot box to express his approval or disapproval of the Government which controls the State. Men, unequal as individuals, unequal in fortune, unequal in personal endowment of character, unequal in intellectual attainments, are equal in law, equal in citizenship. The dignity of manhood is recognised as the fundamental basis of all dignities and honours that may accrue to men as individuals.

But with the sweeping away of the old demarcations that divided society, a new cleavage has been made which divides humanity. To-day in the civilised countries of the world there is one clear line that cuts between the rulers and the ruled. It is the cleavage line of sex.

With the triumph of the male democracy, women in all the countries of the civilised world lost the position of dignity and influence and power which to some extent they once possessed. When the ruling power was held by the aristocracy women shared that power in some measure by virtue of their rank. When immense authority was wielded by the scholarly, women shared that authority by reason of their learning. But as new classes of men rose to demand

and win equal rights and new dignities, they not only left behind the women of their own class in that subjection from which they had themselves passionately revolted, but they also divested of their rights and dignities women once privileged, and thrust them with all the others outside the pale of equality. Thus, the story of the world's progress is the story of the humiliation of civilised womanhood.

We would not, even if we could, revert to the old order, where the few of either sex were held in honour and the many were held in subjection. We would not stay the progress of the world. We rejoice in the brotherhood of man. But we know that what has been begun must be completed. The brotherhood of man has now to be perfected by the sisterhood of woman. Democracy which is maimed and mutilated must be made whole. Women of all nations, of all classes, are realising their union and their solidarity as they have never done before, and are determined in these later days to vindicate the honour of their sex and to win their political liberty. In that fact is the significance and strength of the feminist movement all over the world.

Last week we were feeling the pulse of this movement in Paris. In France, as in our own country, the triumph of male "Democracy" has involved the total loss of civil status to women. Before the Revolution women who were heads of great feudal households had votes, because it was considered a greater breach of social order that a noble's family should be deprived of representation because of sex than that a high and powerful lady should deliberate with nobles of whom she was the peer. Due honour was paid to learning without regard to the sex of the scholar. Four women were members of the Académie des Belles Lettres in the reign of Louis XVI, whereas at the present time the greatest of living scientists is still excluded on account of sex from the Académie des Sciences.

In fact, the Revolution that established the rights of men as men swept away all vestige of the rights of women as women. New disabilities of many kinds were imposed upon women. They were forbidden to take part in political action, they were forbidden to become members of a club, and a serious attempt was made to pass a statute making it illegal for a woman to present a petition.

Thus, the men of the Revolution, throwing off their own fetters, sought to bind them upon women and to practise the tyranny from which they had suffered, upon a whole sex, a sex which had not been unrepresented in that historical struggle of emancipation.

For a time the womanhood of France, like the womanhood of the United Kingdom, has lain crushed and inert under the weight of an overwhelming male "Democracy," but there is ample proof for anyone who will seek for it that in all classes of French society, as in all classes of society at home, women are waking up to a sense of profound dissatisfaction with their position, which has only to be quickened by the spirit of hope into active revolt.

And what is true of France and England is true of every other country in the civilised world. "I warn you, men of America," said Sylvia Pankhurst to a great audience in Boston last week, "I warn you that your women will wake up as ours have done. You too will face violence unless their demands are granted."

One of our members, now living in Canada, writes of new signs of awakening in that great country also. Australia and New Zealand are lifting up the voice of protest against the Home Government's treatment of the agitation here, and both these new countries have sent, and are sending, their own emancipated women to stand side by side with their British and Irish sisters in the battle of liberty which is being fought at the heart of the Empire.

The horizon extends with every step forward that we take in this movement, and the vision becomes clearer and more splendid. At the outset it seemed to the pioneers a great thing to work for a measure of justice that would bring to many who were wronged the safeguard and security of an equal law between men and women. Then came the realisation that even this small measure of equity in our own country could not be obtained without a national awakening and uprising of British womanhood. We realise now that our movement is part of an international and world-wide renaissance.

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

MILITANT METHODS IN HISTORY.

By Joseph Clayton. 1.—How Magna Carta was Won.*

One copy of the Great Charter still remains in the British Museum, injured by age and fire, but with the royal seal still hanging from the brown shagreened parchment. It is impossible to gaze without reverence on the earliest monument of English freedom, which we can see with our own eyes and touch with our own hands, the Great Charter to which from age to age patriots have looked back as the basis of English liberty.— J. R. GREEN.

What was this Great Charter—this Magna Carta—this to which patriots have turned from age to age? and how came it that a king like John, as astute as he was unscrupulous, and as vigorous as he was cruel, was compelled to sign so remarkable a document?

The Great Charter itself neither conferred new rights or privileges nor sanctioned any new political liberties. In the main it was but a re-affirmation of the earlier Charter of Henry I. Its real importance and value came in here—it was a written document, it was "the first great act which laid down in black and white the main points of the Constitution and the several rights and duties of king and people." "The Great Charter marks the transition from the age of traditional rights, preserved in the nation's memory and officially declared by the Primate, to the age of written legislation of parliaments and statutes, which was soon to come." It was felt in England in the thirteenth century that there was no security of life or liberty and no possibility of justice between man and man, without something positive and definite written down in black and white, to command submission from both the king and his subjects.

There was no question about the need for the Great Charter.

When Stephen Langton, the great Archbishop of Canterbury, whose name is for all time linked with the Great Charter, returned to England in 1214, he found the administration of justice utterly corrupt, and that, often enough, free men were arrested, evicted, exiled and outlawed without legal warrant or any pretence to a fair trial.

In a word, the entire system of government and administration set up under the Norman kings, and developed under Henry and Richard, had been converted by the ingenuity of John into a most subtle and effective engine of royal extortion, oppression and tyranny over all classes of the nation, from earl to villain.—Kate Norgate.—John Lackland."

The barons were disconcerted enough at all this misrule, but they had no notion of sticking together, or of uniting in a big national movement until Langton took the lead. And Langton saw that the barons must contend, not only for their own liberties, but for the liberties of all England, that a Charter must be won from King John which would promise some measure of justice for yeomen, peasants, and artisans—the hard-working people of the land, who in that 13th century were voiceless and powerless.

So, in August, 1214, Archbishop Langton called the barons together in St. Paul's Cathedral, and there reminded them of the old liberties promised by Henry I. at his coronation, and appealed for the recovery of these rights. "With very great joy the barons swore they would fight for these liberties, even unto death if it were needful, and the archbishop promised that he would help with all his might."

And now the movement was fairly started. Three months later the barons again assembled, this time in the abbey church at Edmsbury, with a set purpose.

They swore on the high altar that if the king sought to evade their demand for the laws and liberties of the charter of King Henry I. they would make war upon him and withdraw from fealty to him till he should by a charter furnished with his seal confirm to them all they demanded. They also agreed that after Christmas they would go together to the king and ask him for a confirmation of these liberties, and that meanwhile they would so provide themselves with horses and arms that if the king should seek to break his oath they might, by seizing his castles, compel him to make satisfaction. And when these things were done every man returned to his own home.— ROGER OF WENDOVER.

In vain John tried, by evasion and by organising the support that yet remained to him, to break up the confederacy of barons and get rid of their demands. All his efforts were unsuccessful, and at Easter, in the following year, the king was compelled to listen to Langton while the Archbishop read out the demands of

the barons. "They might as well ask for my kingdom at once," was John's reply, when he heard the various items of the petition, and he swore he would never grant the liberties that were asked for. Thereupon, when the news came that the king had refused their petition the barons flew to arms, formally renounced their homage and fealty, and chose a military leader, Robert Fitz Walter.

John would have withstood the barons if he could; but he had but a handful of mercenaries from Poitou, and London had welcomed the insurgents. There was nothing for it but surrender, and on June 15, 1215, John met the barons of England in the meadow of Runnymede, between Staines and Windsor, and there, in the presence of Archbishop Langton and "a multitude of most illustrious knights," the Great Charter was signed.

Henceforth it was decreed, with many another matter, that no free man was to be seized, imprisoned, ousted of his land, outlawed, banished, or in any way brought to ruin, save by the legal judgment of his peers or by the law of the land, and that, to no man was justice to be sold, denied, or postponed by the king.

A week later the Great Charter was published throughout all England.

[Mr. Clayton's article next week will deal with Simon of Montfort and the beginning of Parliamentary representation.]

THE TREASURER'S NOTE.

Among the contributions this week is a very generous gift from M. Colby, one of the early pioneers of the Woman's Movement, a staunch and loyal champion of her sex throughout a lifetime and a warm supporter from the very first days of almost universal reprobation of the Militant Movement. To the generous veterans of the long battle for Women's Emancipation who held out the right hand of friendship, to the Militants, we owe deep veneration and gratitude. Their sympathy, their support, so all-essential at the time, will never be forgotten, though our appreciation cannot be adequately expressed. This special contribution of £20 is given to our Campaign Fund, "In memory of Harriet Molluham, the first married Lady Guardian. For 25 years a never-failing friend to women as Poor Law Guardian and a lifelong helper to all in sorrow, sickness, and adversity."

E. P. L.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £100,000 FUND.

January 16 to January 21.

Already acknow. £ s. d.		Per Mrs. D. Evans—	
Inlaid	£28,051 15 7	Mrs. L. Floyd	10 0 0
Miss Alice Heath	1 0 0	Goods	1 15 2
Mrs. Violet Hippley	0 7 6	Sale of Lace	2 10 0
Miss Bath Dowling	0 1 0	Miss Gavett	0 10 0
(By sale of croquet patten)	0 7 6	Miss Green	0 10 0
Anon	0 1 0	Dr. Kirby	0 10 0
Miss Whit (coll. for tea, Hoxton)	0 8 2	Miss Midgley (Sale of miscellanea)	0 2 6
Miss Evelyn Birch	0 10 0	A. E. Wenham, Esq.	1 0 0
Miss Bangley Bentley	0 5 0	J. Rahnsford, Esq.	0 5 0
Miss Gertrude M. Ansell	0 10 6	Mrs. Byron Smith	0 5 0
Mrs. Mariel E. Holgate	0 10 0		
R. M. P. Coll.	0 2 0		
Miss Joachim	4 0 0		
Miss Florence York	0 10 0		
Miss Mary Whiteford	0 5 0		
Mrs. A. Miss Moser	0 7 6		
Extra on "V. I. W." at Poster-Parade, Oxford Circus	0 1 0		
Do. at Victoria Pith	0 12 1		
Miss Ethel B. Worters	10 0 0		
Miss Maria Low	0 5 0		
Miss Eva Rowe	0 5 0		
Miss H. S. Newman	0 5 0		
Miss A. W. Lance	1 1 0		
Mr. & Mrs. Spang-Boelham	0 16 0		
Lady Meyer	0 5 0		
Miss Cecilia Mackenzie	1 0 0		
Miss Eva Mackenzie	1 0 0		
Anon (sale of gold cross)	1 0 0		
Miss Mollie Hayward	0 5 0		
Per Mrs. Brackebury—			
Miss H. Tolson	0 3 0		
Miss R. Tolson	0 5 0		
Profit on Christmas Cards	1 10 0		
Per Mrs. Duran—			
Mrs. Duran	1 1 0		
Additional Sale Drawings	2 18 6		
Miss Lucy H. M. Brewe	1 5 0		
A Friend	0 2 0		
Mrs. Maedonald	0 1 0		
Per Mrs. F. W. Coope—			
Mrs. Farrington (profit on "V. I. W.")	0 2 0		
Mrs. F. W. Coope (sale of jam)	0 6 0		
		Per Mrs. J. F. W.—	2 0 0
		Per Mrs. Constance Lytton—	0 3 0
		Anon	0 5 0
		Mrs. Mansel	0 1 6
		Sale of Sweets	0 2 6
		"Adm'n"	0 2 6
		A Sympathiser	0 1 0
		Mrs. Cave	0 2 6
		For Organiser Fund.	
		Miss M. G. Rogan	0 4 0
		Membership Fees	1 19 0
		Collections, etc.,	25 7 0
		London	2 10 0
		Per Mrs. Brackebury	11 6 6
		Per Mrs. Duran	0 9 0
		Per Mrs. Danks	5 6 2
		Per Mrs. Evans	1 8 4
		Per Mrs. Aryston Gould	3 0 0
		Per Mrs. Mansel	10 0 0
		Total	£88,782 19 9

Cheques should be made out to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and crossed, "Barclay and Co."

ALBERT HALL MEETING.

Distinguished Visitor to Speak.

The Women's Social and Political Union are holding a meeting in the Royal Albert Hall, London, on Thursday evening, March 23, at 8 p.m. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pankhurst, and the speakers will be Miss Vida Goldstein, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst.
A full list of the hall has been obtained, and it has been decided to issue at once reserved and numbered tickets for the whole of the seats at the following prices: Stalls, 2s.; arena and lower orchestra, 1s.; upper orchestra and balcony, 6d.; boxes, £1 10s., £1 1s., and 12s. 6d.
These tickets will be ready on Tuesday next, and can be obtained from Miss Florence Cooke, W.S.P.U., 4, Clements Inn.

Owing to the regulations made by the Albert Hall, which apply in all cases where a full list has been obtained, we are prohibited from having any public sale of tickets. Only members of the National Women's Social and Political Union, therefore, can obtain tickets from Miss Cooke. It should be clearly understood, however, that strangers, both men and women, are very welcome at the meeting, and members of the N.W.S.P.U. can obtain tickets for them. It is very important that those who have not previously understood the women's movement should be brought into touch with it on such an occasion as this, and therefore members are requested to use every endeavour to bring as many of their acquaintances as possible.

Friends are asked to note that on this occasion the practice of setting aside the grand tier boxes for the local unions will not be followed, so that these boxes can be purchased by members in the ordinary way. The only part of the hall which is not being reserved is the gallery, which will be thrown open free to women on the night.

Miss Vida Goldstein's Career.

Miss Vida Goldstein, who is coming to England from Australia specially to address this meeting, is president of the Women's Political Association of Victoria. It was under her leadership that the women of Victoria finally won their vote in 1908, and it will be remembered that though Victoria was the last of the five States of Australia to obtain full woman suffrage, yet the women's victory in all the other States and even in New Zealand is generally attributed in no small measure to the splendid agitation which the women of Victoria have carried on for 20 years.

Miss Vida Goldstein is a speaker of great power, as well as an active and keen worker. She has twice been nominated by the Melbourne Women's Political Association for a seat in the Senate. On the first occasion in 1903 she polled 51,497 votes; on the second, in 1910, she polled 53,000. Her election address last year dealt with national questions, and with the importance of equalising many of the laws between men and women. It was printed nearly in full in VOTES FOR WOMEN for April 1, 1910. We are very grateful to Miss Goldstein for promising to come all this way to address us.

W.S.P.U. ANNOUNCEMENTS.

In the roll of honour of the W.S.P.U. the name of Lady Constance Lytton has a very honoured place as one of those who have given of their very best in the great cause of the freedom of women. The announcement, therefore, that Lady Constance Lytton will be one of the speakers next Monday afternoon in London is of special interest. The chair will be taken by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., will also speak. These meetings are open to the public; they are held every Monday afternoon, at 3 p.m., at Queen's Hall, Langham Place. There is no charge for admission, and all who wish to have a better understanding of the woman's question, and especially of the militant wing, are cordially invited to attend. A regular weekly meeting is held on Thursday evenings, at 8 p.m., at the Steinway Hall, Lower Seymour Street, and to this also admission is free, and all are welcome. Similar meetings are held weekly in all the centres throughout the country where the Union is represented (see pp. 280-282).

Other Important Meetings.

Besides the meetings announced above and those on pp. 280, 282 important meetings will be held during the next week or so as follows:—Mrs. Pankhurst will speak at the Athenaeum, Kilburn, on Monday, January 30, at 8 p.m.; at the Palace Theatre, Southampton, on Saturday, February 4, at 3 p.m.; and at Cardiff, on Friday, February 10. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will speak at Newport (Mon.), on Wednesday, February 8; and at Newport on Thursday, February 9. Miss Christabel Pankhurst, LL.B., will speak at the Temperance Hall, Leicester, on Friday, February 10. Mr. Pethick Lawrence will speak in Ilkeston this afternoon (Friday), at the Mechanics' Lecture Hall, Nottingham, to-night (Friday), at 8 p.m.; and to-morrow (Saturday) at an afternoon at Home, at 3.30 p.m. and at the Old Town Hall, Scarborough, at 8 p.m.

Letter to the Home Secretary.

The letter from Mrs. Saul Solomon to Mr. Winston Churchill, telling him the truth about the treatment of the women in Parliament Square on "Black Friday," has been re-printed from VOTES FOR WOMEN and is ready as a leaflet, price 9d. per hundred, 6s. per thousand, post free. It can be obtained from the Woman's Press, 156, Charing Cross Road, W.C.

NEXT WEEK
we hope to publish an article by Miss L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., entitled "Medical Women and the Suffrage."

* For further information readers are referred to Matthew Paris, Roger of Wendover, and Ralph of Coggeshall—all in "Rolls" Series; also Stubbs' "Select Charters" and Kate Norgate's "John Lackland."

ENGLISH SUFFRAGETTES IN PARIS.

Not Militant Enough!

"Then you did not really attack Mr. Birrell?" Mrs. Pankhurst was asked in Paris last week.

In Paris at any rate, the English Militants know now that they have staunch friends. During the flying visit paid by Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence...

One of the reasons for the visit was that Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence wished to meet some of the leaders of the feminist movement in France...

Le Matin speaks of the size of the meeting (très nombreux), and remarks, about Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, that she has nothing of the virago of the caricaturists about her.

During their entire visit the English Leaders everywhere met with the greatest sympathy and interest in the whole question, and they have come to the conclusion that the French movement, though not so fully organised as that in England...

Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence had no sooner arrived in Paris than they were met by three charming and enthusiastic young American women, who had watched every train at the arrival platform during the day...

The Meeting. M. Buisson Present. Next, they took the Salle des Sociétés des Savants, in the Rue Danton. This hall holds about 800 people, and not only was it filled, but chairs had to be placed in the Committee Room...

dents, while there was also a sprinkling of French men and women. Among the latter was M. Buisson, the distinguished author of the Report to the French Parliamentary Commission...

The chair was taken by Mme. Schmahl, a well-known French Suffragist, who most cordially introduced the English speakers. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's speech dealt with the feminist movement generally, and especially with the organised movement in the United Kingdom...

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Pethick Lawrence on her return to England, says that with the best of fortune the French Suffragists would not have been able to obtain the immense propaganda which they have obtained in Paris...

She told her story as a girl might tell it, with absolute simplicity and freedom from self-consciousness. There were cries of "Shame! Shame! Horrible!" at different intervals...

Since returning to England Mrs. Pethick Lawrence has been asked by Mme. Adeline De Lano-Demachy, Editor of the illustrated French review, Progrès, to contribute an article to the review for March...

"I wish to tell you how sorry I was not to have had the pleasure of speaking to you last night after your delightful conference. It is, I think, unnecessary for me to say the great pleasure it gave us all to listen to you and Mrs. Pankhurst...

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Woman Suffrage Association, and seconded by Miss Unice Dana Brannan, chairman of the Finance Committee of the Women's Political Union, was passed unanimously.

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OUR POST BOX.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Sir, I received so many books, parcels, and fruit from members and friends, while I was in prison, but without the senders' names, so find it impossible to write to them.

Dear Sir, I should be very grateful if you would allow me, through the medium of your columns, to thank all those members who so kindly sent me presents of food, etc., during the last two months in Holloway.

The Daily Tribune says that all the leading Suffragettes were present, and that Mr. Asquith's name was hissed.

MISS HENRIA WILLIAMS. To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Sir,—On November 18, 1910 (Black Friday), I was in the crowd that was attracted to Westminster by the knowledge that a deputation of Suffragettes was going to try to see the Prime Minister.

Dear Sir,—I received so many books, parcels, and fruit from members and friends, while I was in prison, but without the senders' names, so find it impossible to write to them.

Dear Sir, I should be very grateful if you would allow me, through the medium of your columns, to thank all those members who so kindly sent me presents of food, etc., during the last two months in Holloway.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN. Dear Sir,—We have started our new year well. I am on the Executive Committee of the Toronto Suffrage Association...

From a Convert. Dear Sir,—It is forty years since I first signed a Suffrage petition. I am ashamed to say that when the militant women began their work, I looked on with horror and amazement...

Why Women Want the Vote. Mrs. Meta Storn, speaking at the Cooper Union, New York, recently, said Woman Suffrage was becoming a burning question in every country of the world.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

secretary. This report will contain reports of expenditure by the various Committees of the N.U.T., including the Parliamentary Committee.

A GOOD IDEA. Miss Edith Somerville, of Cork, suggests that, with a view to "spreading the light," a slip with the words, "Please send on a friend," might be attached to each copy of VOTES FOR WOMEN given away.

IN DOWNING STREET. From the very beginning of political activity in connection with the new session the question of Votes for Women has to be kept before the Cabinet, and when the first Cabinet was held at Downing Street last Friday, Suffragettes were there, too, with silent but significant reminders.

SOME PRESS COMMENTS. There was another attraction for spectators. The numbers of Lady Suffragettes were out for the occasion, and although they frankly said they had no intention of resorting to militant tactics, their mere presence served to cause an attendance larger than would ordinarily be the case.

OPEN LETTER TO MISS CLEGGON. Women teachers are getting impatient about the granting of the vote, and Miss Cutten has addressed the following open letter to the Secretary of the National Union of Women Teachers.

DEPUTATION TO MR. FLETCHER, M.P. A representative deputation of Hampstead ladies (members of the local W.S.P.U.) waited on Mr. J. S. Fletcher, the local member, a fortnight to submit reasons why Woman Suffrage should be dealt with at an early stage of the new Parliament.

FROM A CONVERT. Dear Sir,—It is forty years since I first signed a Suffrage petition. I am ashamed to say that when the militant women began their work, I looked on with horror and amazement...

ACTIVITY IN IRELAND. The Irish Suffragettes have lost no time in starting active Parliamentary work. At the annual meeting of the Irish Nationalist Party in Dublin last week Mrs. Sheehy Skeeligin, Mrs. Cosman, and other members of the Irish Women's Franchise League, waited upon Mr. John Redmond at the Grosvenor Hotel, and presented to him an excellent and moderately worded statement asking the Irish party's help in securing facilities for the Conciliation Bill, and pointing out that if these were refused the Irish Party would be jointly responsible with the English members for any adoption of militant action.

VOTES FOR WOMEN.

A CRYING INJUSTICE. In VOTES FOR WOMEN for December 30 we drew attention to the case of a Protestant woman in Ireland, deprived of her children on the plea that her marriage with a Roman Catholic man was not valid.

OPEN LETTER TO MISS CLEGGON. Women teachers are getting impatient about the granting of the vote, and Miss Cutten has addressed the following open letter to the Secretary of the National Union of Women Teachers.

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WOMEN'S POLITICAL UNION FOR WOMEN'S ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Officers: 13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.G. Telephone: City 310.

At a committee meeting held on January 19 Mr. Hugh A. Franklin was unanimously co-opted a member of the National Committee of this Union, and will act as hon. assistant organiser.

Treasurer's Note.—Five pounds is offered this month conditional on nine other donations of this amount being given before March. Two amounts of £5 have already been given.

Table with 3 columns: Name, Amount, Total. Lists donors such as H. G. Whitelock, Esq., H. W. Northcott, Esq., and others.

Scotland.—Campaign Sec.: A. S. Balmain, Esq., 42, India Street, Edinburgh. As Messrs. Duval and Franklin will be addressing several meetings in Scotland—Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dundee, all friends and sympathisers are invited to assist in defraying expenses.

Resolutions of sympathy on the sad death of Mrs. Clarke and Miss Henria Williams have been passed by the Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement and the Men's League for Women's Suffrage.

At the New Players' private receptions on February 27 and 28, at the Court Theatre, Oscar Wilde's "Salome" will be the chief attraction. Only members and associates are allowed to be present.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS.

ADVERTISEMENT RATES.

Single Insertion, 1d. a word; minimum, 2s.

(four insertions for the price of three.)

All Advertisements must be prepaid. Continuance of insertions in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon.

Address, the Advertisement Manager, VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4, CLEMENTS INN, W.C.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENT.

CHISWICK W.S.P.U.—The next Cinderella Dance will be held on Saturday, Feb. 4, in the Town Hall. It is hoped that this being the last of the series for the season, many friends will avail themselves of this opportunity by spending another enjoyable evening. Tickets, single 4s., double (lady and gentleman) 7s. 6d., inclusive, may be obtained from the Hon. Sec., 98, Sutton Court Rd., and Hon. Treasurer, 21, Brandenburgh Rd.

BOARD RESIDENCE, Rooms, Holiday Homes, Etc.

BOARD-RESIDENCE—or would let part of the house. Large rooms. Recommended by members of W.S.P.U.—55, Seaford Road, W. Kensington.

BOARD-RESIDENCE—Two Young Ladies have comfortable High-roomed House. Musical, garden, bath (h. &c.), Minnie, Motor Buses, District Railway. Terms very moderate. West Suburb.—Box 774, VOTES FOR WOMEN Office, 4, Clements Inn, Strand, W.C.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

BESTE Gelegenheit deutsch zu lernen. Examen beim Freiburg, Universität, in deutschen Sprachen aufzunehmen.—Miss A. Köhler, Freiburg, Friedrichstrasse 2.

BUCKINGHAM GATE—Charming bijou suite of 2 Unfurnished Rooms. Moderate rent, including bath and attendance—Apply, Oldham, 15, Palace Street, Buckingham Gate.

CHAMBERS for working Gentlemen. Small rooms, with breakfast and dinner. 18s. 6d. per week, including bath and attendance—Apply, Oldham, 15, Palace Street, Buckingham Gate.

CHAMBERS for working Gentlemen. Small rooms, with breakfast and dinner. 18s. 6d. per week, including bath and attendance—Apply, Oldham, 15, Palace Street, Buckingham Gate.

FURNISHED ROOM (South) with board (vegetarian or otherwise). Lady engaged during the day preferred. 21s.—Miss Hainbow, 129, Albert Palace Mansions, Battersea Park.

HAMPSTEAD, near West Heath, furnished rooms in quiet house, for ladies; good cooking and attendance, board as desired; charming and quiet situation, near motor omnibus and Finchley Road Station. Inclusive charges, if wished, 21s. to 28s. weekly. References required and given.—Mrs. Woodall, 27, Ferncroft Avenue.

LADIES, gardening, poultry keeping, receive paying guests. Charming home, open country. Near church, station, post, telephone, 13 miles Bourne-mouth. Inclusive charges, if wished, 21s. to 28s. weekly. References required and given.—Mrs. Woodall, 27, Ferncroft Avenue.

NEAR CHARIING CROSS—Small furnished room in quiet house. Good cooking and attendance. Board as desired. 21s. to 28s. weekly. References required and given.—Mrs. Woodall, 27, Ferncroft Avenue.

PAYING GUEST wanted by lady in small flat. Nice sitting-room. Young student preferred. References required. Close to High Street Station.—Apply, Robertson, 9, Young Street, Kensington Square.

RESIDENTIAL HOME for Nurses, Students, and Lady Visitors. Cubbles, with rd., from 17s. 6d. per week. Inclusive charges.—Mrs. Campbell, 48, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SHARING FLAT—Young Englishwoman, recently returned to London and unacquainted, wishes to share a room in charming furnished flat, near the Albert Hall without water rates. £1. 0s. 0d. per week. Quick and pleasant. Apply, 79, Tottenham Road, W.C.

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SCARBOROUGH.

Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst. Hon. Sec.—Miss Helen Murray. Hon. Treas.—Dr. Marjorie MacKenzie. 7, The Valley, Scarborough.

Miss Adela Pankhurst's Lantern Lecture in the Labour Hall on "Sweated Industries" was a great success, the hall being crowded out on Wednesday evening. Miss Pankhurst also held an open-air meeting in the North West Ward. Dr. MacKenzie in the chair. The Saturday evening meeting was good, several new members joining. Each member is requested to get members joining. At least one new member must be brought at least on bringing at least one unconverted friend to the meetings.

SHEFFIELD AND DISTRICT. Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 48, Marlborough Road, Sheffield. Tel. 1. Colburn Hill 449.

Mr. Pankhurst spoke to a large and interested audience in the Country Hall on "How the Vote will Improve Women's Wages." Ten new regular subscribers to VOTES FOR WOMEN were secured. Mr. Pankhurst had a very excellent night. A good collection was taken and very excellent press notices appeared in the local papers. Next week Dr. Marjorie MacKenzie will be in Sheffield. We hope to secure great results in the City. We are hoping to secure great results in the City. We are hoping to secure great results in the City.

WALSLEY. Organiser—Miss Adela Pankhurst, 48, Marlborough Road, 3, 30 p.m., Catter Hall, Mr. Hugh Franklin, 8 p.m.

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A meeting is being arranged in the Park Hall, Catteriff, at which Mrs. Pankhurst will speak. All communication should be addressed to Miss Speed, Catteriff Road, Lanishon, Catteriff, from whom all particulars may be had.

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