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DEDICATION.

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK.

THE remarkable feature of the campaign of women during November has been its astounding success. Not only have large and influential meetings been held all over the country, the most noteworthy of which was that in the Queen's Hall, London, when, in spite of a dense fog, between two and three thousand people came together to hear the leaders of the suffrage movement, and where £600 was subscribed towards the propaganda of the campaign; but a militant action of an extensive character has been carried out.

Criticism of Militant Methods.

To appreciate the importance of this procedure, it is only necessary to study the remarks of the newspapers and the politicians thereon. The *Tribune* has devoted several leaderettes to the subject, and on Saturday, November 23, the principal leader contained the following expression of opinion:—

Unhappily, Mr. Lloyd George's very sound advice to suffragists has not yet been taken to heart—at any rate at Leeds, or among those itinerant inciters to disorder, some of whom would seem to have been there last night. On this occasion, we presume, they consider themselves to have achieved a signal success, since they managed to break up the meeting, and to drive Mr. and Mrs.

Gladstone from the platform. . . . Demonstrations of this kind are inevitably taken by the mass of the male voting community as demonstrations of the spirit and intellect of politically-minded women. The result is that men of open mind or even those who are not unfavourably disposed towards the suffrage are repelled; firm believers in the suffrage, such as the *Tribune*, find their advocacy terribly hampered, and, worst of all, British women as a whole—whose clearly signified demand, as Mr. Lloyd George said, and as Mr. Gladstone said last night, is an indispensable preliminary to the conversion of the country and Parliament to the urgency of the cause—decline to mix themselves up with anything of the kind, and, therefore, remain dumb.

This sounds exceedingly plausible, the only misfortune is that it is not true. The *Tribune* started its advocacy of women's cause during the demonstrations of 1906, it dropped it while the women were conducting their peaceful campaign of argument and meetings from March to September of the present year, and it has only begun to consider the question again now that the women have become formidable in consequence of their opposition to Cabinet Ministers.

Another Disappointed Friend.

The *Daily News*, which is equally shocked at the women's tactics, is in the same position. How much advocacy of woman's suffrage, we should like to ask, did readers of that paper get prior to the militant tactics of the autumn of 1905. Yet we are told now:—

Mrs. Henry Fawcett complains that the Press reports such occurrences at length, while ignoring quieter demonstrations, held by responsible advocates of the suffrage. It is an unfortunate but an inevitable incident to modern journalism. But, for ourselves, the case for women's suffrage has always been clear, and we desire to promote it whenever occasion offers.

Action or Argument.

The *Daily Chronicle*, in two leading articles, November 22 and 25, does not reckon itself at all in favour of the "suffrage on equal terms," which is the demand of the women. It boldly supports Mr. Lloyd George in his disingenuous plea that though 400 members of Parliament are pledged to Women's Suffrage, that is no reason why they should give effect to their avowed opinion, for there is "no evidence that they consulted their constituents on the subject"; and it proceeds to chastise the women for their actions, and to call upon them for argument. It takes no account of the fact that when you have to deal with dishonest persons who give pledges that they do not mean to keep, actions and not words are the only remedy.

Are Interruptions Defensible?

The *Westminster Gazette* thinks it very shocking that women should interrupt Cabinet Ministers, and believes that no defence can legitimately be given. In a note on November 18 we read:—

They do not interrupt because something is said with which they disagree; they go to the meeting with the deliberate, and, indeed, avowed object of making themselves a nuisance. They do that, not because they think their conduct is *per se* defensible, but because they think it pays. We think it both indefensible and inexpedient, but that is a difference of opinion which we know is not likely to be composed.

But, as a matter of fact, the women *do* think their conduct defensible *per se*. They think that it is perfectly legitimate political tactics to interrupt Cabinet Ministers

who admit no argument or reason, but are only prepared to yield to pressure.

#### Methods which "Get Home."

It will be seen from all these extracts that whatever else the women have done by their interruptions at Liberal meetings, they have, at any rate, made a considerable impression upon the Press of the country. And that the real meaning of the Press criticisms may be summarised as follows:—"For years you have adopted methods which we could disregard, now at last you are doing something which goes home to us. Please don't do it any more." But in case there are any readers of this paper who are inclined to take these Liberal arguments seriously, it is worth while to notice the following points.

#### How Women Have Proved Their Demand.

In the first place, the papers say that women have made no demand for the vote; they forget, or they would have the public forget, that women have long shown a demand for the vote, commencing with the early days of the suffrage agitation. Thousands of women in Manchester alone demanded to be put upon the register, and were refused. They were told that it was contrary to the law, and that they must make their claims before Parliament and not in the law courts. Immediately they set to work to collect names, and a host of petitions have been presented from that time until now. One of these alone contained the signatures of over a quarter of a million women. But the House of Commons took no heed whatever of these petitions, and treated them as waste paper, never to be heard of again. Recognising this the women set to work in another way—they thought that if they could convert members of Parliament to the justice of their demand they would speedily be successful. The futility of this theory has been proved by the fact that the present House of Commons, which contains nearly a two-thirds majority in favour of Woman's Suffrage, has done nothing, and seems likely to do nothing, unless the hand of the Government is forced by the women themselves.

#### No Smooth Course.

The Women's Social and Political Union has found out the only true way. It is the settled policy of that body to make itself politically unpleasant, and to render the Government of the country impossible by a Cabinet which refuses to give justice to women. This is not a smooth saying—few of the greatest truths with which men and women are confronted in life are smooth. When it is a question of fighting against the forces of privilege and prejudice in order to defend the interests of the weak, smooth words and kid-glove actions are not likely to win the day. Battles of this kind have to be fought by deeds, and deeds which do not please smooth people. Those who attribute moral blame to the women for this action surely forget the sayings of the founder of the religion which they profess to believe.

#### Wholly Political.

But the remarkable thing about the militant tactics which the women of the National Women's Social and Political Union have adopted is that, although they are forceable and effective, they are wholly political in char-

acter. Unlike the men, when they were fighting for the franchise, they do not involve personal injury to their opponents. The Cabinet Ministers have been pestered politically—it is their political prestige which has been hindered, and it is their political campaign which has been rendered ineffective by the women's acts. Any personal suffering which is involved falls wholly upon the women themselves, who willingly undergo it for the sake of the cause.

#### A Letter from a Liberal M.P.

A striking testimony to the rightness of the women's fight comes from a Liberal, Dr. George Cooper, the member for Bermondsey, who, in course of a letter to the *Daily News*, said:—

My political life began as a member of the Reform League. It is in my recollection that in 1867, and also in 1884, very few public speakers who were opposed to the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to men, whether members of the Cabinet or otherwise, could utter a single word at a public meeting. Meetings were broken up, platforms stormed, and their occupants had to escape the best way they could. In 1884 every Tory speaker used against any extension of the franchise the same arguments now being used by some Liberal speakers and newspapers against the extension of the Parliamentary franchise to women. . . . Every extension of the franchise has been gained by force. Why, then, should women be condemned for using the same weapon men found so effectual when demanding the vote for themselves?

I own it is a rough weapon, but Cabinet Ministers do not recognise antagonists using any other.

There is one fact which cannot be denied—the activity of the Suffragettes has lifted the Woman's Franchise Bill out of the category of amusing and profane debate into that of a serious political question, and has done more to bring the cause to the front than all the five o'clock tea meetings held in the West-End during the last 20 years by titled and society ladies.

After this testimony from a Liberal M.P. there is not need for any further words of ours.

#### 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 December number will accordingly be issued on December 5, December 12, December 19, and December 24, and the January number will be ready on January 1.

## MESSAGES OF ENCOURAGEMENT TO WOMEN.

I am too hard driven to be able to write even a hundred words. But I think you know how very heartily I wish success to your new paper and to the movement it represents.

R. J. Campbell.

It is sometimes urged against the women's movement that they are the gentle sex, who should not be mixed up with the turmoil of politics; that their place is in the home; that they have a special vocation to sweeten and ennoble human life. But to my mind it is just because women have this character and function that we want them to share in the citizen life. If politics are a turmoil it does not follow that they ought to be. If "the home" is something apart from the State life it does not follow that it ought to be. It is because I want politics to become more thoughtful, and quiet, and peaceful, it is because I want "the home" to be civilised, and the State to be more homely, and human, and humane, it is because I want our social life to become more noble and sweet that I welcome women as full citizens. We talk about a "gentle-man" as a superior type of the male sex. Exactly so. That is why we want the gentle sex to come and help all the males to be gentlemen.

James Adderley.

We rejoice in the appearance of a newspaper which preaches the doctrine of women's rights, and tells the story of women's wrongs. The doctrine cannot be preached, the story cannot be told too often, because we are all apt to forget; and even if we do not forget, we allow our enthusiasm to droop and die. So strong are the forces arrayed against the enfranchisement of women, that our enthusiasm needs to be kept at concert pitch if we are to succeed in freeing ourselves from the fetters which hamper the movements of women whichever way we turn.

A newspaper which wages war on inertia is nothing less than a public blessing, for inertia is the one fatal clog to progress. The intelligence which sees the light without feeling the heat has never carried any great movement through. Reforms are won by those earnest souls who feel the equal power of "the light and heat which crown the holy hill" of every high endeavour. The light shows us the way along which we must go to achieve something; the heat makes us go and achieve it.

All hail *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, which both shows us the way, and makes us want to walk in it!

Clara Evelyn Mordan.

I send with great readiness my best wishes to the new magazine, and to the great movement in which you and your colleagues are engaged.

I have occasionally heard certain views in favour of Women's Suffrage which appeared unconvincing; I cannot recall a single contention advanced against the proposal which had any value whatsoever. The real enemy you have to fight is unreasoning prejudice, and this, you know, flounders about, concerning itself with some subject or other, in every country of the world. Bend all your efforts, then, to the attack by serious argument, or diverting, and either put it out of its misery with a rapier, or tickle it to death with a feather. You may be sure

that many who are not taking any conspicuous part in the struggle will—acting on precedent—push forward, and claim medals when victory is achieved.

I have a slight cold, but I think I shall live to see the day of your triumph, and to give my sincere congratulations. One can already hear the shrill cheering from those who will benefit most, namely, the dear children of the hard-up districts of town.

W. Pett Ridge.

A new paper—that means a new battle-comrade, who goes forth with a thousand voices to overcome on our behalf the spirit of opposition.

I greet *VOTES FOR WOMEN* with all my heart, and with this wish, that it may set out with good wind, and with full sail, to reach the Morning Land of our freedom. "Failure is impossible." This last word of the veteran warrior, Susan Anthony, is as sure as nature's law, but it is only by putting out all our energy and all our strength, that we shall ever bring the attainment of our great end, out from the distant future into the near and actual present. *VOTES FOR WOMEN* helps to do this. Good luck to the paper. Good luck to its founders and editors. Good luck to the great end and object which it serves.

Anita Augspurg

(Leader of the German Suffragists).

I have just got your letter and the copy of *VOTES FOR WOMEN*. I wish it great success. Our movement goes on slowly, but surely, here. The attitude of men is so liberal on the question in this country, that I should not be surprised if we had the franchise within a few years, without any struggle.

Olive Schreiner.

I have not yet seen the new paper, *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, but your campaign in England for Woman's Suffrage has my hearty wishes for success.

Our movement in this country was the direct outcome of the newly-awakened interest in Woman's Suffrage throughout England, although our problems are very different.

Irene N. A. Macfadyen.

President of the Women's Enfranchisement League, Cape Colony.

Women have every reason to face the future with confidence and hope. The time is past when they looked to men to carry forward the cause for them, and win for them the victory. To-day women rely upon their own action they know that they are strong in their own good courage, and can render a good account of themselves in the hour of conflict and difficulty.

The conquest that they have to make is well within their power. The Government which opposes them is vulnerable at every point. Its great prestige, its enormous political majority will not serve it against the enthusiasm which women are arousing all over the country.

My message to women shall be a call for strong combined action and for a determined militant campaign; and I foresee a speedy triumph for our cause.

Christabel Pankhurst.

## THE STRONG-MINDED MAN.

BY JOHN GALSWORDY.

HE was invaluable as a public servant, having no obstinacy, but only strength of mind. In the course of his existence nearly every social subject had been brought to his attention, and since he had much honesty of purpose, he would consider each with painful conscientiousness, reading the newspapers on either side, and for some little time he would remain in what he felt to be unpleasant—a state of flux. During such periods he was very guarded as to what he said, feeling that sooner or later he would know his mind, and have to act on it, and he would continue reading in the newspaper, and for the facts about the question consult encyclopædias and other works. One day he would come in contact with some individual, unsympathetic to him, who would express a too decided view upon the subject, whatever it might be, on which he had as yet formed no decision. Then something in him would snap-to, and he would very likely not reply. Next morning, coming down to breakfast, he would find that all was clear as daylight; his opinion on this subject was established, and he would tell his friends: "I have thought it out, and I have come to the conclusion. . . ." But of his meeting with the individual who had aroused antagonism, he would not speak; indeed, he soon forgot it, for his mind was strong.

From that day on he never had a moment's hesitation. It was no longer an affair of facts, it was an affair of principle; no matter what discoveries were made, what changes came about, he knew it was his duty not to change his mind; and, having settled the affair, he was careful never to admit beyond the outer doors of his intelligence anything that would confuse his primary conclusion on the case. This was why he was invaluable to any movement he took up. For in the barrier that he opposed to all fresh currents and new tides of thought and feeling—until they overwhelmed him—people recognised a spot where they could congregate, and murmur to each other: "Look, what strength of mind! The tide is coming in, and he's determined not to see it! He'll be drowned! What strength of mind!" And he was not infrequently a Liberal.

To simple observers he seemed to have decided that power of comprehension, logic, foresight, open-mindedness were not at all essential to his strength of mind; all that mattered was to fix the point of view, and, having fixed it, never more to change. And there was nothing he detested in his friends as he detested obstinacy.

He was extremely numerous in his country, having been assisted to occur by accidents of blood and climate, especially of climate. For, having felt for many centuries the inconvenience of paying much attention to the weather, his skin had thickened, and beneath it a certain gouty tendency had intervened, and this assisted to arrest the quickening of his sympathies that would have been so dangerous to his strength of mind. His blood, in fact, ran somewhat slowly, having its due proportion of the chalky substance necessary to strong-minded men.

On the point of woman, in particular, his mind was very strong. He had had a mother, who in her turn had had a mother, and so for all the generations since the English Constitution had been granted, and he had early made his mind up on the question of her status. Before his birth he had weighed those pros and cons., and, having in due course heard too strong a statement of opinion, had come to the conclusion that in producing him, woman had achieved her own political reward. Further than that he did not think that she should go, and he would laugh good-humouredly when she suggested that she wanted to.

Since he himself was what he was, he felt in his most secret heart that women's work had been well done; that if her work should be extended by those who were weak-minded on this subject, she would not, perhaps, produce him in the future. And this thought worried him. For the more he dwelt on all the things which she had done for him, the less he liked the notion of her doing things she wanted for herself. He often told his wife: "It would not be fair on her; I know what it is like." And his wife, whom he had carefully selected, would usually reply: "Of course not. I've no patience with them!" But sometimes—and this was something dreadful—in spite of all selection, he would acquire a wife who took the other point of view, and then his mind would strengthen visibly; stronger and stronger it would grow, until to broach the subject in his hearing would be dangerous. He would point out with acrimony that women always had produced him, always fed him, washed him, kept him clean, and that if there were a danger, however small, of these things being interfered with, he for one would be no party to it! And if some daring woman answered him, "We want our status, that we may produce you, feed you, wash you *better!*" he would reply, with pardonable heat: "Out of the question! Prove it; show me instances!" And since at present no instance could be shown him (for he had seen to that), his triumph was complete. Not that, had an instance been produced, he would have suffered it to warp the judgment he had formed, because, as has been said, his mind was strong. The stubborn way in which so many women pressed their point annoyed him very much, for, having closed the portals of his mind, the matter seemed to him so simple. As to the methods they employed, these occasioned him uneasiness. "So unfeminine! If only," he would say, "they would behave themselves, we should soon hear no more about the matter!" It has been said, his mind was strong.

For the credit of the female sex—a point which touched profoundly one who existed by reason of his mother and his wife—he felt it most important that women should drop at once all public demonstration. If—he argued—they did not demonstrate, men would have no occasion—indeed, would be the last—to employ force publicly against them. The question might be quietly, amicably threshed-out at home, and no one need hear anything about it. This would be in better taste. At present the sexes were in danger of disruption; no one could tell to what extremes things might be carried. For all he knew, women might declare a general boycott of the male, and where would they be then? This was an aspect of the case that they must not lose sight of. The effect of such a state of things upon the coming generation would be deplorable; in fact, the generation might not come, though men, no doubt, would do the best they could! The sphere of woman was the house—he would almost like to say the upper regions of the house. He was no illiberal-minded bigot, but it amazed him that weak-minded men had so forgotten what was owing to their sex as to dangle illusions before the eyes of women. That which had never been could never be. To see this plainly, only a little strength of mind was wanted!

And, standing with his coat-tails to the fire, a line of purpose at each corner of his mouth, he would look at his wife's face. Seeing an expression in her eyes, unhappy and a little desperate, a faint misgiving would arise within him, as though behind her he espied the beckoning ghosts of generosity and justice; but, recollecting that his mind was strong, he would swallow it.

## WHAT THE VOTE MEANS TO THE WOMAN AS WIFE.

BY EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE.

II.—WOMEN'S STATUS AT THE PRESENT DAY.

"What marriage may be in the case of two persons . . . between whom there exists that best kind of equality, similarity of powers and capacities, with reciprocal superiority in them—I will not attempt to describe. To those who can conceive it there is no need; to those who cannot, it would appear the dream of an enthusiast. But I maintain, with the profoundest conviction, that this and this only is the ideal of marriage; and that all opinions, customs, and institutions which favour any other notion of it . . . are relics of primitive barbarism. The moral regeneration of mankind will only really commence when the most fundamental of the social relations is placed under the rule of equal justice."

JOHN STUART MILL.

Love is the fulfilling of the law. Where love is, there is no need of any law. For there the affairs of human life are lifted out of the region of problem and strife into a realm of serene simplicity.

That is true not only of marriage, but of every human relationship in the world.

It is because of the cruelty and selfishness of human nature and the failure of the divine law of love that the legal code exists. Laws are made to restrain the evildoer and to protect the weak. But it often happens that when the weak are doubly weak, and have no voice in the making of the laws, the legal code gives a semblance of moral authority to the evildoer, and robs the weak even of their small powers of self-protection.

This is the case in the marriage laws of this country, which are not equal as between men and women, but press with injustice and hardship upon women.

### Legal Tradition Dies Hard.

It is true that the husband's right of possession and right of control over the personal liberty of his wife has diminished since the decision of the Judges, in 1891, with regard to the famous Jackson case, the story of which I told last month. A man may not now imprison his wife. But legal tradition dies hard, and the shocking leniency with which cases of assault and cruelty against women by brutal husbands are dealt with in our courts of law is an outcome of the idea that a woman is her husband's "property."

Last month (November) a man was charged with the murder of his wife. The man pleaded in extenuation that deceased was of drunken habits. The Judge said that "no one could read the report of the case without seeing the violence used was of a most protracted and terrible kind." His lordship quite believed deceased was a provoking woman, but that a man should resort to such violence shocked every sense of what was right. His lordship said he could not do less than impose a sentence of seven years' penal servitude.

Women cannot help thinking of the many shamed and deserted girl-mothers, who in utter distraction and despair have been driven to the murder of their infants, and have been sentenced to death or to practically lifelong terms of penal servitude.

Another case last month could hardly have failed to arrest the attention of many readers. A married woman, forced to earn her own livelihood by setting up a stationer's shop, was assaulted by her husband, who attacked her, seized her by the throat, and with the help of two men accomplices bound her hands behind her with a rope and placed her in a coal cupboard, while they removed her furniture. The husband was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment—the sentence which three working women received the other day for attempting to ring the bell of the Chancellor of the Exchequer in order to bring to his consideration the

need that taxation and representation should go together.

It is notorious that the divorce laws are unjust to women.

The laws of property are unjust to the married woman. "With all my worldly goods I thee endow" has been the exchange vow of the bridegroom at the marriage altar of some centuries. Yet neither during life nor after death is there the shadow of substance in this pledge. Not only has she no right to spend her husband's money on general objects, but she has not even any definite, well-secured right even to maintenance by her husband. To quote a well-known legal text-book (Macqueen): "The only reason why a husband should support his wife is that she may not become a burden on the parish. So long as this calamity is averted the wife has no claim on her husband, and, in fact, she has no direct claim on him, in any circumstances whatever; for even in the case of positive starvation she can only come on the parish for relief, and then the parish authorities will insist that her husband shall provide for her to the extent at least of sustaining life."

If her husband is wealthy she is often kept in complete ignorance of the amount of his estate during his life. After his death he is entitled to leave by will the whole of his possessions away from her, and if he dies intestate she cannot claim more than one-half of the property, even when there are no children. On the other hand, if a wife dies intestate leaving children, the whole of her state becomes the property of her husband, to the exclusion of her children. It therefore follows that the husband can, and sometimes does, endow his second wife and her children, or some outsider, with his first wife's fortune, to the exclusion of her offspring.

Again, if a child dies under the age of 21, or if over age leaves no will, the father has the right by law to the whole of the property. A case illustrating the peculiar hardship of this law was brought to the attention of the public a few days ago:—

Some years ago a woman divorced her husband, and was given the custody of the children. She has an income derived from her late father's estate, the capital of which goes to her children at her death. When one of her children (over age) died recently, without leaving a will, she found that her divorced husband (who had married again) was entitled to this child's share of her late father's money, and to everything belonging to her child.

The man-made law held that she (the mother) was not so much the next-of-kin or heir-at-law of her own child as the man who by his behaviour had forfeited all ties of relationship.

### The Working Woman Wife.

When the working woman marries she generally leaves her employment. In fact, public authorities and private employers have often a rule which dismisses female employees on marriage.

She then enters the service of her husband. But this service is not remunerated in money. She cannot claim any definite share of his wages to enable her to keep the house or the children or herself, she cannot even claim maintenance at all except by an appeal to the guardians, who will act in order to prevent her from coming on the parish. Moreover, a recent legal decision has emphasised the fact that a wife is not entitled to anything that she can save by good management out of the housekeeping allowance which has been actually supplied to her. Though she be cook, laundress, tailoress, cleaner, dishwasher, and nurse to her "master's" children (for they are *his* children in the eyes of the law, not *hers*), she cannot call a penny her own.

The economic status of the working woman wife is thus the status of a slave.

## THE SCOTTISH WOMEN GRADUATES' LAWSUIT.

BY J. CHRYSAL MACMILLAN.

When in January, 1906, the first contested election in a Scottish University since women became graduates was about to take place, few graduates had considered the question seriously. They had always had a half belief they would receive their voting papers, and that these would have to take their chance at the poll. It transpired, however, a few days before the papers were to be sent out—for in this constituency voting is done by post—that papers were not to be sent to women graduates.

This decision drove them to the direct study of the law of the question, and it was found that women are not directly excluded by statute from voting at Parliamentary elections. It was also found that the General Council register on which the women's names were entered was the statutory register of Parliamentary voters, and that all previous cases had merely decided that women could not insist on having their names put on voting registers. It was further discovered that the reason for excluding women in counties and burghs was common law or custom, whereas there was no custom against women voting in Scottish University elections, for this was the first contested election since women had become graduates.

Some graduates, therefore, made formal application for their voting papers, stating that they had resolved in the case of these being refused to take legal steps to establish their right. They were refused, and the lawsuit became necessary.

In this particular action the pursuers are graduates of Edinburgh University, and their action is directed against the Universities of St. Andrew's and of Edinburgh, who jointly return one member to Parliament, and especially against the Registrar of the University of Edinburgh, who, in the first instance, refused the voting papers.

### How the Demand Arose.

The principal legal points are as follows:—The Scottish Reform Act of 1868 for the first time conferred on the Universities of Scotland the right to return two members to Parliament. This franchise is given to "persons of full age and not subject to any legal incapacity" who are members of the general councils of these Universities. The word "person" is used in conferring this franchise in contradistinction to the word "man," which is used in all other enabling sections of this Act, and to the same word "man" which is used in conferring the franchise on members of convocation of London University in the English Reform Act of 1867.

In 1881 an amendment to the above 1868 Act was passed, making regulations for voting by means of voting papers sent through the post.

In 1889 an Act conferred powers of the Scottish University Commissioners to make ordinances to admit women to graduation.

In 1892 this power was exercised, and women were admitted to graduation, but it had been laid down in the 1881 amendment above that "no person shall be allowed after examination to graduate until he shall have paid as a registration fee . . . and thereafter the name, &c., . . . of each person . . . shall on his graduation be entered by the registrar in the registration book . . . in order to their being transferred to the register of members of the general council." So the Commissioners had no discretion as to whether the names of the women were to be on the statutory register.

The names of the women have been entered on the register, and they have always exercised all the privileges of membership. The same section of the 1881 Act fur-

ther says, "Provided always that no person subject to any legal incapacity shall be entitled to vote at any Parliamentary election or exercise any other privilege as a member of the general council of any University." The University had recognised their capacity to exercise the other privileges, but denies this one. The case was first heard before Lord Salverne in July, 1906, and he decided against the women on both points.

### Who is a Person?

On the question of their right to have their votes counted, he said, in interpreting the expression, "person not subject to any legal incapacity," either "person" means male person, or "not subject to any legal incapacity" excludes the claims of women, as they are at common law legally incapacitated from exercising the Parliamentary franchise.

He also denied the right to voting papers, because it would be absurd for the registrar to send papers which he would afterwards have to reject. The Judge here misread the statute, for it is provided that the Vice-Chancellor, and not the registrar, shall have the right to reject.

The appeal was heard in October of this year. The belief among counsel before the judgment was given was that the Judges would declare they were incompetent to decide on the main question, and that the women ought to have received their voting papers, as it was their only means of raising the question in the proper courts, and, besides, if the registrar were to decide, he was taking upon himself the powers of clerk, returning officer, and election judges rolled into one. The ultimate judgment was that—

It is an incontestable fact that women never have enjoyed the Parliamentary franchise of the United Kingdom. . . . In view of these facts, we must conclude that it was a principle of the unwritten constitutional law of the country that men only were entitled to take part in the election of representatives to Parliament.

All ambiguous expressions in modern Acts of Parliament must be construed in the light of this general principle.

It is difficult to conceive that the Legislature should have conferred the power of extending or withholding the franchise by devolution, a power which it has always kept in its own hands.

As criticism of this, it may be remarked that constitutional principles can only be deduced from the common law taken with the statute law, and to invoke them in this way is to beg the whole question. With respect to the practice of the Legislature keeping the right of extending the franchise in its own hands, in this same constituency we have an example of another franchise which was conferred by devolution. In the Representation of the People (Scotland) Act, 1868, those who shall be members of the general council include "all persons on whom the University . . . has after examination conferred the degree of Doctor of Medicine, &c., . . . or any other degree that may hereafter be instituted." Since the passing of this Act the degree of Bachelor of Music has been instituted, and men in virtue of this degree vote for their University Member of Parliament.

A meeting of the Graduates' Committee has been called to consider what further steps are to be taken. If the case is taken to the House of Lords a further sum of £1,000 will have to be subscribed. All who believe in this as one of the useful methods of promoting women suffrage should send contributions to Miss Chrystal Macmillan, hon. sec. and treasurer, Corstorphine Hill House, by Murrayfield, Midlothian.

## "A TYPICAL SUFFRAGIST."

BY MARY PHILLIPS.

"YOU aren't a bit like my idea of a Suffragist!" How often have we been greeted with remarks like this from people who, having recovered from their first shock at the suggestion of votes for women, begin to grow friendly and confidential.

Ask them for a description of their hypothetical suffragist, and they draw a weird word-picture of a gaunt, unprepossessing female of uncertain age, with a raucous voice, and a truculent demeanour, who invariably seems to wear elastic-sided boots, and to carry a big "gampy" umbrella, which she uses as occasion demands either to brandish ferociously by way of emphasising her arguments, or to belabour any unfortunate member of the opposite sex who happens to displease her.

Tell your interlocutor that you have never met his "typical Suffragist," and that you are afraid she does not exist outside the imagination of the newspaper artists and the uninitiated public for whom they cater, and he will be half-incredulous. Let him see and hear some of the leaders of the movement, and he will begin to realise for himself that he has made a mistake.

Generalisations of any kind are notoriously unsafe. But there is one spirit that inspires all the women who live in and for our movement—"our women," as we proudly and affectionately call them—and there is in my mind an imaginary picture of the woman in whom this spirit is embodied. It is a picture I love to look upon, for to me it represents the "typical Suffragist."

She may be old or young or middle-aged. She may be strong or weak, rich or poor, plain or handsome. Her garments may be made in any style, or colour, or material under the sun. Usually, they are tasteful and becoming, though sometimes they are quite shabby and old. But the one dominant note about her is—happiness. She is bright and alert, and always ready with a smile and a cheery word. That is because she is fighting in a high and noble cause, not for herself, but for others—for her sisters, on whom the burden of life rests heavily, and for all the men and women who will live after her. In this cause she feels no labour too hard, no sacrifice too great. All she does is done spontaneously and willingly. She needs no elaborate system of red-tape and regulations to keep her attached to the movement—she only laughs at such things.

She is careful to consider the feelings of others, and she is sympathetic, forbearing, and forgiving. She does not seek her own aggrandisement, but is always trying to bring out the best that is in others, and to help and encourage them in their efforts. There is no room in her life for jealousy, or uncharitableness, or dishonesty. She is "straight" in all her dealings. "Be true to your word, and your work, and your friend," is her motto, and she can be trusted absolutely.

Do I idealise her? Perhaps. But if the spirit of the woman's movement is not yet fully embodied in all the units composing it, most of them have caught reflections, more or less perfectly, of its light and beauty. And to be a unit in such a whole is the very best possible way of approaching the realisation of the kind of ideal I have sketched.

## HONOUR TO WHOM HONOUR IS DUE.

To the Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

DEAR FELLOW-WORKERS,—Allow me to say why I object to being called "the veteran of the Suffrage movement," though I am grateful for the kind appreciation which the use of such words implies. It is because of the simple fact that there are other women, and some men, still living and working for our great cause, whose work began at least as early as my own. Some, in mere years of life, are younger than myself, others older, and therefore with far stronger claims than my own to the title of "veteran."

Foremost amongst the latter class I must place the honoured names of Mrs. Pochin and of Mrs. Haslam. Mrs. Pochin published her first pamphlet for Women's Suffrage so long ago as 1855. Mrs. Haslam, of Dublin, began to work at the same time as myself, as did also Miss Emily Davies, whose work for Suffrage has been lost sight of in the splendour of her great educational achievement, the creation of Girton College, and Mrs. Fawcett, whose active work began very shortly afterwards, and has never been intermitted. Of the dear departed workers I do not here venture to speak. They are a great host,

whose work is not lost, though its results are not yet fully seen, and whose spirit lives and moves in us to-day. But of two living veterans, both men, I should like specially to remind our younger workers. The Rev. S. A. Steintal, of Manchester, at whose house, just 42 years ago last month, was formed the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee; and Mr. Haslam, of Dublin, who, though well advanced, as is his dear wife, in the eighties, is, with her, still an active, living, working force, and a source of constant inspiration to others.

Our veterans are not one or two, but a powerful host, still working on in the hope and assurance that the day is at hand when the spirit of truth and justice shall overcome the vanity and narrowness of sex-privilege, and justice between the two sexes shall inaugurate that brighter day for humanity for which we all hope and work.

Faithfully yours,

ELIZABETH C. WOLSTENHOLME ELMY.

Congleton.

## LLOYD GEORGE AND WOMAN'S VOTE.

SIR,—Two questions were put to Mr. Lloyd George at his meeting in the St. Andrew's Halls last evening, neither of which he answered correctly.

One of these, a written question, was as follows:—

As Mr. Lloyd George had replied to a deputation to-day that he would oppose any measure that did not give a working man's wife as much voice in the making of the laws of the country as he had himself, would Mr. Lloyd George also oppose a measure for manhood suffrage, if it did not include womanhood suffrage?

Mr. Lloyd George simply replied that he was in favour of womanhood suffrage, and that he had spoken of both manhood and womanhood suffrage to the deputation. This, it will be seen, was no answer to the question.

The other question was asked verbally by a lady in the audience. It was:—

Why does Mr. Lloyd George, as a friend of woman suffrage, who believes it to be a great public question, never refer to it in his speeches? He and the other Cabinet Ministers go about educating the public by their speeches on those matters which they believe to be for the welfare of the country. Why is the question of "Votes for Women" not treated in the same way?

Mr. Lloyd George told the audience, who, owing to interruptions, could not hear the lady, who stood just in front of the platform, that she had asked him why he had not spoken on Woman's Suffrage instead of on Free Trade. His reply was that "the preacher had a right to choose his own text."

This can hardly be called an honest answer to the question asked, and will not encourage the Suffragists to wait till the close of the meeting on the future occasions when Mr. Lloyd George may be speaking.

In reply to yesterday's deputation, Mr. Lloyd George said that until the opinion of the country had been taken upon the question of "Votes for Women," no Government could carry the reform. One would like to ask him in what way the opinion of the country is ever taken on any reform, except by it being embodied in the speeches of party leaders when preparing for an appeal to the country.

ANNIE SWAN.

Glasgow, November 23.

A "VOTES FOR WOMEN" CHRISTMAS CARD.—Members and friends should send for a sample of the Christmas card published by the N.W.S.P.U., 4, Clement's-inn, price 1d. each, 10s. 100. We feel sure that they will be extremely pleased with the style and the printing, and with the very beautiful message that it bears. Very many of our members would, we think, be inclined to adopt this card as their own Christmas greeting to their entire circle of friends. Orders should be sent in as soon as possible.

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# VOTES FOR WOMEN.

December, 1907.

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

## A CHRISTMAS GREETING.

To all our readers at this glad season of the year we bring a greeting of great joy.

The festival which we celebrate at Christmas is one of double significance.

To the Pagan, who had watched through the autumn days the steady recession of the sun, who had seen the nights grow longer, and the hours of daylight less, Christmas was the great feast when the chariot of the sun turned in his course, and started again the ascent of the sky; it was the birth of the promise of the new life that was to be, the assurance that while still darkness and winter reigned, spring and summer, light and sunshine, would yet come back to fill the earth with flower and fruit, and bring joy and gladness to the heart of man.

To the Christian this festival of Christmas is the rebirth of the human soul. It is the coming of the new redeeming life, the awakening of the new hope. It is the promise that tyranny shall not for ever triumph nor the weak be oppressed.<sup>1</sup> It is the glad tidings that beyond and behind the material limitations of our being there are the ideal forces which sustain our life. It is the assurance that, though still evil and ugliness are strong, yet "God's in His Heaven, all's right with the world."

We, too, have a great glad tidings to announce, a message of hope and joy, and goodwill.

All down the centuries women have watched the days of darkness for the sign of the coming of the spring; they have marked the triumph of cruelty and oppression;

they have looked in vain for the advent of a deliverer. All down the centuries the woman-thought has been disparaged; the woman-heart has been choked back, the woman-life repressed.

We come to bring the glad tidings that this day is over, we come to tell women all over the world that the days of their darkness are done, that the hours of their discomfiture are past.

We come to bid them in full confidence prepare themselves for the spring, whose signs we have seen in the sky; we come to warn them to be ready to welcome the redeeming life, to accept the full inheritance of gladness which is theirs.

We know full well that there will be hard things in the future, as there have been hard things in the past. We know full well that there will be conflict and struggle, difficulty and disappointment, but we come to bid them be of good courage. We come to tell them that the battle has already turned in their favour, that the forces of life are with them, that victory is assured.

Past is loneliness and bitter failure, past is sex conflict, past is prejudice and misunderstanding. The future is bright with hope; we read in the signs of the times the promise that woman is coming to her own, that she, together with man, is going to take up their common inheritance, and that they two together will bring about a new springtime, wherein the tree of human life shall bear blossoms of beauty, and fruit of joy, and all the nations of the earth shall be blessed.

## THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN.

BY CHRISTABEL PANKHURST.

The principal feature of the past month's campaign has been the protests made by our members at meetings addressed by Cabinet Ministers.

The first protest was made at Mr. Sidney Buxton's meeting at Poplar, on October 25. Three days later came the demonstration against the Government made at Mr. Lewis Harcourt's meeting in Rossendale. Earlier in the day Mr. Harcourt had informed a deputation that he was hostile to woman suffrage. Asked why he was opposed to that reform, he replied "because I am." A question put to Mr. Asquith at Tayport, on October 29, elicited the statement that he also remains unconverted.

On November 7 several members of the Union attended Mr. Harcourt's meeting, at Batley, and after being ejected, held a huge indignation meeting outside the hall.

At Brighton, on November 11, a demonstration was made at Mr. McKenna's meeting in the Dome. The progress of the meeting was several times arrested, Mr. McKenna saying to the chairman at one point, "It is impossible to get on, absolutely impossible."

On the following day a protest was made at Mr. Birrell's meeting at Southampton, and afterwards an indignation meeting was held, attended by a large and sympathetic audience. On November 13 the Prime Minister spoke at Bristol, and to his meeting went several members of our Union. Seeing that the Prime Minister was ill, they decided to content themselves with making one or two interjections. For doing this two of them were expelled.

### Mr. Asquith's Meeting.

Three days afterwards Mr. Asquith spoke at Nuneaton. During the course of his address thirty-one women rose at intervals to demand the vote. A very large force of stewards was in attendance, and every woman was promptly ejected. Our members met with considerable sympathy from the audience. Working men in the gallery accused those on the platform of cowardice, and many of the women's interruptions were applauded by people in all parts of the theatre.

Mr. Haldane visited Sheffield on November 20, and was met at the railway station by a women's deputation, asking that the enfranchisement of women should be mentioned in the King's Speech next session. Arriving at the University later in the day, Mr. Haldane was met by another deputation. On both occasions he made an evasive reply. Such were the precautions taken by the Liberals that it was impossible for any woman known to be a suffragist to gain admission to the public meeting held at night. Special women's tickets had been issued, and the holders of these were severely cross-questioned before being allowed to enter the hall. Our members, while the Liberal meeting was in progress, held four protest meetings outside, one on each side of the hall, and attracted audiences of many thousands.

Lord Tweedmouth spoke in Exeter, on November 22, and extraordinary pains were taken to exclude Suffragists. Ordinary tickets of admission were marked "gentlemen only." Women's tickets were very cautiously distributed, and bore the name and address of the holder. The daughter of a prominent local Liberal was denied a ticket

because she refused to sign a document pledging herself not to hand her ticket to a "Suffragette." Notwithstanding these precautions, one member of the Union succeeded in entering the hall, and upon making her protest, she was ejected. There was an indignation meeting outside the hall. Mr. Herbert Gladstone was in Leeds on November 21 and 22, for the purpose of addressing his constituents. At both his meetings there were protests from women. At the second of these meetings the action of our members and of a large number of men who supported them, led to the complete breaking up of the meeting, and Mr. Gladstone was, as the Press had it, put to flight.

Mr. Lloyd George, when in Glasgow, received a deputation from the local Women's Suffrage Society. The main points of his reply were that suffragists should appeal to their own sex instead of "worrying and henpecking" men; that the pledges of the 420 friends in the present House of Commons were not made to their constituents, and were, therefore, not of practical value; that the matter must come before the country at a General Election before Parliament could settle it; that he could hold out no hope of the introduction of a Government measure for woman suffrage during the present Parliament.

### Our Reply to Lloyd George.

In reply to Mr. Lloyd George we have to say that, though we shall continue the work of rousing women to demand the vote, we shall not cease from harassing the Government, who are responsible for our disfranchisement. That private members' pledges are valueless is not news to the Women's Social and Political Union. We have always known that only action taken by the Government as a whole is of any use. It will be interesting to know what is now to be the policy of the Liberal women and the older Suffrage Society, who have hitherto pinned their faith to private members' pledges and whose illusions have now been so rudely, yet opportunely, destroyed by Mr. Lloyd George. They must now face the fact that by making the individual and personal pledge of candidates the basis of their election work, they are journeying down a blind alley. No woman who is a practical politician and a keen suffragist can resist the conclusion that only by opposing the Government, so that they may be forced to deal with our question, can the vote be won. The admission that the Government do not intend to concede our claim during the present session removes every vestige of excuse for refraining from the anti-Government campaign. The assertion that the country must be consulted is obviously an empty excuse for delay. Under present law the opinion of the country means the opinion of the men electors, and their right to withhold the vote we deny. Further, the Government have not only introduced a Plural Voting Bill, which was not before the country at the last election, but they intend, if the Peers will consent to such a course, to effect a vast constitutional change by altering the position of the House of Lords without previously submitting the question to the electors.

Mr. Lloyd George, in professing a desire for adult womanhood suffrage could hardly expect to be taken seriously. His replies to questions at the meeting in St. Andrew's Hall were most unsatisfactory. Asked whether he would oppose a measure for manhood suffrage which did not include womanhood suffrage, he replied, evading the point of the question, that he was "in favour" of womanhood suffrage. He was then asked why, though he claims to be a friend of woman suffrage, he never refers

to it in his speeches, so that the country may be educated on this as on other public questions. He told the audience, who, owing to interruptions, could not hear the question, that he had been asked why his speech that night had not been devoted to woman suffrage instead of to Free Trade.

The recent utterances of Mr. Lloyd George and other members of the Cabinet are the strongest proof of the necessity of our militant tactics. The quietly-expressed demand of thousands of Liberal women and others they disregard. The new militant campaign they cannot ignore and in time they must yield to it. In the appeal of more than one member of the Government for the cessation of our present tactics we have a sign that those tactics are producing their effect. The Press has given great prominence to our recent action. Many of the great "dailies" have devoted leading articles to the subject. A perusal of these reveals the fact that much of the work of past years has gone for nothing, for editorial ignorance of the lengthy agitation for woman suffrage seems complete. Criticisms of the new tactics, whether from the Press or from any other quarter, which does not take into account the failure of the milder agitation, cannot be regarded seriously. We are repeatedly exhorted by the Liberal newspapers to abandon our various forms of attack upon the Government, but to this we naturally turn a deaf ear.

#### Conservatives and Woman Suffrage.

At the Conservative Conference in Birmingham a woman suffrage resolution was carried. The *Daily News* referred to this as "a pin prick at the Liberal party." Doubtless Liberals will be equally displeased by the speech of Mr. F. E. Smith, the Conservative member for the Walton division, Liverpool. Speaking in Liverpool on the position of the present Government, he asked whether, "in the history of politics, time has ever brought a swifter or darker nemesis to a great political party? Two years ago the Liberal ranks seemed closed, women workers rallied round them, believing their promises of enfranchisement. . . . To day, having promised votes to women because they are women, they withhold them because they are suffragettes. . . . Mr. McKenna said that he was coming with a sword in his hand. Let him keep it to deal with the suffragists whom his party has duped."

The *Morning Post* at the beginning of a leading article, on Thursday, November 14, said: "Mr. Birrell addressed a Liberal meeting at Southampton on Tuesday, and after a preliminary contest with some female members of his party—who seem to have been treated in the most unchivalrous manner—he was able to make a speech."

The *World* said:—

Though it is impossible to defend their conduct in deliberately attempting to break up meetings, an alternative might surely be found to such painful and degrading scenes as that enacted at Nuneaton where some 30 women were violently ejected, after something very like a free fight with the men told off for the unpleasant duty of expelling them. It is noticeable that at these meetings of the party which claims to be in a special sense the protector of the right of free speech, the "votes for women" advocates are never by any chance allowed to state their case, nor is any attempt made to define or defend the attitude of the Government on the question in which they are interested. On the Unionist side, though opinion as to the claims of the Suffragettes is notoriously divided, there is no such cowardly attempt to burke the discussion of the question, as was proved last week at the Birmingham Conference, where—rather surprisingly—a motion found acceptance which favoured a limited measure of female enfranchisement. How far this vote represented the opinion of the party as a whole remains to be seen; but Unionists at least recognise that the question cannot be settled by running away from it.

These are some of the signs that the Government's political opponents are coming to regard Woman Suffrage as a question of practical politics.

Demonstrations at Liberal meetings have not absorbed the whole energy of the W.S.P.U. In November we held a great number of meetings, large and small. There was an important meeting at Bristol, attended by several pioneers of the Women's Suffrage movement.

In London, in spite of a dense fog, a great crowd of women attended at the Queen's Hall on November 11 and gave an enthusiastic hearing to our speakers. An appeal by the treasurer for funds with which to continue the battle met with a generous response, sixty or seventy women sending up promises to give various sums amounting in all to no less than £570.

A successful meeting at Leeds resulted in the conversion to our methods of several Liberal women and in the addition to the fund of £42. The Town Hall meeting in Birmingham was attended by a number of university students, whose object was to disturb the meeting. Their conduct had the effect of winning us much sympathy in the city, and there is a demand for another meeting. There have been large meetings also in Brighouse, Exeter, Inverness, and other towns.

#### The Hull By-Election.

The Hull election has claimed many of our workers. At the time of writing the result of the election is not known. Whether or no we have succeeded in preventing the return of the Government's candidate, we have converted to Woman Suffrage thousands of men and women in Hull. The reception we have had has been most friendly. Several meetings have been held each day, and these have been attended by large audiences, who seemed never to tire of hearing about the Votes for Women Movement.

During December we shall be active in Scotland, in Mr. Harcourt's constituency and other parts of Lancashire, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, in Nottingham, where we are to hold a meeting in the Mechanics' Hall on December 2, in Birmingham, and elsewhere.

#### Plans for 1908.

We have already made preparations for extending our campaign very largely during the early months of 1908. Owing to the rapid growth of the work which has to be done in the offices of the union, the increasing output of literature and the extension of other departments, we decided to enlarge the office accommodation. A suite of six additional rooms adjoining those at present held by us was fortunately available, and preparations are already being made for getting them ready for our use. After the Christmas holidays we shall be in our new premises, which will very much facilitate our work.

The first important engagement of the New Year is that in the Horticultural Hall on January 23, when we expect to have a large gathering of men and women, and we shall formulate our demand for the enfranchisement of women to be accorded by Parliament in 1908.

On February 11, 12, and 13, a Parliament of Women will be held by us in the Caxton Hall, and as we shall then be in possession of the precise terms of the King's Speech, women will know what lies in front of them. On March 19 we are to have a great meeting in the Albert Hall, and as this is the largest hall in London, we hope all our friends will rally round us to make this meeting a very great success. Meanwhile, we are arranging for a series of lectures to be given on Tuesday evenings during March and April in the Portman Rooms. I hope to be able to give particulars of all these engagements in a little while. The tickets will be out before Christmas, so that all friends of the movement will be able to dispose of them during the Christmas holidays. It rests with women to win their enfranchisement during the coming Session of Parliament by their enthusiasm and their determination.

## THE HULL BY-ELECTION.

Liberal ... .. Mr. Guy Wilson.  
Conservative ... .. Sir G. Trout Bartley.  
Labour ... .. James Holmes, A.S.R.S.

N.W.S.P.U. Committee Rooms: 361, Hessle-road, Hull.

Polling Day, Friday, November 29.

Figures at the General Election were:—

Hon. C. H. Wilson (Lib.) .. .. .	8,652
Sir John Sherburn (Cons.) .. .. .	6,405
Majority .. .. .	2,247

The polling day has been fixed considerably earlier than was originally anticipated, and before VOTES FOR WOMEN has reached the hands of its readers the election will be a thing of the past.

The volume of work has grown rapidly as the day has come nearer, and there have been great demands made both for speakers and for work in our committee rooms, but through the assistance of voluntary workers we have been able to meet all calls. In addition to Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, and Miss Mary Gawthorpe, Miss Mordan, Mrs. Massey, Mrs. Eates, Miss Keovil, Miss Dugdale, Mrs. Chatterton, and others have been working in Hull with very satisfactory results. Midday meetings have been held at the factory gates and at the docks, and have all proved a great success. Special meetings for women have been well attended, and there is a general consensus of opinion that the "suffragettes" are made of the right stuff.

Our success has been all the more remarkable, as the weather has been exceptionally bad, cold winds and a sea fog being the regular order of the day. The people of Hull thoroughly appreciate our tactics, and consider our protests at Liberal meetings quite justified.

#### The Liberal Candidate's Position.

They generally also understand our by-election policy of setting ourselves in direct opposition to the Government nominee without regard to his personal views. On this point some confusion has been introduced by other suffrage societies which have been pursuing a different policy. In view of a meeting which is being held as VOTES FOR WOMEN goes to press on Tuesday evening, November 26, which is to be addressed by the Liberal candidate, and which is organised in support of woman's enfranchisement, Mrs. Pankhurst has sent the following letter to the local papers:—

You were good enough to publish my letter requesting Mr. Guy Wilson, the Liberal candidate for West Hull, to prove his support of Women's Suffrage by endeavouring to obtain from the Prime Minister and the Cabinet a promise that a Government measure shall be introduced next session. As this promise has not been obtained, we are continuing our opposition to the election of the Government nominee. My reason for writing to you now is that I am informed that Mr. Guy Wilson is advertised to speak at a Women's Suffrage meeting held under the auspices of the N.W. and W.S.S. and the Hull S.S. I would like, through you, Sir, to request Mr. Wilson at that meeting to reply to the following questions, in order that the women who support his candidature may know exactly where they stand:—

If elected, will Mr. Guy Wilson move an amendment to the King's Speech if Women's Suffrage finds no place in it?

Will Mr. Guy Wilson take part in the ballot for places for private members' Bills, and, if successful in obtaining a good place in the ballot, will he give that place to a Women's Suffrage Bill?

Will Mr. Guy Wilson do all in his power to persuade the Government to introduce a Government measure, and, if the Government persist in their refusal to deal with the question, is he prepared to oppose the Government?

Unless Mr. Wilson is prepared to do these things, his support is valueless, and women who really want votes should realise, as I do, that the only way to get votes is to oppose with all their strength a man who, while professing to be in favour of Women's Suffrage, is seeking election in order to

support a Government which taxes women and legislates for them, and obstinately refuses to give them representation.

Yours, &c.,

E. PANKHURST.

The Liberal women have not shown to best advantage during the election. Considerable local interest was aroused by the refusal of the Women's Liberal Association to allow Mrs. Martel to be present at a debate on woman's suffrage, held at their premises, for which she had received an invitation. As a sequel, several of their supporters resigned from the association, and of those that remained many have thought it expedient to offer an apology for the rudeness of their officials.

Mrs. Martel has addressed the Women's Co-operative Guilds, and made a number of converts to the methods and tactics of the W.S.P.U.

Miss Una Dugdale put some pertinent questions at a lecture on "Electoral Reforms," given in the Cobden Hall on November 24. The speaker in his address had advocated "One man, one vote." When the discussion began Miss Dugdale urged the paramount claim of the woman's question, and not only received considerable applause from the audience, but turned the whole subsequent discussion into the channel of woman's suffrage, the following speakers without a single dissenting voice upholding her position.

#### The Final Week.

I have only been in Hull three or four days, but the well-known spirit of enthusiasm and of definite purpose is as apparent in this by-election as in those gone by. It does, indeed, speak well for the popularity of our cause, that hundreds, nay, thousands of people will stand for hours in the face of the coldest winds, in order to hear the case of voteless women against the Government. Three or four meetings go on simultaneously each night in different corners of the constituency; dinner-hour meetings are, as we generally find, popular as any. On Saturday, November 23, Mrs. Pankhurst went by special request to address the brassfounders as they left their work for the weekend. Generally the working man is especially anxious to get home soon on a Saturday dinner-time, but even football attractions fail under such circumstances as these. Perhaps the special attractions of the last week of the campaign, in addition to the general fixtures, will be the meetings for "women only," which are to be held each afternoon. The objects of these meetings, apart from their wonderful educational value, is to get local helpers for the last strenuous days, and also to enlist recruits for the procession of women we hope to arrange on polling day. The first of the series was held on Saturday, and Mrs. Pankhurst tells me that a significant feature was the presence of a large number of Liberal women, who were very much impressed with the arguments for the methods and policy of our Union. Perhaps, in view of Mr. Lloyd George's, Mr. Harcourt's, and Mr. Gladstone's recent plain hints on adult suffrage (present style), Liberal women may yet see the errors of their suffrage ways.

A great eve-of-the-poll demonstration is to be held on Thursday next at the Beverley-road Baths, when, in addition to those of us who are already on the spot, we are trying to arrange for a special visit from Adela Pankhurst, in order that she may tell the electors of West Hull at first hand her "democratic" experiences of the last week. Altogether, a busy week lies ahead, and at the time of writing, if the enormous and enthusiastic meeting held this afternoon in the Corporation Fields and addressed by Mrs. Pankhurst, Mrs. Martel, Miss Mordan, Mrs. Chatterton and myself is to be taken as an indication of the result of our campaign, one may safely conjecture a surprise for the Government!

By no means the least important work has been going on in our committee room. Here Mrs. Chatterton supervises the literature department, and Miss Hudson, Mrs. Salvidge, Mrs. Bramwell, Mrs. Upton, and other local workers have rendered invaluable help in getting out the thousands of circulars to the women householders of West Hull—the women who are debarred from the right to vote because they are women.

Although we have not officially visited Hull before, there can hardly be a doubt but that, as a result of the present campaign, Hull will soon have a W.S.P.U. of its own.

MARY E. GAWTHORPE.

## THE HISTORY OF THE SUFFRAGE MOVEMENT.

By SYLVIA PANKHURST. III.—From 1868 to 1871.

IN November, 1868, Lord Chief Justice Boritt and his brethren had, as we have seen, decided that when Parliament passed the Representation of the People Act, in 1867, it had not been its intention to give votes to women.

Just seven months after this judicial pronouncement, Parliament, as though to put the judges in the wrong, and show its own belief in women's right to vote, accepted an amendment to include them under the provisions of the Municipal Franchise Act.

The women's claim to the municipal vote was an exact parallel to that in regard to the Parliamentary franchise.

Women had from time immemorial possessed and exercised the right to vote in all local affairs until the year 1835, when the introduction of the phrase "male persons" into the Municipal Corporation Act excluded them from the Municipal franchise, just as in 1832 the Parliamentary vote had been taken from them by the use of the same words.

The act of exclusion was the same, and its injustice equal in both cases, but its glaring nature was more easily demonstrated where it concerned the Municipal vote. There were at that time in England 78 non-corporate towns which were not Parliamentary boroughs, with populations varying from 20,000 to 6,000, where every ratepayer, man or woman, voted in all local elections. The government of these non-corporate towns was much the same as that of the municipal towns, where women might not vote. Yet as soon as a town became incorporated, its women ratepayers were disfranchised. All over the country women had the right to vote in the election of Poor Law Guardians. They voted in parochial matters, and took part in vestry meetings called for the election of church wardens and way wardens, the appointment of overseers, and the sale of parish property.

It was testified by many persons, including Mr. Lings, the Comptroller for the city of Manchester, that in all cases where women had the right to vote, they used it, in proportion to their relative numbers on the register, in the same measure as it was exercised by men.

The committee of the Manchester Women's Suffrage Society saw in the introduction of a Bill by Mr. Hibbert dealing with the conditions of the municipal franchise an opportunity to press the women's claim.

### Jacob Bright's Amendment.

Mr. Jacob Bright agreed to move an amendment to the Bill, securing to women the right to vote in municipal elections. The fullest possible information in regard to the ancient and existing rights of women to vote in local affairs was sent to every Member of Parliament, and the facts were embodied in petitions praying for the removal of the sex disability, which were signed and presented to both Houses of Parliament.

In the House of Commons on June 7, 1869, Mr. Jacob Bright moved that in this Act and the said recited Act (Municipal Corporation Act, 1835), wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the election or power to elect representatives of any municipal corporation.

Mr. Bright said that he proposed to introduce no innovation, but in reality to remove one that had been brought in under the Act of 1835. He pointed out that that Act was the only Act in regard to local government and expenditure which had been passed either before or since that time, establishing the disability of sex, and men-

tioned that the Health of Town Act, passed in 1848, had a clause almost identical with the one he was moving.

The motion was passed without a word of dissent, Mr. Bruce (the Home Secretary) saying that the clause introduced no anomaly, and that he should give it his cordial support.

In the House of Lords the amendment was also carried without opposition, except on the part of Lord Redesdale, who failed to find a seconder. The Municipal Franchise Bill became law on August 2, 1869.

In spite of the fact that their great leader, John Stuart Mill, had been defeated in the preceding General Election, the Suffragists were now full of hope. The municipal franchise had been quickly won, and now that the legislature had thus formally recognised the principle of votes for women in popular elections, it was felt that the removal of the sex disability in regard to the Parliamentary vote must soon follow. A Bill with that object was, therefore, drafted by Dr. Pankhurst as follows:—

*A Bill to Remove the Electoral Disabilities of Women.*—Be it enacted by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same as follows:—

1. That in all Acts relating to the qualification and registration of voters or persons entitled or claiming to be registered and to vote in the election of members of Parliament, wherever words occur which import the masculine gender, the same shall be held to include females for all purposes connected with and having reference to the right to be registered as voters, and to vote in such election, any law or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

This Bill was backed by Mr. Jacob Bright, Sir Charles Dilke, and Mr. E. B. Eastwick. Notice of the Bill was given on February 11, 1870, it was introduced on February 16, and on May 4 the second reading was moved by Mr. Jacob Bright, who spoke for over an hour. There was a good discussion, and a full House. The Bill was supported by Dr. Lyon Playfair, Sir Charles Dilke, Colonel Sykes, and Mr. Muntz. The previous question was moved by Mr. W. Fowler, Mr. Beresford Hope, and Sir Herbert Croft.

The Home Secretary (Mr. Bruce), on behalf of the Government, said that, owing to extreme pressure of business, he and his colleagues had not been able to give the question that full consideration which would have enabled them to express an opinion to guide the deliberations of the House, and that, therefore, he was unable to support the Bill, and, either personally or as a member, to express any opinion thereon.

Mr. Jacob Bright, in the course of his reply, stated that he had just received a telegram informing him that the Manchester Town Council had that day agreed to petition Parliament in favour of the measure.

The Speaker then put the question, and the House divided, with the result that 124 members voted for and 91 against the Bill, giving a favourable majority of 33. These figures were received with cheers, and, amid cheers, the Bill was read a second time.

Thus early in the struggle it seemed that women's citizenship was almost won. This verdict of a majority of the people's representatives when left free to vote in accordance with their own opinions, was, however, not pleasing to the powers that were. The Government departed from its neutral attitude. It issued an urgent whip against the Women's Bill, and when, on Friday, May 13, Jacob Bright moved for going into committee, Mr. Bouverie, Lord Elcho, Lord Garlies, Mr. Newdigate, and Mr. Gladstone himself were there to

## WOMEN IN OTHER LANDS.

### France.

THE agitation for securing votes for women is bringing this question more and more to the forefront of politics in France; and, just as the Married Women's Property Act, passed in the British Parliament in 1883, was the by-product of the vigorous Suffrage campaign that was going on at that time in Great Britain, and the inclusion of domestic servants in the Workmen's Compensation Act last year also, and recently the Women's Local Government Act, were the by-products of the present Suffrage agitation, so Frenchwomen are winning at last elementary rights for which they have long cried out in vain. The law which gives married women the right to their own earnings has at last passed its final stages in the Senate.

### Iceland.

The Iceland Parliament has just reassembled, and has been met with a petition from 12,000 women demanding the Parliamentary franchise. The Government has announced its intention of presenting a Bill to Parliament for the enfranchisement of women.

### Poland.

A Women's Suffrage Society has lately been formed in Poland. All women's societies or unions have been forbidden by law in Poland until two years ago; now the legal restrictions have been somewhat relaxed, though it is with great caution, and against immense difficulties, that the agitation for the vote can be carried on by women. "The Polish Women's Union for Equality of Rights" is organising meetings disseminating propaganda literature, getting signatures to petitions, and sending them to the Duma. They have issued a manifesto to women. Here is the English translation:—

#### POLISH WOMEN!

Behind us lies the past of dead slumber.

The needle of justice on the dial of liberty points to the hour of enfranchisement.

The woman with determined protest now throws behind her the slavish docility of her existence.

The woman cannot fulfil her duty of citizenship until her voice can determine the condition of those duties.

The woman wants to be a free mother, of a free generation.

The law which on the ground of sex disability does not call the woman to the ballot box is made by a minority of the people formed of men.

In the name of Truth, then, the law that casts women out of the legislative work of the country deadens the conscience of the people, lowers ethics and race hygiene in the community, becomes the basis of many injuries done to the human dignity of the woman.

We appeal to all Polish women to gather our strength to awaken in the conscience of the woman the sense of the great wrong which is done to her, and also to awaken in the conscience of the man the determination to cast from him the name and the reproach of the wrongdoer. Let us collect upon this appeal signatures from women and men to certify that we want a really democratic equal suffrage law, with direct secret ballot, without regard to sex, or creed, or race.

### Norway.

A visitor from Norway came to the W.S.P.U. "At Home" at 4, Clements-inn, recently. Norway has the honour of being second amongst the European countries to give the elementary right of citizenship to women. Women got the vote easily, after a comparatively short campaign. We asked our visitor to explain how this happened.

"It was because of you women in England," she answered. "The Members of Parliament to whom I spoke about it said, 'If we don't take care, the women here will follow the example of those dreadful women in England. We had better give them a vote at once!' And they did."

### Sweden.

Sweden seems to be running Norway pretty close. Six Bills dealing with Woman Suffrage have been introduced in the Swedish Parliament, and will be considered this Session. A very vigorous campaign is going on. Magazines are full of articles dealing with the question. Meetings are being held, and are being largely attended throughout the country. There is no newspaper campaign of misrepresentation and abuse against the women of Sweden. The Press is on the side of the Suffragists.

E. P. L.

oppose him. In face of this opposition, the Bill was lost by a majority of 126, 94 members voting for going into committee, and 220 against.

During the Session of 1870, between February 17 and July 28, 663 petitions, with 134,561 signatures, were presented to Parliament in support of votes for women\*. Though the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill was not carried, the labours of the suffragists were in some measure rewarded, for under the Elementary Education Act of 1870 women were not only granted equal voting rights with men, but provision was also made for them to be elected as members of School Boards.

On February 13, 1871, the Women's Disabilities Bill was again introduced, and on May 3 the second reading was moved by Mr. Jacob Bright. Mr. Disraeli voted for the Bill, and two other members of the late Conservative Government spoke and voted for it, but it was again opposed by Mr. Gladstone, who said that, though he did not consider the present law perfect, he did not like the proposal for amending it. He thought that the personal attendance and intervention of women in election proceedings would be a practical evil of an intolerable character. He did not object to women voting in Municipal and School Board elections, or even to them sitting on School Boards. He admitted that there was a presumptive case for a change in the law. He further stated that in Italy the law qualified a woman to exercise the franchise if possessed of a qualification, subject to the condition that she should only exercise it through a deputy. He had never heard any conclusive reason why we should not borrow a hint from this Italian law. There was, he admitted, more presumptive ground for a change in the law than some of the opponents would allow, for there were various important particulars in which women obtained much less than justice. It might be said that there was no direct connection between them and the Parliamentary franchise, but, though this was true, he was by no means sure that these inequalities might not have an indirect connection with a state of law in which the balance was generally cast too much against women and too much in favour of men. In the whole chapter of legislation, where the irregular relations of men and women, and the consequences of those irregular relations, were concerned, the English law did women much less than justice, and great mischief, misery, and scandal resulted from that state of things in many occurrences and events of life.

Mr. Gladstone did not vote against the Bill, as in 1870, but left the House before the division took place.

The result of this division was: Ayes, 151; noes, 220. The second reading was, therefore, lost by 69.

Thus, for the second time, our legislators outvoted a measure of justice affecting half the population of the country at the bidding of one who acted not, as his own words tell us, from disbelief in the principle he was opposing, but from the antiquated, absurd, and degrading notion that the presence of his countrywomen at the Parliamentary polling booth would bring about some evil of an intolerable character.

(To be continued.)

In my article in the November number I notice the following printer's errors:—

The date of John Stuart Mill's return to Parliament was 1865 not 1863. 1865 was also the date of the formation of the first Manchester Women's Suffrage Committee.

In column two, in the last paragraph but one, it is stated that 3,000 Manchester women's claims to be put on the register were consolidated. This should read 5,000, or to be exact 5,346.

In the note at the foot of the same page "Miss Baker" refers to Miss Lydia E. Becker, secretary to the Manchester Society for Women's Suffrage from August, 1867, to July, 1890.

E. S. P.

\* NOTE.—The petitions in favour of the Women's Disabilities Removal Bill in the Session of 1871 were 620, with 186,890 signatures. There was one petition against, with one signature.

THE MOVEMENT IN LONDON AND THE PROVINCES.

Chelsea W.S.P.U.—The union is arranging a jumble sale on December 12. They are anxious to make it a great success, so will friends kindly do their best towards helping by sending women's, children's and men's clothing, also boots and shoes, house-lines, curtains of all sorts, and other things that are useless to themselves to Miss M. D. Home, 7, Palace Gardens-terrace, W., and to Miss W. Mayo, 93, Oakley-street, Chelsea, S.W.

Clapham W.S.P.U.—Our local union held a very successful drawing-room meeting on November 5, at 185, King's-avenue, by kind invitation of Mrs. Richardson. There were not so many strangers present as had been expected, but those who came seemed impressed by the arguments brought forward. Miss N. E. Smith spoke of the impossibility of any real home life for any women engaged in the "sweated industries" and other underpaid work, and Miss Macaulay spoke from the historical point of view, and defended the tactics. She pointed out the patience of women during the last 40 years, and asked, Who but women would have exercised such patience, and who but fools would be patient any longer? A good collection was taken and a fair amount of literature sold. The next monthly meeting will be held in a room at St. Ann's Hall, Venn-street, at the back of the Plough, Clapham, on December 12.

L. RICHARDSON.

Hammersmith W.S.P.U.—Our union broke fresh ground this week at Barnes, and held a public meeting, at which Miss Conolan and Miss Evelyn Sharp were the speakers. Both speakers and the chairman, Mrs. Lorisgnol, rightly dwelt upon the need for the present tactics, and impressed the audience. Five names were handed in of people who wished to know more about the whole subject, and we hope to be able to form a union at Barnes. Future events are as follows:—November 29; Open-air meeting, Down Place, King-street. Mrs. Arncliffe Sennett, 7.30. December 11: Public meeting, jointly with Chiswick W.S.P.U., at Chiswick Town Hall, 8 p.m. Miss Pankhurst, Miss Conolan, Mrs. Baldock, and in the chair Mrs. East.

F. E. ROWE.

Harrow-road W.S.P.U.—The rummage sale, which took place on November 4, was a great success, both as regards finance and propaganda. We cleared £7. We wish to thank all those who sent parcels to us, and also to thank those who so kindly came to help on the day of sale. Dr. Helen Jones was our speaker at a meeting for women on November 25, when 60 were present, and nine new members were made. On Tuesday, December 3, at 8 o'clock, we are holding our first big meeting in Paddington, Miss C. Pankhurst, Miss Conolan, and myself are to speak. We have engaged a big hall, which will seat 800, and we are working hard this week to make our first attempt a success.

L. C. CULLEN.

Lewisham W.S.P.U.—We have held several successful Sunday afternoon meetings in November in Blackheath. On Sunday, November 17, we were tackled with a number of questions, prominent among which was, Why did not the Suffragettes tackle the Conservative party when in power? The answer given was to the effect that the present movement had not come into existence at that time. The members of the union only go to meetings where Cabinet Ministers were speaking. Unless they secure the vote, they will do the same in the event of the Tory or Labour party being in power.

London City W.S.P.U.—We have just issued a syllabus of our winter's work, and hope to carry on an active campaign in the centre of London. The syllabus is composed of "At Homes" (which are held in conjunction with the Thursday evening "At Homes," 4, Clement's-inn), lectures, open-air meetings, and business meetings. The first lecture was given by Miss Evelyn Sharp on Friday, November 15, at 8 o'clock. She spoke on "The Womanly Woman of Yesterday and Today," and was listened to with great interest. There was a good sale of literature, and eight new members were enrolled on the membership list. Our first open-air meeting was held in Regency-place, Westminster, on Friday, November 22, at 8 o'clock. A good crowd gathered and listened intently to the speeches of Dr. Jones and Miss Macaulay. The audience expressed great approval when it was announced at the close of the meeting that we should be coming again on that day fort-

night. We shall be only too pleased to send our syllabus to anyone who applies for it, as we wish to keep people in touch with all our meetings.

JESSIE KENNEY.

Yorkshire Report.

Yorkshire has been thoroughly roused by the visits of two Cabinet Ministers.

In Sheffield, only women "guaranteed safe" were admitted to the Liberal meeting, so that the W.S.P.U. went down, headed by Miss Annie Kenney and myself, to meet Mr. Haldane at the railway station. We arrived nearly an hour before the time, but our presence was quickly made known, and the Chief Constable, many policemen, and the chairman of the Liberal Party, Sir Wm. Clegg, quickly arrived to protect Mr. Haldane. We have never been, I think, so courteously treated by the police, as we were placed inside the barrier, so as to be able to present a petition to Mr. Haldane.

This we did, but got no satisfaction, since the Secretary of State for War could give us no assurance that the Government would deal with the women's claims, and even refused to refer to the subject in his speech at night. He did so, however, when the time came, because two men interrupted the meeting for the women, and were put out with great violence. All the time the Liberal meeting was going on we were speaking from the steps, and the cheers from our audience could be clearly heard inside, where there was a remarkable scarcity of enthusiasm. Mr. Haldane "escaped by a back door" (to quote the newspapers), to avoid the attention of a hostile crowd.

But if we were baffled in Sheffield we had our revenge in Leeds, both Mr. Herbert Gladstone's meetings were spoiled by the women, but at the first he watched seven women being ejected with violence with a pleasant smile, and afterwards told the Press that the great thing was to "take no notice of the women."

Though we had many friends in the meeting there was such a crowd of people that they could not get to our help. One woman stayed right to the end, because she was surrounded by friends, and the stewards did not dare to turn her out.

On Friday night the promoters of the meeting separated the men and women, but four of them clambered over the seats, and took places at the back among our friends. When Mr. Gladstone entered he showed how little "he noticed the women" by starting right away on our question.

He said he had always been in favour (at which the audience laughed aloud), and began to lecture us about the methods, saying that the men had won the franchise by holding orderly meetings. "They went to Hyde Park," he began. "Yes, and pulled the railings down," called out one of the women.

"The Government won't be forced by a family party," said Mr. Gladstone.

"What?" replied the suffragettes, "One hundred and fifty-three women imprisoned. What a large family!"

"This agitation is carried on by a handful of hysterical women," he said again.

"What did you want the mounted police for then?" retorted the suffragettes.

"Mr. Gladstone is too responsible a Minister to be treated like this," said the chairman, but strange to say this announcement had no effect. "Give us the vote and we'll leave your meetings alone," the suffragettes assured the Home Secretary, who at last sat down in despair—though, as he told the Press afterwards, "he could easily have gone on, only he did not think it worth while."

Many of our women were ejected, and several times the stewards came in our direction; but as soon as they did the men all stood up round us, and the stewards withdrew. The chairman then assured the meeting that he did not want to use force.

Mr. Gladstone asked for questions. So I got up on my seat and asked one, but as no one could hear, I wrote it down and it was being passed along. Then, for some reason or other, the men began to fight one another, and Mr. Gladstone left the platform, and the meeting came to an end.

ADELA PANKHURST.

CAN Suffragist recommend BED-SITTING ROOM, near Law Courts, to Woman Suffragist: Sundays to Tuesday.—Terms to Hill Side, Lubbock-road, Chislehurst.

TREASURER'S NOTE.

EVERY department of our office work is progressing by leaps and bounds. Extension again is absolutely necessary. We are now going to double our premises. This means a liability for rent alone of £500. In view of the work contemplated early in the coming year in connection with the Parliament of Women, and because of the increasing amount of voluntary work to be organised, it is necessary to give the heads of our different departments the permanent assistance of younger clerks. All these developments mean heavy expenditure. Meanwhile, the militant campaign is achieving one triumph after another. Our army grows and becomes a more formidable force every day.

A day or two ago I received a letter from a very generous supporter of the movement, who has already given large contributions several times this year. She enclosed a cheque for £20. "The time has now come," she said, "to pour as much money as women can get together into this movement. We must neither stint nor spare at a crisis like this."

Every woman who cares for her freedom, which is now being won, must support the militant campaign with funds.

A Week of Self-Denial.

Following direct upon the Women's Parliament, which sits on February 11, 12, and 13, at Caxton Hall, the National Women's Social and Political Union calls upon every woman in the country who desires to play her part in women's fight for freedom, to practise real self-denial during the week beginning February 16 and ending February 22, and to send all the funds she can save, or earn, or collect, to the National Campaign Fund.

The funds raised during this week will be the measure not only of every woman's devotion to principle, but the measure of her gratitude to the hundreds of brave women who have taken the brunt of the fighting, and have suffered violence and imprisonment for her sake.

We ask every woman to do her best from now onwards until February 16, to make the idea of this week of self-denial known and understood amongst her women friends.

Women have embarked upon a crusade, a war of freedom. And every woman, whether she takes the fighting line or not, must make heroic sacrifice for this holy cause.

PROGRAMME OF EVENTS.

Up to December 31 (as far as at present arranged).

Table listing events from Nov. 28 to Dec. 12, including locations like London, Birmingham, Hull, and speakers like Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Nell Kenny, Mrs. Pearce, Miss S. Pankhurst, etc.

Table listing dates and locations for events, such as Dec. 16 London, 4, Clement's-inn, and Dec. 19 London, 4, Clement's-inn.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE £20,000 FUND TO NOVEMBER 23.

Table listing names and amounts of contributions, such as Mrs. Simes, Miss Cecilia Mackenzie, Miss Eileen M. Burton, etc.

Members' Postage Fees.

Table listing names and amounts of postage fees, such as Miss Eleanor Hawkins, Mrs. C. H. Slatter, Miss M. Brown, etc.



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#### SCOTTISH NOTES.

WE have had a busy week in Scotland. Last Monday evening Miss Isabel Seymour and myself, with Provost Gossop as chairman, with ex-Provost Ross and an array of the "City Fathers" supporting us, addressed a crowded meeting in the beautiful Town Hall of Inverness. Two or three hundred people were turned away at the doors, and those inside were intensely interested, and at the beginning critical. Before we finished they were quite enthusiastic, and Inverness promises to be a "converted" city, and to give us a splendid branch. To ex-Provost Ross we owe thanks for his very great help, and he and the town gave us quite a Highland welcome. It's the Fraser county, so it's specially pleasing to me to feel it is going to help well.

At Aberdeen, the night after we had a good meeting, Lady Ramsay and myself as speakers. The Aberdeen Union is very busy, and doing splendid work, and we hope soon to have the Northern Centre quite in working order. Mrs. Pearce had a good meeting on Monday with the Larkhall Co-operative Women.

At Linzie on Thursday evening Mrs. Billington-Greig and I spoke to a very large meeting arranged by Miss Kirby, who worked splendidly to make it so successful. Bailie Perry was an excellent chairman, and we had quite lively heckling.

The Langside Union had a meeting that evening also, and decided on future public meetings.

That morning Mr. Lloyd George received a deputation from the Woman Suffrage Association in Glasgow, to whom he gave a very delightful lecture against our methods (rather unkind, as they disapprove of them), and said he was a strong supporter—so strong a believer in women having votes, in fact, that he thought *all* women must have them, and for that reason was going to see *no* women got them. At least, that is what it amounted to.

This may delude women who are blindly partisan, but it merely amused women who see, and makes us all the more convinced that success lies in a strong continuance of our anti-Government policy.

HELEN FRASER.

#### MEMBERS' PLEDGE CARD.

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

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

There is no definite members' fee, but those who wish to be kept constantly in touch with the central organisation by correspondence are requested to give 1s. a year to cover postage. Subscriptions of larger amounts are urgently needed for the support of the movement.

Mr. Arnold Harris Mathew, the distinguished writer of "Woman Suffrage," published by Messrs. Jack, writes to thank us for the review of his book in last month's *VOTES FOR WOMEN*, and to say that the book can be obtained of all booksellers, and also at all bookstalls, though not always as prominently displayed as anti-suffragist literature has been.

The book is also on sale at the offices of the W.S.P.U.

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