

**CONTENTS.**

	PAGE
Dedication .. .. .	45
The Outlook:—Liberal Women — Women Workers — Prohibition of Women's Labour—Progress of the Agitation—Friendly Attitude of the "Daily News"—The "Nottingham Guardian"—Features of this Number—To New Readers..	45, 46
Messages of Encouragement to Women:—Hertha Ayrton, Constance Maud, Mary Neal, Rosamond Massy, William Sanders .. .. .	47
The Wage of the Married Woman. By Juliette Heale..	48
What the Vote Means to Those Who are Fighting the Battle. By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence .. .. .	49
Programme of Events .. .. .	50
Tickets for London Meetings.. .. .	50
The Woman as Wife .. .. .	50
Books of the Month:—The Story of Jeanne d'Arc, Woman and the Wise .. .. .	51
Leading Article:—1908 .. .. .	52
National Campaign. By Christabel Pankhurst .. .. .	53, 54
Women in Other Lands .. .. .	55
The History of the Suffrage Movement. By Sylvia Pankhurst	56, 57
Contributions to the £20,000 Fund .. .. .	57
Mr. Asquith at Aberdeen .. .. .	58, 59
Scottish Notes .. .. .	60
London and the Provinces .. .. .	60

**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.**

Events have been moving very rapidly recently in the world of women. Signs are increasing all over the country that women do not intend to tolerate very much longer the position of subjection which they have so long occupied. These signs are not confined to women of one class or political faith, nor are they concerned with one single question which affects women's lives, but cover the whole range of their social, economic, and political outlook.

**The Liberal Women.**

The Liberal Women are within measurable distance of revolt. The Women's Liberal Federation have requested the Prime Minister to appoint a day, on his return to England, to receive a deputation from them. They call upon him to introduce an Enfranchisement Bill during the present Parliament; and they have decided to hold a big meeting on January 24 in the Queen's Hall, to be addressed solely by women speakers, at which their claim for the franchise will be set forth. The Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations passed the subjoined resolution at a recent meeting:—

The executive committee of the Lancashire and Cheshire Union of Women's Liberal Associations desire to express their deep dissatisfaction at the statements of Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Herbert Gladstone—"That there is no hope of the Government dealing with the question of women's suffrage during the present Parli-

ment"—and in view of the great strain placed upon the loyalty of the members of the Liberal party by these statements, urge the Prime Minister to receive a deputation from this union, representing 70 Women's Liberal Associations, with the object of obtaining an assurance that a Bill enabling women to vote for Parliamentary candidates will be introduced by the Government and passed before the present Parliament be dissolved.

In Aberdeen the local branch of the Women's Liberal Association is nettled by the callous treatment which has been meted out to them by the Government. And in connection with the visit of Mr. Asquith to Aberdeen on December 19, a correspondence has been taking place, which we give in full on page 58, 59 of this issue.

**Women Workers.**

The decision of the Court that married women are not entitled to save anything out of their housekeeping money has been discussed all over the country by the women of the Co-operative Guild, who realise that it strikes a fundamental blow at the small remnant of independence which the married working woman possesses. The women of the Co-operative Guild are, in consequence, turning more and more to the suffrage, seeing that it is the sole rock upon which any rights can be founded. Meanwhile, the women school-teachers are expressing dissatisfaction at the way in which the executive of the N.U.T. deals with their position, and in which the claims of women teachers are subordinated to those of the men. The nurses, too, are agitating against the new Bill of the Central Hospital Council for London, under which nurses would be excluded from any voice in the management of their own profession.

**Prohibition of Women's Labour.**

The whole question of the security of woman's labour has been raised by a speech of the Right Hon. John Burns, at Leeds, in the course of which he used these significant words: "The labour of women, especially of married women, must be enormously curtailed." The importance of this statement to women can hardly be over-estimated. It means that the Liberal Government, elected solely by men, is seriously considering the exclusion, by statute, of women from occupations at which they are at present earning their living. It means that in the case of married women the Government are seriously considering prohibiting their labour altogether, and this in face of the fact that in the present state of the law no woman can claim as a legal right from her husband any share in his wages or any maintenance whatever for herself or her children except by deliberately breaking up her home and going into the workhouse. The question is one, however, far too complicated to be dealt with briefly; it is misunderstood by many well-meaning persons, who, seeing the evils attending the onerous lives of working women who are employed in factories, imagine that a solution is to be found by prohibition. We shall return to this question again in the columns of this paper; in the meanwhile, it should be patent to everyone that a Government which is not responsible to the opinions

of the women, but only to the men of the country is not in a position to interfere with the economic freedom of the woman worker.

#### Progress of the Agitation.

Meanwhile the agitation for the vote proceeds with ever accelerating speed. The New Year increase in the National Women's Social and Political Union in office and *personnel* would alone provide an organisation of no inconsiderable dimensions. Of this details are given by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on page 53 of this issue. The work done during the past month has been very extensive, and has included protests made at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers all over the country. It is interesting to notice that the Press has begun to admit that the women and their energetic action can hardly be said to have put the clock back so much as was previously supposed!

#### Friendly Attitude of the "Daily News."

The reference to our tactics made in the *Daily News'* leading article bears witness to a significant change of attitude:—

Whatever effect the tactics of the militant section of suffragists may have had in cooling the ardour of some nominal supporters of their claim, it is sufficiently clear that it has, on the other hand, rallied a large number of women to their standard who did no active work for the franchise before this campaign was inaugurated. The number of women who will face the obloquy and the physical hardship involved in these violent protests has increased with every month, and their ability to fill a great hall with their supporters shows that outside the relatively few who will act there are immense numbers who will demonstrate. The theory that only a few women really care about the suffrage is utterly untenable. The number who care very intensely indeed is growing. Whatever view one may take of the wisdom of these violent tactics—and we have never concealed our view—they have the effect of making the demand more conscious, and the resistance to it correspondingly more open and decided. The tactics themselves have no bearing whatever on the merits of the case for the vote. But any agitation, be it legal or illegal, wise or foolish, violent or regular, provided it be determined enough and continuous enough, changes the attitude of opponents insensibly from one of indifference to one of active hostility. It is still possible to say that the franchise would be a bad thing. It is no longer possible to say that women do not care about it.

In another column will be found the editorial view of tactics taken by the *Aberdeen Free Press*.

#### The "Nottingham Guardian."

A still more striking tribute to our line of action was the leading article in the *Nottingham Guardian* of December 12, which in the course of a clear and logical exposition of the necessity for woman suffrage, said:—

The one thing which the Liberal party seems to be managing to perfection is the chucking out of women from its meetings, and the hustling of them in the streets. In everything else the Liberal party of late has failed, but in its campaign against women it is meeting with a degree of success that must really be deemed brilliant. The mere mention of the words "Votes for women" at a Liberal meeting seems to so excite the people present that they almost lose their reason, and the unfortunate woman who has uttered the words is immediately pounced upon by two or three burly men, who carry her out, with dishevelled hair and probably also with damaged hat, and in the streets an admiring crowd pelt the unfortunate woman with mud and other missiles, while the police either help the crowd or stand looking on.

After comparing the treatment accorded to the women

with that which would be meted out to some drunken loafer at a Liberal meeting, the *Guardian* proceeds:—

Women are only doing what men have done over and over again in the past—that is, pressing for their rights. It required many riots and much disturbance to move the Legislature to extend the franchise to men, and if men had sat quietly down without demanding the franchise, they would never have got it. Women have been quietly agitating for votes for fifty years, and no notice was ever taken of them. No notice ever would have been taken of them had they continued to agitate quietly, because men, who are supposed by some unthinking people to look so tenderly after the welfare of women, are too selfish to do anything of the kind, and the House of Commons has never yet been anything but a selfish and flippant body, as it is to-day.

#### Features of this Number.

With the present issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is presented a portrait of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Treasurer of the N.W.S.P.U., and joint editor of this paper. Among the principal features of the issue are the messages to women from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the eminent scientist; from Miss Constance Maud, the well-known writer; from Alderman Sanders, L.C.C.; from Mrs. Massy, a prominent worker for the Union; as well as from Miss Mary Neal, a member of the N.W.S.P.U. Committee. Miss Juliette Heale contributes an article on the wage of the married woman. The story of the demand for the Franchise is taken by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst up to the year 1880, showing petitioners to the number of nearly three million asking that the vote be accorded to women. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the meaning of the vote to those who are taking part in the struggle. There is also an interesting letter on page 50 from a social worker, emphasising the helplessness of the position of the wife whose husband refuses to maintain her. An interesting account will also be found of Mr. Asquith's meeting at Aberdeen, and the subterfuges the Liberals were put to to prevent interruptions from the W.S.P.U.

#### To New Readers.

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

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

\* The Supplements to the present January number will accordingly be issued on January 9, January 16, and January 23, and the February number will be ready on January 30.

## MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

My admiration for the brave women who form the Fighting Contingent of the Women's Suffrage movement grows from day to day. The pluck and tenacity of those who hold together and win over hostile audiences, and the untiring perseverance with which they fight against the Government at bye-elections, are above all praise, while the moral and physical courage of those who rise up, one after another, at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, to put forward our claim to the vote, must, one would think, win the secret admiration of even the "chuckers out." Our Fighters, in using the time-honoured means which men themselves have always employed to obtain the vote, are gradually forcing a reluctant world to realise that women are in earnest at last, and mean to have their freedom, however dearly it may be bought.

Not all of us can be soldiers, but we can all help in one way or another, and those of us who can do nothing else must feel that it is incumbent on us to supply the sinews of war, even at very great personal sacrifice. If we each do all that we can, and present a united front, we shall win all along the line.

"Why, then, and for what are we waiting? There are three words to speak, 'WE WILL IT.'"

Hertha Ayrton.

Please accept my most hearty congratulations on your new magazine. May it blossom like the rose during these cold winter months in the warm atmosphere of sympathy and support created by an ever-increasing company of men and women working hand-in-hand in this cause of justice and right. A cause of which the success means not only the righting of a great wrong to women, but the direct benefiting of the whole nation, and specially of the coming generation.

That your tactics are sound is convincingly proved not only by their being identically those to which men have invariably been obliged to resort to on every past occasion before any extension of liberty or right has been effected, but by the extraordinary success of these same tactics, and this in spite of the so-called weaker sex having suffered violence instead of inflicting it, as in past campaigns the men have sometimes done.

May these leaves of VOTES FOR WOMEN be for the "healing of the nation"—God knows it is sick enough—and bear, before long, the golden fruit of a great deed of justice.

Constance Elizabeth Maud.

I welcome the movement for "Votes for Women" chiefly because the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is the only possible way of making effective all the strenuous and heart-breaking attempts to better the conditions of women and young girls in the industrial world. Not until women are recognised as free citizens will there be any effective power in the hands of even the best-intentioned politicians to deal with sweated labour and all other evils of our present appalling social conditions. Not until women themselves have a voice in the making of the laws will there be any true adjustment of those laws between the men and women who together work under them. As the organ of this movement, I very heartily welcome the new paper.

Mary Neal.

I cannot let this Christmastide go by without sending a few words of hope and encouragement to those who have not been brought in direct contact with the great work of our Union, as has been my privilege during the last six or eight months.

When we realise how small the progress of this woman's question, after 40 years of earnest work, and then think of all that has been accomplished by those brave leaders of our Union during the last two years, how splendidly they have stood the brunt of the battle, how unflinchingly and how high they have carried their colours, can we feel grateful enough to them for all they have done for this great cause? Not only have they cheerfully sacrificed everything for it, but they have pointed out to other women an effectual manner to help, once and for all, those who are so poor, so unhappy, and so downtrodden.

To see our organisers at work, whether at Clement's Inn or at bye-elections, must inspire the most slack and callous nature, and it is one of the happiest events of my life to have been brought in touch with these good women, who, wherever they are personally known, are loved and respected.

Thanks to their political knowledge and courage, they have now brought woman's franchise prominently before the public, and, until satisfactorily settled by the Government of the country, this question has come to remain. Had only the quiet methods been continued, the public at large to-day would be still unconscious that there were women in England smarting under a sense of injustice at their outlawed condition, and women who had realised that their want of political equality was responsible for life having been made so unnecessarily difficult for them.

Some of us this Christmas will be thinking of those pinched and hungry faces, and those hideous slums where no health or joy is known, and though our hearts sink at what lies so near our happier homes and a feeling of despair comes over us, yet now, month by month, with this fearless work proceeding, we can feel there is hope, and that a better and happier time is coming for all who are so oppressed. No Government can stop us, and we shall march onward to the end.

Some of the happiest thoughts this work gives us is the certain knowledge that we are fighting every abuse, and working for every reform. We are going forward with peace and hope in our hearts, and knowing that no harm or tyranny can permanently impede the march of justice and truth, and we are looking into the future with perfect confidence and trust.

Rosamond Massy.

The success of the Woman's Suffrage movement is assured now that women are being taught and are rapidly learning that they must drop all other political and social work and concentrate upon the campaign for the vote. As they organise more and more upon the basis of "the vote, and nothing but the vote," so will their determination create fresh enthusiasm and more powerful methods. Your new paper is evidence of the fact that the movement is alive with ideas and imbued with splendid courage. Bravery alone may not win a cause, but when linked with brains it is irresistible. The wonderful development of energy and spirit displayed by women during the past three years not only deserves a triumphant result, but will undoubtedly secure it, and that right rapidly.

William Sanders.

of the women, but only to the men of the country is not in a position to interfere with the economic freedom of the woman worker.

#### Progress of the Agitation.

Meanwhile the agitation for the vote proceeds with ever accelerating speed. The New Year increase in the National Women's Social and Political Union in office and *personnel* would alone provide an organisation of no inconsiderable dimensions. Of this details are given by Miss Christabel Pankhurst, on page 53 of this issue. The work done during the past month has been very extensive, and has included protests made at the meetings of Cabinet Ministers all over the country. It is interesting to notice that the Press has begun to admit that the women and their energetic action can hardly be said to have put the clock back so much as was previously supposed!

#### Friendly Attitude of the "Daily News."

The reference to our tactics made in the *Daily News'* leading article bears witness to a significant change of attitude:—

Whatever effect the tactics of the militant section of suffragists may have had in cooling the ardour of some nominal supporters of their claim, it is sufficiently clear that it has, on the other hand, rallied a large number of women to their standard who did no active work for the franchise before this campaign was inaugurated. The number of women who will face the obloquy and the physical hardship involved in these violent protests has increased with every month, and their ability to fill a great hall with their supporters shows that outside the relatively few who will act there are immense numbers who will demonstrate. The theory that only a few women really care about the suffrage is utterly untenable. The number who care very intensely indeed is growing. Whatever view one may take of the wisdom of these violent tactics—and we have never concealed our view—they have the effect of making the demand more conscious, and the resistance to it correspondingly more open and decided. The tactics themselves have no bearing whatever on the merits of the case for the vote. But any agitation, be it legal or illegal, wise or foolish, violent or regular, provided it be determined enough and continuous enough, changes the attitude of opponents insensibly from one of indifference to one of active hostility. It is still possible to say that the franchise would be a bad thing. It is no longer possible to say that women do not care about it.

In another column will be found the editorial view of tactics taken by the *Aberdeen Free Press*.

#### The "Nottingham Guardian."

A still more striking tribute to our line of action was the leading article in the *Nottingham Guardian* of December 12, which in the course of a clear and logical exposition of the necessity for woman suffrage, said:—

The one thing which the Liberal party seems to be managing to perfection is the chucking out of women from its meetings, and the hustling of them in the streets. In everything else the Liberal party of late has failed, but in its campaign against women it is meeting with a degree of success that must really be deemed brilliant. The mere mention of the words "Votes for women" at a Liberal meeting seems to so excite the people present that they almost lose their reason, and the unfortunate woman who has uttered the words is immediately pounced upon by two or three burly men, who carry her out, with dishevelled hair and probably also with damaged hat, and in the streets an admiring crowd pelt the unfortunate women with mud and other missiles, while the police either help the crowd or stand looking on.

After comparing the treatment accorded to the women

with that which would be meted out to some drunken loafer at a Liberal meeting, the *Guardian* proceeds:—

Women are only doing what men have done over and over again in the past—that is, pressing for their rights. It required many riots and much disturbance to move the Legislature to extend the franchise to men, and if men had sat quietly down without demanding the franchise, they would never have got it. Women have been quietly agitating for votes for fifty years, and no notice was ever taken of them. No notice ever would have been taken of them had they continued to agitate quietly, because men, who are supposed by some unthinking people to look so tenderly after the welfare of women, are too selfish to do anything of the kind, and the House of Commons has never yet been anything but a selfish and flippant body, as it is to-day.

#### Features of this Number.

With the present issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN is presented a portrait of Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Hon. Treasurer of the N.W.S.P.U., and joint editor of this paper. Among the principal features of the issue are the messages to women from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the eminent scientist; from Miss Constance Maud, the well-known writer; from Alderman Sanders, L.C.C.; from Mrs. Massy, a prominent worker for the Union; as well as from Miss Mary Neal, a member of the N.W.S.P.U. Committee. Miss Juliette Heale contributes an article on the wage of the married woman. The story of the demand for the Franchise is taken by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst up to the year 1880, showing petitioners to the number of nearly three million asking that the vote be accorded to women. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence writes on the meaning of the vote to those who are taking part in the struggle. There is also an interesting letter on page 50 from a social worker, emphasising the helplessness of the position of the wife whose husband refuses to maintain her. An interesting account will also be found of Mr. Asquith's meeting at Aberdeen, and the subterfuges the Liberals were put to to prevent interruptions from the W.S.P.U.

#### To New Readers.

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

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

\* The Supplements to the present January number will accordingly be issued on January 9, January 16, and January 23, and the February number will be ready on January 30.

## MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

My admiration for the brave women who form the Fighting Contingent of the Women's Suffrage movement grows from day to day. The pluck and tenacity of those who hold together and win over hostile audiences, and the untiring perseverance with which they fight against the Government at bye-elections, are above all praise, while the moral and physical courage of those who rise up, one after another, at Cabinet Ministers' meetings, to put forward our claim to the vote, must, one would think, win the secret admiration of even the "chuckers out." Our Fighters, in using the time-honoured means which men themselves have always employed to obtain the vote, are gradually forcing a reluctant world to realise that women are in earnest at last, and mean to have their freedom, however dearly it may be bought.

Not all of us can be soldiers, but we can all help in one way or another, and those of us who can do nothing else must feel that it is incumbent on us to supply the sinews of war, even at very great personal sacrifice. If we each do all that we can, and present a united front, we shall win all along the line.

"Why, then, and for what are we waiting? There are three words to speak, 'WE WILL IT.'"

Hertha Ayrton.

Please accept my most hearty congratulations on your new magazine. May it blossom like the rose during these cold winter months in the warm atmosphere of sympathy and support created by an ever-increasing company of men and women working hand-in-hand in this cause of justice and right. A cause of which the success means not only the righting of a great wrong to women, but the direct benefiting of the whole nation, and specially of the coming generation.

That your tactics are sound is convincingly proved not only by their being identically those to which men have invariably been obliged to resort to on every past occasion before any extension of liberty or right has been effected, but by the extraordinary success of these same tactics, and this in spite of the so-called weaker sex having suffered violence instead of inflicting it, as in past campaigns the men have sometimes done.

May these leaves of VOTES FOR WOMEN be for the "healing of the nation"—God knows it is sick enough—and bear, before long, the golden fruit of a great deed of justice.

Constance Elizabeth Maud.

I welcome the movement for "Votes for Women" chiefly because the granting of the Parliamentary franchise to women is the only possible way of making effective all the strenuous and heart-breaking attempts to better the conditions of women and young girls in the industrial world. Not until women are recognised as free citizens will there be any effective power in the hands of even the best-intentioned politicians to deal with sweated labour and all other evils of our present appalling social conditions. Not until women themselves have a voice in the making of the laws will there be any true adjustment of those laws between the men and women who together work under them. As the organ of this movement, I very heartily welcome the new paper.

Mary Neal.

I cannot let this Christmastide go by without sending a few words of hope and encouragement to those who have not been brought in direct contact with the great work of our Union, as has been my privilege during the last six or eight months.

When we realise how small the progress of this woman's question, after 40 years of earnest work, and then think of all that has been accomplished by those brave leaders of our Union during the last two years, how splendidly they have stood the brunt of the battle, how unflinchingly and how high they have carried their colours, can we feel grateful enough to them for all they have done for this great cause? Not only have they cheerfully sacrificed everything for it, but they have pointed out to other women an effectual manner to help, once and for all, those who are so poor, so unhappy, and so downtrodden.

To see our organisers at work, whether at Clement's Inn or at bye-elections, must inspire the most slack and callous nature, and it is one of the happiest events of my life to have been brought in touch with these good women, who, wherever they are personally known, are loved and respected.

Thanks to their political knowledge and courage, they have now brought woman's franchise prominently before the public, and, until satisfactorily settled by the Government of the country, this question has come to remain. Had only the quiet methods been continued, the public at large to-day would be still unconscious that there were women in England smarting under a sense of injustice at their outlawed condition, and women who had realised that their want of political equality was responsible for life having been made so unnecessarily difficult for them.

Some of us this Christmas will be thinking of those pinched and hungry faces, and those hideous slums where no health or joy is known, and though our hearts sink at what lies so near our happier homes and a feeling of despair comes over us, yet now, month by month, with this fearless work proceeding, we can feel there is hope, and that a better and happier time is coming for all who are so oppressed. No Government can stop us, and we shall march onward to the end.

Some of the happiest thoughts this work gives us is the certain knowledge that we are fighting every abuse, and working for every reform. We are going forward with peace and hope in our hearts, and knowing that no harm or tyranny can permanently impede the march of justice and truth, and we are looking into the future with perfect confidence and trust.

Rosamond Massy.

The success of the Woman's Suffrage movement is assured now that women are being taught and are rapidly learning that they must drop all other political and social work and concentrate upon the campaign for the vote. As they organise more and more upon the basis of "the vote, and nothing but the vote," so will their determination create fresh enthusiasm and more powerful methods. Your new paper is evidence of the fact that the movement is alive with ideas and imbued with splendid courage. Bravery alone may not win a cause, but when linked with brains it is irresistible. The wonderful development of energy and spirit displayed by women during the past three years not only deserves a triumphant result, but will undoubtedly secure it, and that right rapidly.

William Sanders.

## THE WAGE OF THE MARRIED WOMAN.

BY JULIETTE HEALE.

THE law decided a very little while ago that what a married woman by thrift, clever contrivance, and personal self-denial, saves out of the weekly sum allowed for housekeeping belongs to the husband, and not to the wife. The case in point was a little matter of some £40. The family had not suffered; on the contrary, by good management, the children were in better condition than those brought up by less thrifty, less industrious, less intelligent wives on the same allowance. The husband had no idea any pittance had been saved. When he did find it out, he at once claimed the money as saved out of his wages, and he got his case.

There is, of course, something to be said on both sides. The original money was earned by the man, and a woman's over-thrift in saving might be a wrong to the family. Yet the plain fact remains that the British married woman—generally without "dot" or dowry—is in the terrible position of slaving away her best years without getting anything but food and shelter—the old position of the negro slaves of America. No matter how able she may be, the multifarious duties of a very modest household prevent the wife and mother from improving her faculties, from earning for herself, from saving her pittance for her old age. The unpaid services of wifehood and motherhood destroy bodily and mental vigour more than any brain or manual work; these last, indeed, mostly develop and improve the worker. In the working classes the mother of a large family, whose whole life has been exhausted by her overtasked sex functions, is a terribly helpless creature when, say, at forty, her husband dies or deserts her, leaving her penniless to face the world, with no trade or profession, impaired energy, and an appalling ignorance of the world of work and wages.

### The Only Unpaid Worker.

Should not something be done for the married woman of the lower classes—indeed, for most women in the middle classes also? She is the only human being whose highly necessary work brings in no wage. Yet she earns money when she raises for the nation half-a-dozen healthy, intelligent citizens; but it is added to the husband's gains, and she gets the merest trifle of it, hung at her head by her owner as a lordly gift. If this is not serfdom, I should like to know what serfdom is!

Race-continuity is the strongest instinct of males. Urged by its unacknowledged pressure upon Governments and such bodies as trades unions, the community largely overpays the male wage-earner, on the plea that he needs a wife and maintains a family.

I do not quarrel with the rate of wages paid to each family; it might with advantage be more. What we women do object to is the ugly fact that the greater part of that money goes into the wrong pocket.

The payment to the father of the mother's due wage is glossed over or ignored. This is remarkable enough. But it is still more extraordinary that the same course is taken when, for instance, a school committee advertise for a caretaker. "Must be married. Wife must be strong and hardworking." All the real work is to be done by the wife. But the husband is to get the wages. She will get what he cares to give her.

This is the crux of the ever-rising discontent of women. All sorts of silly nonsense, of imaginary "homage," kept women quiet in their days of ignorance. But a large proportion of our female population are very well educated now. Woman's eyes are fairly widely opened. She sees

and digests a great deal more than men give her credit for. The wife of the working-man begins to realise that the undeserved excess of wages given to her husband is earned by herself. It is she who is producing and rearing the coming generations, for which the community is so anxious that it is willing to pay for their maintenance. Yet she never gets a farthing of her own, and her poverty delivers her, bound and helpless, to her master—the most odious possible mastership in the world is that of sex—a master who grossly misuses her at his pleasure, because she dares not stand up against him who is "keeping" her.

### Deplorable Results.

Simply deplorable are the effects on the nation of this shameful deviation of the mother's just wage. If she has any spirit, she smarts and winces at her inability to call a single shilling her own. Strenuous and faithful work improves the status of the worker in all callings but hers, and the modern individual wants to see results. Her resentment, secret hitherto, but now finding a voice, resolves itself into one of two evils. She either refuses to marry at all, or, if she does marry, she enters the bond determined to earn a wage for herself. Both decisions affect the future of the race.

The woman who keenly feels her dependence is the clever one, the healthy one, the energetic and industrious one, the honourable and upright one, the creature full of enthusiasm and vitality, the woman, in a word, who in the past produced the great men. It is this pick of the women of the nation who, for many years past—ever since improved education lengthened their outlook on life—have flatly refused to undergo a degrading economic and social dependence.

The self-dependent woman, who has no taste for martyrdom, enters matrimony, on the other hand, determined to continue earning her own living. "A shilling one earns is worth two given to you by your husband," said the wise old lady who had sixty years of mill life behind her. That is the female artisan's view. As to the highly educated woman, if she has been lucky in a choice of a profession (not having selected one where the plums are for men only), and if she has been successful, she earns plenty to pay nurse, cook, and housekeeper to replace her at home, with a substantial supply of "pocket money" which enables her to pay more than half the home expenses, and yet retain an acceptable supply of private cash.

But that wage-earning woman is both wrong and wronged. She is not personally doing many of the duties she promised to do, and which she could do far better than any hireling. On the other hand, she is cruelly over-tasked. The married woman who works for her wage outside her home cannot escape the worst woes of wifehood and motherhood. Yet the fact that she is doing double work to win her own money does not prevent her husband (if he works at all) from getting her due wage, which is paid to him for "keeping" her. The miserable irony of the whole thing!

This "keeping" of a woman is the cause of the higher rate of masculine wages—the rock on which masculine supremacy is built. On woman's indispensable work man claims (and receives) double pay, improving thereby his own position in proportion as he lowers hers. By her association with him (as all she does for the race improves his position while spoiling her own) the hapless creature helps, by her own best efforts, to rivet her own chains.

## WHAT THE VOTE MEANS TO THOSE WHO ARE FIGHTING THE BATTLE.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

"We come from many lands,  
We march from very far;  
In hearts, and lips, and hands,  
Our staff and weapons are

The light we walk in darkens sun and moon and star."

It is the last day of the old year. Slowly the hours move on toward midnight and the new birth. All is still. So still that one can feel and almost hear the rhythmic beating of the heart—the heart of the great womanhood of the world, with which, at a solemn hour like this, we who are taking part in this wonderful Woman's Movement of to-day, are consciously one.

You women of our great and growing fellowship, with whom my thoughts are, I ask you, was there ever a time in all your life when you looked forward with such high and eager hope to the coming of the New Year? Was the gift of life ever before so consciously sweet and precious to you as it is to-day; so full of beautiful human relationship, so rich in comradeship and love, so blessed with that "vision without which the people perish," so fair in vista and perspective? Did you ever so consciously realise the end and purpose of your individual existence, the wonderful purchasing power of your span of days on earth? Was life ever so well worth living?

I know the answer, know it by the messages that have come to me lately in letters and New Year greetings, and know it most surely because "the same heart beats in every human breast."

To you who walk in the light of a day that has not yet dawned, VOTES FOR WOMEN means infinitely more than a political battle cry. It means more than the righting of deep human wrongs, more than the safeguarding of women's livelihood, more even than the saving of thousands of children from misery and destruction. Yes, these things alone would be enough, and well worth giving our lives for. But the women's movement means more than all these things. It means the coming into the world of new and noble race-ideals; it means the release into the world of a new Soul—the Soul of women hitherto held in subjection and captivity.

### A New Moral Ideal.

The Woman's Movement means a new religion, or rather a return of religion to its source—to the sacred Altar of the Hearth; to the Fount of birth and being. It means the beginning of a new morality, especially of that morality between women and men hitherto determined by the immediate convenience and interest of one sex only. It means not only the adjustment of the two halves to each other, but of both to the whole, upon which the health and well-being of the community, body, and soul, entirely depends.

These great world-changes may not be apparent for generations after women have won the vote. They will not be apparent until women have used their political power to establish their social and political, mental and moral, and economic freedom. But without the vote and the equality symbolised by the vote, and the power given by the vote to women, to work out their own salvation, and to express what is their own conception of human life, these new powerful life-impulses can never be given, nor can the terrible physical and moral diseases from which the social body suffers to-day ever be cured. The life of the world cannot be renewed or purified until the Soul of the world's Womanhood is released. The vote is the key which unlocks the outermost door of the prison.

When we have won that key, and shot back that great bolt, there will still be bars that will have to be broken. But that is all the more reason that we should brook no delay. We hear the insistent cry and call of the captive within. We realise how great is the work we have to do, while yet we have life, and strength, and a measure of youth. Other women in the past began this great work, and other women in the future will finish it. But we count the worth and the meaning of our little personal life by the measure of the accomplished task which we have wrought with our own hands. And the light in which we walk is the vision and knowledge of what shall be when we ourselves are dust. It is the light of the day that shall dawn on this planet when our own little day is done. It is the light in which all the world's great messengers and great deliverers have walked, when the sun, and moon, and stars of human existence were darkened and shut out from their sight by suffering and by persecution.

\* \* \* \*

Slowly the hours move on toward midnight and the new birth. The new day is born from the midnight. And every great joy has to be paid for with pain, and every achievement won at the cost of toil and strenuous endeavour.

We look forward to the New Year with high and eager hope, but with the conviction also that much has to be done, and much has to be suffered if the political freedom of women is to be won in 1908. It will be our steadfast purpose and endeavour to win it because we know all that it means.

We have reached a very critical point in social development and political life. The men of the industrial classes have realised their enormous power; the competitors of women in the labour market have a strong organised representation in Parliament, and laws curtailing women's labour are definitely threatened; laws also affecting specially married women's labour are suggested, the direct result of which would be to thrust the wives and mothers of the country into a position of entire sex subjection, while the indirect result would be to increase all the moral and physical evils which result from the helplessness of women, and from the economic dependence and subjection of the mothers of the people, and to add to the burden of human misery already borne by women and children. There is a terrible side to this economic question, as every woman knows. The distress of women artificially handicapped, in the struggle for existence, forces them into prostitution, or into loveless marriage, which is the same negation of all real morality. Look at it from whatever standpoint you will, the religion, the morality, the purity, the health, the beauty of all human life is dependent upon the freedom of women.

With this campaign of women for freedom is bound up all the great religious ideals, all the great moral purposes, all the best and finest issues of civilisation. Not only is the livelihood, not only is the virtue of thousands of women at stake. The self-respect of every woman is at stake, no matter how wealthy, how privileged, how happy, or how deeply loved and loving!

And for this reason we say to women of every class and creed, Come and help us. Enter into our fellowship. You shall have conflict, worldly loss, suffering, but you shall have fulness of life in return, and the light which is more than sun, moon, and star.

THE WOMAN AS WIFE.

To the Editors VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Last month's VOTES FOR WOMEN contained an article on the position of married women, in which it was stated that the only way in which a married woman deserted by her husband could put the law in motion was to apply to the Poor Law. It was not made quite clear, however, what applying to the Poor Law really means.

Most people may imagine that this means not only applying for out relief, but getting it and living on it while the officers of the law find the man and compel him to support his family. But to those who have seen the working out of such cases in real life, the facts are far more serious. If a woman is deserted by her husband and he disappears, the Poor Law can do nothing until she enters the workhouse, taking her children, if she has any, in with her, and breaking up her home. In this way only she becomes chargeable to the rates, and only because she is chargeable have the Guardians power to put the law in force to find the husband, and compel him to support his wife and family.

As a member for many years of a charity organisation committee, I have seen the cruelty of this in hundreds of cases. The result is that in numberless cases a woman goes on struggling to keep her home together and her children fed until her health is broken, the home bare, and the children starving, because she cannot bring herself to accept the only legal remedy, and bring on herself and her children the pauper taint.

The position of the deserted wife and mother should be enough to show any woman who thinks what women who have no political status have to expect at the hands of the politicians who make the laws.

Yours, &c.,  
SOCIAL WORKER.

PRINCIPAL LONDON MEETINGS.

Prices of Tickets.

Tickets for the important London meetings are to be obtained as follows:—

The Horticultural Hall.

The meeting is held on January 23, at 8 p.m., Miss C. Pankhurst in the chair. Speakers:—Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence. All the seats are reserved and numbered; prices, 2s. 6d., 1s., and 6d. They are for women only.

The Parliament of Women.

The sessions are held each afternoon from 3 to 6 (Mrs. Pankhurst in the chair), February 11, 12, and 13; tickets 2s. 6d. numbered, 6d. unnumbered. The evening meetings are free, but both afternoon and evening are for women only.

Portman Room Lectures.

For the series of lectures on Tuesdays, March 3, 10, 24, 31, and April 7, to be given by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Garrett Anderson, Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Elizabeth Robins, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst, the tickets are, for numbered seats, 5s. and 2s. 6d. each (£1 1s. and 10s. 6d. the course), and unnumbered seats, 1s. each. The lectures are at 8.30.

Albert Hall.

For the demonstration in the Albert Hall on March 19, at 8 p.m., the tickets (women only) are as follows:—Stalls, 5s.; arena, 2s. 6d.; balcony and orchestra, 1s.; all numbered and reserved. Unnumbered gallery and upper orchestra, 6d. Boxes at various prices.

Tickets for all meetings can be obtained from the Financial Secretary, National W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's-inn, London, W.C.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS

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

Jan. 1 (Wed.)	Wood Green, "At Home," Unity Hall	..	7 to 10 p.m.
Jan. 2 (Thurs.)	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Women's meeting, Bristol-street Schools	Miss N. Kenney	..
Jan. 4 (Sat.)	Manchester, Zionist Association	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	7.45 p.m.
Jan. 5 (Sun.)	Manchester, Jewish Literary and Social Union	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	7.30 p.m.
Jan. 6 (Mon.)	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
	Birmingham, Co-operative Women's Guild, Selly Oak	Miss Nell Kenney	7.30 p.m.
Jan. 7 (Tues.)	London, Drawing Room Meeting, Knightsbridge	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	3.30
Jan. 8 (Wed.)	W. Kensington, Drawing-room	Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Tuke	2.30 & 8.30
	2, Fernhead-road, Harrow-road, W.	Mrs. Flora Dumont	2.30 & 8.30
	Harlow-road, Women's Meeting, 2, Fernhead-road	Mrs. Drummond	2.30 & 8.30
Jan. 9 (Thurs.)	Glasgow, "At Home" (opening of new offices), Cockburn Buildings, Ball-street	Miss Helen Fraser	8.45 p.m.
	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home," Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Women's Meeting, Bristol-street Schools	Miss N. Kenney	..
Jan. 10 (Fri.)	Brixton, Drawing Room Meeting, Knightsbridge	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Glasgow, "At Home," Cockburn Buildings	Miss H. Fraser	4-6
Jan. 11 (Sat.)	Glasgow, "At Home," Cockburn Buildings, Ball-street	Miss H. Fraser	4-
Jan. 12 (Sun.)	Birmingham, Handsworth Labour Church	Miss Nell Kenney	7 p.m.
Jan. 13 (Mon.)	Glasgow, "At Home," Cockburn-buildings, Ball-street	Miss Helen Fraser	4-6
	Glasgow, Broomhill Literary Society	Miss Helen Fraser	8 p.m.
	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home," Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6
Jan. 14 (Tues.)	Ilkeston, Borough Debating Society, Town Hall	Miss Nell Kenney	8.15
	Reigate, Public Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	Brixton, E. Fife, Tayport, Public Hall	Miss Naylor, Miss MacArthur	3.30
Jan. 15 (Wed.)	Hull, Assembly Rooms	Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe	8 p.m.
	2, Fernhead-road, Harrow-road, W.	Miss Evelyn Sharp	8 p.m.
	Brighton, Vauxhall, Hove, E. Fife, Ladybank, Public Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8 p.m.
Jan. 16 (Thurs.)	E. Fife, Newburgh, Public Hall	Miss Helen Fraser, Miss Phillips	8 p.m.
	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home"	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Women's Meeting, Bristol-street Schools	Miss Nell Kenney	..
Jan. 18 (Sat.)	Glasgow, Cockburn-buildings, meeting	Miss Helen Fraser	..
Jan. 19 (Sun.)	Bury, The Athenæum	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3 p.m.
Jan. 20 (Mon.)	Glasgow, "At Home," Cockburn-buildings	Miss Helen Fraser	4-6 p.m.
	London, Marble Arch, Drawing-room meeting, 13, Stanhope-place	Mrs. Pankhurst	..
	London, 4, Clements-inn, "At Home"	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	4-6 p.m.
Jan. 21 (Tues.)	London, 2, Campden-hill square, Studio Meeting	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Macaulay	4 p.m.
	East Ham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Baldock, Miss Naylor, Miss Conolan	8 p.m.
Jan. 22 (Wed.)	Clapham, St. Ann's Hall	..	8 p.m.
	Harrow-road	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	2, Fernhead-road, Harrow-road, W.	Miss Macaulay	8 p.m.
	Brixton, Women's Meeting, Raleigh Hall	Mrs. Drummond	8 p.m.
	Chelsea Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Mrs. Eates	8 p.m.
Jan. 23 (Thurs.)	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home"	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Women's Meeting, Bristol-street Schools	Miss Nell Kenney	..
	London, Horticultural Hall, Vincent-square	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Mrs. Martel, F. W. Pethick Lawrence, Esq., Miss Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Jan. 25 (Sat.)	Glasgow, Meeting, Cockburn-buildings	Miss Helen Fraser	..
Jan. 27 (Mon.)	Glasgow, "At Home," Cockburn-buildings	Miss Helen Fraser	4-6 p.m.
	London, 4, Clements-inn	"At Home"	4-6
Jan. 28 (Tues.)	Brighton, "At Home," 34, Vernon-terrace	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	3.30
	Brighton, Women Ratepayers' Meeting, Pavilion	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
Jan. 29 (Wed.)	North St. Pancras, Women's Liberal Association	Miss Christabel Pankhurst	8 p.m.
	2, Fernhead-road, Harrow-road, W.	Mrs. East	8 p.m.
Jan. 30 (Thurs.)	Maidstone, Corn Exchange	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst	..
	Helensburgh, N.B., Victoria Hall	Miss Helen Fraser	4 p.m.
Jan. 31 (Fri.)	London, 4, Clement's-inn	"At Home"	8 p.m.
	Birmingham, Town Hall	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Christabel Pankhurst, Miss Nell Kenney, Miss Una Dugdale	8 p.m.

Important Future Events.

Feb. 11	Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall	Chair:—Mrs. Pankhurst	..
Feb. 12	Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall	..	..
Feb. 13	Women's Parliament, Caxton Hall	..	..
Mar. 3	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Mrs. Pethick Lawrence	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 10	Portman Rooms, Lecture	Dr. Garrett Anderson	8.30 p.m.
Mar. 19	Royal Albert Hall	..	8 p.m.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

The Story of Jeanne d'Arc.

We live in a commonplace work-a-day world, well veiled from all excess of light, and bounded by conditions of materialism which we have learnt to accept without question. But from time to time comes some sudden rending of the veil, some blinding light; and a miracle of human personality, like a flaming star, shoots through the horizon of our vision and drops out of sight into the depths of the universe. And we are amazed and dumbfounded, and we are shaken to the heart with a terror or a wonderful joy at the revelation of unknown and mysterious force.

Those who have imagination, yet do not wish to have the veil of the commonplace rent even for one hour should not open a book which has been recently edited by Douglas Murray. For it is the most poignant revelation of a human soul possessed and ruled by a great and terrible destiny. It is the history of "Jeanne d'Arc, Maid of Orleans, Deliverer of France, the Story of her Life, her Achievements, and her Death as Attested on Oath, and Set Forth in the Original Documents." In this extraordinary book there is no intrusion of the historian. There is no narrative in consecutive form. It is the *verbatim* report (originally written in Latin) of the two Trials of the Maid, who at the age of seventeen was the appointed Commander-in-chief of the French Army, and whose military exploits during three months completely changed the whole current of national life in France and profoundly affected the history of Europe.

Alone, unaided by legal counsel, deserted by every human friend, beset with bewildering and entrapping questions day after day and month after month, this peasant maid conducts her own case; the caution, the skill, the simplicity and sweetness of her answers are as wonderful a proof of her extraordinary genius as are her military achievements. It is fascinating but painful reading. From the first her death is a foregone conclusion. The attitude of her judges is so horribly stupid, so horribly cruel, and so horribly human. The end is so pitiously, overwhelmingly tragic.

Jeanne was excommunicated from the Church which she loved so passionately, and burnt at the stake as a witch and a sorceress in 1431. She went to her death without a human word of solace, without any assurance of love or faith from those whom she had left a few months before in her village home. Twenty years passed away. And Jeanne seemed dead indeed.

But she lived still in one human heart at least—in the heart of the peasant mother who bore her, Isabelle d'Arc. She never rested in her appeals that the case should be retried, and that the reputation of her daughter should be cleared of the stain which rested upon it. One or two processes of enquiry were instituted, but there were no formal results, until Pope Calixtus, in 1455, ordered the trial which had taken place 24 years before to be reconsidered by a great court of lawyers and churchmen, and the condemnation of Jeanne was solemnly annulled and declared wicked and unjust.

The report of this second trial is of extraordinary and unique interest. The Court goes to Domremy and Greux, the twin villages where the childhood of Jeanne was lived, and the simple village folk, the labourers, and craftsmen of the village are summoned to tell on oath all that they remember of the personality and character of the girl who dwelt in their midst when they were young. Twelve questions were prepared and put to all the villagers who could remember Jeanne. Jean Morel, of Greux, labourer; Beatrix, widow of Estellin, labourer, of Domremy; Jeannette, wife of Thévenin, cartwright; Jeannette, widow of the clerk; Bertrand Lallope, thatcher, of Domremy; Perin Le Drapier, of Domremy, churchwarden and bell-ringer; the Curé of the Parish Church, and many others (what a scene for a great drama!), all come forward and tell the impression made upon them by the young girl Jeanne d'Arc, whose parents Jean and Isabelle d'Arc are still living in their midst. Every one of these people speaks of her goodness, of her kindness, her modesty, her great piety, her industry and skill.

Jean Waterin, labourer, tells the Court—  
I saw Jeannette very often. In our childhood, we often followed together her father's plough, and we went together with the other children of the village to the

meadows or pastures. Often, when we were all at play, Jeannette would retire alone to "talk with God." I and the others laughed at her for this. She was simple and good, frequenting the church and Holy places. Often, when she was in the fields and heard the bells ring, she would drop on her knees.

Simonin Musnier, labourer, gives his testimony:—  
I was brought up with Jeannette, close to her house. I know that she was good simple, and pious, and that she feared God and the Saints. She loved church and the Holy places; she was very charitable, and liked to take care of the sick. I know this of a surety, for, in my childhood, I fell ill, and it was she who nursed me. When the church bells rang, I have seen her kneel down and make the sign of the Cross.

Isabelle, wife of Gerardin, labourer, tells how her friend Jeannette "would even sleep on the hearth in order that the poor might lie in her bed."

The Seigneur of Ourches says: "I should have been well pleased to have had a daughter so good as she."

It is hard to pick and choose, the evidence is so naive, so fresh, and so evidently sincere. "I do not think there was anyone better than she in our two villages," says Widow Beatrix: there is not one dissenting voice in all the countryside.

Very interesting is the evidence given elsewhere by the knights and squires and soldiers, who fought under her. They speak of her moral influence, of their intense reverence for her as a being straight from God, so that human passion and human desire were laid asleep within them.

Warrior and saint, this wonderful woman stands out unique in history. Her name, her life is a rich possession to humanity, and especially to the womanhood of the world, which in her person rises to an almost superhuman height. Jeanne, the peasant maid in the lowly home of Domremy, Jeanne the dauntless leader, always at the front, always where the fight is thickest, bearing her uplifted word which never fell to kill, may well be the chosen saint of the woman's movement of to-day.

(The book can be obtained from the N.W.S.P.U., price 6s net, by post 6s. 6d.)

Woman and the Wise.

(Edited by G. F. Monkshood. Published by Greening, London.)

An extremely interesting and useful little book. No Suffragist should be without it. It is a collection of wise sayings of wise men and women, which bear directly on the question of securing political equality and citizenship for women. Things which no Suffragette would dare to say are boldly asserted by men of world-wide literary and political reputation.

Here is powder and shot, ready to hand, with which to pulverise the superior person who will not take truth unless it comes with the authority of an established reputation. It is, in fact, just the book we have always been wanting, and now that we have found it we hope to use it as a means of converting all our friends—that is, of course, to the limit of our purchasing power.

Space only allows three quotations; the first is from Professor Newman, the historian and philosopher, who saw the meaning of our movement some years ago. He says:—

If any of you have not duly attended to the signs of the times, be assured that the great question now rising on the horizon of politics in all Christendom is the political and social elevation of Woman. The movement, in different phases, agitates despotic Russia and republican America.

Again, Lord Brougham, the eminent politician of the 19th century, boldly asserts:—"There must be a total reconstruction of the law before women can have justice."

Kingsley, the great social reformer, hear him:—

One principal cause of the failure of so many magnificent schemes, social, political, religious, which have followed each other, age after age, has been this: that in almost every case they have ignored—very often utterly, all of them too much—the rights and the powers of one-half of the human race, namely women.

But if you will have wisdom, common-sense, fact and argument and new ideas on this great subject, compressed between the covers of a book that will go into your coat pocket if you are a man, or your handbag if you are a woman, lose no time in possessing yourselves of "Woman and the Wise."

(The book can be obtained from the N.W.S.P.U. literature department, price 3s. 6d. net, by post 3s. 9d.)

YOU CAN OBTAIN  
**"VOTES  
 FOR  
 WOMEN"**

From all Newsagents and Stationers, or from Local  
 W.S.P.U. Secretaries, or by post from

The Publisher, "VOTES FOR WOMEN,"

4, CLEMENT'S INN, W.C.

Yearly Subscription, 4/- post free (or with Weekly  
 Supplements, 7/4).

THE  
**REFORMERS' YEAR BOOK,  
 1908.**

Contains the only Complete and Authentic Account of the  
**WOMEN'S CAMPAIGN for the  
 PARLIAMENTARY FRANCHISE DURING 1907.**  
 With a Directory of the various Women's Societies,  
 And a Bibliography of Women's Books . . .

**BIOGRAPHIES & PORTRAITS:**

Mrs. FLORA DRUMMOND.	Mrs. PETHICK LAWRENCE.
Mrs. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.	Mrs. N. A. MARTEL.
MARY E. GAWTHORPE.	Mrs. PANKHURST.
ANNIE KENNEY.	CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

THE REFORMERS' YEAR BOOK also contains  
 many other exclusive features, including a Directory of  
 the Press and of Reform Societies, and a Section dealing  
 with Thirty Questions of the Day which will be upper-  
 most in discussion in 1908.

Edited by F. W. Pethick Lawrence & Joseph Edwards.

Price 1s., paper (1s. 3d. post free);  
 2s., cloth (2s. 4d. post free)

Published by THE REFORMERS' PRESS, 4, Clement's Inn, London, W.C.,  
 and to be obtained of all Booksellers and Bookstalls.

# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

January, 1908.

4, Clement's Inn, Strand, W.C.

## 1908.

Is this year going to see the enfranchisement of women?

On every side the question is being asked, and many are  
 ready to reply in answer: "The decision rests with the  
 Liberal Government, who can give or withhold the vote."

The answer possesses a measure of truth. The Liberal  
 Government has it in its power to-day to grant the fran-  
 chise to women. It is still open to it even in a sense as an  
 act of grace to include this measure in the promises of the  
 King's Speech, and to carry the promise into effect during  
 the Session of 1908.

But their power to withhold the vote is at the most only  
 temporary. The ultimate decision depends not on them  
 but on the womanhood of the country, which can, if it  
 choose, compel even "the strongest Government of  
 modern times" to bow to its will.

If every woman who has at one time or another  
 expressed a pious assent to the principle of woman suf-  
 frage were to say to herself, "Not some time, not next  
 year or the year after, but *this* year women SHALL be  
 enfranchised," the victory would be certain.

Nay, the decision rests with the readers of this  
 paper. If every woman reader vows within her heart  
 to-day that all she has to give—of action, of time, of  
 money, of influence—shall be given to this cause during  
 1908, so overwhelmingly strong will be the force of that  
 burning enthusiasm that every obstacle will be swept from  
 its path.

The question comes home, then, quite as directly to you

who read these lines as it does to any member of the  
 Cabinet, not "Will women be enfranchised during 1908?"  
 but "Shall they be?" It rests with you.

Are you going to play the woman? Or are you going  
 to play the coward?

Are you going to stand aside and let others bear the  
 brunt of the battle? Are you saying to yourself, "I will  
 be sympathetic; I will occasionally talk about it to my  
 friends, perhaps I will give a little money, but I do not  
 mean to do very much. I do not mean to risk reputation, or  
 friendship, or personal esteem by too prominently identi-  
 fying myself with the cause of my sex?"

Or are you made of sterner stuff than this? Are you  
 going to come forward and say, I will be a battle-comrade  
 in this great fight; I will share the difficulties and the  
 hardships; I will make the sacrifices that are required of  
 me; I will be a woman; I will place myself in line with the  
 great forces of womanhood which are stirring the world  
 to-day?

The choice is yours; you must make it now. Every  
 woman who shirks to-day places a heavier burden upon  
 those who are facing the fight, and postpones the day of  
 emancipation. Every woman who plays her part to-day  
 sustains the life force of the movement, and makes the  
 victory itself more valuable.

We call upon you to stand in with us that this new  
 year shall see the fulfilment of the promise for which  
 women have worked so long.

Supplement to "VOTES FOR WOMEN," January, 1908.



Photo. by Schmidt, Manchester

MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.

(Hon. Treasurer National Women's Social and Political Union.)

## THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

With the beginning of the New Year we are making very considerable extensions in our organisation, necessitated by the rapid growth of the last few months.

We have already taken possession of our additional premises, which consist of six further rooms adjoining those we have had during the autumn, so that we now occupy the whole front of the first floor in Clement's-inn. As this does not materially increase our room for meetings, and as our weekly Monday afternoon "At Homes" are becoming seriously overcrowded, we have decided that, beginning on Monday, February 3, they shall be held in the Portman Rooms, W., and we hope that our members will avail themselves of the increased accommodation to bring their friends in large numbers, and introduce them to the movement.

Apart from the large number of voluntary workers who take part in every branch of activity, we have appointed as additional members of our office staff Miss Home, well known in connection with her work for the Declaration Committee—and three other workers, who will act as assistants in the various departments.

Our organisers also have been brought up to a total of fourteen by the appointment of Miss Sidley, who till recently superintended the inside work of our office, but who has latterly been speaking for us in Hull and elsewhere; Miss Keevil, who has been working for us in the Rossendale Valley and several by-elections; and Miss New, who has already proved herself an able exponent of our cause, and taken part in many protests.

### Principal Features of the Campaign.

The members of the Women's Social and Political Union begin the New Year with the determination to do their utmost to secure the vote for women in this session of Parliament. The opposition of the Cabinet is the only thing which now stands between us and our political freedom, and this obstacle women can easily remove if at this critical time they show enthusiasm and energy.

A comprehensive plan of campaign has been made. A preliminary meeting will be held in the Horticultural Hall, on January 23. Following that, the campaign contains three all-important features. These are the Women's Parliament in the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, February 11, 12, and 13; the Women's Demonstration, in the Albert Hall, London, on March 19, and the Mass Meeting, in Hyde Park, on Sunday, June 21.

### The Women's Parliament.

For the next few weeks the Women's Parliament must occupy the foremost place in our minds. Tickets of admission to the Parliament may be obtained at 4, Clement's Inn. Mrs. Pankhurst will take the chair each day at 3 o'clock. In the evening will be held a public meeting for women only. The Parliament will be attended by women from all parts of London and the Provinces. The business for discussion is the King's Speech in relation to the enfranchisement of women. Even if Woman's Suffrage is included in the King's Speech there will still be need of great activity on our part until the measure has passed through all its stages. If, on the other hand, we have not, by the time the Session opens, secured a Government pledge of immediate legislation, the Women's Parliament will have to resolve upon action. Every true Suffragist will give us her aid in the attempt to win the vote this year. There is everything to lose by delay. The political field is for the moment clear of all other absorbing issues, and it may be many years before political conditions are as favourable. Some

national crisis may arise which may divert public attention from our question. Every woman must therefore be prepared to give everything she can to the movement in the next few weeks.

There are many business arrangements to be made in connection with the Women's Parliament. We are anxious to provide hospitality for a large number of provincial friends, and, therefore, we urge Suffragists resident in London to send offers of hospitality to Miss Isabel Seymour, secretary Hospitality Committee, 4, Clement's-inn. Special donations towards the expenses of the Parliament should be sent to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the same address. We beg that all our members and friends will make early application to the office for tickets of admission.

### Protests at Liberal Meetings.

A large number of protests at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers have been made during December. On December 3, Lord Carrington spoke at Maidstone, and Lord Tweedmouth at Chelmsford. In spite of elaborate precautions, our members were present at Lord Tweedmouth's meeting, and they were strongly supported by male members of the audience. Outside the hall they held a large indignation meeting. Later in the evening they met Lord Tweedmouth at the railway station, where Mrs. Drummond and he had a long and animated conversation on the subject of Woman Suffrage.

It proved impossible to gain admission to Lord Carrington's meeting, but a successful protest meeting was held in the open air.

On the following day Mr. L. V. Harcourt spoke at the *Tribune* Rendezvous. Mrs. Bouvier, our Lewisham secretary, was present, and asked a question on Woman Suffrage. Three days later Mr. Haldane spoke at Newington Green. As it was announced that no ladies would be admitted to the meeting, our members had to content themselves with standing at the entrance to the hall, in order to remind Mr. Haldane that women want the vote.

Two protests have been made at Mr. Sidney Buxton's meetings.

On December 9, Mr. John Burns spoke at Leeds. A number of our members were at his meeting, and his replies to their questions, though very pleasing to the less reputable of his hearers, must have been very distasteful to the educated and responsible portion of the audience.

The day after, Mr. Asquith spoke at Nottingham, and though the local Liberals had done everything in their power to prevent the presence of Suffragists, five members of the Union were in the hall, and they made very effective interruptions. After their ejection they spoke to the crowd of many thousands which assembled outside the hall. The whole town was roused in consequence of our action at Nottingham.

On Thursday, December 12, Mr. L. V. Harcourt addressed a meeting in his constituency. For some days representatives of the Union had been in the district. The conveners of the meeting did their best to exclude all Suffragists, but Miss Keevil succeeded in obtaining a ticket, and she had a public conversation with Mr. Harcourt on the subject of his attitude towards Woman Suffrage.

Mr. Haldane was at Cambridge on December 13. We held a protest meeting outside the Guildhall, which was very well reported in the local papers, and had the effect of making many converts to our tactics. Mr. Haldane's next speech was made at a volunteer gathering at Hud-

dersfield. Four members of our Union were in the hall, and when Mr. Haldane expressed his gratification at the presence of women, on the ground that it was important to enlist their interests in military matters, he was asked why women should not have the vote.

The story of Mr. Asquith's meeting at Aberdeen is given in full elsewhere (pp. 58, 59), including his reply to Mrs. Black, which was to the effect that he would not withdraw his opposition unless it could be proved to him that women desired the vote, and that Women's Suffrage would be beneficial to them and to the community at large. It will be seen that Mr. Asquith is attempting to lay down for us conditions never imposed in the case of the men's agitation for the vote.

#### Is the Demand of the Majority Essential?

Men have never been called upon to prove that the majority of those for whom enfranchisement was sought really desired it. Mr. Gladstone, when it was objected to the County Franchise Bill that there was no demand for votes on the part of the male agricultural labourer, expressly said that that was no argument against giving them the vote. Whether they desired them or not, he asserted, the agricultural labourers needed votes, and, therefore, votes they must have. Even in Gladstone's day the women's agitation for votes was admittedly stronger than that waged by the agricultural labourers, and since then the women's movement has grown enormously, so that Mr. Asquith, in resisting Women's Suffrage on the ground that the demand for it is not strong enough, is adopting an untenable position.

The Aberdeen Demonstration has been one of the most effective we have made, and the action of the Rev. Alexander Webster, who is an elector and a Liberal, gives it special importance.

#### Arrangements for January.

There will be an important meeting at the Horticultural Hall, Vincent-square, Westminster, on January 23, at 8 p.m., at which will be proposed a resolution demanding the vote this year.

On January 4, and 5, I am to address meetings arranged by two Jewish associations in Manchester. The Brixton Liberal Association have invited me to explain our tactics at a meeting on Friday, January 10.

The Ilkeston Debating Society will hold a public meeting in the Town Hall, on Tuesday, January 14, at 8.15, at which Miss Nell Kenney will be the speaker. On the same day Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and myself speak at a Women's Meeting in the Public Hall, Reigate, at 8 p.m. On Wednesday, January 15, we are to have a reception in the Assembly Rooms, Hull, in the afternoon, and a public meeting at night. The speakers will be Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Mary Gawthorpe, and myself.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Miss Naylor will speak on the same evening at the Ventnor Hall, Hove, at 8 p.m.

On Thursday, January 16, Miss Macaulay and Miss Naylor will represent the Union at a debate in the Victoria Hall, Harlow, Essex, at 8 o'clock. On Sunday, January 19, at 3 p.m., I am to speak at the Athenæum, Bury, Lancs, and on the following day Mrs. Dugdale will hold a drawing-room meeting in London, to be addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst. On Tuesday, January 21, Mrs. Pankhurst and Miss Macaulay will speak at a studio meeting in Kensington, and on the same evening there will be a meeting in East Ham Town Hall, at 8 p.m., addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Miss Naylor, Miss Conolan, and Mrs. Baldock. On January 22 Miss Macaulay will speak at Harrow-road, at 8 p.m. Mrs. Drummond, Miss McArthur, Mrs. Tanner will speak at a Women's Meeting, in the Raleigh Hall, Brixton, and there will be a large meeting in the Chelsea Town Hall, at 8 o'clock, addressed by Mrs. Eates and myself. The Brighton Union will hold a meeting for women rate-payers in the Pavilion at 8 o'clock. In the afternoon of that day the Misses Gordon will hold an afternoon meeting. On Wednesday, January 29, the Women's Liberal Association have invited me to address them on the subject of our tactics.

On Friday, January 31, we shall hold another meeting in the Birmingham Town Hall, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Una Dugdale, Miss Nell Kenney, and myself.

We propose to hold a large number of other meetings in London and elsewhere during January, but the arrangements for these are not yet complete. Energetic work will be done in Lancashire and Yorkshire, more particularly among textile workers.

We have very encouraging news of the growth of the movement in Scotland. Friends of the Union have made it possible for us to open offices in Glasgow, where frequent "At Homes" and meetings are held.

A series of meetings are being held in East Fife, the constituency of Mr. Asquith. Many successful meetings have lately been held in other parts of Scotland. Mrs. Pethick Lawrence will spend a week in Scotland, leaving London on January 24, and it is anticipated that her visit will arouse additional interest in our movement.

### THE BY-ELECTIONS.

#### Mid-Devon.

Liberal ... Mr. Roden Buxton.  
 Unionist ... Captain E. F. Morrison Bell.  
 N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms; 65, Queen-street,  
 Newton Abbot.

Figures at the General Election were:—

H. T. Eve, K.C. (Lib.) .. .	5,079
Capt. E. F. Morrison Bell (Lib. Un.) .. .	3,790
Majority .. .	1,289

We began our campaign in Devon before Christmas, the first meeting being held in Newton Abbot. The constituency is a large one, and for the purpose of our campaign we have divided it into eight districts, one or two workers being placed in charge of each. Our headquarters are at Newton Abbot, where we have committee rooms at 65, Queen's-street, Newton Abbot. There is accommodation for 200 persons, and we intend to hold at least two meetings there every day, in addition to a large number of meetings in other places. This constituency has always been represented by a Liberal, but we have reason to hope that we may be successful in preventing the return of the Government nominee. The Liberal majority at the General Election was over 1,200, so that in order to secure the defeat of the Government it will be necessary to turn rather more than 600 votes. We believe that it is possible to do this if members of the Union will help us by working in the constituency. The Liberal candidate says that he is in favour of Woman's Suffrage, but his election address contains no reference to the question, and he has publicly stated that, in his view, there are many things more important. Mrs. Pankhurst is organising the campaign, and has already the assistance of Mrs. Martel, Miss Aeta Lamb, Miss Gye, Mrs. Montague, Miss Barratt, Miss New, Miss Bonwick, Miss Fanny Crocker, and others. It is intended to hold special meetings for women in all parts of the division, as nothing is more important than the support and sympathy of local women, and the first of these will be held on Friday, January 3, at 3 o'clock, in the Alexandra Hall, Newton Abbot. Most of our meetings are held in the open air. At first, as the result of distorted newspaper accounts, we found a certain amount of prejudice existing against our Union, but the meetings that we have held have had the effect of proving to the electors that our cause is just and our methods reasonable. There is keen interest in our campaign, and the local Press give full reports of our meetings. Undoubtedly this campaign will do much to rouse the West of England in support of the Movement.

#### Herefordshire (Ross).

A vacancy has also occurred in the Ross division of Herefordshire. As this is also a county constituency, many workers are needed if a good effect is to be produced. There is a good chance to defeat the Government candidate, as the Liberal majority at the General Election was so small. The figures were:—

Lt.-Col. Alan C. Gardiner (Lib.) .. .	4,497
Capt. Percy A. Clive (Cons.) .. .	4,185
Lib. Majority .. .	312

#### Worcester.

Meetings are to be held in Worcester during January in preparation for the Election, which will take place soon after Parliament meets. The fact that the women ratepayers of the town were called upon to pay part of the cost of the Election petition will add additional interest to this contest.

## WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS.

### SWITZERLAND.

I have been in Switzerland for Christmas. Switzerland prides itself on being the most democratic country in the world. Not only is every man over 21 years of age able to vote, but the laws of the country are passed in every canton by direct vote of all the men, and not by elected representatives.

But the position of women is very far from enviable. The Swiss husband possesses the entire disposal of his wife's person and property, and the wages earned by her labour belong to him. She cannot be the guardian of her own children, even after the father's death. Her husband must appoint a male guardian. She has no vote even for municipal affairs.

I met an educated, thoughtful Swiss woman, who had thought out for herself the position of women in the country, and who understood the whole meaning of our "Votes for Women" campaign, and was with us with all her heart and soul. She became a subscriber to our Paper and to our Campaign Fund. Her husband was a man both generous and kind. But she had to keep her thoughts upon this question to herself, for what was a serious matter to her was a jest to him.

He was not less liberal-minded than the average Swiss man, but he maintained openly, in so many words, that "a woman could not possibly be too stupid for her job; the sturdier the better!" Her job was wifehood and motherhood!

"That is the point of view of every man I know," said my friend. "No matter how kind and considerate and polite men may be to us, at the back of their minds is this idea, that we are domestic animals, kept and housed for breeding purposes."

In the case of these two people it was quite obvious that the husband was personally proud of his entertaining and intelligent wife. She was good company, and she fascinated him. But in spite of the many years of married life they had lived together, and in spite of their children growing up around them, those two were "strangers yet." Between them, though he scarcely guessed it, perhaps, was a very real barrier. Personally, she had kept his love, and had won his respect, but he had no respect and regard for her sex as he had for his own, and her heart secretly resented his caress as an indignity and an insult.

Men know nothing of this secret resentment of the developed woman, to whom life and experience and suffering have brought full knowledge of the world. And the wife is too wise to reveal it to the man by whose side she must go through life. It is all the more sad because it is not the heart and character of the man that is at fault; only the man's one-sided point of view, only the fixed idea with which he has grown up in a world from which the thoughts and ideas of women are shut out.

Another conversation which I had with a Swiss woman revealed a great trouble, caused by the total inexperience and ignorance with which, as a young girl, she had entered into marriage. She felt that the life of her first child was permanently blighted by events which she could have influenced and controlled had she been instructed and trained to meet the great responsibility of motherhood. "They keep us as children, and hand us over, intoxicated with emotions that we do not understand, to the first man who can support a wife. By the time I had learned my first lessons in the new life, my eldest child is punished to his dying day for mistakes that could have been prevented."

What strange perversity induces men to use the freedom which they have won, and which they so dearly prize, to enslave women, and to keep them in a condition of nonage and irresponsibility!

But the idea that "a woman cannot be too stupid for her job" is, I am sorry to say, not confined to the Swiss male mind, for in Switzerland I met an English girl, who talked to me about our movement. "I am dreadfully ignorant," she said. "I know nothing about politics. My father would never dream of discussing any subject with me or my sisters. He says girls have no business with opinions or ideas."

But Switzerland provides an example that Democracy, based upon manhood suffrage, does not mean the freedom or advancement of women. No British woman in her senses would change places with her sisters in Switzerland. We have not manhood suffrage in this country as yet, though the Liberal Party makes no secret of its desire to draw a clean line between the rulers and the ruled—a cleavage line of sex.

It is well if the women of this country have awakened to their danger in time. It is well if we are strong enough to-day, as we believe we are, to say, "There shall be no further extension of the franchise until the disability of sex is once for all removed."

### GERMANY.

The leaders of the movement of Votes for Women in Germany are starting an active campaign now that the Reichstag (Parliament) is sitting again. They are sounding their trumpet to be ready for their battle, telling women to be strong in heart and courage, to stand close together even though their number may be small. They realise fully that the fight will be very difficult, for there are many obstacles to overcome before their banner of freedom will be carried to victory.

The union for the women's movement has sent a petition to Parliament asking that women may be granted permission to enter the Stock Exchange.

Progress has been made in granting to both sexes equal right to attend public political meetings. The agitation which obtained this result was well organised and successful. Circulars were issued to the secretaries of branches, whose duty it was to arrange meetings in their local centres and to approach their local parties and trade unions, and urge them to arrange meetings at which women could raise questions of reform. Where women could not hold special meetings of their own they agitated at political meetings, and in this way they won the right to attend political meetings on the same terms as men—a substantial concession from the Prussian Government.

The following propositions have been put to the Prussian Social Democratic party:—

1. "That at the forthcoming contest for universal,\* equal, direct, and secret suffrage for the Prussian Landtag, Votes for Women shall be brought forward, if needs be, by pressure and agitation."

2. "That at municipal elections the universal, direct, and secret vote shall also be extended to women."

Three women have been elected to the Poor Law Commission—one of these Frau Aug-Wittmann (widow) belongs to the Konstanzer branch of Women's Suffrage. A lady school inspector has also been elected for the Higher Grade Girls' School.

Two delegates of the Hessian Chamber have been commissioned to ask the Grand Ducal Government of Hesse not to diminish the freedom of the Hessian Convention.

A strong agitation is going on among the members of the woman's movement for the extension of the municipal vote. The committee of the union have sent in petitions to the State Ministerial Department, and Fraulein Lida Gustava Heymann and Fräulein Martha Zietz, of Hamburg, have gone to all the large towns of the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg to address members of their union, and to train them for agitations at public meetings.

### VICTORIA (AUSTRALIA).

The women of Victoria are not yet enfranchised for the State elections, though they have a vote for the Federal Parliament.

Living pictures of the work of women in the home, the workshop, and the State were given recently in Victoria as an argument for votes for women at an entertainment in Melbourne as an effective argument for women's suffrage.

The first tableau showed the work of women in an age before machinery, when weaving, lace-making, delivering milk, and so forth were all in the hands of women. These occupations had now been taken away from women, and that, said the speaker (Miss Vida Goldstein), was one of the reasons why they had to go out into the world to earn their own living. Another tableau showed, first, the interior of a court of justice, with a woman in the dock, tried by men judges and jurors and counsel; and then the same interior with a man in the dock tried by women judges and jurors and counsel. The injustice of the second picture appealed to all, but to the converted in the meeting its reverse was as unjust.

Nearly one-third of the women of Victoria earn their own living.

E. P. L.

\* Universal, i.e., manhood.—(Ed.)



# THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. IV.—From 1871 to 1880.

AFTER the defeat of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill in 1871, the Suffragists felt that in order to bring greater pressure to bear on Parliament they must go out into the country and carry on a still more persistent and extensive propaganda among both men and women, and that they must arouse public attention by holding public meetings, distribution of literature, and promoting petitions and memorials to Parliament and to the Government.

Meetings were held in various important centres, including one in the St. George's Hall, London, 843 petitions with 355,801 signatures were presented to Parliament during the Session, including 27 from municipal councils under their corporate seals. Of these, fifteen were in England, ten in Scotland, and two in Wales. Many petitions were also presented from local boards of health and boards of guardians.

On May 1, 1872, a place was again secured for the second reading of the Women's Bill. It was, however, defeated by a majority of 79, 143 members voting for the Bill and 222 against. There was a majority of both parties against the Bill, but Mr. Disraeli paired in its favour.

At the beginning of the Session of 1873, memorials signed by 11,000 women from all parts of the country were presented to Mr. Gladstone and to Mr. Disraeli asking their support for the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill. Disraeli replied that he was honoured by receiving the memorial signed by so many illustrious women, and in referring to the fact of their being voteless said: "As I believe this anomaly to be injurious to the best interests of the country, I trust to see it removed by the wisdom of Parliament."

When the Bill came before the House on April 30, 222 votes were again recorded against it, but the number in favour had risen to 155, thus reducing the hostile majority to 67. In this division two members of the Liberal Government voted for the Bill and nine against it. Mr. Gladstone did not vote. Including Disraeli, six Conservative Leaders voted for the Bill and one against it.

### An Opponent Convinced.

A notable speech was that of the Right Hon. J. W. Henley. He said that he had till then always voted against the Bill, but that after careful observation he believed that the extension of the municipal and school board franchise to women had been productive of good, and he therefore saw no reason why it should not be beneficial in the case of the Parliamentary vote. He should vote for the Bill.

In the course of the Session Mr. Trevelyan (Border Burghs) introduced a Bill for the Extension of the Household Suffrage to Counties, "and otherwise amend the laws relating to the representation of the people." The professed object of this was to give the vote to agricultural labourers. In the discussion Mr. Jacob Bright said that if justice demanded, that a million of men be added to the register, which already contained two millions, she must surely cry out even more urgently for the admission of three hundred thousand women, in view of the fact that women possessed absolutely no representation. Mr. Bright also gave notice that he would move an amendment in Committee to extend the county franchise to women householders as well as to male agricultural labourers. The Bill, however, was never voted upon, and never reached the Committee stage.

During the Session of 1873, in addition to the memorials to Gladstone and Disraeli, 919 petitions with 329,206 signatures were presented to the House of Commons in support of the Women's Bill. Of these 23 were from municipal corporations and 11 from local boards.

In this year the Suffrage Movement suffered an irreparable loss by the death of John Stuart Mill on May 8.

In January, 1873, a conference of suffrage societies was called in Birmingham. From this conference a memorial was sent to Mr. Gladstone. It urged upon him the justice and expediency of abolishing the disability which precludes women from voting for members of Parliament on the ground that the disability did not exist in regard to other elections; that in ancient

times women had voted for members of Parliament, and that there were reasonable grounds for believing that they were still entitled to do so; that in the Representation of the People's Act of 1867 words importing the masculine gender were used alike in those clauses which imposed burdens and liabilities, and in the enfranchising clauses, but in the former only were they made to apply to women, for instance, in the case of the women ratepayers of Bridgewater, who in 1871 petitioned without success against the rate which had been levied upon them to pay for a commission of inquiry into the bribery at the Parliamentary election; also on the ground that women were obliged to pay taxes, though denied a voice in the spending of the money raised, and that they needed the vote to protect and improve their legal and industrial position. In reply to the contention that there was no demand for women's suffrage, the memorialists pointed out that during the preceding Session 329,206 persons had petitioned for the Women's Disabilities, but only 1,889 for the County Franchise Bill, which was to give the vote to agricultural labourers.

A General Election took place in February, 1874, in which Jacob Bright, who had taken charge of the Women's Bill since 1869, was defeated.

### Exclusion of Married Women.

Mr. Forsyth, Q.C., now agreed to introduce the Bill, but he stipulated that a proviso expressly excluding married women should be added to it. This was finally agreed to, though it caused dissension in the ranks of the Suffragists. Miss Becker, in writing to members of Parliament and others, and also in her capacity of editor of the *Women's Suffrage Journal*, at first objected to the proposed restrictive clause, but afterwards agreed the phrase "no woman under coverture" should form part of the Bill. The majority in the societies decided also to support the proviso. The Bill was introduced on March 19, but no day was obtained for the second reading.

In 1874, 1,404 petitions with 430,343 signatures were presented to the House of Commons in support of the Bill, and memorials signed by over 18,000 women sent to Gladstone and Disraeli.

On April 7, 1875, the second reading of the Bill was moved by Mr. Forsyth, 152 members voted in favour and 189 against, leaving the narrow majority of 35 against the Bill.

The opponents now took fright. An association of Peers, members of Parliament, and other influential persons was formed "for the purpose of maintaining the integrity of the franchise in opposition to the claims for the extension of the Parliamentary suffrage to women."

During the Session of 1875, 1,273 petitions with 415,622 signatures were presented to the House of Commons in favour of votes for women, whilst in support of the County Franchise Bill there were 68 petitions signed by 48,797 persons.

On April 26, 1876, Mr. Forsyth again moved the second reading. He was supported, among others, by Mr. Jacob Bright, who had been returned at a by-election. John Bright, the great advocate of free and representative government for men, spoke against the Bill, and in doing so was obliged to make use of the very arguments employed by his own opponents. In the division that followed, the majority against the Bill was increased to 87, while 152 voted in its favour and 239 against it.

At the close of the Session Disraeli was elevated to the peerage. Sir Stafford Northcote, Chancellor of the Exchequer, then became the Leader of the House of Commons. On June 5, the eve of the second reading of the Bill, a deputation of prominent Suffragists waited upon the Chancellor of the Exchequer at his house in Downing-street. His reply to the deputation was that he did not believe in extending the franchise to any class of persons merely because they had a right to exercise it, but only in case the results of their enfranchisement were likely to prove beneficial. He admitted that it was unequal, and, indeed, indefensible, both in argument and principle, that tax-paying women should be deprived of the vote on account of their sex. He did not, however, consider the present a particularly desirable time for reopening the great electoral question.

On June 6 Mr. Jacob Bright moved the second reading of the Bill. The rejection of the measure was moved by Mr. Hanbury. Six other members spoke against it. Then came six speeches in favour of the Bill. At a quarter past five Mr. Courtney rose to speak, but the opponents burst into a loud and continuous uproar which effectively prevented his words being heard. As the opponents would not listen to further arguments in support of the Bill, it was decided that no vote should be taken. Mr. Courtney remained standing, though his voice was drowned by the shouts of "Divide," and he himself "talked out" the Bill.

Many of the Suffragists outside Parliament considered this to have been a serious tactical blunder, for they believed that the unseemly behaviour of their opponents would have tended to increase rather than to diminish the number of votes cast in support of the Women's Bill. At the end of the Session of 1877 Mr. Jacob Bright's health obliged him to resign the conduct of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill, and Mr. Leonard Courtney agreed to take charge of it in his stead.

In 1878 the Bill was again debated, and defeated by a majority of 80.

In 1879 Mr. Courtney introduced the following resolution:—"That in the opinion of this House it is injurious to the best interests of the country that women who are entitled to vote in municipal, parochial, and school board elections, should be debarred from voting in Parliamentary elections, although possessed of the statutory qualifications; and that it is expedient that this disability should be forthwith repealed." This resolution was lost by a majority of 114 votes, 103 being cast in its favour and 217 against it.

### Attitude of the Government in 1879.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Stafford Northcote, who, as Leader of the House of Commons, spoke presumably on behalf of the Government, said that he felt bound to vote against a resolution that declared that the electoral disabilities of women should be at once repealed, because to support such a proposal would be to pledge the Government to bring in a measure for altering the law in that respect. Nevertheless, women had shown, by the manner in which they exercised the electoral functions permitted to them, that they were neither unworthy nor incapable, and therefore at a fitting time, and under fitting circumstances, he should be prepared to assent to a proposal that the same rank should be extended to them as to others. These words the Suffragists interpreted as a virtual promise that when the Government next introduced an extension of the franchise, the claims of women would not be overlooked. That this idea was held also in other quarters is proved by the fact that the *Times*, in commenting on the Chancellor of the Exchequer's remarks, said:—"This engagement is not definite, but it is no small triumph that it should have been obtained," and that, "when the claims of the agricultural labourer are to be satisfied, and when the time thus arrives for a great recasting of the electoral scheme, the case of the women may be thrown into the crucible with the rest."

### Nearly Three Million Petitioners.

It is interesting to note that between the years 1866 and 1879 the number of petitions to the House of Commons in support of votes for women were 9,563 with 2,953,848 signatures, and that between 1,300 and 1,400 public meetings had been held to promote the cause.

In March, 1880, came a General Election, which resulted in the return of a Liberal Government. After the reassembling of Parliament the Government introduced a Bill to assimilate the Irish borough franchise, then standing at a £4 rental, to that of England—a household suffrage pure and simple, without reference to rating or rental.

To this Mr. Blennerhassett, M.P., gave notice that he would move an amendment in Committee that the franchise be given to women householders in Irish boroughs. Sir E. Watkin gave notice to move that "it is inexpedient to proceed with the consideration of the extension of the franchise in any part of the United Kingdom until the question of female suffrage has been decided."

After several postponements the Bill was withdrawn, and for this reason neither amendment was discussed.

In 1881 Mr. Courtney took office under the Government. By his advice Mr. Hugh Mason was asked to take charge of the Women's Bill. He had already pledged himself to another

measure, but agreed to introduce a resolution to the effect that women who possessed votes in local elections should also vote for members of Parliament.

He secured a place in the ballot for May 27, but the resolution was crowded out by Government business.

During the Session of 1881 the municipal franchise was extended to the women of Scotland. The Electoral Reform Act for the Isle of Man became law on January 21 of the same year. Under it women became entitled to vote for members of the House of Keys—the Manx Parliament.

## CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND TO DECEMBER 30.

£ s. d.		£ s. d.	
Already acknowledged...	3,614 9 8	Miss E. C. Bevan .....	2 0 0
Mrs. Augusta Clark Casher	1 0 0	Mrs. J. Rooper .....	2 2 0
G. E. Boxall, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Miss O. P. Ridley .....	1 0 0
Mrs. Lightman .....	0 5 0	Miss E. J. Murrell .....	0 10 6
Miss B. Lightman .....	0 2 6	Miss Fisher .....	1 0 0
E. B. ....	2 0 0	Miss Polyneaux Fletcher ..	1 1 0
Mrs. Snelling .....	0 10 0	Subscription .....	0 2 6
Miss R. M. Billingham .....	1 0 0	Miss Lord .....	0 5 0
M. Colby .....	5 0 0	Miss D. L. Bakewell .....	0 2 6
Miss E. M. Middleton .....	0 2 6	Mrs. and Miss M'Allan .....	0 2 0
Mrs. Rosamund Massy .....	1 0 0	Miss Christine Hughesdon ..	1 0 0
Miss Darby .....	5 0 0	Mrs. L. Wilkins .....	1 0 0
Miss Ellen Bryden, Esq. ....	5 0 0	Lady Westman Pearson .....	10 0 0
Miss Edith Beck .....	5 0 0	Mrs. Kinnell .....	5 0 0
Miss Marie Corbett .....	1 1 0	Miss Kinnell .....	5 0 0
Miss Isabella Ford .....	2 0 0	Miss C. Davis .....	0 3 6
Miss Elizabeth Ford .....	2 0 0	Mrs. Rock .....	1 1 0
Mrs. Wilkinson .....	0 2 0	Mrs. E. Morgan .....	0 12 8
The Misses F. and V. Shillington .....	0 10 0	Theodor Krauss, Esq. ....	0 2 6
Miss Eva Mackenzie .....	5 0 0	Miss G. M. Keys .....	0 4 0
Miss Rosie Milne .....	0 1 6	Miss I. Wilson .....	0 2 0
Miss G. Peckham .....	0 13 2	Anonymous .....	1 1 0
Miss L. Tingle .....	1 0 0	Miss Elizabeth Redfern .....	0 5 0
Miss E. F. Haarblicher .....	0 10 0	Miss Emily Redfern .....	0 2 6
B. C. Footner, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Miss Constance Harris .....	0 5 0
Mrs. Margaret C. Bruce .....	0 5 0	Miss Agnes Luxley .....	0 5 0
W. Frith Bryden, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Miss O. Waller .....	0 15 0
Mrs. Nourse .....	0 2 6	Miss E. Green .....	1 0 0
Mrs. Johnson .....	0 10 0	Mrs. C. Bastian .....	1 0 0
Miss Nellie E. Smith .....	1 0 0	Miss S. Shillington .....	0 5 0
Anonymous .....	2 2 0	Mrs. Walters .....	0 1 0
M. D. ....	1 0 0	Mrs. Julie A. East .....	1 1 0
Mrs. Sara Lee .....	0 10 0	Miss Grantam .....	1 0 0
Miss Jessie E. Carter .....	0 5 0	Miss Marquardt .....	1 0 0
Miss K. Pow .....	0 10 0	Miss S. Evelyn Spencer .....	1 0 0
Miss Barnett .....	0 10 0	Mrs. Daisy Smith .....	0 4 0
Glasgow Men's League .....	4 4 0	Mrs. Louisa Stevens .....	2 2 0
E. Wynne Humphreys, Esq. ....	0 5 0	Mrs. B. Curtis .....	0 10 0
J. A. Lucas, Esq. ....	0 5 0	Proceeds of Carol Singing ..	0 10 0
The Misses Newton .....	1 0 0	Lady Johnston .....	1 0 0
Mrs. R. E. Prothero .....	5 0 0	Mrs. Martel Lecture Fee ..	1 0 0
Mrs. Ernestine Mills .....	1 1 0	Mr. and Mrs. C. H. Grinling ..	1 1 0
Mrs. Eates .....	0 10 6	<b>Members' Postage Fees.</b>	
The Students Midland Baptist College .....	0 10 6	Miss Helen E. Goudge .....	0 1 0
Miss Mary G. Houston .....	0 10 6	Miss Annie J. Evans .....	0 1 0
Mr. and Mrs. E. W. Pethick Lawrence (instalment) ..	200 0 0	Miss Dorothy Hood-Barrs ..	0 1 0
Mrs. A. E. Willson .....	0 5 0	Miss Laura A. Percy .....	0 1 0
Miss Lottie Kilburn .....	1 0 0	Mrs. Adeline Wilde .....	0 1 0
W. G. Smith, Esq. ....	0 10 0	Miss Elizabeth Redfern .....	0 1 0
Dr. Marie L. Fiedler .....	10 10 0	Miss Lily Taylor .....	0 1 0
Miss Nellie Kenney .....	0 5 0	Miss Marie Taylor .....	0 1 0
Scottish subscriptions .....	8 14 0	Miss C. M. Burgess .....	0 1 0
"Erletto" .....	5 5 0	Mrs. Mary Goodyer .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Jones .....	0 5 0	Miss Ethel M. Middleton .....	0 1 0
Miss C. A. Jones .....	0 5 0	Miss Mabel Harrison .....	0 1 0
Miss Evans .....	0 5 0	Miss Mary Robertson .....	0 1 0
Arthur Mandefield, Esq. ....	0 2 6	Mrs. Hill-Burton Rodger .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Ward .....	0 2 0	Miss Constance Wheaton ..	0 2 6
Mrs. Daff .....	0 5 0	Mrs. A. Ham .....	0 1 0
Mrs. F. Dawson .....	0 2 6	Miss Hunt .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Scorah .....	1 0 0	Mrs. Dora Hooper .....	0 1 0
J. Smith, Esq. ....	0 2 6	Miss Emma Sullier .....	0 1 0
Anonymous .....	1 0 0	Miss Susan Cunningham .....	0 1 0
Miss Muriel Abbott .....	1 0 0	Miss Ethel M. Wilmot .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Drummond lecture fee	1 1 0	Buxton .....	0 1 0
Miss Winifred Holdom .....	1 0 0	Miss Emily Willing Davison ..	0 1 0
Collected by Miss Winifred Holdom .....	0 15 0	Miss Ada B. Watts .....	0 1 0
Bradford Local W.S.P.U. ....	5 0 0	Miss Emily Grenfell Hill ..	0 1 0
Per Miss Pankhurst .....	1 10 0	Miss Alice M. Watts .....	0 1 0
Miss C. D. Townsend .....	0 4 0	Miss Helen K. Watts .....	0 1 0
Sympathisers from Southport	0 6 0	Mrs. Jones-Williams .....	0 1 0
Mrs. A. G. Sayers .....	1 0 0	Mrs. Ellis .....	0 2 0
Mrs. Budgett .....	25 0 0	Miss Helen Wilkie, M.A. ....	0 1 0
Miss Grace Blandy .....	1 0 0	Miss Annet Erskine Wilkie, LL.D. ....	0 1 0
Miss V. M. Shillington, D.Sc. ....	1 0 0	Miss Ethel Matthews .....	0 1 0
Arthur Walenn, Esq. ....	10 10 0	Miss Charlotte Loft .....	0 1 0
Miss Florence Hughes .....	5 0 0	Mrs. Bessie K. Morris .....	0 1 0
Miss M. Warter .....	5 0 0	Miss Nellie Staff .....	0 1 0
Miss Clotilde Graves .....	3 0 0	Miss Mary Keegan .....	0 1 0
Miss Olive Crompton .....	0 5 0	Miss Emily A. Vigor .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Walter Foster .....	2 2 0	Miss Gwyneth M. Keys .....	0 1 0
Mrs. Edith Bright .....	10 0 0	Mrs. E. Clifford Smith .....	0 1 0
Miss E. Jackson .....	0 2 6	Miss Lillian C. Grand .....	0 1 0
Miss Jessie Warriner .....	0 5 0	Miss Whelan .....	0 1 0
Miss Lillian Chapman .....	0 10 0	Miss Peacock .....	0 1 0
John Murray, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Guarantee fund weekly (2 weeks) .....	0 9 6
London City W.S.P.U. ....	4 0 0	Collections, &c. ....	122 19 12
Mrs. E. McClelland .....	1 0 0	Total .....	£4,153 4 5d
Mrs. Farrar .....	1 0 0		
Mrs. Turle .....	0 5 0		

## WE SPECIALISE

Book, Magazine, Pamphlet, and Catalogue Printing, but we should be pleased to Estimate for any Printing Order, large or small, you may require. Will you favour us with an enquiry?

WADSWORTH & CO., The Rydal Press, KEIGHLEY.

## MR. ASQUITH AT ABERDEEN.

Liberal Women and the W.S.P.U.

Neither Mr. Asquith nor the citizens of Aberdeen are likely soon to forget the incidents of his visit to the city on December 19; nor are the Liberal women of the city likely soon to forget or forgive the part that Mr. Asquith assigned to them.

The whole story, as given in the newspapers of Aberdeen of December 19 and 20, provide a fascinating picture of Liberal manners, which, if space permitted, should be produced in full in this issue. As that is, however, impossible, the following account, taken strictly from the local Press, without so much as an i dotted or a t crossed, cannot fail to interest readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN. They should particularly mark the closing letter, which supplies the secret prologue to the drama which is given in the earlier narrative.

The public story begins with a letter addressed by the women's branch of the local Liberal Association to Mr. Asquith, published on December 19, which, after urging the need of the vote, proceeded as follows:—

The Liberal women of Aberdeen, who have loyally supported and strenuously worked for the present Government, are very desirous of securing their own enfranchisement, and have hitherto worked upon strictly constitutional lines, having strongly deprecated and entirely dissociated themselves from the unconstitutional methods pursued by the Women's Social and Political Union.

They feel, however, that the Government's delay in introducing a Bill granting the franchise to women taxpayers, is placing a severe strain upon their loyalty.

At a largely attended meeting, held on November 20, the following resolution was unanimously passed:—

"That this meeting of the Women's Branch of the Aberdeen Liberal Association expresses confidence in, and loyalty to, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and his Government, and in view of the large and ever-increasing number of women who are now engaged in the industry and commerce of the country, would respectfully urge upon the Prime Minister the necessity of introducing a Bill for the enfranchisement of tax-paying women, in order that they may safeguard their own interests."

B. T. BLACK, President.  
CLEMENTINA ESSELMONT, Vice-President.  
ANNE F. ALLAN, Honorary Secretary.

Commenting on this, the "Aberdeen Free Press"—the well-known Free Trade paper—said:—

The letter from the Women's Branch of the Aberdeen Liberal Association to Mr. Asquith on the subject of the enfranchisement of women is significant. It is a portent of the difficulties in which the Liberal party will speedily be placed in the event of the continued refusal of the Government to bring forward a Bill conceding the Parliamentary vote to women taxpayers. The letter is a sign and symbol of the important new development of the franchise agitation that is challenging attention in various Liberal strongholds, especially across the Border. The memorialists in this case, it is essential to note, do not belong to the class who have of late come into prominence as suffragists. It is only as women Liberals they speak, and they expressly dissociate themselves from "the unconstitutional methods pursued by the Women's Social and Political Union." They have hitherto put their Liberalism first, and as regards the franchise have limited themselves to the quieter forms of propaganda recommended by those opposed to the strategy of the suffragists. They have been hopeful that this would suffice in a party the majority of whose representatives in Parliament are pledged to support woman's suffrage. But what do they find? That their adoption of this policy, instead of promoting the cause which professed friends have counselled them it would effectually ripen, is, with the connivance of party managers, being cited as conclusive evidence that Liberal women do not want the vote. The suffragists are declared to represent a limited class—chiefly themselves—and to be mere notoriety-hunters, while the "orderliness" of other women—so grateful to the official mind which hates bother—is pointed proudly to as showing that outside the suffragist ranks there is no real demand for the franchise, but, on the contrary, pronounced apathy. That is the reward which Liberal women have received for their party loyalty! It is not surprising that in increasing degree and with rising indignation they are resenting such treatment, and beginning to make it clear—as in the letter to Mr. Asquith—that if they are to be further befooled they, too, will have to fall back upon forceful tactics.

After explaining how the politicians rely on the help of women at elections and deride them when returned to power, the article shows that a revolt of Liberal women is imminent, and continues:—

Women workers in the Liberal cause are giving emphatic intima-

tion that if there is further dilly-dallying in the granting of the vote they must withdraw their aid, oppose where they had previously helped, and leave candidates and agents to do their electioneering themselves. This would be virtually a strike of Liberal women, and a strike of Liberal women would mean a Liberal debacle. It is in this direction the Aberdeen Liberal women are gravitating. They indicate that an intolerable strain has been placed on their loyalty, and that it must end. As a concession to form they are trying one last letter. That—unless the unexpected happen—will go the way of other appeals. Then the field will be clear for militant action, and that properly directed will soon tell. As politics are constituted at present, women, if they are not assertive, will have no attention paid to them, but will be allowed to whistle for the vote. Only by becoming troublers of Israel can they compel justice.

### THE STORY OF THE MEETING.

The same evening took place the great meeting in the music hall. In view of the fear of disturbance on the part of members of the W. S. P. U. extraordinary precautions had been taken. Only a limited amount of standing room was available for the general public, the whole of the rest of the hall was reserved for tickets which had been specially given out.

The chair was taken by Dr. Albert Westland, President of the Aberdeen Liberal Association, and there was an extensive platform. Mr. Asquith, in a long speech, dealt with Free Trade, Ireland, the House of Lords, Old-Age Pensions, and other subjects, but omitted any reference to women. He was allowed to proceed to the end without interruption. A resolution was moved by Mr. Pirie, M.P., and seconded by Mr. James Murray, M.P. Thereupon, Rev. Alexander Webster, rising from the platform, asked leave to add a rider to the resolution. The chairman said he could receive no amendments "now," and called on three other speakers to support the resolution.

### Question by Women Liberals.

Then came the turn of Mrs. Black, President of the Aberdeen Branch of the Women's Liberal Association, who rose, evidently to put a question.

The people at the back of the hall did not understand the object of the interruption, and there were loud calls from the area and from the galleries.

Mrs. Black: By the courtesy of the chairman—(great interruption).

The Chairman: I will explain afterwards.

Mrs. Black, amid continued interruption: By the courtesy of the chairman and the Right Hon. Mr. Asquith, I am permitted to put a question. Will Mr. Asquith withdraw his opposition to the enfranchisement of tax-paying women?

The Chairman: The lady is technically out of order, but notice was given of this question, and Mr. Asquith was kind enough to say that he was willing to accept it and reply to it. That being so, I did not feel it was incumbent upon me to raise any objection.

Mr. Asquith, after complaining of being heckled away from his own constituency, replied as follows:—

My answer must be, as it has been many a time, in the negative. I am prepared to withdraw my opposition, which is a very unimportant factor in the case, to what is called female enfranchisement, but such as it is, I am prepared to withdraw my opposition the moment that I am satisfied of two things, but not before, namely, first, that the majority of women desire to have a Parliamentary vote, and next, that the conferring of a vote upon them would be advantageous to their sex and the community at large. (Cheers and dissent.)

### Struggle on the Platform.

At this point a scene occurred, which is reported by the "Aberdeen Daily Journal" as follows:—

Rev. Alexander Webster again stood up at the back of the platform, and attempted to move his rider to the resolution amid loud cries of "Put him out!" from all parts of the hall. There was considerable uproar, amid which the chairman was heard to say:—"If you will kindly leave him to the stewards he will be dealt with in the proper way."

Mr. Webster continued to speak, and it was understood that he was making a vehement protest against the chairman's ruling. Encouraged by what the chairman said, several of the stewards rushed across the platform. One of them seized Mr. Webster, and an exciting struggle

ensued, and Mr. Webster was seen to hit out at the steward who seized him. Many of the gentlemen on the platform rose, and some of them expostulated with Mr. Webster, but Mr. Webster continued in his attempt to address the meeting. He was then hustled across the platform by several of the stewards. Mr. Webster resisted, and his jacket was nearly hauled off. There was great confusion in the hall, and a continuous uproar, most of the audience rising to their feet, and many of them standing on the seats. There was a good deal of shouting on the part of the audience, cries of "Put him out!" mingling with what appeared to be protests at the rough handling to which Mr. Webster was being subjected. While the struggle on the platform, which only occupied a minute or two, was going on, Mrs. Pankhurst, the well-known leader of the women's suffrage movement, stood up on a seat at the back of the hall and attempted to address the meeting, making, it is understood, a protest against the proceedings on the platform. A steward had succeeded in taking Mr. Webster almost to the exit from the platform, when Mr. Murray, M.P., rushed across the platform and said: "Leave Mr. Webster to me." Ultimately Mr. Murray got Mr. Webster out of the clutches of the stewards, and took him back to the seat on the platform which he had been occupying, and the incident on the platform terminated. Mrs. Pankhurst, who was present during the whole of the meeting, was not allowed to go far with her protest, several of the stewards dragging her down from her pedestal. Before Mrs. Pankhurst had been disposed of, however, another lady (Mrs. Bryant) at the back of the hall, but on the other side, had engaged the attention of the stewards. She also stood up on the seat, and made a protest, but she also was silenced by the stewards. Mrs. Bryant is a prominent local advocate of women's suffrage, but it is understood that her object in rising was to protest against the handling to which Mr. Webster had been subjected on the platform. The incident created great excitement in the hall, and instead of Mr. Asquith's speech being the topic of discussion as the audience left the hall, it was the scene on the platform in which such a well-known citizen as Mr. Webster had figured.

### Statement by Rev. Alexander Webster.

Rev. Alexander Webster, interviewed by a representative of the "Aberdeen Daily Journal" at the close of the meeting, said:—I certainly have great cause to complain of the unfair treatment I received. The rider I desired to propose was—

And in order to give fuller expression to the will of the people and enable the House of Commons to give more powerful effect to that will, calls upon the Legislature to pass, immediately, a measure for the enfranchisement of qualified women.

When the time came that they were to put the resolution, I said I insisted on my right as a citizen to move my rider. Then I was immediately seized by three men. One seized my wrist, another took hold of me round the body, and another put his foot between my legs to trip me, and, in self-defence, I gave him a blow on the face. I know I lifted my fist in self-defence and struck the man—Claude Wilson, I believe, is his name—because he was twisting my legs very violently. Then Mr. Murray, M.P., came forward very gallantly and told the men to stop.

### Mr. Claude Wilson's Version.

Mr. Claude Wilson, Liberal organiser, who was acting as one of the stewards at the meeting, gave his version of the incident to a representative of the "Journal" as follows:—Mr. Webster had no right to do as he did, for he got a ticket for the meeting on the distinct understanding that he was to be quiet. When he interrupted as he did we wanted him to go out quietly, but he said something to the effect that we would have to carry him out first. I could easily make a case of assault against him, for he struck me without any provocation. He just let fly, and being near, I got the blow.

All the Aberdeen papers dealt at length with the incident next day. The *Aberdeen Free Press*, in the course of its leading article, said:—

The Liberal party is in some danger of being made ridiculous through this contest into which it has got with a set of people who should, and if judiciously and wisely met, would have been the last to give the party or its leaders any trouble. But the women have got on the nerves of the Caucus and official section of the party, who, in their excitement and bewilderment, play into their hands by attempts to gag the discussion of the suffrage question—with results, like those of last night in the Music Hall, which must be anything but satisfactory or grateful to the wiser and more sober-minded of Liberals.

And again in another part of the paper:—The scene absorbed all thoughts, and many a Liberal left the meeting with the uneasy feeling that the suffragists had had the best of it. They had entered their protest constitutionally and respectfully, and yet they had been refused a hearing. There was head-shaking last night among the Liberals, and there will be more to-day.

The *Evening Express* of Aberdeen devoted a leading article to the subject under the title, "Methods of Barbarism," in which it said:—

The scene at the close of Mr. Asquith's meeting in the Music Hall last night should do something to convince officially-minded Liberals that the problem of Women's Suffrage is not to be solved by Russian methods of conducting public meetings. The very idea of a "ticket meeting" is repugnant to all good Liberals, and yet this is the device to which the Caucus managers in Aberdeen are reduced through their fear of feminine interruptions. The most elaborate arrangements were made in order to cope with a "row." Bands of muscular stewards had been carefully drilled in the art of "chucking out," and were apparently ready and eager to take drastic action on the slightest provocation. When they did act, the result of their intervention was a scene which has never been paralleled in a public meeting in Aberdeen. The point to be emphasised is the perfectly constitutional character of the protest which was made. A resolution had been moved and seconded expressing confidence in the Government, and declaring in general terms that "the will of the people" must prevail. To this resolution a gentleman, who is an elector, sought as he had every right to do, to add a rider, but the word had gone forth that no amendments were to be allowed, and the mover of the amendment, instead of being permitted to state his case, was promptly assailed by a band of zealous stewards, and would have been incontinently thrown out of the hall had it not been for the intervention of Mr. Murray.

As for the suffragists, they have, by their tact and restraint, scored a great triumph. There were no interruptions from them, thanks to the nice arrangement which Mrs. Black discloses, and when they proceeded to exercise a perfectly constitutional right, they were set upon as though they were a gang of hooligans. The official resolution was forced through at the point of the bayonet, but the victory was an inglorious one, which does not redound to the credit of the Liberal party in Aberdeen.

### FINAL LETTERS.

The finishing touches to the scene are given, however, by two letters which appeared in the Aberdeen "Evening Express" on the following afternoon. The first from the local secretary of the W.S.P.U. ran as follows:—

SIR,—Allow me to most emphatically deny Mr. Claude Wilson's statement that Mr. Webster came to him and got a ticket out of him by pledging his word of honour as a gentleman to ask no questions, &c. Mr. Webster's platform ticket was handed to me by Mr. John Stewart Watt in his own office on Wednesday afternoon, and there were absolutely no conditions whatever attached to it. Anyone who is acquainted with Mr. Webster will know that if he passed his word of honour about anything, he would keep it.

I am, &c.,

CAROLINE A. I. PHILLIPS.

The second was from the President of the local Women's Liberal Association, who had asked the question at the meeting.

SIR,—Would you kindly permit me, through your columns, to state why I asked Mr. Asquith a question in regard to the enfranchisement of women? This explanation would not have been needful if Dr. Westland, the chairman of the meeting, had been fair and courageous towards me in his explanation to the audience. The women's branch of the association had no intention whatever of putting any question on this subject to Mr. Asquith; they regarded it as useless to do so, and considered the letter which had already appeared in your columns all that was desirable in the circumstances.

I think it was due to me that the chairman should have "explained" before signalling to me to stand up, and should have called me by name instead of saying, "Order! I will explain later." If he had done so, my explanation, which they probably will not enjoy seeing, would have been unnecessary. Two prominent Liberal officials, who came in a motor car, interviewed me this (Thursday) morning, along with the hon. secretary of the women's branch, and informed us that the Women's Social and Political Union had consented to give Mr. Asquith an uninterrupted hearing if one question was put to him, and these gentlemen thought Mr. Asquith would be more likely to consent to answer a question if put by a Liberal woman, and informed us that the W.S.P.U. were quite willing this should be. Therefore, we agreed to their request, in the interests of peace and order.

If, as the chairman said, I "was out of order," why was he a party to this arrangement? I consider I have been made a "cat's paw" of by the officials in order that Mr. Asquith might gain a quiet hearing, uninterrupted by the W.S.P.U. In any case, gratitude to one who had thus secured an orderly meeting, at great sacrifice to her own feelings, should have protected her from the derisive howls of the audience. I must thank the members of the W.S.P.U. for keeping faithfully to their part of the agreement.—I am, &c.,

B. T. BLACK, President, W.L.A.

### SCOTTISH NOTES.

Miss Mary Phillips has arranged for the East Fife meetings to begin on the 14th at Tayport, and meetings will also be held at Ladybank (15th), Newburgh (16th), and Leven (17th). At the latter place Provost Balfour has consented to take the chair. Our Kirkintilloch meeting last Friday evening was a very great success, many people being quite unable to secure admission. Mr. Thomas Johnston made a splendid chairman, and Miss Mary Phillips and I dealt with our policy, and explained why Cabinet Ministers are heckled.

The following resolution was carried unanimously:—"This meeting declares its agreement with the militant policy of the women suffragists, and calls upon the Government to act immediately on its declared principles, and grant their demand, or resign"—which is, I think, a strong resolution to carry in a place where a Cabinet Minister was heckled, as Sinclair was.

The new offices are taking a great deal of our attention at present, and we make a special appeal for funds to be sent to Miss Burnet, 2, St. James' Place, Hillhead, Glasgow. Financial help is wanted to enable us to fit up and furnish our rooms at 141, Bath-street. The opening "At Home" will take place on January 11 at 4 p.m., and among other speakers we shall have Lady Ramsay.

We believe that the new offices will draw into our ranks more and more members from Glasgow and the districts round.

The Helensburgh *Herald* published Mrs. Murray's paper, given at Glendarroch, at Mrs. Kennedy's meeting, and had also a very favourable little editorial notice.

The Aberdeen "triumph" is still being discussed, and there is no doubt that the stupidity of the Liberals at Asquith's meeting there will help our cause very much in the Granite City, where it already has a firm hold.

who had the greatest difficulty in making themselves heard. At the close of the meeting the usual resolution was put and carried by a large majority.

C. M. COOMBS.

**Brixton and Streatham W.S.P.U.**—On Friday evening, December 21, a drawing-room meeting was held at Mrs. Tanner's, 32, Wynne-road, Mrs. Brown in the chair, and about 30 members and friends were present. The chairman opened the meeting by introducing the speakers, Misses Morrison and Brackenburt. Miss Morrison, in her address, explained why women need the vote, the urgency of seeking to secure it at the present time, and the benefits which have accrued in other lands by the granting of the vote to women. The speaker emphasised the fact that the modern trend of events shows that the State does influence the everyday life of the citizen, or as Zangwill has aptly stated, politics is not something contrasted with home and the baby, *it is* home and the baby, and that this is so the speaker instanced effects on the home life of measures dealing with housing reform, child labour, &c. In dealing with the question of the sweated homeworkers, Miss Morrison said that the Wages Board Bill in New South Wales (where women have the vote) had practically abolished sweating altogether, and also referred to the State of Wyoming where the women voters had been influential in securing equal pay for equal work, irrespective of sex. In conclusion, the lecturer proved that not only the women and children, but also the men, had benefited in those countries where women possessed the Parliamentary franchise. Miss Brackenburt followed with a brief account of her protest during McKenna's speech at the recent Liberal bazaar, with her reasons for, and the results of, this action; Governments never lead, they are always driven. The meeting was brought to a close by a few earnest words from the hostess, Mrs. Tanner, urging her hearers to remember that they were demanding a *right*, not asking a favour.

### LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

**Chelsea W.S.P.U.**—On Friday, December 20, Miss Florence White had a most successful meeting at Carthar Studios, Redcliffe-road, S.W., when very interesting speeches were made by Miss Sharp and Dr. Saleeby. An animated discussion, in which a good many present took part, ended the meeting.

On Wednesday, January 22, at eight o'clock, an important meeting will be held in the large hall, Chelsea Town Hall. The speakers, as far as at present arranged for, are Mrs. Eates, Miss Sharp, and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, or Miss Pankhurst.

F. E. HAIG, Hon. Sec.

**Chiswick and Hammersmith N.W.S.P.U.'s.**—A public meeting was held on Tuesday, December 15, in the Chiswick Town Hall. Mrs. East, treasurer of the Chiswick Society, was in the chair. There was a crowded audience, many late comers being unable to gain admittance. Speeches were given by Miss Pankhurst, Miss Gawthorpe, and Miss Conolan. The rowdy element was largely represented. A band of office boys and other irresponsibles gained possession of the gallery, and vied with the speakers in gaining the attention of the audience in the body of the hall. The majority of the people who came to listen kept their seats and paid great attention to the speakers,

### Speakers' Class.

In consequence of the very large number of meetings which it is intended to hold in London and district during the next few months, it has been decided to abandon, for a short time, the Speakers' Class held each Monday at Clement's Inn. As we are greatly in need of more speakers, we hope that those members who wish to get platform experience will communicate with us, so that we may give them the opportunity of making short speeches at public meetings.

## PRINTERS

For the "Women's Votes" Movement,

## BUCKENHAM & SON,

642-4, KING'S ROAD, FULHAM, S.W.

PHONE: 389, PUTNEY.

LOW PRICES. GOOD WORK. PROMPT DESPATCH.

## TWO BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN.

### WOMAN AND THE WISE.

Paragraphs collected and edited by G. F. MONKSHOOD.

Price 3s. 6d. net, cloth gilt; 4s. 6d. net, leather.

### WOMAN AND THE WITS.

Epigrams on Woman. Love and Beauty.

Edited by G. F. MONKSHOOD.

Price 3s. 6d., cloth gilt.

The above two books should be read by women of every shade of opinion, as in these books are crystallised the thoughts and sayings of all the great writers who have touched upon Woman in all her phases.

**GREENING & CO., Ltd., 91, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.**